

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF MUSIC

LOCALIZING THE GLOBAL: THE SHAKUHACHI'S PLACE IN "AMERICAN" CULTURE

By
SARAH RENATA STROTHERS

A Dissertation submitted to the
College of Music
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

2022

Sarah Renata Strothers defended this dissertation on November 15, 2022

The members of the supervisory committee were:

Frank Gunderson

Professor Directing Dissertation

Jimmy Yu

University Representative

Charles E. Brewer

Committee Member

Sarah Eyerly

Committee Member

The Graduate School has verified and approved the above-named committee members, and certifies that the dissertation has been approved in accordance with university requirements.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	III
LIST OF TABLES.....	VII
LIST OF FIGURES	VIII
ABSTRACT.....	X
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Purpose and Significance.....	1
1.2 Background Overview	23
1.3 Literature Review.....	31
1.3.1 Japanese Music.....	33
1.3.2 Japanese Culture	35
1.3.3 Religion.....	37
1.3.4 General Studies Regarding Shakuhachi	40
1.3.5 Historical Research	41
1.3.6. Autobiographical and Ethnographic Accounts.....	46
1.4 Theoretical Approach	52
1.4.1 The Development of Bicultural Awareness.....	54
1.4.2 Contextualizing Tradition, Invention, and Authenticity within a Technocultural Context.....	57
1.5 METHODOLOGY	63
1.5.1 Research Location and Participants.....	63
1.5.2 Fieldwork Methodology.....	64
CHAPTER 2	71
THE SHAKUHACHI'S HISTORICAL LEGACY: UNPACKING THE INSTRUMENT'S ORIGINS, TRANSFORMATION, AND VARIOUS CULTURAL CONNECTIONS	71
2.1 NARA PERIOD (710-794): UNPACKING CULTURAL CONTEXT	73
2.1.1 Gagaku Shakuhachi and Sangaku Performances.....	75
2.1.2 Origins of Historical Culture Heroes	78
2.2 THE HEIAN PERIOD (794-1185).....	87
2.2.1 The Popularity of Gagaku, Sarugaku, and Dengaku.....	88
2.2.2 Growth of Shōmyō.....	91
2.3 THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (1185-1333): THE RISE OF THE MILITARY CLASS ...	92
2.3.1. The Introduction of Zen Buddhism and the Importance of Rinzai Zen.....	93

2.3.2 Historical Culture Heroes of the Kamakura Period: Muhon Kakushin (無本覺心, 1207-1298) and Yoritake Ryoen (d. 1298).....	93
2.3.3. The "First" Komusō Temple.....	96
2.3.4 Kakushin as a Hijiri—"Wandering Priest".....	99
2.3.5. The Decline of Gagaku	100
2.3.6. Tropes of Wandering Priests in Historical Literature.....	100
2.4 THE MUROMACHI PERIOD (1368-1573): NANBOKUCHŌ AND THE WARRING STATES ERA.....	103
2.4.1 Primary Source Material: More Context on When and Where Shakuhachi Was Performed	104
2.4.2 The History of Gagaku and Gagaku Shakuhachi	105
2.4.2 "Shakuhachi" of the Muromachi Period: Different Viewpoints on the Origin of the Instrument	106
2.4.3 Different Terminologies that Refer to Shakuhachi-Type Flutes	107
2.4.4 Invented Authenticity: The Era of the Komosō and the Invented Connection to Zen Shakuhachi.....	110
2.4.5. The Critical Analysis of Primary Sources that Make Connections to Muromachi Period Monks and Shakuhachi	114
2.4.5.1. Problematic Sources 1 and 2: Shaseki-shu (1283, Collected Stories of Stones and Pebbles) and the Kiyūshōran (1830)	115
2.4.5.2 Problematic Sources 3, 4, and 5: Tsurezure-gusa, Tsurezure-gusa no Zuchi, and Boro-boro no soshi	122
2.4.6 The Real Boro-boro and Komosō	135
2.4.7 Historical Culture Heroes of the Muromachi Period: The Mysterious Roan and the Eccentric Ikkyū Sojun	138
2.5 Azuchi-Momoyama Period (1568-1598): Unification and the Rise of the Bourgeois Class.....	143
2.5.1. General Overview of Music During the Azuchi-Momoyama Period.....	145
2.5.2. Kabukimono and the Rise of Shakuhachi for Entertainment.....	147
2.6 Conclusion	151
CHAPTER THREE: SHAKUHACHI IN THE EDO AND MEIJI PERIODS	152
3.1 The Edo Period (1603-1868): The Strict Social Order of the Tokugawa Regime.....	152
3.1.2 General Music During the Edo Period: Economic Stability and The Floating World	155
Figure 3.0. Photo of the Woodblock Print 虫籠を持つ女と尺八を吹く女, Woman Holding an Insect Cage and Woman Playing the Shakuhachi (Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts https://collections.mfa.org/objects/233540).....	157

3.2. SECULAR SHAKUHACHI: THE RISE OF AMATEUR MUSIC MAKING AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IEMOTO (家元)	159
3.3. Development of the Fuke Sect: The Social Issue of Homeless/Masterless Samurai (Rōnin)	163
3.4 FORTIFYING THEIR LEGITIMACY: THE FUKU SECT AS A LEGAL RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION.....	170
3.4.1 Rights, Rules, and Privileges: The Keichō okite-gaki (慶長掟書).....	171
3.4.2. Deconstructing the Keichō okite-gaki.....	180
3.4.3. Fortifying their Legitimacy Part Two: The Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai.....	184
3.4.3.1 Key Tropes from the Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai.....	185
3.5. Shaku-hachi During the Edo Period: A Religious Implement and a Secular Instrument	189
3.5.1. The Development of Shaku-hachi Schools During the Edo Period: Soetsu-ryū.....	191
3.6. THE FALL OF THE TOKUGAWA REGIME	193
3.7. THE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE MEIJI PERIOD.....	195
3.7.1 Music in the Meiji Period	196
3.7.2 Traditional Japanese Music Redefined.....	198
3.8 THE SURVIVAL OF THE SHAKUHACHI	202
3.8.1 The Rise of Different Shaku-hachi Schools	206
3.8.2. The Rise of the Iemoto and Other Types of Shaku-hachi Schools.....	209
3.8.3. Restarting Zen Shaku-hachi: The Myōan-Kyōkai	212
3.8.4 Physical Modifications of the Instrument	216
3.9 CONCLUSION.....	218
CHAPTER 4: SHAKUHACHI'S INTERNATIONAL GROWTH DURING THE INTERWAR AND POSTWAR PERIODS	221
4.1 MUSIC DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD: GENERAL OVERVIEW	223
4.1.2 The Importance of the Shin Nihon Ongaku.....	225
4.2 TRANSNATIONAL FLOW AND WARTIME TRANSITION.....	233
4.3 ULTRA-NATIONALISM, WWII, MUSICAL CENSORSHIP	234
4.3.1 Japanese American Internment via Shaku-hachi	236
4.3.2 WWII in the U.S.: Context of Incarceration	238
4.3.3 Understanding Incarceration from the Lens of Technology and Risk.....	240
4.3.4 The Case Study of the Manzanar Relocation Center.....	241
4.4 POSTMODERN IEMOTOS.....	246
4.4.1 Postwar Japan: The Initiatives to Revitalize Hogaku.....	246

4.42 NHK, <i>Gendai Hogaku</i> , and National Treasures	247
4.5 THE RECONTEXTUALIZATION OF ZEN PART I: THE REORIENTATION OF MYŌAN-KYŌKAI AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUIZEN	254
4.51 <i>The Mischaracterization and Ethnocommoditization of Suizen</i>	257
4.52 <i>The Recontextualization of Zen Part II: The Influence of the Post-Modern Fuke— Watazumi Doso (1911-1992)</i>	261
4.53 <i>The Influence of Yokoyama Sensei, Student of Watazumi</i>	269
4.6 CONCLUSION	271
CHAPTER 5	273
A LINEAGE OF RENEGADES: UNDERSTANDING THE TRANSMISSION, PEDAGOGY, AND PHILOSOPHY OF CHIKUZEN STUDIOS	273
5.1 <i>The Amalgamation of Sensei Gould's Teaching</i>	273
5.1.2 <i>Yokoyama Katsuya and Honnin no Shirabe</i>	278
5.1.3 <i>Taniguchi Yoshinobu</i>	280
5.1.4 <i>Sensei Gould: A Lineage of Renegades</i>	282
5.2 THE CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY OF MICHAEL CHIKUZEN GOULD	284
5.2.1 <i>The Ranking System: Beginner's Level Shoden (初伝)</i>	286
5.2.2 <i>Chūden: Intermediate Shakuhachi Study</i>	294
5.2.4 <i>Jun-shihan</i>	299
5.2.5 <i>Shihan</i>	304
5.2.6 <i>Dai-shihan</i>	306
5.3 CONCLUSION	306
CHAPTER 6	309
6.0 CONCLUSION: A CRISIS OF REPRESENTATION?	309
APPENDIX A	320
APPENDIX B	323
PROGRAM NOTES	323
REFERENCES	327
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	349

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 4.0 LIST OF RELOCATION CENTERS DURING THE WWII ERA	238
--	-----

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1.0 SAMPLE OF HONSHIRABE (HONKYOKU).....	27
FIGURE 1.1 KOMUSŌ MONKS TRAVELING	29
FIGURE 2.1 EN NO GYŌJA.....	81
FIGURE 2.2 ENNIN.....	83
FIGURE 2.3 DEPICTION OF FUKU IN THE CLOUDS	84
FIGURE 2.4 EXAMPLE OF A SHAKUHACHI PERFORMER FROM THE KOGAKU-ZU (IZUMI 2016, 14).	89
FIGURE 2.5 PORTRAIT OF MUHON KAKUSHIN	95
FIGURE 2.6 PHOTO OF THE ABANDONED <i>KOMUSŌ</i> CEMETERY IN UJI	97
(WEISGARBER 2019, 143).....	97
FIGURE 2.7 AN EXAMPLE OF A HITOYOGIRI.....	107
FIGURE 2.8 (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT) PHOTO OF TENPUKU, HITOYOGIRI, GAGAKU SHAKUHACHI, FUKU SHAKUHACHI, AND XIĀO.....	110
(LINDER 2012, 86)	110
FIGURE 2.8 PHOTO OF A PORTION OF THE SCROLL PAINTING <i>SANJŪNI-BAN SHOKUNIN UTA-AWASE</i> (1494)	127
FIGURE 2.9 PORTRAIT OF IKKYŪ SOJUN	138
FIGURE 2.11 EXAMPLE OF THE ANIMATED SERIES <i>IKKYŪ-SAN</i>	142
FIGURE 3.0. PHOTO OF THE WOODBLOCK PRINT <i>SAWAMURA TANOSUKE</i>	157
FIGURE 3.1 ANNOTATED REPRINT OF THE <i>MEMORANDUM</i>	169
FIGURE 3.2 EXAMPLE OF AN UKIYO-E, THREE YOUNG WOMEN MASQUERADING AS KOMUSŌ (CA. 1778), BY TORII KIYONAGA	176
FIGURE 3.3 PHOTO OF ARAKI KODO II.....	205
FIGURE 3.4 PHOTO OF KATSUURA SHOZAN.....	213
FIGURE 3.5 PHOTO OF HIGUCHI TAIZAN.....	214
FIGURE 4.0 PHOTO OF YOSHIDA SEIFU.....	227
FIGURE 4.1 PHOTO OF MIYAGI MICHIO	228
FIGURE 4.2 PHOTO OF WATAZUMI DOSO.....	262
FIGURE 4.3 PHOTO OF YOKOYAMA KATSUYA.....	269
FIGURE 5.0 PHOTO OF MICHAEL CHIKUZEN GOULD	273
FIGURE 5.2 PHOTO OF MY SHODEN LICENSE.....	286
FIGURE 5.3 PHOTO OF MY CHŪDEN LICENSE	294

FIGURE 5.4 PHOTO OF MY OKUDEN LICENSE	297
FIGURE 5.5 PHOTO OF MY JUN-SHIHAN LICENSE	300
FIGURE 6.0 SCREENSHOT OF TWITTER POST; CORNELIUS SHINZEN BOOTS PERFORMANCE AT E3	311
FIGURE 6.1 SCREENSHOT OF TWITTER POST ABOUT CORNELIUS SHINZEN.....	312
FIGURE 6.2 SCREENSHOT OF TWITTER POST ABOUT CORNELIUS SHINZEN.....	313
FIGURE 6.3 SCREENSHOT OF REDDIT THREAD/MEME PHOTO OF CORNELIUS	313
FIGURE 6.4 SCREENSHOT OF TWITTER POST, PHOTO OF CORNELIUS SHINZEN BOOTS WITH ASTUDA OKUDA	314
FIGURE 6.5 PHOTO OF HANZABURŌ KODŌ ARAKI CAMPBELL	317

ABSTRACT

Concepts like cultural relativism, tradition, and authenticity warrants a more critical examination in an age where much of the world's population has adopted a digital lifestyle that is always online. As a cultural artifact, the internet has become integrated with human interaction and the cultural impact of its convenience has been taken for granted—the effect the internet and mobile telephony continues to have on blurring boundaries between cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation is tremendous and deserves more critical introspection, dialogue, and discourse among scholarship within the field of humanities. This dissertation uses the lens of online shakuhachi study to not only explores the boundaries between cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation but also to bring forth a much-needed dialogue about the meaning of terms such as cultural relativism and tradition in an era of *hypermediated technoculture*. The combination of interlocution, observation, interpretation, and participation has revealed that the ethnographic encounters of shakuhachi in the United States are mostly represented by “non-native” shakuhachi musicians. The transmission of the shakuhachi tradition, and other similar cultures that have non-native participants, are contending with a more complicated notion of the “crisis of representation”—lineages of different types of shakuhachi traditions are being transmitted by non-native shakuhachi musicians.

The internet and other media devises play a significant role in how the narrative of shakuhachi history is told—a popular trope in the historiography of the instrument is that “the shakuhachi is an ancient instrument of Zen.” By drawing on my experiences studying shakuhachi with *dai-shihan* (大師範, grandmaster) Michael *Chikuzen* (竹禪) Gould, I deconstruct the history of the instrument in an effort to understand why shakuhachi is still characterized through romanticized notions of Buddhist thought and imagery.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Purpose and Significance

This project describes a music culture that has been shaped and manipulated by complex interconnected socio-cultural transactions of globalizing, commodifying, and technological forces that no one person, group, or entity controls. Through the combination of intense applied study and ethnomusicological investigation, this dissertation focuses on the various relationships and interactions that resulted in the overall diasporic cultural production¹ of the shakuhachi and its musical repertoire in the present era of hypermediated technoculture. This work presents a candid scholarly description of how the application of concepts like cultural relativism, tradition, and authenticity warrant a more critical examination in an age where much of the world's population has adopted a digital lifestyle that is always online.

Contextualized as the "database of human purpose," the internet is not just a technological fad but instead a cultural artifact that has become integrated with human interaction (González 2013, 25). Exemplifying technology's embedded social significance, in the book *Strange Sounds: Music, Technology, and Culture* (2001), Timothy Taylor states that technology "is not separate from the social groups that use it; it is not separate from the individuals who invented it, tested it, marketed it, distributed it, sold it, repaired it, listened to it, bought it, or revived it...it is always bound up in a social system" (Taylor 2001:7). Only thirty-seven years old, the internet is "the key catalyst of the most extensive and fastest technological

¹ Sue Zheng, *Claiming Diaspora: Music, Transnationalism, and Cultural Politics of Asian/Chinese America* (New York: Oxford Press, 2006), 6.

revolution in history" (González 2013, 19).² In the edited volume, *Ch@nge: 19 Key Essays on How the Internet is Changing Our Lives*, economist Francisco González highlights the historical trajectory of the internet by stating

It was seventy years after the invention of the airplane that one hundred million people had traveled by air; it took fifty years after the invention of the telephone for one hundred million people to use this form of communication. The one hundred million user mark was achieved by PCs in fourteen years, the internet in seven. The cycles of adoption of internet-related technologies are even shorter—Facebook reached one hundred million users in two years. (Ibid, 19)

As the most intricate and intangible structure created by humankind, the internet gave rise to forms of social production that rely on the free and open flow of information via social media.³ The internet has brought more culture to people, online communities are playing a significant role in everyday life,⁴ and the continuous rise in constant connectivity will lead the internet to become even more complex:

Internet access has moved from personal computers to mobile phones, on the path toward what has been called *The Internet of Things*, in which myriad everyday objects will become capable of receiving, generating, and sending information. It is estimated that by 2015 there will be more than 200 billion devices connected to the Internet—four times more than in 2010. In only a few years, this will be the most complex structure ever created by humankind. There will be billions of nodes able to measure anything measurable, extracting and communicating any form of information; and this information will be used to monitor every aspect of the real world. (Gonzalez 16, 2013)

² The actual age of the internet is an issue of debate. Some literature suggests that the internet is 50 years old while others suggest that the internet is only 37 years old. The difference in opinion comes from those who consider the birthdate of the internet to be in 1969, when the ARPAnet (Advanced Research Projects Agency Network) was developed. While others consider the birthdate of the internet to be in 1983, the date where the ARPAnet shifted to TCP/IP protocol—this is what helps power the current internet.

³ See Yochai Benkler, *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

⁴ See Manuel Castells, *Rise of the Network Society*, (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009) and Paul DiMaggio, "The Internet's Influence on the Production and Consumption of Culture: Creative Destruction and New Opportunities," in *Ch@nge: 19 Key Essays on How the Internet is Changing Our Lives*, edited by Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentina (Argentina: Turner, 2013)359-396.

The significance of this dissertation incorporates my experience as a student studying shakuhachi online under the tutelage of *dai-shihan* (大師範)⁵ Michael *Chikuzen* (竹禪) Gould. The practice of shakuhachi in the United States is evidenced by the growing number of students, performers, and teachers that help maintain the ethnographic encounter of the Japanese music culture.

As defined within the discipline of anthropology, the ethnographic encounter represents different aspects of experience with the culture in question and interpretations the anthropologist has (Borneman and Hammoudi eds. 2009, 3-5). These experiences include the initial contact with the culture and the researcher's interpretation, what interlocutors say and do, how interlocutors interpret their experience, and the different ways anthropologists interact with members of the community and how they interpret those interactions (Ibid). The combination of interlocution, observation, and participation has revealed that the ethnographic encounters of shakuhachi in the United States are mostly represented by "non-native" shakuhachi musicians. Specific to this research, the term "non-native" refers to participants who are not from Japan and who study and play shakuhachi on a consistent basis. The transmission of the shakuhachi tradition, and other similar cultures that have non-native participants, are contending with a more complicated notion of "the crisis of representation" since the internet, mobile telephony, and Wi-Fi technologies have brought culture to others.

The crisis of representation is a theory that was developed in the mid-80s that describes the difficulties of interpreting and explaining another culture, cohort, and or group's experience, attitude, and/or beliefs with absolute objectivity. While this definition of the crisis of representation deals with the abstract nature of the relationship the researcher has with his or her

⁵ *Dai-shihan* (大師範) refers to grand master or senior instructor.

interpretation of culture, this project presents and emphasizes a more concrete definition of the crisis of interpretation that accentuates the impact of the transmission of traditions by non-native culture bearers. Non-native culture bearers become a physical representation of the culture they are transmitting. Their body and how they present themselves when they perform are an integral part of the process of transmission. In this sense, the crisis of representation addresses the inherently problematic nature of the non-native performer, which teases out the fine line between cultural appreciation and cultural appropriation.

For the past twelve years, I have practiced, studied, taught, and performed shakuhachi as both a community member and an ethnomusicologist. I began to learn how to play shakuhachi in 2009 while working on my master's degree in ethnomusicology at Bowling Green State University. In an effort to obtain a multifaceted perspective, I joined the shakuhachi community as an entry-level student. This process required me to find a shakuhachi teacher, purchase an instrument, participate in applied lessons, attend shakuhachi camps, and register as a member on the different shakuhachi forums. Since then, shakuhachi has been my life's work. My master's thesis was also on shakuhachi and included a general survey of shakuhachi practice within the United States.

Most of my shakuhachi studies were completed in the comfort of my home. Also, my research does not represent a standard or conventional ethnography of a music culture. In other words, I did not go to Japan for an extended period of time to study shakuhachi. The bulk of my participant observations involved the internet and a webcam, while a small percentage of my studies were done with in-person instruction. I study a Japanese tradition in my native country. Most members of the shakuhachi community take Skype lessons and discover shakuhachi through some form of technology or social process involving applications of technology. As for

the teachers, the first generation of non-native shakuhachi masters that started teaching in the early seventies and eighties now have lineages of non-native/non-Japanese students who are transmitting the tradition. For more serious students, shakuhachi is part of their everyday experience.

Placing this in a much broader anthropological and musicological context, I thought deeply about how cultural relativism applied to this current context of hyper-connectivity. I became fascinated with how members of the shakuhachi community were determined to learn and transmit a tradition by using cyberspace to create a virtual dojo. There are many new places where shakuhachi is quite prolific outside of Japan. These places create new spaces for the ethnographic encounters between shakuhachi and traditional Japanese music, respectively. As I applied cultural relativism and context to the shakuhachi in Japan, I felt that there was a flaw in using the definition of cultural relativism to shakuhachi's other "home"—the internet.

Shakuhachi is not relative to the United States; however, if you inspect the shakuhachi community within the context of this current era of Zoom, Skype, Facetime, Direct Messages, and Snapchat, it is plausible to suggest a more updated view of cultural relativism—one that accounts for the social and technocultural processes that are embedded within the very definition of culture and incorporate aspects of this technocultural era.

Conventionally, cultural relativism is the idea that a person's beliefs, values, and practices should be understood based on that person's own culture (see Boas 1987). In the article "Between Kin Selection and Cultural Relativism: Cultural Evolution and the Origin of Inequality" (2019), William Lynch explains that the current definition of cultural relativism

Seeks to explain cultures internally, by reference to its own frames of meaning, rather than by comparison with other cultures or standards, particularly that of the anthropologists. Since the work of Franz Boas, an emphasis on what came to be called cultural relativism served as a crucial methodology to objectively understand other

societies by overcoming the distorting lens of the anthropologist's own ethnocentric bias, especially the influence of racism and colonialism among Western societies (Johnson 2007, 794-796). Thus, cultural relativism was often conjoined with an emphasis on the autonomy and variability of culture. (Lynch 2019, 288)

My teacher is not from Japan; he was born and raised in the United States. Sensei Gould's first ethnographic encounter with shakuhachi took place in Japan—it is where he met his teachers and received his credentials to teach the instrument. Now, my teacher serves as a transmitter for a specific shakuhachi tradition, not only in the United States but also abroad. Considering the current context, the conventional application of cultural relativism does not adequately represent or explain the nuanced and complicated historical, social, and cultural narrative of learning shakuhachi online. The analysis of my ethnographic data leads me to argue that the current age of techno-culture creates many opportunities for the application of "sociocultural relativism"—a dynamic view of cultural relativism that incorporates social, political, and techno-cultural processes.

In *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* (Ritzer, ed., 2007), sociologist John Curra draws on Franz Boas' concept of cultural relativism and Emmanuel Durkheim's sociological method (Durkheim 1938) to create an in-depth definition of sociocultural relativism. Curra explains that the term has three different methods. First, sociocultural relativism can be viewed as a hypothesis based on one person's interpretation of truth. Expanding on this, Curra writes, "one implication of the postulate of relativity is that actions and attributes vary from time to time, place to place, and situation to situation" (Curra 2007, 4593). Second, as an applied methodology, sociocultural relativism requires "you to put yourself in the shoes of another, maybe even an adversary's in order to understand why someone might wear those shoes at all" (Ibid, 4594). Writing about shakuhachi not only requires learning the instrument but a fundamental understanding of the different stylistic traditions. Taking lessons from multiple

teachers, interviewing students of different experience levels, learning how to read music, and putting in hours of practice time exemplify the need for this form of relativism. Lastly, sociocultural relativism can be interpreted as a perspective because "it is possible to find a relativism or nonrelativism in human experience" (Ibid).

Today, the human experience is networked, always connected, and inextricable to processes of globalization and social production. Sociocultural relativism is used to represent the multifarious aspects of the shakuhachi community, which includes (1) the participant's view on shakuhachi, (2) how that worldview developed, and (3) how that worldview became internalized in the shakuhachi musician's everyday life. This project illustrates how members of the shakuhachi community are operating under a different and more social form of relativity because the world is always connected to cyberspace. Because of this, I argue that shakuhachi and specific aspects of Japanese culture have become an integral part of the shakuhachi community's way of being. I understand that this is a rather bold and controversial statement—no one in the United States shakuhachi community is a native of Japan. Yet, the music that they have learned and practiced daily has become part of their everyday lives in a variety of ways and in varying sociocultural degrees. This statement is not meant to draw a line between the difference of cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation, but to bring forth the dialogue on how much of an impact the internet has on the notion of cultural relativity. Anyone can potentially study anything with mobile telephony. The boundary of culture appropriation seems to be wiped away by globalizing forces of hyper-mediation. And yet, cultural appropriation continues to be a popular problematic topic in this current age. As a practicing shakuhachi musician, I am caught in between the strange space of being viewed as a professional “authentic” musician and as a hobbyist who is simply participating in the purchase of culture. More harshly, when someone

accuses me of cultural appropriation, they would have the right to do so. I am not Japanese, I did not live in Japan, nor did I study the instrument in a traditional setting. However, in my travels and research in Japan, I met plenty of people who did not know what the shakuhachi was, who grew up listening to Jazz and 1950s rock music and enjoyed playing instruments such as the piano or guitar. Is their participation in western music considered cultural appropriation?

Another factor to consider when critically evaluating cultural relativism in a hypermediated era are the dynamics of individual and cultural autonomy. On top of invention, convergence, commoditization, and globalization, the internet and mobile telephony has blurred boundaries to the point where they may seem non-existent while providing the public with access to a massive amount of information that amounts to a series of personal choices. The access to endless amounts of information coupled with the endless number of choices create a complex interplay between the construction of meaning, social structure, and individual and cultural autonomy specifically mediated by the internet. An example of this complex interplay of autonomy can be seen in the concept of *resistance identity* and *project identity*. In the chapter “Social Structure, Cultural Identity, and Personal Autonomy in the Practice of the Internet” (2004), Manuel Castells et al define resistance identity as “the construction of autonomous meaning with the materials of historical experience to counter social domination” and project identity as the “affirmation of a collective project to achieve certain social goals as the expression of cultural community of shared experience” (Castells et al 2004, 242). In their study of network societies in Catalonia, the data they gathered allowed the authors to systematically analyze the transformation in social structure, behavior, and individual and cultural autonomy. The analysis of their data found that hegemonic practices and policies brought forth by Spain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries influenced citizens to build a “resistance identity that

found its expression in modern Catalan nationalism between the end of the nineteenth century and in the end of the twentieth” (Ibid 243). In terms of project identity, the researchers found that the internet was a necessity for a strong Catalan identity within middle aged minority citizens who were active in politics and the maintenance of online social relationships. For this group of people, the internet was not necessarily the source of project identity, but “becomes a privileged medium for the expression of alternative projects of social organization, including the manifestation of a renewed Catalan identity as a collective national project adapted to the conditions of the twenty-first century” (Ibid). In terms of the shakuhachi community, the internet is a crucial tool in the formulation of a project or resistance identity. As a community, the project identity of shakuhachi students manifests itself on web forums, blogs, and YouTube videos that express similar ideas about the history of the instrument and the religious overtones of the music. Because there are so many traditions of shakuhachi practice, resistance identities also manifest with the use of the internet in similar ways but express alternate or different views of shakuhachi tradition that deviate from what is commonly accepted. An example of this is seen with my teacher, Sensei Gould, who labels himself as a renegade musician within international shakuhachi community—a modifier that separates him from the standard expectations of a present-day shakuhachi musician. His renegade status will be discussed further in chapter four.

Castells et. all conclude that in the context of a networked societies,

The Internet is a technology of freedom. It allows the construction of self-directed networks of horizontal communication, bypassing institutional controls. It also allows information to be retrieved and recombined in applied knowledge at the service of purposive social action. These findings are highly relevant because they mean that the Internet is, indeed, a tool for the expression of autonomy, and in the cases in which we can observe a feedback effect it reinforces this autonomy. But the content of the autonomy is independent of the use of the Internet: it is linked to the social characteristics of the actors, underlying each project of autonomy. The Internet seems, indeed, to be a technology of freedom and a medium for the construction of autonomy, but the content of this freedom and the horizon of this

autonomy are determined by the social structure, as well as by the dynamics of the actors in the process of their self-affirmation (Castells et. all 2004, 244).

With the freedom of choice the internet provides, it is difficult to contextualize what relativism means in a networked society, especially when choices are not only determined by agency but the effect of those choices are determined by the “dynamics of actors” and the overall social structure of the networked community (Ibid). The conclusion of this project discusses the problems that arise from being a serious non-native shakuhachi musician—even though this person has a ranking of a master shakuhachi musician and studied the instrument for years via Skype and other means, the public reception of his performance was highly criticized as blatant cultural appropriation. In a hypermediated networked society, sociocultural relativism helps provide some insight into how the internet plays a role in the choices people make that are important to their identity.

As an authority on a specific shakuhachi tradition, with a student base that is taking virtual lessons and attending his workshops and camps, I thought critically about the following question: Is it academically tolerable to consider that shakuhachi—to some degree—has become socioculturally relative to my teacher's everyday sensibilities? Adding to the depth of these controversial questions, cultural anthropologist Gordon Mathews' writes

Today . . . not many Japanese artists practice such forms; instead, they play electric guitars and paint abstracts in oil paint. The word of punk rock and performance art, John Coltrane, Jimi Hendrix, Andy Warhol, and Salvador Dali is the world into which they have been born; koto and kimono may be as exotic to them as they might be to a passing tourist seeking, through their guidebook, the last remaining vestiges of "traditional Japan." (Mathews 2000, 30)

With the convergence of time and space, the global and the local, and the increasing and seemingly endless access to the internet, I felt it pertinent to contend with the issue of culture and adopt sociocultural relativism because of my own journey with shakuhachi and the relationship

that I have with the overall community in the United States. Even though Mathews' text was written in the early 2000s, the fact remains that interest in traditional Japanese music and shakuhachi, respectively, continues to dwindle in Japan. My trip there in 2015 also echoed this sentiment. While conversing with locals on the train to downtown Kyoto, I told them that I was in Japan to study shakuhachi. One man looked up and laughed at me, while another said, "Why do you want to play something so old? No one really cares about that anymore."

My experience in Japan sent me down a path of critical introspection—not only did I have to understand the canonized definitions of culture, but I also had to identify what the word culture meant to me. To do so, I drew on the academic writings of Ulf Hannerz and Claudia Strauss. In the book *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning* (1992), Hannerz emphasizes that culture should be analyzed and studied regarding how meaning is distributed, contextualized, constructed, and deconstructed. Culture has a set of "public meaningful forms" that are only "rendered meaningful" until human interpretation is applied (Hannerz 1992: 304). As a significant part of social production, Hannerz argues, culture,

Culture belongs primarily to social relationships, and to networks of such relationships; only indirectly, and without logical necessity, do they belong to places. The less people stay in one place, and also the less dependent their communications are on face-to-face contact, the more attenuated does the link between culture and territory become. (Ibid, 39)

Influenced by Hannerz's definition and Richard Handler's "Afterword: Mysteries of Culture" (2004), anthropologist Claudia Strauss utilizes fieldwork interviews from the American Suburbs to demonstrate how the definition of culture should be contextualized as an interconnected duality between *external* and *internal* culture. In "The Complexity of Culture in Persons" (2018), Strauss explains how Hannerz's conceptualization of culture focuses mostly on aspects of "public culture"—or what she defines as external culture. In *The Human Condition* ([1958]

1998), Hannah Ardent emphasizes that public culture is an ongoing process of "being seen and being heard by others" and significance is derived "from the fact that everybody sees and hears from a different position" (Ardent [1958] 1998, 50). According to Strauss, external culture is also known as "culture in the world," while internal culture refers to "culture in people" and involves an intense inspection of the ways people embody different aspects of culture (Strauss 2018, 109). Studying the combination of this duality illustrates that there is no straightforward relationship between external and internal culture. External culture can shape the ways people internalize culture, and internal culture can shape the way people experience external culture—personal perspectives, experiences, and worldviews rely not only on public observation, but also the embodiment of "adopted" traditions.

Through the influence of Hannerz and Strauss, I realized that my unique experience as a shakuhachi musician, as well as that of others who study shakuhachi in the United States, are puzzle pieces to a larger conversation—a multilayered fragment of the intricate dialogue between the study of the historiography of the shakuhachi, the music culture of Japan, and the music culture of the United States. Ultimately, I must situate my ethnographic study in the hypermediated transnational United States because that is the place where I am studying shakuhachi, it is where I experience(d) the ethnographic encounter, and it is also where I become a transmitter for others to experience the ethnographic encounter for a specific type of Japanese music. This dissertation is a case study for the application of sociocultural relativity.

Situating my study of shakuhachi predominantly in the United States led me to ask the following questions that developed out of my concern for applying a "one-sided" cultural relativism to shakuhachi: Is the cultural cohort merely copying traditions from Japan? Are they performing their own authentic notions of shakuhachi traditions? Or is this shakuhachi

community a result of a hybrid mix of duplication, alterity, and the invention of new traditions? Lastly, can these non-native *dai-shihan* teachers be considered what Mellonee Burnim referred to as culture or tradition bearers?⁶

Media, internet technologies, and various software programs are being used to perpetuate the oral/aural culture of shakuhachi studies. The original context of the instrument is constantly participating in a dialogue with the world as a means for its preservation and transmission. People these days can willingly choose aspects of their life as well as their culture on many different mobile devices. Home is a video call away for many (although it will never replace being there), and many people (myself included) consciously and unconsciously participate in the consumption of culture (such as Starbucks featuring "Zen" tea products, eating sushi, or even going to the "foreign" aisle in the grocery store). Most importantly, learning to participate in another culture "virtually" urged me to continue to think about culture and identity differently. When Wi-Fi is so commonplace, how do people synthesize themselves in a world where you can learn about Japanese music on a cell phone?

To help provide an answer to this question, I turned to the globalization studies of Inda and Rosaldo, David Harvey, Anthony Giddens, and Henry Jenkins. In the book, *Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader* (2002), Inda and Rosaldo redefine globalization by drawing upon

⁶ In the article *Culture Bearer and Tradition Bearer: An Ethnomusicologist's Research on Gospel Music* (1985), Burnim describes and methodically processes her research results from her participant fieldwork at two different gospel churches. She argues that having an insider status can be "advantageous at various stages of the fieldwork process" and that the insider advantage does not compromise the degree of objectivity (Burnim 1985, 445). Regardless of a researcher's emic/etic status, Burnim states that each "researcher faces a variety of personal, social, and political constraints" (IBID). Although this article is not directly related to my research, Burnim's presentation as a culture and tradition bearer herself lead me to question whether a cultural outsider can be viewed as a tradition bearer of a foreign culture that they intensely study. By extension, non-native *dai-shihan* shakuhachi professionals are the initiates of the ethnographic encounter of shakuhachi in the United States. Because of their intimacy with the tradition as well as culture, can they also be considered culture bearers? This issue will be further discussed in the chapters to come.

globalization theories created by David Harvey and Anthony Giddens. According to Harvey, globalization is a manifestation that literally changes the experience of time and space, which he calls "time-space compression" (Harvey 1990, 293). Clarifying this point, Inda and Rosaldo state that because of this, "we are currently in a particularly intense moment of time-space compression. The general speed-up in the turnover time of capital is rapidly shrinking the world. Time is quickly "annihilating space" (Inda and Rosaldo 2002, 7).

Like Harvey, Giddens also suggests that globalization affects time and space but in a contrary motion. While Harvey believes that globalization is shrinking the world, Giddens claims that globalization stretches social and cultural activity across time and space. In his book, *The Consequences of Modernity* (1990), Giddens describes globalization as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events that occur many miles away and vice versa (Giddens 1990, 64). According to this definition, globalization has the power to change the way we understand geography and experience localness—a phenomenon that Giddens refers to as "time-space distancing" (Giddens 1990, 14). For Giddens, time and space are reorganized to a point where it reorients our daily social experiences. Here, social contact comes in two forms, face-to-face contact and "remote" encounters that can manipulate the spatial dimension of social life (Giddens 1990, 18). By fusing the two theories together—Harvey's idea of time-space compression and Giddens's proposal of time-space distancing—Inda and Rosaldo create a new explanation of the globalization phenomenon. This view of globalization includes four important characteristics: (1) it implies a gain in momentum in the flows of capital, people, goods, images, and ideas across the world, (2) there is "an intensification of the links, modes of interaction, and flow that interconnect the world," (3) sociocultural, economic, and political practices are stretched across

boundaries, making distance seem to be an obsolete problem, and 4) "as a result of all this speeding up, intensification, and stretching, globalization also implies a heightened entanglement of the global and local" (Inda and Rosaldo 2002, 9). These four characteristics imply that the world is a giant interconnected web of communications where the dialogue between different regions is constantly flowing.

Time-space compression, time-space distancing, and the entanglement of the local and global (also known as "glocalization")⁷ are demonstrated in the book *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (2006). In this text, Jenkins incorporates ethnographic data from *Survivor* web forums, *Harry Potter* fanfiction, and transmedia storytelling about *The Matrix* universe to illustrate the different ways cultural formulations evolve in an era where the internet is a powerful platform for corporate entities and consumers. For corporations, the internet is an opportunity to develop, distribute, and sell content for all Wi-Fi-capable products. For consumers, the internet is where they can voice their opinions, create their own stories, and feel free to challenge corporate authorities. Jenkins defines convergence as "the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want" (Jenkins 2, 2006). With its variety of cross-media platforms, the convergence culture that the shakuhachi tradition exists in today produces a global marketplace that is more mobile than ever. Jenkins demonstrates this hyper-mediation by stating, "a medium's content may shift...its audience may change...and its social status may rise or

⁷ Roland Robertson described glocalization as the "effects of globalization on everyday life" (Robertson 1995, 28). Local cultures are "interpenetrated" with globalizing forces. "Hence the effects of globalization on everyday cultural life—via global brands, fashion, and mass media—are more accurately described as the process of glocalization" (Ibid).

fall . . . but once a medium establishes itself as satisfying some core human demand, it continues to function within the larger system of communication options" (Ibid 16).

Jenkins' text demonstrates how media has changed how relationships are formed not only between the seller and the consumer, but also between "existing technologies, industries, markets, genres, and audiences. Convergence alters the logic by which media industries operate and by which media consumers process news and entertainment" (Jenkins 2006, 15-16). An example of this can be seen in my Sensei's virtual dojo, called "Chikuzen Studios."⁸ My teacher has over thirty-five students, with most of them taking shakuhachi lessons online via Skype.⁹ In some sense, members of the U.S. cultural cohort have eliminated the need to go to Japan—they can bring Japan to them on any device that has the appropriate technology. Hannerz seems to foreshadow this by writing, "the ways media can bind time and space can create trouble for conventional assumptions about social relationships, society, and culture" (Hannerz 1992, 29). Overall, learning shakuhachi in the United States challenges these conventional assumptions by inspecting not only the convergence of time (i.e., local) and space (i.e., global) but also how the various techno-cultural tools can help cultivate other cultural sensibilities.

The inspection of globalization studies helped unpack how non-native shakuhachi musicians cultivate their cultural identity using digital tools. Jenkins indirectly implies that there is a continuous process of the commodification of culture taking place in today's society. The shakuhachi community in the United States (and, particularly, my experience as a shakuhachi

⁸ My teacher maintains his own website that is basically a virtual dojo for his students as well as prospective students. Here, students can view Sensei Gould's calendar, publications, videos, certifications, and obtain access to the forum as well as lesson information. "Chikuzen Studios," 2008, accessed January 3, 2017, <http://www.chikuzenstudios.com>.

⁹ Even though platforms such as Zoom and Google Meets has become the preferred application for virtual educational settings, my shakuhachi teacher as well as my Japanese language teacher still use Skype to teach lessons.

musician) serves as an example of an ongoing and evolving result of ethno-commoditization that has converged with social implications of identity and appropriation. An example of this can be seen in the sale and making of shakuhachi as an emerging trade in the United States. For example, Perry Yung is an actor, multimedia performance artist, and well-known shakuhachi musician and teacher. Yung began learning how to make shakuhachi in 1994 “when it was impossible to buy an instrument in the pre-internet days” (Yung 2022). Thanks to a series of cultural grants, Yung was able to study shakuhachi making with Sogawa Kinya (素川欣也), student of Yokoyama Katsuya (横山 勝也, my teacher’s teacher) and Tamai Chikusen (shakuhachi maker based in Osaka). Yung is known for not only making new shakuhachi but also for fixing shakuhachi that needs to be repaired. Yung has fixed my previous flute on two separate occasions and has done a beautiful job with the repairs. Another well-known shakuhachi maker/repairer that are based in the United States is Monty Levenson. Levenson owns the company Tai Hei Shakuhachi (<https://www.shakuhachi.com/>) where the purchase of new, used, and orders of shakuhachi repairs can be made. Internationally, Levenson is known for developing the “precision cast bore technology” which is a method of construction that includes laser track technology to produce “precision mandrels” that ensure the appropriate acoustics and physics of the shakuhachi bore (Tai Hei Shakuhachi 2022).

Shakuhachi lessons and shakuhachi certificates have a monetary value coupled with their authentic value—various teachers from different schools of the shakuhachi tradition have different philosophies on the cost of these "items." A controversial issue within the shakuhachi community in the United States is the authenticity of lesson delivery coupled with the awarding of licenses for appropriate ranking levels. Because of the ability of learning shakuhachi online, there are many shakuhachi players/teachers in the United States who are mostly self-taught with

guidance from YouTube videos and the occasional shakuhachi lesson. These self-taught shakuhachi musicians also view themselves as teachers and become transmitters of shakuhachi tradition even though they did not study formally with a professional shakuhachi teacher. In the context of the U.S. shakuhachi community, ranking, licenses, and certifications become an important indicator that a shakuhachi musician studied with legitimate teacher and went through some sort of formalized learning process. While there are some who teach shakuhachi without professional licenses, there is also a small percentage of teachers/musicians who see the shakuhachi as a way to make profit. Some trained shakuhachi musicians with shihan and dai-shihan rankings really capitalize on the niche of teaching a “Zen” instrument. They tend to overcharge for lessons and are willing to award rankings for payment versus playing ability. The result of this type of methodology tends to produce high ranking shakuhachi musicians without the appropriate skill level. Beginning shakuhachi students are often warned about teachers without formal training as well as teachers who are particularly concerned with making profit. My own initial discovery of the instrument was through this world marketplace via the internet. This virtual marketplace is where I purchased my instrument, it is where I can find more examples of music, and it is where I take my lessons. All of this is evidence of a profitable ethno-commodity that satisfies some core of human demand and illustrates the convergence of culture, commodification, and sociocultural relativism.

Investigating how the practice of shakuhachi is situated within these convergent intersections—culture, globalization, and ethnocommodization—calls for not only a reevaluation of tradition, identity, authenticity, technology, and globalization but also an in-depth analysis of how those processes are sometimes subverted against each other—sometimes creating cognitive dissonance in the perception and definition of those very same terms. For example, in 2015, I

went to Japan to attend a five-day conference/workshop on traditional Japanese music at Kyoto City University of the Arts. I stayed with a host family who received me with generous hospitality. My Sensei arranged for me to have a few lessons with one of his colleagues, and in preparation for this lesson, I spent part of my first day in Japan playing shakuhachi. After I finished practicing, a member of the host family said to me, "Wow, you sound so Japanese." This comment (or compliment?) really struck me. I had no reply to that person but a humble "Thank You." Later that week, I found myself teaching my host family's neighbors about shakuhachi and its history, and I even showed one person how to play it. The comment of "you sound so Japanese," coupled with other experiences I had in Japan, created a cognitive dissonance within myself—how can I "sound" Japanese? Would I "sound" Japanese to a seasoned shakuhachi musician? Is there a way to sound "American"? Emphasizing the psychological aspects of these cultural interrelationships, Strauss writes,

Schemas are mental frameworks of interpretation. They change slowly over time. Meanings are not the same as schemas; instead, they are the actual interpretations that arise for actors when they apply their schemas to people, objects, and events at a particular time (Strauss and Quinn, 1997). Because people typically hold sets of disparate schemas...different combinations can be activated at any given time. That explains why culture in persons is compatible with reactions that will vary depending on the situation (Strauss 2018, 124)

My mental framework for shakuhachi included not only the knowledge I gained from private lessons and historical research, but also a preconceived understanding that people in Japan would at least know some history of the instrument. Upon my arrival in Japan, I soon realized that Japanese peoples had their own schema about shakuhachi. At least with my host family and their neighbors, their musical schema did not include shakuhachi or what the west would label "traditional Japanese music." My own journey into shakuhachi demonstrates the intertextuality between Strauss' notion of internal and external culture. I had no interest in Japanese culture that

extended beyond watching anime. The fact that I had access to anime is just a small example of the interchange of globalization, diffusion, capitalism, and transculturation. My choice to study shakuhachi was nothing but serendipitous, and more importantly, if I was not working on my master's degree in ethnomusicology, I would have never googled "traditional Japanese music."

The opportunity for deep critical inquiry continued to grow as I researched how my experience with the shakuhachi tradition related to various processes of globalization, ethno-commodization, and sociocultural relativism. There was also an abundance of critical introspection. I live in a world where Japanese, Indian, and Caribbean food are within driving distance of each other. Typically, no one will think twice if I tell them I am planning to eat Thai or Cambodian food for dinner. Yet, I get many interesting (and sometimes quite confusing) responses when I share that I play shakuhachi. In the end, it seems that I am "Othered" for being an American woman who plays shakuhachi in Japan, and I am "Othered" for being an American woman who plays shakuhachi in the United States for many different curious and culturally complicated reasons. More to the point, most of us who reside in the United States live in a world where a multi-racial/multi-ethnic American woman can study Japanese music mostly through the internet. How does that person fit in culturally? More critically, is any part of that person—and, by extension, the American dai-shihan performers—an authentic representation of Japanese culture, bearing in mind the insistence that we cannot choose our own cultural particularity even though culture—as intangible a concept as it may seem—is displayed and marketed for our own access on a daily basis?

The investigation of ethno-commoditization has shown that people do choose (or purchase) their cultural particularities—the bulk of the sales being made on the world marketplace. Operating within the framework of internal, external, and convergence culture,

processes such as ethno-commoditization are all activated by members of the shakuhachi community in varying degrees on conscious and subconscious levels. A necessary question to consider in this case is what drives people to choose, copy, adopt, or be greatly influenced by cultural traditions? In his book *Mimesis and Alterity* (1993), Taussig defines mimesis as the "nature that culture uses to create second nature, the faculty to copy, imitate, make models, explore difference, yield into and become Other" (Taussig 1993, xiii). With the ability to purchase virtually anything from virtually anywhere, our innate drive to copy and our human nature to imitate is, in my opinion, super-stimulated. In most places, you have the option to sample different world cuisines, drive foreign cars, buy foreign merchandise, explore different religions, and, if you so choose, learn shakuhachi. Likewise, we are bombarded with images in our day-to-day lives through various advertisements such as billboards that display "buy-one-get-one" sushi rolls and flyers for "a free egg roll with a purchase of a combination platter" for certain Chinese restaurants. More importantly, when we choose to participate in these events and go to the particular "Other" restaurant, there are even more images our senses must contest with, such as Buddha, "the lucky cat," Chinese and Japanese characters, decorative fans, chopsticks, and so on.

On a fundamental level, my participation in Japanese music is just another extension of what Taussig defines as the mimetic faculty (Ibid). Due to the techno-cultural society we live in, I am convinced that our mimetic processes are overactive due to the complicated intersections illustrated by convergence culture. With the snowballing amounts of advertising and media technologies, our innate need to imitate and copy has made it hard to define the boundaries between terms like colonialism, appropriation, cultural appreciation, ownership, real, and "fake." In applying the concept of mimesis to this project, it is important to note that the shakuhachi of

today is not the same as the shakuhachi of the Edo period (1603-1898). The relativistic nuances of the shakuhachi today must be accounted for as well as the time, place, and space in which it is learned, performed, and transmitted. In other words, these community members are doing more than just "sampling" or participating in a mimetic activity, unconscious or conscious notions of appropriation, or what some other scholars may consider an underlying form of colonialism or Westernization. Here, the individuals in the shakuhachi community are constructing and performing their own way of shakuhachi practice and are authentically performing their own sense of musicality, spirituality, and religion concerning Japanese culture. Through Taussig's definition of mimesis, my data illustrates that the various intersections of convergence culture, the world marketplace, and ethno-commodities are interrelated and inevitably build upon each other, which helps create this hyper-stimulation to copy. More prudently, I argue that the participants of the shakuhachi community are creating authenticity, or what I like to call "cultural legitimacy," regarding their own performance and study of the Japanese instrument. Although mimesis describes the reasons why humans tend to imitate and copy, it does not account for the cultural idiosyncrasies, changes, and inventions that are made by humans. In this era of hypermediated techno-culture, agency plays a significant role in the adoption of different cultural peculiarities.

In general, the incorporation of the instrument into everyday life directs this project to study the intersections of music, religion, identity, authenticity, technology, and globalizing processes as a whole. These explorations often open doorways to sociocultural complexities, such as fragmented and challenged notions of identity and authenticity, the conscious (or unconscious {subliminal}) promotion of the "sale of culture" (i.e., the global cultural supermarket and purchasing ethno-commodities), and ultimately, a false sense of

egalitarianism.¹⁰ Most of all, this project demands more ethnographic studies that focus on individuals and groups developing a bicultural awareness as a result of participating in different cultures. The significance of this project will illuminate how cross-cultural embodiment, involvement, appreciation, and understanding are sometimes subverted by hegemonic institutions and conventional definitions of tradition and authenticity. Likewise, this project will also show how these same institutions and definitions are challenged by those who are deeply committed to a certain culture that is not their "own" and could be classified as "non-native culture bearers." Moreover, my goal is to respectfully represent the multifaceted, multidimensional nature of the U.S. shakuhachi community. It is my hope that the discourse presented in this research project accounts for the shakuhachi's presence, vitality, and multimodality in different sectors of American society and creates a new conversation on how to view the definitions of culture, cultural relativism, and authenticity.

1.2 Background Overview

The shakuhachi is an end-blown bamboo flute that was formerly monopolized by monks of the *Fuke-shū* (普化宗), a sect of Zen Buddhism where monks were referred to as the *komusō* (虚無僧), "the priests of nothingness." The shakuhachi was introduced to Japan from China during the Nara period¹¹ (eighth century AD) via the Silk Road¹²—arguably one of the earliest forms of globalization, commodification, and cross-cultural communications. As part of their

¹⁰ Despite the seemingly overwhelming accessibility of media objects—the internet is still quite inaccessible to many people, so it is easy to take learning shakuhachi on the internet for granted. I often have to remind myself that not everyone in United States and the world has the means to do so.

¹¹ Refer to Figure 1 in the index for a list of the different historical periods and their corresponding dates.

¹² Refer to Figure 2 for a map of the Silk Road for a visual reference of how far this early form of globalization reached throughout the continent of Asia.

lifestyle, these komusō were known for wandering the countryside of feudal-era Japan, pilgrimaging from temple to temple, begging for alms, and playing shakuhachi. The komusō viewed their practice of shakuhachi as a form of meditation called *suizen* (吹禅), meaning "to blow Zen."¹³ Historically, the shakuhachi was seen as a tool for Zen meditation and was most often heard in the context of temple ceremonies or when the monks were wandering the countryside begging for alms. In the article "The Shakuhachi: The Instrument and its Music, Change, and Diversification" (1993), Tsuneko Tukitani et al. expand on this by stating, "Zen in the Fuke sect was nothing but the playing of shakuhachi. . . . Thus, regarding *suizen*, the shakuhachi was not a musical instrument, and naturally, pieces performed on it were not considered as being music" (Tukitani et al. 1993, 111). For many of these monks, the playing of the shakuhachi was not a recreational or even a musical activity but was seen as a tool to aid and prepare them for the discipline of enlightenment. These sonic yet musical meditations that the monks played are called *honkyoku* (本曲) and are considered to be the crux of traditional repertoire in shakuhachi musical literature. Additionally, the komusō monk image, as well as the accompanied "Zen music," is constantly being recontextualized, reimagined, romanticized, and to some extent, embodied in current social circles located not only in the United States but also abroad.

This is the standard historical narrative that is propagated in most of the literature on the shakuhachi, which contains partial truths. In the book, *Deconstructing Japanese Music: A Study of Shakuhachi, Historical Authenticity, and Transmission of Tradition* (2012), Gunnar Jinmei Linder provides exceptional historical detail on how the Zen-influenced aspects of shakuhachi

¹³ *Suizen* was practiced in addition to *zazen* (座禅) which literally means "sitting meditation," which is an exercise that many Americans have integrated into their everyday lives.

history was an invented tradition by investigating primary source material, interviewing seasoned shakuhachi professionals, and systematically outlining the timeline of the Fuke sect's history. The author illustrates that there is a lack of evidence that connects the Fuke sect and the shakuhachi tradition to central figures of the Zen Buddhist tradition. According to Linder, the "real" connection to Zen Buddhism happened during the Meiji Restoration (beginning in 1868), after the abolishment of the Fuke Sect. Chapters one and two will go into further detail on the history of the shakuhachi and the development of its music and will further unpack and deconstruct the narrative of shakuhachi's connection to Zen Buddhism.

Honkyoku music designates the "original pieces for the shakuhachi, performed only on that instrument" (Hughes and Tokita, 155). The English translation of the word literally means "original piece," "original music," or "original melody" and is often used as a general reference to the genre of spiritual and meditative music specifically and traditionally composed for shakuhachi and played by komusō monks. Honkyoku is best characterized as a dialogue of silence and sound, a musical sensibility that is far different from the standard pop and Western art music that most people of the United States are accustomed to. This musical sensibility, referred to as *ma* (間), represents the interpretation and perception of space and time and is the essence of Japanese music aesthetics not only in shakuhachi but also in most traditional Japanese music. In most honkyoku, *ma* is represented in the form of free rhythm—there is no time signature to indicate a tempo, and the music itself consists of a series of phrases that are meant to be played in one breath. How long a phrase lasts depends on the breath of the individual (beginner/advanced) and the style in which the honkyoku should be played.

Figure 1.0 contains three lines of a honkyoku titled *Honshirabe* (本調). The highlighted areas in each line are designated as breath marks and signify the end of a phrase. When reading

the example from left to right, the first line indicates the title of the piece, and the following three lines contain the melody of the honkyoku. There are no dynamic markings, no key signatures, no indication as to how long each phrase should be played, and the most notable aspect is that the music is written in Japanese.

In order to learn honkyoku, basic comprehension of the Japanese alphabet system is necessary. This statement may seem obvious, but it is possible to learn how to play shakuhachi without learning how to read or play Japanese music. What makes learning shakuhachi in the United States fascinating is that most participants want to learn the historical and religious significance of the instrument. Likewise, teachers feel an obligation to not only introduce students to its history but also to continue the legacy of their predecessors. In terms of the extra-musical factors, despite the abundance of YouTube videos, web forums, and virtual information, having a *sensei* (先生), or teacher, is a major factor in the transmission of the nuanced characteristics in honkyoku such as breath length, dynamics, timbre, style, technique, alternate finger placement, and pitch quality.

strict hierarchical guild system (*iemoto*, 家元)¹⁴ that encompassed earning certificates after mastering a set repertoire for a particular level and preserved the master-student and mentor-student relationship. The two most popular and well-known schools of shakuhachi are the Kinko-ryū and the Tozan-ryū.

How I came to play shakuhachi and study with Sensei Gould is only more evidence that hyper-mediation is creating an intense stimulation of our own mimetic processes. I was dawning upon the second year of graduate school, working on my master's degree in Ethnomusicology. Going into this field, I had somewhat of a cultural wanderlust. I was genuinely interested and fascinated by everything. Because of my family background, the natural conclusion would be for me to focus on some type of music from South America. My father was born in Suriname, lived in the jungles of the Amazon Basin, and then came to the United States to play professional soccer, where he eventually met my mother. With my father and mother's help, I could have certainly had enough material to produce a master's thesis, but I was not motivated to write about some aspect of a particular music culture in South America.

There were many late and sleepless nights back then, and the time to write and do research was drawing too a close. At the time, I was obsessed with *anime*, and reruns from *Naruto* and *Inuyasha* would serve as background noise in my apartment. It was this obsession with anime that led me to Google the following generic set of words: "music of Japan." After spending about an hour clicking on random hyperlinks, the picture found in Figure 1.1 is what prevented me from delving further into a digitized black hole.

¹⁴ Iemoto is a "term used to refer to the founder or current headmaster of a certain school of traditional Japanese art, including music. The iemoto system is characterized by a hierarchical structure and often the iemoto has supreme authority." "Glossary of Terms," European Shakuhachi Society. Accessed November 1, 2017, <http://shakuhachisociety.eu/resources/glossary/>.



Figure 1.1 Komusō Monks Traveling
(Google Images, 2015)

The next day, I spoke with my advisor about this instrument and asked him for guidance regarding my very naïve interest. Serendipitously, my advisor knew of a shakuhachi teacher that lived only two hours away from the university I attended. That very same day, I contacted that teacher, and he invited me to see his performance at the Canton Museum of Art. Two weeks later, I purchased a student model shakuhachi—a plastic replica referred to as the shakuhachi *yu*. One month after that, I began taking lessons with that teacher at his home studio and then through Skype when I could not manage the time to travel. One year later, I outgrew the shakuhachi *yu* and purchased a bamboo shakuhachi.

I did not know at the time of this ethnographic encounter that this journey with the instrument, the music, my teacher, and the community would last for a lifetime. My other cultural curiosities remain, but shakuhachi is my main ethnomusicological focus. Ever since that day in the museum, the shakuhachi is the first thing I think about when I wake up, and I often

chant familiar melodies in my head as I fall asleep. Although I am hesitant to call the music associated with the shakuhachi tradition my own, I do feel that this instrument and the relationship I developed with the music, my teacher, and the community is certainly part of who I am.

Many may find this personal information I am presenting quite irrelevant and highly criticized; however, scholars such as Henry Johnson have noticed the intrigue the shakuhachi has brought on an international level. In his book *The Shakuhachi: Roots and Routes* (2014), Johnson describes in detail the instrument's historical significance and acknowledges the shakuhachi's movements within "spheres of social and cultural connections" (Johnson 2014, ix). Johnson acknowledges that,

More recently, there are many new performers (Japanese and non-Japanese) around the globe who play the instrument, with some transforming the instrument by creating new soundscapes far removed from the instrument's recognized homeland. These players have helped create new traditions and broader social and cultural networks that are changing the dynamics of shakuhachi teaching, learning, and performance. (ibid.)

Sensei Gould is one of these teachers/performers "changing the dynamics of shakuhachi teaching, learning, and performance," and because of my close relationship with him as a student and his unique status as a renegade musician, he is the main subject and case study for this project. As an American professional musician, Sensei Gould manages a shakuhachi studio and shakuhachi bed and breakfast in Cody, Wyoming and lived in Japan from 1980 to 1997. He studied shakuhachi under renowned masters Taniguchi Yoshinobu and the late Yokoyama Katsuya. In 1994, he became one of only a handful of non-Japanese to hold the title of grandmaster. After returning to the United States, Sensei Gould started his own shakuhachi dojo, taught the transmission of Dyokyoku at a variety of universities, and continues to conduct lectures, various performances, recording sessions, and private lessons via Skype. In my years of

applied lessons with Sensei Gould, I have learned that understanding the complex histories and transformative processes linked to the instrument and its music are important for the overall contextualization of studying shakuhachi and Japanese culture, respectively.

1.3 Literature Review

The following section is a literature review that discusses the various sources that I consulted for this research project. This dissertation not only adds to the existing canon of musicological, anthropological, and ethnographic scholarship on Japanese music but also provides nuanced insight into how aspects of Japanese culture have developed and have been contextualized through processes of globalization, transmission, and diaspora studies. In order to have an in-depth understanding of shakuhachi historically, texts that provided a synopsis of Japanese culture throughout the different eras were most helpful in understanding the overall development of shakuhachi and its associated traditions with regard to political, social, and cultural developments (Addiss, Groemer, and Rimer 2006; Befu 1980; Bellah [1957] 1985; Eyal, Mocran, and Valentine 1990; Benedict 1946; Dale 1986; Hendrey 1993; Hsu 1975; Nakane [1970] 1984; Nenzi 2008; Nishiyama 1959; Papinot 1973; Vlastos 1998; Willis and Shigematsu 2008). Also, many of these same texts explain the importance of aesthetics in Japanese culture and how aesthetics can be an integral component in shaping different musical interpretations.

I will also take this time to note that I do have a language barrier—I cannot read or speak Japanese fluently; however, I can read most of my music fluently, and I am still studying the language. Despite the barrier, I do have an intermediate understanding of the language, and I have systematically researched much of the English language literature that translated primary and secondary sources written in Japanese. For example, some important primary sources include Toyohara Sumiaki's *Taigen-sho* "A Treatise on Court Music" (1512), Yamamoto

Morihide's *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* "The History of the Kyotaku" (1795/1981), and Nakamura Sosan's *Shichiku Shoshin-shu* "A Collection of Pieces for Beginners of Strings and Bamboo" (1664). The *Taigen-sho* is the earliest historical document that mentions shakuhachi being used in gagaku. According to Linder, the *Taigen-sho* elaborates on the shakuhachi's use in different types of music genres (such as *dengaku*)¹⁵ during that historical era. Sosan's work is an early example of an applied textbook that includes notation for early shakuhachi, koto, and shamisen. The text also contains important historical data that assisted with Linder's contextualization of early Japanese music and where the shakuhachi would fit in musically during Japan's earlier historical development. Lastly, Yamamoto's infamous "The History of the Kyotaku" is a vital piece of primary source material that assisted in the overall historical legitimization of the shakuhachi's significant connection to Zen Buddhism. In this text, Yamamoto quoted a Chinese literary document called the "Kyotaku Denki," which systematically outlines the beginning of the shakuhachi tradition, starting with a monk named Fuke. This primary source is a pinnacle Edo period text in the justification and existence of the Fuke Sect.

Some of the secondary sources in Japanese that I have used to inform my research are Nakatsuka Chikuzen's *Kinko-ryū shakuhachi shikan* (*A Historical View of Kinko-ryū Shakuhachi*), Kurihara Kota's *Shakuhachi Shiko* (*A Historical Study of Shakuhachi*) and Tsukitani Tsuneko's *Shakuhachi koten honkyoku no kenkyu* (*Research on Old Honkyoku*). Nakatsuka's text is not only a detailed study of the history of the shakuhachi but also includes an examination of the historical records of the Fuke-sect. Linder explains that Nakatsuka's work essentially debunked the validity of the Kyotaku-denki. He writes, "one crucial finding at which

¹⁵ Dengaku refers to music and dance that accompanied field labor. For more information on this genre, I recommend the following article, "Popular Entertainment and Politics: The Great Dengaku of 1096" by Jacob Raz (1985, 283-298).

Nakatsuka arrived was that the document that connected the Komusō and their Fuke sect to Zen Buddhism, the Kyotaku-denki was a forgery" (Linder 2012, 77). Also, Nakatsuka claims that the Fuke sect was simply a haven for (ex)samurai to find comfortable refuge. Kurihara's text contains one of the earliest historical studies on the shakuhachi. According to Linder, Kurihara's research was originally published as a series of articles in the magazine *Chikuyu*. In 1975, his articles were then compiled and published as a book to "describe the general development of the shakuhachi and to make clear the characteristics of shakuhachi and its true value" (Linder 2012, 75). Kurihara's text quotes the Kyotaku-denki and supports the narrative of the Fuke sect's historical connection to Zen Buddhism. Lastly, Tsukitani's book contains detailed research not only on shakuhachi but also on its main repertoire, honkyoku. This book is particularly noteworthy because Tsukitani is one of the few scholars from Japan who studied shakuhachi from a musicological perspective. Her text contains a non-biased detailed history of the instrument, and it also contains a musical analysis of certain honkyoku pieces.

1.3.1 Japanese Music

One of the earliest published musicological studies on Japanese music and musical instruments is Francis T. Piggot's *The Music and Musical Instruments of Japan* (1893/1909). This text is unique because it is one of the earliest studies on Japanese music from a non-Japanese author. During his time, Piggot was not only a British jurist and journalist but also served as the Chief Justice of Hong Kong. In the book, he writes that his "observations [were] made in leisure moments in Japan," and he "acknowledges the incompleteness" of his work (Piggot [1893] 1909, 6). To supplement his data, Piggot recruits research from other scholars who are authorities on what was then called "Far East Music." Regarding my research, the text provides an interesting discussion on the importance of the teachings of Confucius in Japan,

elaborates on the "meaning of the music in the Far East," and describes how musical styles developed according to Japanese mythology (Piggot [1893] 1909, 1). Also, Piggot includes descriptions of Japan's scale system, the relation of Japanese music to Chinese music, and a brief description of many musical instruments, shakuhachi included. Piggot's observations on shakuhachi are rather short but provide early insight into how the instrument and its music were viewed by an outsider.

Another important early text is Katsumi Sunaga's *Japanese Music* (1936). This publication is significant because it was one of the first books to be written by a Japanese music scholar to educate readers outside of Japan. In this book, Sunaga provides the reader with a survey of different Japanese musical traditions in addition to explaining the construction and different musical contexts of Japanese instruments. Many other materials have emerged since then to expand the catalog of Japanese music research, and most of these sources cover different perspectives of traditional Japanese music. For example, Harich-Schneider (1973) and Malm (1959 [2000]) provide detailed histories of the canon of traditional Japanese music and musical instruments. These two books are more thorough than Sunaga's account, and they go into detail about the histories associated with different Japanese instruments.

To understand the role of the musicultural environment in Japanese music, it is necessary to place shakuhachi—and Japanese music generally—into the larger context of Japanese musical aesthetics and Japanese culture. In his book *Six Hidden Views of Japanese Music*, William Malm provides a thorough description of the aesthetics and principles of Japanese music that are often overlooked by Western scholars. Expanding on this, Malm states that "the word hidden in the title does not necessarily mean something secret in the world of Japanese music. Rather, it refers to sets of procedures within that tradition that are so 'natural' that many excellent Japanese

authors and musicians tend not to speak of them" (Malm 1986, 2). The book is structured into different sections that discuss *ko tsuzumi* drum making, aesthetics in Japanese music, *nagauta* music, and contemporary music in Japan. Regarding my dissertation, this book aids me in contextualizing the shakuhachi since I am studying shakuhachi outside of its original environment. For other texts that go over musical aesthetics in context as well as Japanese music history that is not limited to just shakuhachi, please see the following: De Ferranti 2000; Epstein 1994; Everett 2004; Fujita 2002; Galliano 2002; Garfias 1975; Green 2001; Herd 2008; Hirano and Kazuo 1978; Hughes 1988; Hughes 2008b; Ishii 1983; Johnson 2011a; Katsumura 1986; Keister 2005; Keister 2008; Kishibe [1981] 1984; Koizumi 1977; Lande 2007; Lieberman 1971; Matsunobu 2011; Olsen 1980; Olsen 1982; Olsen 1983; Olsen 1986; Olsen 2004; Papinot 1973; Richard and Kazuko, eds., 2008; Tanabe 1959; Hughes and Tokita 2008; Wade 2003; Willis and Shigematsu 2008; and Yuasa 2003.

1.3.2 Japanese Culture

In one of his most influential books, *The Anthropology of Music* (1964), Alan Merriam writes, "In order to approach the study of music from the standpoint of scientific analysis, it is necessary to establish the basis from which the ethnomusicologist works. The most fundamental consideration involved here is the question of what music is and what relationship it has to the concept of culture" (Merriam 1964, 26-27). Merriam was and still is the driving force behind ethnomusicology's integrated anthropological approach in conducting fieldwork and contextualizing a particular music culture. In using this method, I also did my fair share of research on the culture of Japan to understand the sociocultural growth and development of Japanese music and shakuhachi specifically.

During World War II (WWII), anthropologist Ruth Benedict was commissioned by the United States government to write *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (1946). This book was meant to serve as a cultural analysis of the culture of Japan in an effort to understand and predict the future behavior of Japanese people. By implementing "armchair" methodologies, Benedict described and analyzed cultural concepts of shame, guilt, honor, and hierarchy in Japanese society. In relation to my research on shakuhachi, this book contains a fundamental contextualization of Japanese culture in the United States during the 1940s-1950s, a time where Japanese culture took a unique and complicated transnational path. Benedict's book has helped me gain cultural insight not only into the conflict between American and Japanese culture but also led me to look into questions regarding the diffusion of Japanese music and culture during WWII. Chapter two will elaborate on this transnational path and illustrate how Japanese music had a growing influence in the United States during WWII. Francis Hsu's book, *Iemoto: The Heart of Japan* (1975), analyzes the rapid economic transformation in Japan after WWII by looking at individual patterns of human behavior.

Hsu writes, "an extremely important determinant of human behavior, in a probability sense, is the nature of man's relationships with his fellow man, not his geographical situation, his individual dreams and capabilities, or the level of his material welfare" (Hsu 1975, vii). Through this lens, Hsu also describes and defines the hierarchical and political structure of the *iemoto*, the "house head," or grandmaster of a school of traditional Japanese arts. According to Hsu, the *iemoto* is a "kin-tract...a fixed and unalterable hierarchical arrangement voluntarily entered into among a group of human beings who follow a common code of behavior under a common ideology for a set of common objectives" (Hsu 1975, 62). In regard to my research on shakuhachi, Hsu's text is a fundamental component of my overall understanding of belonging to

traditional Japanese art in a hyper-mediated context. Studying shakuhachi in the United States has its own set of challenges from an ethnomusicological and anthropological perspective, Hsu's text shed light on the political aspects of belonging to a dojo as well as a theoretical understanding of Japan's modernization.

Other texts that have informed my research include David B. Willis and Stephen Murphy Shigematsu's *Transcultural Japan: At the Borderlands of Race, Gender, and Identity* (2008), Stephen Vlastos' (editor) *Mirror of Modernity—Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (1998), and Ben-Ari Eyal, Brian Mocran, and James Valentine's (editors) *Unwrapping Japan: Society and Culture in the Anthropological Perspective* (1990/2010). These books have offered a multidimensional anthropological discourse on different aspects of Japanese culture ranging from the synthesis of globalization and hybridity, the invention of tradition and the embodiment of national identity, and the interplay of cosmopolitanism, tourism, and diverse communities.

1.3.3 Religion

Even though the historical credentials of shakuhachi's ancient connection to Zen Buddhism are contentious, the instrument is still contextualized and practiced as a tool for meditation. Additionally, I do not consider myself a devout Buddhist, nor was I raised in an environment that embraced that religious sensibility. I found it prudent to familiarize myself with Buddhism as well as the specific Rinzai sect that has been associated with shakuhachi's infamous religious history. In his book, *The Foundations of Buddhism* (1998), Rupert Gethin provides readers with an introduction to the foundations of the religion and outlines the different ideas and practices associated with different Buddhist traditions such as Theravada, Tibetan, and Eastern. Gethin also examines how Buddhist doctrines and teachings emerged and describes how different types of interpretations were classified and transmitted. Overall, the author outlines the

significant unifying features of Buddhist religions and gives a general explanation of how each religion started. Sources that are in a similar vein include John S. Strong's textbook, *The Experience of Buddhism: Sources and Interpretations* (2002), Edward Conze's *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development* ([1959] 2003), and Peter Harvey's *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History, and Practices* (2013). These sources and others (LaFleur 1986; Mitchell 2001; Chakravarti 2006) not only supplemented my general knowledge of Buddhist history, practice, and diffusion but also shed light on the mechanisms of religious contextualization about the concept of *suizen* and the general musical philosophy of *honkyoku*.

In regard to Zen Buddhism specifically, Peter Hershock's book *Chan Buddhism: Dimensions of Asian Spirituality* (2004) traces the development of *Chan* (known as Zen in Japan) as it emerged in China, Korea, and Japan. The distinctive aims and forms of practice associated with Zen are described as well as concepts such as "sudden awakening," meditation, and the use of *koans*.¹⁶ For my research project, the centrality of the student-teacher relationship discussed in the author's book will serve as a point of reference when talking about the social dynamics of the American shakuhachi cultural cohort. This community thrives on the relationships formed with their peers and shakuhachi teachers.

Other sources that I have referenced include many works by D.T. Suzuki (1870-1966), who is a major catalyst in the introduction and spread of Zen Buddhism in the West and the leading scholar on Zen Buddhism during the Post WWII era. In his book *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (1991), Suzuki meticulously covers the concept of *satori*, the importance and significance of koans, and the illogical aspects of Zen. From a practicing member of the Rinzai

¹⁶ *Koans* are brief statements or short meditations Zen Buddhist monks use as a discipline in meditation. A translated example would be "when both hands are clapped a sound is produced; listen to the sound of one hand clapping" (Personal communication, Michael Chikuzen Gould 2013).

sect, Suzuki's book and other works (see Suzuki [1938] 1959, 1964, and 1972) provide an additional locus regarding the synthesis of Zen ritual practices and their application in everyday life. Regarding my research specifically, all of these texts on Zen Buddhism have improved my religious understandability and assisted me with devising more concrete questions for those teachers and participants who use and practice shakuhachi with a Zen sensibility.

A final aspect that I incorporated is the recontextualization of Zen Buddhism in the West due to its rapid diffusion and popularity in the United States. In his book, *The New Buddhism: The Western Transformation of an Ancient Tradition* (2001), James William Coleman describes the influences of Buddhism in Western society and, likewise, what types of influences Western society had on the development of Buddhism. Coleman outlines the different attitudes associated with Buddhism in the United States by interviewing Asian, American, and other "Western" Buddhists and includes discussions on women in leadership positions in various Western Buddhist communities.

Jørn Borup's article "Easternization of the East? Zen and Spirituality as a Distinct Cultural Narratives in Japan" (2015) is another resource that has informed me on the diffusion of Zen Buddhism to the United States and helped me to formulate an understanding of how religion—Zen Buddhism specifically—became a "mainstream supplier" of what Borup calls the "spiritual market" (Borup 2015, 71). More importantly, Borup argues that "Zen Buddhism in the West has most often been identified not with the Japanese immigrants and their descendants, but with the Euro-American, meditation-oriented, and spiritualized Buddhism" (IBID). In a sense, Borup contends that Zen Buddhism in the United States and Zen Buddhism in Japan offer two different ethnographic encounters—or, in Borup's words, two "distinct cultural narratives" (Borup 2016, 70). These "distinct cultural narratives" parallel the very different experiences of

encountering shakuhachi in the United States versus encountering shakuhachi in Japan. Studying shakuhachi as a "distinct cultural narrative" in the United States helps fortify my own ethnographic approach—which is to base my study of shakuhachi in the United States.

1.3.4 General Studies Regarding Shakuhachi

In English language literature, there are a variety of sources that give a general overview of the shakuhachi, which includes a synopsis of the instrument's history, how it is made, and how it should be played. For example, William Malm ([1959] 2000), Bonnie Wade (2003), and Hugh de Ferranti (2000) all have texts that cover not only the mainstream history of the shakuhachi but also Japanese music. These books were helpful in developing a fundamental sensibility about shakuhachi history and served as an excellent starting point for formulating research ideas and questions; however, they lacked the historical detail that was necessary for an in-depth historical analysis.

Gutzwiler (1974), Lee (1993), and Blasdel (2008) thoroughly trace the history of the shakuhachi and explain the many different contexts that the instrument thrived in. Their accounts of shakuhachi history are very comprehensive and have helped me further contextualize the complex narratives associated with the instrument. Also, these sources were helpful in tracing the diaspora of the shakuhachi—these authors described the shakuhachi's movement through culture by carefully demonstrating and explaining the different cultural contexts the instrument participated in. Expanding on the diaspora and complex histories of the instrument, Tsuneko Tukitani's chapter "The Shakuhachi and its Music" in the *Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music* (2008) contains a detailed chronological account that specifically discusses the history of the shakuhachi and its music. The issues the article addresses are the instrument's function in the *gagaku* ensemble, the instruments that precede the modern-day shakuhachi, the

religious aspects attached to the instrument, and the different types of music within the repertoire of shakuhachi music.

An additional text that has been crucial to the development of this project is volumes one and two of *The Annals of the International Shakuhachi Society* (Volume 1 and 2, 1985). These two volumes served as a consistent point of reference for historical information on shakuhachi schools, learning perspectives from students, embouchure recommendations from teachers, and notation differences from three major shakuhachi schools: Kinko-ryū, Tozan-ryū, and Chikuhō-ryū. Both volumes contain articles authored by leading shakuhachi teachers, performers, and scholars. These volumes also contain articles by students sharing their experience and frustration with the instrument, as well as shakuhachi makers wishing to share valuable information on construction. Unfortunately, these volumes contain some of the same historical information that supports the typical narrative of shakuhachi's ancient connection to Zen Buddhism; however, for this project, the two volumes were incredibly helpful in defining the stylistic differences between different shakuhachi schools as well as understanding the trajectory of Watazumi Doso's career and pedagogical philosophy. Most importantly, these books contain translations of Hisamatsu Fuyo's¹⁷ writings on shakuhachi pedagogy and the importance of Zen in studying the "way of Kinko." Overall, these texts allowed me to create a tangible timeline of shakuhachi's movement throughout history.

1.3.5 Historical Research

Historical research on shakuhachi is quite easy to find but much harder to understand due to the instrument's contentious history. Scholars from Japan who studied shakuhachi in the mid-twentieth century were few and far between (see Linder 2010), and those who did study the

¹⁷ Hisamatsu Fuyo was the student of the grandson of Kurasawa Kinko—the first iemoto of the Kinko-ryū.

history of the instrument had conflicting views about the shakuhachi's overall origins. The literature that is on shakuhachi currently mostly refers to the history that happened right before, during, or after the Edo Period and Meiji Restoration. The literature that discusses shakuhachi before those historical eras has very little to say because of the lack of historical documentation. There are four important historical research-based texts this project incorporates and cites quite often in an effort to understand the sociocultural politics surrounding the shakuhachi's movement throughout Japan's history.

The first text that I consider to be crucial to my research is Philip Flavin's translation of *Paintings of Bamboo Flutes: A History and Genealogy of Shakuhachi Performance* (2016), written by Izumi Takeo. By using primary historical sources such as temple records and iconographic artwork, Izumi presents a detailed history of the shakuhachi, some of the music it was associated with, and its performers. The author takes the time to go over the evolution of the instrument, which includes a discussion of the construction and length of the instrument and its historical musical function. In addition, this text covers the mythological origins of the shakuhachi, the development of spiritual and religious connections to the instrument, and a detailed explanation of primary source materials such as the *Taigen-sho* and the *Kyotaku denki-kokujikai* and how these documents may have shaped the nature of the shakuhachi tradition. Especially important to my studies was this book's detailed explanation of the difference between the *komoso*, *komusō*, and the *boro-boro*. In the research that I have completed, a lot of the English language literature suggests that these three terms reflected the same type of monk who was known for playing shakuhachi. Izumi describes the differences in these three terms and suggests that the early *komoso* eventually evolved into the *komusō* of the Fuke sect. More importantly, Izumi's book suggests that the *komusō* had a more legitimate and genuine

connection to Zen Buddhism at the very beginning of the Edo period (1614) through the examination of primary source materials and hand-painted scrolls (Izumi 2016, 66-68).

The second historical study that has been an important asset to my research is Gunnar *Jinmei* Linder's "Deconstructing Tradition in Japanese Music: A Study of Shakuhachi Historical Authenticity and the Transmission of Tradition" (2012). In this book, Linder uses theories from folklore, anthropology, sociology, and musicology to examine the historical authenticity of the shakuhachi's origins. The author also describes how shakuhachi traditions were constructed by providing readers with an alternate and more accurate explanation as to how shakuhachi became connected with the monks of the Fuke Sect. Linder also traces the transmission of the instrument throughout history by utilizing his ethnographic bi-musical experience as a Kinko-ryū musician. Regarding my research, Linder's text employed interesting theoretical approaches from a variety of disciplines which have become an asset in the formulation of my own perspective.

For example, when discussing the definition of tradition, Linder draws from Michel Foucault's characterization of an authoritative body (Foucault 1971), Joseph A. Soares' concept of "living social tradition" (Soares 1997), Edward Shils' notion of tradition as subjective experiences of the expressive form (Shils 1981), and Eric Hobsbawm's theory of invented traditions (Hobsbawm 1983). In regards to the shakuhachi's history, Linder systematically disproves the legendary origins that connected Zen Buddhism to the shakuhachi by tracing falsified documents, analyzing Japanese language studies on the instrument, and outlining the development and dissolution of the Fuke Sect. Linder argues that "the komusō created a source and invented a tradition rather than developing an already existing tradition, which is commonly accepted theory in other studies . . . twentieth-century writings intentionally or not, provide a recreation of tradition, furnishing the shakuhachi with an alleged older indigenous origin with

strong connections to Buddhism" (Linder 2012, 57). Unlike Izumi, Linder argues that the komoso and komusō were two different types of monks and had no major connection to each other. Linder's book provides me with a more informed historical narrative of how shakuhachi and its music developed. The disadvantage to this text is that Linder's ethnographic research is based on the perspective and experience as a Kinko-ryū musician, which conflicts with my own experience as a student of Michael Chikuzen Gould, who has formal dyokyoku training and belongs to no official shakuhachi school.

The shakuhachi's connection to Zen Buddhism and the development of the Fuke Sect must not be studied separately from Japan's sociocultural politics. Doing so presents a rather narrow and limited interpretation of shakuhachi history which is currently present in some scholarly literature. In the article "Komusō and 'Shakuhachi Zen': From Historical Legitimation to the Spiritualisation of a Buddhist Denomination in the Edo Period" (2007), Max Deeg describes and analyzes the Western reception of classical Japanese by investigating the Fuke Sect's connection to Zen Buddhism. By tracing the origins of the sect, the Kyotaku Denki, and the various historical documents that mention the komusō, Deeg suggests that the religious connection to shakuhachi and the overall legendary history of the Fuke denomination was invented by the main shakuhachi schools to possibly further interest in the shakuhachi and classical Japanese music respectively. To further explain this, Deeg writes

. . . the Fuke-shū is not an authentic product developing from within the order but a strategy of legitimation for a more bourgeois musical tradition of the late Tokugawa period. A tradition which not least was attempting to fix nostalgically the glorious past of the komusō as a full-fledged Zen Tradition. (Deeg 2007, 31)

Deeg's article greatly informs my own research by clarifying why the Fuke set was created and describing the various social tensions of the period that contributed to the invention of a shakuhachi tradition.

The final document that is crucial to this research project is Edward Pope's "The Shakuhachi, the Fuke-shū, and the Scholars: A Historical Controversy" (2000). In the article, Pope summarizes what he calls the "competing historical accounts" on shakuhachi history and how the historical accounts were represented in English language literature and theorizes why scholars took certain historical positions in regard to the development of the Fuke sect and shakuhachi history respectively. For example, Pope writes, "In recent English language literature on the shakuhachi and its history, we can find instances of both the traditional version and the revised version . . . and occasionally, a combination of the two" (Pope 2000, 35). For my dissertation, Pope's article provided me with much-needed clarification as to why different historical accounts were presented in English literature. Pope summarizes William Malm's and Andreas Gutzwiller's interpretation of shakuhachi history and describes the feud the two scholars had with each other over "traditional" and "revisionist" history of the shakuhachi. Overall, the article supplemented data on the various versions of shakuhachi history and pointed me towards additional sources to investigate about the history of the Fuke sect.

Other historical studies that I have included in my research are Riley Lee's dissertation "Yearning for the Bell: A Study of Transmission in the Shakuhachi Honkyoku Tradition" (Lee 1993), Kiku Day's article "The Effect of Meiji Government Policy on Traditional Japanese Music During the Nineteenth Century: The Case of the Shakuhachi" (Day 2013), James Sanford's "Shakuhachi Zen: The Fuke-shū and the Komusō" (1977), and Tsuneko Tsukitani's et al.'s article, "The Shakuhachi: The Instrument and its Music, Change, and Diversification" (Tsukitani et al., 1993). These resources have informed my research by closely examining shakuhachi history, transmission, and the development of government policy which affected the

overall state of what was traditional Japanese music during the Edo Period and the Meiji Restoration.

1.3.6. Autobiographical and Ethnographic Accounts

To understand the diaspora of the shakuhachi and its music, it is necessary to look at case studies of individuals who have studied Japanese music and completed fieldwork in Japan.

Christopher *Yohmei* Blasdel is an American-born shakuhachi professional who studied with Japanese Living National Treasure Goro Yamaguchi. As he was studying shakuhachi, Blasdel completed graduate work in ethnomusicology at the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music. As a permanent resident of Japan, he has performed, taught, and lectured on shakuhachi on an international level. Blasdel's methodology is to maintain a balance between traditional shakuhachi music and modern compositions. In his book, *The Single Tone: A Personal Journey into Shakuhachi Music* (2005), Blasdel discusses his experiences as a shakuhachi student, teacher, and ethnomusicologist living in Japan. The book also provides the reader with certain aspects of shakuhachi history, describes issues of ethnicity vs. identity, and the transculturation of the shakuhachi. Overall, this book is a good survey of the phenomenology of Japanese culture and assists the reader in understanding how shakuhachi has transformed through various cultural processes. Regarding my dissertation, Blasdel's text offered a glimpse of what it was like to learn, teach, and perform shakuhachi in Japan.

Another autobiographical account is written by British shakuhachi professional dai-shihan Ray Brooks. In *Blowing Zen: Finding an Authentic Life* (2000), Brooks describes his personal shakuhachi journey that starts at a Soto Zen Buddhist retreat. His voyage leads him to meet several famous shakuhachi players, reevaluate himself as a person from a Zen philosophical perspective and provide the reader with an exploration of what it is like to learn shakuhachi in

Japan. What makes this book different from Blasdel's account is that it affords the reader a philosophical and religious lens for viewing shakuhachi playing. For example, Brooks states that he became closer to enlightenment and philosophically questioned many of his past life experiences before he began to play shakuhachi. Regarding my dissertation, this book is a great example of how identity is negotiated through the instrument in terms of Japanese philosophy, religion, and nationality. This book provides additional evidence of one individual's account of what it is like to learn shakuhachi in Japan and evidence of an instrument in the diaspora since Brooks continues to play shakuhachi in Britain.

A final autobiographical account that is integrated into this project is Jonathan McCollum's article "Embodying History and Pedagogy: A Personal Journal into the Dyokyoku Style of Japanese Shakuhachi" (2018). Currently, Dr. McCollum is the chair and associate professor of music at Washington College. Although the bulk of his research is on Armenian music, Dr. McCollum is also a student of shakuhachi under the tutelage of Sensei Gould. Dr. McCollum's article is significant because it is one of few articles that focus on the dyokyoku genre, whereas most of the current literature speaks mostly to aspects of the Kinko-ryu and Tozan-ryu traditions. In the article, Dr. McCollum reflexively addresses how he embodied the dyokyoku tradition through our Sensei's pedagogical style. Also, the article provides a brief history of the shakuhachi, the Fuke Sect, and the Dyokyoku school's connection to Zen. More importantly, Dr. McCollum's article discusses and analyzes standard honkyoku from the Dyokyoku School and his experience learning and performing the musical genre. Regarding my own research, Dr. McCollum's article demonstrates the ability of an ethnomusicologist to be bi-musical and serves as an example of how to incorporate a balance of reflexivity with objectivity.

Ethnographies on Japanese music and shakuhachi specifically focus on transnationalism, internationalization, diasporas, and recontextualization. In his master's thesis, "From Fuke-shu to Uduboo: Zen and the Transnational Flow of the Shakuhachi Tradition to the West" (2001), Steven Casano discusses several reasons why the shakuhachi has become an international phenomenon about the instrument's popularity in the West. Casano argues that the popularization and appropriation of Zen Buddhism paved the path for the transnational flow of the shakuhachi tradition to the United States. Overall, Casano's research project examines the following: (1) a historical survey of the instrument, (2) an analysis of influential figures, technologies, and social movements, and (3) a case study of a prominent Japanese performer—Yokoyama Katsuya.

Casano's methodology was used to define a similar set of issues for my ethnomusicological examination. For example, my research project will include a historical survey of the development of the American cultural cohort, an analysis of the social dynamics of the community, a description of the variety of technologies that are vital to the preservation of the transformed tradition, and a case study of a prominent American shakuhachi professional. Also, I would like to expand upon and problematize Casano's position about the appropriation and popularization of Zen Buddhism as a springboard for the shakuhachi's popularity. Casano seems to imply that the rising interest in shakuhachi is mostly contingent upon the growth of Zen Buddhism in the West. Although this may be a factor in the shakuhachi's popularization in the States, it is just one of many ingredients that contribute to the shakuhachi's presence, attractiveness, and imagery in the West. My dissertation departs from Casano's research by going beyond the influence of Zen Buddhism in an effort to describe the multifaceted social dynamics of the American shakuhachi cultural cohort.

In "The Shakuhachi as a Spiritual Tool: A Japanese Buddhist Instrument in the West" (2004), ethnomusicologist Jay Keister "examines some of the ways in which the shakuhachi is recontextualized" (Keister 2004, 100) by surveying non-Japanese shakuhachi musicians and examining the market of shakuhachi paraphernalia. This article closely inspects how the shakuhachi community developed in the United States and to what extent this community is influenced by Japanese religion. Keister's article informs my research by providing ethnographic evidence of a U.S. shakuhachi cultural cohort by discussing the prominence of shakuhachi camps. In terms of Keister's methodology, I have integrated aspects of his theoretical framework by expanding upon the transformative processes of the shakuhachi's recontextualization in the West. What also sets the article apart from other ethnographies is that it touches upon issues of commodification, authenticity, and identity within the bounds of its recontextualization in the United States. In departing from the main epistemological ideas of this article, my dissertation expands upon the intricately interconnected relationships that shakuhachi camps, web forums, and virtual private lessons have in maintaining the social continuity and transmission of a specific shakuhachi tradition.

An additional ethnography on shakuhachi investigates the popularity of the instrument in the United States by focusing on its transcultural impact. In his master's thesis "Shakuhachi Culture Taking Root in the U.S.A.: The Construction of 'Japanese' Authenticity and the Lifeblood of American Players" (2009), Shinsuke Kitamora investigates the shakuhachi subcultures in the United States by utilizing Appadurai's theory of landscapes. The author suggests that Japanese culture has been constructed as an imagined space by Americans who adopt shakuhachi—also known as the "myth-scape." In this context, the meaning of myth "represents the perceptions of aesthetical collection beyond just exoticism" (Kitamora 2009, 65).

This myth-scape includes how Americans perceive all aspects of Japanese culture (Zen, bonsai, samurai, haiku, Noh, etc.) and serves as a space where Americans can construct authenticity and meaning with regard to the shakuhachi and Japanese culture in its entirety. Kitamura goes on to write that "shakuhachi has created special meaning space, and American players have enjoyed playing shakuhachi in the authentic traditional space" (Ibid). For my dissertation, it is my aim to challenge this notion of the "myth-scape" on the basis that there would theoretically need to be a new space created for every "Othered" culture that is adopted.

In other words, is there one definitive myth-scape for each culture? Or does this myth-scape just apply to Japanese culture respectively? In addition, I am also skeptical of the author's notion of how Americans construct authenticity. Kitamura's notion of authenticity is based on Americans adopting aspects of Japanese culture in their lives through the performance of shakuhachi; however, many American shakuhachi players find themselves being authentic when they are just being themselves. This does not necessarily include adopting facets of Japanese culture, but it does raise the question of how identity and authenticity are validated for people like Sensei Gould and his student Cornelius *Shinzen* Boots. For this research project, I will challenge this notion of authenticity based on my own ethnographic experiences at shakuhachi camps and private lessons—the complicated concept of authenticity is relative to the individual and what the cultural cohort conceptualizes as authentic.

Another ethnographic text that I consider crucial to my research is Henry Johnson's *The Shakuhachi: Roots and Routes* (2014). In this book, Johnson systematically describes the shakuhachi's geographical movements and provides the reader with explanations as to how the musical tradition has transformed throughout history. Explaining this further, Johnson writes that "this book stresses the material, social, and cultural worlds of shakuhachi in an effort to show

how the instrument is an object of people making music in historical and contemporary spheres" (Johnson 2014, 5). In addition, Johnson's text demonstrates how shakuhachi "is an instrument of several invented or reinvented traditions" (Ibid) and utilizes aspects of ethno-organology to illuminate not only aspects of historical data but also contemporary knowledge of the instrument's popularity.

Johnson's book offered me a framework for how to approach the various invented/reinvented traditions surrounding the shakuhachi in addition to being a thorough guidebook on how the instrument was recontextualized throughout history. Johnson's intense research covers the cultural flow of shakuhachi during the 1940s by discussing the influence and movement of key performers as well as describing important historical events that happened in the West that were seen as pinnacles in the country's embracement of Japanese culture. Lastly, Johnson details the influence of Yokoyama Katsuya and Watazumi Doso and itemizes the historical origins of at least ten different shakuhachi schools. Quite significantly, most English language literature discusses either the Kinko-ryū, the Tozan-ryū, or Chikuho-ryū schools; however, Johnson's book captures the development of several active shakuhachi schools—many of which are not discussed in any English language scholarly literature.

The final ethnography to address is the one that I wrote as my master's thesis at Bowling Green State University. In "Shakuhachi in the United States: Transcending Boundaries and Dichotomies" (2010), I explore the construction of the U.S. shakuhachi community and trace the instrument's movement to the United States. In addition, I detailed the origins of the shakuhachi and focused on the shakuhachi's emergence into secular music. The different types of cultural activity that took place in the American cohort were surveyed, and I bi-musically studied the traditional music for the shakuhachi as well as other types of music that influenced the expansion

of the repertoire. The different aspects of the instrument's pedagogy that are used in Japan and in the United States are compared and contrasted, and I evaluated the methodologies of shakuhachi pedagogy (traditional and present) as well as analyzed the integration of Western techniques and new technologies that are used in the teaching of shakuhachi in the U.S. and Japan. Overall, the main objective of my thesis was to explore the phenomenon of the shakuhachi cohort and contribute an explanation as to why the instrument is popular in a foreign context. Using Appadurai's theory of globalization and Harami Befe's theory of glocalization, I argue that shakuhachi was popular in foreign contexts because as it traveled, "the instrument glocalized to its surroundings as it voyaged through different landscapes" (Strothers 2010, 74). My dissertation departs from my master's thesis by looking at how technology has affected our conceptualization of culture. By using my experience as a shakuhachi student, I aim to deconstruct what culture, tradition, and authenticity mean in a world where you can learn shakuhachi "online." This dissertation goes beyond the theory of globalization to understand the other interconnected processes that construct the web of the U.S. shakuhachi community.

1.4 Theoretical Approach

At an international music conference in Beijing, China, in July 2018,¹⁸ I presented a portion of my dissertation that focused on introducing the different members of the shakuhachi community in the United States and their credentials as either advanced or master students of a particular shakuhachi tradition by using Skype pedagogy. I also discussed my teacher, his credentials, and his rather unique position as a transmitter of the Dyokyoku tradition. One of the criticisms I received was that I ignored providing the original context of the tradition of

¹⁸ 3rd ICTM Forum: Approaches to Research on Music and Dance in the Internet Era, July 11-18, 2018., Central Conservatory of Music, Beijing, China.

shakuhachi. I argued that my approach was to illustrate that there is a new context of learning shakuhachi happening abroad—especially in the United States—with respect and honor to aspects of the shakuhachi tradition and Japanese culture. Regardless of my answer, some still took issue that I did not discuss the historical context of the shakuhachi, and in a sense, I almost felt as if they missed the point. Although these people vary in playing ability and skill, the fact remains that they consistently have lessons through Skype and make shakuhachi part of their everyday life by utilizing the internet. My criticisms from the conference lead me to think deeply about the meaning behind learning shakuhachi in both past and present contexts.

Studying shakuhachi primarily through Skype was instrumental in my efforts to synthesize core cultural processes within a technocultural framework. In the book *Strange Weather: Culture, Science, and Technology* (1991), the sociologist Andrew Ross pointedly reminds us that "technologies are much more than hardware objects or technical extensions of the human body. Technologies are also intentional linguistic processes; their ruling precepts are apparent even in the form of a crafty rhetoric that can divide our allegiances" (Ross 1991, 3). In the 1990s, ethnomusicology and closely related disciplines grappled with the different political, industrial, economic, and sociological advantages and difficulties that were brought on by the current era's technological advancements. Back then, scholars were contending with dial-up, CD players, midi sampling, and the rising popularity of chat rooms.

Today, there are over four billion mobile telephone users that utilize various online and web-based services (Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentina 2014, 27). CD players have become quite obsolete in the face of applications like Spotify, and social platforms such as Instagram and Facebook have seemingly replaced the need for various chat rooms. Despite the thirty-year difference, Ross' argument is still quite valid: "it is important to understand technology, not as a

mechanical imposition on our lives, but as a fully cultural process, soaked through with social meaning that only makes sense in the context of familiar kinds of behavior" (Ibid, 3). Drawing on Ross (1991), Charles Keil, Stephen Feld (1994), Paul Théberge (1997), René T.A. Lysloff's and Lesley C. Gay Jr.'s edited volume *Music and Technoculture* (2003) defines technoculture as "communities and forms of cultural practice that have emerged in response to changing technological adaptation; avoidance, subversion, or resistance" (Lysloff and Gay 2003, 2).

Lysloff and Gay further emphasize that

An ethnomusicology of technoculture...is concerned with how technology implicates cultural practices involving music. It includes not only technologically based musical counter cultures and subcultures but behaviors and forms of knowledge ranging from mainstream and traditional institutions, on the one hand, to contemporary music scholarship, on the other. (Ibid).

It is important to note that the parameters of technoculture have drastically changed since the 1990s and early 2000s. In many places in the United States, the internet is contextualized not just as a necessity but as a cultural artifact that has a permanent presence. When instant access to the internet is not available, the anxiety of being offline and not connected is almost tangible and, in many cases, creates a disruption to daily routines. This theoretical section problematizes conventional definitions of core anthropological concepts by revisiting the application and mechanisms of technoculture and illustrating how the producing gears of globalization (such as time-space compression and time-space distancing) hyper-stimulate our mimetic faculties to the point where we have no choice but to choose, copy, buy, appropriate, and imitate.

1.4.1 The Development of Bicultural Awareness

As much as it has been repeated in a variety of studies, it is impossible to ignore the importance and impact of globalization on the diffusion of shakuhachi and Japanese music, respectively. Scholars such as Arjun Appadurai (2001), Harumi Befu (1980 and 2001), and

Marshall McLuhan (1994) discuss globalization in terms of "scapes," glocalization, and the notion of the world as a "global village." More recently, Anthony Giddens and Philip W. Sutton have defined globalization as "the various processes through which geographically dispersed human populations are brought into closer and more immediate contact with one another, creating a single community of fate or global society" (Giddens and Sutton [2014] 2017, 15-16). The shakuhachi's recontextualization in the West—the transmission of the tradition via virtual applied studios—is an example of the mechanism of globalization at work. My serendipitous discovery of the shakuhachi via the internet also permeates the notion of time-space compression, time-space distancing, global landscapes, and that there is a diaspora of people in cyberspace who are participating in Japanese music cultures.

The interlocking presence of media technologies and globalizing processes have created a pathway for "users," societies, and cultures to develop an "Ethnicity Inc." which has produced a concept that adds another complicated layer of conceptual terrain: the ongoing purchase and sale of ethno-commodities. With all these complicated interconnected flows of meaning to negotiate, I argue this particular age of unending digital information helps formulate a platform to discuss more nuanced presentations of social identity theory when taking into account that ethno-commoditization is part of our everyday lives. With the market constantly advertising and people constantly searching for themselves as well as other financial answers, how can we synthesize meaning from all these different direct and subliminal cultural cues?

In the article "Negotiating Biculturalism: Cultural Frame Switching in Biculturals with Oppositional versus Compatible Cultural Identities," Benet-Martínez et al. state that "more recently, psychologists have shown that individuals can possess dual cultural identities and engage in active cultural frame switching, in which they move between different cultural

meaning systems in response to situational cues" (Benet-Martínez et al. 2002, 493). Cultural frame switching describes the act of "shifting between two culturally based interpretive lenses in responses to cultural cues" (Ibid, 492). Explaining further, the authors argue that people who can possess two or more identities have embodied a bicultural identity. Influenced by psychologist Rhoda Scherman (see Scherman 2010), Jessica Scheunemann defines bicultural identity as "an extension of ethnic identity defined as having knowledge of the language, lifestyle characteristics, and patterns of interpersonal behavior of two distinct cultural groups" (Scheunemann 2011, 2).

It is clear that this definition of bicultural identity refers to people who belong to or feel that they belong to two or more cultural groups through processes of assimilation and acculturation; however, because of this hyper-mediated age we live in, I argue that people who regularly participate in two or more cultures that are "not their own" on a daily basis develop a *bicultural awareness*. In their in-depth article analyzing Chinese biculturals and their bicultural identity integration, Benet-Martinez et al. state that "differences in bicultural identity dynamics have important theoretical implications for understanding the psychological processes underlying biculturalism and acculturation, as well as the practical implications for the social adjustment and wellbeing of immigrants and ethnic minorities" (Benet-Martínez et al. 2002, 493).

In the context of evolving globalizing forces that are interconnected with operating mechanisms of capitalism, identity, and culture, this dissertation is an example of how people can be bicultural without being classified as belonging to two or more cultures. I argue that due to all the external global stimuli, biculturalism can also include those who have gained, learned, and embodied (with a level of seriousness) other cultural traditions—in other words, their ability to operate cultural frame switching is becoming a mechanism of second nature. My Sensei, his

students, and other participating members of the U.S. shakuhachi community are examples of a different type of biculturalism at play. Bicultural awareness is one way to describe how people with more than one cultural identity manage "multiple cultural meaning systems" (Yamplosky et al., 2013) from the context of globalization, media technologies, and the convergence of Japanese and American culture.

1.4.2 Contextualizing Tradition, Invention, and Authenticity within a Technocultural Context

The continuation and transmission of shakuhachi by non-Japanese peoples have raised several issues regarding the credibility of how the music is being taught and the level of authenticity in a shakuhachi performance. Mediated performances have become a necessary format when studying "obscure" cultural traditions. Despite the convenient access applications like Skype provide, the trope of learning a musical instrument online is sometimes viewed as a gimmick and occasionally classified as "not real"—even though aspects of people's lived experiences are posted online and accessible through the same cyberspace where people choose to learn shakuhachi. Within this technocultural context, the synthesis of fundamental concepts such as tradition and authenticity must account for those musics that are transmitted virtually and practiced with a consistency and seriousness that goes beyond the realm of mere novelty. Like the term culture, the definition of tradition continues to be debated, redefined, and applied across multiple disciplines. Since a systematic theory of tradition has yet to be established (Alexander 2016, 1), it is important to discuss which definitions of tradition have informed my research and how these definitions apply in the current technocultural context. For this project, I draw upon the work of Edward Shils (1981), Eric Hobsbawm, and Terrance Ranger (1983).

Coming from the field of functional sociology, Shils provides an in-depth explanation of tradition by not only defining the term but also determining the criteria in which the transmission

of tradition occurs. According to Shils, tradition is anything that is handed down from past to present (Shils 12, 1981). This act of transmission is "created through human actions" and "makes no statement about what is handed down or in what particular combination or whether it is a physical object or cultural construction" (Ibid, 1981). The ingredients of tradition rely on a combination of belief systems, social relationships, and technical practices and can include physical or natural objects (Shils 16, 1981).

It is only through human action that these ingredients turn into a substance for tradition. In order for something to become "traditional," Shils states that the following criteria must take place: (1) the substance has to become subject to a process of at least two acts of transmission, (2) to continue as a tradition, "the pattern or action must have entered memory" (Shils 1982, 167), and (3) there is a value assigned by society to the process of transmission (Ibid., 15-16). Shils' book emphasizes that the concept of tradition exists in diverse, complex, interconnected relationships—they can be supportive and subversive, they can overlap and be separate, they can form hierarchies or "families of dependents," run parallel to each other, and its position within society (i.e., center vs. peripheral) can vary across cultures, subgroups, and individuals. Also, Shils elucidates that there is an ongoing dialectic between stability and change that formulates the essence of the process of tradition—the endurance of traditions from the past into the present is subject to patterns of change and stability.

The successes and failures of previous generations not only inform but also live on in the present—each new generation not only relies on the past but also establishes a "new present" because traditions change over and with time. Applying this to the study of shakuhachi in the United States, the past generates the brick and mortar of formidable repertoire for applied shakuhachi study. This "new present" of shakuhachi transmission relies much on Skype lessons,

YouTube channels, and web forums that advertise shakuhachi camps, teachers, and instrument sales. The shakuhachi tradition is being handed down from past to present, mainly through digital and virtual technologies.

In *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger demonstrate that the invention of tradition is a process on its own and is separate from similar terms, such as "custom," "convention," and "routine." Influenced by Marxist ideology on class manipulation, the essays in Hobsbawm and Ranger's text demonstrate how "ancient" traditions have died out and then were reinvigorated with the arrival of modernity. Using the Highland bagpipe's connection to the clan tartan as an example, Hobsbawm and Ranger illustrate how the invention of tradition involves a process of "formalization and ritualization" that leads to three distinct and overlapping types of invention: (1) those establishing social cohesion or the memberships of groups, real or artificial communities, (2) those legitimizing institutions, status or relations to authority and (3) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems, and convention of behavior (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, 4). For Hobsbawm and Ranger, the formation of the modern state, coupled with the arrival of industrialization and the eventual development of mass commodification, was the cause of the near extinction of many ancient traditions and the birth of "new" traditions that may rely on interpretations of the past.

In applying a critical lens to Hobsbawm and Ranger's text, the editors emphasize that the "invention of tradition" is not to be confused with "the strength and adaptability of genuine traditions...where the old ways are alive, traditions need be neither revived nor invented" (Ibid, 8). This quote alludes to the notion that there are "ancient" or "pure" traditions that are unaffected by modernity. Drawing on the fields of etymology and sociology and the research of David Gross, Andrew Smith, and Ralph Samuel, Beiner echoes this sentiment and challenges

Hobsbawm and Ranger's definition of tradition, indicating that "the golden age of invention was from 1870-1914" (Beiner 2001, 5). Beiner argues that Hobsbawm and Ranger's characterization of tradition does not include "an almost forgotten meaning of the Latin original, which referred to tradition as surrender or betrayal...tradition appears to have already inbuilt into its very essence, an element of deceit" (Ibid 2). By not incorporating this meaning of tradition, Hobsbawm and Ranger risk "a conceptualization of tradition which is static" (Ibid 4).

According to Beiner, the fundamental feature of tradition is "the insistence on an act of passing on. Tradition is not merely an object but a process of transmission" (Ibid 2). Beiner also scrutinizes the editor's use of invention as mere reimagining, interpretation, or translation. Invention comes from the Latin word *invenire*—which means to "contrive or discover" (Ibid 3) and was popularized by the medieval institution of saints. Explaining further, Beiner describes how "discovered relics were referred to as invented" and "sanctified relics were not necessarily genuine and were often fabricated" (Ibid). Hobsbawm and Ranger's emphasis on fabrication within invention somewhat diminishes their overall analysis of tradition. Trying to pinpoint the death of one tradition and the start of a new one is an arduous task. Although Hobsbawm and Ranger provide examples of how even when traditions can continue outside of their original contexts, they do not expand on how they interact with their present environment. In Beiner's words,

As always, the task of the historian cannot limit itself to pointing out that the subject is no longer situated in its original environment, but must attempt to engage in recontextualization. The historical study of tradition is a potent reminder that history is essentially not only about the dynamics of change but also equally about patterns of continuity. (Beiner 2001, 3)

Engaging in the recontextualization of shakuhachi, non-native performers expose other people (including natives of Japan) to the music of the shakuhachi. Shakuhachi study, for many people

in the United States, involves a web camera and an internet connection. Within the group I surveyed, in-person instruction happens once or twice a year. There are no more Edo period guilds or dojos that prospective students can physically attend to learn shakuhachi. Instead, there are web forums, YouTube videos, virtual studios, and sometimes a lot of travel. Complicating issues further, the various shakuhachi schools have their own philosophies and thoughts on the authenticity of shakuhachi history, musical repertoire, and technique.

Pinpointing how authenticity is applied proved to be a tenuous task in the face of invention, representation, and the ethnographic encounter. According to Mathews, shakuhachi seems to be the antithesis of what is "Japanese" (Mathews 2000, 30). In the context of learning Japanese music in the United States, I asked myself a series of questions. *Is authenticity playing Japanese music on shakuhachi?* During my short stay in Japan, a member of my host family told me that "I sounded so Japanese" after I was finished warming up. My warm-ups typically involve playing long notes, going up and down the pentatonic scale, and then just playing random motives from other musical pieces for about fifteen to twenty minutes. For that neighbor, my warm-up appeared to sound like Japanese music. *Is authenticity studying Kinko-ryū or Tozan-ryū shakuhachi?* The Kinko-ryū and the Tozan-ryū are the two largest and most well-known shakuhachi schools. Most of the literature in the United States discusses the Kinko and Tozan shakuhachi traditions. Other shakuhachi traditions, such as the Dyokyoku tradition, are just as legitimate but are occasionally frowned upon and sometimes contextualized as obscure and cryptic. Bruno Nettl writes that authenticity "for a long time dominated collecting activities, became mixed with 'old' and 'exotic' and synonymous with good" (Nettl 2010, 372). When the "old" and "exotic" items are then mediated through the internet or by any other technocultural means, Simon Firth states that the possibility of that music culture's diffusion and transmission

can be contextualized as "somehow false or falsifying" (Firth 2007, 9). To complicate authenticity even further, the mobility of the internet has significantly problematized versioning, ownership, and representation.

Discourse on authenticity was popularized in the disciplines of psychology, philosophy, and aesthetics. In the field of philosophy, Martin Heidegger argued that technology obscured humanity's relationship with the natural world (see Heidegger 1977). This sentiment became part of the ongoing discourse on the various benefits and disadvantages of modernization, exposure, and cultural purity. To tease out the more complicated nuances of authenticity, in the article "Listening to the World but Hearing Ourselves: Hybridity and Perceptions of Authenticity in World Music" (2014), Sarah Weiss surveys students from her world music class in an attempt to define, deconstruct, and contextualize current tropes of authenticity. She argues that there is a "perceived authenticity" that students cultivate based on experience, personal beliefs, and their intellectual environment. Weiss's ethnographic data helps her conclude that authenticity is better contextualized as a cyclical process rather than a rigid dialectic. Incorporating Brian Stross' concept of the *hybridity cycle* (Stross 1999), Weiss argues that authenticity is

a relative, flexible, and malleable concept. Any construction of authenticity is persistently emergent. An object, production, or individual that seems authentic in one context may, in another context or at a different time, may seem comparatively inauthentic to that same person. . . . Likewise, one group's authentic production may be another group's inauthentic fake. (Weiss 2014, 520)

In my own incorporation of perceived authenticity and hybridity cycle, I argue that those who practice shakuhachi in the United States not only experience this process, but sometimes interpret authenticity as a characteristic that must be synthesized, negotiated, and to some extent "domesticated" and/or glocalized (Xie 2003, 6). It is impossible to be an "authentic shakuhachi musician" if the criteria include the landscape and nostalgia of Edo Period Japan. Shakuhachi

history certainly informs pedagogy and contextualization; however, the idea of an authentic replication of a particular shakuhachi tradition is vague, subjective, and unattainable when you factor in Edo period parameters. Like tradition, authenticity is involved in a dynamic process of continuity and change, all synthesized within a technocultural context. For those non-native musicians who belong to the dojo of Sensei Gould, the essence of "being authentic" is synonymous with continuous practice and study of shakuhachi.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

1.5.1 Research Location and Participants

Since this study focuses on learning shakuhachi in the United States, the bulk of my ethnographic research was conducted at various shakuhachi camps, workshops, virtual and in-person lessons, and online web forums. When I completed my thesis, I was only playing shakuhachi for one year. Now, with at least eight more years of experience learning and playing, this dissertation represents a more critical analysis that includes not only interviews with teachers and students but also my own experience as a shakuhachi musician. Currently, I am active in the shakuhachi community—I take biweekly lessons with Sensei Gould, and I earned my *jun-shihan*¹⁹ level certificate in November of 2019. I have performed at several venues and taught an Asian Ensemble course that featured learning the shakuhachi at the university level. Virtual and in-person interviews were conducted with students, teachers, shakuhachi performers, as well as Japanese music scholars and general enthusiasts. These interviews offer insight into each

¹⁹ Many shakuhachi teachers utilize a ranking system that reflects different levels of playing ability. Sensei Gould's website states "Awarding rank based on the student's level of playing is as common in shakuhachi as in Aikido, Judo, Kendo, Go, and many more fields. The criteria is subject to vary from teacher to teacher. Usually there are certain songs one must be able to play, as well as a few other tests such as listening, recognition of signature riffs, transposing and answering questions about songs" (Chikuzen Studios Website, Accessed January 1st, 2018). The different ranks are as follows: *Shoden* (beginner), *Chuden* (Intermediate), *Okuden* (Advanced), *Jun Shihan* (Associate Teacher's Certificate), *Shihan* (fully licensed teacher), and *Dai-shihan* (grandmaster).

individual's understanding and experience with the shakuhachi and provided an additional space where participants could share their ideas of Japanese culture, as well as their overall feelings about teaching, learning, and/or playing shakuhachi. In addition to interviews, recitals, workshops, and camps were audio and/or video recorded for musical reference. All ethnographic data has been digitally recorded and transcribed for musical, social, and cultural analysis.

1.5.2 Fieldwork Methodology

In an effort to produce an in-depth cultural analysis, participant observation was applied to yield multidimensional qualitative results. This approach is rooted in H. Russel Bernard's supposition, where he describes five important reasons for using participant observation as a multifaceted methodological tool for fieldwork. These five reasons are:

1. Participant observation opens things up and makes it possible to collect all kinds of data.
2. Participant observation reduces the problem of reactivity—people changing their behavior when they know when they are being studied.
3. Participant observation helps you ask sensible questions in the native language.
4. Participant observation gives you an intuitive understanding of what's going on in a culture and allows you to speak with confidence about the meaning of data.
5. Many research problems simply cannot be addressed adequately by anything other than participant observation. (Bernard 2006, 354-356)

It was important for me to make some adjustments to the third rule. Since I am studying shakuhachi in the United States, the "native language," in this case, places more emphasis on learning the music of shakuhachi and less importance on learning Japanese. This is not to say I did not focus on learning the Japanese language; however, with ninety percent of my fieldwork being completed in the United States, the native language used in fieldwork interviews and

conversations was English. In addition to these five reasons, Bernard also suggests a series of rules for entering the field. The rule that I applied the most to this project states, "Spend time getting to know the physical and social layout of your field site. It doesn't matter if you're working in a rural village, an urban enclave, or a hospital. Walk it and write notes about how it feels to you" (Ibid, 358). Since my fieldwork included multiple sites, both physical and virtual, I incorporated the following ethnographic techniques to gain an understanding of my fieldwork site, the participants' social conceptualizations, and their experience of learning and playing shakuhachi:

- one-on-one interviews with shakuhachi teachers, students, and enthusiasts,
- collective discussions with shakuhachi teachers and students,
- life history analysis and in-depth description of Michael *Chikuzen* Gould and participation in shakuhachi lessons, workshops, and performance (bi-musicality),
- direct observation without active participation,
- self-analysis/reflexivity on how my own bias affects this study and how this study has, in turn, affected my own conceptualization of core anthropological terms, and
- cyber-ethnography on web forums and Skype lessons.

This project also includes different interpretations of bi-musicality while incorporating critical reflexivity. This method involves an intricate balance of an investigator's musical training and reactions to sincere attempts to contextualize and navigate the field. This includes an investigator acknowledging their growth and setbacks in learning the instrument when they are wrong, misguided, or perceived as such by participants and interlocutors. With this approach, time spent in the field is rather arbitrary and depends on the confidence and integrity of the investigator. In other words, there is no limit on how long one should spend in the field. I realize this is

inherently problematic; however, even with nine years of experience studying shakuhachi, there are still many things that I do not understand. This lack of understanding provided further motivation to take the time to learn more and explore other nuanced avenues of shakuhachi intrigue that reveal connections to pedagogy, history, and/or diffusion. This feeling of inadequacy is also part of the reasons it took me so long to write this dissertation. Due to not fully grasping all the details, I did not feel confident in writing about shakuhachi from a position of scholarly authority. Shakuhachi history alone is extremely complicated, and a sociopolitical conversation on the intricacies of different schools from past to present has yet to be done. Even as I type this document, I still feel that the ethnographic data I have acquired is insufficient and continues to be the main reason my ethnographic work on shakuhachi continues. With nine years of study, I have only captured a small portion of a much larger and increasingly complicated conversation.

It was only logical to learn how to play shakuhachi to understand it. In the article "Why I'm Not an Ethnomusicologist: A View from Anthropology" (2008), Michelle Bigenho criticizes ethnomusicology's use of participant observation because of how the discipline seems to favor the need for musical skill and how this skill sometimes implies privilege and/or insider status. Explaining further, she writes,

I contend that even though maintaining the idea of music participation as a *special* realm of ethnographic work may have its benefits, such framings also have significant drawbacks. All forms of fieldwork participation are different and unique, but constructing music participation as a privileged realm works hand in hand with an ethnocentric ideology that affords music and autonomous space. (Bigenho 2008, 29)

Bigenho's argument stems from her frustration as an anthropologist studying music who is constantly classified as an ethnomusicologist. Justifying her reasons in detail, she writes

I resist being classified as an ethnomusicologist because the label often inadvertently carries with it certain assumptions. Under the label "ethnomusicologist," "music"

becomes my object of study, and I am then expected to musically map the geographic area of my purported expertise, an expectation that clings to a notion of bounded, discrete cultures tied to specifically grounded places. (Ibid, 36)

I must admit that I sympathize with Bigenho's trepidation about the "expectations to musically map the geographic area," especially since my research was specifically on the process of learning shakuhachi online. Although my geographical mapping of music in Japan would be considered subpar, my mapping of shakuhachi teachers and communities within the United States is quite extensive. More to the point, learning how to play shakuhachi and becoming a student did not grant me any special privilege or status, nor did I have a predetermined skillset on the instrument when I decided to study the tradition intensely. This somewhat contradicts Bernard's fourth reason for using participant observation, which suggests that the researcher gains "an intuitive understanding of what's going on in a culture" by simply applying the method. Influenced by Bigenho's perspective, I modified Bernard's fourth reason to suggest that participant observation is a significant factor in the cultivation of an understanding of what's going on in a music culture.

Like most people in the shakuhachi community, I learned how to play shakuhachi as a beginner, and during those years of being a beginner, my experience and training as a western musician made little difference in my progress or my ability to learn the instrument. I learned how to play shakuhachi because it was a necessary requirement in order to develop a gradual understanding of the various repertoire and the overall teaching and learning process within the United States. For me, each completion of a shakuhachi lesson brought more questions. Each attendance at a shakuhachi camp, workshop, or recital revealed many reciprocal, dialogical, and interconnected constructs taking place. Learning how to play shakuhachi music and learning how to play shakuhachi were synonymous at times and dialectical at others. More importantly, the

entire process of learning how to play shakuhachi became an invaluable tool in understanding shakuhachi's contentious history, differentiating between shakuhachi schools, the variety of religious/spiritual ideologies, and the social nuances within the U.S. shakuhachi community.

Resonating the importance of the learning process, Bigenho writes,

Not everyone who learns Quechua as a fieldwork language ends up speaking it fluently, but having studied it at all is considered one of the many ways to struggle toward an anthropological understanding. I think more supposed 'non-musicians' should be learning proficiencies in music and writing about social life through the lens of music. (Bigenho 2008, 29)

Although I am not a "non-musician," I do have significant ethnographic evidence of the gradual growth of my learning experience through earning a *shoden*, *chuden*, *okuden*, and eventual *jun-shihan* license. These certifications and the process of earning them are significant parts of the social life of shakuhachi and demonstrate the application of different perspectives of bi-musicality advocated by Mantle Hood, Jeffrey Todd Titon, and Allison Tokita.

Hood's notion of bi-musicality argues for ethnomusicologists to learn and perform the music of the cultures they study (Hood 1960, 55). By learning how to play shakuhachi as the principal investigator, I am learning how to "acquire musicality or musicianship in another culture, in order to gain an 'insider' perspective" (Tokita 2012, 164). As Bigenho argues, bi-musicality does not automatically lend the principal investigator instant insider status; however, incorporating Hood's perspective, learning how to play shakuhachi provided a musical and social advantage in my fieldwork.

In the article "Bi-musicality as Metaphor" (1995), Titon states that bi-musicality can be used as an allegory for musical expression. Explaining further, he writes that "this musical way of knowing is not limited to insights concerning musical structure or performance, but it operates in the world as a whole, and particularly in the social world. Bi-musicality leads to a particularly

active form of musical being and knowing" (Titon 1995, 294). In regard to this project, this "active form of musical being and knowing" (Ibid, 294) cultivates self-expression and personal discovery. Echoing this sentiment Titon writes "experientially based musical knowledge can lead to a better understanding not only of music but also of people, including oneself" (Ibid, 287-288). By incorporating Titon's perspective of bi-musicality, this project illustrates how members of the U.S. shakuhachi community see the instrument as part of their everyday lives and not just a musical instrument.

Lastly, this project is greatly influenced by Tokita's unique interpretation of bi-musicality discussed in her article "Bi-musicality in Modern Japanese Culture" (2012). By focusing on the development and application of bi-musicality within the context of modern Japanese culture, Tokita explores several definitions of bi-musicality and cultivates a different interpretation by incorporating language studies and music psychology. Drawing on Josiane F. Hamers and Michel Blanc's *Bilinguality and Bilingualism* (2000) and Patrick C. M. Wong's, Anil K. Roy's, and Elizabeth Hellmuth Margulis' "Bimusicalism: The Implicit Duel Enculturation of Cognitive and Affective Systems" (2009), Tokita emphasizes that there are two aspects to bi-musicality: individual and social. On the individual level, bi-musicality is defined as "the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one musical code as a means of cultural expression" (Tokita 2012, 161). With the participants in the community using the internet to have lessons on shakuhachi, this definition of bi-musicality applies to this group of people (including myself) because they are examples of individuals who lead a bi-musical existence. On a social level, Tokita suggests that *bi-musicalism* can be used to describe "the co-existence of two musical systems in a society, with the result that a number of individuals in the society are bi-musical" (Ibid). In applying this social aspect of bi-musicality to this research project, I argue

that this methodology needs to be incorporated due to the fact that we live in a hyper-mediated technocultural era, and the internet itself can be conceptualized as a tool to extend bimusicalism throughout different sectors of American society—the shakuhachi, in this case, is just one small example.

Overall, my fieldwork aims to reflect a balance of "ethnographic practice and reflexive writing together...to produce knowledge that can acknowledge its relationality and still aim for truth" (Borneman and Hammoudi, eds., 2009, 8). Although my fieldwork was bounded by a multitude of circumstances (described in more detail in the conclusion), my methodological approach is rooted in multimodality using archival research, cyberethnography, and standard fieldwork practices.

CHAPTER 2

THE SHAKUHACHI'S HISTORICAL LEGACY: UNPACKING THE INSTRUMENT'S ORIGINS, TRANSFORMATION, AND VARIOUS CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

The shakuhachi that is popular today is not the original, but an instrument that went through several transformations and was known by many different names. It is commonly accepted that the beginning of shakuhachi's history started possibly before the Tang (唐) Dynasty (619-907). Expanding on this history, Izumi writes,

In travelling through different regions in China, I encountered numerous depictions of figures playing vertical flutes in cultural products excavated from Tang-dynasty sites. With further research, it is possible to find examples that predate Tang-dynasty China, but it remains impossible to determine how much earlier the origins of the shakuhachi can actually be traced. Nevertheless, it is clear that there was an awareness of this instrument during the Tang dynasty. (Izumi 3, 2016)

The Tang Dynasty was an era full of "rich internationalism" and led to the cultivation of various cultures, including music, art, and dance (Ibid, 6). Specific to shakuhachi, one school of thought suggests that Lu Cai (吕才, circa 600-665) is credited with inventing the shakuhachi prototype by constructing twelve bamboo pitch pipes that accommodated the new temperament system adopted by the reigning Emperor Tang Taizong (唐太宗, 598– 649).²⁰ Well-versed in music theory, dance, physics, and *guqin* (古琴, Chinese zither), Lu was recruited by the emperor

²⁰ In the article, "The Temperaments of the Shakuhachi Pipes Owned by the Hōryū-ji Temple and the Shōsō-in Repository" (2013), Akedo suggests that the older/ancient shakuhachi preserved at the historic sites of Hōryū-ji Temple and the Shōsō-in Repository should be reclassified in two categories: pre-Lu Cai and post Lu-Cai. It was commonly accepted that the shakuhachi housed at Hōryū-ji Temple and the Shōsō-in Repository were based on the same system of measurement. Based on the author's extensive research on primary source material such as *The Old Book of Tang* (945) and *The New Book of Tang* (1060), Akedo suggests that these older shakuhachi need further classification based upon their length and pitch. Pre-Lu pipes are one *chi* and eight *cun* long and have unstable temperaments while post-Lu pipes can "vary in length" and are "stable in temperaments in accordance with the method of *sanfen-sunyi* (a kind of circle of fifths system) (Akedo 1, 2013).

to create instruments that would be in tune with the adoption of a new temperament system known as *sanfen-sunyi* (三分損益). The pitch pipes that Lu developed included one that was close to the length of the present-day shakuhachi.²¹ Another school of thought suggests that Lu reinvigorated an older flute tradition that had previously fallen out of use. Drawing on the work of Kurihara Kōta—specifically, his text *Shakuhachi shikō* (1918) 1975)—Linder states,

In the time of Lu Cai, there seems to have been two prevalent types of flutes used, one long, *choteki*, and one short, *tanteki*. The long flute was in twelve lengths to correspond to the twelve-tone scale of Chinese music. The short flute was, however, only available in a limited number of lengths, and Lu Cai supposedly revived the short flute, with its fundamental tone, the key tone, tuned to a flute of the length of one *shaku* and eight (jp. *Hachi*) sun, thus, a shakuhachi. (Linder 82, 2010)

With Lu Cai as a starting point, there are several theories on the shakuhachi's importation and development in Japan, which ultimately led to the instrument's present-day construction. This is also a point of confusion when trying to trace the instrument's historical trajectory.

Some scholarship suggests that there is a somewhat linear chronological path of the instrument's development, while others suggest that different types of bamboo flutes were imported before the shakuhachi as it is known today became popular. This chapter maps out the trajectory of shakuhachi's zenith as a "tool of Zen" within Japan's historical periods. The shakuhachi's development within different social groups and the different types of bamboo flutes that were called "shakuhachi" will be deconstructed as a way to understand the origins of the popular tropes that are associated with the instrument. This method creates a more critical understanding of how shakuhachi became not only an object of religious and cultural romanticization on an international scale but also lends insight into how the instrument was

²¹ Generally, the length of a standard Shakuhachi tube is to be 1 shaku 8 sun (about 54.5 cm), but 1 shaku 8 sun in the Tang period appears to have been shorter (approximately 43.7 cm). The "standard" length for the bamboo flute changed with each dynasty.

incorporated in other religions and used by different types of people—before its association with the infamous Fuke-sect of the Edo period. The purpose of this and the following chapters is to describe some of the different threads that created the current tapestry of shakuhachi's popular existence while giving insight into how certain shakuhachi tropes became deep-rooted invented beliefs and traditions.

2.1 NARA PERIOD (710-794): UNPACKING CULTURAL CONTEXT

Before delving directly into shakuhachi history, two clans deserve some special attention because of their great influence over Japanese society and culture—the Nakatomi Clan and the Soga Clan. For generations, the Nakatomi clan was known for performing indigenous religious rituals ("Shinto") at the imperial court, which made them part of high society. However, the ascension of Emperor Kimmei (531 A.D.) brought the influence and power of the Soga clan. The Soga clan was largely responsible for the diffusion of Buddhism and for promoting trade with China and Korea, which led to the incorporation of Chinese models of government and culture (i.e., Confucianism). The Soga clan brought on a shift in political power that initially caused significant tensions between those who wanted to keep indigenous practices separate from the "alien" religion that was rapidly spreading throughout the archipelago. Drawing on the work of historian Allan Grapard's *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History* (1993), editors Fabio Rambelli and Mark Teeuwen explain that religion in the Nara period became a "complex cultic system that integrated both (Shinto) shrines and Buddhist temples under the aegis of the imperial court. The main functions of these shrines and temples were to protect the state—that is, the imperial lineage and the aristocratic houses that supported it" (Rambelli and Teeuwen 2003, 6). The incorporation and existence of multiple religions and

cultures within this period lead to the development of an ideology known as *honji* (本地) *suijaku* (垂迹).

Originally stemming from Tendai Buddhism, *honji suijaku* describes how kami from indigenous Japanese beliefs were eventually understood to be the manifestation of Buddhist deities. It was the duty of the Buddhist deity to manifest into kami. Reciprocally, the kami's duty was to personally declare their interest in Buddhist teachings to save humanity. This process of viewing Japanese Gods as manifestations of Buddhist deities also helps explain why people in high positions at court were recognized as incarnations of certain kami and/or Buddhist deities. In the book *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm* (2003), editors Teeuwen and Rambelli summarize the work of Kuroda Toshio (see Rambelli trans. 1996) and explain this further:

The idea that local phenomena are "one with" some absolute sacred source was used widely to sanctify and legitimate many different kinds of practices throughout the medieval and early modern periods...such as the chanting of sacred Buddhist spells; or that the work of a carpenter was the same as the sacred acts of Indian Buddhas. These few examples already show how profound the cultural, political, and economic impact of this paradigm has been over an extended period of time. (Ibid, 2)

Honji suijaku is not only as a paradigm, but also as a "combinatory tradition" that includes various religions, beliefs, rituals, and superstitions that were inextricably interconnected with the rest of pre-modern society in Japan. Thanks to trade and cultural exchange with China and other countries, pre-modern Japanese society was under the influence of multiple religions and philosophies—local and foreign. Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, and Yin and Yang were just some of the beliefs and practices that were in circulation. As this text investigates (unravels) the shakuhachi's journey through these different historical eras, it is important for the reader to be mindful of the *honji suijaku* paradigm—religions were practiced simultaneously, interchangeably, used as forms of self-certification and legitimacy, and were entangled with all

aspects of sociocultural life. From this point forward, the major source of conflict in Japan's overall history is centered on who or what institution will be in power—be it the imperial court, a certain bloodline or clan, or—as we will see later on in this chapter—the military government or *bakafu*. Much of the current folklore that is about shakuhachi, which helps make the instrument so attractive, is an amalgamation of historical truths, fictions, myths, and legends that have historical documentation going as far back as the seventh and eighth centuries.

2.1.1 Gagaku Shakuhachi and Sangaku Performances

The shakuhachi's story (in Japan) begins in a genre of music called *gagaku* that was imported sometime during the Nara Period (710-794). *Gagaku* (雅楽) is a genre of music that was employed in the Japanese court and came directly from aspects of Chinese music for Confucian ceremonies called *yayue* (雅樂). *Gagaku* (雅楽) and *yayue* (雅樂) share the same kanji characters—where the character for "ya" or "ga" represents "elegance" and the character for "yue" or "gaku" means "music" or "sound."²² This notion of elegance and refinement is a permeating characteristic that quintessentially describes the attitude of the aristocracy of this period. More importantly, throughout the different historical eras of Japan's history, notions of elegance, ceremony, and refinement were always associated with the imperial court. As Sansom puts it, "the throne remained throughout the centuries the arbiter of elegance in literature and deportment" (Sansom 1958, 125).

²²According to ethnomusicologist Peter Fletcher, only certain aspects of *yayue* were incorporated because "although the Japanese adopted Chinese government systems they never (unlike Korea) received instruments scores for the execution of Confucian ritual music from China. They received about 120 items of Tang Court entertainment music at times performed by visiting Korean or Chinese *musicians*, but this was banquet music. The true Confucian *yayue* (elegant music) seems to have never reached Japan" (Fletcher 2004, 392).

The shakuhachi used in gagaku was made from thin bamboo and had six finger holes—five in the front and one in the back, which differs from the instrument's current construction. This shakuhachi also had three nodes and was constructed from bamboo that was cut above the root. Professional shakuhachi musician Riley Lee states that "reconstructing the performance practices of the gagaku shakuhachi and the pitches used by the performers at the time is particularly problematic due to the variability of pitch production possible with the shakuhachi mouthpiece" (Lee 1986, 35). Furthermore, there are no documents that illustrate or describe the gagaku shakuhachi's notation and musical function within the gagaku ensemble. What does exist are iconographic evidence such as illustrations of court musicians playing the instrument, government reports that mention the instruments used and eventual reduction within the gagaku ensemble, and manuscripts that mention "legendary" political figures who played the instrument. Consisting of percussion, wind, and string instruments with a repertoire that contains pieces with vocal and dance components, gagaku was mainly performed within the court for ceremonies at Buddhist and Shinto temples and the homes of the aristocracy.

Since gagaku served as an important part of various rituals at the imperial court, the ensemble was typically geographically restricted to wherever nobility existed. Because of this, gagaku rarely reached the eyes and ears of commoners. A genre of entertainment that was popular with the lower echelons of Nara period society was known as *sangaku*. Translating to "scattered or fallen music" (Garfias 1959, 13), *sangaku* consisted of musical acts, acrobatics, juggling, pantomime, and other theatrical performances. Although it is not documented, it is highly possible that a shakuhachi type flute was used in this genre. What leads me to this speculation is that in 782, musicians who performed in *sangaku* "were dropped from the guild of court musicians. Thereafter becoming wandering performers, many of the more fortunate ones

attach themselves to large Buddhist temples for performance at annual festivals" (Garfias 1975, 13). It is important to note that the *sangaku* musician's departure from the guild adds to the tradition and trope of the wandering musician. Much of the shakuhachi's present-day attraction is partially rooted in the idea of the wandering komusō begging for alms. What is often misleading in English language shakuhachi scholarship is the tendency to make it seem like this wandering-musician characteristic was a unique characteristic of the Fuke sect and, by proxy, *komusō* monks.

"Field music," or *ta-asobi* performances, were incorporated into *sangaku* acts and performed on an annual basis at temples and shrines throughout Japan. Traditionally, *ta-asobi* was ritually performed to promote a successful rice harvest and often incorporated song and dance with instrumental accompaniment. Although the primary source material that proves shakuhachi's use outside of *gagaku* did not exist until the medieval period, I believe with a certain level of confidence that there was a high probability of a *shakuhachi* type flutes being used for *sangaku* and *ta-asobi* type performances during the Nara period because of how these traditions rose in popularity during the Heian period. Malm brings awareness to the fact that the lower class had their own rich musical culture that was not well documented. He writes, "again, we must reflect a moment that beyond the capital, there must have been a great body of folk music that floated unnoticed and unrecorded over the muddy rice fields" (Malm viii, 2000). It was during the Heian period that the nobility started to partake in entertainment genres of the lower class and document musical events associated with the lower class that involved the bamboo flute.

2.1.2 Origins of Historical Culture Heroes

During this time period, there were four important people who either played an earlier version of the shakuhachi, were known to apocryphally play the instrument, or were thought of as influencing the start of the meditative shakuhachi: Crown Prince Shōtoku Taishi (574-622), En no Gyōja (634-707), Ennin (794-864), and Fuke (770-840 or 860). After their deaths, lore about each of these individuals wildly circulated in Japan's later periods. Even though Zen Buddhism did not exist yet, these men and their mythological and legendary tales continue to be told to authenticate shakuhachi's past and to sanctify the instrument's use in religion. Unpacking the mythological tales behind these four men and their association with shakuhachi will reveal that different aspects of these stories make up some of the key ingredients that help formulate the essence of shakuhachi's global attraction.



Figure 2.0 Crown Prince Shōtoku Taishi²³
(Google Images, 2022)

²³ Image taken from Tōno Haruyuki, "Man of Legend: Early Japanese Ruler Prince Shōtoku," *Nippon.com*, April 2, 2021. Accessed September 20, 2021, <https://www.nippon.com/en/japan-topics/g01049/>.

Crown Prince Shōtoku Taishi was a revered political figure who was the "real founder of Buddhism in Japan" because of his efforts to grow the religion within the court and abroad (Sansom [1931] 1978, 69). Considered to be "naturally gifted" and "proficient in both the doctrines of Buddhism and the learning embodied in the Chinese Classics" (ibid), Prince Shōtoku was well-liked by his benefactors and was often recognized for his intellect and well-roundedness as a scholar. According to Linder, the Crown Prince "has become a symbol of what is commonly thought of as originally and essentially Japanese, and a reference to him adds value to the referent" (Linder 2012, 53). Prince Shōtoku was known to play the shakuhachi, and his story and connection to the instrument were published under the following titles: *Kojidan* (古事談, *Tales of Ancient Matters*) *Taigen-shō* (1512), the *Maikyoku Kuden* (1524), and the *Hōryū-ji kokon mokuroku-shō* (法隆寺古今目錄抄, *Recorded Annals of the Hōryū-ji Temple*, 1238). Since the importance of some of these texts will be discussed later in this chapter, a summary of the crown Prince's story is taken from Linder's translation of the *Hōryū-ji kokon mokuroku-shō*: "Shōtoku Taishi played the Chinese bamboo flute shakuhachi as he walked the honorable way from Hōryū-ji to Tennō-ji, and at Shiisaka, the mountain god heard the revered flute and came out dancing after him" (Linder 2012, 221).²⁴

It is important to know that those who held esteemed positions within the imperial court were often viewed as religiously devout and sometimes worshipped as Gods or contextualized as manifestations of Buddhas. In the coming years after his death, the Crown Prince was thought of

²⁴ The shakuhachi that was owned by Prince Shōtoku—the one he "may have" used to play the accompaniment to "Somakusha," a gagaku piece that is still performed today—is kept at the Tokyo National Museum (Ibid, 87).

as the reincarnation of Kannon and Amida Buddha. Kannon is the *bodhisattva* (Buddhist God/Goddess) of mercy and compassion, and with the application of the time period's religious ideology, Kannon was also considered to be the emanation of Amida Buddha—a central figure in the Mahayana sect of Pure Land Buddhism. Although the fable of the Crown Prince playing shakuhachi for the mountain god is just that—Prince Shōtoku's shakuhachi is on display at the Tokyo National Museum, which suggests that he did play the instrument. Even though Prince Shotoku's mythological performance for the mountain god in no way explains shakuhachi's connection to Zen Buddhism, it does illustrate that a person with significant religious status landed the flute some religious legitimacy and authority, which assisted with the shakuhachi's overall popularization.



Figure 2.1 En no Gyōja
(Google Images, 2022)

En no Gyōja (役行者, *En the ascetic*, trans., 634-707) was a famous ascetic monk who also inadvertently pleased the gods with his shakuhachi playing. Much of academic literature credits En no Gyōja with founding the principles of *Shugendō*—a religious practice where one gains knowledge of the path (*dō*) through the discipline of ascetic practices (*shu*) of divine natural powers. En no Gyōja chose to practice his religion in the mountains—shunning other religious sects and purposefully choosing a life of solitude. He believed that it was through an

isolated existence in the wild that one can learn to strengthen their bond with nature and eventually achieve enlightenment.²⁵

En no Gyōja's mythological tale that involved shakuhachi was circulated during the Kamakura period (1185-1333) thanks to court musician Koma no Chikazane (1177-1242), who wrote and published a treatise on music called the *Kyōkun-shō* (1233). In addition to describing the historical relevance of shakuhachi (discussed in further detail later in this chapter), this text also notes that En no Gyōja played a part in a gagaku piece called "Somakusha" on the instrument. As when Prince Shōtoku played shakuhachi, the *Kyōkun-shō* states, when En no Gyōja played the flute, the mountain god "enjoyed the sound and came out dancing" (Linder 2012, 227). Included below is the text from the *Kyōkun-shō* that discusses the legend of En no Gyōja as well as the translation:

昔役行者大峯ヲ下給ケルニ、笛ヲ吹給ケルヲ、山神メデ給テ舞ケルヲ、行者ニ見付ラレテ、舌ヲクヒ出シタルト申 伝タリ。件出現ノ峯ヲバ、蘇莫者ノタケト名付テ、今ニ在ト云。而聖徳太子河内ノ亀瀬ヲ通ラセ給ケルニ、馬上ニシテ、尺八ヲア ソバシケルニ、メデ々山神舞タル由、近代法隆寺ノ絵殿説侍ベル。

Somakusha . . . About this dance, there is a legend that says that a long time ago, when En no Gyōja descended from Ōmine playing the flute, the mountain god enjoyed the sound and came forth dancing. He was discovered by the Gyōja, and the mountain god bit his tongue. The ridge where this happened was named the Somakusha mountain, and it is said still to exist. Furthermore, when Shōtoku Taishi passed through Kame no se at Kawachi. Sitting on his horse, he played the shakuhachi. The mountain god liked the sound and danced, and in recent times this was pictured in [wall paintings in] the Eden at

²⁵ In the article, "Shugendo Lore," (1989) Gorai Shigeru writes how the famous primary source text *Nihon Shoki* (日本書紀, *Chronicle of Japan*), describes the many different miracles En no Gyōja performed while the subsequent volume of that primary source text, the *Shoku Nihongi* (続日本紀 *Chronicle of Japan Continued*), contains an entry that "dismisses them as legends" (Shigeru 1989, 119). Translating directly from the *Shoku Nihongi*, Shigeru writes: "popular tradition has it that Ozunu had demonic powers at his beck and call; that he had them draw his water and gather his firewood; and that if they failed to obey him, he would blind them with spells" (Shigeru 1989, 118).

Hōryū-ji (Linder 2012, 227).



Figure 2.2 Ennin
(Google Images, 2022)

Other than the Crown Prince's shakuhachi in Tokyo's National Museum, there is no further evidence that confirms or connects Shōtoku Taishi and En no Gyōja to shakuhachi playing—only these legends that are written in the *Kojidan* and *Kyōkun-shō* inform us of their musical talent and religious significance. As an "authentic" document, the *Kyōkun-shō* connects gagaku and, by extension, shakuhachi to figures of great authority; one who has founded a religious practice that combines Shinto, Buddhism, and ascetism—while the other who is the founder of the diffusion of Buddhism, the reincarnation of Kannon, and the manifestation of Amida Buddha. The *Kojidan* and the *Kyōkun-shō* are examples of primary source material that used historically significant names as a way of creating a solid base for the shakuhachi tradition (ibid). However, the "traditions" that the shakuhachi has been connected to thus far in history do not lend insight into shakuhachi's "ancient" connection to Zen Buddhism. Up to this point, the shakuhachi has been surrounded by Shingon, Shugendo, and Tendai Buddhism.

Another important figure who lived during the Nara period and whose stories were circulated during the Kamakura Period is the monk Ennin (794-864, also known as Jikaku

Daishi). Ennin is attributed with developing *nenbutsu* recitation and a specific style of *shōmyō* (唱名) chanting. Specific to Tendai Buddhism, *nenbutsu* recitation primarily involved chanting Amida Buddha's name as a form of meditation, whereas *shōmyō* involved setting melodic phrasing to Buddhist scripture. The story that circulates during the Kamakura period is found in the text called the *Kojidan* (1215) mentioned earlier in this chapter. Compiled by Minamoto no Akikane, the volume about priests' holds special interest because it tells the story of how Ennin used the shakuhachi to play the sutra instead of chanting it. This story will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter (specifically when we reach the Kamakura period) because of *shōmyō*'s importance to shakuhachi study.



Figure 2.3 Depiction of Fuke in the Clouds
(Google Images, 2022)

The final person who lived during the Nara period, whose legendary tales were propagated in later periods, is the namesake of the Fuke Sect, revered as the patriarch of the Zen

shakuhachi tradition—Fuke (普化, d. 866, or Puha in Chinese). Fuke lived in China and was a student and contemporary of the founder of the Rinzai Zen Sect of Buddhism, Rinzai Gigen (臨濟義玄 Lin-chi I-hsuan in Chinese, b. 867). Fuke was characterized as a homeless eccentric curmudgeon who purposely defied social order. He was famously known to roam the streets ringing a bell (*taku*) while crying out the following phrase: "when it comes in brightness, I hit the brightness, when it comes in the darkness, I hit the darkness, when it comes from all directions, I hit like a whirlwind, and when it comes out of the blue, I flail it" (ibid).²⁶

Both Fuke and Rinzai admonished the current Buddhist monastic establishment because of how many monks lived in luxury due to corruption. Because of their similar thoughts and attitudes, the two men developed an antic partnership where they were constantly challenging each other as well as others to think outside of the Buddhist establishment.²⁷ What I find interesting about Fuke is that he never played shakuhachi. Instead, it was his *taku* (combined with his eccentric teaching style) that allegedly influenced the beginning of the meditative flute-playing tradition. Widely circulated in the Edo Period, the *Kyotaku Denki Kokuji-kai* (*The Annotated History of the Kyotaku*, 1795) tells the story of how one of Fuke's disciples, Cho Haku (張伯, Chinese Zhang Bai or Zhang Bo, n.d.) was so inspired by the sound of Fuke's *taku* that he started to learn how to play a bamboo flute (also called the *kyotaku* in the historical text) as an attempt to reproduce the sound of Fuke's bell. The legend further states that the "tradition of the *kyotaku*" that Cho Haku started was transmitted over several generations. According to the historical text, it was the founder of the Kokuji temple, Hotto Kakushin, who brought the

²⁶ This phrase is very popular in shakuhachi folklore/history.

²⁷ In the celebrated and still studied *Rinzai Roku* (*Record of Rinzai* trans., 1975) there exist numerous conversations which further document Rinzai and Fuke's unique relationship.

meditative flute tradition to Japan while citing the instrument's revered connection to Fuke. The *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* is a seminal text for the Fuke sect in the sense that it served as an authoritative document that linked the meditative flute playing tradition to a well-known religious founder while establishing a historical lineage of religious shakuhachi playing. How this text came to be so important in shakuhachi's history will be discussed in more detail in chapter two, but it is important to remember that it is a work of fiction and using it as a source for historical information on shakuhachi history is not recommended.

Although the documentation about Taishi, Gyōja, Ennin, and Fuke are mostly in the category of legend and myth, their stories reveal that music served the important function of connecting the world of the sacred with the world of the secular. In a broad sense, Izumi notes that music's primary purpose was to elicit the god's reaction or response by stirring "the scared spirit and providing it with pleasure" (Izumi, 2016 14). In a more specific sense, especially in the medieval period, bells were often contextualized as tools that linked the spiritual realm with world of the living. Drawing on the work of Miyata Noboru (1936-2000), Izumi explains that

A bell is more than simply an instrument that produces sound, but that its resonance represents an exchange with other worlds, a path that connects this world with other realms. The sound of Pu Hua's taku and the bamboo flute, the kyotaku, which attempts to reproduce the resonance of the original taku, became symbols representing a path to the other world or nirvana. (ibid 22)

Overall, the religious origins of the shakuhachi as a tool remain a mystery— no one can explain why Fuke's student chose the bamboo flute to imitate the taku. Aside from the enigmatic nature of the instrument's history, figures such as Taishi, En no Gyōja, Ennin, and Fuke are historical, cultural heroes in the realm of the spiritual shakuhachi tradition. Their real or mythical lives during the early period of Japan's history were cultivated into legends that still inform the instrument's legacy. More critically, the continued transmission of these fables about these

individuals are examples of how people with charismatic authority served as "socio-political characters" whose names were (are) meant to help authenticate and legitimize a way of "creating a solid base for tradition" (Linder 2012, 227).

2.2 THE HEIAN PERIOD (794-1185)

By the Heian period, various religions, cults, belief systems, and indigenous practices were intensely interconnected. The imperial court continued to not only privatize but also individualize and institutionalize Buddhist rituals. Shrines and temples were contextualized as tools to protect the state, i.e., the "imperial lineage and the aristocratic houses that supported it" (Rambelli and Teeuwen eds., 2003, 3). Elaborating further, Teeuwen and Rambelli explain that "...the kami functioned both as local manifestations of more elevated Buddhist divinities, and at the same time, a supernatural power under the control of the secular elite. It is no coincidence that this indirectly identifies the ruling elite with the Buddhist realm" (ibid, 6). In this sense, the state and individual were "subject to higher influences" (ibid 4)—Buddhist ritual improved not only the character of the indigenous kami but also the individual. When taking into consideration that you can practice other religions simultaneously, the promotion of Buddhist rituals as a tool to improve the welfare of the state is not only an operating example of *honji suijaku* but is arguably an early example of hegemonic ethno commoditization. Grapard explains that the success of this commodification is due to how ritual protection of the state was contextualized as a metaphor for the importance of the human body. Explaining further, he writes, "the problems of the state were envisaged as a physical disease that could be cured in a ritual manner through magic, manipulation of symbols, medicine, rites of penance, and purification aimed at the 'removal of baleful omens concerning whatever might threaten the human representation of the state'" (Grapard 1999, 534 and Rambelli and Teeuwen eds., 2003, 3-4). Since the ruling class

preferred Buddhism as the main religion, those who were appointed in positions of power to transmit religious ideals would promote Buddhist rituals that would benefit the state (such as the use of *gagaku* in Shinto and Buddhist rituals performed at court).

2.2.1 The Popularity of Gagaku, Sarugaku, and Dengaku

The relevance of this contextual information is important to shakuhachi history because gagaku was a key part of many different types of rituals—Buddhist, Shinto, and possibly others—and figured prominently in the everyday lives of nobility. In *Japanese Theatre: From Shamanistic Ritual to Contemporary Pluralism* (1995), Benito Ortolani notes that "gagaku reached a peak of popularity at court as an official performance and as a private pursuit of the noblemen during the tenth century" (Ortolani 1995, 42). A vocal music genre known as *saibara* was a result of gagaku's influence. Many of the melodies in the saibara genre were based on gagaku melodies.

Further evidence of gagaku's admiration and popular reputation can be found in Fujiwara no Michinori's (1106-1160) *Kogaku-zu* (*Illustrations of Ancient Performing Arts*, twelfth century). The *Kogaku-zu* (see Figure 2.5) is a very valuable series of scrolls that contain some of the oldest pictures of *sangaku*, *sarugaku*, and *gagaku* performances that were performed at "year-round festivities, banquets, rites, and entertainments" (Raz 1985, 50). In his book, Izumi includes an illustration of a gagaku shakuhachi performer from Michinori's *Kogaku-zu* that is also included in the appendix. Images of Michinori's *Kogaku-zu* can be found on the internet and serve as a platform for discourse on the shakuhachi's early activity.



Figure 2.4 Example of a Shaku-hachi Performer from the Kogaku-zu (Izumi 2016, 14).

A final example of gagaku's popularity among the court is found in the famous literary fictional tale *Genji Monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*, circa 1013). Written by Murasaki Shikibu, a lady who was employed by the court, *The Tale of Genji* poetically describes the life of Prince Genji and contains a vivid depiction of life within the Japanese imperial court. In the chapter entitled "Suetsuna Hana," the shaku-hachi, as well as other gagaku instruments, were mentioned as being part of the atmosphere. Describing the chapter further, Linder writes, "In this episode, Genji, together with a number of young noblemen, were engaged in music and dance, and the sound of the [sic] hichiriki and shaku-hachi were overwhelming" (Linder 2012, 96-97).

In the Nara period, *dengaku* and *sangaku* were some of the documented musical genres that were part of society's lower class. By the time of the Heian period, *sangaku* was now referred to as *sarugaku*, and *ta-asobi* became known as *dengaku*. As *gagaku* was being performed for various festivities at the imperial court, *dengaku* and *sarugaku* spread throughout Japan mainly by way of shrines and roadsides. These performance genres that were originally associated with commoners grew in popularity and became favored genres of the court nobility. By this time, *dengaku* was characterized by "frivolous parades of people attired in flashy, colorful costumes, dancing and playing loud music" and led to the growth of traveling priests who performed either *dengaku* or *sarugaku* (also known as *dengaku hoshi* or *sarugaku hoshi*) professionally (Raz 1985, 283). The significance of *sarugaku* and *dengaku* in relation to *shakuhachi*'s history (aside from speculation) figured more prominently in the Muromachi period, where there is primary source documentation on the *shakuhachi*'s use in both genres.

Sometime during the Heian period (794—1185), the *shakuhachi* was no longer included in the *gagaku* ensemble due to a reorganization of the court's musical department. Known as the Ninmyō Era Music Reform (Ninmyō-chō no gakusei kaikaku 仁明朝の楽制改革), several instruments were discarded from the *gagaku* ensemble, including "the *shichigenkin* (七弦琴), a seven-string zither; the *shitsu* (瑟), a twenty-five string zither; the *ōhichiriki* (大篳篥), a large hichiriki; and the *shakuhachi*" (Izumi 2016, 11). Japanese music scholar Harich-Schnieder suggests that the instrument was replaced in favor of other flutes such as the *ryuteki* (龍笛, bamboo transverse flute, Harich-Schneider 1973: 131).

Providing an additional explanation for this instrument's disappearance, Malm states that the emergence of the *hitoyogiri* also contributed to the *gagaku shakuhachi*'s extinction (Malm [1959] 2000, 181). This statement suggests that the *hitoyogiri* was an instrument that was in

existence during the Heian period; however, I have yet to find any primary source material to strongly support Malm's statement. Taking into consideration that a bamboo flute could have been used in *ta-asobi* and the later *dengaku* and *sarugaku*, it is possible that this instrument (or a version of it) existed during the Nara and Heian period. What does exist is a compiled collection of historical tales known as the *Imakagami* (Mirror of Today, 1170). The author of this work is unknown, and the historical tales reflect significant events within the imperial court. According to Linder, the "author wrote about events at a time when the court was in danger, and the *Imakagami* is mainly concerned with reflecting on the fact the life at the court was what it always had been, rather than to describe political and social change" (Linder 2012, 97). More specifically, the *Imakagami* reads a "flute called shakuhachi, that has long been forgotten, was played in a bugaku performance. On this occasion, it was well received and indeed a rare experience" (ibid).²⁸

2.2.2 Growth of Shōmyō

The Heian period, especially from the tenth through the twelfth centuries, is the "Golden Age" of Japanese artistic, religious, and cultural history. Esoteric Buddhism flourished and influenced the mass development of architecture, poetry, art, and literature. Shingon, Tendai, and Pure Land Buddhism prospered and were the main sources of inspiration for religious arts. Because of this, there was a great increase in religious paintings, wooden statues, and mandalas that was created not only for nobility but also for the public so that they could always think about Buddhist values and have access to Buddhist deities. More relevant to shakuhachi history, the introduction of Tendai and Shingon Buddhism also led to the widespread use of shōmyō ritual

²⁸ *Bugaku* (舞楽) is another genre of court music that falls underneath the umbrella of gagaku.

chanting. The founders of Tendai and Shingon Buddhism used *shōmyō* as a musical tool to teach and transmit dharma doctrine. This particular time was crucial to the development of this scripture set to melodic phrasing because notation for this style was developed, musical scores were created, and pedagogical methods were established. Discussed in further detail in chapter three, from the specific perspective of the Chikuzen school, it is firmly believed that *shōmyō* is the main influence behind the compositions of many chant-based *honkyoku*. Like *saibara*, Chikuzen has learned from his teacher that many melodic motifs from *shōmyō* influenced inner temple *honkyoku* music.

2.3 THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (1185-1333): THE RISE OF THE MILITARY CLASS

Towards the end of the Heian period, what began as a squabble over who should succeed the imperial resulted in a war that was the catalyst of a major hegemonic shift. Known as the Hōgen Insurrection (1156), this civil war marked the end of peace during the Heian period and eventually led to the rise and development of the samurai class. A few decades after this conflict, two powerful clans—Minamoto and Taira—clashed over territory disputes and started the Genpei War (1180-1185). This conflict resulted in the establishment of the Kamakura shogunate and signified the start of a military dictatorship that became known as the *bakufu*. The *bakufu* functioned as a militaristic managerial body that included three main offices—the *samurai-dokoro*, *mando-koro*, and *monchu-jo*. These offices furthered the development of the samurai class and cultivated a new hierarchy of military dictators known as the *shogun* (general of the army) and their direct subordinates, the *daimyo* (samurai who oversaw and managed the shogun's territory).

2.3.1. The Introduction of Zen Buddhism and the Importance of Rinzai Zen

Shakuhachi history only becomes more complicated as we continue to trench further into the instrument's timeline. At this point in history, the installation of a new emperor had significant sociocultural implications, such as the advancement of the samurai and the decline of the gagaku. In addition, the cultural exchange between China and Japan continued, and more religions were transmitted throughout the archipelago. The introduction of Zen Buddhism—specifically the subsidiary denomination Rinzai Zen—plays a significant role in shakuhachi's attractive story as a tool of meditation. All these details and their relationship to the instrument's growth and development are discussed in this section.

The religious atmosphere of *honji suijaku* and syncretism persisted while monks continued to travel to China for religious study. Zen Buddhism was just one of the religions brought back during this period and became a favored practice among the current and future warrior class. What differentiates Zen Buddhism from other similar religions is that purportedly, practitioners do not place much emphasis on studying doctrine. It is out of the scope of this dissertation to try to summarize and characterize the complexity of Zen Buddhism.

2.3.2 Historical Culture Heroes of the Kamakura Period: Muhon Kakushin (無本覺心, 1207-1298) and Yoritake Ryoen (d. 1298)

The influence and popularity of Zen Buddhism led to the cultivation of different denominations and sects of the religion. Of particular importance to shakuhachi history, the Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism played a large role in the shakuhachi's origin story. The infamous Fuke-shū—the organization of traveling *komusō* monks that helped make shakuhachi so mysterious and attractive—considered themselves to be a sub-sect of the Rinzai school. Rinzai

Zen attracted the attention of Muhon Kakushin (1207-1298), who figures prominently in the shakuhachi's historical narrative as the person who brought meditative shakuhachi to Japan (see Figure 2.5).²⁹

At the age of fourteen, Kakushin entered the order of Shingon Buddhism and left in 1249 to study Rinzai Zen in China. Under the tutelage of Wu-men K'ai (1183-1260), a famous Rinzai sect monk who wrote the *Mumokan* (1229), Kakushin returned in 1254 and founded the Kokuji temple located in present-day Wakayama prefecture. In various sources, Kakushin is regarded as the founder of the Fuke school; however, in my research, the only evidence of Kakushin playing shakuhachi is mentioned in the historically suspicious *Kyotaku Denki Kokujikai* compiled by Yamamoto Morihide sometime in the 1640s. In this text, Kakushin is listed as the sixteenth patriarch of Fuke and was so entranced by the sound of Chang Ts'aaan (fifteenth patriarch) shakuhachi "that he made haste to learn the secret techniques" (Yampolski 1993, 254).

Although there is no concrete evidence of Kakushin playing shakuhachi, there are some secondary popular sources (not academic) that mention him being a guide for those who did play the instrument as a form of religious practice. For example, in *Zen Masters of Japan: The Second Step East* (2013), Richard Bryan McDaniel explains that much of Kakushin's station involved teaching samurai. One samurai in particular—Yoritake Ryoen³⁰—claimed to have attained enlightenment upon hearing the mystic flute right after a battle. McDaniel states that "under Kakushin's direction, Yoritake was able to use the music of the flute to bring others to

²⁹ In shakuhachi history and the history of Zen Buddhism, Muhon Kakushin is also known as Shinchi Gakushin (心地学心) or Hottō Enmyō Kokushi (法燈圓明國師), a title that was given to him by Emperor Go-Daigo (see Linder 2012, 76 and 104).

³⁰ Yoritake Ryoen is also known as Kyochiku Zenji. This name figures prominently in shakuhachi's origin story told in the west.

awakening" (McDaniel 2013, 107). This source is problematic due to the fact that the author is known for repeating invented legends, does not read Chinese or Japanese, nor practices Buddhism. In another text, "The 'San Koten Honkyoku' of the Kinko-Ryū: A Study of Traditional Solo Music for the Japanese Vertical End-Blown Flute—The Shakuhachi" (1970) shakuhachi historian Norman Allen Stanfield has a slightly different account of the samurai's connection to the instrument.



Figure 2.5 Portrait of Muhon Kakushin
(Google Images, 2022)

In his thesis, Stanfield credits Yoritake with not only starting the mendicant flute playing tradition but also for composing the honkyoku *Mukaiji* and *Kokuji* "after hearing them in a dream at Kokūzo-dō temple in Ise Prefecture" (Stanfield 1970, 72). The unfortunate problem with both texts is that they do not specify which primary source they obtained their historical information

from; however, Stanfield is a professional shakuhachi musician who completed fieldwork in Japan. Likewise, McDaniel is an accomplished scholar in East Asian religious studies. Because the average scholarship about shakuhachi has Kakushin as the patriarch of the origins of the shakuhachi tradition, these scholars, as well as others, have helped somewhat clarify Kakushin's role and association with the present shakuhachi tradition.

2.3.3. The "First" Komusō Temple

There are a few more aspects of Kakushin's history that are worth mentioning because of how these details carry an enigmatic quality that helps add value to the legendary mythos of the shakuhachi as a tool of Zen meditation. As a student of Kakushin, it is believed that Yoritake Ryoen founded Kyuko-an, a temple built during the Kamakura period that had the specific purpose of housing komusō monks of the Fuke sect—it is often thought of as the first komusō temple in Japan. In the book, *Shakuhachi: The Voice of Nature: A Contemplative Art and a Source of Japanese Musical Tradition* (2019), Eliot Weisgarber describes how he serendipitously came across this information while in the field conducting research on shakuhachi history. Weisgarber's shakuhachi colleagues urged him to "visit the komusō temple in Uji," and when he did so, he discovered that an old, abandoned cemetery was in place of the original Kyuko-an.

Upon further exploration, Weisgarber discovered that the caretakers of the cemetery, the Obaku Zen Sect, had archives that originally belonged to the Kyuko-an temple, and with their permission, Weisgarber was granted access to view the archives. A summary of his research findings suggests that the Kyuko-an temple was built late in the life of Yoritake Ryoen (between 1294-1298) and that Yoritake was a Zen priest who came to Japan from Sung Dynasty China (960-1279). Weisgarber goes on to report that prior to Yoritake's arrival, "another Zen priest by the name of Shōichi Kokushi seems to have led the first group of Fuke-shū to Japan in 1254.

This would establish a direct connection with Chinese musical tradition as far as vertical flute music in Japan is concerned" (Ibid 144). temple (Weisgarber 2019, 143



Figure 2.6 Photo of the Abandoned *Komusō* Cemetery in Uji
(Weisgarber 2019, 143)

There is very little information about Shoichi Kokushi in the way of English language literature. According to Stanfield, Shoichi Kokushi was a "professional ancestor" to Hotto Kokushin and to a mysterious foreigner named Roan—"one of the most prestigious names in the history of the shakuhachi" (ibid). In my own research on shakuhachi history, Roan is an apocryphal figure because of the lack of documentation that proves his existence. However, in Izumi's (2016) and Linder's (2012) research, Roan's existence would be much later in Japan's timeline—specifically during the Muromachi period or early Edo period. The documentation that may prove Roan's existence will be discussed later on in this chapter; however, as a historical cultural hero, there are those who maintain that Roan was a disciple of Kakushin, founder of the

"now vanished Enon-ji [Temple], which was located close to Kyuko-an" according to Weisgarber's interpretation of primary source material (Weisgarber 2019, 144).

Weisgarber's fieldwork included archival research at Zen temples associated with shakuhachi and interviews with the caretakers of the temple that housed the archives from Kyuko-an. According to the data he collected, Kyuko-an stored a statue of Kannon, who was considered to be "the guardian deity of the Fuke sect" (ibid 147). This statue was moved to Empuku-ji temple and was under the care of Shinji Jōnyū. According to Weisgarber, Shinji Jōnyū. "was intimately familiar with her temple's connection to" Kyuko-an and informed him of a ceremony that is held each year on May 27 that commemorates the life of Yoritake (ibid). It is uncertain as to whether this ceremony continues to be performed, but the idea of shakuhachi being brought to Japan by Kakushin and disseminated by Yoritake was a common narrative in Japan in the 1970s. Expanding on the relationship the Fuke-sect had with Rinzai temples, Weisgarber writes

Empuku-ji was a place of refuge that always enjoyed a unique relationship with the Komusō. When we consider the stringent rules under which they lived, the severity of their lives as wandering beggars, as well as the dangers posed by their strange careers as government spies, the solace of a sanctuary such as Empuku-ji was essential. The temple offered the chance of an occasional escape into a world of gentleness and peace. It still does. (ibid 149)

Many similar quotes by various scholars who write very poetically about the komusō monks almost romanticize their role as spies, beggars, and monks. However, it is important to remember that the narrative that is found in Weisgarber's research, as well as others, is not every shakuhachi tradition's origin story. Some shakuhachi traditions lay no claim to Kakushin or Yoritake, while others explicitly state a direct connection to historical and cultural heroes. The first komusō temple, Kyoku-an, Kakushin, Yoritake, and Roan are all part of folklore for some and historical truths for others. While their inclusion in shakuhachi's origin story complicates the

deconstruction of shakuhachi history, it was a necessary step in understanding reasons why shakuhachi continues to be contextualized as an instrument of Zen and how common tropes in shakuhachi history cultivated.

2.3.4 Kakushin as a *Hijiri*—"Wandering Priest"

Even though it was historically unlikely that Kakushin played shakuhachi and had a following of students, research does verify that he was classified as a *hijiri*—a traveling holy man. In the chapter “Kōyasan in the Countryside: the Rise of Shingon in the Kamakura Period” George Tanabe describes how Kakushin was the founder of a group of *hijiri* from Kayadō (i.e., *Kayadō Hijiri*) who were "particularly active and famous" (Tanabe 1998, 46). It is important to emphasize that *honkyoku*, as well as the Fuke-shū, did not exist at the time Kakushin. Yet, some research has assumed that these monks were using shakuhachi in the same context as the *komusō* of later centuries. What is possible is that these *hijiri* became popular among the masses in a religious sense, Kakushin being a prime example, and became known for other activities such as playing flute, religious sermons, and other avenues of fundraising. Deconstructing Kakushin's connection to shakuhachi is in no way trying to devalue those practitioners who do find truth in Kakushin's connection to religious shakuhachi practice but to illustrate that within the larger context of the diffusion of religion in Japan, the *hijiri* were able to contact not only nobility but also members of the lower class.

This section is to clarify the importance of mendicant groups in the exposure and transmission of shakuhachi-type flute traditions and to emphasize the high possibility of historical culture heroes such as Kakushin, Ennin, and their followers using a bamboo flute in their professions.

2.3.5. The Decline of Gagaku

With the rise of the military class, gagaku musicians followed "their patrons in the shadows of uncertain survival" (Ortolani 1995, 43). Because of this, gagaku orchestras were often dissolved in "moments of crisis, and at times it was difficult to find enough musicians for a single court performance" (ibid). Since the use of shakuhachi as a gagaku instrument was rendered obsolete, former gagaku musicians who played shakuhachi were caught in a struggle to maintain not only the livelihood of their craft but also the monopoly they had over the instrument. What was formerly an instrument of the aristocracy became paired with cultural events of the lower class. Without belonging to a specific organization and being free from the confines of the guild system, the gagaku shakuhachi fell into the hands of people from different classes, which inevitably paved a path for the internationalization of the instrument. This is not to say that commoners or peasants did not have access to the bamboo flute when gagaku was popular; however, it is historically documented that metropolitan life, which was primarily located in the capital (the capital being where the reigning emperor lived), was most often separate from rural and country life. With this shift in power (from the emperor to the military class), there was also a shift in musical taste. As gagaku declined, the synthesis of *sarugaku* and *dengaku* developed into the early stages of *No* theater, which became the preferred theatrical form of the military class.

2.3.6. Tropes of Wandering Priests in Historical Literature

It is also important to consider that historically, there were many different types of traveling priests—the wandering nature of the monks of the Fuke-shū was not an exclusive

quality to the sect.³¹ Returning to the *Kojidan* (*Tales of Ancient Matters*, 1215) mentioned earlier in this chapter, this volume contains a section that mentions the shakuhachi's use in nembutsu chant by the priest Ennin. Torsten Mukuteki Olafsson, a shakuhachi historian and musician, translated and summarized the tale:

音聲不足令座給之間、以尺八引聲ノ阿彌陀經ヲ令吹傳給ヌ、
「成就如是 功德莊嚴」
ト云所ヲ、エ吹セ給ハザリケレバ、常行堂ノ辰巳ノ松扉ニテ、
吹アツカハセ給タリケルニ、空中ニ有音告云、「ヤノ音ヲ加ヨ」云云、
自之如是ヤト云音ハ加也。

At times when Ennin could not hear clearly, he used a shakuhachi in order to chant the Amida Sutra. If he did not manage to chant the passage "*an ideal environment so that whenever one lays eyes upon will bring about the awakening*" he would usually place himself by the dragon and serpent pine wood doors of the temple hall, and when he had stopped blowing, there was a voice in the middle of the empty sky proclaiming, "*raise the ya note*" and so forth. Consequently, the 'ya' note needed to be raised. (Olafsson 2020)

Although the story of Ennin using shakuhachi to chant the sutra is mythical, we do know that Ennin was indeed a real monk that lived during the Nara period because of the extensive diaries he kept while traveling as a monk. Like other wandering monks, it is not surprising that Ennin also played bamboo flute—and it is not out of the realm of possibility that he, along with other mendicant monks like him, helped create an attraction to mendicant flute playing. What was very confusing from the perspective of a researcher is that the trope of the shakuhachi as an "ancient instrument of Zen" crumbled at the critical examination of not only these primary sources but also the analysis of Japanese culture within each time period. Nembutsu chanting is

³¹ By the Tokugawa period, Groemer notes the many different types of wandering priests existed. He writes "mendicants of pious pretensions existed in chameleon-like variety: Tokugawa governmental records regularly list shukke 出家 (priests and nuns), onmyoji 陰陽師 (yin-yang diviners), yamabushi 山伏 or shugenja 修験者 (mountain ascetics), doshinja 道心者 (Buddhist ritualists), gydnin 行人 (wandering ascetics), komusō 虚無僧 (shakuhachi zen monks), kotobure 事触れ (prognosticators), miko 巫女 (female shamans), and others" (Groemer 2000, 42).

part of Pure Land Buddhist practice—not Zen. In addition, honkyoku, Zen, and the komusō of the Fuke-shū did not exist at this point in the timeline. However, in the context of *honji suijaku* and the critical interconnected layers that are part of the tapestry of Japanese history, I can understand why monks like Kakushin and Ennin became part of the shakuhachi's historical narrative.

Another text that discussed wandering priests and their association with the shakuhachi is the *Kyōkun-shō* (1233) by court musician Koma no Chikazane (1177-1242). The *Kyōkun-shō* is the oldest Japanese treatise on music that highlights the different roles gagaku played in the realms of politics and entertainment. Koma no Chikazane was a musician and *bugaku*³² dancer at Kofuku-ji temple in Nara. What is notable about this text is that Chikazane did not refer to the bamboo flute as the shakuhachi, but instead, he called the bamboo flute the *tanteki* (短笛). Linder and other scholars have surmised that the word tanteki was just an alternative term for shakuhachi. Explaining further, Linder writes, "the tanteki is therefore not treated as a type of shakuhachi, but rather as an alternative name for it" (Linder 2012, 86). In the *Kyōkun-shō*, Chikazane explains that the tanteki was monopolized by blind priests known as *mekura hōshi* (盲法師, blind priests). These priests would use the tanteki as an accompaniment to popular theater form saragaku and for the occasional dengaku performance. Even though the word tanteki is just an alternative term for shakuhachi, its association with blind priests further illustrates the instruments use in other mendicant contexts. These blind priests who played shakuhachi in a secular fashion somewhat contradict the popular "Zen shakuhachi" narrative; however, it is

³² *Bugaku* refers to court dances that accompany gagaku pieces.

important to realize that other groups of people used a bamboo flute for different purposes and in different ways.

As a researcher, I must acknowledge that the long-lasting folkloric image and diffusion of the shakuhachi has much to do with these traveling priest groups that existed before the time of the komusō—just not in the context of Zen-influenced honkyoku. These different types of mendicant monks, in addition to historical cultural heroes such as Kakushin and Ennin, add layers of attractiveness to the instrument's history. What is certain is that the existence of traveling priests during this period who were known to play the bamboo flute had used the instrument in both sacred and secular sensibilities. It is no wonder why shakuhachi history is so confusing and leads many people (and I am also guilty of this) to oversimplify the instrument's history and cut it up into its most attractive parts: shakuhachi is a bamboo flute that was traditionally associated with the komusō monks of ancient Japan and is used as a tool for Zen meditation. This previous sentence is a standardized summary that you can find on the internet (and in some scholarly literature) when you search for the following phrase: "What is shakuhachi?" As we move into the Muromachi period, the instrument's history becomes even more puzzling due to many other types of bamboo flutes that existed that are part of present-day shakuhachi tradition.

2.4 THE MUROMACHI PERIOD (1368-1573): NANBOKUCHŌ AND THE WARRING STATES ERA

The Muromachi period is often discussed in terms of two separate timelines due to the significant number of conflicts that took place. What began as a disagreement over succession led to a series of battles that left the imperial court destitute. From 1336-1392 (also known as the Nanbokuchō period), the Ashikaga shogunate established the Northern Imperial Court and fought for rights of succession against Emperor Go-Daigo (1288-1339), who led the Southern

Imperial Court. Eventually, the Ashikaga Shogunate emerged victorious, reuniting the imperial court under the rule of one shogunate—however, the battles continued. In their ambition, the shogunate continued to fight for control over more land throughout the archipelago and was solely responsible for the initiation of the Sengoku Ji-dai Era (The Warring States Period 1467-1568). From this point until the installation of the Tokugawa shogunate, all Japanese people have experienced great violence due to the abundance of civil wars from 1336-1615. These wars inevitably affected society in and outside the capital, including the landscape of religion, art, and music.

2.4.1 Primary Source Material: More Context on When and Where Shakuhachi Was Performed

It is in the Muromachi Period that researchers started to see more information about the context of shakuhachi in the primary source material. Especially during the latter half of the Muromachi period, historical accounts describe shakuhachi being performed at banquets, accompanying vocalists, and often would provide the fundamental pitch for certain performances (see Izumi 2016, 28). Drawing off the research of several historians, Izumi describes at least three different diaries that have "descriptions of skilled performers of the shakuhachi" and concludes that "the most important performances at banquets were largely comprised of the shakuhachi, vocal works, and dance" (ibid 29).³³ With the archipelago constantly at war, the court could no longer provide funding for gagaku ensembles. Additionally, those who were in power favored more secular entertainment. Among the nobility, the shakuhachi was most often seen in the banquet performance context.

³³Some of the titles of these diaries include the *Inryōken nichiroku*, the *Zōho: shiryōtaisei*, and the *Sanetakakakō* and are approximately from the late 1500s (roughly 1480-1500) (see Izumi 29-31).

2.4.2 The History of Gagaku and Gagaku Shakuhachi

Outside of personal accounts, there are two treatises on gagaku music that not only discuss the shakuhachi's history but also include descriptions and illustrations of a five-holed shakuhachi. Written by Toyohara no Muneaki, the *Taigen-sho* (体源抄 1512) and the *Maikyoku Kuden* (舞曲口伝 1522) retell the stories of Shotoku Taishi and Ennin as a way of authenticating shakuhachi's spiritual and religious connections not as an instrument of Zen but as the representative instrument of guild imperial court musicians. Both texts describe the different parts of the gagaku ensemble and offer a view into the world of the imperial court. It is highly possible that texts from this era that discuss shakuhachi's history from a position of authority were written to challenge the shakuhachi's use outside of the court context. Even though the endless number of civil wars damaged gagaku's ability to be performed regularly, guild musicians such as shakuhachi players felt the need to make sure that the shakuhachi was situated as an instrument of gagaku in opposition to other musicians of the time who were using the instrument in other genres. From the perspective of the *Taigen-sho*, Muneaki's grandfather, Kazuaki, played shakuhachi and had a consistent following of students. The *Taigen-sho* also contains illustrations of the shakuhachi in varying lengths—which indicates that there were shakuhachi made to accommodate different modalities/tonalities. More importantly and curiously, the *Taigen-sho* does not address how the shakuhachi went from six holes to five. The presence of the five-holed bamboo flute in the *Taigen-sho* begs a series of questions regarding the instrument's origins:

1. What happened to the gagaku shakuhachi?
2. Is the five-holed version a related tradition to gagaku shakuhachi—especially since Muneaki argued that the five-holed flute was a gagaku instrument?

3. If the five-holed version is a different tradition entirely, what are its origins, and how did the tradition get transmitted to Japan?

The effort it took to try and answer these questions only left me with more questions. In my research, there are several theories that describe the origins and development of the five-holed version of the instrument but also the six-holed gagaku shakuhachi. For this dissertation, I have included a synopsis of the three most common explanations.

2.4.2 "Shakuhachi" of the Muromachi Period: Different Viewpoints on the Origin of the Instrument

Explanation 1: The five-holed shakuhachi prototypes that appeared during the Muromachi period are from different traditions that are separate from the six-holed gagaku shakuhachi. After the gagaku shakuhachi became extinct, various bamboo flutes were imported at different time periods. Explaining further, Stanfield writes, "the prevalent view is that each period of activity was initiated by the arrival of vertical flutes from China, but only the first importation from T'ang Dynasty China (618-907) can be successfully accounted for [i.e., gagaku shakuhachi]" (Stanfield 1970, 36). Since the Nara period, the Ryukyu Islands were a major trading port between China and Japan, and various vertical bamboo flutes were brought there for trade and then further disbursed throughout the Asia continent via the silk road.

Explanation 2: There was only one five holed shakuhachi prototype that went by many different names. The name of the flute was contingent upon the social group that used it. In the hands of the nobility and rising merchant class, the instrument was called the hitoyogiri. Likewise, when it was used by wandering monks, the instrument was known as the komosō *shakuhachi*. Lastly, when a bamboo-type flute was used by a particular samurai clan, it was referred to as the *tenpuku*. It was not until the advent of the komusō that the word "shakuhachi" was employed to describe the bamboo flute that they used in their religious training.

Explanation 3: Because the *utaguchi* is a common element in most shakuhachi prototypes, some scholars suggest that the 5-holed shakuhachi is a direct development from the six-holed gagaku instrument.

2.4.3 Different Terminologies that Refer to Shakuhachi-Type Flutes

Further complicating the questions regarding the shakuhachi's origins is the fact that there are many different terminologies for the five-holed flutes that appear in literature during this time. For clarity, the different terminologies are discussed below as well as their significance to the continuation and development of the shakuhachi tradition.



Figure 2.7 An Example of a Hitoyogiri
(Google Images, 2022)

Chūsei Shakuhachi: The word "chūsei" means "middle" and is often used by historians to label the medieval period of Japan's history (i.e., *Chūsei Ji-Dai*, *Middle Ages*). Building off this, Lee states that shakuhachi of the middle age are also referred to as *chūsei shakuhachi*. Chūsei shakuhachi is further classified into terms such as hitoyogiri, tenpuku, and proto-*fuke shakuhachi* (i.e. *komosō shakuhachi*). The reasons given for these classifications are differences in the construction of the instruments, the music performed on them, and the social classes playing them. Like the use of the word tanteki, chūsei shakuhachi is an alternative name for *hitoyogiri*.

Hitoyogiri (一節切尺八): Some scholars consider this shakuhachi to be the quintessential flute of Japan's Middle Ages. The name translates into "one node cut," which reflects the instrument's overall construction. While the gagaku shakuhachi had three nodes, the hitoyogiri only had one. Explaining further, Stanfield writes

... like the shakuhachi, the nomenclature does not actually name the instrument, but rather describes it. It was measured in Japanese feet (*shaku*) and micro-inches (*bu*) rather than inches (*sun*), making it shorter than its predecessor. The flute existed in many different sizes, so it was also identified according to the lowest notes it sounded. (Stanfield 67-68, 1977).

Most scholars agree that the oldest reference to the hitoyogiri is illustrated in the *Taigen-shō* because of how the flutes are specifically drawn with one node. Although the *Taigen-shō* does not use the word hitoyogiri to describe the illustrated flutes, there is some other evidence from this time that shows popular religious figures and other historical cultural heroes played the hitoyogiri.

Tenpuku: There is a consensus in scholarship that this bamboo flute was popular under the rule of daimyo Shimazu Tadayoshi (1492–1568), who lived in Satsuma Province (present-day Kagoshima). Explaining the origins in more detail, Fuchigami states that "according to traditions, the name tenpuku was created from a sentence of a Shinto prayer: 'It's like a breath

that dissipates the thick cloud layers of the sky" (Fuchigami and Augusto 2017, 2, my translation). Even though the emergence of the instrument is undetermined, the tenpuku is similar in length to gagaku shakuhachi and also has three nodes. The most noticeable difference about this flute is that the shape of the mouthpiece resembles the Chinese *dongxiao* (or the Korean *tanso*) and has five finger holes (four in the front and one in the back) as opposed to six. Additionally, Lee states that "the circumference [of the tenpuku] is much smaller" than gagaku shakuhachi and "the finger-holes are positioned so that the distances between them increase progressively from the lower to the higher holes" (Lee 1992, 62). It is uncertain as to why the instrument transformed in this manner—scholarship assumes either that a) this new construction may have been implemented to fit the tonal system of the current musical trend of the Satsuma Province samurai class or b) it has to do with the possible origins of the instrument being similar to the *tanso* flute of Korea.

In my opinion, there were many different versions of bamboo/shakuhachi type flutes that coexisted and overlapped historically since the time of the gagaku shakuhachi. These bamboo flutes were similar in construction and had their own associated musical repertoire. Typically, history is written by those who have the luxury to do so. Gagaku shakuhachi was well documented because it was an instrument played by the nobility. It is highly possible that another type of bamboo flute, possibly called by a different name but similar in construction, was used by other social classes but did not have the chance of being documented.



Figure 2.8 (From left to right) Photo of Tenpuku, Hitoyogiri, Gagaku Shakuhachi, Fuke Shakuhachi, and Xiāo
(Linder 2012, 86)

2.4.4 Invented Authenticity: The Era of the *Komosō* and the Invented Connection to Zen Shakuhachi

The growing popularity of Zen Buddhism during the Muromachi Period cultivated a renaissance of Zen-inspired arts as well as the notion that one must drop out of society to obtain enlightenment. Isolation was the perfect backdrop for meditative practices, and this idea became a romanticized foundation for current trends in Zen and shakuhachi imagery. In terms of shakuhachi history, shakuhachi historian Torsten Mukuteki Olafsson states that the Muromachi period can also be classified as the era of the *komosō*. The *komosō* were another type of wandering mendicant monk, sometimes classified as half-lay/half-religious because many of

them did not necessarily claim an affiliation with a major temple. Artwork and historical accounts from the period describe that these monks would be sitting on or carrying a straw mat and would often wander the streets playing the hitoyogiri in exchange for food or money. The curious nature of the history of this group of monks is that the bulk of shakuhachi scholarship (in Japanese and English) considers them to be the predecessors of the *komusō* that appeared during the Edo period and the successors of the *boro-boro*—another type of wandering beggar monk who was known to carry a sword, start fights, and *may* have played a version of shakuhachi.

The origins and relations of the boro-boro, komosō, and komusō later, are other aspects that place an additional layer of complexity, confusion, and invention over the tapestry of shakuhachi history. Shakuhachi scholarship is riddled with varied interpretations of the origins and theories on the relationship between the boro-boro, komosō, and komusō. When I first started to study the instrument, I read the following texts and used them as my main references to help construct a more accurate narrative on the boro-boro and komosō and their relation to the later Edo Period Fuke sect: James Sanford's "Shakuhachi Zen: The Fukeshu and Komusō" (1977), Riley Lee's "Yearning for the Bell: A Study of Transmission in the Shakuhachi Honkyoku Tradition," (1993) and Christopher Yohmei Blasdel's and Kamisangō Yūkō's *The Shakuhachi: A Manual for Learning* (2008). In general, these scholars suggest that the boro-boro developed into the komosō, and the komosō developed into the komusō. However, upon studying the research of Stanfield's "The San Kōten Honkyoku of the Kinko-Ryū: A Study of Traditional Solo Music for the Japanese Vertical End-Blown Flute, the Shakuhachi"(1977), Linder's *Deconstructing Tradition in Japanese Music: A Study Of Shakuhachi, Historical Authenticity, and Transmission of Tradition* (2012) and Olfassen's "The Zen Shakuhachi Historical Evidence Research Web Pages" (updated November 2020), these scholars demonstrate

that the boro-boro and komosō connection to the later komusō as well as Zen Buddhism is quite weak if not non-existent.

In 2012 I came across the research of Stanfield and Linder, which helped reorient my thinking about shakuhachi history. Stanfield's thesis is a musicological and theoretical analysis of Kinko-ryū honkyoku and serves as an ethnomusicological treatise. What I found to be most important about Stanfield's text is that he studied shakuhachi in Japan for an extended period, was allowed access to the primary source material at temples and had zero access to the internet. In addition, what is unique about Stanfield's work is that he investigates the history of the komosō and links them to the *mōsō*—blind mendicant priests who were known to play the *biwa* during the Heian period. Most of the literature in the English language simply states that the komosō either comes from the boro-boro or that the komosō appeared during the Muromachi Period. Drawing on the work of Keen (1967), Malm (1959, republished in 2000), and Jōsangō (1971), Stanfield states that the Muromachi period komosō "fashioned themselves after the Kamakura period *mōsō*" and "adopted the vertical flute as a ritual instrument for their 'takuhatsu,' religious alms-taking" (Stanfield 1977, 60). Stanfield does not suggest that the former boro-boro priests nor the latter komusō monks were connected to the komosō. In addition, there is no explanation for connections made in terms of the repertoire that these monks would perform. In Stanfield's research, the komosō played the hitoyogiri not as a form of meditation but to fundraise for their religious practice.

Linder's research is a critical investigation of the history of the shakuhachi and its invented historical connections to Zen Buddhism. Through the philological examination of twentieth-century Japanese and English language scholarship as well as fifteenth- and sixteenth-century primary resources, Linder noticed that twentieth-century literature emphasized the

similarities between the boro-boro and komusō with very circumstantial evidence. Explaining further, he writes that "twentieth-century writings, intentionally or not, provide a re-creation of tradition, furnishing the shakuhachi with an alleged older indigenous origin with strong connections to Buddhism" (Linder 57, 2012). In addition, the primary sources that do discuss komusō do not connect the monks to meditational shakuhachi music nor do they discuss their relationship with Fuke Zen. According to Linder, the person who initiated this invention of authenticity is Kurihara Kōta in his book *Shakuhachi Shiko* (尺八史考, *A Historical Study of Shakuhachi*, [1918] 1975) with the following statement

The so-called boro-boro, borno-ji, muma-hijiri, etc.; are of course not followers of the Fuke sect, like the komusō that appear in later times, and they do not belong to any unified and named religious system. However, as one type of worldly Buddhist follower, always playing shakuhachi and walking around to various places, it goes without saying that there is no room for doubt, that they are what we can call predecessors to the komusō. (Kurihara [1918] 1975, 86)

Through the analysis of Kota's primary source material, Linder was able to demonstrate that Kota's statement about the connected relationship between the different groups of monks was based on circumstantial information—the details being unreliable and unverifiable. It must be understood that Kurihara's text continues to be revered as "the first comprehensive history of the instrument" that is based on "meticulous research and quotes from extensive historical primary sources" (Lee 1992, 26). Additionally, Kurihara's text has been used as historical evidence in *The Ashgate Research Companion on Japanese Music's* chapter on shakuhachi (2008) as well as shakuhachi master and ethnomusicologist Riley Lee's dissertation *Yearning for the Bell: A Study of the Transmission in the Shakuhachi Honkyoku Tradition* (1993). Both secondary texts have been cited multiple times as evidence of shakuhachi's historical connections to monks before the dawn of the komusō—a tool that is supposed to support the notion that shakuhachi—particularly Zen shakuhachi—comes from an "ancient" and "unbroken" tradition.

The following section unpacks the relevancy of five primary sources that have played a significant role in creating an invented relationship between the boro-boro, komosō, and komusō. The five texts have been quoted and, in some cases, misinterpreted by Japanese scholars who are viewed as authorities on shakuhachi history (see, for example, Ueno, Nakatsuka Chikuzen). The works of these same Japanese scholars—which have been cited in the works of English language scholarship—has only perpetuated the notion that the shakuhachi has connections with Kamakura and Muromachi period monks. More importantly, analyzing the veracity of these primary sources and how they were interpreted by influential scholars of shakuhachi history helps us understand one of the various reasons why shakuhachi continues to be contextualized as an "ancient instrument of Zen."

2.4.5. The Critical Analysis of Primary Sources that Make Connections to Muromachi Period Monks and Shakuhachi

My relationship with shakuhachi had much to do with understanding the role of Zen Buddhist practice in the instrument's historical journey. Admittedly, I went from an enthusiastic amateur who took pieces of partial truths at face value (see my 2010 thesis) to a devout fanatic investigative historian determined to master the instrument musically and develop a deep understanding of the many different historical narratives that are involved in the tapestry of shakuhachi history. I explain all of that to emphasize that it is in no way my intention to demean or reduce shakuhachi's connection to Zen Buddhism. Everyone is entitled to search for their own truth, and as will be explained in chapter three, there are sects that do firmly believe that Zen shakuhachi has historical connections that are from before the Muromachi period. It is important to understand that my interpretation of shakuhachi history is part of my story and personal journey with the instrument. Understanding how Zen Buddhism fits into shakuhachi's history has much to do with the school that I study with and much less to do with the fictive relationship

between the boro-boro, komosō, and komusō. The seemingly linear relationship between these three types of monks was emphasized in the Muromachi period and then reiterated in twentieth-century literature. Overall, the analysis of the primary sources and how they are reinterpreted in twentieth and twenty-first-century scholarship helps explain how shakuhachi continues to be contextualized as a quintessential instrument of Zen and serves as an example of how historians would authenticate the instrument's past.

2.4.5.1. Problematic Sources 1 and 2: Shaseki-shu (1283, Collected Stories of Stones and Pebbles) and the Kiyūshōran (1830)

For clarity, these two texts must be discussed in tandem due to how twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship cites both works as evidence of the shakuhachi being connected to monks and Buddhism as early as the fourteenth century. In his book, Linder goes into great historical detail on how this connection is fictional or, in his words, "non-existent" (Linder 2012, 184). Considering the standard narrative that shakuhachi is an "ancient instrument of Zen," Linder's argument and analysis of primary source material illustrate how history cannot only be misinterpreted but also invented to support a popular or commonly believed idea. In the case of the two primary sources, it appears that historical facts were not only misinterpreted in the *Kiyūshōran* and repeated in twentieth- and twenty-first-century literature but also based on unreliable copies and editions of the *Shaseki-shu*.

The *Shaseki-shu* is a ten-volume compendium written by Muju Ichien (1227-1312), a Zen master who lived during the Kamakura period (1185-1333). In this text, Muju explains many aspects of Buddhist practice, mainly arguing that Gods manifest themselves as Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. Muju also discusses issues with different doctrinal perspectives, unpacks moral and social concerns, and includes discussions on karmic retribution, miracles performed by divine entities, and includes biographical data on important religious figures. In the book *Sand*

and Pebbles: The Tales of Muju Ichien, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism (1985), Robert Morrell provides the reader with a biography of Muju's life, elucidating on the conditions behind Muju's decision to go into a religious vocation. According to Morrell's analysis of the *Shaseki-shu*, Muju embraced the religious pluralism of the time period and argued the following: "For Muju, doctrinal diversity was an expression of Buddha's compassion.

Each method had its specific purpose, and all were approaches to the same experiential Truth which in the end transcended every particular formulation" (Morrell 1985, 9). In one of the volumes of the *Shaseki-shu*, Muji writes about how a monk became a boro-boro, telling the following story:

A monk who had entered the way of Buddha had fallen, lost the good life, and after he had been relieved from his official position (by the feudal authorities) in a small territory, he changed his way of life. Just like a boro-boro, he wore a light paper garment as clothing and even slept in it. Neither his feet nor his body were getting cold, and he never thought any food to be bad, finding barley-mixed rice the nectar of his meal. He just left everything to destiny, and with gloom, he lived in a world of dreams, seeing phantoms, gathering karma for the next life. (Linder 2012, 181)³⁴

Muju's text, and this story specifically, has been used in scholarship to make it appear that people noticed the boro-boro around the beginning of the fourteenth century. Since boro-boro were known to play a version of the shakuhachi, scholarship has argued that the religious shakuhachi repertoire also existed during the beginning of the fourteenth century. Notice that this quote does not suggest that the boro-boro play shakuhachi, nor does it mention the boro-boro's alleged connection to the komosō or komusō monks. The larger problematic issue with the *Shaseki-shu* is that there are at least six editions of the text in existence—with each edition having its own

³⁴ See also Mujū Ichien (無住一円, 1226–1312) *Shaseki-shū* (沙石集, *Collection of Stones and Pebbles*, 1283) reprint of the Chōkyō-bon, Kyoto: Nishimura Kurōemon, 1897, Part 8 (pp. 465–517), 503–504.

variation in content. Linder emphasizes the importance of understanding the timeline of Muju's life. He wrote two editions of his text and took approximately sixteen years to write it.

Explaining further, he writes, "one important point in the scholastic research on the *Shaseki-shu* is the chronology during Muju's lifetime. He began writing in 1279, laid down his brush, and then completed the book in 1283. He later made two revisions, first in 1295 and the second in 1308" (Linder 2012, 279).

Drawing on the research of the foremost authorities on medieval literature from Japan (e.g., Tsuchiya Yuriko, Kojima Takayuki, and Watanabe Tsunaya), Linder explains the differences between some of the editions and argues that the story of the boro-boro that appears in the *Shaseki-shu* was added in a later, more unreliable edition. Furthermore, between the many different editions, the story of the boro-boro varies. In other words, the story of the boro-boro was never in the original text written by Muju. Linder points out that early nineteenth-, twentieth-, and twenty-first-century scholarship that uses variations of the boro-boro story does not take into consideration that many editions of the text existed.

Further, because Muju's text was copied so many times by many religious scholars, it is certainly reasonable to assume that Muju was an important religious figure whose words were viewed with a position of authority. An example of this can be found in Morrell's text when he describes how Tokugawa period Obaku Zen monks viewed the *Shaseki-shu* as a text that best represents the tenets and principals of Buddhism: "Since the Zen sect was introduced into this country, there have been few other men who have in this fashion presented the essence of it in language. The *Collection of Sand and Pebbles* by the Zen master Muju and the *Dialogue in a Dream* by the master Muso are about the only good books there are" (Morrell 1985, 66).

Although this may be a text that captures the essence of Zen Buddhism in written prose, it does

not provide any verifiable historical evidence linking the shakuhachi to the boro-boro, nor does it provide any details on how the boro-boro, komosō, and komusō are related. This brings forth the next issue to discuss, how did this connection become a common thread in the shakuhachi's narrative? Explanations to this question can not only be found in Edo period scholarship that misinterprets the *Shaseki-shu* but also twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship that quotes that very same Edo period text: the *Kiyūshōran*

The *Kiyūshōran* is a twelve-volume compendium written by nativist period scholar Kitamura Nobuyo (1783-1856), who also went by the pen name Kitamora Intei. This series contains a variety of essays on everyday life topics, which includes the author's thoughts and observations on music, theatre, and dance. The *Kiyūshōran* had been viewed as an insightful text that includes details on the everyday lives of Edo period citizens from various occupational perspectives. Volume 6 of the *Kiyūshōran* is devoted to notes on shakuhachi, koto, and shamisen. The section that discusses shakuhachi begins in the following way "komosō are called boro in 'Kanrōji Shokunin-tsukushi uta-awase,' and in the poem they are also called muma-hijiri" (See Kitamura, *Kiyūshōran* (1830), 1906, 37 and Linder 2012, 161). *Uta awase* refers to a specific genre of artwork, mainly encompassing scroll paintings that depict varied artisans who were part of lower society. The reader will become more familiar with uta-awase later in this chapter because they are often cited as historical evidence of either komosō playing shakuhachi (see *Sanjuni-ban shokunin uta awase* 1494) or of the existence of a pre-Edo period monk—i.e., a boro-boro (see *Shichijuichi-ban shokunin uta awase* 1500). It is important to understand that artwork depicting cultural activities is a common practice that has a history preceding the Kamakura period—historians continue to use period artwork as a way of authenticating the histories of various traditions.

What is interesting about the opening passage on shakuhachi in the *Kiyūshōran* is that it makes no mention of the other more popular uta-awase that have illustrations of actual flute players but instead mentions a lesser-known scroll painting and poem that appears to not be easily accessible in current historical records. In my own research, I could not find any mention of this poem in other literature on shakuhachi history, nor did I find any visual reference to the scroll painting. Additionally, as Linder's text explains, *shokunin tsukushi* is typically just a scroll painting without any attached poetry. The quote in the *Kiyūshōran* seems to indicate that there is a poem that goes with the scroll painting but makes no reference to the poem in its entirety, nor does it include a copy of the illustrated scroll painting. This is not to suggest that the *Kanrōji shokunin-tsukushi uta-awase* did not exist, but it is impossible to determine whether this historical reference is to the "komosō as boro," as Kitamura suggested.

Kitamura, using the lesser known *Kanrōji shokunin-tsukushi uta-awase*, brings forth a larger problem with the text—the primary sources that Kitamura uses to substantiate shakuhachi history have either very circumstantial information or are simply not credible historical texts. To support the overall narrative of shakuhachi history in the *Kiyūshōran*, Kitamura relies on the following texts to authenticate his narrative: *Tsurezure gusa no zuchi*, *Boro no soshi*, and the *Shaseki-shu*. As stated previously, the unreliability of the *Shaseki-shu* is due to the number of times the text has been copied and reprinted, with different copies containing varied content. The section of the *Shaseki shu* that is quoted in the *Kiyūshōran* has been misinterpreted in twentieth-century scholarship on shakuhachi history, making matters even more complicated. According to Linder's historical analysis of primary source material, the content from the *Shaseki-shu* that is used in the *Kiyūshōran* reads the following way.

A monk who had entered the Way of Buddha, ... after having been relieved of his official position in the territory, just like a boro-boro, he wore a light paper garment as clothing

and even slept in it. At this time, they did not as yet play the shakuhachi, but the later komo got their name because they wandered around carrying a straw mat. (Linder 2012, 183 and Kitamura [1830], 1906, 38)

The very issue with this passage of the *Shaseki-shu* that is found in the *Kiyūshōran* is the fact that the quote is written in the voice of Muju Ichien, the original author of the *Shaseki-shu*. In other words, it appears that the monk Muju made the observation about how "monks who entered the way" did not yet play shakuhachi. Linder's study of primary source material reveals that the last sentence of the quote mentioned above—"at this time they did not as yet play the shakuhachi, but the later komo got their name because they wandered around carrying a straw mat" is an observation that Kitamura made. Admittingly, as Linder notes, the *Kiyūshōran* is a difficult text to read and lacks accurate quotation marks, ultimately making it difficult to discern where a quote begins and ends.

Nevertheless, the same quote—the section of the *Shaseki-shu* found in the *Kiyūshōran*—appears in a text that has been "the basis for most of the historical studies of the shakuhachi," (Linder 76, 2012) Nakatsuka Chikuzen's (1887-1944) *Kinko-ryū shakuhachi shikan* (*A Historical View of Kinko-ryū Shakuhachi* (1936-1939, 1979, 44-45). The importance and significance of Nakatsuka's text will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. For now, it is important to understand that Nakatsuka's historical study—which involved an investigation into the primary source material—was the first to question the validity of the *Kyotaku denki*, arguing that it was a forgery masterminded by komusō monks of the Fuke sect. Building on the findings of Kurihara Kota ([1918] 1975) and Mikami Sanji (1902), Nakatsuka rebranded shakuhachi's history by incorporating important historical records that would show more concrete evidence of the instrument's usage. When explaining the origin story of the shakuhachi and how it was used in earlier times, Nakatsuka makes the statement that "komosō were from the beginning boro"

(Linder 2012, 160, Nakatsuka (1936-1939, 1979: 44-45) and uses the quote from the *Shaseki-shu* that is found in the *Kiyūshōran* to substantiate his claim. He writes the following:

In 'Shaseki-shū,' it says: 'Just like boro-boro he wore a light paper garment as clothing and even slept in it. At this time, they did not yet play the shakuhachi, but the komosō got their name because they were carrying a straw mat.' I don't know what period the book 'Shaseki-shū' is from, but in either case, it is noteworthy that the komosō of the early days, that is, in the Hōjō era or the era of the Southern and Northern Courts, did not play shakuhachi" (Linder 2012, 160, Nakatsuka. (1936-1939, 1979 44-45)

After clarifying that komosō did not play shakuhachi in the fourteenth century, Nakatsuka draws on the text of other important pieces of period literature to help explain why the boro-boro and komosō were equated as the same type of monk. These texts will be discussed in the next section due to the role they play in the construction of shakuhachi history and the contextualization of Japanese culture. More critically, it must be observed that Nakatsuka's text, especially information regarding the relationship of the boro-boro and komosō, has been absorbed in later scholarship.

Evidence of how Nakatsuka framed shakuhachi history can be seen in the following texts: (1) Ueno Katami's *Shakuhachi no rekishi* (*The History of Shakuhachi* ([1983], 2002), pages), (2) Takeda Kyōson's *Komusō: Sei to zoku no igyōsha-tachi* (*Komusō: Odd People of the Sacred and the Worldly* (1997), (3) Kamisangō Yūkō 's "Shakuhachi-gaku ryakushi: suizen no tame ni" ("A Short History of Shakuhachi Music: For the Benefit of Blowing Zen," ([1974] 2008), (4) Rile Lee's "Yearning for the Bell: A Study of Transmission in the Shakuhachi Honkyoku Tradition (1992), and (5) Tsukitani Tsuneko's "Shakuhachi koten honkyoku no kenkyū" ("A Study of Classical (koten) Fundamental Pieces (honkyoku) for Shakuhachi" (2000). This list is not meant to represent the only texts that utilize the research of Nakatsuka, but instead, it is meant to highlight the breadth of historians who have cited this work who were focusing on shakuhachi history. Nakatsuka's interpretation of boro-boro and komosō as the same

type of monk gets repeated in a variety of scholarship in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries without any question to the historical veracity of primary source material.

2.4.5.2 Problematic Sources 3, 4, and 5: Tsurezure-gusa, Tsurezure-gusa no Zuchi, and Boro-boro no soshi

Outside of the misinterpreted quote from the *Shaseki-shu* and citing a lesser-known scroll painting, there is another avenue of complexity to consider regarding the *Kiyūshōran*. The section on shakuhachi history proposes that since some monks carried a sword that was the same length as the "ancient bamboo flute"—it is possible that the shakuhachi replaced the swords that the monks carried—specifically mentioning the boro-boro. To back up his suggestion, Kitamora incorporates "ancient literature" (i.e., scholarship that was viewed with an authoritative tone during Kitamora's time). These texts are the *Tsurezure-gusa* (ca. 1340), *Tsurezure-gusa no zuchi* (1621), and the *Boro-boro no soshi* (ca. 1338).

The *Tsurezure-gusa* is a Kamakura period text that had a tremendous impact on Muromachi and Edo period society. Written by period scholar Yoshida Kenko, the text is a compilation of essays that explores period ideologies, cultural perspectives, religious beliefs, and other various topics. Emphasizing its impact, Linda Chance writes

The *Tsurezure-gusa* had served as a resource for poet-priests writing on versification or the theme of impermanence, for warriors and merchants seeking to mold the behavior of their followers, for storytellers building layers of allusion into their repertoire, and for those Buddhist monks who were willing to use a secular source to echo their teaching. (Chance 1997, 41)

In relation to shakuhachi history, Kenko's essays are often used as a point of reference because of how he briefly explains the origins of the boro-boro:

There were no boro-boro in the past. Their origin is the boron-ji, bon-ji, kan-ji, and so forth that we have heard of in recent times. They give the impression of having thrown this world away, but are in fact highly self-conscious, they give the impression of wishing to walk the path of Buddha, but make conflict and strife a matter of their concern. As self-indulgent as they may seem, and though they break the laws of the monk with little

concern or regret, the way in which they take death easily and do not care about anything gives a positive view of them. In all humbleness, I have written down what people say. (see Yoshida ca. 1340, 183-184 and Linder 2012, 155)

Many scholars, including but not limited to Tsukitani, Nakatsuka, Ueno, Blasdel, and Kamisangō, have used this very same passage to authenticate the "long-standing" history of the boro-boro and to propose conjecture—the possibility of the flute being played in "ancient times." For example, in Kamisangō Yūkō's liner notes for an LP by Nihon Columbia Records, "Shakuhachi-gaku ryakushi: suizen no tame ni" ("A Short History of Shakuhachi Music: For the Benefit of Blowing Zen," 1974), Kamisango writes the following about the boro-boro, citing the original Kamakura period text:

According to *Tsurezure-gusa*, it seems that the boro made conflict and strife a matter of their concern, accepted life and death easily, and they were monks who were self-indulgent and *broke* the laws of a monk, and therefore there might have been some kind of connection between the komosō and the *kyōkyaku*. (Kamisango 1974).

This same suggestion of a possible relationship between boro, komosō, and *kyokaku* was repeated and reinterpreted in more notable scholarship on shakuhachi history. For example, Christopher Yohmei Blasdel, a master musician of the Kinko-ryū, adapted and translated Kamisango's liner notes into an article for his instructional text, *The Shakuhachi: A Manual for Learning* (1988/2008, pp. 69-128). In Blasdel's translation, he not only reinforces the notion that monks were known by many different terminologies but also takes it a step further and suggests that all these monks (boro, komo, and komosō) have some type of religious mentality. This can be seen in the following quote:

Their name derives from komo, a simple, woven straw mat worn on their backs to keep out rain and cold. These beggar-monks were also referred to as boro, boroboro, boronji, bonji, and kanji, all words that have religious overtones yet convey feelings of mendicancy and poverty. (Blasdel and Kamisangō [1988] 2008, 82)

According to Linder, Blasdel invented a religious affiliation between the boro-boro and komosō. Through the investigation of period scroll paintings and literature, Linder argues that boro-boro were more focused on scholarly education. Referring specifically to the commentary on the scroll painting, *Shichijūichi-ban Shokunin uta-awase*, he writes,

The use of the words bonji and kanji, which refer to Sanskrit and Chinese respectively, does, of course, indicate that they were learned monks, but in view of the commentary to the 71-ban, the religious inclinations of the boro in that scroll painting seem to have been rather shallow. The boro's strong point is his cultivation, his ability to refer to old Japanese poems, and most likely to understand the references the tsūji is making (Chinese verse, Man'yō-shū). This depicts a man with literary qualities more than with religious insight and depth. (Linder 2012, 172)

Another area that needs to be addressed that helps explain why the *Tsurezure-gusa* was viewed with such reverence is that the text is typically cited in tandem with the *Tsurezure-gusa no zuchi*, a commentary on *Essays of Idleness* by Hayashi Dōshun Razan (1583-1657). Writing commentaries about Kenko's text became a pedagogical tool for scholars to help educate the masses due to its ability to "extended to a variety of social classes whose motives in laying claim to the text, the version of the past it would represent, and hold on the future it could have" (chance linder). The influence of Hayashi and his various writings on aspects of Japanese culture should not be taken lightly. During his lifetime, he was known to help cultivate the growth and popularity of the Neo-Confucianism (*shushigaku* in Japanese) adopted by the Tokugawa government. In addition, Hayashi was employed by the period bakufu to be a tutor to other high-ranking samurai, and his entire family had some type of political affiliation with the government. Hayashi's historical studies and commentaries were interconnected with Edo period society—his texts were standardized in a sense because of his grand influence as a neo-Confucian scholar and administrator. According to Linder, "the connection between boro and the shakuhachi playing komoso was first established by Hayashi Razan in the early seventeenth century" in his

commentary on the *Tsurezure-gusa* (Linder 2012, 176). This is another reason Razan's commentary had such an impact on Edo period society and how shakuhachi history was constructed. In the *Tsurezure-gusa no zuchi*, the following passage ambiguously connects the boro-boro to the komoso and the shakuhachi:

After [the boror-boro], there appeared monks called komosō, not looking like monks, not looking like laymen, and not looking like ascetic monks, carrying a sword playing shakuhachi and with a straw mat on their backs. They walked around the streets, begging at people's doors and concluding that this is the way of the boro-boro. (see Hayashi 1621 and Linder 2012, 147)

Even though both Kenko and Razan refer to scroll paintings as evidence of the existence of komoso and boro-boro, Linder emphasizes that the "extant documents do not support a notion that the komoso took over the position of the komuso" (Linder 2012, 123). Another aspect to consider is that Razan wrote two historical studies on shakuhachi history. Neither article made any mention of the boro-boro being connected to the komoso or, later, komuso. Despite these inconsistencies, the *Tsurezure gusa* and Razan's commentary on the text have been used in nineteenth- and twentieth-century shakuhachi scholarship to authenticate the relationship between the boro-boro and the komusō.

A final text to consider regarding the authentication of early shakuhachi history is the text *Boro-boro no soshi*. This text, discovered in 1338, is often cited as a reference in not only determining the existence of the boro-boro in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but also as another piece of supporting documentation linking the komosō to the boro-boro. According to the *Kiyūshōran*, the text was authored by a monk named Myoe Shonin and was about a poor woman who was compared to a boro-boro "because she would only go to the market after sunset" (Linder 2012, 170). The woman had two sons, Renge-bō, who practiced nenbutsu, and Koku-bō, "who learned the style of the wild monks" (ibid). Renge-bō and Koku-bō wandered

throughout various regions of Japan in a "fantastic and grotesque way" (ibid). Koku-bō was the leader of a thirty-man gang of boro-boro and is described as carrying a sword 54.5 centimeters long. Koku-bo and his gang went on pilgrimages, "scaring people who heard or saw them" and closed their doors at night for the practice of zazen.

Lastly, another layer to consider is the fact that Kitamura assumes that because Koku-bo carried a sword that was "one shakuhachi eight sun" long, the boro-boro started carrying shakuhachi as a replacement for their swords. The specific quote is translated in Linder and states the following "the shakuhachi is the same length as the sword, and therefore maybe it was later changed to the shakuhachi" (Linder 2012, 171). According to Linder, the section of the Kishuyoran offers "no proof or even circumstantial evidence that Koku-bo was a boro monk and played shakuhachi" (ibid); and yet, this text has been quoted and cited by numerous scholars as evidence of the shakuhachi's use by boro-boro and komosō monks. Kitamura's assumption that monks switched their swords for shakuhachi may have been strategically used to authenticate the instrument's long-standing tradition. Mixed in with the irony is this perplexing fact—there is no mention of what type of music the monk may have played. There is no mention of Zen Buddhism or honkyoku, and yet, the shakuhachi tradition has been linked to the boro-boro.

2.4.5.3. Other Problematic Sources: *Sanjūni-ban Shokunin uta-awase* (1494)



Figure 2.8 Photo of a Portion of the Scroll Painting *Sanjūni-ban Shokunin uta-awase* (1494)
To the left is the shakuhachi performer and to the right is the diviner.
(Google Images 2022)

In the previous section that deconstructed the reliability of the *Kiyūshōran*, it was briefly noted how period artworks, scroll paintings (*shokunin uta-awase*) in particular, were used to historically justify shakuhachi's existence in the Muromachi period and, more generically, "ancient society." In the thesis "Purveyors of Power: Artisans and Political Relations in Japan's Late Medieval Age" (2011), Paula Renée Curtis describes the historical significance and tradition of various scroll paintings from the late Kamakura and Early Muromachi period. During the Heian period (dates), poetry competitions were known as *uta-awase*. According to Curtis, two teams (a "left" and "right" team) competed against each other to compose on-the-spot prose on a given theme. Once completed, these poems were then evaluated by judges, and a winner was declared based on the qualities of the poem. *Shokunin uta-awase* are scroll paintings that are "imagined depictions" of the Heian period poetry competitions (Curtis 2011, 8). Curtis explains that there are four lineages of this artistic style which include the following:

Tōhaku-in shokunin uta-awase (*Five Pairs of Artisans*, ca. 1214),
Tsurugaoka hōjō-e shokunin uta-awase (ca. 1261) (*Twelve Pairs of Artisans* ca. 1261),
Sanjūniban shokunin uta-awase (*Sixteen Pairs of Artisans*, ca. 1494), and
Shichijūichiban shokunin uta-awase (*71 Pairs of Artisans*, ca. 1500; *ibid*).

Although scholars have determined that shokunin uta-awase are imagined depictions of earlier poetry competitions, there is much uncertainty on how the tradition of shokunin uta-awase began. The religious pluralism of Japanese society (i.e., honji suijaku), coupled with interconnected notions of sacred and secular, makes it difficult to determine why artistic renderings of these poetry competitions became an important aspect of everyday life in Japan. Curtis theorizes that "the aristocracy may have produced subsequent shokunin uta-awase to resolve public unrest caused by spiritual disturbances" (*ibid*, 18).

For example, Curtis suggested that the *Tobukin Shokunin uta-awase* was authored by Emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239) and the famous Tendai poet Jien (1155-1225) (Curtis 2011, 18). In 1221, Emperor Go-Toba "staged a political rebellion" that resulted in his exile to Oki province, where he eventually died (*ibid*). To help quell and atone for Go-Toba's soul and possible "vengeful spirit," subsequent shokunin uta-awase (such as the *Tsurugaoka hōjō-e shokunin uta-awase*) were created as a way to honor Emperor Go-Toba (*ibid*). It is important to remember that artists that were from the religious and/or performance tradition "were thought to facilitate connections between this world and the next" (*ibid*). It is possible that during the Muromachi period, "following the massive destruction of the Ōnin War and the beginning of the tumultuous Warring States Period," shokunin uta-awase were created to help balance the social and spiritual upheaval (Curtis 2011, 18-19). Specific to this research project, the scroll paintings that are often cited in the primary and secondary literature on shakuhachi history from the

Muromachi period are the *Sanjūni-ban Shokunin uta-awase* (*Poetry Contest Between Thirty-two Artisans*, 1494) and *Shichijūichi-ban Shokunin uta-awase* (*71 Pairs of Artisans* ca. 1500).

Scroll paintings, as well as other genres of artwork, have been used "as a rich source of information about artisan life and classification" (Curtis 2011, 8). However, it is important to note that the shokunin uta-awase, in particular, are romanticized interpretations, and using them to justify the early existence of "Zen shakuhachi" is rather limiting. Explaining the underlying structure of Heian period poetry, Curtis writes

Uta-awase strictly adhered to the poetic standards of traditional poetry; thereby, the writers depicted artisans through a courtly lens and colored their representations with poetic conventions. Courtiers may have used an artisan 'theme' with uta-awase as a kind of satire or parody on the classic uta-awase genre, encouraged by the popularity of *haikai*. (comic poetry) (ibid, 15)

The *Sanjuniban Shokunin uta-awase* (see Figure 2.8) is one of a series of scroll paintings drawn and written from a satirical viewpoint. In total, there are thirty-two artisans (sixteen pairs) featured on the entire piece of artwork. According to the work of Iwasaki Kae, as translated in Curtis' thesis, this scroll painting features "a far larger number of performers and religious figures that straddled the line between the religious and secular as itinerant professionals than any other shokunin uta-awase" (Iwasaki 1987, 114-115 and Curtis 2011, 7).

Specific to this study, pair number six in the scroll painting depicts a komosō playing a shakuhachi-type flute facing off against a diviner (*san-oki*) in the imagined poetry competition.

The diviner begins the competition with the following poem:

左：算をき
おくさんのさうしやうしたる花の時風をはいれぬ五形なりけり

Hidari: San-oki
Oku san no, sōjō shitaru, hana no toki, kaze o ba irenu, gogyō narikeri.

Left: Diviner

In divination, reading the implications of the elements in spring time, The wind I do not allow in, that is the way divination with (flower-)stalks should be conducted (translation provided by Linder 2012, 190).

In response, the komosō composes the following poem:

右: こも僧
花ざかりふくとも誰かいとふべき風にはあらぬこもの尺八

Migi: Komosō
Hana-zakari, fuku tomo tareka, itou beki, kaze ni wa aranu, komo no shakuhachi

Right: komosō
With the flowers in full bloom, who would mind even a spring breeze? It is not the wind but the shakuhachi of the komo.

The poetry duel between the diviner and the komosō also includes commentary from the judge. The judge states the following:

算道の指南五形の相尅相生を本體にて、一切の吉凶を判定する事なれば、花のときの相生に 風をばいれぬ五形と勘あけぬるはいと興あり、薦僧の三昧紙きぬ肩にかけ面桶腰につけ、貴 賤の門戸によりて尺八ふくほかには別の業なき者にや、さればふくとも誰かいとふべきといひて、風にはあらぬこもの尺八とよめるに花盛とをける五文字、風なき花の時節ふく尺八の 興は一しほなるべく、いひいたせる尤よろし、算をきの五形よりもこも僧の一曲やさしくき こゆるにや。

Sandō no shinan gogyō no sōkoku-sōjō o hontai nite, issai no kikkyō o hantei suru koto nareba, hana no toki no sōjō ni kaze o ba irenu gogyō to kan akenuru wa ito kyō ari, komosō no sanmai kamikinu kata ni kake mentsu koshi ni tsuke, kisen no monko ni yorite shakuhachi fuku hoka ni wa betsu no waza naki mono ni ya, sarebafuku tomo tareka itou beki to iite, kaze ni wa aranu komo no shakuhachi to yomeru ni hana-zakari to okeru gomoji, kaze naki hana no jisetsu fuku shakuhachi no kyō wa hitoshio naru beku, ii-itaseru motto yoroshi, san-oki no gogyō yorimo komosō no ikkyoku yasashiku kikoyuru ni ya.

The teaching of the mathematician-diviner has its origin, its true form, in telling the destructive and constructive relations between the five elements, and from there, to judge all aspects of good and bad fortune. Therefore, it is all the more interesting that intuition dawns on him if he does not let in the wind when reading the stalks in the time of spring. The samādhi of the komosō, is it not wearing paper garments over their shoulders and a begging bowl at their waists, visiting the houses of rich and poor, playing their shakuhachi, not having any other things they can do? Well, the poem reads, "who would

mind even if it blows," and then continues, "it is not the wind but the shakuhachi of the komo." Thanks to this phrasing, adding the five syllables *hana-zakari*, in the midst of spring, the interesting aspect of the poem, the blowing shakuhachi in the windless season of the flowers, is strongly enhanced. The phrasing is at its best, and it is the better poem. Is not a piece by the komosō more pleasing than the stalks of the fortune-teller? (Translation provided by Linder 2012, 192).

In the historiography of shakuhachi history, it is very typical to see only the painting of the komosō as well as the accompanying poem by the komosō. The illustration of the diviner, as well as his poem, is rarely included, and even I am guilty of this in my earlier research on the instrument. What is emblematic of the narrative of shakuhachi history is the illustration of the komosō paired with his poem, or just the illustration of the komosō with no poem attached—the context of the illustration as well as the poem is rarely discussed. For example, in Kamisangō's "Shakuhachi-gaku ryakushi: suizen no tame ni" ("尺八楽略史-吹禅のために," "A Short History of Shakuhachi Music: For the Benefit of Blowing Zen," (1974), 1995, 75) he deduces that the commentary from the *Sanjuniban shokunin uta-awase* in addition with the usage of the characters "虚無僧" for komosō designated that the komosō "were not simple beggars, but had a Buddhist nuance" (ibid). Additionally, Blasdel's translation of the very same Kamisango article emphasizes that the monks "were actually involved in Buddhist disciplines" (Blasdel and Kamisango [1988], 2008, 82). Similarly, in Lee's thesis "Yearning for the Bell: A Study of Transmission in the Shakuhachi Honkyoku Tradition" (1992), he writes about the *Sanjuniban shokunin uta-awase* in the following way:

In the mid-16th century collection of poetry and illustrations entitled *Sanjuniban shokunin uta-awase* (三十二番職人歌合 ca. 1539) is a poem entitled "Komosō" (薦層). Two lines in the poem read:「花ざかり吹くとも誰かいとふべき 風にはあらぬこもの尺八」Amidst spring flowers who should care that the wind blows? It is not the wind but the shakuhachi of the komo. The accompanying critique states: "*Komosō no san mai....kisen no monko ni yorite shakuhachi o fuku hoka ni wa betsu no waza naki mono ya*" (薦層の三昧... 貴賤の門戸によりて尺八を吹くほかには別の業なき者にや): 'The komosō are absorbed in visiting the houses of both rich and poor, begging and playing shakuhachi – that is all they can do'

(translations by Blasdel 1988:82). This is the first reference to *komosō* (薦層), beggar priests who played the *shakuhachi*. These mendicant *shakuhachi* players are the immediate predecessors to the *komusō* (虚無僧) of the Edo period. (Lee 1992, 53)

Lastly, in Gutzwiller's article "The Shakuhachi of the Fuke Sect: Ancient Instrument of Zen" (1984), the shakuhachi historian uses the *Sanjunban shokunin uta-awase* as a visual example of what a *komosō* would look like. There is no mention of the accompanying poem that is included with the illustration. From there, Gutzwiller simply states that *komosō* were predecessors to the Edo period *komusō* of the Fuke Sect. He writes

Of the many groups of mendicant monks which were a by-product of the great Japanese religious revival between the 11th and 13th centuries, there was one whose emblem was the shakuhachi. The monks of this group were named *komosō*, "straw mat monks" as their one and only possession was a straw mat which they carried around with them. Nothing is known about their music. But from them arose the *komusō*, the 'monks of void and nothingness,' even though these laid claim to a different lineage. (Gutzwiller 1984, 55).

Neither Kamisangō, Blasdel, nor Lee mentioned the historical background of the scroll painting or took into consideration that the *Sanjuniban shokunin uta-awase* was written/drawn from a satirical viewpoint. Linder's research is the first text I encountered that explained the contextual background of the scroll painting while problematizing its usage as a primary source for evidence of the early existence of "Zen shakuhachi" practice. Furthermore, the core of twentieth-century English language literature on shakuhachi history indicates some type of seamless connection between *boro* (i.e., *boro-boro*), *komosō*, and *komusō*. However, these scholars are not necessarily at fault; Japanese language scholarship from the eighteen and early nineteenth centuries played a large role in later English language interpretations. For example, Linder's historical analysis of primary source material acknowledges that there are many facsimiles of the *Sanjuniban shokunin uta-awase* in circulation. Linder describes the most popular copies of the scroll painting in the following passage,

The most notable [copies of the *Sanjuniban shokunin uta-awase*] are the Kōsetsu-bon, which is the oldest, the Ishii-bon, and the Tenri-bon, all from the Muromachi period. Among these, the Kōsetsu-bon has the poems written among the paintings, similar to the Tsurugaoka scroll painting, but it lacks the second set of jukkai poems. The Ishii-bon and Tenri-bon have a listing at the beginning of the artisans who make an appearance, followed by the paintings, and then the poems in numbered order: 1–16 for poems with the theme hana, and 17–32 for poems relating to jukkai. (Linder 2012, 188)

When analyzing twentieth-century secondary scholarship that discusses the *Sanjuniban shokunin uta-awase*, Linder points out a rather gross discrepancy. In the early transcriptions of the scroll painting that are found in the Kōsetsu-bon and Tenri-bon, the title of the poem is written in the following way "こも僧"—where "こも" is written in the syllabic *hiragana* (i.e., *komo*) and "僧" ("sō) is the character for "monk." In addition, the judge's commentary uses the following characters: 薦僧 which is also the phonetic equivalent to the word komosō. The character "薦" ("ko) in this context refers to the straw mat that the monks would carry with them on their travels to use for sleeping. What is interesting about this particular historical investigation is that the Edo period publication that incorporates the *Sanjuniban shokunin uta-awase* uses the characters "虚妄僧"(komusō) for the title of the poem written by the fictional shakuhachi playing a monk. For example, in the *Gunshoruiju* (1779-1819, *Classified Collection of Older Literature*) 1782 edition,

the word komosō is written as 虚妄僧 in the titles of both poem number six and poem number twenty-two. In the listing of artisans at the beginning of the scroll painting, in both commentaries, and in poem number six, the word komo is used, written with syllables as こも. (Linder 2012, 199)

The characters 虚妄僧 translate to komusō, the famous "priests of nothingness" of the Edo period. A similar interpretation can be found in an early nineteenth-century Japanese language text by Edo period scholar Santo Kyoden (1761–1813). Santo Kyoden wrote the *Kotto-shu* (*A Collection of Curious*, 1804), where he discusses and describes the *Sanjuniban shokunin uta-*

awase. The *Kotto-shu* also uses the characters 虚妄僧 (*komusō*) as the title of the poem that accompanies the scroll painting. Kyoden does not go into detail about the type of Buddhist affiliation these monks situated themselves in (i.e., certainly not Fuke), nor do they suggest the type of music the *komosō* may be playing. The only helpful statement that Kyoden makes is the suggestion that the scroll painting was created, namely "before Tenbun 6, 1537" (Linder 2012, 1990).

Again, the whole purpose of this discussion is to deconstruct the narrative of shakuhachi's "ancient" connection to Zen Buddhism as well as to understand how the relationship between *boro-boro*, *komosō*, and *komusō* is a mixture of invention and mistake. After studying many copies of the *Sanjuniban Shokunin uta-awase*, Linder confirms that the bulk of those copies use "こも僧" (*komosō*) to represent the illustrated monk. He explains this in the following passage

To perceive the characters 虚妄僧 as the original way of writing *komosō* around the turn of the sixteenth century seems highly unlikely and questionable, especially if the characters are supposed to be interpreted as revealing a sincere Buddhist attitude. Furthermore, it does not seem to have become the conventional way of writing *komosō* in the early nineteenth century. I believe that a misinterpretation of how these characters were used may give rise to a misunderstanding and misconception of the position that the *komosō* had in society during the Muromachi period and possibly also the Edo period. Takeda states that various non-standard characters were used in the Edo period: "*komusō* 虚無僧 was, in the early days of the Edo period, written as *komosō* 薦僧 or *komosō* 虚妄僧, *komosō* 籠僧 [籠 meaning 'seclusion'], *komosō* 菰僧 [菰 is another character denoting 'straw mat'], *komusō* 古無僧 [古 means 'old' and 無 'nothingness'] or *komusō* 普化僧 [the characters 普化 are normally read *fuke*, the name of the monk Fuke]," indicating that a variety of non-standard – not necessarily phonetic-equivalent–characters were in vogue. The reading *komu* did, however, not appear until the Edo period, when the group of samurai that began acting as *komosō* or *komusō* first appeared. (Linder 2012, 202)

The *Kotto-shu*, the *Kiyūshōran*, and other period Japanese language texts do not go into detail about the type of Buddhist affiliation these monks situated themselves in (i.e., Fuke), nor do they suggest the type of music *komosō*'s may be performing. More importantly, the historical context

of the satirical poetry competition is not accounted for. And yet, in core twentieth-century English language scholarship on the history of the instrument (see Kamisangō and Blasdel, Lee, and Gutwiller), primary sources from the Edo period that discuss the *Sanjuniban shokunin uta-awase* are used to substantiate a linear relationship between the boro-boro, komosō, and komusō. Linder's research is not the only text that argues against the invented relationship between the three different types of monks.

In his article "Komusō and 'Shakuhaci-Zen': From Historical Legitimation to the Spiritualisation of a Buddhist Denomination in the Edo Period" (2017), Max Deeg translates the poem and commentary of the *Sanjuniban Shokunin uta-awase* from Ueno Katami's book *Shakuhachi no Rekishi* (尺八の歴史, *The History of Shakuhachi*, 1983). Although Ueno uses a version of the *Sanjuniban Shokunin uta-awase* that is from the Edo period—a version that uses the characters "虚妄僧"—he notes that these specific characters carry two different meanings, "monk of voidness and idleness" and "monk of lies, of betrayal" (Deeg 2017, 15). Overall, the *Sanjuniban Shokunin uta-awase* tells historians that there was a shakuhachi-type flute in existence during the Muromachi period and that it was used by mendicants as their way to make a living.

2.4.6 The Real Boro-boro and Komosō

Komosō and boro-boro were other types of monks who fell into the category of hijiri. Outside of being beggars and possible wanderers, historical documentation about the daily activities of these monks is scarce. In Linder's philological research, a boro-boro is "a person who is not willing to show his face in daylight" and/or "a person knowledgeable about Sanskrit" (Linder 2012, 176). There is no evidence that suggests that the boro-boro played shakuhachi, and very little is known about what aspects of "cultural traits, behavior, clothing, and so forth" were

associated with them (ibid). In Izumi's book, he defines the boro-boro as "people in religious training that were at the same time Buddhist outlaw types who enjoyed nothing more than a good brawl" (Izumi 2016, 38). Izumi firmly believes that the *Tsurezure-gusa* and the *Boro-boro no soshi* placed the boro-boro in a romanticized light and that the overall idea of the boro-boro helped further popularize Zen Buddhism (ibid).

Although not all komosō played bamboo flutes, their image became iconographic due to their appearance in period artwork such as the *Sanjuniban Shokunin uta-awase*. Because of this, the komosō were the quintessential beggar monks of the Muromachi period and were sometimes grouped together under the category of street entertainers and regarded as "persona non grata" (Linder 2012, 144). Izumi strongly advocates that there are iconographic examples that support the notion that "the komosō were using an instrument of standardized length" by the late Muromachi period (Izumi 2016, 45). For example, the *Rakuchu Rakugai-zu* is a group of screen paintings that contains an illustration of komosō monks begging in Kyoto in the sixteenth century (ibid). Izumi notes that the *Rakuchu Rakugai-zu* also includes the depiction of large and small group performers participating in Noh, Kyogen, dengaku, and *furyu-odori*—a dance form associated with religious festivals where komosō often appeared and played shakuhachi. Evidence of this can be found in the diary kept "by the courtier Tamashina Tokitsugu" called the *Tokitsugukyoki* (1571, see Izumi 2016, 61). In the diary, the courtier notes that on July 25, 1571, there was a *furyu odori* festival, and the komosō were "rated as the third best performance" (Izumi 2016, 62). In addition, Izumi also refers to the previously discussed *Sanjuniban Shokunin uta-awase* as an example of shakuhachi being played by people from different realms of society. Izumi argues that the *Rakuchu Rakugai-zu* can serve as one example of "sacred" shakuhachi

while the *Sanjuniban uta awase* serves as an example of the instrument being used by different classes for different reasons.

The examination of period artwork led Izumi to conclude that by the late medieval period, there was a difference between shakuhachi played for entertainment and shakuhachi that used by komosō (ibid 45). The end of the Muromachi period and the beginning of the Edo period is when "those who promoted religious komosō shakuhachi began to refer to themselves as Fuke shakuhachi" (ibid 65). To support this, he turns to artwork that serves as a representative example of the newly-formed sect's religious ideology. In the Osaka Museum of Art, there are a set of scrolls that include artwork and narrative prose. According to Izumi, one of these scrolls includes the topic of a komosō named Sangetsu. In the tale, Sangetsu encounters a fox spirit disguised as a woman; it ends with the komosō providing the spirit with "Buddhist salvation" (ibid). In this selection, Sangetsu is not described with a shakuhachi but instead is described as making and selling masks, which indicates that the activities of the komosō were not just restricted to shakuhachi playing. Despite this, Izumi argues that the "the story allows for a glimpse of Zen ideology"—for the komosō sermon reflected not only Buddhist law but also the teachings of Fuke, who became the spiritual pillar of Edo period komusō monks (ibid, 66).

It is no doubt that komosō "helped establish the practice of traveling, begging, mendicant lifestyle" coupled with shakuhachi playing—but it is important to remember that the mendicant lifestyle was not a unique characteristic limited to the komosō monks. There were other similar social cohorts that would participate in mendicant traveling and would use a musical instrument or art as their primary way of raising funds. In addition to the entrenched assumption that the boro-boro, komusō, and komusō are related, romanticized tales of the period's historical culture heroes further complicate the process of separating historical fact from fiction. For this

discussion, we must return to the story of Roan and briefly investigate the significance of Ikkyū Sojun.

2.4.7 Historical Culture Heroes of the Muromachi Period: The Mysterious Roan and the Eccentric Ikkyū Sojun



Figure 2.9 Portrait of Ikkyū Sojun
(Google Images, 2022)

It is truly uncertain if Roan was a real person; however, despite this, he is viewed as a revered figure in shakuhachi history with unverified connections to Hotto Kakushin, Fuke, and Ikkyū. In Stansfield's thesis, Roan is described as an immigrant from China who came to live in Japan between the years of 1469-1486. It is believed that he settled in Uji and built the Kyuko-an temple. Drawing on the work of Tanabe Hisao (1954), Stanfield summarizes Tanabe's findings and states that, according to tradition, Roan may have come to Japan due to an edict by the first ruler of the Ming Dynasty where "thirty-six families of the province of Fukien" were sent to the Ryuku Islands "to make the islanders conform to the manners of China" (Stanfield 1977, 61). Outside of Stanfield's text, primary source resources do not provide much insight into the

whereabouts of Roan until they start gradually manifesting in the Edo Period. For example, in the *Yoshufu-shi* (1684-1686, "*A Gazetteer of Yamashiro Province*), Roan is portrayed as a "foreign monk of unknown origin, playing shakuhachi, and appearing as a follower of Fuke" (Linder 2012, 22). Likewise, the *Shichiku kokin-shu* by Nakamura Sosan (1664) states that "the hitoyogiri genealogy was transmitted from Roan, Sosa, and Takase Bizen no kami," (Linder 2012, 222).³⁵ In Linder's research, he concludes that "there is no basis" that Roan was a follower of Fuke and emphasizes that Roan is a legendary figure in shakuhachi history. However, there are scholars who suggest otherwise and argue the extreme possibility of Roan's existence.

In *Paintings of Bamboo Flutes* (2016), Izumi examines a primary source called the *Keroketsu*, a compilation of "sayings of Yuichi Tsujo (1394-1429), a Zen Buddhist priest belonging to the Kennin-ji school" (Izumi 2016, 30). Izumi argues the text's relevance because of how the *Keroketsu* described Roan as the one who "established the Enonji Temple" and contains a poem specifically about Roan's shakuhachi (*Master Roan's Shakuhachi*). In addition, while Linder dismisses the validity of the *Yoshufu-shi*, Izumi emphasizes that the primary source contains important clues pointing toward Roan's possible existence. Providing more context, Izumi describes the *Yoshu-fushi* (1686) as a "regional topography [that] contains descriptions of the Myoan-ji Temple in Kyoto's Higashima district and the Kyoko-an in Uji" (Izumi 2016, 30). The primary source explains that Roan often referred to himself as the "Fuketsudo-ja kanji" or the "Fuke-doja" and "when asked what the Buddhist Law was, he would answer by producing one note on his flute and then leaving" (Izumi 2016, 30). The *Yoshu-fushi* also explains that Roan and Ikkyū were friends and that Roan truly "yearned to live like Ikkyū" (ibid). Izumi

³⁵ In my research, I could not find any details about Sosa or Takase Bizen no Kami. They are only mentioned in this context in Linder's book and in Ueno's *Shakuhachi no rekishi* (1983, 2002 151).

surmises that there is so much detail about the topography of the region, coupled with descriptions of temples that were associated with Roan's appearance in the *Yoshu-fushi* that it would be unusual for all of those details to be fabricated. Explaining further, Izumi argues, "even if this Edo-period source can be seen as a dramatic interpretation, it would nonetheless be odd to have such a detailed description of an imaginary figure in a topography with absolutely no investment in Fuke-sect shakuhachi" (ibid 30). In his research analysis of shakuhachi history, Linder's attitude towards the authenticity of the *Yoshu-fushi* is dismissive since it was written two hundred years after Ikkyū's time.

The main reason for Linder's dismissive attitude regarding the authenticity of the *Yoshu-fushi* is the fact that it was written two hundred years after Ikkyū's time. Despite the tenuous connection, twentieth-century literature written in both English and Japanese deliberately connected the two monks together and labeled them as "the first komosō monks." For example, in Nakatsuka Chikuzen's *Kinko-ryū's shakuhachi shikan* (1936-1939, 1979, pgs. 261, 265), Chikuzen argues that Ikkyū and Roan "created the perceived connection to Fuke" and "that for Ikkyū, Roan is Fuke in his heart" (Linder 2012, 58). This interpretation is then repeated in Tsukitani Tsuneko's *Shakuhachi koten honkyoku no kenkyu* (2000) as well as Kamisangō *Shakuhachi-gaku no ryakushi* (1974). What is known is that Roan's existence has yet to be proven. We will learn later that Edo period literature not only romanticized the relationship between Ikkyū and Roan but also the komusō monk's relationship with Zen and Edo period society.

By itself, Roan's legendary status paled in comparison to that of Ikkyū Sojun (1394-1482)—a scientifically proven real person, a revered symbolic figure in Zen Buddhism, and a popular culture icon of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is believed that he was the

bastard son of Emperor Go-Komatsu, and at the age of five, he was sent to study Rinzai Zen at Ankoku-ji temple. As Ikkyū got older, he became highly critical of monastic life and began advocating for the integration of the arts and Zen practice because he was not only an artist of multiple disciplines, but he also viewed participation in the arts as beneficial for religious and spiritual practice. Because of his influence on the arts, many scholars argue that Ikkyū had a great influence on the development of sumi-e painting, the cultivation of the tea ceremony, and a variety of poetry styles.

Over time, Ikkyū developed an anti-establishment attitude and rather eccentric behavior. In Sonja Arntzen's thesis "title," she discusses a document from 1436 that describes some of Ikkyū's eccentric behavior. The primary source states that Ikkyū "was noticed wandering through the streets of Saka, wearing a wooden sword, playing shakuhachi, and regaling passersby with satirical accounts of the behavior of monks" (Arntzen 1966, 14). Aside from his Fuke-esque behavior, Ikkyū's poetry is cited to justify and authenticate shakuhachi history. In many of his writings, he discusses the sound of the hitoyogiri and offers some perspective on the experience of playing it. In Ikkyū's major work, the *Kyōunshū* (*Crazy Cloud Collection*, ca. 1467-1468), there are at least three poems that mention shakuhachi and nine poems that refer to Fuke. For examples of his poetry, please see the index. It is these writings that place Ikkyū in such high regard in the world of shakuhachi.

The combination of historical accounts that describe his outlandish behavior coupled with his poetry that includes the topic of Fuke and shakuhachi has led many to believe that he played the instrument and at least had a connection to the neighboring komosō monks. Ikkyū's philosophy and strange behavior grew so popular that it was later labeled "mad Zen," and his memory carried well into the Edo period with texts romanticizing his antics. According to

Linder, Ikkyū helped popularize some of Fuke's sayings, especially the "Myoto-rai, myoto-da..." which is often associated with shakuhachi's origin story. In the present day, Ikkyū is known to younger generations through the anime *Ikkyū-san* (1975-1982), a historical cartoon comedy about the monk's early life.



Figure 2.11 Example of the Animated Series *Ikkyū-san*
(Google Images, 2022)

In many cohorts of shakuhachi participants, it is commonly believed that Ikkyū was the composer of *Murasaki Reibo* (紫鈴慕, *Purple Bell*), a honkyoku that is still practiced and performed today. In my own studies, I was taught that *Murasaki Reibo* was a honkyoku that was attributed to Ikkyū; however, the idea that Ikkyū is the actual composer of this honkyoku has permeated and entrenched shakuhachi history due to oral transmission and the Internet. For example, the website for the International Shakuhachi Society provides different perspectives on

the origin story of the honkyoku; however, most of the perspectives agree—despite the lack of evidence—that Ikkyū was the composer of *Murasaki Reibo*. For example, the International Shakuhachi Society's webpage for *Murasaki Reibo* reads

This is one of the rare examples among classical shakuhachi honkyoku, where the name of the composer has been handed down. That it was composed by Ikkyu is an oral tradition: there are no supporting records. However, since the collection of Chinese-style poems...as well as other materials, make it clear that Ikkyu enjoyed playing the shakuhachi and the hitoyogiri, it wouldn't be impossible to suppose that they did indeed write this.³⁶

Because of Ikkyū's poetry, various websites tend to exaggerate Ikkyū's connection with shakuhachi by not only emphasizing the fact that he composed an ancient honkyoku but also by suggesting that he was a master of the instrument and/or characterizing him as a "great suizen monk. Despite the exaggerations, the notion that Ikkyū composed *Murasaki Reibo* holds truth to not only shakuhachi players but also followers of Ikkyū. Historically, there is no other information that gives further details about Ikkyū playing shakuhachi. Despite this, Ikkyū, as well as Roan, continue to be "instrumental in creating the connection between Fuke, shakuhachi, and Zen," and their legends hold not only a quasi-mythological significance but also a deep sense of religious value (Linder 2012, 141).

2.5 Azuchi-Momoyama Period (1568-1598): Unification and the Rise of the Bourgeois Class

The start of the Azuchi-momoyama period officially signified the final phase of the warring states period (Sengoku Ji-dai dates) and the slow beginning of unification once Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) rose to power. The details surrounding the historical political intrigue that led to Nobunaga's power grab and eventual forced suicide are out of the scope of this

³⁶"Murasaki Reibo," International Shakuhachi Society, accessed January 18, 2019. <https://www.komuso.com/pieces/pieces.pl?piece=2049>

project—however, his overall policy practices were continued by two successors: first, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) and then Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616). Because of these three leaders, the Azuchi-momoyama period saw several fundamental changes not only in national political issues but also within local government that changed the structure and landscape of the status quo. For example, Hideyoshi created a system that replaced the layered estates and cloister emperor process (*shoen* in Japanese), which previously allowed daimyos and other samurai in high positions to subject "their vassals to dependent status and direct discipline" (Elison and Bardwel, eds., 1981, 13). Under Hideyoshi's rule, his system required samurai to "relinquish their close ties with the land and the peasantry" and did not allow farmers and peasants to own any weapons (ibid 14). Known as the *Taiko Kenchi* (a series of land surveys where every ounce of the property was analyzed by Hideyoshi), this system was implemented with the idea that

Any remaining local authority—whether samurai or religious establishment—which clung to historical claims of proprietorship had those claims nullified and its lands reassigned on the basis of new grants from Hideyoshi or one of his daimyo vassals. (Elison and Bardwel, eds., 1981, 17)

The reassignment of land, as well as the general income of a standard samurai, was now based on a merit system where stipends could only be increased through continued service to the shogun (known as *kokudaka*). In addition, Hideyoshi's land survey held villages strictly accountable for paying their taxes but gave autonomy to the villages by allowing village leaders to determine how much taxes they should pay.

Many scholars consider the *Taiko Kenchi* and the *kokudaka* as "one of the most fundamental social changes of the sixteenth century" because of how it not only helped cultivate the spread of wealth among different social classes but also helped develop the growing bourgeois class (ibid 19). The implementation of the *Taiko Kenchi* led to

"a combination of absolute rule exercised over units of administration within which Japanese of every class—but particularly the peasantry—were given the protection of legally defined spheres of existence" (ibid, 10).

In other words, the *Taiko Kenchi* legally defined and set parameters on the relationship between the samurai and plebian classes—the samurai were not allowed to own land but could acquire wealth via service to the shogun, while villages were held accountable for paying their taxes but had some autonomy as to how those taxes should be paid. These social changes gave rise to a demand for new luxuries where "rich merchants who ran the town affairs avidly cultivated the warlords who were the source of their prosperity" (ibid 4). This spread of prosperity cultivated a "symbiotic union between artists and warlords" and led to a wave of new artistic styles and demands, especially in architecture and music (ibid). Reflecting this tendency is found in the name of the period itself— "Azuchi-Momoyama"—which signified the location of Nobunaga's and Hideyoshi's grandiose castles. Both castles were built not only for strategic warfare but also to show off, impress, and intimidate political rivals. Over one hundred castles were built during this period, as well as temples, palaces, and other grand structures. The increase in architecture placed a demand on decorative arts and paved the path for urbanization and social transformation, cultivating a wealthy merchant class.

2.5.1. General Overview of Music During the Azuchi-Momoyama Period

The popularity and attention that Edo period music and artistic culture continue to receive have much to do with the colorfulness and flamboyance of Azuchi-Momoyama period culture. In the chapter "Japanese Society and Culture in the Momoyama Era" (1981), Bardwell Smith describes the period as

. . . one in which art, free from earlier constraints of religious ideology, became an expression of political and social legitimacy, as its new patrons enhanced their status

through the very expansiveness with which they courted, engaged in, and surrounded themselves with cultural and artistic endeavors (Barwell 1981, 263).

Even Hideyoshi participated in learning how to master the art of noh drama because he "recognized noh's potential as a means of self-glorification" (ibid 236). The importation and development of the shamisen helped cultivate a growing interest in the "adaptation of song to dance" and the continued preservation and performance of *kouta*—the short song. Kouta was often used in *furyu-odori*, and during this time, *furyu-odori* were performed more often at the request of those who were able to financially support the performance. As the "prevailing genre of song in the 16th century," kouta began to be compiled in 1518, as evidenced by the *Kanginshu*, an anthology of collected songs from various genres that were primarily used for entertainment at banquets. During the Azuchi-Momoyama period, the *Kanginshu* was extremely popular, with several copies and versions in circulation. The new bourgeois class placed a demand on new songs as well as other forms of musical entertainment. In this period, there were at least three other anthologies published on kouta and other vocal genres: (1) *Sanshu shitata gun tauta* (1573, also known as the *Tensho no tauta*, an anthology of songs related to agricultural field work, (2) *Ryutatsu kouta shu* (1593, a collection of kouta), and (3) *Soan kouta shu* (1600, another anthology of short songs). In addition to the shamisen, other instruments, such as the koto and the *ko-tsuzumi*, were often seen as part of the atmosphere of various music and dance activities. Artists of the period have depicted these instruments (including hitoyogiri shakuhachi) used in various aspects of society, ranging from the context of the imperial court events to festivals and village performances.

2.5.2. Kabukimono and the Rise of Shakuhachi for Entertainment

As the archipelago was on its way toward unification, the decades of civil war left many samurai homeless, masterless, and/or jobless. Drawing on the work of Nakatsuka, Linder states that "already in the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568-1598), the number of rōnin increased, and in a quest for an existence, the masterless samurai found a suitable position in presenting the appearance of outcast mendicant monks, komosō" (Linder 2012, 151). In my research on shakuhachi history, I noticed a trend to skip over Azuchi-Momoyama because there is not much information in English language literature about the activities surrounding the instrument during this time frame. Much of the current scholarship focuses on the shakuhachi from the Edo period forward due to the abundant amount of primary source material that was made available. It is also probable that this period is excluded from some scholarship because the activities the shakuhachi were involved in did not necessarily fit the narrative of an ancient instrument of Zen. For example, there were other social groups that were known to play shakuhachi, whose stories also had a hand in popularizing the komusō monk's quasi-fantasy Zen warrior monk image. These cohorts were known later in the Edo period as *kabukimono* but went by the following terminologies during the Azuchi-Momoyama period: *kyokaku*, *otokodate*, and/or *machi-yakko*.

According to Izumi, kabukimono-type groups were cultivated during the end of the Muromachi Period in response to the vicious and eccentric activities of the *hatamoto-yakko* (Izumi 2016, 68). Hatamoto-yakko loosely translates to "servants of the shogun" and is comprised of samurai with bizarre behavior and beliefs. In the book *Yakuza: Japan's Criminal Underground* (2003), David E. Kaplan and Alea Dubro describe the hatamoto-yakko as samurai:

They made heavy use of slang and adopted outrageous names, such as Taisho Jingi-gumi, or the All-Gods Gang. They displayed an unusual loyalty among themselves, swearing to protect one another under any circumstance, even against their own parents. (Kaplan and Dubro 2012, 5)

Although they were servants of the shogun, these samurai were known for terrorizing the townspeople, taking advantage of them, and would often test out the sharpness of their swords on random townsfolk. As a general definition, *kabukimono* were comprised of samurai, rōnin, rebellious commoners, or outlaws with no association with larger criminal groups. They are often described as wearing outlandish outfits and hairstyles, participating in eccentric behavior, and sometimes carrying "remarkably long swords that nearly trailed along the ground" (ibid 4). It is Important to note that there seem to be slight differences between these cohorts even though their behavior, dress, and association with shakuhachi have similar characteristics.

In relation to shakuhachi history, the *kyokaku* specifically were a group of men mostly comprised of commoners and rōnin that were considered to operate with a noble character who were known to resist the inconsistencies in society. Edo period literature (see Kurihara (1918), 1975, 185–186) tells the story of a *kyokakyu* named Karigane Bunshichi. Karigane was known to not only play shakuhachi but "found it useful for quarrels...and cut the bamboo at its root and used it instead of a sword" (Linder 2012, 94). Linder suggests that this reason for keeping the root of the bamboo is plausible because of how a period historian and haiku scholar stated similar facts about the rebellious group. For example, in the *Honchō Sejidan-ki* (1734), Kikuoka Senryō writes, "It is said that the making with the root of the bamboo began with the *kyokau*, whose origins lie in the Kyoto and Osaka area, *kamigata*, during the Muromachi period" (Linder 2012, 94). In today's shakuhachi circle, this story is often cited (albeit vaguely and oversimplified at times) as the reason the root end of the bamboo became incorporated in the overall shakuhachi construction—the root of the bamboo served as a blunt weapon. The point of mentioning *kabukimono*-type groups at this point in the timeline is to foreshadow their importance in the Edo Period. *Kabukimono* became extremely popular—they were often featured as characters in

literature, plays, and drama. In addition, they were highly fashionable. An otokodate or a kabukimono's outfit was not complete without a shakuhachi at his side—regardless if he played the instrument or not. More importantly, with these different social groups utilizing the instrument for different reasons illuminates the fact that the "hitoyogiri and Fuke shakuhachi were not clearly perceived as different until the latter half of the seventeenth century" (ibid 95).

It is also important to remember that the word "hitoyogiri" was not a commonly used term during this century. This presents another layer of difficulty when trying to trace the influence of shakuhachi history. Like the *Taigen-shō*, the term hitoyogiri was applied by scholars and not by period musicians. Primary sources indicate that the bamboo flute was referred to as the tanteki as evidenced by the popularity of Omori Sokun (大森宗勲 1568-1625), a public figure in Momoyama period culture "credited with popularizing the instrument amongst the general public" (Lee 1992, 58). In current scholarship, Omori is credited for helping popularize the *hitoyogiri* tradition from the context of entertainment. However, in Omori's own writings, he refers to his instrument as the tanteki. The term "hitoyogiri shakuhachi" did not become commonplace until the seventeenth century. All of this is to clarify and remind the reader that the word "shakuhachi" was a very fluid term and was not restricted or regulated as a label for one musical tradition.

Regardless of what the flute was called or continues to be defined by Omori's playing ability was widely known during the Azuchi-Momoyama epoch and inspired a bamboo flute playing tradition that continued to be popular well into the Edo period. Omori was not a komosō or komusō but a warrior under the retainer of Oda Nobunga and a descendant of Ohmori Hikoshichi (a famous retainer who served the Ashikaga period shogun something Takauji (1305-1358). It was not until after the death of Nobunaga that Omori decided to study hitoyogiri

seriously. In Stanfield's research on classical honkyoku, Omori "is the first major figure in the history of hitoyogiri" (Stanfield 1977, 68). Omori's contribution to the transmission of shakuhachi tradition is quite paramount—for his publications contained fingering charts, scores, and instructions on how to play the instrument. In addition, his publications point to not only a great interest in hitoyogiri playing as a general form of entertainment but also to the organization and the notation of the music, suggesting how his music had some influence on later Fuke shakuhachi solo pieces. In the *Tanteki Hiden Fu* (1608, *Secret Pieces for the Short Vertical Flute*), Omori includes seventy-nine short solo instrumental pieces with titles such as *Netori*, *Shote*, *Honte*, and *Kochigo*. These pieces were called *te*, and most compositions were meant to be played on an A4 (*oshiki* mode) short bamboo flute. The *Tanteki hiden fu* also includes references for fingerings for flutes constructed in different modes. This instruction manual is "thought to be the oldest documented notation system for the shakuhachi family of instruments" (Lee 1992, 58) and utilizes a notation system that is written in "*fu, ho, u*" (vs. *ro tsu re*) Japanese katakana syllabary. Although there is not much information about him, Omori's success with the bamboo flute symbolized a recontextualization of the instrument—the short bamboo flute was now viewed as a musical instrument to be used as an implement by wandering recluses and beggar priests. As further evidence of Omori's influence, a variation of his *fu, ho, u* notation system is still being used today by the Chikuhō-ryū (竹保流) shakuhachi tradition.

In Lee's research, both scholars emphasize that Omori never used the term hitoyogiri. The term *tanteki* is only found in the publication's title, and throughout the text, the word shakuhachi is used. With that said, I simply do not understand why the term hitoyogiri continues to be used to describe bamboo flute playing of the sixteenth century. The term hitoyogiri instead of *tanteki* was clearly applied by historians—and yet, scholars continue to use the term hitoyogiri

to identify bamboo flute playing of the sixteenth century. Regardless of what the bamboo flute was called, be it hitoyogiri, komosō shakuhachi, tanteki, or tenpuku, each tradition had its hand in the cultivation of shakuhachi's exoticized and popular image.

2.6 Conclusion

These "stories," legends, and facts about princes, eccentrics, Satsuma samurai, and wandering priests are intertextual. With the passing of each period in Japanese history, these narratives about shakuhachi get repeated and reinterpreted. Until the end of the Azuchi-momoyama period, Zen and shakuhachi had only a faint connection in historical literature. In the Edo Period, the Fuke sect and the infamous komusō monks became the focal point of shakuhachi history and created another layer of intertextuality and invention to contend with when trying to understand the shakuhachi's history.

CHAPTER THREE: SHAKUHACHI IN THE EDO AND MEIJI PERIODS

Up until the Edo period, Zen and shakuhachi had only a faint, if not non-existent, connection. It was in the Edo Period when the Fuke sect and the infamous komusō monks became extremely popular, and notions of Zen and shakuhachi began to crystalize into a traditional art form. The Fuke sect, komusō monks, and "rōnin" add another layer of the invention to contend with when studying the shakuhachi's history. Today's idea of the komusō monk seems like a complex synthesis of all the folkloric narratives starting from the ancient period. To understand how Zen became attached to shakuhachi in the Edo period, it is also important to understand what was happening culturally that allowed komusō monks to formally organize as a group of Zen shakuhachi practitioners.

3.1 The Edo Period (1603-1868): The Strict Social Order of the Tokugawa Regime

The Edo Period (1603-1868) is also commonly referred to as the Tokugawa Period—specifically named after Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川 家康, 1543-1616)—the last of the three warriors who were considered to play a significant role in the unification of Japan.³⁷ For the next two centuries, the Tokugawa clan (specifically Tokugawa Ieyasu's sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons) ruled Japan and accomplished over two hundred years of peace in the archipelago. The decades of peace came at the cost of implementing strict social order and isolationist policies. In an effort to remove any outside foreign influence and contending with the fear of

³⁷ Oda Nobunaga (織田 信長, 1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣 秀吉, 1537-1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu were considered to be the three great unifiers of Japan because their mission was to conquer the archipelago and solidify it under one rule.

"usurpation by rival clans"—the shogunate (specifically Tokugawa Iemitsu, 徳川 家光, 1604—1651) developed several policies from 1633-1639 that not only limited trade with other countries but also severely limited the people's travel rights (Fletcher 2004, 388).

The *sakoku* (鎖国, "locked country") policy stated, "With the exception of certain circumstances, no foreigner could enter nor could any Japanese citizen leave the country on penalty of death" (Lumen Learning, 2020). These edicts remained in effect until 1853, when strict social order was coupled with these isolationist policies likened Japan to a police state. Layered on top of the policy, society during the Tokugawa period continued with Hideyoshi's strict class hierarchy that was further reinforced by neo-Confucian ideology influenced by Hayashi Razan (林 羅山, 1583-1657). Known as the *Buke shohatto* (武家諸法度, 1615, *Various Points of Law for Warrior Houses*), this ongoing renewable policy was a series of edicts and rules that outlined the responsibilities and governed the activities of members of the warrior class. In addition, religious institutions also served the functions of government office, allowing priests to have dual roles as both government and religious officials (see Mau 2014, 99 and Matsutani and Undo 1956: 105-105). Historian Kazuo Kasahara notes that temples also serving as government offices helped the Tokugawa Regime have constant reconnaissance on its constituents, "temples helped mold public thought cooperating with the government to create a compliant populace...[and] they undertook public surveillance acting as government agents" (Kasahara 2001: 334, see also Mau *ibid*). Overall, the strict behavioral code during the Edo period affected many aspects of everyday life for all people. It regulated the type of clothing people were allowed to wear, the person one married, as well as leisure activities one could or should not pursue.

The strategic Battle of Sekigahara (1600)—which led to Tokugawa's victory and unofficially marked the beginning of the Tokugawa shogunate—not only ended all ongoing civil wars but also signified the shift of power from Nobunaga to Tokugawa. Those samurai who fought against Tokugawa were either executed or essentially demoted—their status as samurai and land holdings were severely reduced for choosing to fight for the losing side. With the Tokugawa Shogunate ending all war between nation-states, there was no need to maintain large, expensive standing armies. Because of this, as well as the restrictions of the rigid class system, the number of rōnin increased exponentially during the Edo period. In previous eras, samurai who became masterless could easily go serve a new master or even change occupations.

With the implementation of the *Buke shohatto*, the samurai's social movements and activities were limited, with one of the main rules forbidding samurai to be employed by another master without obtaining permission from their previous masters. Additionally, samurai ethic "condemned commercial activity," and many of these ex-warriors had no other type of occupational training (Weisgarber 2019 (1973), 25). By the time Tokugawa's grandson ruled, there were approximately a half million rōnin—many living in poverty—roaming the archipelago. The battle of Sekigahara alone left approximately 50,000 masterless samurai jobless, destitute, and homeless. With very little means to make an income, many of these rōnin turned to the criminal underworld and merged with other groups like the *otokodate* (男建) and *kabukimono* (かぶ者).³⁸ It is under this backdrop that the komusō monks of the Fuke sect not

³⁸ In the book *The Heart of the Warrior: Origins and Religious Background of the Samurai System in Feudal Japan* (Blomberg 1994) as well as Izumi's *Paintings of Bamboo Flutes: A History and Genealogy of Shakuhaichi Performance* (2016), both scholars describe that the *otokodate* and *kabukimono* were groups of outlaws that consisted of townspeople (chōnin), samurai, and rōnin who banded together to "protect the weak from violence and injustice" (Blomberg 1994, 100). Izumi theorizes that both groups appeared either during the end of the Muromachi period or during the beginning of the Edo period. Both groups were known for wearing eccentric hairstyles and attire, carried extremely long swords, and purposely attracted attention (see Blomberg 1994 100 and

only fully manifested but became a fashionable icon of Edo period popular culture via the floating world.³⁹

3.1.2 General Music During the Edo Period: Economic Stability and The Floating World

The political stability of the Tokugawa regime helped reestablish consistency in Buddhist rituals and indigenous ceremonies. Even though rituals were predominately meant to honor senior political officials, the regulation of Buddhist schools and the standardization of hierarchical sects placed a high demand on printed scripture "and collections of shōmyō notations" (Nelson 2016, 61). Because of this demand, revised versions of shōmyō text and notations were reprinted repeatedly during the Edo epoch, and new publications were created to supplement the increased interest in shōmyō music.⁴⁰ The reorganization and realignment of Buddhist temples and sects allowed for rituals and ceremonies that involved gagaku being performed more frequently. Gagaku musicians enlisted at important locations throughout Japan allowed for "extinct elements of the gagaku tradition to be revived from the seventeenth century"

Izumi 2013, 68). Elements of otokodate/kabukimono culture can be seen in video games that became extremely popular in the United States. Particularly in the *Final Fantasy* series by Squaresoft that was originally made for PlayStation and later on revamped for PC. For example, the protagonist of *Final Fantasy 7* (Cloud Strife) and *Final Fantasy 8* (Squall Leonhart) wield extremely large swords during fight scenes.

³⁹ For an example of how fashionable komusō became, Izumi describes a story about neo-Confucian scholar Rai shin sui (1746-1816) who encountered a group of komusō on his travels. While on a ferryboat, a group of komusō came on board and they were characterized as "all troublemakers," and "an insolent arrogant lot" (Izumi 2013, 118). When they took their seats, the other passengers sat in silence out of fear. At the surprise to the other passengers, Rai shin sui's elderly travel companion asked if the komusō could perform something and they responded positively. Izumi states that two of the komusō "removed their flutes from their bags and performed, while one sang vocables for the shamisen melody, and another sang the melodic line for a bowed instrument" (ibid). The performance by the komusō was greatly enjoyed by the passengers and the young men collected themselves quietly and departed" (ibid). This well-mannered behavior by Edo period komusō was characterized as "curious," indicating that the standard behavior of the komusō during the Edo period was unpredictable (ibid). Moreover, it is evidence that komusō monks did not just play shakuhachi, they were involved in other artistic activities.

⁴⁰ The *Gyosan Sōsho*, an extensive anthology of shōmyō materials was compiled by nineteenth century by Tendai priests Shuen (1786-1859) and Kakushu (1817-1883) and is still used as a reference for shōmyō musical/religious practice (Nelson 2016, 62).

(ibid, 62). Although shakuhachi was no longer used in the ensemble, gagaku during the Edo period continued to receive a lot of attention in terms of preservation and research. For example, in 1690, gagaku musician Abe no Suehisa (1622-1708) wrote the *Gakkaroku (Record of Gagaku Families)*, a comprehensive encyclopedia on the genre "that today's musicians use extensively as a reference tool" (ibid).

Despite the strict social order, citizens of the archipelago were able to find new ways to benefit financially because of the new demand to purchase luxuries of all types—especially in the realm of entertainment. Those who were commoners or even part of the mercantile class that sold the luxuries were called *chōnin* (町人, townsman). In his master's thesis "The Floating World: An Investigation into Illustrative and Decorative Art Practices and Theory in Print Media and Animation" (2007), Phip Murray describes how the Edo period bakufu despised the *chōnin* classes and how this disdain was a major impetus behind the many restrictions, laws, and regulations placed against them to limit their freedom (Murray 2007, 15). In an effort to prevent potential rebellions and uprisings, the Tokugawa government created what was called "the pleasure district" (Japanese *ukiyo*)—"an unrestricted area" that was not subject to the same restraining rules and regulations (Asia for Educators, 2002). Expanding on this, Murray writes that the pleasure district is "a name that appropriately alluded to the unusual and unregulated nature of the area as well as the fleeting pleasures to be found in the district" (Murray 2007, 15). In addition, the pleasure district became not only a place where the *chōnin* would conduct everyday business, but it was also home to the courtesans, geishas, kabuki actors, and street musicians.

At the beginning of the Edo period, noh and kabuki were largely enjoyed as entertainment by most social classes. Noh's popularity with the ruling class—especially with the

bakufu—gradually became to be associated with the upper echelon of elitist society. Noh shifted from being enjoyed as entertainment by amateurs to being used to edify the training of active samurai. Explaining further, Fujita Takanori writes, "the social status of noh and kyogen rose and led to frequent pronouncements and attitudes of disdain towards shamisen and Kabuki" (Fujita 2008, 140). From the seventeenth century until the end of the Edo period, noh was reserved for special occasions for the ruling class as well as scholarly training for samurai, while kabuki and other entertainment genres became an important part of the landscape of the floating world. By the 1750s, high-ranking geisha (known as *oiran*) and other musical and theatrical performers had the potential to earn celebrity-like status. High-ranking geishas were expected to be intellectuals and captivating entertainers, and clients expected them to be well-read and musically talented. Because of this, many of these specialized geishas were multi-instrumentalists, learning how to play koto, shamisen, kyoku, and even a version of the shakuhachi.



Figure 3.0. Photo of the Woodblock Print 虫籠を持つ女と尺八を吹く女, Woman Holding an Insect Cage and Woman Playing the Shakuhachi (Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/233540>)

The culture of the floating world was so prominent that it gave rise to a popular artistic movement and style commonly known as *ukiyo-e*—a school of seventeenth-century artists that would depict everyday life in the pleasure district through paintings and woodblock prints. Murray emphasizes that the *ukiyo-e* was "connected to a distinctive historical, political, and cultural moment" primarily "by the *chōnin* and is a reflection of the interests and ambitions of the mercantile class" (Murray 2007, 15). The floating world became a cornerstone of cultural expression. It was not just a place of entertainment and criminal activity; it was also where everyone went to conduct everyday activities.

Artwork and literature of this era—specifically the *ukiyo-e*—celebrated this transitory world "where areas of play were ritualized milieu offering an escape from the constraints that the samurai estate forced upon the growing and increasingly more economically powerful merchant class" (Fiorillo 1999). It is in this cultural backdrop where much of the *komusō* monk imagery is drawn from that continues to capture the imagination of an international audience and relate to quintessential tropes of "ancient Zen and meditation." However, as Izumi's research points out, much of the artwork that illustrates *komusō* of the Edo period is often just depictions of other types of people dressing up, posing like *komusō* in non-religious environments. Izumi explains

That these paintings also attested to a rich diffusion of the *shakuhachi* as a musical instrument. The representations of *komusō*, which should reflect the pursuit of enlightenment, also showed a similar vacillation between the religious and the secular. (Izumi 2013, 127)

With that said, it is important to understand that during the Edo period, two types of *shakuhachi* performance developed concurrently, *shakuhachi* for religious practice (sacred) and *shakuhachi* for entertainment (secular).

3.2. SECULAR SHAKUHACHI: THE RISE OF AMATEUR MUSIC MAKING AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *IEMOTO* (家元)

Occupational guilds, known as *za* (座, meaning "seat"), were developed in the fourteenth century and were an important part of commerce in the medieval period. These guilds were initially created as a welfare system by government officials, where they delineated what they considered to be suitable occupations for blind persons such as acupuncture, masseurs, priests, and musicians. In the article "The Guild of the Blind in Tokugawa Japan" (2001), Gerald Groemer explains that "blindness in medieval Japan was often considered a result of bad karma, curable through prayer and appeals to the Buddha" (Groemer 2001, 350). Specifically, in the medieval era, musicians of the *za* guilds were known as the *Tōdōza* and were celebrated for reciting the *Tale of Heike* while playing the *biwa*. By the mid-Kamakura period, "the blind began to join together to protect a monopoly on Heike recitation and other arts they considered their own" (ibid). In the Edo period, musicians of the *Tōdōza* largely abandoned performing on the *biwa* in favor of the *shamisen* and *koto*—instruments that became extremely popular in Edo period urban culture as well as the floating world. The rise of the *chōnin* class brought an influx of wealth and the ability to be interested in a variety of luxury entertainments—such as private music lessons. The *Tōdōza* was granted permission by the Tokugawa bakufu to teach a variety of music genres for profit, giving musicians of the *Tōdōza* guild a monopoly on the transmission of a variety of musical genres. Before the Edo period, the bulk of musical transmission occurred between professionals. The high demand for new art and music, coupled with rapid consumption of entertainment, allowed for music to be transmitted from professional to amateur and eventually led to the development of more formalized art forms. Drawing on the research of Nishiyama Matsunosuke, Linder notes that the popular performing arts of the Edo period formalized into a *geidō*, "the way of art" (Linder 2012, 259), which were like the different craft

guilds (za) that developed in the medieval period. Translating Nishiyama's text, Linder writes that "there was an increasing number of musical performers and artists...people who made art their occupation and turned art into a commodity" (ibid 127). The organization of the geido paved the path for the development of the *iemoto*—a system that adopts a familial relationship that symbolizes "blood links" not only between teachers and students but also students of varying playing abilities (Tokita and Hughes 2016, 34). Although the crystallization of the *iemoto* system really happened in the Meiji period, it was the thriving amount of amateur music-making that paved the way for its full cultivation. Overall, the *geidō* system was developed not only to ensure the income of professional musicians but also to accommodate amateurs who were serious about learning a particular tradition. More importantly, students wanted a way to certify their accomplishments—teachers began to award diplomas, certifications, and professional names to students. One of the oldest existing shakuhachi schools, the Kinko-ryū, as well as many others, still utilizes this cultural practice. I have also participated in this cultural practice through Chikuzen studios. Currently, I am working on completing my *shihan* (師範, *master*) certification.

Evidence of increased interest in amateur music making is seen in the popularity of the hitoyogiri performer Ōmori Sōkun (大森宗勲, 1570–1625). By the dawn of the Edo period, Ōmori was well known for his hitoyogiri playing, so much so that he wrote an instruction manual for the instrument, which serves as the earliest documented example of notation for the bamboo flute. Known as the *Tanteki hiden fu* (*The Secret Transmission of the Short Flute*, 1608), this instruction manual contains about seventy pieces for hitoyogiri, including notes on the history of the transmission of the instrument and mechanics of how the instrument should be played. In his dissertation, Mau notes that the notation used in the *Tanteki hiden fu* employs a

system called "fu-ho-u" (フーホーウ) and "derives its name from the names given to the first three tones that are produced by starting with all fingerholes covered then successively opening them from the bottom" (Mau 2014, 175, see also Lee 1992, 57-58).

Another text that serves as evidence for the hitoyogiri's popularity is Nakamura Sōsan's (中村宗三) *Shichiku shohin shu* (*A Collection of Pieces for Beginners of Strings and Bamboo* 1664, 1976).⁴¹ This text describes the history of the hitoyogiri and goes into detail on the instrument's construction, emphasizing that the length of the hitoyogiri is "one *shaku* eight *bu*"⁴² while the komusō shakuhachi is "one of shakuhachi's eight *sun*s" (Nakamura (1664) 1976, 4 see also Linder 2012, 95). Because the komusō were in the process of organizing themselves and gaining legitimacy as a religious institution, scholars and other historians found it necessary to differentiate between hitoyogiri and an early version of komusō shakuhachi, sometimes known as the *miyogiri*.⁴³ Additionally, as the Edo period progressed, hitoyogiri and early komusō shakuhachi began to take on different constructions. Nakamura's text is an example of a scholar explicitly explaining the difference between hitoyogiri and komusō shakuhachi. The hitoyogiri

⁴¹ The biographical data on Nakamura Sōsan is unknown.

⁴² In Linder's book, "one *shaku* is approximately one foot (33 cm.), one *sun* is a tenth of a shaku, and one *bu* is one tenth of a sun. One shaku eight bu would then be approximately 35–36 centimeters." Furthermore, one shaku eight sun corresponds to "one foot and eight inches, approximately 54.5 centimeters" (Linder 2012, 91 and 171).

⁴³ Outside of the gagaku shakuhachi, tanteki, tenpuku, hitoyogiri, and komusō/fuke shakuhachi I have encountered only one text that discusses the miyogiri, an early form of komusō shakuhachi. In Izumi's book, *Paintings of Bamboo Flutes: A History and Genealogy of Shakuhachi Performance* (2013), he explains that during the Edo period, the komusō shakuhachi "with the bamboo root for the lower end" did not appear until later in the Edo period (Izumi 2013, 87). Drawing on the research of Kanda Shun'ichi, who wrote "the explanation of the facsimile *Miyogiri shoshin-shū*"—a very rare text—Izumi argues that around the 1700s, "the shakuhachi at this moment was the miyogiri, a flute with three bamboo nodes" as opposed to the hitoyogiri, a bamboo flute with one node (ibid). I excluded the miyogiri from the bamboo flute terminologies in chapter two because I could not find any other text that discusses the miyogiri and its associated musical traditions. Perhaps during the Edo period, before the crystallization of the Fuke sect, there were many different types of bamboo flutes in circulation.

reached its peak in popularity in the eighteenth century. However, by the end of that very same century, its popularity waned, and much of its music was absorbed by the modern shakuhachi.

Another complex layer to consider when understanding the history of the shakuhachi is that the komusō monks also participated in the transmission of secular music. Popular imagery that invokes the komusō has previously convinced me that the music that they are portrayed participating in is naturally Zen-influenced. The thought did not cross my mind that they would be playing something secular. After all, one of the main rules of the komusō was that in order to learn shakuhachi, you had to refrain from playing disorderly music. However, even before the *1677 Memorandum* (discussed in more detail later in this chapter), it was common for komusō to teach shakuhachi to other classes, especially commoners and merchants. These places where the komusō taught shakuhachi were known as *fukiawase-sho* (吹合)⁴⁴, and according to Izumi, by the eighteenth century, there were twenty-one teaching studios in Edo, thirty-one in Koto, and eleven in Osaka (see Izumi 2013, 105). Even though it was against the rules, the komusō had shakuhachi teaching studios, and much of their income relied on having shakuhachi students.

It is reported that a very famous high-ranking Shimabara courtesan, Yachiyo, went to a *fukiawase-sho* to study the *miyogiri*. Izumi describes the impact that Yachiyo's bamboo flute playing had on others in society, "the *miyogiri* is the sole instrument the komusō perform. For this reason, it is not something courtesans and the like pay attention to; nevertheless, when hearing Okumura's daughter, Yachiyo, perform *Renbo-nagashi*,⁴⁵ one recalls the example of the Tang Dynasty beauty, Yang Gui-fei's, and one is melancholy without understanding why.

⁴⁴ In Lee's dissertation, *fukiawase-sho* means "blowing together" (Lee 1993, 89).

⁴⁵ According to the International Shakuhachi Society, *Renbo Nagashi* translated to "intense learning" (International Shakuhachi Society, 2019) and in Lee's Dissertation, *Renbo Nagashi* is a piece found in "both the *hitoyogiri* and the *fu*ke shakuhachi repertoire" (Lee 1992, 61).

Yachiyo also enjoyed the hitoyogiri, and she was always playing" (ibid, 102). Because it is probable that Yachiyo learned shakuhachi from a komusō, it is important to remember that secular shakuhachi and sacred shakuhachi developed concurrently, and "sacred" figures taught secular music.

3.3. Development of the Fuke Sect: The Social Issue of Homeless/Masterless Samurai (*Rōnin*)⁴⁶

Under the Tokugawa regime, impoverished ex-samurai realized that their quality of life "depended on having some sort of sanction protective organization" (Weisgarber [1973] 2019, 25). By the 1580s, there was an abundance of rōnin playing hitoyogiri as komosō, and because their former status as warriors awarded them with a set of specialized martial skills, the rōnin were an immediate threat to the security of the Tokugawa Regime. Evidence of the government's concern over controlling the rōnin is noted in 1637, at the rebellion of Shimabara, where several rōnin came to fight against the regime over the right to practice Christianity (Linder 2012, 113). The rebellion ended badly for both sides—a literal blood bath—and according to Linder, "it was one important factor in the national isolation that was implemented a few years later, but it was also revealed the risk that the existence of masses of rōnin constituted" (ibid). Additionally, in 1651, a military science teacher Yui Shosetsu, committed suicide because he was accused of trying to overthrow the Tokugawa Bakufu. In a note, Yui explained that he was only trying to

⁴⁶ The imagery and idea of the masterless samurai continues to be profoundly romanticized in not only Japanese popular culture but also in popular culture in the United States. Evidence of this is seen in the following anime which are popular in both countries: *Ninja Scroll* (1993), *Rurouni Kenshin* (1996, with a live action version of this anime made in 2012), *Samurai Champloo* (2004), *Samurai 7* (2004), *Basilisk* (2005), *Afro Samurai* (2007), *Blade of the Immortal* (2008, with a live action version of this anime made in 2012), and *Sengoku Basara* (2009). These are not the only anime that feature rōnin, there are much more than this. These are just the anime that I have viewed in my years of study on Japanese culture. These anime are also available on a variety of streaming platforms such as Hulu, Netflix, Crunchyroll, and Amazon Prime.

"focus attention on the plight of the rōnin" (ibid). Overall, from the viewpoint of the government, rōnin could stir political unrest and start rebellions that counteract government policy.

Rōnin moonlighting as komosō were threatened by the strict social policies and the government's insistence on having total control of them— "it came to the point that they formed a group and advocated their own existence as a religious sect" (translated by Blasdel [1988] 2008 pp. 67-119 as well as Linder 2012, 113, and originally found in Kamisangō 1974). The predicament of the rōnin was a social problem expanding on issues such as poverty and homelessness—the rōnin cultivated this flute playing group to not only have some sanctioned protection from the government (Weisgarber [1973] 2019, 25) but also to provide them with some quality of life. It was not until 1677 when the bamboo flute playing group of rōnin received some type of acknowledgment from the government indicating that they were *some type* of religious institution—not necessarily naming them the Fuke-sect, but addressing them as "the various factions of the *komusō*" (Linder 2012, 58 as well as Kurihara [1918] 1975, 155-156). Known as the *Memorandum of 1677*, the government issued a list of ordinances that were aimed at making sure the komusō had a regulated temple administration in place and emphasized that all new students should be carefully investigated before acceptance. It was after this acknowledgment that komusō temples and monks began using "Fuke-shū" or "Fuke Zen-shū" to label themselves. Moreover, the *Memorandum of 1677* signified the switch between calling the group of rōnin komosō to *komusō*.

Before the *Memorandum of 1677*, the activities and the invented origin story of the komusō were already part of early Edo period society, as well as the religious dogma of the Fuke sect adopting shakuhachi as an ascetic practice (Izumi 2013, 72). Well before the publication of Hayashi Razan's commentary to the *Tsurezure-gusa no zuchi* (1621), which includes historical

anecdotes about the boro-boro being descendants of komusō, there are a few other documents that existed providing evidence of society's acknowledgment of the Fuke sect. For example, in 1598, there was a document titled "Komusō" written by monk Isshi Oshō (一糸和尚, dates unknown). The document explains how Hottō Kakushin brought the shakuhachi from China and connects the instrument to the teachings of Fuke. What is so interesting about this document is that Isshi felt that it was his personal responsibility to preserve the religious nature of the sect. Speaking specifically about the reputation of the komusō, he writes

There are not many who do their practice, and it is only [for me] to preserve the religious precepts;...nine out of ten are not devoted to following the original doctrine. They just run from east to west in vain roaming around from door to door. (Translated from Nakatsuka Chikuzen's *Kinko-ryū shakuhachi shikan* (琴古流尺八史, *A Historical View of Kinko-ryū Shakuhachi* [1936–39], 1979, 269–270 by Linder 2012, 149)

Even more poignant is that the document is dated before the official beginnings of the Tokugawa Regime, indicating that members of the Fuke sect were already in the process of organizing temples and activities to help make them appear to be legitimate religious institutions.

By the 1650s, there was evidence that the komusō monks of the Fuke sect established rules for their members and outlined the meaning of their attire (such as the purpose of the famous conical basket shaped hat that they wear, known as *tengai*, 天蓋). Originally published in 1628, this document goes by several names: *The Kaidō honsoku* (*The Kaidō Rules* or *Regulations of the Coastal Highway*) (See Mau 2014, 106), *The Boro no te-chō* (*The Boro Notebook*), *The Boro no shuki*, and *the Boro komusō honsoku*.⁴⁷ Employing a conversational

⁴⁷ For more information about the variations between the different version of the *Kaidō honsoku*, see Torsten Mukuteki Olafsson's webpage dedicated to historical shakuhachi research titled "The 'Ascetic Shakuhachi' Historical Evidence Research Web Pages." See specifically the section titled "1628: The *Kaidō honsoku* Fuke-komusō Research Credo Version 1" (updated in 2018) (<https://zen-shakuhachi.dk/tokaidohonsoku.htm>, accessed January 20th, 2019).

question-and-answer style, the document connects the influence of the komusō to Fuke's chant mentioned in Chapter 1.

The most intriguing detail about this document that is rarely discussed in current scholarship is that this document is one of the first to include some sense of religious doctrine explaining how the shakuhachi is a Buddhist instrument. For example, each part of the shakuhachi has Buddhist significance and symbolism. The three main nodes on the flute represented the unification of the three Buddhist bodies: the dharma body (*hosshin*), "the reward body taken by a buddha after its role as a bodhisattva" (*hojin*), and "the response body taken by a Buddha in accordance with the abilities of those to be saved" (*ojin*; Izumi 2013, 75). In addition, the bottom opening of the flute symbolized the Womb world, while the top whole was meant to represent the diamond world (*ibid*).

The mouthpiece, also known as the *utaguchi* (歌口), symbolized "the teaching of Clarity of Absolute Reality," and even the finger holes on the instrument had Buddhist meaning. The finger holes on the front of the shakuhachi correspond to the four seasons, while the back finger hole "symbolized the Clarity of the Enlightened mind" (Izumi 2013, 75). With all these elements combined—the three Buddhist bodies, the two realms, as well as the four seasons—the shakuhachi as a whole symbolized the Buddhist universe. From Izumi's perspective, even though the different parts of the shakuhachi draw on Buddhist teachings and ideology, "much of this is strained or forced as there is no connection between these teachings, which leads to the conclusion that the symbolic significance applied to the different parts of the shakuhachi was perhaps random, or as often happens with the performing arts and music, theory and reasoning are applied later" (*ibid*). In addition, it is important to note that there is still no mention of the type of music the komusō played nor does this document employ the term "suizen" or honkyoku.

Despite Izumi's doubt as to the reliability of the shakuhachi's Buddhist connotations, these religious overtures attached to shakuhachi were already part of the fabric of Edo period society—regardless of whether komusō monks were devout in their pursuit of "the way."

By the time the *Kaidō honsoku* had been publicized, there were already sixteen different schools of shakuhachi that were affiliated with the Fuke sect established through the archipelago (see Izumi 2013, 76):

1. The Wakasari
2. The Tsukushi Inuyarō
3. The Hokkoku Nokina
4. The Chūgoku Nokiha
5. The Ise Shakuhachi
6. The Gokinai Yawata Nokiha
7. The Musashi hakari
8. The Mino Wakashū
9. The Joshu Saraha
10. The Naka-Musashi Yoritake
11. The Shimōsa Kinzen
12. The Shimotsuke Kogikuha
13. Ōshū Tanshaku Yorokobi
14. The Hitachi Umeji
15. The Ōshū Tanshakuhayo
16. The Hokkoku Kantankinōa

I have researched the names of each one of these sects and could not find any historical details about the development of these different "denominations" outside of what Izumi reported. For example, the Tanshaku School favored a shorter shakuhachi and "primarily performed the musical accompaniment for circle dances," while the Wakushi, or "The Pretty Boys," were closer to kabukimono because of their reputation for extremely eccentric behavior and outlandish attire (Izumi 2013, 76). Even though the historical statements made in this document are questionable, Izumi emphasizes that, despite the fabrication, the *Kaidō honsoku* "suggests the shakuhachi serves as the foundation of religious dogma in more or less complete form" (ibid, 75). In other words, if the members of the Fuke sect were pious or not, the notion that shakuhachi was "their" instrument was already embedded with Buddhist intent. Overall, by 1628 the komusō appeared to be highly organized and a common backdrop in Edo period society—even if they could not agree on what to be officially called. Further supporting this statement, the *Kaidō honsoku* is signed "boro" and includes the following poem: "The inner-most hiding place of the shakuhachi sound is maybe the spring wind that blows over the Miyagi Plains" (Linder 2012, 150).

Another point that Linder makes is that the *Kaidō honsoku* already suggests that there were several factions with distinct shakuhachi styles. For example, the document mentions sixteen branches where there were "probably a number of divergent playing techniques in use during the Edo period among practitioners, i.e., the komusō" (ibid, 237). This last point is very important. When one approaches shakuhachi history as a newcomer, there is an illusion that all shakuhachi-related repertoire and traditions are all the same and stem from the same source. Linder's point emphasizes that from the very beginning, there were many different shakuhachi styles with their own philosophies—it just so happens that the Kinko-ryū and the modern Tozan-ryū sect became extremely popular and lesser-known styles faded as footnotes in history.

By the dawn of the 1700s, the komusō established for themselves a series of rules that they should follow as a religious institution, and the government finally (although quite indirectly) acknowledged the komusō's existence—but did not refer to them as the Fuke sect. In 1678, the Tokugawa regime sent a short notification (which is often misinterpreted as an official governmental authorization and misdated for 1677) that is simply known as an "*Oboe-gaki*" or "*Memorandum*."

Figure 3.1 Annotated Reprint of the *Memorandum*
(Photo taken by Ronald Nelson, summer of 2014, <https://zen-shakuhachi.dk/tokomusohaoboe.htm>)

and researcher Tortsen Mukuteki Olafsson obtained a photo of the document from Ronald Nelson, founder/member of the International Shakuhachi Society and well-known shakuhachi musician who studied with John Singer. Collaborating with Kishi Kiyokazu, a well-known shakuhachi historian based in Japan, Olafsson translated the *Memorandum* and explained that the document itemizes a list of rules and provisions that the komusō must follow. In their research, Olafsson and Kishi Kiyokazu explicitly state that the document does not call the komusō "The Fuke Sect" and emphasizes that all of the rules listed must "firmly be observed and obeyed...if they are violated, that is very unlawful." A summary of the rules listed in this memorandum are as follows: (1) there must be a fair election process for the position of chief monk, (2) a person's background and identity must be certified and confirmed before coming a komusō, (3) "outrageous behavior that is not in accordance with underlying principles of the cosmos is not acceptable" (see Olafsson, 2018). After listing the rules that komusō should follow, the document is signed by Ota Sekutsugu (Governor Director of the Settsu Province), Itakura Shigetane (Governor Director of the Iwami Province), and Koide Yamashiro no Kami (Governor director of the Yamashiro Province). At this point in the shakuhachi's timeline, the komusō monks were making moves to formalize themselves as not only an organization but a religious institution with protective rights. The next section will discuss other important documents that helped reinforce the komusō monks as a religious organization that should have a monopoly over shakuhachi. Overall, the *Kaidō honsoku* is evidence of the komusō trying to self-regulate their own population.

3.4 FORTIFYING THEIR LEGITIMACY: THE FUKU SECT AS A LEGAL RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION

By the 1800s, the word komusō was a household name, and komusō monks reinvented ways to further legitimize themselves as not only followers of Fuke but also the keepers of

shakuhachi playing styles. The Tokugawa regime began to question and press the komusō monks for official government documents that established them as a sanctioned religious institution outside of the 1677 *Memorandum*. This section discusses and deconstructs historical documents that were key in situating the komusō and, by proxy, the Fuke sect as not only a religious institution but situating the religious dogma for Zen shakuhachi.

3.4.1 Rights, Rules, and Privileges: The *Keichō okite-gaki* (慶長掟書)

The *Keichō okite-gaki* (1614, *The Written Regulation of the Keichō Era*)⁴⁸ is a historical text that belongs to a series of laws and regulations in official Tokugawa regime documentation. It is a famous and powerful document, for it is essentially an ordinance that lends the komusō monks a series of specialized rights, privileges, and rules that has been allegedly signed by Tokugawa Ieyasu. There are many different versions of this text which has led many scholars to conclude that the *Keichō okite-gaki* is a forgery. For the purposes of this research, I have recapped the version that contains the most rules and regulations.⁴⁹ In summary, the *Keichō okite-gaki* states the following:

- Komusō monks were acknowledged as a sect specifically for the samurai and rōnin seeking "temporary refuge." Only members of the warrior class were allowed to join. The komusō fraternity is "designed to serve the needs of rōnin and samurai who wish to withdraw temporarily from the world (Lee 1994, 74).
- Komusō were expected to follow rules issued by parent temples as well as sub-temples. Komusō will receive penalization for non-compliance.

⁴⁸ The *Keichō okite-gaki* is also translated as "*The Governmental Decree of the Keichō Period 1596-1615*" (Nishiyama and Groemer 1997, 263) as well as "*Keichō-sadamegaki* 慶長定書, *Decree from the Keichō Era*" (Deeg 2007, 27).

⁴⁹ For more information about the several different versions of the documents, please see Kurihara 1918: 40-143, Takahashi 1990:55-67, Lee 1994: 74-75, and Linder 2012: 113-123.

- When a komusō is practicing *takuhatsu* (托鉢), "He is obeying the law of his sect" (ibid).
- When practicing *takuhatsu*, non-komusō are not to interfere. "If interference occurs, the komusō should report it to the authorities" (ibid).
- While traveling or on pilgrimages, the komusō "is not to remove the tengai and show his face" (ibid).
- During the performance of mendicancy, komusō are allowed to have a dagger shorter than 30.3cm that can be hidden in their clothing.
- While on pilgrimages, komusō are allowed to pursue and investigate their enemies. Because of this, komusō should be granted free admission to theater shows (such as kabuki) and "be exempted from tolls and fares" (Lee 1994, 74-75).
- Komusō behavior should be supervised by a *bansō* or priest keeper.
- "If the bansō discovers a false komusō during his expeditions, he should deal with him according to laws. If the bansō agrees to be bribed and sets the false komusō free, he, as well as the false komusō, will be rigorously punished. Therefore, be on guard and behave yourself!" (ibid)
- Shakuhachi playing is reserved only for the komusō. "If a samurai desires to play the shakuhachi," he needs to obtain permission from temple authorities (ibid). "Only samurai are allowed to play shakuhachi and become komusō" (ibid).
- "If a komusō is aware of a komusō conspiracy, he should report it at once to the authorities. The participants, including the main temple and the bansō, will be punished severely" (ibid).
- When performing *takuhatsu*, komusō are allowed to travel with only one or more komusō.
- Komusō are not allowed to extort from the poor, accept bribes, or participate in gambling. Those who break these rules "will not be allowed to remain a komusō" (ibid).
- On the occasion where a komusō has found or met his enemy—especially if the enemy is another komusō—"permission to be relieved from their status as komusō needs to be granted in order to duel on temple grounds" (ibid).
- "If a samurai enters the temple's grounds carrying a sword dripping with blood, the temple authorities should first interrogate him and then offer him refuge. If a samurai has precedents, he should not hide his past deeds because if his sins are made known

in the future, he will no longer receive protection from the temple" (ibid).

- Komusō are not allowed to participate in group fighting. Although he has permission to kill his enemies, he is only allowed to have "one fellow komusō with him during the fight" (ibid).
- Komusō are not allowed to ride horses or employ the service of a palanquin "in order to avoid facing too many people" (ibid).
- During their travels, especially when they enter a province or come across a borderland, komusō are expected to present the credentials they received from the main temple. "If a komusō avoids passing by the official checkpoint, he should be interrogated" (ibid).
- Komusō are not allowed to play "secular music," "popular tunes," nor "participate in artistic activities" (ibid). Additionally, when a komusō is participating in religious mendicancy outside of his designated territory, "he should not stay there for more than seven days" (ibid).
- While performing takuhatsu, the komusō should use a shakuhachi "that is shorter than 30.3cm" (Lee 1994, 75). Additionally, komusō should only play the designated pieces on the bamboo flute.
- "Komusō discipline has been established for all samurai under the sun. Do not forget the right path of chivalry because, at every moment, a komusō can again become a samurai. Learn the priest trade, and in your heart, enhance chivalry. Remember that this is a religious sect for bushido. Hence you are granted the opportunity to travel freely throughout the country" (ibid).

What makes this document so important in the narrative of shakuhachi history—forgery or not—is that it was presented as an official document signed by the first shogun of the Tokugawa era, which situates the shakuhachi as the property of komusō monks and, by proxy, the Fuke sect in 1614. Additionally, the imagery of the mendicant monk of the Edo period making pilgrimage through the landscape of the Japanese archipelago and playing shakuhachi for alms and religious clarity is not only embedded in this document but also continues to be a quintessential romanticized trope. What needs to be discussed at this point is if the government knew that the

Keichō okite-gaki was a forgery, why did they not immediately question the document's authenticity?

As stated in the very first rule, the government did need to resolve the issue of the homeless and jobless samurai, even though they may not have directly acknowledged it. Having members of the samurai class and rōnin become members of the Fuke sect solved several problems—it gave them a purpose, a place to stay, and, in many cases, free food, drink, and entertainment. Additionally, it is important to remember that members of the samurai class were exceptional fighters and for a time, the only class that was allowed to learn the martial art form of *bushido*. Once the Tokugawa regime was in power and ended all civil wars between the provinces, many samurai became rōnin. Complicating things further, rōnin could not simply find new masters. Social rules set in place by the shogun made it so that rōnin had to get permission from their previous masters to serve a new one. This would be extremely difficult to do if your master fell at the Battle of Sekigahara or died of a sudden illness. Without permission, many high-ranking samurai became angry rōnin—a dangerous ingredient for social unrest.

At the beginning of the Edo period, the number of rōnin greatly outnumbered government officials, with many of them becoming kabukimono-type characters, lawless villains, or even martyrs and/or leaders for social rebellions. It seems that a major reason why the government allowed the Fuke sect to exist as a religious organization was not only to solve a larger social issue but also to keep a watchful eye on the well-trained former warriors. Additionally, Weisgarber suggests that for the Fuke sect to be a government-sanctioned organization, they were "obliged to pay for its charter by agreeing to serve the bakufu as a type of spy agency—wandering about faceless and anonymous" (Weisgarber 2019 [1973], 26). In essence, the Fuke sect was expected to report "suspicious conversations they might catch hidden beneath their

baskets" (ibid). Since the Fuke sect was not allowed to carry a weapon but was occasionally "asked" to engage in espionage, it is commonly believed that the construction of the shakuhachi changed from thin bamboo to thick-walled bamboo stalk that incorporated the gnarled roots of the bamboo, making the instrument heavy enough to be a blunt weapon. Adding another dimension that is also romantically associated with shakuhachi folklore, it is said that these ex-samurai turned komusō could also be double agents on personal agendas of vengeance. In some shakuhachi circles, it is believed that these komusō-spies had some type of musical communication or code when they would come across each other's path during their travels.⁵⁰ Overall, allowing the Fuke sect to be a legitimate religious organization not only solved a problem for the government but also landed the government opportunities to keep a watchful eye on their enemies. Some may argue that the Fuke sect was, in essence, an army or military force for the government.

As time went on, the Fuke sect became a thorn in the government's side due to the sect not self-regulating its own organization. The convenience of the disguise (the conical basket hat), the ability to travel freely, and the free food and travel expenses grasped the attention of men and women alike—what better place to hide if you are purposely trying to be discreet in a government that encouraged espionage among neighbors? It eventually became increasingly difficult to differentiate between legitimate komusō monks and imposters who either have been allowed to join or simply snuck in unnoticed (see Figure 3.2).

⁵⁰ For an aural reference, listen to number " ..." from chapter six, entitled "Komusō Spy Melody."



Figure 3.2 Example of an ukiyo-e, Three Young Women Masquerading as Komusō (ca. 1778), by Torii Kiyonaga.

(Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/56741>)

Additionally, komusō still participated in the performance of secular music and continued teaching shakuhachi at fukiawase-shō to non-komusō. Evidence can be seen in a pseudo-ordinance issued by the head temple of the Fuke-sect, the Myōan-ji temple. Myōan-ji authorities sent a "strong admonition" to all Fuke temples (Linder 2012, 125) in 1694 to crack down and reign in illicit activities. Known as the "Honsoku deshi e moshi-watashi sadame" (Announcement of Regulations for Disciples of the First Seal"), this reprimand listed twenty-three regulations that all factions of komusō must follow. These rules included insisting that komusō should not issue licenses to criminals, that they should not conduct their activities near the shogun's castle or entertainment areas, and that they would only "perform their religious activities playing fundamental pieces, *honkyoku*." It also rebuked the playing of disorderly pieces

(also known as *rankyoku*, or *gaikyoku*). This is the first time the word "honkyoku" appears in historical documents and is positioned as a specific genre—religious music practiced by komusō on shakuhachi. Although this regulation does not discuss any extra-musical factor about honkyoku, it does strongly suggest that not only was it ordinary for members of the chōnin class to take lessons with komusō but also the komusō were known to participate in the performance of secular music.

Later, in 1706 and again in 1759, the government sent another official to communicate with the head komusō temples and demanded that members of the chōnin class should not be eligible to receive licenses (*honsoku*). For a commoner or townspeople, having a license in religious shakuhachi performance not only meant that they earned the right to be komusō but also that they could start their own teaching studio. From the perspective of the Fuke sect, giving out *honsoku* (as well as professional names called *chikumei*, *chikugo*, or *netori*) was a great source of income. From the point of view of the Tokugawa Regime, the issuance of *honsoku*'s to commoners made it harder for the government to keep tabs on those komusō who were of samurai descent. Additionally, komusō issuing licenses to people outside of the samurai class made it easier for outcasts and criminals to hide within the organization. Focusing on this very issue, the government issued another ordinance in 1774 that addressed reports of komusō extorting other citizens and even threatening people by hitting them with the shakuhachi (see Linder 2012, 129). This ordinance strongly emphasized that any komusō participating in unlawful behavior needs to be detained and immediately brought to the authorities (ibid).

The very strongly worded ordinance from 1694 shows that despite rules and regulations, "both komusō and the common people were teaching shakuhachi to townspeople " (ibid 125). This violation continued for at least one hundred years, as evidenced by the publication of an

instruction manual on the miyogiri in the 1700s and the number of teaching studios that were in operation by the end of the eighteenth century. The instruction manual *Miyogiri shoshin-shu* includes not only material for beginners but also tries to describe the mysterious origins of the instrument. The chapters of the *Miyogiri shoshin shu* also include fingering charts and performance notes for certain pieces. Finally, this text also has an illustration of commoners ("two townsmen, an adult, and a child") taking a shakuhachi lesson with a komusō in a non-temple setting. Izumi notes that "from this illustration, it is clear that this is not a komusō temple, which indicates that shakuhachi instruction occurred outside religious institutions" (Izumi 2013, 89).

Despite the several warnings they received, many komusō argued against the rules about teaching and issuing licenses to members outside of the samurai class. Linder states that "the sect defended itself by saying that these people were purveyors, that they were common people working as servants at the temples, hired by a samurai household, or of the same status as samurai" (Linder 2012, 28). By the beginning of the 1800s, there were twenty-one teaching studios in Edo, thirty-one in Kyoto, and eleven in Osaka (Izumi 2013, 105). To further help their defense in the transmission of honkyoku to commoners, in 1792, the komusō head priests reported to the Jisha bugyo that the teaching studios in Edo were being managed by fourteen shakuhachi teachers. The komusō listed all the names of the teachers who oversaw managing each teaching studio to be transparent with the government. Pertinent to shakuhachi history, the second and third generation of Kurosawo Kinko—founders of the famous and well-known Kinko-ryū shakuhachi tradition—were listed on the document as two of the teachers in Edo.

By the late Edo period, the *Keichō okite-gaki* was a very powerful document that was often invoked by the Fuke sect to "support and protect its monks and their activities" (Linder

2012, 114). Summarizing the research of the shakuhachi historian Mikami Sanji, Linder describes an incident where the *Keichō okite-gaki* was invoked to protect a samurai nobleman who became a komusō to flee from a death sentence for arranging an unsanctioned marriage. This ex-samurai nobleman turned komusō was eventually arrested by the police for disciplinary action. However, because of his status as a komusō, the fugitive nobleman was eventually transferred to the *jisha-bugyo*—the Commissioner's Office of Temples and Shrines. Due to stipulations and protections that were laid out in the *Keichō okite-gaki*, the komusō's arrest was not accepted, and the fugitive nobleman was set free because of his status and commitment as a komusō monk.

That the power of the *Keichō okite-gaki* combined with the Fuke sects lacked self-regulation was the main impetus behind the government's investigation into the original document. In Linder's dissertation, he describes three different correspondences (1789, 1795, and 1846) that "were all replies by the komusō to inquiries from the central authorities about the original whereabouts" of the *Keichō okite-gaki* (Linder 2012, 115). In the 1789 correspondence, the komusō told the bakufu that the original document was "lost in a fire" and that the komusō would give the central authorities "an oral report about these matters" (ibid). In 1795, the main komusō temple repeated the narrative, stating that the original document that had the first shogun's official seal was lost in a temple fire. In the final correspondence from 1846, the komusō were specifically responding to inquiries from the jisha-bugyo "the Fuke sect replied that more than half of the old records at Ichigetsu-ji—including the *Keichō okite-gaki*—were lost in a fire in 1707 and that all of the old records at the guard station of Reihō-ji were lost in another fire in 1703" (ibid). Overall, the fuke sect became a serious threat by the end of the Edo period—and the government figured out that the *Keichō okite-gaki* was an epic forgery. As time

went on and pressure surmounted on the Fuke sect, the *Keichō okite-gaki* was just one way the komusō tried to legitimize themselves.

3.4.2. Deconstructing the *Keichō okite-gaki*

Drawing on Mikami Sanji's 1902 magazine article in *Shigaku zasshi* (*History Magazine*), "Fuke-shū ni suite" (普化宗に就いて "About the Fuke Sect,") Linder describes how Mikami critically deconstructs the *Keichō okite-gaki* by describing several discrepancies with the authenticity of the ordinance (see Linder 2012, 122-124). The first major issue Mikami discusses is that the title of the ordinance states that the law was established during the 1590s and had a publication date of 1614. Mikami insists that this is the first mistake that officials should have noticed. The first shogun of the Edo period, Tokugawa Ieyasu, had just finished the siege of Odawara and was returning to his castle which would have required substantial travel time. Someone seeking Tokugawa's audience to get permission to establish a new law would have been extremely difficult—they would be putting themselves at risk by entering the battlefield. Explaining further, Mikami notes that "no matter how stupid and ignorant the person who made such a forgery is, it is hard to believe that he would make such a mistake"(Linder 2012, 122 and Mikami 1902, 69) but since Tokugawa's seal was at the top of the document, Mikami theorizes that no one was brave enough to question its authenticity— for if that person was wrong and the document was indeed signed by the shogun, "any doubtful remarks may have resulted in the loss of one's head" (Linder *ibid* and Mikami *ibid*).

Another factor that indicates that the *Keichō okite-gaki* was a forgery is the signatures on the ordinance. In the copy that has the most privileges and regulations, the document is signed by Honda Kōzuke no Suke, Itakura Iga no Kami, and Honda Sado no Kami Masanobu. Although these signatures invoked government authority, they were riddled with issues, especially the

signature of Honda Sado no Kami Masanobu. According to Mikami, Honda's signature would never have been coupled with documents relating to religious affairs because he was the assistant to Tokugawa Hidetada (徳川 秀忠, 1581–1632), who eventually became the second shogun of the Edo period. Additionally, the signatures of Honda Kōzuke no Suke and Itakura Iga no Kami were from the jisha-bugyo, a government institution that was not established until 1635—whereas the *Keichō okite-gaki* was dated 1614. Mikami states that these signatures are "proof that an illiterate komusō, who knew nothing about the handling and distribution of laws and regulations at the time, has made the document" (Linder *ibid*, Mikami 1902, 73-74). For the document to be somewhat authentic, the document should have been signed by Konchi-in Sūden (地院崇伝 1569–1633)—the person in charge of religious affairs during the time period. After investigating Konchi-in Sūden's diaries, where "there is a wealth of articles about temples and shrines, monks, laws, ordinances, letters, and even drafts" (Linder *ibid*, Mikami 1902, 69-70), Mikami found no laws, regulations, or privileges associated with the Fuke sect or komusō in Konchi-in's diaries.

Mikami not only found the timing and the signatures of the ordinance suspicious, but he also questioned the writing style of the document. By studying the writing style of other ordinances in the early seventeenth century, Mikami argues that the document is written in the style of the "end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth Tokugawa shogun," placing the publication of the forgery around the same time of the 1678 memorandum (Linder 2012, 123 and Mikami 1902, 75). Most importantly, much of Mikami's research involved cross-referencing official shogunate records for mentions of komusō, the Fuke sect, and the *Keichō okite-gaki*. His studies revealed that there were no mentions of the *Keichō okite-gaki* in official records. Instead, there are records from one of the commissioners of the jisha bugyo, Confucian scholar Arai

Hakuseki (1657-1725), questioning the authenticity of the *Keichō okite-gaki*. Overall, Mikami argues that the "the content of the document [*Keichō okite-gaki*] is not in line with the political situation of the Edo period" (Linder ibid and Mikami 1902, 66-67). Mikami highly doubts that the first shogun would grant the komusō—ex-samurai (rōnin) who were ingredients for social unrest—privileges "during a time when his enemies were still in the Osaka castle" (Linder ibid and Mikami ibid). Even though many people were not fooled by the forgery, Tokugawa's signature was convincing enough. With Tokugawa's seal on the document, no one dared approach Tokugawa to question its authenticity—for if that person was wrong, and the document was indeed signed by the first shogun, "any doubtful remarks may have resulted in the loss of one's head" (Linder 2012, 123). Although it is out of the scope of this project, it is important to mentally note that there are several versions of the *Keichō okite-gaki*. Linder's text provides a very thorough analysis of the varieties of the same ordinance (see Linder 2012 113-119 and 121-123).

In the larger context of Japanese culture, creating forgeries was a common affair—not just unique to shakuhachi history. A historically famous example would be how Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598, seen as the second unifier of Japan) was able to convince court officials to falsify his birth records to show that he had come from a lineage of court nobility so that he could become the Prime Minister of Japan as well shogun. This was quite significant. Before his reign, the shogun "traditionally" controlled the military to support the imperial court (i.e., the emperor) while the imperial court controlled socio-political affairs. The relationship between the imperial court and the shogun was reciprocal, and Hideyoshi's goal was to alter that reciprocity in his favor so that he could become the supreme unifier of the archipelago. His ability to

manage an invented relationship with the noble Fujiwara Clan allotted him to power as a military general and politician.

My own analysis of the *Keichō okite-gaki* leads me to conclude that being a komusō was supposed to be a temporary situation, a place for both rōnin and samurai could go to if they found themselves without a place to stay—but the activities and popularity of the komusō sect in the floating world overwhelmed the government, and they simply could not control them. Even though I spent much of this chapter on deconstructing aspects of the *Keichō okite-gaki*, in my strong opinion, there had to be a group of komusō who found a sense of truth in the lifestyle and religious ideals of what is now popularly called "Zen shakuhachi" that was presented in the *Keichō okite-gaki*—the text does emphasize the types of music komusō should play and stipulates a difference between what is considered "disorderly" music versus music that is appropriate for a komusō, i.e., the performance and practice of honkyoku. A group of komusō took the *Keichō okite-gaki* seriously and therefore took playing shakuhachi honkyoku seriously—if they did not, I do not think shakuhachi as an instrument would have survived.

In terms of musical application, my archival research has found no evidence of komusō spy melodies; however, during my applied studies in shakuhachi, there is a transcription of music in Dyokyoku/Chikuzen studio circles called *Komusō Spy Medley*. The melody itself was most likely not from the Edo period, and it's impossible to know if komusō truly used the shakuhachi as a form of espionage communication. Despite this, the melody is popular among this small group of participants and is often used as a pedagogical tool to practice notes in the upper register of the flute (known as *kan* in Japanese). An excerpt of the komusō spy melody is included in the companion recital that accompanies this project.

3.4.3. Fortifying their Legitimacy Part Two: The *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai*

The *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* (1795, 虚鐸伝国字, *The Annotated Legend of the Empty Bell*) is quite central in the dispersion of shakuhachi folklore, for it systematically discusses the history of the shakuhachi, its connection to Fuke and how the bamboo flute playing tradition was transmitted to Japan. In addition, this text is one of the key sources behind the instrument's perpetuated popular mysticism, folklore, and legend. According to Linder, it was "published after a number of strong admonitions from the central authorities" (Linder 2012, 129). Members of the Fuke sect knew that they were pushing governmental boundaries by not enforcing the very rules that were set in place (i.e., performing and teaching secular shakuhachi, teaching the instrument to non-komusō, and turning a blind eye to commoners moonlighting as komusō) and many feared retaliation from the shogunate as evidenced by pressing inquiries from state offices. It is theorized that the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* was compiled to further authenticate the shakuhachi's long-standing history in Japan and its connection to a tradition of meditative flute practice, specifically by komusō monks. Published by Masuya Shōbei of the Kyoto publishing house, the text was compiled by Yamamoto Morihide⁵¹ and was a translation and annotation of a thirteenth-century Chinese book, *The Kyotaku Denki (The History of the False Bell)*, a Chinese text that also authenticates shakuhachi as a long-time meditative tradition.

The *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* comes in three volumes. Volume one contains the original unedited Chinese text of the *Kyotaku denki* accompanied by notes about the text and the original author, who is only known by the name of Tonwō. Volume one also includes "the genealogy of

⁵¹ In my years of research, I have failed to find any biographical information on Yamamoto Morihide.

Fuke-zenji,"⁵² a list of "certain canonical rules of the Fuke sect of Zen Buddhism," the location of "all the denominational temples—main temples and branch temples of komusō," and notes on the "alleged progenitor of the komusō tradition," Kusunoki Masakatsu (Tsuge 1977, 47-48). Volume two of the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* is considered to be the main part of the textbook series because it contains the Japanese translation of the *Kyotaku denki* as well as added commentary by Yamamoto Morihide. Lastly, volume three contains a biography of both Fuke Zenji and Hotto Kakushin.⁵³ With all of the issues the sect was having—pressure from the government, as well as policing their own to follow the rules—it is possible that the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* was published not only as a way to authenticate the sect but also to "raise public awareness and sympathies" with not only the commoners but also other komusō who did follow the rules (Mau 2014, 96). Instead of summarizing the entirety of the volume, I will instead highlight the important tropes that are drawn from the text that persist in today's shakuhachi circles.

3.4.3.1 Key Tropes from the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai*

Fuke was a Zen Buddhist priest who became famous for walking around different locales while ringing a bell and chanting the following phrase:

Myōtōrai, myōtōda, antōrai, antōda, shihō hachi menraiya, senpūda, kokūraiya, 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 the whirlwind does; if attacked from the empty sky, I will thrash with a frail. (Tsuge 1977, 49)

⁵² This genealogy maps out the thirty-eight generations from Shakyamuni (a grand title applied to Siddhartha Guatama) through Fuke-zenji (also known as P'uhua).

⁵³ In the article "The History of the *Kyotaku*" Gen'ichi Tsuge includes an English translation of parts of the second volume of the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* and includes a copy of the original Chinese text of the *Kyotaku denki*.

A man by the name of Chō Haku (also known as Chang Po) heard Fuke's chant and sought to study with him but was denied by the priest. After this rejection, Chō Haku constructed a bamboo flute to imitate the sound of Fuke's bell and named the flute *kyotaku*.

According to the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai*, the first musical piece that Chō Haku composed was called *Kyorei* and was handed down within his family for sixteen generations, the last progenitor being Chō San, who "had already mastered the tradition in his thirties" (ibid). As an avid practitioner of Zen Buddhism, Chō San traveled to the Gokokuji temple to further his religious studies. It is at this temple where Chō San met Hotto Kakushin and decided to introduce Kakushin to the *kyotaku* tradition. After studying *kyotaku* with Chō San, Kakushin returned to Japan, founded the Saihōji temple, and had numerous students but chose to only teach a handful of individuals the meditative flute playing tradition. Kakushin's first student, Kichiku, was chosen to be a forebearer because of his "admiration for his master" and "his devotion to Zen Buddhism" (Tsuge 1977, 50). After Kichiku became proficient on the instrument, he was granted permission by Kakushin to "practice itinerancy" and play the flute "in the streets at every gate and to let all the world know this exquisite music" (ibid, 51).

One night, Kichiku traveled to the Kokūzō-dō shrine located in Sei-shu province and stayed there to meditate well into the night. That same night, Kichiku had a dream that he was alone on a boat navigating through thick fog. While admiring the moon, Kichiku heard the distant sound of a flute, and as the fog became denser, the sound of the flute became more sonorous. In this dream, Kichiku heard two melodies coming from the fog, and when he woke up, he reproduced the melodies on the *kyotaku*. After learning the melodies on the flute, Kichiku returned to Kakushin and told his master about the dream and performed the melodies for him on the flute. Kakushin named Kichiku's flute compositions *Mukaiji* (*Fog Sea Flute*) and *Kokūji*

(*Flute in the Empty Sky*). Up until his death, Kichiku was known to roam the archipelago playing what is still considered to be the oldest and most venerated shakuhachi pieces: *Kyorei* (originally called *Kyotaku*),⁵⁴ *Mukaiji*, and *Kokūji* (also called *Koku*).

The *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* also explains the importance and origins of the tengai through the introduction of the "alleged first komusō," Kusonoki Masakatsu (n.d., 楠木正勝) (Tsuge 1977, 52). In Japanese military history, Kusonoki was a famous military general who fought during the Nanboku-chō era whose death was shrouded in mystery due to his disappearance after being defeated in a battle in 1399. In addition to being a famous general, Kusonoki was also viewed as a legendary shakuhachi player during the fourteenth century. In the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai*, Kusonoki is referred to as *kyomu*—the original way of writing *komu*, the abbreviated version of *komusō*⁵⁵ and the first komusō who received shakuhachi transmission from Kichiku. In the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai*, Kusonoki explains that the tengai must always be worn with the "idea to assume a life of seclusion even in town" and pronounced an ordinance that "it shall be irreverent for a man engaged in these religious austerities to take off the basket-hat" (Tsuge 1977, 52). Overall, it is in the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* that Kusonoki became the first komusō to establish and solidify the spiritual importance of wearing the conical basket hat.

Aside from explaining the religious origins of the instrument, the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* also identifies a total of six factions of komusō with approximately fifty-five affiliated temples. At this time, even though there were different temples transmitting different shakuhachi

⁵⁴ The *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* states that "*Kyorei (False Bell)* a musical piece was originally named *Kyotaku (false bell)* because it imitated the sound of a taku (a handbell with a clapper). Consequently, the instrument [the bamboo flute on which the piece was played] was called 'false bell,' and so was the piece" (Tsuge 1977, 49).

⁵⁵ Interestingly, in the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai*, the word komusō is spelled the following way *kyomuso*. There is no explanation in historical texts as to why or how the phonetics changed from *kyomuso* to *komusō*.

styles, there was still no formal separation of schools (*ryū*) yet. Even though the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* was not published until 1795, there was evidence that the story of Fuke's bell and Hotto Kakushi were circulating in various social spheres. An example of the public's knowledge of the shakuhachi's legendary tale can be seen in the *Shichiku shoshin-shū* (糸竹初心, *Collection for Beginners of Pieces for Strings and Bamboo*, 1664). Written by a well-known hitoyogiri player, Nakamura Sōsan (中村宗三), this text makes the following comment about komusō shakuhachi, "what is called komusō shakuhachi is cut in the length of one shaku eight suns, and it is called shakuhachi. Its origins are unknown for certain. It is said that in the old times, the founder of this Way was Hotto from Yura, but I do not think this is so" (Nakamura, 1664, 1976, 4; see also Linder 2012, 126).⁵⁶ These tropes, as well as the overall narrative in the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai*, were accepted as fact until they were questioned by Kurihara Kota and Nakatsuka Chikuzen in the 1920s.⁵⁷

In all my research, I have found no biographical information on Yamamoto Morihide. If he was a well-known scholar, then his name should appear in other historical documents and possibly even have other books that he wrote. For example, Hayashi Razan had several writings on the history of the shakuhachi, which is reflected throughout Edo period literature. However, from my own research, it seems that the only thing that Yamamoto Morihide has

⁵⁶ Here is the quote from the original text: "虚無僧尺八といふは、長さ一尺八寸に切ゆへ、尺八といふとぞ、濫はたしかに不知、そのかみ由良の法燈此道の祖たるよしいへども、了簡せず" (Nakamura, (1664), 1976, 4, see also Linder 2012, 126).

⁵⁷ See 1. Kurihara Kōta (栗原広太), *Shakuhachi shikō* (尺八史, *A Historical Study of Shakuhachi*). (Tokyo: Chikuyū-sha, (1918) 1975), 2. Nakatsuka Chikuzen, *Kinko-ryū shakuhachi shikan* (琴古流尺八史, *A Historical View of Kinko-ryū Shakuhachi*). Originally published as a series of articles in *Sankyoku*. Tokyo: Nihon Ongakusha, (1936-1939) 1979.

written/compiled is the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai*, but my research project has limitations—I do not have access to Japanese language archives, and my Japanese language ability is subpar. The only fact that can be ascertained from this text is that to have the ability to write and publish a book, Yamamoto Morihide must have been a nobleman who had some sense of status and supported the Fuke order. It is possible that Yamamoto Morihide could be a pen name or pseudonym for a komusō monk, but this is a matter of speculation. Even though the credibility of the *Kyotaku denki* and the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* has been questioned by several scholars—the text still maintains a great deal of authority. Regardless of shakuhachi styles, all schools acknowledge the history behind the instrument—regardless of whether they think it's a fact or fiction or if the Zen aspects of shakuhachi are emphasized. The following chapter will discuss how Kurihara and Nakatsuka problematize the legendary text and unpack various reasons why people find truth in the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* despite how scholars point out that the text is a matter of invention.

3.5. Shakuhachi During the Edo Period: A Religious Implement and a Secular Instrument

The *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai*, the *Keichō okite-gaki*, the *Kaidō honsoku*, and all the government's ordinances illustrate that there were two streams of shakuhachi performance and practices that were cultivated during the Edo period—religious and secular. The *Keichō okite-gaki* was specifically meant to limit the shakuhachi to a religious implement used to play fundamental pieces (honkyoku) by only komusō. Despite this limitation, monks were teaching secular music as well as honkyoku to other class members of society. Komusō has been teaching shakuhachi for at least one hundred years throughout the Edo period, and evidence of this is found in the different shakuhachi styles or sects that began to formulate into distinct schools. While fundamental pieces were the core religious repertoire, secular music—specifically

sokyoku-jiuta (traditional Japanese music for koto and shamisen)—was another genre that helped attract the townspeople to shakuhachi. Shakuhachi music (honkyoku, the komusō, and the sects that were formulated during the Edo period were a prominent part of the "urban" or pop culture scene.

The transmission of religious and secular shakuhachi happened simultaneously. In general, in terms of the religious shakuhachi, little is known about the music because the transmission practices were mostly oral, and little was written down. Based on historical documentation of the Edo period, komusō were known to play honkyoku from memory and would travel to other places to learn different pieces. Komusō taught the pieces that they learned to other komusō they encountered in their travels. At this point, there was no formalized custom of including information about the honkyoku—many times, not even a title. According to Linder, the komusō transmitted religious shakuhachi by playing together with other komusō or through one-to-one transmission. The transmission process for religious shakuhachi would typically take place at local komusō temples or at the main head temples around Edo (Ichigetsu-ji and Reihoji) and Kyoto (Myoan-ji).

The key point here is that while komusō were teaching religious shakuhachi to other komusō, they were also participating in the transmission of religious shakuhachi to non-komusō and participating in the practice and performance of secular shakuhachi within the genre of *sōkyoku-jiuta*, traditional music of the Edo period for koto, shamisen, *kyoku* (three-stringed lute), and hitoyogiri/komusō shakuhachi (Pasciak 2017, 1, see also Malm 1959, 193). The inclusion of hitoyogiri within this definition is at my insistence. The hitoyogiri had been a favored instrument of choice for secular entertainment, but eventually fell out of use in favor of the construction of the thicker bamboo that the komusō shakuhachi contained. This made the instrument louder and

more tonally stable. The komusō shakuhachi became better suited to be included in the standard chamber music ensemble over the kyoku during the Edo period. For some time, the chamber music of the Edo period included only koto, shamisen, and kyoku. As hitoyogiri became more popular, the instrument began to be incorporated into ensemble settings.

The Fuke sect, on the surface, was meant to be strictly a religious institution that included the shakuhachi as a religious implement. However, most of the monks within the sect made much of their income from teaching and performing secular music, i.e., "outside music." In the master thesis "Jiuta-sōkyoku no gassō no kenkyū: sangen to koto o chūshin ni" (地歌 箏曲の合奏の研究 三絃と箏を中心に, Research in Jiuta-sōkyoku Ensemble Playing: With Emphasis on Sangen and Koto, 1982), Hayashi Mieko (林美穂子) shows evidence of the shakuhachi's popularity in chamber music despite the religious (and somewhat governmental) rules that admonished the performance of secular music. Mieko writes, "the shakuhachi was a religious implement, and any ensemble playing was forbidden. However, behind the official policy, the liberation of the shakuhachi as a musical instrument for entertainment had progressed considerably" (Hayashi 1982, 184). In the context of the Edo period, the music of the shakuhachi developed concurrently—komusō monks were openly the sole transmitters of honkyoku and discretely the performers and transmitters of chamber music.

3.5.1. The Development of Shakuhachi Schools During the Edo Period: Soetsu-ryū

The popularity of ensemble music in combination with komusō teaching non-samurai paved a clear path of success for the simultaneous existence of religious and secular shakuhachi music. This unique situation allowed the cultivation of one of the first schools of shakuhachi study—the Soetsu-ryū. The founder of this school, Kondo Soetsu (近藤宗悦, 1820-1866), was a

highly skilled shakuhachi musician of the non-samurai class who was eventually adopted into the family of Fujiwara Kengyo—a chamber ensemble music master of the Edo period. Kondo spent much of his time notating and transcribing shamisen and koto pieces so that he could create parts for the shakuhachi. Once these parts for shakuhachi were composed, Kondo would then teach those parts to his students. It is important to note that Kondo purposely concentrated on "outside music." Kondō did learn fundamental pieces—he studied shakuhachi at Myoan-ji temple with Ozaki Shinryu (1820-1888), a master shakuhachi player and supervisor komusō from the Myoan-ji temple. Ozaki is the founder of the Myoan Shimpō-ryū, and Kondo was one of Ozaki's top students. Because Kondo chose to put most of his efforts into creating chamber music parts for shakuhachi, the Shimpō-ryū continued to be transmitted by Katsuruura Seizan (1856-1942), also popularly known as the "last komusō." This will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter. Overall, the Soetsu-ryū no longer exists today, but its essence is still a major influence on not only ensemble repertoire but shakuhachi music as a whole. Speaking specifically on the impact Kondo had on shakuhachi music, Stanfield writes, "Kondō incorporated the shakuhachi parts of the popular music of the time (mainly jiuta) into their ryū systems of pedagogy and repertoire. History has shown that this innovation was extremely successful, resulting in a continuously expanding repertoire of sankyoku arrangements..." (Stanfield 1977, 92). Nakao Tozan, the founder of the Tozan-ryū, studied with a student of the Soetsu-ryū (Sakai Chikuho and many of the dominating shakuhachi musicians of the Meiji period studied with students of Kondo.

The purpose of discussing the Soetsu-ryū is to emphasize the fact that different styles of shakuhachi playing were already developing in the Edo period. Many of these styles, such as the Kinko-ryū, did not fully crystalize until the Meiji period. In some ways, shakuhachi scholarship has oversaturated information about the Kinko-ryū making it easy to fall into the

misconception that the Kinko-ryū governs the shakuhachi style in shakuhachi transmission—this is not the case. The Kinko-ryū is one of the oldest (but not the first) and largest existing shakuhachi lineages that is still practiced today. It is important to remember that there were many shakuhachi schools/sects that developed in the Edo period—the Kinko-ryū just so happened to be the most popular and is still in existence.

3.6. THE FALL OF THE TOKUGAWA REGIME

The Tokugawa shogunate accomplished two hundred and fifty years of peace, cultivated a rich merchant class, and increased urbanization throughout the archipelago. From their perspective, the government's focus was on establishing order after centuries of warfare. Through the implementation of strict feudalistic social order, the Tokugawa lineage "bounded all daimyos to the shogunate and limited any individual daimyo from acquiring too much land or power" (History.com Editors, 2009). Peasants were greatly affected by Tokugawa's policies as well—for they were forbidden from engaging in any type of work other than farming. Although the country was experiencing an economic surplus and a wealthy merchant class, agricultural production fell behind due to droughts, crop shortages, and corruption. From 1675 to 1837, the country experienced twenty famines, and many members of the peasant and chōnin class led mass protests over the constant increases in taxes and food shortages. Up until the end of the Edo period, as a class, merchants were at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Towards the end of the Edo period, merchants not only gained more power because of increased wealth but also because many samurai were in debt to merchants. The samurai class relied on the merchants for everyday living purposes, and with the strict social order, many of the samurai had a hard time finding new occupations and would end up accumulating massive bills with various merchants. The ultimate blow that toppled the Edo period government was the invasion of Japanese waters by

Commodore Mathew Perry. In 1853, the Commodore led a squadron of battleships into Edo Bay, where he gave leaders an ultimatum—either open their ports to trade with the United States, Great Britain, and Russia or be faced with a war. The current leaders within the Tokugawa Shogunate, instead of going to war, conceded for various reasons and signed a rather unfair "treaty" (called either The Treaty of Kanagawa or The Treaty of Peace and Amity, or gunboat diplomacy) which allowed the opening of two ports specifically for American ships and guaranteed provisions and good treatment for American sailors. Further stipulations of the treaty included a U.S. consulate in Shimoda and refuge for shipwrecked American sailors (see Gordon 2008 and Hall and McLain 1991).

While feelings towards western influence varied among different leaders, the forced establishment of diplomacy with westerners provoked nationalistic ire among the Japanese populace. A year after the arrival of Perry's battleships, the sakoku (country in chains) policy ended, allowing all Japanese citizens to pursue any occupation of their choice. Throughout all this political chaos, the general population still had respect for the current Emperor (Emperor Komei), who made it public that he disapproved of the treaty. With the emperor's disapproval, xenophobic-inspired violent protests swept the archipelago because certain factions felt that foreigners should not be allowed in Japan regardless of the show of force by the United States. Oppositions against foreign influence continued to grow more violent with the signing of an additional treaty in 1858. Known as the *Treaty of Amity and Commerce Between Japan and the United States*, this treaty allowed representatives from five countries (United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Holland) to reside in Japan and oversee international trade. Due to the fear of foreign influence and the belief that Japan was sacred territory, a series of assassinations targeting foreign diplomats as well as Japanese government officials were

orchestrated by a group of young samurai known as the *shishi*: "men of high purpose" (see Zhao 2018 and Fraleigh 2009). From 1858-1864, the shishi eliminated well over a dozen Dutch, British, American, and Chinese people living in Japan. The most dramatic act of terrorism" was the assassination of a high-level Bakufu official, Ii Naosuke. In the article "The Continuity of Violence in the Stages of the *Shi-Shi* Movement" (1997), Yuichi Tamura notes that the assassination of Ii Naosuke "had an intimidating effect on the officials of the bakufu and resulted in moderation of the bakufu policy" (Yuichi 1997, 174). Additionally, the assassination of foreign diplomats and liaisons resulted in a violent retaliation from their respective host countries. Japan was technologically behind—their swords could not compete with advanced weaponry such as warships and cannon fire. Overall, these assassinations led by the shi-shi were a breaking point for the Tokugawa Regime and were key in the cultivation and the culmination of the Meiji Period.

3.7. THE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE MEIJI PERIOD

The Meiji period started when a group of young samurai orchestrated a coup d'etat and forced Tokugawa Yoshinobu to resign. The year before the restoration, the country was in chaos and prone to spontaneous outbreaks of hysteria because of all the political confusion between the new foreign powers and the local government. Thousands of citizens took to the streets, dancing and throwing money into the air, screaming and chanting "eijanaika" ("what the hell") because of the constant political discombobulation. After Tokugawa Yoshinobu surrendered, the country returned power to direct imperial rule with the succession of Prince Mutsuhito to the position of Emperor. While the previous eras enforced policies of isolation, the Meiji period emphasized civilization and enlightenment through rapid modernization. The new political regime abolished feudalistic domains, samurai privileges, and class-based discrimination. To unite Japanese

citizens, Meiji leaders transformed civic ideology by dismissing Confucian and Buddhist ideologies and situated the emperor as the head of the state religion—Shinto.

Shortly after the installation of Prince Mutsuhito as Emperor Meiji, Edo was renamed Tokyo, and Japan was reorganized into seventy-two prefectures. For the first time, the populace was able to pursue any profession they desired, and the new government strongly pushed towards modernizing their country. In less than forty years, Japan's infrastructure went from farmland to industrialized factories. Western ideals rapidly popularized during this epoch due to democratization and the insistence on the equality of opportunity. With self-improvement as a main motivation, education—and, in some cases, westernized education—became the cornerstone of Japan's modernization. By the end of the Meiji Period, a constitution was established that outlined the populace's civil liberties, and almost everyone attended free public schools.

3.7.1 Music in the Meiji Period

The emperor, along with his cabinet, left Kyoto and permanently relocated to Tokyo (formerly known as Edo)—just one of many massive changes that helped signify the start of a new era. Once settled in Tokyo, government officials wanted to restore imperial rites and ceremonies that involved the performance of gagaku but also western music. Through the study and collaboration of European and American primary and secondary schools, the newly established Meiji government saw the crucial importance of music as a valuable tool to help modernize and instill national identity and unification in Japan. With modernization and unification at the forefront of the government's goals, three institutions were created to help organize the implementation of state ceremonies on a national scale. The Gagaku Kyoku (Gagaku Bureau) in 1870, The Army and Navy Military Bands in 1871, and the Ministry of

Education's Music Study Committee. In addition, the influence of pedagogy and teaching philosophy from European and Western nations led officials in Japan to develop a concept of "national music" known as *kokugaku*.

While the main goal of standardized music education in the United States was to "teach non-English speaking children authentic language and pronunciation through song," the ministry of education sought to "build a modern nation through national music" (Seiko 2016). In 1872, the government started the mass implementation of a four-year compulsory school system. By the end of the Meiji period, most, if not all, citizens of Japan had experienced formalized education that incorporated the ministry of education's definition and canonization of national music. In the article "*Gagaku*, Music of the Empire: Tanabe Hisao and Musical Heritage as National Identity" (2016), Seiko Suzuki states that from the perspective of the ministry of education, national music

Must consist of national songs that can be sung or played by any member of the Japanese people, whether they be an aristocrat or a commoner, with no distinction made between the sophisticated and the common. For this, we must draw on quality musical works—past and present—that are peculiar to our country, but also, if necessary, on European works. (Seiko 2016)

With this definition in mind, music genres such as *gagaku* and genres associated with instruments such as *shakuhachi*, *shamisen*, and *koto* were redefined to align with the government's national agenda. Because of these redefined parameters of what Japan classified as national music, Seiko notes that, especially in the case of *gagaku*, "national music and ritual music shared the same edifying and moral character" (Suzuki 2016). For example, the *Gagaku Kyoku*—reminiscent of the Nara period's *Imperial Music Bureau*—were expected to not only perform *gagaku* for ceremonies that incorporated the emperor but also *gagaku* musicians were expected to learn western music and "obliged to perform western music at certain imperial

ceremonies" (ibid). Likewise, state ceremonies for the army included only western music in the form of drum corps and military bands. With institutionalized compulsory education, western concepts of tonality, pitch, and rhythm were taught to citizens of Japan and widely disseminated through mass media, starting with the publication of Western music-based periodicals and magazines. Lastly, educational songbooks, such as the *Collection of Primary School Songs* (published between 1881-1884), contained western melodies set to Japanese text and were published specifically to teach the nation western music (also known as *shoka* in Japanese). The introduction of these songs into compulsory education led to the cultivation of a very diverse popular music scene. Overall, the Meiji government's move to create an institutionalized Shinto with the emperor as the figurehead of the state religion led to the implementation of not only new palace rituals but also redefined ceremonies that included new and transformed music genres. Music in this era was a tool to not only spread modernity but also to showcase Japan's ability to culturally and technologically develop.

3.7.2 Traditional Japanese Music Redefined

The integration and adoption of western music also greatly influenced traditional Japanese music. Many composers and musicians drew on and included motives from foreign/western melodies in hopes that their music would grab the attention of a wide audience.⁵⁸ Other musicians used this same strategy but took it a step further to include the government's modernized philosophy and ideology. In addition, the musicological intelligentsia of the Meiji

⁵⁸ Another major reason why western music was completely adopted into the educational system was due to Izawa Shuji (1851-1917), one of the main persons behind the organization of the music education curriculum. In her article, "Mode and Scale, Modulation and Tuning in Japanese Shamisen music," (Tokita notes that Izawa "was not able to recognize adequately the difference between their [Western] scalar systems." To Izawa, major and minor scales sounded similar and "led him to the misguided belief hat to exclude Japanese music from the school curriculum would be insignificant."

period began to analyze music genres from the Edo period, using Western music theory as a tool to build a unique Japanese music theory system. For example, an analysis of Japanese scales was published in 1895 by music theorist Uehara Rokushiro. Drawing on the concept of western major and minor scales, Uehara came up with the label "in senpo" (yin) for minor scales and "yo seppo" (yang) for major scales.

Even before the publication of Uehara's theory book, Philip Flavin notes that major changes were taking place in the collective genres of koto and shamisen music due to the government's initiative on modernization and the integration of western music. In his article, "Meiji Shinkyoku: The Beginning of Modern Music for Koto," Flavin wrote about how the dissolution of government-protected welfare organizations (such as the Todo-za) led many of the musicians who belonged to these sects to deal with "the immediate problem of how to generate revenue" (Flavin 2010, 106). To attract a wider audience to "traditional Japanese music," Flavin argues that modernization in music—especially in the world of sokyoku-jiuta—happened in two phases with the following two composers: koto musicians Kikutaka Kengyo (1838-1888) and Tateyama Noboru (1876-1926).

The first phase began with Kikutaka Kengyo, a koto player from the Ikuta-ryū who started writing new compositions—particularly ensemble pieces—for two kotos, "one tuned in a high tessitura and the other in a low tessitura" (Ayer 1997, 12). In addition to changing the typical orchestration for ensemble music, Kikutaka also composed new music by drawing on aspects of *minshingaku*⁵⁹ and changing the typical scale that was used to compose ensemble music. The

⁵⁹ *Minshingaku* is a genre of Chinese chamber music popular during the Meiji period that was "seen as an acceptable pastime for the educated urban classes and fashionable at different times during the Edo period, but notably so from the early Meiji period through the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895." *Minshingaku* waws considered to be part of popular music during the Meiji period.

scale that Kukutaka modified will later be called the *miyako-bushi* scale by ethnomusicologist Kozio Fumio in 1958. In Flavin's article, he describes how Kikutaka altered the miyako-bushi scale to have a "completely different flavour to the scale" (ibid 58). While the original miyako-bushi scale is constructed with two perfect fourths a major second apart with a minor second above each root, Kikutaka's is constructed similarly in the sense that the scale is two perfect fourths a major second apart. But what sets his scale apart is that his second and fifth notes of the scale are a major second above the root of the perfect fourth. Examples of the application of these changes can be seen in *Kyurenkan*, where Kikutaka employed the use of the altered miyako-bushi scale. Flavin notes that Kikutaka music was so popular that it "soon spread to the major metropolitan areas where they engendered new forms of popular music throughout the Meiji period."⁶⁰

The second phase began with Tateyama Noboru (1816-1926), a shamisen player who studied with Tatezaki Kengyo and Tatezawa Koto. He completed his jiuta-shamisen studies in 1889 and began composing music at the age of eighteen. In the chapter, "Music, Modernity, and Locality in Prewar Japan: Osaka and Beyond," Flavin discusses how Tateyama's compositions influenced the landscape of traditional Japanese music. In the chapter, Flavin explains that Tateyama was viewed as a controversial figure since he refused to "follow the accepted practice of composing for two koto tuned a fifth apart, claiming this was derivative" (Flavin 2013). In addition, Tateyama composed music with scales that sounded "un-Japanese" because "they were devoid of minor seconds" (ibid). Furthermore, in a similar article, Flavin describes how Tateyama's compositions included the influence of the period's popular music and incorporated elements of western music theory. Flavin credits Tateyama for introducing the concepts of meter,

⁶⁰ These other styles include *hokai bushi*, *samosa bushi*, and *umegae bushi*.

"thematic regularity," and "multinote sonorities" (harmony), which "challenged composers to reconsider their own language" in how they describe music (ibid).

The changes that Kikutaka Kengyo and Tateyama made in their musical compositions inspired a generation of composers dedicated to creating "new" Japanese music for traditional instruments and eventually mixed ensembles that included a combination of western and Japanese instruments. In essence, the two composer's willingness to challenge the compositional status quo had a major impact on the musicians who grew up listening to their music. This new generation of musicians/composers wanted to create more music—specifically new traditional Japanese music—and cultivated a movement that emphasized the need for new compositions that were from the "homeland." The new music movement that started in the Meiji period did not fully blossom until the Taisho period and will be discussed later in this chapter because this movement played a significant role in the creation of the shakuhachi repertoire. But it is important to know that by the end of the Meiji period, two musical terms were developed by the intelligentsia to mark the difference between types of *ongaku* (the Japanese word for music).

The Meiji period marked the beginning of profound changes in Japanese people's experience of music. While *ongaku* eventually became a term for music in general—further subcategorizations were developed because of how traditional Japanese music artists were using aspects of western music in their regional/local indigenous music compositions. *Hogaku* began to be used in the middle of the Meiji period to refer to traditional music—this included court, religious and festive music, such as *gagaku* and ritual music of Shinto, regional vocal music, instrumental music, and related genres. *Hogaku* also included all the newly inspired western influenced compositions that were performed by instruments like shakuhachi. These new compositions were sometimes referred to as *shingaku*, and the traditional Japanese music

composers and performers of this epoch helped give birth to a hogaku scene. It is in this scene where instruments like the shakuhachi, koto, and shamisen thrive in a new environment where performances of genres like sankyoku were in high demand. Overall, it is important to understand that the integration of western music rapidly transformed Japan's aural landscape, so much so that a new context—a new definition of "traditional Japanese music"—was cultivated for generations after.

3.8 THE SURVIVAL OF THE SHAKUHACHI

The Meiji Period was a crucial turning point for the shakuhachi as an instrument that became intimately connected with Zen Buddhism during a time when Buddhism was not a favored religion. In the article "Haibutsu Kishaku" (2014), Claudia Marra describes the paradigm shift that took place with the installation of the Meiji government that led to the adoption of widespread anti-Buddhist thought. While the Tokugawa Regime utilized Buddhism as "an effective administrative tool," the Meiji government wanted to "diminish Buddhism's influence" (Marra 2014, 173). The reasons for this rejection of Buddhism are threefold. First, Chinese culture went from being revered and held in great esteem to being viewed as weak and outdated due to China being suppressed "by Western colonial powers" (ibid, 175). Explaining further, Marra writes,

Japan gave up the old slogan 'wakon-- kansai, 和魂漢才,' (Japanese spirit combined with Chinese skills) and replaced it with the new 'wakon-- yōsai, 和魂洋才' (Japanese spirit, combined with Western technology) indicating that the general mood in Japan was rather negative when it came to China. (ibid)

Second, Buddhist discourse became less interesting to the intelligentsia and was perceived as "stagnant esoteric and escapist" (ibid). Third, the Meiji government implemented Shinto as the state religion to unite the people and instill a sense of national identity. This new

ideology, coupled with anti-Buddhist sentiment, helped cultivate a negative and somewhat violent view of Buddhism that became a common phrase among the populace. Known as *haibutsu kishaku* (廃仏毀釈 "abolish Buddhism and destroy Shākyamuni"), the movement led to the destruction of approximately 40,000 temples between 1868-1888 (ibid 173). It is important to remember that in the larger context of the Meiji period events, the Fuke sect was not the only religious institution to be affected by the wide-sweeping anti-Buddhist sentiment encouraged by government policy. Buddhism suffered greatly at the cost of implementing a state religion and modernization. Surprisingly, the sect's reputation for being a haven for members of the criminal underworld played a rather small role in the dissolution of the Fuke order. The disbandment of the Fuke sect meant that the komusō monks were no longer allowed to perform takahatsu, their privileges and rank were revoked, and since there was no more sakoku policy, they were ordered to find jobs and be part of average society.

Because of the sentiment of *haibutsu kishaku*, the new politics "wished to abolish not only the sect but also items connected to it" (Linder 2012, 240). Once the official decree was implemented in 1871, "all of the komusō temples were closed, and priests became lay people. Begging for alms became illegal, shakuhachi as a spiritual tool also became illegal" (Lee 1992, 85). Before the official *daijokan fukoku* (cabinet decree, see Kurihara 1918; 175-176, Lee ibid) that was imposed in 1871, two komusō who studied with Hisamatsu Fuyo had the foresight to understand that the shakuhachi and its repertoire were on the brink of total annihilation. Considered to be Hisamatsu's top students, Yoshida Itcho (1812-1881), and Araka Kodo II (1823-1908) were instrumental in the survival of the shakuhachi as a musical instrument after the Meiji era. Both shakuhachi musicians were able to prevent the complete ban on the instrument by situating the instrument in a secular context and de-emphasizing the instrument's religious

origins. Yoshida Itcho's role in saving the shakuhachi repertoire began in 1870 when he was required to report directly to the Ministry of Religious Affairs to answer the government's concerns over the ways of the shakuhachi and how it was used. After being summoned and questioned, the Ministry of Religious Affairs requested Itcho's response in writing. Yoshida's response was rather strategic and was specifically made to save the solo repertoire, i.e., honkyoku.

Instead of reporting the narrative that can be found in the *Kyotaku denki kokujikai*, Yoshida described the shakuhachi as having origins in China as a musical instrument and emphasized that the instrument was still being used as such. After sending this written response to the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Yoshida was summoned by the government again to explain that since the Fuke sect will be abolished, then the shakuhachi is no longer a Zen implement and has "been restored as a musical instrument" (Linder 2012, 241). In the same response, Yoshida goes on to insist that not only should the shakuhachi be saved but also honkyoku—the repertoire that was not only unique to the instrument but also considered to be the spiritual core of the tradition. To help justify his argument, Yoshida states that the performance and practice of gaikyoku alone do not lead to skillful musicians. Instead, he strongly suggests that honkyoku is crucially important for students because of how the repertoire focuses on the breath. The skill level required to play honkyoku requires the student to be advanced— "the honkyoku pieces partly lost their position as the main repertoire to learn and became more of an esoteric repertoire that the advanced students learned after having studied the external repertoire of ensemble pieces" (Linder 2012, 273).



Figure 3.3 Photo of Araki Kodo II
(Google Images, 2022)

Araki Kodo II also argued and encouraged the shakuhachi's preservation as a secular musical instrument, specifically in the sankyoku ensemble. After the retirement of Yoshida Itcho, Kodo II took charge of the Kinko school and focused on creating notations of shakuhachi scores from the repertoire of nagauto- and jiuta-style shamisen. Although Araki was already exposed to and influenced by the sankyoku of the Soetsu-ryū, the larger issue of the shakuhachi's total eradication greatly motivated Araki II to notate shakuhachi scores and expand the secular music repertoire. Most importantly, because of his efforts to notate shakuhachi scores for

sankyoku, Araki II was the first to implement the ro tsu re (ロツレ) notation system that "became the basis for the present day Kinko notation" and greatly influenced the Tozan-ryū. The implementation and later improvements in notating shakuhachi scores for ensemble music performance were greatly needed—honkyoku solo repertoire often did not need the inclusion of tempo, meter, or exact rhythm. In the book, *The Shakuhachi: A Manual for Learning* (2008), Christopher Blasdel notes that "ensemble playing required precision and clarity regarding time and speed" (Blasdel 2008, 155). To help codify and streamline notation for sankyoku/gaikyoku, Kodo II recruited the help of a musicologist Uehara Kyodo (Rokushiro) and with his assistance, Kodo II used katakana syllabary to indicate pitch and a system of dots and lines showing rhythm. According to Linder, "the canonization of the shakuhachi music in the beginning of the Meiji period, and already in the Edo period for the Kinko-ryū, was made possible due to the development of notated scores" (Linder 2012, 256). For more on this system (ro tsu re) of notation and rhythmic dictation, see the musicological and pedagogical analysis in chapter five.

Thanks to the efforts of Itcho and Kodo II, playing secular shakuhachi became legal, and the instrument became a standard fixture in the sankyoku ensemble. In the article/book, so and so notes that komusō who were shakuhachi teachers at the "various fukiawasesho and were ideally situated to continue teaching activities as gainful employment" (ibid, 125). Shakuhachi schools that were successful in the Edo period were put in the best position to maintain and grow their following under the government's recontextualization of the instrument.

3.8.1 The Rise of Different Shakuhachi Schools

Kurosawa Kinko I (1710-1771) (real name Kurosawa Kohachi) is credited to be the founder of the Kinko sect. As a komusō monk, he was the shakuhachi instructor at Ichigetsu-ji and Reiho-ji temples. In addition to this, he taught lessons to townspeople. Kinko I

contextualized the repertoire for shakuhachi not only as honkyoku but also as musical sermons or "onsei seppo." In his teachings and writings, he often spoke about the concept of *itton jobutsu*, Buddhahood in a single tone—which became an important authenticating phrase when connected shakuhachi to facets of Zen Buddhism. Most famously, Kinko I is known for suggesting that shakuhachi is essential to human development due to the nature of the instrument being able to cater to "the limited to the limitless" (see Sanford 1977 430, Gutzwiller 1983, 1984 and Mau 2014, 141-143). Overall, Kinko made it his task to "purify the repertoire" and is credited with collecting and codifying thirty-six honkyoku.

Even though the name of the sect, "The Kinko-ryū," did not solidify until the Meiji period, the lineage of this tradition began with Kinko I as a blood lineage transmission (known as *isshi shoden*)⁶¹ that lasted for three generations. The fourth generation of Kinko chose to discontinue his shakuhachi studies, and the transmission of the Kinko style shifted to what is known as "complete transmission" (*kanzen souden*)—a process where teachers can choose students who mastered the tradition to become certified teachers. Within these first three generations of blood lineage transmission, the Kinko sect had already codified thirty-six honkyoku—eighteen of those honkyoku are still practiced today.

Evidence of the Kinko sect organizing into a more formalized school of shakuhachi study can be seen with the publication of the *Kinko techo* (*The Kinko Notebook*, unknown date)—a "compilation by Kinko III from the teachings and notes that he received from his father Kinko II" (Linder 2012, 233) and contained a copy of the *Keichō okite-gaki*. The exact author of this complication is unknown, but Linder suggests that it was most likely written and revised by Kinko II and Kinko III. The publication of the *Kinko techo* also indicates that there was a

⁶¹ Isshi shoden prevailed in gagaku and noh theatre.

transmission process established within the Kinko-ryū that emphasized learning the fundamental pieces—in other words—the religious aspects of the Fuke sect. However, at this point, there is still no information going into the ideology behind Zen and shakuhachi within the first three generations of Kinko.

It was not until the transmission of the Kinko tradition transformed from being blood lineage to complete transmission that someone began to seriously consider and frame shakuhachi from a Zen perspective. This person was Hisamatsu Fuyo (1791-1871), a student of Kinko III and the fourth leader in the Kinko lineage. Towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, Hisamatsu Fuyu published three articles aimed at teaching beginners the fundamentals of Kinko style shakuhachi. These writings describe shakuhachi as an instrument of entertainment and as an instrument of Zen. From the perspective of entertainment, understanding the correct posture, construction of bamboo, how the wholes are numbered and the notation are important parts of the overall form of shakuhachi. All these types of questions have exact answers when shakuhachi is played for entertainment.

From the perspective of Zen, the answers Fuyu gives to these same questions are illusive, and he goes as far as to admit that those who study the shakuhachi as an implement of Zen are rare. In a general sense, Fuyu claims that shakuhachi/characterizes shakuhachi as a Zen instrument because "there is no being in the three worlds (past, present, and future) that does not have Zen quality"—in essence, the shakuhachi is a Zen instrument because everything in this world has qualities of Zen. In a more specific sense, studying shakuhachi is called *kisoku shugyo*—the discipline of spiritual breathing—and, as a Zen instrument, is not concerned with the length of the instrument or the correct number of nodes. To study shakuhachi as a Zen instrument is to concentrate on emptiness. Emptiness, according to Fuyo, is taking the name of

Kyorei as the essence of each piece. For Fuyu, shakuhachi, as an implement of Zen, is an instrument specifically for developing one's mind. From this religious perspective, the complete mastery of honkyoku is not as important as the intention behind the performance—in other words, how the piece is played has more value than the technical mastery and how many pieces one can play from memory.

The Kinko school was composed mostly komusō monks of the Fuke sect, and even though it was forbidden, their income relied on the performance and teaching of profane music such as sankyoku. In defense of this, in the article *Hitori kotoba*, Hisamatsu argued that other pieces should not be disregarded because they can also have a quality of Zen-like honkyoku. While they were acknowledged as a religious institution, komusō monks were the culture bearers and transmitters of an entertainment art form. Shakuhachi scholar Tsukitani even asserts that "the Kinko ryū changed quite early on into a tradition of entertainment" (Tsukitani 2008, 7). According to the research of Nishiyama Matsunosuke, Fuke shakuhachi transformed "into more of a general concept among art forms that developed into entertainment by and for the nobility" (quoted in Linder 2012, 243). In other words, learning about Fuke and studying honkyoku became part of the tradition and curriculum of noblemen and others who wanted to play shakuhachi—even if they were there to learn just sankyoku.

3.8.2. The Rise of the Iemoto and Other Types of Shakuhachi Schools

While the Kinko-ryū maintained their following of students from the Edo period, new sects developed because of the Fuke-sects dissolution and cultivated generations of iemotos from the Meiji period forward. Shakuhachi practices were "broken up into a diversity of sub-traditions, each and every one invented, based on idiosyncrasies and preferred performance techniques, opinions about the origin of the shakuhachi and its musical repertoire and so on, the

instigator of each faction. . . . " (Linder 2012, 247). In addition, the canonization and widespread dissemination of repertoire were not possible without improvements in systems of notation. By the end of the Meiji period, Kamisangō notes that the scope of this development engendered a situation where "we can say that there were as many lineages as there were shakuhachi performers" (ibid). For example, the Nezasa-ha Kimpo-ryū (translation, also known as the Kimpo-ryū) was founded in 1884 and became known as the sect that employed a specialized technique to their sound best characterized as breathy panting vibrato (known as *komi-buki*) that was directly connected to the Nezasa sect of the Fuke-shu during the Edo period.

In other words, the Nezasa-Ha Kimpo-ryū are specifically known for transmitting honkyoku, specifically learned from Kurihara Kinpu. It is important to remember that there are many shakuhachi schools that were started in a similar fashion during the Meiji period. Additionally, reflecting the widespread interest in western music, the Tozan-ryū was established in 1896 by Nakao Tozan (1876-1956), who wrote his own honkyoku and modern compositions for shakuhachi. Since Tozan grew up in the Meiji period, Western music was already a standard part of the educational curriculum—he studied not only shakuhachi but also violin at school and jiuta with his mother. Because of these multiple musical influences, the pieces Tozan created for shakuhachi integrated Western music, and the musical compositions he created are sometimes characterized as a fusion of Japanese music tradition with western overtones. On top of establishing a new type of shakuhachi tradition, Tozan also developed his own system of notation for all his compositions. By the end of the Meiji period, the Tozan-ryū became just as popular as the Kinko-ryū and continues to be a dominating tradition that is still practiced today. Sub-lineages of the Tozan-ryū began to develop in the Interwar period and reached supreme popularity in the sixties with Yamamoto Hozan. Hozan's popularity, as well as the Tozan-ryū's

sub-lineages, will be discussed in more detail and have more relevance in the context of the Interwar period.

The abolishment of the Fuke sect ultimately meant that the shakuhachi was legally allowed to be used as a musical instrument. This allowed many ex-komusō to either continue teaching, expand their school, and/or start their own tradition. By the end of the Meiji period, a plethora of different types of traditions, organizations, and schools had developed with different suffixes other than *ryū* or *shu* (such as *ha* for "faction," *kai* for "association," and *sha* for "society"). Kamisangō notes in his research that the mass cultivation of shakuhachi schools or sub-lineages "engendered a situation where we can say that there were as many lineages as there were shakuhachi performers" (Kamisangō 1974). Describing the origins of the various shakuhachi schools that developed during the late Edo period forward is out of the purview of this research project—especially since the bulk of my studies have much to do with studying the Dyokyoku tradition. However, it is important to note that the development of these different traditions helps cultivate and solidify the iemoto systems and is evidence of a massive performance environment for the hogaku scene. In one sense, the iemoto system can be contextualized as a paradigm of commoditization—iemoto's groom followers to ensure the continuation of a particular enterprise. However, in the context of traditional Japanese music, the concept of iemoto is rooted in "ancient times" and symbolizes "the hierarchical relationship between kami and man, superior and inferior, and parent and child" (Yoshikami 2020, 159).

In order for the iemoto to be successful, they need a constant following of students. In addition, particularly in the Meiji period, the development of new compositions of shinkyoku for "traditional" instruments was another key factor in the shakuhachi's success. Expanding on this, in the article "The Effect of Meiji Government Policy on Traditional Japanese Music During the

Nineteenth Century: The Case of the Shakuhachi," Kiku Day writes, "the secularization and increasing popularity of the shakuhachi during the early 20th century ensured a professional environment in which the iemoto system protected the repertoire and styles" (Day 2014, 288). Musicians from the Kinko-ryū and Tozan-ryū came to dominate the hogaku scene and became critical players not only in the Japanese music world but also in the dissemination of "hogaku" worldwide. The iemoto institution served as a pinnacle social structure of transmission that has been deeply rooted in historical tradition. Likewise, "hogaku performers are known professional musicians who transmitted their music by role to students with strict guidelines practiced in the iemoto system" (Yoshikami 2020, 7).

3.8.3. Restarting Zen Shakuhachi: The Myōan-Kyōkai

Itcho and Kodo II were not the only komusō who had the desire to save the shakuhachi from extinction. While they were successful in shifting the repertoire's focus on sankyoku and reinventing honkyoku as a pedagogical necessity, another faction of komusō wanted to practice a shakuhachi tradition as foretold in the *Kyotaku denki kokuj-ikai*. By the 1880s, the anti-Buddhist sentiment had calmed down dramatically, as evidenced by the government lifting the ban on begging for alms in 1881. Once this ban was lifted, the komusō resumed takahatsu to fundraise for the rebuilding Tokfukuji temple in Kyoto.⁶² The key difference between the komusō of the Meiji period from the komusō of the Edo period is that the Meiji period komusō did not have all the specialized rights, rules, and privileges. This group of komusō became known as the Myōan-Kyōkai, and they are sometimes characterized as a society, organization, or church for religious shakuhachi study. In other words, the Myōan-Kyōkai consisted of followers of the ideology of

⁶² Tokfukuji—a temple of Rinzai Buddhism—Myōan-ji temple destroyed and some artifacts from Myōan-ji were handed over to head priest of zenkei-in, a sub-temple within the compounds of Tokfukuji (Mau 2014, 23).

Fuke and found truth in many sections of the *Kyotaku kokuji-kai*. In my research, I found two schools of thought as to when the Myōan-Kyōkai was established. Linder argues that the organization was established in 1883, while Mau argues that it was created in 1890. The difference in dates has much to do with who was the originator of the tradition.



Figure 3.4 Photo of Katsuura Shozan
(Google Images, 2022)

In 1883, it was argued that Katsuura Shozan became the leader of the post-Fuke sect organization and is sometimes called the last komusō. The International Shakuhachi Society also claims that Katsuura Shozan was responsible for adding thirty pieces to the existing repertoire and continuing music traditions from the Myōan temple well after the government initially closed temple Myōan-ji. In 1890, it is reported in official literature from the Myōan-Kyōkai headquarters that Myōan-ji was established in Kyoto with Higuchi Taizan (1856-1914) as the

first kansu (abbot) and who is "credited for choosing and canonizing most of the core repertoire that is currently practiced by members of the Myōan-Kyōkai" (Mau 2014, 89).



Figure 3.5 Photo of Higuchi Taizan
(Google Images, 2022)

The particularities as to why there is a difference in opinion on who started the organization are out of the scope of this research project. What is certain is that there were a group of people who found truth in the narrative of *the Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* and the ideals of Fuke. While schools like the Kinko-ryu were solidifying their role in secular music, the Myōan-Kyōkai became "a gathering point for practitioners who were only concerned with playing the fundamental repertoire, honkyoku, a part their religious activities" (Linder 2012, 23). By the

early nineteenth century, shakuhachi as a religious tool was reinstated thanks to members of the Myōan-Kyōkai and became the key catalyst in the recontextualization of Zen in shakuhachi in the 1950s, when the term *suizen* was applied to religious shakuhachi participation.

It must be noted that much of the re-establishment of the Myōan-Kyōkai in the Meiji period fostered new *komusō* monks. There are many images from this period of *komusō* begging for alms. It is these very same images that spark the imagination of the other, and, often, images of *komusō* monks from the Meiji period are coupled with older shakuhachi histories, eluding that the image is far older than it may appear. The images that exist from the Meiji period, in a way, continue to authenticate an imagined ancient historical connection to Zen. In addition, the nationalistic movement that swept the country also reframed shakuhachi's history. It is at this point in history that shakuhachi is connected (quite purposefully) to Crown Prince Shōtoku Taishi as part of creating and maintaining a national identity. Even though the Crown prince was the first one to disseminate Buddhism, he was also viewed as the manifestation of the Shinto God so and so. Especially within the backdrop of the *kokugaku* movement, Japanese people cultivated a belief that there was a more "essentially Japanese culture that originated in the era before the Chinese influences" (Linder 2012, 229). Connecting the shakuhachi to the Crown Prince would give the instrument stronger ties to Japanese origins. In essence, the dissolution of the Fuke Sect as a religious institution "triggered a secularization process for the instruments use and repertory. The Japanese musical world was profoundly affected by the introduction of world music" (Day 2014, 269). Because of this redirection in history, many, if not all, shakuhachi schools claim some connection to the older ways of playing.

3.8.4 Physical Modifications of the Instrument

It is important to remember that in the Edo period the shakuhachi were constructed differently. The bamboo was harvested, and the nodes of the bamboo were removed from the bore, and often not much else was done. This meant the inner dimensions of the instrument were not consistent, resulting "in an instrument which has numerous tuning issues, as well as troubles in stability and tone color issues" (Linder 2012). The Kinko-ryū grandmaster (1823-1908) started adding small amounts of paste/lacquer to the instrument to help with the instrument's tuning issues. This lacquer is known as *ji* and was further developed by his son Araki Kodo III and his student Miura Kindo. Adding *ji* (a paste made with *urushi* and *tomoko*) to the inner bore of the shakuhachi means that the bore's shape could be accurately calculated.

These three individuals helped establish a standardized shakuhachi that can be tempered to the western tonal system. The instrument's popularity in secular music—especially newly composed music of the Meiji era—required the instrument to undergo some physical modifications to fit in with the newly adopted tonal system. Kiku Day notes that musicians began to modify the construction of shakuhachi in the final years of the Edo period. Drawing off the research of Maru Sadakichi, Day describes how Araki Kodo II (1823-1908) reduced the size of the third hole on the shakuhachi so that it could "accommodate to other instruments" (Day 2013, 271). Once westernization hit the Meiji period, the shakuhachi's length became standardized to 54.54 centimeters making the instrument's pitches tempered with the western tonal system. Suddenly during the Meiji period, there was a high demand for quality shakuhachi thanks to the instrument's popularity in secular music.

Explaining further, Day notes "the need of pitch control in order to play a chromatic scale on a five-holed flute also ignited a greater demand for well-tuned instruments that could compete

in volume and accuracy in pitch" (ibid). For the first time, shakuhachi makers became sought after for their craftsmanship and shakuhachi schools, such as the Tozan-ryu, became "more concerned with new compositions and the musical possibilities of the shakuhachi" (ibid). As the demand for new music continued to grow along with the development of shakuhachi sects, making shakuhachi became a highly specialized craft. The combination of the shakuhachi's popularity in secular music and the standardization of the construction of the instrument helped ensure that the iemoto system could continue to transmit shakuhachi repertoire and keep up with the compositional and tonal changes in the new music that was being composed for the instrument.

Once the shakuhachi became tempered and standardized in length, there was an increase in the publication of shakuhachi teaching manuals specifically geared to attract more students and have the instrument reach a wider audience. For example, in 1892, shakuhachi teacher Kawase Fukudō published *Kyokufu: shakuhachi hayashinan (Scorebook: Quick Guide to Learning Shakuhachi, 1892)*, where he emphasizes that the instrument improves a person's overall health. In addition, the scores that were in this text contained not only fundamental pieces but also melodies taken directly from the western-inspired songbooks that were used in compulsory education.

Another self-teaching manual from this epoch that describes technical aspects of fingerings and pitch also emphasizes the importance of the two main head positions that help allow the instrument to produce a chromatic scale (known as meri and kari). Published in 1897, the *Seisoku shakuhachi jizaiho (Systemic Shakuhachi Self-Learning Manual)* also takes a sympathetic yet strategic tone regarding the shakuhachi's history and connection to Zen. Speaking specifically about honkyoku, the author tries to reassure the prospective student by

stating that "honkyoku did not suit the average person and the instrument had therefore hitherto been misunderstood" (Yamazaki 1897 1, see also Day 2013, 282). For this author, the "charm of the shakuhachi" was the proper execution of meri/kari techniques, and that is where the study of honkyoku can help refine (ibid). Lee notes in his dissertation that from the Meiji period forward, the definition of honkyoku changed to not only put less religious emphasis on the genre but also was a term reappropriated by iemoto's to "mean solo shakuhachi pieces which they had composed" (Lee 1992, 109), such as honkyoku of the Tozan-ryū.

3.9 CONCLUSION

Komusō and the Fuke sect were developed in response to a larger social issue—it was a place of refuge for homeless and masterless samurai. Without warfare, Japan's economy experienced a surplus. Townspeople demanded leisure activities—and this helped cultivate the transmission of different shakuhachi traditions. In addition, the shakuhachi's use in ensemble music helped create high demand for applied lessons. Because they were known to break the law and not be consistent with rules, komusō orders became the perfect hiding place for those engaging in criminal activity. It was also a perfect hiding place for samurai or rōnin who wanted the ability to move around freely if they wanted revenge on their enemy.

It is important to understand that the image of the komusō represented something very different during the Edo period. Today, the devoutness of these monks, the mystery behind them being spies as well as enlightened beings, is sometimes over-emphasized, and because of this, komusō tends to be the quintessential representation of all shakuhachi traditions. However, during the Edo period, komusō monks were at most times seen as social pariahs. Their association with the criminal underworld landed them more of a reputation than being followers of Fuke.

Readers familiar with shakuhachi history and repertoire may have noticed that the term *suizen* has yet to be discussed. Oftentimes, especially when describing the history of the shakuhachi, *suizen* is included in the description as one of the main musical/religious activities of the komusō during the Edo period. For example, in De Ferranti's work, *Japanese Musical Instruments* (2000), he writes that "by the 17th century, the Fuke sect of Zen had institutionalized the practice of *suizen*" (De Ferranti 2000:71). Even more curious, Kamisangō (1988, 1997), Lee (1998) and other scholars have suggested similar narratives even though seminal historical texts by Kurihara (1918) and Nakatsuka (1979) make no mention of the word. The reality is that the type of music the komusō played during the early to mid-Edo period while performing *takuhatsu* or other activities involving shakuhachi was unknown. The *Keichō okite-gaki* is the only text that mentions that komusō should practice honkyoku—which is only defined as "fundamental pieces."

To put it simply, the sound of the honkyoku that the komusō would play on the shakuhachi during the early to mid-Edo period and the ideology behind it is a bit of a mystery. Expanding on this, Mau writes, "while the manner of using the shakuhachi may well have been institutionalized and identified with the komusō of the Fuke sect, there certainly does not seem to have been anything surviving to document the past practice of the sect's ideology" (Mau 2014, 16). Because much of the historical literature describes the Fuke Sect of the Edo period as practitioners of *suizen*, it is also wrongfully suggested that participating in *suizen* on the shakuhachi was the equivalent to *zazen* meditation as well as sutra chanting or *shōmyō*. For some present-day practitioners of the shakuhachi as Zen, this is not true. *Zazen* and chanting are important tools for religious practice. The practice of *suizen* is an additional tool for Zen study that was developed later in Japanese history, not during the Edo period.

Drawing on the article "Dharma Devices, Non-Hermeneutical Libraries and Robot Monks: Prayer Machines in Japanese Buddhism" (2018) by shakuhachi historian Fabio Rambelli, I argue that the sacralization of the shakuhachi as an instrument of Zen began during the Edo period with the development of the Fuke sect and with the publication of the *Kaido honsoku*, *Keichō okite-gaki*, and the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai*. The full crystallization of Zen and shakuhachi took place in the Meiji period with the re-establishment of the Fuke order, the development of the Myōan-kyokai, and the further development of different shakuhachi styles and philosophies, such as Dyokyoku. Overall, it does not matter if these documents were invented. They are key parts of the "doctrinal encoding" that forever made the instrument a sacred tool of Zen (Rambelli 2018, 61).

Although Rambelli's article is about how Japanese Buddhism has historically contributed to technological development, he explains that shakuhachi went through a process of *mandalization* to be classified as a "prayer machine" or technology of Buddhism (ibid). According to Rambelli, mandalization refers to "specific strategies of doctrinal encoding that turned the instrument into a mandala or microcosmic device" (ibid). He mentions how the different parts of the instrument, as well as performance and compositional techniques, all have some connection to Zen or "particular doctrinal elements" (ibid). However, he neglects to mention the historical documents from the Edo period that laid the foundation for the growth of those doctrinal elements to take place. The Edo period set the tone for the growth of shakuhachi music as a whole—sacred and secular. It is important to include the *Kaido honsoku*, *Keichō okite-gaki*, and the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* as key parts of the process of sacralization of the instrument due to the power and authority that each document carried within Edo period society.

CHAPTER 4: SHAKUHACHI'S INTERNATIONAL GROWTH DURING THE INTERWAR AND POSTWAR PERIODS

At this point, there are several major events that have shaped how Japan's history is framed. These events stretch across timeline boundaries, and it becomes very difficult and complicated to unpack Japanese history from the perspective of just one period. For this section, I will use the categorization of the Interwar period over using the following epochs: Taisho (1912-1926) and Showa (1926-1989). World War I (WWI 1914-1918) took place right at the beginning of the Taisho period and had devastating repercussions for Europeans yet unexpected opportunities for the continent of Asia. Japan's national interests were not only set on refining the nation's identity through state Shinto but also led to expansionist foreign policies. Japan's economy continued to grow along with the population. Resources were needed to fuel the economic boom, and the government sought to expand its territory by becoming allies with the British Empire. In the article "Social Conflict and Control, Protest, and Repression" (2018), Andrew Gordon states that during WWI, specifically between the years of 1914-1918, "Japan's industrial output rose from 1.4 billion to 6.8 billion yen" (Gordon 2018). With the end of WWI resulting in favor of the Allied Powers, Japan gained control of Germany's pacific islands as well as some territory in China. Japan also played a crucial role in the Treaty of Versailles (1919), the League of Nations (1920), and the Washington Naval Conference (1921), which not only further solidified their recognition as a rival international power but also situated the archipelago as a new central power in center-periphery discourse.

The end of WWI signified the start of a new international epoch known as the Interwar Period (1918-1939), referring specifically to the years between the end of WWI and the start of World War II (WWII, 1939-1945). Outside of Japan's role in WWI and WWII, scholars of multiple disciplines have emphasized that there were many significant historical events during

this interim time frame that had an undeniable global impact. Outside of their role in the Treaty of Versailles and participation in two world conferences, Japan, as well as other countries, were affected by the roles and rule of Benito Mussolini (1883-1945), Joseph Stalin (1878-1953), and Adolph Hitler (1889-1945). Inconsistencies with the Meiji period's constitution led political leaders to develop a parliament (known as the Diet) and a two-party government system. In addition, with the development of industrialization on top of modernization and westernization, mass culture was cultivated with the invention and improvements of the phonograph, publishing industry, film industry, and radio broadcasting.

Alternative political ideologies such as fascism and communism were introduced to the archipelago due to rising interest in refining Japan's national image. Paralleling trends in the United States and Europe, Japanese society had its own associated movements in gender equality, work suffrage, and human rights. By the end of the Interwar Period, most Japanese people were wearing western clothes to work, and scholars started to think even more critically about Japan's social identity. Using the Meiji period ideology of kokugaku as a starting point, period social identity theorists slowly began to cultivate the notion of a "Japanese uniqueness," also known as *nihonjiron*. In the thesis/dissertation "Japanese Jazz: From Foreign Commodity to Cultural Trope," Edward Landsberg explains that theories on Japanese identities, such as *nihonjinron* "emerged from a need for the consolidation of Japan as a nation endangered a sense of social disintegration attributed to western influence" (Landsberg 2018, 8 and Bukh 2010, 17). Period social critics such as Takanobu Murobushi have expressed mounting concerns over the colonial influence the United States had on the island's culture. In the book *America* (date unknown), Takanobu writes, "Where could you find Japan not Americanized? How would Japan exist without America? And where could we escape from Americanization? I dare to even

declare that America has become the world. Japan is nothing but America" (originally quoted in Chua 2000, 204 and Landsberg 2018, 22-23). Other scholars have emphasized that Japan absolutely perfected the merging of Japanese knowledge with western skills while maintaining the essence of "Japanese uniqueness" (Landsberg 2018, 15). This perspective contextualized Japan as a society that could transcend modernity and was used as justification for colonization and military aggression in China, Korea, and Southeast Asia. *Nihonjinron*, discussed further in the post-war section, played a significant role in the interest in and revitalization of *hogaku* during the interwar and post-war periods.

4.1 MUSIC DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD: GENERAL OVERVIEW

For many decades now, the citizens of Japan have grown up listening to not only western influenced Japanese music but also music that has been imported to Japan from other parts of the world. While Japanese citizens in the Meiji period encountered western music through state military events and compulsory education, Japanese citizens during the Interwar period encountered western music as part of their everyday life. Explaining further, Landsberg states, "with Japan's rapid modernization came a conscious promotion of western musical styles...hence by the time mass entertainment arose in the mid-1920s via radio broadcastings, LPs, and magazines, almost all Japanese were raised in the western musical tradition" (Landsberg 2018, 16). Jazz was just one foreign musical style that took Japan by storm in the mid-1920s, so much so that some scholars have designated it as a historical period: "Taisho's Jazz Age" (see Atkins 2001 for more on jazz music in Japan). This is evidenced by the existence of several major studio orchestras that were dedicated to symphonic jazz, as well as LPS and performances that were featured on the NHK radio station. All of this is to emphasize the point that Japanese people have

experienced music and culture in a profoundly different way since the beginning of the movement to modernize the country.

The end of the Meiji period also brought the beginnings of musicological discourse on Japanese music, which added to the debate about the period's definition of "national music" and, more largely, *nihonjinron*. In addition, musicological discourse on Japanese and western music that surfaced often echoed not only popular nationalist ideology but also incorporated tropes and trends from popular scientific scholarship (i.e., evolutionism). For a time, Japanese arts such as *noh*, *kabuki*, and *gagaku* were part of Japan's "national art" but were generally thought of being "incapable of being incorporated into the evolutionist view of music history" that was prevalent in the West and greatly influenced scholars of multiple disciplines in Japan (Suzuki 2016, 29). In the article "Gagaku, Music of the Empire: Tanabe Hisao and Musical Heritage as National Identity" (2016), Seiko Suzuki describes the difficulty musicologists had in trying to write about Japanese music in a similar vein to their European counterparts.

Explaining further, she writes that scholars "wanted to follow the example of European history by describing music as a phenomenon that had evolved from time immemorial to the present day;" however, many scholars could not adequately explain or frame Japanese arts like *noh*, *kabuki*, and *gagaku* from an evolutionary perspective because of how "they were presented as having passed through the ages unchanged" (ibid). Tanabe Hisao (1883-1984), an acoustician, musicologist, and pioneer in ethnomusicology, was one of the first scholars of the Interwar period to frame Japanese music history from an evolutionist perspective by proposing "Japanese music as an evolutionary process in which cultivated music imported from overseas had been gradually 'Japanized'" (ibid 31'). In addition, Tanabe was one the first musicologists to use a gramophone at his lectures to play listening examples for his audience and was hired by the

Ministry of Education's Record Selection Committee to write positive reviews on records to educate the musical "taste of the urban class" (Suzuki 2016, 35). More importantly, Tanabe successfully framed gagaku and other traditional Japanese music histories in a sequence that emphasized a linear order. From Tanabe's perspective, gagaku was further categorized into three different genres that represented three different stages and "legitimized gagaku as the original Japanese music" (ibid 38). Tanabe's revolutionary approach is directly related to how shakuhachi history is presented in early twentieth-century literature, which had an influence on how shakuhachi was interpreted by English language learners. More importantly, Tanabe's research helps unpack part of the reason shakuhachi history was often directly connected to gagaku—it emphasizes the evolutionary approach.

4.12 The Importance of the *Shin Nihon Ongaku*

As western music became part of the archipelago's context, traditional Japanese music—hogaku—gradually lost the interest of the public. Explaining further, Kikkawa Eishi observed that "due to western music, its [hogaku] shadow became gradually thinner, and gradually it was pushed aside into the backstreets of society" (Kikkawa 1990, 354 see also Linder 2012, 26). Concerns over the decline in popularity of hogaku were echoed in the magazine publication *Sankyoku* (1921).⁶³ In the first issue, hogaku musician Nakajima Toshiyuki (sangen performer) wrote an article introducing the audience to jiuta and sankyoku and argues that hogaku should be treasured in an age where "all kinds of things [are] drowned in Western culture" (see Linder 2012, 286 for full translated quote). This article is only one example of the political tension between western and non-western music, which is fundamentally echoed in the nation's social identity theory, *nihonjinron*. Scholars such as Galliano (2002:97-99) observe that the tensions

⁶³ The magazine *Sankyoku* was established by shakuhachi performer and enthusiast Fujita Shun'ichi.

between hogaku and western music evolved in two phases—the first phase taking place during the interwar period and the second phase happening after the end of WWII (which will be discussed later). Pertinent to this point in the timeline, scholars from multiple disciplines were emphasizing that hogaku was an inferior music genre, and some went as far as to suggest that it should be completely done away with. For example, Suematsu Kencho (1855-1920), a period politician and author, wrote that "the reason why Japanese music is inferior to western music is the lack of precise verse sections" (see Kikkawa 1984, 118 and quoted in Lande 2007, 110). In contrary belief, members of the hogaku community felt that traditional Japanese music should remain unchanged and preserved.

It is these exact two viewpoints that helped give birth to a movement that involved the creation of new compositions for traditional Japanese instruments. Hogaku musicians and composers sought ways to create new music that was Japanese in character while embracing and integrating elements of Western art music. This group of musicians became known as the *Shin nihon ongaku*, "New Japanese Music," and inspired a movement that went by the same name. The relevance of the Shin nihon ongaku to this research project may appear as ancillary; however, the music composed by this group specifically for shamisen, shakuhachi, and koto has been integrated into several iemoto's shakuhachi curricula and is often characterized as quintessential Japanese music by the Japanese populace.

Shin nihon ongaku initially began as a performing ensemble started by shakuhachi hogaku musicians or "performer-composers," Yoshida Seifū (1890-1950) and Miyagi Michio (1894-1956). In her book, *Composing Japanese Music Modernity* (2014), Bonnie Wade uses the term "performer-composers" to classify those traditional Japanese composers who are also highly

skilled musicians "who identify first and foremost as performers" (Wade 2014, 1, see also Ethridge 2014, 88).



Figure 4.0 Photo of Yoshida Seifu
(Google Images, 2022)

Yoshida Seifū was a well-known Kinko-ryū style shakuhachi musician who was very interested in creating not only new music for shakuhachi but also other traditional Japanese instruments.

Miyagi Michio was a famous Ikuta-ryū style koto player who went blind at a young age and had a considerable talent for music. Yoshida and Miyagi met in 1914 and shared like-minded ideas about performance and composition. Together they started a hogaku ensemble called Shin Nihon Ongaku (New Music Movement).



Figure 4.1 Photo of Miyagi Michio
(Google Images 2022)

The Shin Nihon Ongaku started to attract attention when Miyagi performed a solo recital in 1919, which premiered his composition *Karakinuta (Chinese Fulling Block)*. This composition caused a great uproar within the conservative hogaku establishment. It was orchestrated for two koto and two shamisen—like a string quartet—and incorporated unconventional harmonies. In his master's thesis "Miyagi Michio and His Works for Koto and Shakuhachi" (1997), Ayer comments on the polarizing effect Miyagi's concert had on the musical intelligentsia: "supporters of western music were excited about Miyagi's efforts and wanted to support him while the conservative hogaku establishment criticized him and was quite hostile" (Ayer 1997, 35). As an ensemble, the Shin Nihon Ongaku contributed to the shin nihon ongaku movement through the organization of groundbreaking concerts premiering compositions from hogaku and western musical genres. The first of these recitals took place in 1920 and was advertised as the *Shin nihon ongaku daiensokai (The New Japanese music Grand concert)*. This performance featured the compositions of Miyagi (hogaku performer-composer, trained in koto of the Ikuta-ryu) and Motoori Nagayo (1885-1945) (western music performer-composer, trained in piano). Motoori was well known for composing children's songs which were "in vogue during

the time period" (Ayer 1997, 37). Yoshida was the main organizer/mastermind behind the joint recital of Miyagi's and Motoori's debut of new compositions. He also participated in the recital and performed a piece composed by Miyagi for shakuhachi and koto. Overall, the concert included pieces composed for shakuhachi, koto, voice, piano, *kyoku*, and chamber strings.

While this concert "secured Motoori's place in the world of composition," the hybrid hogaku compositions (Miyagi's in particular) caused a further divide between composers of hogaku (ibid 38). While one camp embraced western music changes, another camp thought hogaku should remain unaffected by western music and remain unique. Performer-composers like Miyagi, who wanted to create new music suitable for modern Japan, were constantly trying to create a perfect balance between western and Japanese compositional and musical techniques. However, this compositional strategy garnished criticism from the world of hogaku performer-composers. In "Innovating Musical Traditions in Japan: Negotiating Transmission, Identity, and Creativity in the Sawai Koto School" (2007), Liv Lande writes about how koto performer-composer Nakanoshima Kin'ichi published several articles criticizing the new music movement for prioritizing western music and "emphasized the importance of creating a distinctive Japanese music on a high level of quality" (Lande 2007, 117). Katherine Etheridge explains how modern composers of this time period who wished to hybridize eastern and western musical elements "had to contend with push-back from reactionary nationalist forces wishing to emphasize the uniqueness of Japanese culture" (Etheridge 2014, 4). Even though Miyagi caused great polarization in the Interwar hogaku scene, the Shin Nihon Ongaku group continued to be successful and went on tour in 1922, performing concerts in Osaka and Kyoto. These tours were quite historical in the sense that it was the first hogaku concert in history that charged an admission fee at the door.

The shin nihon ongaku not only encouraged experimentation with hogaku and western music but also cultivated innovations and changes in the construction of traditional Japanese instruments. For example, Miyagi created a seventeen-string koto (*jushichigen*) so that the instrument could be capable of producing lower notes than the standard thirteen-string koto. Sakai IV, a shamisen performer-composer who joined the shin nihon ongaku movement, created a bass shamisen in an effort to simulate a western contrabass. Shakuhachi was also reinvented by musicians from the Tozan-ryū. With shakuhachi only having five holes, learning how to master the chromatic scale is quite a difficult task. Producing an in-tune chromatic scale requires a combination of half-holing and changing the blowing angle of the airstream with your head. Another layer of difficulty with producing this scale is that the technique of half-holing and redirecting the airstream changes the timbre and volume of those pitches. Even though these techniques and variations of timbre are what make the shakuhachi unique, performer-composers of the Tozan-ryū wanted to make playing the chromatic scale on the instrument an easier task. In 1920, Uedo Hodo (1892-1974), founder of the Ueda-ryū created a seven-holed shakuhachi, and ten years later, in 1930, Takeuchi Jutarō invented a seven-holed shakuhachi. Adding these holes made playing the chromatic scale in pitch a much easier task. The seven-hole version of the shakuhachi is still used today and is mostly popular with lineages of the Tozan-ryū. It can be purchased on the website www.shakuhachi.com.

Presently, as a movement, the shin nihon ongaku carries the following definition: "a period from the 1920s to the 1930s, when many traditional Japanese musicians began creating musical works that incorporated Japanese musical instruments in European-style compositions" (Casano 2005, 19). Many scholars suggest that the shin nihon ongaku was not only a byproduct of Japanese modernism but also reflected the "social, cultural, and political context of the

interwar period (Ethridge 2014, 6). It is important to remember that modernization was not a condition specific to Japan—it is a worldwide phenomenon that still affects the population. Ethridge explains how modernism was not transmitted but instead "unfolded contemporaneously in nations or social sections sharing analogous levels of economic, technological, and cultural development" (ibid 12). In other words, each nation experienced modernism, and Japanese modernism, as Ethridge broadly defines it, started in the early to mid-twentieth century and was rooted in the national agenda to incorporate western aesthetics on a national scale—"Japanese traditional concepts were used in conjunction with borrowed and adopted western ideas to change, redefine, or respond to the conditions of modern Japanese life" (ibid 18).

The way Japanized modernism gave birth to a very distinctive culture of musical modernism where the shin nihon ongaku movement serves as one example of the era "negotiated between serving the Empire of Japan and participating in global artistic and ideological movements"(ibid 98). In the case of shin nihon ongaku, the performer-composers of this group deliberately tried to create a hybridization of western musical characteristics with traditional Japanese music theory and instruments. Drawing on the text, *Rethinking Japanese Modernism* (2012), Etheridge labels this movement as an example of "traditional modernism" and was an "alternative to the wholesale adoption of western art practices" (Ethridge 2014, 90). Music composed from the shin nihon ongaku perspective garnished an international following and maintained an "appeal as a uniquely Japanese art form" (ibid). There were many famous pieces that came from this movement, and it is out of the scope of this project to discuss them all. The piece that does deserve this research project's attention is Miyagi's *Haru no umi* (Spring Sea 1929).

Miyagi composed *Haru no umi* for koto and shakuhachi. Before this composition, when shakuhachi was orchestrated with other instruments—like its use in sankyoku ensemble—the shakuhachi part would typically double the voice, shamisen, or koto part, maintaining a heterphonic texture. In *Haru no umi*, the shakuhachi part was independent, making the piece one of the first of its kind—a composition where the shakuhachi part had its own melodic line. The piece's international attention has much to do with French violinist Renee Chemet—who was on a concert tour in Tokyo and met Tanabe Hisao. Tanabe introduced Miyagi to Chemet, where he performed *Haru no umi* (as well as many other pieces) for her. Chemet was quite taken with *Haru no umi* and arranged the shakuhachi part for violin so that she could play the piece with Miyagi for a recital. According to Ayer, Miyagi having *Haru no umi* scheduled in the middle of a recital in between compositions by Bruch and Mendelsson was "a great honor...not only was his piece being performed amongst those by first class composers, but it was also being performed by one of the best violinists of the day" (Ayer 1997, 51). Chemet's recital featuring Miyagi's composition with koto and shakuhachi was incredibly successful—so successful that they made a recording of the piece for Victor records which became "a best seller in the United States, England, and Japan" (ibid).

Haru no umu continues to be the most well-known of Miyagi's compositions. Almost all Japanese people recognize the melody because it is always played during the new year holiday season. When my Japanese language teacher learned that I played shakuhachi, she commented on how that instrument makes her think of the holidays because of the piece *Haru no umi*. She even asked if I knew how to play the piece. She further explained how *Haru no umi* was always played in the background at malls and shopping plazas during the week of the upcoming new year. My conversation with my teacher about what *Haru no umi* meant to her is evidence of how

the shin nihon ongaku helped reshape how people perceive hogaku and, by extension, shakuhachi—Japanese people today think of *Haru no Umi* as representative of traditional Japanese music. The narrative of the instrument being a tool for Zen Buddhism was still there but was overshadowed by the music that was born of the interwar period—shakuhachi was viewed differently, as an instrument that was a prominent part of the hogaku scene. *Haru no umi* continues to be internationally famous, becoming a required piece to obtain okuden certification. These different levels of certifications are discussed in the following chapter

4.2 TRANSNATIONAL FLOW AND WARTIME TRANSITION

The shin nihon ongaku continues to be a movement that is vital to not only the dissemination and international attention of Japanese music but it has also helped put much attention on the shakuhachi as a virtuosic musical instrument. Shakuhachi players played a key role in the dissemination of shin nihon ongaku as well as the overall exposure of the instrument. For example, Yoshida—who was the first shakuhachi musician to perform *Haru no Umi* with Miyagi—is credited with introducing the shakuhachi to populations in the United States when he went on tour in 1923 to raise awareness and fundraise to help Japanese citizens deal with the aftermath of a deadly earthquake. It is important to remember that immigrant populations of Japanese people have existed in the Americas since the 1800s, with many of them making homes in Hawaii, California, and Brazil. Many of these west coast cities turned into what Steven Fujita called

Vibrant ethnic neighborhoods known as *Nihonmachis*, or *Japan-towns*, [which] developed in virtually all major West Coast cities. These neighborhoods typically contained stores, hotels, restaurants, services, and religious institutions catering to the Japanese community. In addition to providing life's necessities, Japantowns offered recreation and opportunities to socialize with other Japanese Americans. (quoted in Casano 2005, 24)

It is highly possible that these communities had undocumented performances that included shakuhachi. What is certain is that Yoshida's tour in 1923 was the first of its kind. Casano emphasizes that these communities, as well as Yoshida's performances, "are the first stage of the shakuhachi's transnational flow and use outside of Japan" (ibid). Other shakuhachi players who were influential in this movement include Nakao Tozan (founder of the Tozan-ryū), who often performed with Miyagi. Fukuda Rando, who composed many solo compositions in the 1930s onward, Tozan-ryū shakuhachi performer-composer Kanamori Kouzan, and Tozan-ryū performer Hoshida-Ichizan. In my own shakuhachi studies, compositions inspired and born out of the shin nihon ongaku figure predominate in my applied shakuhachi studies—especially compositions there were composed by Fukuda Rando, my teacher's teacher Yokoyama Katusuya, and Kineya Seiho. Before we can discuss the shakuhachi's post-war context, it is important to understand what happened in history during WWII to not only encourage the creation of new shakuhachi music but also understand when in history shakuhachi became visible in cultures throughout the United States.

4.3 ULTRA-NATIONALISM, WWII, MUSICAL CENSORSHIP

In the 1930s, Japan was still dealing with the aftermath of the Tokyo earthquake in 1923 and had to contend with a worldwide economic depression. The archipelago also had issues coming up with resources to keep up with its rapidly growing population. According to Lande, "this situation accelerated the growth of extreme right-wing political factions in Japan, and throughout the 1930s, a fanatic nationalistic militarism developed" (Lande 2007, 123). This was evidenced by the military takeover of parliament in 1932 and the shift of educational curriculum in the public school system. Japan indoctrinated their children with ideas, including concepts of military sacrifice for the nation and loyalty to the emperor. Even the national radio broadcasting

network experienced severe restrictions, and many genres of music were censored.⁶⁴ This brand of ultra-nationalism was coupled with nihonjinron ideology and was used to justify the archipelago's military aggression in China and later in the South Pacific.

Japan's invasion of Manchuria went against policies set forth by the League of Nations (LON)—an international organization set on maintaining peace through debate rather than through military aggressions. As members of the organization, they were urgently asked to withdraw and were condemned by the international community. At the LON assembly on February 24, 1933, Minister of Foreign Affairs Yosuke Matsuoka responded to the formal request by stating, "Japan, however, finds it impossible to accept the report adopted by the assembly," and then he walked out of the meeting without further discussion (Brown 1933). Shortly after this, Japan withdrew its membership from the LON and its continued military aggression in China made them out to be an international pariah. With the military takeover, politicians who were critical of the regime were gradually put to a stop. Lande expands on this by explaining, "civil rights movements were stopped by the regime, and strong censorship of journals and literature began. Liberal intellectuals and artists critical of the regime, and left-wing political groups, were suppressed, and silenced, or prosecuted, imprisoned and tortured" (Lande 2007, 123). Japan's military aggression in China was quite brutal, with indiscriminate attacks on Chinese civilians.

The capture of Nanking is often cited as one of the worst attacks, with 300,000 people killed in a six-week-long massacre. This led the LON and other nations to place embargos on trade with Japan which made the search for national resources even more difficult, sending Japan

⁶⁴ Live Lande notes that the NHK during WWII played lots of "inspirational martial music such as gunka (war songs), war marches, and gunkoku kayo songs" (Lande 2007, 125).

to look for resources elsewhere, specifically in Siberia and the South Pacific. Realizing that the South Pacific was already colonized or in the process of being colonized, Japan organized simultaneous attacks on Singapore, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Malay, and Pearl Harbor. The attack on Pearl Harbor solidified the U.S.'s commitment to engage in international conflict and signified a commitment to the Allies. It is at this point in the timeline that it is necessary to investigate the diaspora of Japanese people in the United States during WWII and how traditional Japanese music, as well as shakuhachi, still managed to play an important role in everyday life. A discussion of the happenings in the U.S. Japanese immigrant communities is important because it contributes to the diffusion and transnational flow of shakuhachi.

4.31 Japanese American Internment via Shakuhachi

The politics and social issues among not only Japanese people but also "Asians" in the U.S during WWII may seem arbitrary in the context of my applied studies as a shakuhachi student. Quite honestly, I do not remember how the topic of WWII or Japanese American internment camps came up during one of my shakuhachi lessons. But when it did, it was literally the first time I heard about the topic in-depth and not just a brief paragraph in a high school textbook. During that lesson, I learned that Sensei Gould's wife, Dr. Aura Newlin, is a fourth-generation Japanese American and that her grandmother's family was incarcerated at the Heart Mountain Relocation center located in Cody, Wyoming. She has degrees in ethnomusicology and anthropology and is an activist not only for the social injustice against Asian Americans but for minority and indigenous communities. From that point on, my historical studies on shakuhachi went on a bit of a tangent. I spoke to Dr. Newlin on numerous occasions about this topic, learning that there were other camps throughout the United States and how the process of relocation financially devastated families who were, by all accounts, tax-paying Americans. I

simply needed to learn more about this topic for two reasons 1) I was completely ignorant, and it is my responsibility as a teacher to be educated about these issues 2) I was curious as to what was going on musically at these camps and what roles music played in the lives of the victims of incarceration. Ultimately, I asked what the degrees of participation in traditional Japanese music were in Japanese American communities during WWII. Supported by a research grant, I was able to visit the Japanese American National Museum in 2013 as well as the Heart Mountain Relocation Center Museum in 2014.

The Japanese American National Museum houses archives of primary source material such as letters, newspaper articles, and flyers specifically dealing with Japanese internment. I was given permission to comb through the archives; however, the process of reproducing and requesting copies was quite extensive—the most I could do was read and take notes.⁶⁵ What I was able to comb through were correspondences and newspaper articles that were saved from each camp. In the sea of heartbreaking letters and government notices, I found many flyers, advertisements, and photographic evidence of all types of cultural activities ranging from music, sports, and even *go* (a board game) tournaments taking place at internment camps throughout the country. Conducting this archival research only made me more interested in the topic of Japanese American incarceration. I really wanted to understand the "logic" behind the decision to uproot a people based on their race, and I wanted to understand how Japanese American people and people of Asian ancestry coped with these changes. I will admit that this topic is somewhat tangential, but I find it necessary to discuss Japanese American internment not only because my

⁶⁵ I must admit I did express some disappointment over not being able to easily get copies of certain things, but then I remembered that I was literally looking through boxes of historical trauma that my country caused on a group of people based on race. After that self-reflection, I was happy with taking notes. What right do I have to publish this very sensitive information only to expose someone else's trauma to make a point that has already been made.

shakuhachi studies took me down this avenue but also to continue to raise awareness on this section of history. Much of this research was presented at the Caribbean Chapter of the Society of Ethnomusicology Regional Meeting in February 2013 and the Society of Ethnomusicology National Conference in November of 2014 and is also included in this research project.

4.32 WWII in the U.S.: Context of Incarceration

On December 7, 1941, the attack on Pearl Harbor provoked collective public opposition and aggression toward people of Japanese ancestry and those who had the risk of looking Japanese or "Asian." Following the attack, President Roosevelt issued an order calling for the relocation of over 120,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans living in the United States. The policy, known as Executive Order 9066, was enforced to help prevent the risk of any further attack on American soil by possible Japanese spies. The interned people had to continue their lives behind barbed wire for two and half years at any one of the following ten relocation centers.

Table 4.0 List of Relocation Centers During the WWII Era

Center	Location	Population	Date Opened	Date Closed
Topaz	Utah	8,130	9/11/1942	10/31/1945
Poston	Arizona	17,814	5/5/1942	11/28/1945
Gila River	Arizona	13,348	7/20/1942	11/10/1945
Granada	Colorado	7,318	8/27/1942	10/15/1945
Heart Mountain	Wyoming	10,767	8/12/1942	11/10/1945
Jerome	Arkansas	8,497	10/6/1942	6/30/1945
Manzanar	California	10,056	6/1/1942	11/21/1945
Minidoka	Idaho	9,397	8/10/1942	10/2/1945
Rohwer	Arkansas	8,475	9/18/1942	11/30/1945
Tule Lake	California	18,789	5/27/1942	3/20/1945

Japanese-American communities that included first and second-generation members were firmly established in the U.S. by the second year of WWII. Literally hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese families went through drastic measures to get rid of any type of memento

of Japan. They threw away language books, burned replicas of Buddhas, and buried family photos—essentially committing epistemological vertigo against the very nature of their being. In an interview with Waseda, second-generation internee Wakita Kayoka describes how her father, a shakuhachi instructor in Orange County, "tearfully burned all his papers, including his personal notes on Japanese music, his experiences in America, and the names of teachers he had known in Japan as well as his correspondence with the koto master, Miyagi Michio" (Waseda 2005, 178). By 1942, Japanese people were sent to temporary housing at assembly centers in Washington, Oregon, California, and Arizona. Once the construction of internment camps was completed, the Japanese people were moved again to the internment camps. To oversee the intended evacuation, the government created the War Relocation Authority (WRA), a civilian agency formed to create administration at each of the internment camp sites.

In her article, "Extraordinary Circumstances, Exceptional Practices: Music in Japanese American Concentration Camps" (2005), musicologist Minako Waseda writes how the general aim of the WRA was "to make the Japanese-American experiences in camps an education in American democracy" (Waseda 2005, 179). Therefore, the task of running these facilities, except for guarding the perimeter and making top-level government decisions, fell on the shoulders of the internees. Not only were people of Japanese ancestry prisoners, but they also had to essentially manage and run their own prisons. Different councils were appointed to organize a variety of events such as building hospitals, creating a newspaper, farming distributing rations, and organizing social activities such as sports, dance, And music. distributing rations, and organizing social activities such as sports, dance, and music.

The WRA made certain that recreation and music departments were established at each camp. This kind of support was part of the WRA's strategy to regulate the behaviors and

thoughts of the internees. Illustrating the intent of the WRA, the newspaper article "Necessity of Recreation" (1943) states,

Recreation presents the finest means of building morale. It is the antidote for restless fatigues and the real bottleneck to troubles...Hoodlums are born of idleness, of misdirected energies. It is to corral this unbounded energy that recreation plays such an important part. (Manzanar Free Press 1943, 2)

In terms of music, a variety of American music instructors were employed at the internment camps to teach and offer internees lessons in American music. These recreational activities—especially the music—became a part of government propaganda and mass media accounts that portrayed internment camps as wonderful places to live in. Music was not only an effort to control the Japanese but also an effort to show the public that internment camps were pleasant resort-like places with fun activities.

4.33 Understanding Incarceration from the Lens of Technology and Risk

It is important to note that the attack on Pearl Harbor was not an isolated incident that incited sudden cultural violence against Japanese and "Asian" people. In his book, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (2009), Goffman identifies tribal stigmas as imagined or real traits of "an ethnic group, nationality, or of a religion that is deemed to be a deviation from the prevailing normative ethnicity, nationality, or religion" (Goffman 2009, 9-16). Tribal stigmas about the Japanese people were cultivated from the early to mid-1900s with the immigration of the Chinese. With the gradual increase of immigrants, newspapers predicted what Daniel Davis notes as the fear of "Asian domination"—and "Asians" were subjected to stereotypes that classified them as sneaky, untrustworthy, and degenerate (Davis 1982, 15). The early tribal stigmas the Japanese people experienced served as a starting point to further exacerbate hazards for the risk that society would develop during the start of WWII. Beck describes a risky society as a modern age that ushers in an urgency to build and implement new technologies such as

buildings and organizations. Once modernity is established, society shifts the concern to the management of political and economic risks that new technologies can potentially create. Therefore, Beck states, as "the promise of security grows with risk and destruction, securities must be reaffirmed over and over again to an alert and critical public through cosmetic or real interventions in the techno-economic development" (Beck 1992, 20). In other words, the U.S. forced their way into Japan "in an urgency to build and implement new technologies" and then had to shift their concern on "the risks that new technologies can create" (ibid)—meaning that, after essentially getting what they wanted, the U.S. was cautioned by Japan's quick rise as an international power. The U.S. saw Japanese-American imprisonment as a way to make the public feel safe. Seizing their homes as well as their businesses was just another way to "alert the critical public through cosmetic or real intervention in the techno-economic development" (ibid). On a larger scale, the United States thought it was wise to negotiate the risk of future attacks by incarcerating Americans based on their race. Having recreational activities like music was a way for the U.S. government to negotiate their risk of being seen as unconstitutional. Overall, the early hyper-mediation of the late 1940s allowed the world to know about Japan's military aggression in China. In addition, imagery involving Japanese American and Asian culture, in general, were all parts of strategic propaganda to make words like "internment" and "relocation" akin to prevented measures.

4.34 The Case Study of the Manzanar Relocation Center

The Manzanar Relocation Center was a place chosen by the government to be portrayed in the media as a haven that provided safety and freedom to people of Japanese ancestry. Located 220 miles from Los Angeles, Manzanar was built in a valley that was nestled between the Sierra Nevada Mountains. The camp housed over 10,000 internees, covered 540 acres surrounded by a

barbed-wire fence and watched by eight men with machine guns in towers. In April of 1942, literally one month after the removal of Japanese peoples, United States Press Staff Correspondent Harry Ferguson provided the public with "the first close-up report from a newspaperman who has visited the Manzanar concentration center" (Ferguson 1942, San Francisco News). The title of the article, "Manzanar Nice Place—It Better than Hollywood" (1942), was claimed to be a direct quote from a first-generation internee. The full quote states:

I like to tell you about this camp. Nice place to live. It better than Hollywood. Snow on mountains. Fresh air. Snow is bright. Every day is 80 to 85...good ball ground. Baseball field. Swimming pool. School building. Dance room is about to start building, then movie is next. (Ferguson 1942, San Francisco News).

Expanding on this, Emily Colborn-Roxworthy comments on how many newspaper articles and other forms of media create a farce implication that Manzanar is a nice place to live. In her article, "'Manzanar, the Eyes of the World Are Upon You': Performative and Archival Ambivalence at a Japanese American Internment Camp," (2007) Colborn-Roxworthy states that the media discourse portraying Manzanar as the rival to the motion-picture capital of the world "bolstered the US government's conscience-appeasing interpretation of Manzanar as the absolute antithesis of a 'nazi-style concentration camp' that, in the end, couldn't have been so bad" (Colborn-Roxworthy 2007, 192).

At Manzanar, performances such as choir, band, dance, and orchestra concerts were frequently advertised and attended by the public. This is evidence of the WRA's policy to support the integration of American culture—extra funding was set aside to offer internees lessons on western instruments to generate enough players for concert bands and orchestras. Dance music was one of the most popular social activities that influenced many internees to start their own bands. For example, Eddie Tanaka's Sierra Stars was a popular old-time band that

consisted of seven second-generation Japanese internees, and The Jive Bombers was a swing/dance band that consistently played every Saturday night at the social dance hall.

After some time living in the camp, Manzanar internees debated with council members over cultural practices and political ideologies. Some internees wanted to return to their traditions and incorporate indigenous cultural practices back into their everyday lives. Other internees wanted to continue to integrate more Americanized activities to visually demonstrate their loyalties to the United States. Eventually, these internees split into two separate groups: those of the cultural nationalists who had a deep affinity for their Japanese roots and a growing commitment to ethnic retention and the assimilationists who were sympathetic to the WRA's policies and enthusiastically participated in patriotic displays of Americanization. As the situation intensified, debates about cultural practices and political ideologies became increasingly entwined and integrated into everyday life. Agitated conversations about religion, rituals, and family ideology could be heard at the dining hall, basketball games, and other daily activities. Internees who used to play indigenous Japanese music began to practice them again as forms of protest against Americanization. Small instruments like shamisen and shakuhachi could be heard echoing throughout the camp, in addition to spontaneous performances of folk dancing. For the cultural nationalists, the risk of losing their Japanese identities outweighed the risk of showing loyalty to enemy forces. The assimilationists embraced American music and western culture because the risk of being further stigmatized could potentially lead them to be removed to prison.

To avoid the risk of protest and, ultimately, violence, the internee council decided to hold a "Gala Two-Day Hospital Open House Celebration" to commemorate the opening of a two-hundred-and-fifty-bed hospital (Manzanar Free Press 1942, 3). Two nights of live entertainment

were scheduled that were meant to appease both the cultural nationalists and the assimilationists. Twenty-seven entertainment numbers were scheduled for the entire weekend performance. According to the internee council, Saturday's performances were supposed to be devoted to traditional or Japanese language performances, while Sunday's performances were devoted to tap dancing, speeches from officials from the WRA, and performances by Japanese American youth bands. What is notable here is that on the nights of the actual performance, each segment integrated both Japanese and American music. For example, Saturday night's kabuki performance was followed by an interpretation of a Mexican hat dance. Likewise, on Sunday, the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner" was followed by classical Japanese dancing and a shakuhachi performance. What is even more interesting is that this celebration was performed with full awareness that the event was open to the public, with WRA administrators in the audience. Despite the deviation from the original program, the two-day gala was received so well that the same intercultural approaches would be repeated again in 1943 at the Fourth of July Manzanar Carnival and in 1944 at the inauguration of the Manzanar community auditorium. In addition, this event helped alleviate tensions between the two factions, which allowed for more opportunities for traditional Japanese music-making and intercultural musical exchanges. For example, Baido Wakita and his wife Nobue offered shakuhachi and koto lessons shortly after the hospital performance. By the end of their internment, they each had approximately ten to twenty students.

The performances at Manzanar had sociopolitical implications that undercut the hegemonic policies of the WRA while successfully portraying their loyalty to the United States. In addition, the performance of traditional Japanese music and American music at the internment camps on one conceptual level is a direct application of Goffman's stigma. The resistance to

performing traditional Japanese music can be interpreted as a symptom of the risk of further alienation from their American counterparts. Likewise, the resistance to performing American music can be interpreted as a symptom of the risk of being labeled as a spy or the enemy. Out of fear of being alienated or even sent to a different camp with more security, the internees were constantly negotiating when it was safe (or not safe) to embrace their culture or embrace Americanization.

In terms of the WRA, their goals to assimilate the Japanese people were clear; however, they saw the risk in denying the people access to their Japanese heritage. Not allowing the "colonists," as they called them, to participate in Japanese musical activity inevitably created a hostile environment—preventing riots where the number of Japanese people outnumbered the number of American guards was an important detail that had to be accounted for. In addition, the Manzanar Relocation Center can be thought of as a risk society on its own. As carriers of risk, the internees were constantly preoccupied with their safety and their future. In essence, they were walking hazards negotiating when and where it was "OK" or safe to be Japanese.

There is so much research that needs to be done in this area. It is insufficiently studied, and only within the past decade have certain schools have begun to integrate Japanese-American incarceration into their curricula. My historical reach on this topic has proved to me that in addition to immigrant populations, these internment camps were also places where the transnational flow of traditional Japanese music and shakuhachi occurred. That the concert at the Manzar camp included a shakuhachi performance, in addition to the documented koto and shakuhachi teachers, is evidence of this. A survey of hogaku musicians that were interned and who were able to continue to practice their tradition is a future research endeavor.

4.4 POSTMODERN IEMOTOS

This section briefly investigates the simultaneous transnational flow of traditional Japanese music that happens in the United States and Japan. While Japan was experiencing a revitalization in traditional Japanese music performances, sectors of American society became very curious about Japanese culture. It should be noted that research about the occupation of Japan and the music culture it engendered are out of the scope of this project and are an avenue for further study. From the post-war era onward, shakuhachi performances are taking place not only in Japan and the United States but all over the world. Etheridge argues that the hybridity and creativity of compositions during the interwar period fostered the "interesting approach to composition drawing on both traditional and contemporary culture" of the post-war period (Etheridge 2014, 32). Because there was so much happening culturally and musically during this period, this section will cover what I consider to be the most significant in furthering the shakuhachi's popularity in the United States and overall international fame.

4.41 Postwar Japan: The Initiatives to Revitalize Hogaku

The end of WWII marked the start of a new era that continues to affect the entire world—the age of globalization. Globalizing forces were key in the financial recovery of the archipelago as well as the internationalization of Japan's economic culture—Japanese businesses earned a worldwide reputation for having high-quality products and knowledgeable businessmen. Hobart Rowen with the *Washington Post* was on an assignment in Japan to learn about Japan's economic culture and reports that "Japanese quality" and the "concerted effort to 'get it right the first time'" is "one of the secrets of that country's amazing success in penetrating western markets" (Rowen 1993). As the country experienced an expansion in foreign trade, the traditional Japanese music scene continued to perform and create hybridized compositions that infused local and global

elements. There was an abundance of musical compositions that were completed during the post-war period, so much so that a new subgenre of hogaku was developed specifically for new compositions for Japanese musical instruments that were spearheaded not only by institutions but also by individual composers and government initiatives.

4.42 NHK, *Gendai Hogaku*, and National Treasures

Whereas the previous era generated a milieu of performer-composers of hogaku, the post-war period saw a rise in composers being commissioned to create new music for hogaku instruments thanks to initiatives brought forth by Japan's public radio broadcasting and the ministry of music. Japanese National Broadcasting (also known as NHK, *nihon koso kyokai*) already had a hand in the rapid dissemination of not only popular music but also folk music and hogaku. In 1947, they started a radio program called *Gendai hogaku no jikan* (*An hour of gendai hogaku*) that became nationally syndicated. Because of this program, the term *gendai hogaku* was established to differentiate hogaku made from previous periods.

Because of this program, there was a high demand for modern hogaku compositions, which is evidenced by the number of compositions that were debuted and/or performed from the years 1964-1972. Within this period, over one thousand contemporary compositions for traditional Japanese musical instruments were created by composers and performer-composers alike just for the program *gendai hogaku no jikan*. Additionally, in 1955, the same year that government policy regarding traditional Japanese musical traditions was established, NHK started a training institute specifically for skilled performers to enhance the quality of new compositions for traditional Japanese instruments. The development of this institute is quite significant. In one sense, it continued to place demands for new traditional Japanese music, and in another, it provided an alternative context outside of the iemoto structure to study traditional

Japanese music. As Lande explains, the NHK "wanted performers on traditional musical instruments independent from ryū-ha/iemotos," which meant that it did not matter what school an instrumentalist came from (Lande 2007, 138). The director of the Research Center for Japanese Traditional Music of Kyoto City University of the Arts during these years expands on how the NHK program and institute helped cultivate musical collaborations between schools:

The radio program played composers' music regardless of their belonging to a Japanese or western music faction, or of its year of composition. Performers were asked to play regardless of their ryū-ha, school affiliation...as a result of all this, many selected and improved great works were discovered. For performers, a new repertory as created, and personal contacts across ryū-ha schools and instruments were formed. For performers as well as composers, new human relations led to a new creation of enthusiastic music. (qtd. in Lande 2007, 140, see also Ryohei 2004 232)

The NHK training institute and the gendai hogaku radio program played a huge role in not only disseminating traditional Japanese music but also in the fame of shakuhachi musicians. For example, Yokoyama Katsuya, my teacher's teacher, completed his studies at the NHK institute in 1960 in addition to studying shakuhachi with his father, Azuma-ryū founder and performer-composer Fukuda Rando, and shakuhachi musician Watazumi Doso. Kaoru Kakizakai, another student of Yokoyama Sensei and master shakuhachi musician, also graduated from the NHK institute. The significance of Yokoyama Sensei to my applied studies will be explained later in this chapter as well as in the next chapter. By the 1960s, it was common for shakuhachi performers to hire composers to write new music for them to perform for the NHK program.

The NHI training institute, as well as the gendai hogaku radio program, played a huge role in disseminating traditional Japanese music and forging the fame of shakuhachi musicians. For example, Yokoyama Katsuya, my teacher's teacher, completed his studies at the NHK institute in 1960 in addition to studying shakuhachi with his father, Azuma-ryū, founder and

performer-composer Fukuda Rando, and shakuhachi musician Watazumi Doso. Kaoru Kakizakai, another student of Yokoyama Sensei and master shakuhachi musician, also graduated from the NHK institute. I will explain the significance of Yokoyama Sensei to my applied studies in this chapter and the next. By the 1960s, it was common for shakuhachi performers to hire composers to write new music for them to perform for the NHK program.

While NHK programming mostly focused on the creation of new music, government policies focused their efforts on preserving what they considered to be traditional Japanese music. In 1950, the government implemented the *Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties* (*Bunkazai Hogoho*), where they gave active support to individuals and institutions that preserved and promoted what they considered to be traditional Japanese art forms which for the most part was innately associated with classical music traditions that maintained the iemoto guild system. Through the Law for the Protection of Cultural properties, the government began to recognize a variety of historical art forms and musical genres and designated them as "Intangible Cultural Property." In terms of music, gagaku, bunraku, and noh are just some of the protected genres. According to this label, intangible cultural properties "refers to stage arts, music, craft techniques, and other intangible cultural assets that possess high historical or artistic value for the country"⁶⁶

Since 1955, the government came up with a process of awarding individuals as well collective groups that were masters of traditions that were classified as Intangible Culture Property—this included those people who were considered to be culture bearers of a specific

⁶⁶ "Intangible Cultural Properties," Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan, Accessed 3/10/2021 https://www.bunka.go.jp/english/policy/cultural_properties/introduction/intangible/.

tradition that was protected by Intangible Cultural Property Law.⁶⁷ For example, in 1955, gagaku became an intangible cultural property, and the Imperial Household Agency Gagaku Orchestra became designated as *Ningen kokuho*, more commonly known as "Living National Treasure." This system also applied to protected shakuhachi traditions such as the Kinko and Tozan-ryū. In 1967, Judo Notomi (納富寿童), who studied with Aoki Reibo III (also known as Shinnosuke Kodo b. 1896-?), was designated as a national living treasure because he was a transmitter of the Kinko-ryū tradition and worked to popularize the Kinko shakuhachi style. Likewise, in 1977, Hanzan Shimabara (島原帆山), who studied with Nakao Tozan and Okamoto Yozan, was designated a national living treasure because he was a transmitter of the Tozan-ryū tradition. Since the start of this program, a total of five shakuhachi musicians, including Hanzan Shimabara and Judo Notomi, have been classified as a National Living Treasure. The other three include Yamaguchi Goro of the Kinko-ryū (1992). Aoki Reibo II of the Kinko-ryū (1999) and Yamamoto Hozan of the Tozan-ryū (2002).

Although the NHK and the government had two different goals, both entities played a significant role in the dissemination, globalization, and ethnocommoditization of traditional Japanese music as a whole and shakuhachi specifically. For example, the ministry of education partnered with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to create a series of recordings (LPS that are now digitized on CD ROM) of traditional Japanese, including genres such as gagaku, folk, and shakuhachi music. The recording, *Semiclassical and Folk Music* (1974, Smithsonian Folkways), included a recording of national living treasure

⁶⁷ Some scholars such as McVeigh suggests that the government's interest and support of traditional Japanese musics were part of a larger push for "state cultural nationalism" (McVeigh 2004, 165). In other words, the government turned to the development of cultural programs (such as the Living National Treasure process) or what McVeigh identifies as "artistic heritage" to protect cultural assets and refine the notion of *Japaneseness* (*nihonjinron*).

Notomi Judo and his student Notomo Haruhiko playing *Shika no tone*. In fact, I was exposed to this recording in my early research years as a beginning shakuhachi student (circa 2009). These recordings have been used in world music classes not only in the United States but internationally. In terms of the NHK program, in the 1950s and 1960s, there was a high demand for composers to create compositions not only specifically for koto and shakuhachi but also compositions that included koto and shakuhachi (and other traditional instruments) in the overall orchestration. Expanding on this, Casano states, "some of the prominent works during this era were Moroi Makoto's *Chikurai Goshou* (1964) for solo shakuhachi, Takemitsu Toru's *November Steps* (1967) for shakuhachi, biwa and Western orchestra, and Matsumura Teizo's *Shikyoku No. 1* (1969) for shakuhachi and koto" (Casano 2005, 21).

Of all the pieces discussed here, it was the piece *November Steps* (1967) that had the greatest international influence. The premiere of *November Steps* (shakuhachi Yokoyama Katsuya; biwa-Tsuruta Kinshi) in 1967 and its subsequent international performances were probably the single most significant exposure of the shakuhachi to both Japanese and non-Japanese audiences during the 1960s, and maybe of all time. The work was performed in New York, Chicago, Boston, Toronto, Tokyo, Cleveland, San Francisco, Detroit, Berlin, Paris, and Amsterdam, among other cities. Until that time, there had not been any other occasion in the shakuhachi's history when so many non-Japanese were directly exposed to the shakuhachi. Although these performances only touched upon a certain segment of Western society, they still made a significant contribution to the international awareness of Japanese music and the sound of the shakuhachi. On June 24, 2000, *November Steps* was once again performed in Japan by the NHK Symphony Orchestra with shakuhachi performer Kakizakai Kaoru and biwa performer Nakamura Kakujou (student of Tsuruta Kinshi). In a sense, one can argue that the popularity of

shakuhachi music from the gendai hogaku genre had much to do with generating awareness about the instrument and Japanese culture.

By the 1990s, gendai hogaku was defined as a group of compositions mainly employing Japanese musical instruments, in which elements of traditional Japanese music and its basic aesthetics are managed with a sense of contemporary music and its musical components. Solo music for shakuhachi, as well as koto, has dominated this genre and is evidenced by not only the overwhelming number of compositions for shakuhachi that belong to the genre but also due to the fact that gendai hogaku pieces are part of my current applied study as a jun-shihan shakuhachi student. In addition to *Haru no umi* (Miyagi), I am currently learning the following gendai hogaku compositions:

Keinya Seiho: *Henro* (*A Pilgrims Song*) and *Ichijo* (*Certainty*).⁶⁸

Nagasawa Katsutoshi : *Mayadama no uta* (*Song of the Cocoon* and 1972) and *Futatsu no Den'enshi* (*Two Pastoral Songs*, 1973)

Yokuyama Katsuya: *Sekishun* (*Lamenting of Past Spring*, 1975), *Makiri* (*Devil's Cut*, 1975), *Shunsui* (1983), *Goru* (1986).

Yamamoto Hozan: *Ichikotsu* (*Tuning in D*, 1966).

I state that I am still learning these compositions because the bulk of them are not made for solo shakuhachi. Apart from *Henro*, *Makiri*, and *Goru*, the rest of the compositions are for a koto player. For me to truly master those compositions, I need to practice with my partner's instrument, which, for me, translates into a lot of money needed to pay for the koto player's time as well as my travel and accommodations. Pieces such as *Henro* and *Goru* were composed for multiple shakuhachi, and until COVID-19, I always relied on attending shakuhachi camps to

⁶⁸ A performance of *Henro* and *Ichikotsu* are included in the companion listening.

play music that requires two or more shakuhachi. Once COVID-19 became a global catastrophe, I turned to technological applications such as *Acapella* to assist with playing multiple parts. *Acapella* is a mobile software application that allows the user to record and playback multiple parts. For more information on how COVID-19 has affected shakuhachi learning in the U.S., please see "Virtual Shakuhachi with Dai-shihan Michael Chikuzen Gould: Shakuhachi Learning Before and During the Pandemic" (Strothers 2021).

There are many more gendai hogaku compositions that use shakuhachi as a solo instrument or include it. Out of the composers listed above, each one has at least a half-dozen or more compositions that I have yet to study. In addition, there are many compositions that my teacher is not familiar with simply because those musical pieces were not part of his studies as a shakuhachi student. The next phase of my applied shakuhachi studies will need to include more of these compositions. Upon the completion of my doctoral degree, it is my plan to set aside one month per year to study shakuhachi compositions from the gendai hogaku genre that require a koto player. It is my goal to be able to perform a recital that features shakuhachi music composers like Nagasawa Katsutaoshi and Kineya Seiho.

Pieces like *Haru no umi* and the others that I have listed previously have had a major impact on my shakuhachi studies, as a musician and ethnomusicologist. I remember hearing various *gendai hogaku* at shakuhachi camps in my early years of learning shakuhachi. I also remember being so confused by the avant-garde nature and western overtones that resounded in many of those pieces. I was learning shakuhachi from the perspective of a beginner, and because of the training of my teacher, I was only exposed to honkyoku, sankyoku, and the occasional folk melody. In addition, in my experience as a participant attending camps, workshops, and shakuhachi recitals usually had advertisements that included modifiers such as "ancient,"

"traditional," and "authentic." As an active participant and listener, I will admit that when I heard gendai hogaku for the first time, I did not understand how this "modern music" was part of an "ancient shakuhachi tradition." As I reflect on this moment, I realize that my perception of gendai hogaku had much to do with my lack of understanding of the nuances behind Japanese history and culture. It is certainly not my shakuhachi teacher's job to hold my hand and educate me about this aspect—especially considering that he has the arduous task of teaching me how to become a better shakuhachi musician. Learning about Japanese history and culture was a necessary journey that I had to take to understand the several layers attached to the shakuhachi—the thickest one being its ancient and historical connection to Zen Buddhism.

4.5 THE RECONTEXTUALIZATION OF ZEN PART I: THE REORIENTATION OF MYŌAN-KYŌKAI AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUIZEN

While the gendai hogaku scene generated numerous compositions for solo shakuhachi and other traditional Japanese instruments, the religious context of the instrument adopted by Myōan-Kyōkai in the 1890s continued to grow in the background throughout the interwar and postwar periods. In 1914, after the death of Higuchi Taizan (1856-1914), there were two abbots of the Myōan-Kyōkai who were important not only in developing the pedagogical groundworks of religious shakuhachi practice but also in developing the term to call the act of shakuhachi playing a religious practice—they were Kobayashi Shizan (1877-1938) and Tomimori Kyozan (dates unknown).

While Kobayashi was credited with making improvements and further canonization of the repertoire for the Myōan-Kyōkai, Tomimori categorized the repertoire in terms of set criteria: (1) repertoire that "encompassed the Myōan Zen spirit" (called *koten honkyoku*, *honte*, and *jun-honte*), (2) secular music (called *hade*), and (3) *zakkyoku hade*, "superb or refined music that

failed to convey the true Myōan spirit" (Mau 2014, 157 and Tominomori 1979, 43-44). These other categorizations of shakuhachi music—the honte, jun-honte, hade, and zakkyoku hade—are unique to the Myōan-Kyōkai and are rarely discussed in English language twentieth-century literature on shakuhachi primarily because scholars have focused on shakuhachi traditions of the Kinko and Tozan schools. This is another example of how all shakuhachi traditions are streamlined under one general narrative. More importantly, Tominomori stressed that *koten honkyoku* (meaning "original honkyoku" or "classical honkyoku") were the pieces directly connected to monks of the Fuke sect. For more information about the repertoire and current practices of the Myōan-Kyōkai, look at Christopher Mau's dissertation. "Situating the Myōan Kyōkai: A Study of Suizen and the Fuke Shakuhachi" (2014).

Aside from making changes in the shakuhachi repertoire that are still employed in the present-day activities of the Myōan-Kyōkai, both Tominomori and Kobayashi were credited with implementing the term 'Sui-shō-zen,' (吹簫禪), which translates, "To blow a flute meditation" (see Torsten website). According to the research of Tosten *Mukuteki* Olafsson, a shakuhachi musician and historian, this term was already used by the 1920s and 1930s. It was not until after 1950, after the sect's "revival as a religious corporation," that the term suizen was developed

In 1950, the Myōan-Kyōkai became established as a corporation that enabled them to operate as a temple (Mau 2014, 102). One year after its establishment as a religious institution or "church," as Mau puts it, the Myōan-Kyōkai declared that Kyochiku Zenji (historical culture hero) was the original founder of the Fuke sect and "the way of shakuhachi tradition in Japan" (ibid 108). Here we have an example of a particular group of people "reinventing" the shakuhachi tradition by accepting at face value that the tradition was started by Kyochiku Zenji. According to Mau, this is significant in two ways: (1) the Myōan-Kyōkai has distanced itself

from the shakuhachi's Chinese origins by "effectively removing Kakushin's role" from shakuhachi history and (2) the Myōan-Kyōkai bypasses the historical questions raised by how he Fuke shakuhachi tradition came to Japan and instead, insists that the Fuke shakuhachi tradition has origins in Japan with one individual (ibid). The word *suizen* was coined by Yasuda Tenzan, who served as "chief priest" of the Myōan Temple from 1950-1953. Although it is not explicitly stated, it is highly possible that Yasuda drew on the philosophies of his processors (Tomimori and Kyozan) to develop this terminology. Not much is written (in English) on Tenzan's teaching or religious philosophy regarding shakuhachi, or the term *suizen*, to provide the reader with further context and clarity outside of "blowing meditation." Thanks to the ethnographic research completed by Torsten *Mukuteki* Olafsson, he was able to get a religious explanation of *suizen* by Ozawa Zetsugai Seizan, a student of Yoshimura Fuan Shoshin (the fortieth Kansu of the Myōan kyokai). Ozawa Zetsugai Seizan states,

Myōan Shakuhachi is related to the Fuke Sect of Shakuhachi, and it has as its purpose to employ the ancient Japanese shakuhachi flute as a Dharma instrument [*hō-ki*] in order that one understands the Ultimately Adual Nature of the 'Bright' and the 'Dark' [*Myō-An*] and experiences the Essence of Non-Substantiality [*kyō*] through Self-Cultivation.⁶⁹

In my studies as an applied shakuhachi student—the religious connotation of the shakuhachi as an instrument of the dharma is what initially attracted me to conduct research. However, I did not realize that *suizen* was originally just applied to Myōan-Kyōkai Taizan-ha shakuhachi practice. Additionally, the notion of "a dual nature of bright and dark" as well as the "essence of non-

⁶⁹ Torsten Mukuteki Olafsson, "The Remarkably Differing Narratives About the Kyoto Myōan-ji, the 'Myōan Society' and the 'Taizan-ha' Tradition of 'Suizen' Shakuhachi Practice" Updated 2020, Accessed 4/5/2021, Accessed January 20th, 2019, <https://zen-shakuhachi.dk/toprekomosoufairytale.htm>.

substantiality" were concepts that I never came across in my applied studies—which makes sense because I came from a completely different school. *Suizen* and the shakuhachi's use as an implement of the dharma are what made the Myōan-Kyokai shakuhachi tradition unique. The question that remains to be asked is how did the word *suizen* become an all-encompassing term that not only defines the shakuhachi but also makes it attractive to the west?

4.51 The Mischaracterization and Ethnocommoditization of Suizen

Before explaining how *suizen* became a quintessential international trope for shakuhachi Zen, I must express my great thanks and admiration for Torsten Mukuteki Olafsson's research. His research is sparsely cited, which needs to be changed because I consider him extremely knowledgeable about the development of various shakuhachi traditions. His interest in Fuke shakuhachi specifically has led him to study with Ozawa Seizan and with Yokoyama Katsuya. He has devoted time and energy to shakuhachi performance and history since 1968 and wrote his master's thesis on the *Kaido honsoku* and his dissertation on the iemoto system. Olafsson continues to add research findings on the website, with the latest entry made in June 2021.

I remember finding this webpage when writing my master's thesis—as I was a beginning shakuhachi student, much of the research on his page went well over my head. While being overwhelmed by the literature that continued to present the narrative "shakuhachi as an ancient instrument of Zen"—and wanting so desperately to believe in that narrative, I was also struggling to learn how to play, maintain sound, and understand the mechanics behind the instrument. I will admit that back in 2010 when I wrote my master's thesis, I chose historical information that represented the standard narrative because the other facts that I came across—especially those represented by Olafsson's research page, were not only contradictory to what others wrote but confusing—I did not fully understand the development of shakuhachi history and Olafsson's

research page had a specific section that purposely questioned the standard narrative. After completing my master's and continuing my studies on shakuhachi, I kept checking Olafsson's page because his research never stopped.

On his website, Olafsson explains that the reason *suizen* had been internationally mischaracterized was a triple LP that Nippon Columbia Records produced in 1974. Olafsson somewhat comically titles this blunder as "The Year that a Commercial Japanese Record Company Completely Destroyed Common Sense, Credibility, and Decency in Ascetic Shakuhachi History Research, Writing, Publishing, &...Appreciation."⁷⁰ The set of recordings featured Sakai Chikuhō II, the second *iemoto* of the Chikuhō-ryū, which was founded in 1917, performing fourteen tracks of shakuhachi music under the title *Suizen: Chikuhō ryū ni miru Fuke Shakuhachi no keifu* (*Blowing Zen: Looking at the Genealogy of Fuke Shakuhachi from the Chikuhō School*). The triple LP was accompanied by extensive liner notes totaling sixty-four pages. The title of this recording project was quite problematic because the Myōan-Kyōkai had established themselves as the progenitors of Fuke shakuhachi, and Taizan-ha shakuhachi musicians were not included. Additionally, Nippon Columbia recruited four musicologists to help write extensive liners notes—Tanabe Hisao, Kishibe Shigeo, Kamisangō Yūkō, and Tsukitani Tsuneko all wrote their own descriptions of shakuhachi history with special attention to *suizen* history and ideology.

Except for Tanabe Hisao, the historians did not mention the Myōan-Kyōkai or their revitalization as a religious institution. Tanabe only briefly mentioned "the Myōan Way of

⁷⁰ Torsten Mukuteki Olafsson, "The Year that a Commercial Japanese Record Company Completely Destroyed Common Sense, Credibility and Decency in Ascetic Shakuhachi History Research, Writing, Publishing, &...Appreciation." Updated June 2021. Accessed 4/5/2021, Accessed January 20th, 2019, <https://zen-shakuhachi.dk/to1974untruthfulsuizeninformation.htm>.

Shakuhachi," which was, according to Olafsson, a very strange way of describing the organization. Overall, none of the historians discussed Yasuda Tenzan, the technical originator of the word *suizen*, or details about the shakuhachi musicians from any of the Myōan factions. Olafsson particularly points out how *Kamisangō* frames *suizen* as "the underlying essence of all the *komusō* honkyoku." Other quotes by *Kamisangō* that allude to the notion that *suizen* existed earlier than 1950 state the following: "Suizen ideology is something that sprouted already since the 'Komusō' era, but the establishment of the Fuke Sect refined and purified it" and "Since the classical honkyoku of Fuke Shakuhachi were entirely born from this 'Suizen,' their major musical characteristics were also derived from 'Suizen.'" ⁷¹ Much of the information in these liner notes were repeated in *Kamisangō*'s other works, and a version of these liner notes is included in Christopher Blasdel's book *The Shakuhachi: A Manual for Learning*—a text that many potential shakuhachi students and historians purchase to learn not only about shakuhachi history but also for pointers on how to play the instrument.

The "underlying essence of all *komusō* honkyoku" is exactly how I "understood" *suizen* and played a significant role in my initial interest as well as my path to understanding shakuhachi's history. For the first five years of my applied studies, my approach was to try and understand *suizen*. Through the process of critical deconstruction and fieldwork, I gradually realized that *suizen* became an inadvertently ethno-commoditized term starting with the 1974 LP by Nippon Columbia. The liner notes have been repeated, cited, and quoted in much, if not all, English language shakuhachi research. I do not think it was the intent of the musicologists or

⁷¹ Torsten Mukuteki Olafsson, "The Year that a Commercial Japanese Record Company Completely Destroyed Common Sense, Credibility and Decency in Ascetic Shakuhachi History Research, Writing, Publishing, &...Appreciation." Updated June 2021. Accessed 4/5/2021, Accessed January 20th, 2019, <https://zen-shakuhachi.dk/to1974untruthfulsuizeninformation.htm>.

Nippon Columbia to purposely mischaracterize the shakuhachi tradition, even though, according to Olaffson, "Kamisango gave the reader the clear impression that "suizen" had almost 'flourished forever.'"⁷² I think that the musicologists' understanding of shakuhachi history had much to do with how the government wanted Japanese history to be represented and how shakuhachi was represented in the popular culture, as well as how the Myōan-Kyōkai was perceived by other shakuhachi musicians from different traditions. The government initiatives to save "traditional Japanese music" did not include any members from the Myōan Kyōkai being awarded the title of "National Living Treasure," but the government wanted to give the shakuhachi an "authentic" history, and suizen is a distinctly Japanese concept. While the komusō were viewed as a social pariah of the Edo period, their image had completely changed by the 1970s with the help of komusō and other ronin-like figures depicted in Japanese TV movies and dramas. These dramas often portrayed them as spies who were devout in their religious beliefs and always wore a basket hat and were depicted playing the shakuhachi on alms pilgrimages. Additionally, the shakuhachi personalities from the Myōan-Kyōkai may have been purposely excluded because of how they were perceived by the milieu of shakuhachi musicians from various traditions. In the chapter "Zen Buddhism and Music: Spiritual Tours to Japan," Kiku Day interviewed approximately eighty shakuhachi players in Japan from 2007-2012. According to her findings, shakuhachi members of the Myōan-Kyōkai were often marginalized and sometimes viewed as a group of amateurs. I surmise that because the Myōan-Kyōkai were doing something different, i.e., focusing on religious shakuhachi practices instead of expanding the instrument in the secular world may have ostracized them from the hogaku scene. Religious shakuhachi in

⁷² Ibid.

Japan was simply not fashionable. Overall, the application of suizen to all shakuhachi traditions is not any one person or entity's fault, but a result of years of reinvention.

The Myōan-Kyōkai is still very active and has services for members that involve suizen gatherings (known as suizen kai). For the Myōan-Kyōkai, shakuhachi serves a very specific function in their discipline as members of a "church." They have a responsibility to honor Kyochhiku Zenji, the founder of the shakuhachi Zen tradition, provide services to members, and fundraise to help with the upkeep of the temple. They really don't see themselves as "modern-day komusō" but a continuation of the komusō tradition. It is important to remember that the Myōan Kyōkai are the originators of the word suizen and have a specific set of repertoires that are classified for the purpose of blowing meditation. Suizen does not necessarily apply to all shakuhachi honkyoku—but because of how the terms have been internationally characterized, many participants who play shakuhachi, especially those from the United States, have used honkyoku from various shakuhachi traditions with the intent to meditate—myself included.

4.52 The Recontextualization of Zen Part II: The Influence of the Post-Modern Fuke—Watazumi Doso (1911-1992)

The late Watazumi Doso was the "most influential shakuhachi performer in post-World War II Japan" due to his playing ability, philosophy on Zen, approach to teaching, and history being a Rinzai sect monk (Gillan 2021, 37). In the *Yale Journal of Music and Religion* (2021), Matt Gillan reports that Watazumi was born as Tanaka Kendō in Fukuoka Prefecture, the current economic hub of the Kyushu Island region. His teachers were Tsunoda Rogetsu and Nakamura Kikufū of the Myōan-ryū. Analyzing the articles written by Watazumi that were featured in the *Sankyoku* magazine series, Gillan notes that Watazumi went by several different names as a result of earning titles through either shakuhachi or religious study. In order, the different names include Tanaka Kendō (birth), Tanaka Yūhi, Tanaka Fumon, Itchō Fumon, Watazumi Shūso, and

Watazumi Doso. Under the names of Fumon Tanaka and Fumon Itchō, he practiced Rinzai Zen and shakuhachi at Itchōken Temple. Itchōken temple was home to komusō monks of the Fuke sect and is considered to be the first komusō temple in the Northern Kyushu area. Under the Fumon name, he declared that he was restoring the Itchōken Fuke tradition. His time spent at Itchōken Temple may be the reason some historical scholars list him as the *Kanjō* (head priest) of the Fuke sect during post-WWII Japan. Watazumi also spent time serving in the imperial army during the war years as an instructor of fitness or martial arts.



Figure 4.2 Photo of Watazumi Doso
(Google Images 2022)

After the war ended, it is reported, Watazumi left the military to study Rinzai Zen in 1949. Little is known about his religious training outside of his ordination as a Rinzai priest. There are many accounts on the internet that refer to him as the title of Rōshi (master), while

fewer accounts report that he achieved the title of *Osho*, which is equivalent to the notion of a "high priest" or preceptor. According to Dr. Jim Franklin, shakuhachi master and member of the Kokusai Shakuhachi Kenshukan,⁷³ Watazumi "lived as a monk in Itchōken temple, a Myōan temple on Kyūshū, and internalized the repertoire found there, as well as absorbing other pieces on journeys within Japan" (Franklin, n.p.). Other accounts credit him with being the unifying head of the Fuke Sect and ultimately leaving the Zen establishment in 1949 in favor of finding his own way.

Watazumi's philosophy and approach to shakuhachi was first featured in *Sankyoku* magazine in August of 1938, where he explicitly uses the word *hochiku* (法竹, dharma bamboo) in lieu of "shakuhachi" to describe his practice. This approach sets him apart from other shakuhachi instructors. Hochiku were made differently from the standard shakuhachi that had been used for performances during the late Edo period forward. As noted in chapter three, modifications to the shakuhachi were made in the late Edo/early Meiji period to help stabilize the instrument's temperament. Aside from standardizing the shakuhachi's length, the inside bore of the instrument was lacquered with a paste called *ji* (地), made from *urushi* (sap from the *urushi* tree), stone powder, and water. Commonly known as *jiari shakuhachi* (地有り尺八), these instruments were tempered and became the preferred type of shakuhachi for decades. Watazumi's hochiku were made without lacquer (generically referred to as a *jinashi shakuhachi*, 地なし尺八) and did not include any type of animal horn inlay on the *utaguchi* (歌口)—the

⁷³ The Kenshukan is a shakuhachi school with headquarters in Tokyo and branches in Saitama, Yokohama, and North America. Yokoyama Katsuya started this school.

sharp blowing edge of the shakuhachi. The process of adding ji also changed how standard shakuhachi were constructed.

Jiari shakuhachi were built in two pieces not only to help with the application of ji but also for easier cleaning and transport. Hochiku were made with a single piece of bamboo that was typically thicker and longer than standard shakuhachi. In the same article, Watazumi (then referred to as Tanaka Fumon) describes how he traveled to Tōfuki-ji temple (located in Kyoto) as part of "the process of reestablishing the shakuhachi as a ritual instrument at Itchōken" (*Sankyoku* magazine, Issue 38). The significance of this is that while Watazumi was studying shakuhachi within a specific religious sect, he was also developing his own thoughts on how religious shakuhachi practice should be approached. Although the introduction of hochiku happened early in Watazumi's career, it did not fully crystalize until after he broke away from the Zen institution to start his own way.

After some years of serving at the temples, Watazumi became disenchanted with Zen Buddhism, finding that the religious practice was far too limiting when it came to concepts of breath and breathing. According to the North American branch of Kokusai Shakuhachi Kenshukan website, Watazumi's experience with Zen was

too limited or too rigid about the contribution of breathing to personal practice, and that traditional Zen training did not include sufficient physical exercise, which he regarded as unhealthy. More important than a consideration about physical health, however, was his assessment that the rigid formality of Zen was neither necessary nor, in fact, conducive to the process of really learning to become oneself.⁷⁴

Watazumi decided to start his own shakuhachi school in Tokyo where he devised his own unique shakuhachi practice based on a combination of martial arts, breath training, and Zen philosophy.

⁷⁴ "Watazumi Doso," Kokusai Shakuhachi Kenshukan, Accessed June 20, 2021, <http://www.kskna.com/about-us/ksk-japan>.

Known as *Watazumi-do*—"the Way of Watazumi," this transmission process involved conceptualizing hochiku as the ultimate tool for self-exploration. The study of honkyoku sets a person on the path of self-development, and the everyday practice of hochiku is the key to *strengthening the life force*.

Watazumi's approach to shakuhachi includes a combination of rigorous exercise, aspects of Soto Zen ideology, and intense breath training. The crux of Watazumi's teachings is centered on the notion that the instrument is a tool (*suijo*) for developing and strengthening the *life force*—known as *ki* in Japanese. In a lecture demonstration held at Creative Music Studio in Woodstock, New York (1981), Watazumi explained the concept of life force in his own words:

If you ask what life force is, it's a difficult thing to understand in its essence. The deeper you go, the less you can see what it is. But whether you understand it or not, you still have to get through life; you still have to do your daily things. And so using your daily life, using the things you do all day, we train and strengthen the life force.⁷⁵

In other words, the process of strengthening the life force is a journey of self-exploration where a person is not only trying to become healthy but also learning about themselves more intimately. In addition, Watazumi's central tenet also required students to conceptualize music in a different way. Music was not just a series of scales played by various instruments and voices. In the documentary *Sukiyaki and Chips: The Japanese Sounds of Music* (1994), Watazumi explains his thoughts on how music should encompass more than the conventional definition:

To me, music is not a fixed idea. It is not what you think it is. You might think of a scale of seven notes, but that is not music. Music cannot be limited to one form. It is all around you if you listen carefully. The sounds of water are music. Or the wind in the trees. Or children in the fields. Or birds singing and crying. That is all music. Even the sound of boiling can be music. The sound of sukiyaki cooking makes vibrations in the air, and that is music. All these are just part of one sound.

⁷⁵ "The Way of Watazumi," Watazumi Doso Roshi, Accessed 5/4/2021
<http://bengerstein.com/watazumi.html>.

Like his thoughts on breathing in Zen Buddhism, Watazumi felt that conventional thoughts on music were far too limiting—the idea of noise did not exist, and all sounds that exist in the universe were interconnected and part of what he called "*the one sound*." The Kokusai Shakuhachi Kenshukan (the International Shakuhachi Training Center) nicely summarizes Watazumi's core concept by stating the following: "One's own way of living then is a deep source of one's music, and we tap into that source by strengthening the life force." In order to understand the *one sound* and ultimately improve the life force, Watazumi recommended engaging in three daily practices as part of the ultimate self-development routine.

Watazumi's daily routine started at three in the morning with vigorous exercise using a *bo* stick. This exercise routine was part of what Watazumi called *nobasu* and *tsukami*. *Nobasu* was the practice of "lengthening of the large muscles of the body," while *tsukami* was the "ability to grasp with finger and toes, but with an emphasis on strength and free movement of one's digits."⁷⁶In combination with the practice of shakuhachi, students of Watazumi were expected to participate in physical exercises. In his own words, the purpose of participating in *nobasu* exercises was to activate and stretch the large muscles in the body, which stretches certain smaller muscles in the body. This emphasizes the notion that there is a connection between large muscles and fine motor movements associated with fingers and toes. For Watazumi playing shakuhachi required the whole body. He states, "And so, when you are playing an instrument, it's not simply the movement of your fingers or this or that; it's the movement and the action of the entire body." Whole *nobasu* focused on large muscles, *tsukami* exercises emphasized the

⁷⁶ "The Way of Watazumi," Watazumi Doso Roshi, Accessed 5/4/2021
<http://bengerstein.com/watazumi.html>.

importance of having the ability to move the fingers in any direction.⁷⁷In my research, I did not find any examples of tsukami exercises. Perhaps tsukami exercises involve the shakuhachi. I posit this conjecture because properly holding the instrument involves a relaxed grip. As a beginner, I remember holding onto the shakuhachi with an extremely tight grip, which was counterintuitive. Sensei Gould modeled how he holds his flute when he plays and stated that the grip of the flute should be natural and have no tension. It took me quite some time to make the proper corrections—a tight grip of the flute would restrict the freedom of the fingers.

A third exercise that Watazumi integrated into his daily self-development curriculum is called *haku*—"the lengthening of the out breath with no concern for the in breath."⁷⁸ Haku is considered to be the most important daily practice because it requires the use of shakuhachi to practice the awareness of the breath, or what Watazumi would call "conscious breathing."⁷⁹ Conscious breathing involves four different types of breath that can be mindfully employed in actual shakuhachi playing. Watazumi labeled the different types "rough, strong, soft, and weak."⁸⁰The purpose of daily participation in haku exercises was to develop and fine-tune one's breath control. In an article describing an encounter with Watazumi, Blasdel describes Watazumi's playing ability in terms of his ability to control his breath:

. . . his sustained notes seem to last forever and lulled the listener into a kind of reverie. Just when an ordinary shakuhachi player would run out of breath, however, Watazumi suddenly struck a furious and explosive burst of air-filled sound that startled the mind into reality. He could play tones as soft as the minute susurrations of a delicate tea-kettle or loud, piecing sounds that went right through the heart. (Blasdel, n.d., 1)

⁷⁷Ibid

⁷⁸Ibid

⁷⁹Ibid

⁸⁰Ibid

The daily practice of haku targets the player's ability to control the breath and create different types of breathing techniques that are a key part of what Watazumi would deem "true" shakuhachi playing. He states, "since I must have some way of knowing how my breath is doing, I blow into a piece of bamboo."⁸¹ Many honkyoku in the Dyokyoku style employ different types of breath. In fact, one honkyoku can have all four breathing techniques. For a honkyoku that has a variety of breathing techniques, check out *Daha*, *Sokkan*, *Tamuke*, or *Bosatsu*, which is included in the companion listening.

Ultimately, the purpose of participating in nobasu, tsukami, and haku is not meant to make one a better shakuhachi musician, but instead are exercises that are specifically meant to help strengthen a person's life force. Watazumi believed that at the core of everyone's life force is sound—a "deep source of one's music." The hochiku in Watazumi's worldview was a tool he sometimes called "suijo" or "concentrated breath tool" that was specifically meant to help a person explore their own sound and strengthen their life force.⁸² In this sense, Watazumi did not view himself as a musician or entertainer but simply as a man working on daily self-development using unlacquered bamboo (hociku) as one of his primary tools.

Watazumi's continuous fame as a revered yet eccentric religious and spiritual leader and virtuosic Zen shakuhachi player had much to do with larger cultural issues as well as the nuanced politics within the hogaku community during the Interwar period. The nineteenth and twentieth-century discourse on religion, spirituality, and Buddhism had reinvigorated conversations not only on religion and spirituality in music but also religion and spirituality in the shakuhachi

⁸¹ "The Way of Watazumi," Watazumi Doso Roshi, Accessed 5/4/2021
<http://bengerstein.com/watazumi.html>.

⁸² Ibid.

tradition. More specifically to the shakuhachi community, Gillian argues that the editor of *Sankyou Magazine*, Fujita Shun'ichi, commissioned Watazumi to write articles to help support the narrative that shakuhachi is a religious implement of the Fuke sect as well as a spiritual tool. The final piece to Watazumi's fame involves the influence he had on his students. Watazumi had many students that became very popular within Japan; however, one student helped tremendously with Watazumi's international fandom—Yokoyama Katsuya.

4.53 The Influence of Yokoyama Sensei, Student of Watazumi



Figure 4.3 Photo of Yokoyama Katsuya
(Google Images 2022)

Yokoyama Sensei's background and training in shakuhachi involved three shakuhachi teachers, all from different traditions—a deviation from the normal iemoto structure where you typically study under one master teacher. The significance of his first two teachers will be discussed in the next chapter. However, his third teacher was Watazumi. Drawing on Watazumi, Yokoyama developed his own way of interpreting successful shakuhachi playing, which was reliant on a deep critical study of honkyoku. For Yokoyama, studying honkyoku was the critical

study of the self. In other words, to master a honkyoku, the goal was not to imitate but instead to find your own voice, your own interpretation within each individual honkyoku. This is very similar to Watazumi's ideological emphasis on shakuhachi as a tool for self-development and self-exploration.

Yokoyama's shakuhachi studies also included participation in the post-War gendai hogaku scene. He played a significant role in that scene by being a part of several shakuhachi ensembles—such as the Tokyo Shakuhachi Trio (1961, with Kohachiro Miyata and Minoru Muraoka) and the Shakuhachi Sanbun Kai (1964, with Reibo Aoki and Hozan Yamamoto). According to Jim Franklin, a student of Yokoyama and a well-known shakuhachi musician and scholar, Yokoyama initially became well known for his participation in the world premiere performance of *November Steps* by Takemitsu Toru (1930-1996). *November Steps* is a concerto for shakuhachi, Biwa, and orchestra that premiered in 1967. Many scholars agree that the premiere and subsequent tour of this composition are responsible for the widespread interest in "Asian" music, and shakuhachi specifically. Yokoyama's fame as a gendai hogaku musician was just one partial reason why the transmission of the Way of Watazumi reached a global audience. Being on tour and performing for an international audience, Yokoyama encountered many foreigners who wanted to learn how to play shakuhachi and realized that they needed to have some access to shakuhachi education outside of the iemoto structure. Expanding on this, Franklin writes

Yokoyama realized that there was an urgent need for a training process for non-Japanese as well as Japanese performers, with all players on equal footing—something which he perceived as difficult to achieve under the strongly hierarchical, traditional Japanese iemoto guild system. This was partly in response to the observation that would be players outside of Japan tended to be left to their own devices, resulting in a standard of playing below the potential either of the players or of the instrument itself. (Franklin, n.d.)

Responding to this need, in 1988, Yokoyama began leading workshops and masterclasses specifically geared toward the attendance of non-native students. This is very similar to Watazumi's idea that anyone can do what he does. In addition to leading these classes and being open to foreigners studying the instrument, Yokoyama saw the importance of performing shakuhachi outside of Japan. This combination of his international performances and his shakuhachi teaching sessions gradually developed into a formal educational institution called the *Kokusai Shakuhachi Kenshukan* (KSK, the *International Shakuhachi Training Center*). It is through this institution that Yokoyama Sensei taught the transmission of Watazumi-do to many different students that are now master teachers of the shakuhachi tradition. These shakuhachi teachers include Kaoru Kakizaki, Riley Lee, and my teacher Michael Chikuzen Gould. It was during this time (the 1970s-1980s) that my teacher had the opportunity to study with Yokoyama Sensei. He eventually became a transmitter of the Dyokyoku tradition when he achieved grandmaster status in 1994.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The shakuhachi narrative of the inter- and post-war period had the greatest effect on how the shakuhachi was presented internationally. The shin nihon ongaku generated a seemingly endless number of new compositions for shakuhachi—many of them drawing on notions of western musicality and marrying them with Japanese musical aesthetics. Many pieces born out of the shin nihon ongaku movement are characterized as "quintessential Japanese music." Discourse on religion inspired by the West and European counterparts led scholars to revisit Buddhism, spirituality, and Zen. This, in turn, influenced the discussion of religion and spirituality in music. After the development of the *Sankyoku* magazine, the editor Fujita published many articles on the topic of religion and music in the realm of the shakuhachi tradition. Fujita had a huge interest

in shakuhachi as a religious instrument and firmly believed that shakuhachi was a tool of Zen Buddhism progenerated by the komusō monks of the Fuke sect.

During WWII, one major form of cultural exchange between the United States and Japan happened in the most brutal of ways: through the mass incarceration of Japanese people. These internment camps became places of negotiation—on the one hand, Japanese immigrants clung to their Japanese musical traditions in fear of losing their identity. On the other hand, first- and second-generation Japanese Americans turned to Jazz and other popular American music of the time. The Post WWII period brought about a new era that reinvigorated interest in traditional Japanese music, especially regarding the shakuhachi tradition. The government initiated the Intangible Cultural Property law, where the first shakuhachi musicians to achieve Intangible status were representatives of the Kinko and Tozan-ryū. In addition, Watazumi's fame as a religious figure reached international acclaim with the help of his skill as a player, eccentric views, and student Yokoyama Sensei. It is due to his philosophy and approach to shakuhachi that pushed the attraction and reinvention of the shakuhachi as not only an instrument of Zen but also self-exploration.

CHAPTER 5

A LINEAGE OF RENEGADES: UNDERSTANDING THE TRANSMISSION, PEDAGOGY, AND PHILOSOPHY OF CHIKUZEN STUDIOS

Up to this point, this project investigated the reasons why shakuhachi continues to be contextualized as an ancient instrument of Zen by discussing the instrument's historical trajectory. Chapter two looked at the instrument's various usages throughout premodern Japanese society. Chapters three, four, and seven outlined important historical events that shaped the instrument's international perception. This chapter focuses specifically on my teacher's background and influences. It includes a pedagogical analysis of applied shakuhachi and a musicological analysis of some of the repertoire that is taught via Chikuzen studios.

5.1 The Amalgamation of Sensei Gould's Teaching



Figure 5.0 Photo of Michael Chikuzen Gould
(Google Images, 2022)

In many ways, Sensei Gould's encounter with shakuhachi was just as serendipitous as my experience with the instrument. In college, Sensei Gould majored in East Asian Studies and had a strong interest in Buddhism. Initially, he desired to travel to India but had a hard time securing stable employment. Thanks to a friend, Sensei Gould found a job in Japan in 1980, first in Tokyo and then, two years later, in Kyoto. Upon his arrival in Japan, Sensei Gould knew nothing about shakuhachi; he only knew about Japanese culture. It was after his move to Kyoto that he would first encounter the sound of the instrument. From his perspective, the sound of the shakuhachi was very expressive, and he knew immediately just from the sound that he wanted to learn how to play the instrument. He did not have any previous musical training and was truly clueless about how to get started learning a musical instrument.

Another layer of complication is that the bulk of the population of Japan did not play shakuhachi, nor had they heard the sound of the instrument. In other words, Sensei Gould did not know where to go or who to ask to buy an instrument and get lessons. One day, he decided to go ask about shakuhachi lessons at a Japanese travel bureau, where he happened to run into someone who helped him connect with other shakuhachi players in Japan. From this point on, Sensei Gould spent eighteen years of his life in Japan with the general plan of making a good sound on the instrument and being a decent shakuhachi player. He had no ambition of becoming an internationally famous performer, but because of his skill and his uniqueness as a teacher and performer, he was able to gain much-deserved international attention.

While in Japan, Sensei Gould studied shakuhachi with two teachers. This by itself is extremely unique. Before WWII, belonging to a particular school also meant loyalty to your teacher. During those times, the various shakuhachi schools did not collaborate. To leave your teacher to study with another teacher was viewed as dishonorable—especially if that teacher

belonged to a different stylistic tradition. Different stylistic traditions had their own secret transmissions that were not meant to be shared with other schools. Additionally, belonging to a school and going through the formal training process gave you credibility as a serious musician and—in a sense—boasting rights in terms of connecting oneself to a lineage of well-known shakuhachi masters. Since the Kinko and Tozan schools dominated the world of not only traditional shakuhachi studies but also hogaku, they became the two schools that were protected under the government's Intangible Cultural Property program.

The Intangible Cultural Property program is not the sole creation of the Japanese government but a product of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).⁸³ Created in 1945, the aim of the organization was "the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance or books, works of art and monuments of history and science" (UNESCO 1945). In the article "States of Conservation: Protection, Politics, and Pacting within UNESCO's World Heritage Committee" (2014), Lynn Meskell describes how UNESCO's initial commitment transformed "into proactive international assistance: the first mission was launched in 1959 for the Nubian monuments of Egypt, threatened by the construction of the Aswan Dam" (Meskell 2014, 219). Since 1958, UNESCO has led highly publicized campaigns that involved the acquisition of donations, volunteers, and researchers to salvage various historical sites, monuments, and artworks. The increasing interest in the preservation of cultural artifacts ultimately led to the development of the terms "world heritage"

⁸³ The development of UNESCO and the notion of cultural heritage can be traced back to 1919, when the League of Nations was formed. Ideas of important cultural artifacts were discussed at LON meetings. In 1922, the LON formed the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) which was officially established in 1926 to serve as an executive branch to discuss scientific and cultural issues. The LON in combination with the IIIC were the main catalysts in the growing interests for what is now called cultural heritage conservation.

and "cultural heritage." According to UNESCO, world heritage is the "designation for places on earth that are of outstanding universal value to humanity" and serves as an important part of humanity's historical legacy.⁸⁴ In 1972, the definition of world heritage was expanded to include cultural heritage, which was "comprised of living expressions inherited from our ancestors, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social manners, rituals, festive events, knowledge, and practices related to nature and the universe, and knowledge and techniques linked to traditional crafts."⁸⁵ Over time, UNESCO has developed three areas of heritage to encompass all aspects of cultural artifacts, places, and traditions. These areas include cultural heritage, tangible and intangible cultural property, and natural heritage.

In the book *Anthropological Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Arizpe and Amescua eds., 2013), authors have contributed articles that problematize and critically deconstruct UNESCO's overall purpose and impact on international culture and law. In the chapter "Concepts and Contingencies in Heritage Politics," Kristina Kuutma highlights the several criticisms that researchers have with heritage politics. Drawing on the work of Ulf Hannerz (2006), Kuutma explains that UNESCO's strategies of cultural preservation are akin to "a mode of cultural engineering based on nation-state logics and global governance" (Kuutma 2013, 3). Furthermore, Kuutma argues that UNESCO policies favor those with privileged status and strengthen political structures that have a hegemonic hold on marginalized entities. Explaining further, she writes,

⁸⁴ "What is World Heritage," UNESCO World Heritage Convention, accessed 9/2022, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/faq/19#:~:text=World%20Heritage%20is%20the%20designation,generations%20to%20appreciate%20and%20enjoy>.

⁸⁵ "Cultural Heritage," UNESCO, accessed 9/2/2022 <https://en.unesco.org/fieldoffice/santiago/cultura/patrimonio>.

Heritage emerges from the nexus of politics and power; it is a project of symbolic domination: heritage privileges and empowers an elitist narrative in place, while dominant ideologies create specific place identities which reinforce support for particular state structures and related political ideologies (Graham et al., 2007, p. 37). In addition, it simultaneously correlates with economic concerns which conversely relate to poverty and deprivation when we think about the cultural expressions and environment in marginal communities or less affluent non-western settings or countries. (ibid)

Kuutma's analysis and explanation of the resulting power struggles of UNESCO policies help explain why certain shakuhachi traditions are deemed or valued as Intangible Cultural Property. Under the government's cultural protection, the Kinko and Tozan schools became not only popular but, in a sense, somewhat standardized. Other shakuhachi schools, such as the Myōan-ryū, slowly became viewed as esoteric or not "mainstream." The government's familiarity with the Tozan and Kinko repertoire allowed them to set up a process of evaluation where musicians could, through a process, be nominated as "tradition bearers" and "National Treasures." With the protection of a hegemonic institution, schools like the Kinko and Tozan-ryū go through an administrative and musical process in nominating and applying for the Intangible Cultural Property title of national treasure. Students and schools that are practicing and teaching shakuhachi without formal recognition of the government are renegade musicians and teachers—or sometimes classified as a *rōnin* (浪人).

Sensei Gould's two teachers were renegades of the time because they did not follow the typical path of a shakuhachi musician—which is to study either with the Kinko or Tozan school and formally belong to an iemoto. His teachers had a different philosophy of shakuhachi pedagogy and performance in mind, which ultimately influenced how Sensei Gould chose to transmit the repertoire in the United States. At this point, it is important to briefly discuss the histories behind Sensei Gould's teachers to understand the logic behind the transmission and pedagogy of his shakuhachi school, Chikuzen Studios.

5.1.2 Yokoyama Katsuya and *Honnin no Shirabe*

Sensei Gould's first serious shakuhachi teacher was Yokoyama Sensei, who continues to be considered one of the most famous and acclaimed shakuhachi performers in the world. Yokoyama first studied shakuhachi with his father, Yokoyama Ranpo, who received formal training under the Kinko-ryū lineage and would later become well-known for making quality shakuhachi. Yokoyama's second teacher was Fukuda Rando, an accomplished composer who started his own shakuhachi school known as the Azuma-ryū. Fukuda was unique in that most of his shakuhachi pieces incorporated Western musical elements—especially his honkyoku. Yokoyama's third teacher was Watazumi Doso, who very deeply absorbed and embodied Watazumi's playing style and overall philosophy on how to approach the instrument and achieve the expression of one's true self.

Yokoyama's process of learning shakuhachi, especially honkyoku, is a lifelong devotion. To make a honkyoku an expression of the self, it is imperative that the student not only understand what may and may not be changed in a honkyoku (what Sensei Gould calls "shakuhachi sense") but also how the precision of execution of various pitches and timbres are symbolic manifestations and reflections of energy patterns that are part of the universe. This philosophy will be further discussed later in the chapter but needed to be mentioned sooner because this approach was embodied by all of Yokoyama's students, which includes my teacher and several other internationally acclaimed non-native performers (such as Riley Lee, Marco Leinhard, and Justin Senryu Williams). For Yokoyama, to be an effective shakuhachi musician, the student had to not only play with the correct pitches and timbres but also understand the style of each individual honkyoku. Each individual honkyoku had its own parameters of what could be improvised. Mastering that, the individual would then be on the path to a unique voice (i.e.,

figuring out their own interpretation). For Yokoyama, the key to finding Zen in the shakuhachi is self-expression. Self-expression involves the process of finding your own voice. Finding your own voice involves the intense study of honkyoku. This philosophy served as a framework for several shakuhachi teachers who continue to transmit not only the lineage of Yokoyama but the lineage of themselves. As an applied student who is trying to find my own voice, it is in my best interest to listen to not only my teacher but also my teacher's teacher. My eleven years of study involved listening to Watazumi, Yokoyama, and Taniguchi's voices in honkyoku.

Yokoyama's progressive attitude towards teaching and performing shakuhachi hinged on the notion that "tradition is a living entity and must rejuvenate itself perpetually through the development of new material which respects the old, without supplanting it or negating its significance" (Franklin n.d., 4). In other words, learning shakuhachi music, specifically honkyoku, involves a simultaneous process of developing technical proficiency and studying the nuances of honkyoku. For Yokoyama, honkyoku was the core repertoire essential in developing technically proficient players that deeply understand the music—with the ultimate goal of turning a honkyoku into a *honnin no shirabe* ("searching for one's true self")—"a piece that is absolutely and unconditionally one's own" and "is the process of searching for, examining or preparing ones' Self" (Lee 1992, 162). Finding oneself—and, more specifically, one's voice—in shakuhachi training is a lifelong commitment. The philosophy behind the transmission of honkyoku within the KSK institution emphasized that "each individual honkyoku is considered to be a manifestation or reflection of the whole universe, all the reality and non-reality, of everything physical and metaphysical" through the proper execution of techniques specific to shakuhachi study (ibid). Therefore, according to Lee, every "honkyoku then becomes not just the realization of a piece of music" but also an expression of one's true self and represents the

reenactment of universal forces (i.e., yin and yang, *ibid*). Overall, on top of his progressive views on shakuhachi pedagogy and performance, the late Yokoyama and the KSK continue to provide a pathway for foreigners to study shakuhachi outside of the iemoto structure in a more democratic setting. Sensei Gould's teaching philosophy and playing style are not only a reflection of his true self but also show the influence and admiration of Yokoyama.

The repertoire Yokoyama developed for the KSK is a direct reflection of his shakuhachi training and can be viewed as a convergence of diverse areas of shakuhachi traditions. KSK repertoire includes honkyoku, sankyoku, and gendai hogaku. KSK honkyoku mostly includes pieces from the Kinko-ryū, Watazumi-do, Tozan-ryū, and honkyoku that Yokoyama composed. The sankyoku that have been canonized by KSK derive from various lineages of the Kinko-ryū, while gendai hogaku compositions (such as western-influenced pieces by Fukuda) include various composers in addition to Yokoyama's gendai hogaku compositions. While the standard pedagogical process for the Kinko-ryū is to learn all the sankyoku before moving on to the honkyoku, the KSK pedagogy, from most student's experiences, honkyoku and sankyoku "taught in parallel" (Franklin n.d., 3). From Yokoyama's perspective, this approach, coupled with intensive training workshops and international performances, created an opportunity for non-natives to get high-level shakuhachi training.

5.1.3 Taniguchi Yoshinobu

Taniguchi Yoshinobu is another teacher under whom Sensei Gould studied, adding a crucial dimension of uniqueness to Sensei Gould's sound and approach. In addition to studying shakuhachi with renowned teachers from the Kinko-ryū lineage (Yamaguchi Goro [1933-1999] and Aoki Reibo II [1935-2018]), Taniguchi studied shakuhachi with Watazumi Yokoyama, and received a shihan certification from the Tozan-ryū. Embodying Watazumi's disdain for labels

and hierarchy, Taniguchi threw away his shakuhachi certificates, ultimately finding them meaningless.

Like Watazumi, Taniguchi thought that learning shakuhachi should be more than just imitation and mastery of an iemoto lineage but an exercise and journey of self-expression. Like Yokoyama, Taniguchi emphasized the importance of learning different stylistic traditions to make the shakuhachi musician more versatile and believes that some of the essence of understanding the history of shakuhachi lies within the stylistic differences and musical nuances within each school. The International Shakuhachi Society notes the rarity of a shakuhachi musician having several certificates from different schools by stating

A shakuhachi disciple traditionally can study only one sect of shakuhachi, and it is considered remarkable to receive the rank of Master or Grand Master in that sect. Mr. Taniguchi has successfully crossed these barriers, having studied with and received such titles from several master teachers in various sects.⁸⁶

Currently, Taniguchi Sensei is one of the foremost living masters of shakuhachi in Japan. He resides in Mineyama-cho, a small city near the Sea of Japan (East Sea) outside of Kyoto, and manages a hotel. Taniguchi still plays shakuhachi but no longer teaches. Sensei Gould recently gifted me Taniguchi's handwritten notes that extensively detail and outline his interpretation of shakuhachi history. It will take me years to translate those notes. Taniguchi also created his own compositions, which have become part of my applied studies. Shakuhachi compositions by Taniguchi are rare because he did not take on many students. To learn a Taniguchi honkyoku today, you would have to find a shakuhachi musician who studied with Taniguchi. Despite all

⁸⁶ "Taniguchi Yoshinobu," International Shakuhachi Society. Accessed May 1, 2018, <https://www.komuso.com/people/people.pl?person=789&lang=6>.

the certifications he has received, Taniguchi Sensei claims no official affiliation with any major shakuhachi school—what Sensei Gould classifies as a renegade.

5.1.4 Sensei Gould: A Lineage of Renegades

The Way of Watazumi was filtered through Yokoyama and Taniguchi. Each teacher absorbs unique notions of pedagogy and self-expression that layer on top of their shakuhachi experience. Sensei Gould absorbed and synthesized the teachings of Yokoyama and Taniguchi and began transmitting shakuhachi traditions through his professional name, Chikuzen Studios. Like Yokoyama Sensei, Sensei Gould wanted to bring pedagogical structure to shakuhachi students in the United States. Like Taniguchi Sensei, Sensei Gould does not claim any official affiliation with any shakuhachi. What is interesting here is that these shakuhachi grandmasters' renegade status has not diminished their known musical prowess. Additionally, their ability as shakuhachi musicians speaks volumes on an international level. If these virtuoso musicians can be successful renegade musicians without the internet, then my Sensei is in a rather distinctive position in the transmission of the shakuhachi tradition—he is highly sought after because of his ability to teach many different styles, his strong connection to the philosophy of Watazumi Sensei that was transmitted through Yokoyama Sensei, and his overall experience with shakuhachi and the politics of traditional Japanese music respectively.

For the longest time, I did not fully understand what Sensei Gould meant by this renegade sensibility. In a very naïve and simplistic sense, I thought it just meant that we do not follow the standard rules of learning and playing shakuhachi. It wasn't until my fifth year of study that I started to slowly gain some insight into this unique modifier. In 2014, I attended the Shakuhachi Camp of the Rockies located in Boulder, Colorado. I brought my flute with me to the first master class session a little early and began to warm up and review some of my music. A few minutes

after I started playing, two members of the teaching faculty approached me and identified that I was Sensei Gould's student just by the way I sounded. I was perplexed and somewhat impressed by how quickly they determined who I studied with simply through my playing. After that master class, I asked one of the shakuhachi faculty if he could help me with that same piece that I was warming up on. The shakuhachi faculty respectfully said no because he did not know how to play it. This led me further down the rabbit hole of confusion, for I had just watched this shakuhachi musician play quite beautifully the previous evening. In my mind, I thought that this person could play anything. It was not until I spoke about the situation with Sensei Gould that he explained to me that each shakuhachi school has certain musical characteristics in terms of timbre, technique, and notation. My sound was unique because I was the only student who was learning from Sensei Gould, the transmitter of the synthesis of Watazumi, Yokoyama, and Taniguchi. I was the only student at this camp who was studying this tradition. The shakuhachi teacher could not help me because he did not study with my teacher, not my teacher's teacher. This teacher studied Myōan Taizan Ha shakuhachi and truly could not help me with my dyokyoku style honkyoku.

This incident I described above was the catalyst that led to my better understanding of why Sensei Gould considers himself as well as his teachers' renegades. Belonging to a formal institution meant following a set of social and musical expectations. The iemoto dictated the style and rules of the shakuhachi tradition, and students who belonged to the guild strived to embody the philosophy, sound, and technique of the iemoto. For Chikuzen, dyokyoku is an important style to learn to develop one's own sense of expression, and other shakuhachi genres are not only studied for versatility but serve as exercises that help the student find a voice in the instrument. As a student of Sensei Gould, I absorbed the teachings of his teachers and his unique

perspectives. In addition, I have the added luxury of learning other shakuhachi traditions such as Kinko-ryū, Tozan-ryū, and gendai hogaku. The renegade status that comes with studying shakuhachi with Sensei Gould serves as a label to help unpack the stigma that is sometimes associated with non-mainstream shakuhachi schools. Instead of claiming affiliation with an iemoto from the Kinko-ryū or Tozan-ryū, Yokoyama, Taniguchi, and Sensei Gould all started teaching their own way of shakuhachi pedagogy which went against the grain of the current shakuhachi scene. Shakuhachi musicians breaking away from the guild structure were most likely seen as a threat because it threatened the income of the iemotos. Making this assumption purely based on conjecture, I would not be surprised if sectarian shakuhachi musicians went out of their way to discredit "renegade" musicians. From the point of view of my sensei and his teachers, imitation was useful in the sense that it had pedagogical value but also harmful in the sense that it stunted musical growth. For these renegade shakuhachi musicians, including myself, their commitment to self-expression is a personal and spiritual endeavor. For us, the goal of playing shakuhachi was not to merely become like the iemoto but to find your true self with the guidance of your teacher. In this sense, learning shakuhachi is meant to be a lifelong journey.

5.2 THE CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY OF MICHAEL CHIKUZEN GOULD

This section will discuss the process of obtaining certifications/licenses strictly through the study of Chikuzen Studios. What is notable here is that my teacher utilizes hybridized pedagogies borrowed from Western and Japanese teaching techniques. He uses the iemoto guild certification system to not only evaluate a student's progress but also to award that student's achievement. For Chikuzen Studios, each level focuses on fundamental techniques that inevitably build on one another. Therefore, mastery of one level signifies readiness to start learning more advanced material—likewise, the repertoire in each level contains introductions to

fundamental techniques that are critically employed in the following rank. It is important to remember teachers have their own criteria. Different shakuhachi schools have different thoughts and opinions on how playing techniques should be executed. The information in this section is based on my experience as a shakuhachi student and is not representative of all shakuhachi traditions.

You may expect this dissertation to include the technical aspects behind embouchure for creating a fundamental core sound and the techniques behind creating advanced timbres for specialized tones. It would not be fair to my teacher and other teachers of this tradition to describe the mechanics behind successful shakuhachi playing. In addition, different shakuhachi schools have different thoughts and opinions on how playing techniques are executed, which can often lead to contentious debates on the right way to play shakuhachi. If you are interested in studying applied shakuhachi, I recommend getting a shakuhachi teacher who will go over these aspects with you. In many ways, the postmodern shakuhachi schools, such as Sensei Gould's studio, mimic the secrecy of the late Edo period and Early Meiji period iemotos. The similarity is a sense of secrecy, and the difference is that teachers in this age are more willing to share shakuhachi knowledge with those who want to take lessons. Overall, Sensei Gould implements his own curriculum, which involves studying different genres simultaneously as opposed to learning pieces in a set linear fashion. With each rank, Sensei Gould has carefully chosen a series of pieces that a student must master before being awarded a passing certificate. These pieces are typically from a variety of genres and include a combination of honkyoku, sankyoku, *minyo*, and gendai hogaku for almost every rank.

5.2.1 The Ranking System: Beginner's Level *Shoden* (初伝)

In most Japanese traditions that use a ranking system, students begin at the "first teachings" or *shoden* level. All of those who start to learn shakuhachi from an experienced master must go through the process of learning some fundamental concepts that are attached to the instrument and carry through the duration of the learning process. The first of these concepts is the importance of the breath. From the perspective of meditation, by focusing on breathing, one could achieve the state of inward concentration required for enlightenment.

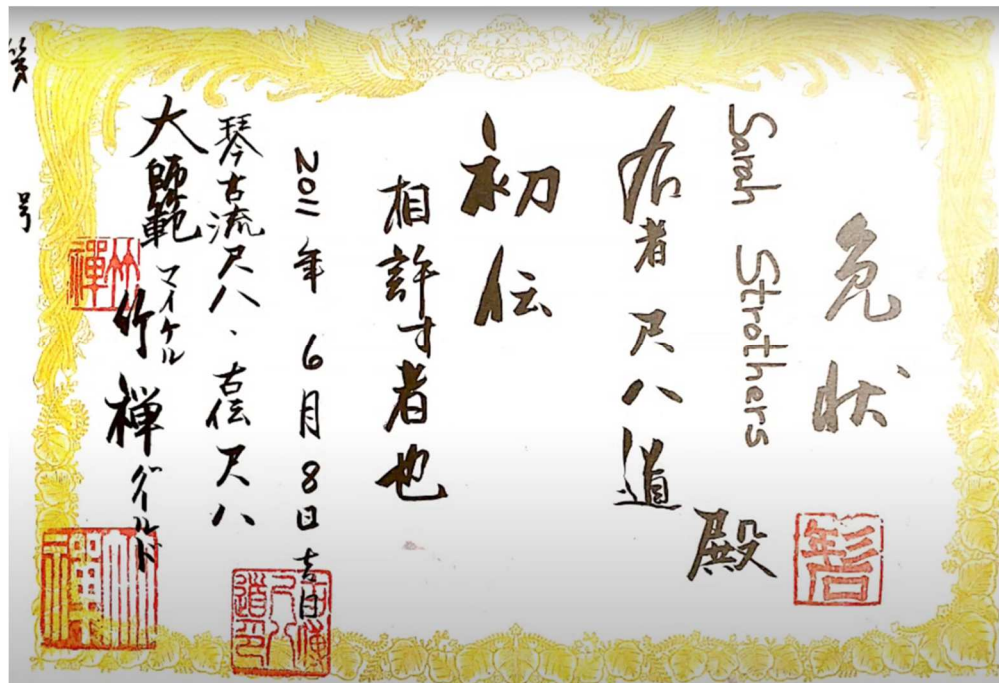


Figure 5.2 Photo of My Shoden License
(Earned after mastering the Shoden rank)

In the Dyokyoku school, the breath is vital to not only successful shakuhachi playing but also key in one's own physical self-development. In lessons with my teacher, the awareness of the breath is crucial to understanding the performance of many different honkyoku. The Dyokyoku-ryū employs different types of breath, which demands that all students spend at least ten minutes practicing long tones with great concentration. The main types of breath that are a

crucial part of the Dyokyoku style are the breath that creates core sound and the breath associated with rough sounds (also known as *muraiki*). The biggest challenge as a beginner is maintaining sound and developing the proper breathing techniques. The biggest challenge as a professional musician is not only developing the awareness of when to use the different breathing styles but also have the ability to switch between the different breaths fluidly. Developing breath awareness stems from the daily practice of long tones that must be completed throughout the duration of one's shakuhachi study.

Ma is a concept rooted in Japanese aesthetics that deals with the conceptualization of time and space. Ma presides over many (if not all) different genres of Japanese art, such as flower arranging, calligraphy, and the tea ceremony. According to Adrian Freedman, a student of Clive Bell and Yokoyama Sensei, ma "can be understood as the space between objects or events that gives them definition."⁸⁷ In paintings, ma represents the white space in the painting. In music, ma represents the silence in between notes. An important aspect of ma is that there must be an important balance between the white space in the painting's illustration as well as the silence that is composed in the music. Expanding on this, Freedman states, "But ma is not merely a pause or a rest; it is silence with an equivalent value to sound. The Japanese tradition values silence just as much, if not more than sound, and Japanese music is composed of an intense balance between the two"⁸⁸ Applying the concept specifically to shakuhachi, students are expected to develop ma through the practice of honkyoku. In honkyoku, a "shakuhachi player places notes and phrases in the void of silence" while concentrating on breath awareness. In this

⁸⁷ Adrian Freedman, "Composing for Japanese Instruments," updated 1/16/2018. Accessed 2/19/2019, <https://adrianfreedman.com/articles/composing-japanese-instruments/>.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

sense, *ma* and the breath are interconnected, where the development of *ma* is reliant on the player's ability to be aware of the breath (Skipworth 2010, 23). The feeling of negative space, the importance of balancing the negative space. Within the shakuhachi repertoire, *ma* is most notable in honkyoku.

Another part of the process of learning shakuhachi is learning how to read music. Typically, shakuhachi music is written using the katakana syllabary, one of the three alphabet systems in the Japanese language. The katakana symbols that represent the five fundamental notes for shakuhachi are written in tablature format and are read from left to right: 口 ("ro,") ツ ("tsu,") レ ("re,") チ ("chi,") and リ ("ri,"). A shakuhachi comes in various sizes (keys), and the symbols 口, ツ, レ, チ, and リ are used to represent the fundamental pitches despite the size of the instrument. On a standard 1.8cm shakuhachi, the pitches 口, ツ, レ, チ, and リ are in concert D, F, G, A, and C. The five fundamental pitches formulate a pentatonic scale and require the player to cover the holes with the tops of the fingers. To create other scales and tonalities, the player will manipulate the five core notes through a variation of half-holing and head movement. For example, Concert B on a 1.8 shakuhachi requires the player to lower the chin and half-hole to create the correct pitch. This fundamental technique is called *meri* (メ リ) and intentionally produces a sound that has less volume and is considered to have a darker character. According to David Sawyer, a student of Kurahashi Yodo II, the "technique of *meri* involves changing the angle of the airstream of the flute, thus closing off more of the flute to effect a lowering of the pitch."⁸⁹ A seasoned shakuhachi player can execute this technique with ease without

⁸⁹ David Sawyer, "The Shakuhachi Path: Meri and Kari," Japan Shakuhachi, Accessed February 19, 201 <http://www.japanshakuhachi.com/meri-and-kari.html>.

compromising tone quality and pitch. Beginning students spend much of their time isolating this technique.

A major challenge for them is executing meri notes without the loss of sound production. Shakuhachi players, like the instrument itself, come in all shapes and sizes. No two players have the same shaped lips; similarly, no two of the same sized shakuhachi will feel or play the same. When it comes to the meri technique, the hardest part to master is to know how far the chin needs to be lowered to not only accomplish the correct pitch but also execute the maneuver without the loss of the airstream. Expanding on the difficulty of meri notes, Cornelius *Shinzen* Boots, a shihan student of Sensei Gould, states that "yin playing is a challenge that improves as the player matures and has a stronger connection to the flute repertoire" (Boots n.d., 8).

Another head position that is an important fundamental technique in shakuhachi playing is called *kari* (カリ) and requires the player to raise the chin to make the pitch sharper and brighter. Kari notes are a bit easier to execute but still carry the difficulty of maintaining the proper airstream. In relation to Japanese music aesthetics, the meri and kari techniques in shakuhachi directly correlate with the Chinese principles of yin and yang, which have been historically used in the music of gagaku. In the book *Nothing but Noise: Timbre and Musical Meaning at the Edge* (2022), musicologist Zachary Wallmark Shakuachi states that "the meri/kari system is the timbral analog to the yin/yang binarism of Buddhism; meri is associated with darkness, femininity, and quietude, and kari is linked to brightness, masculinity, and energy" (Wallmark 2022, 125). The theory of yin and yang states that all things in life come from the balance between "the dark, non-active, female principal yin; and the bright, active male

principle, yang."⁹⁰ In the Dyokyoku school, meri notes are sometimes conceptualized as minus, weak, or dark tones, while the core tones (D, F, G, A, C) and kari notes are referred to as plus, strong, or bright.

In addition to understanding Japanese music aesthetics, concepts of breath, and learning how to read katakana, students will also have to learn how to keep rhythm for pieces in the repertoire that do not belong to the genre of honkyoku. Rhythm notation in shakuhachi music uses a system of lines and dots that subdivide strong and weak beats (yang and yin). The dots on the right are referred to as *omote* or the front beat (strong), while the dots on the left are referred to as *ura* or the backbeat (weak). The figure is a very simple rhythm that would be optimal for beginners, while it shows how complicated the system of lines and dots can get when working with more advanced music. Students are expected to tap their right foot with the strong beats and their left foot with the weak beats, which helps them to master the rhythm. Teachers often have students use their hands as a pedagogical aid, tapping out strong and weak beats while the student chants the notation.

Shoden students in the Dyokyoku school are introduced to all three genres of shakuhachi repertoire simultaneously. In Sensei Gould's curriculum, he has carefully chosen pieces within each genre that are appropriate for each skill level. Although the general pedagogical consensus is to introduce honkyoku after some years of training, beginners learn honkyoku in this school rather early to help embody the concept of *ma* from the very beginning of their study. This not only reinforces the importance of practicing long tones but emphasizes the crucial nature of the role the breath plays. Beginner students often suffer dizzy spells, random loss of sound, and,

⁹⁰ "A Distinctive Music Cosmology" Japan Music Theory, Accessed 1/10/2021
<https://www2.ntj.jac.go.jp/dglib/contents/learn/edc22/en/category/kangen/on4.html>

occasionally, the inability to produce sound at all after just playing. During this stage of learning, creating the muscle memory for the correct embouchure and producing a consistent airflow is essential and must be mastered before progressing to the next level. Beginners are expected to spend much of their time practicing *ro-buki*, which are long tones on the lowest core note, to prepare for the demands of honkyoku. While practicing ro-buki, beginners are expected to concentrate on maintaining a core breath and strengthening the length of the outbreath. Practicing ro-buki at least ten minutes a day is key to the development of a more mature awareness of breath.

In the Chikuzen branch of the Dyokyoku school, chanting is an important part of the pedagogical process and is crucial to the success of a less seasoned shakuhachi player. With each piece of music, the student and teacher will vocalize the katakana symbols to help the student embody rhythm, style, pitch, and *ma*. In the philosophy of Chikuzen studios, the shakuhachi is an extension of the voice, and much of honkyoku music was meant to imitate sutra chanting, not necessarily replace sutra chanting. I have studied shakuhachi since 2008, mainly with Sensei Gould as my primary teacher. In my travels and studies of the diaspora of traditional Japanese music, I have had opportunities to have lessons with Ronnie Seldin, David Kansuke Wheeler, Riley Lee, Omori Sokun, and Kurahashi Yodo II. None of these teachers used chanting (or singing) as a pedagogical approach to learning and embodying shakuhachi music. Even as a jun-shihan student, with every new piece that I receive, I always chant the music as a part of the pedagogical process.

Representative pieces from the shoden repertoire include the honkyoku *Honshirabe*, the gaikyoku *Hinomaru*, and the sankyoku *Kurokami*, which reinforces the diligent practice of basic techniques. In the liner notes of Taniguchi Sensei's LP/CD *Aijikan* (2001), *Honshirabe* means

"basic melody" and contains "the basic building blocks of shakuhachi honkyoku."⁹¹ These fundamental techniques include long tones (ro-buki), execution of meri notes, and the opportunity to develop ma. The origins of *Honshirabe* are inconclusive. In my research, I came across dozens of recordings of this piece—many with simple one-sentence explanations of the meaning of the piece. However, in Watazumi's album *Hotchiku* (2000), the liner notes state that the honkyoku was from the Kinki region (also known as the Kansai region) "and is often considered a warmup piece for Koku-ji."⁹² In addition, Watazumi emphasizes the importance of not concentrating on the idea of playing well or sounding good. Instead, Watazumi Sensei emphasizes the importance of developing the breath. From Watazumi's perspective, while a student is practicing *Honshirabe*, they are expected to abandon "conceptions of playing the tuning of the piece or performing it well and instead single-mindedly driving each breath into the bamboo and cultivating self-control in each breath into the bamboo and cultivating self-control in each breath."⁹³

Hinomaru (also known as *Hinomaru no hata*, 1911) is a folk song that was written for Japan's compulsory education system. In the Dyokyoku school, the song's melody is transcribed specifically as a pedagogical tool to aid the student in learning the shakuhachi's core notes and practicing basic rhythm. *Kurokami* was originally a jiuta piece played on shamisen or koto with vocal accompaniment. Sometime in the eighteenth century, the shakuhachi part was added much later, and *Kurokami* became a sankyoku piece that was a standard in the Kinko-ryū repertoire.

⁹¹ "Ajikan," Taniguchi Yoshinobu, International Shakuhachi Society, Accessed 1/4/2020, <https://www.komuso.com/albums/albums.pl?album=1090&lang=6>.

⁹² "Hotchiku," Watazumi Doso Roshi, International Shakuhachi Society, Accessed 1/4/2020, www.komuso.com/albums/albums.pl?album=477&lang=6.

⁹³ "Hotchiku," Watazumi Doso Roshi, International Shakuhachi Society, Accessed 1/4/2020, www.komuso.com/albums/albums.pl?album=477&lang=6.

Although the Dyokyoku school is not affiliated with the Kinko-ryū, pieces from that school (as well as other schools) continue to be transmitted because of Watazumi's, Yokoyama's, and Taniguchi's experience with learning Kinko-style pieces. More largely, all three teachers felt that it was important to learn and experience different styles of playing—not only to help keep aspects of the shakuhachi tradition continually practiced but also to help the student become a well-rounded player. Even though it is classified as a shodden-level piece, *Kurokami* is quite difficult for a beginner to learn. Rhythm keeping for the shakuhachi part is much more complicated than the transcription of *Hinomaru*. Students spend much time with teachers chanting this piece before applying the shakuhachi. The additional challenge is that to really learn and master *Kurokami*, and the student needs to practice the piece with a shamisen or koto player that includes the vocal parts.

When I started to play shakuhachi in 2008, my lessons were in person. I traveled for two and half hours approximately every two weeks to have a lesson before I had to switch to virtual lessons in 2010. I learned *Kurokami* via lessons with my teacher through chanting the shakuhachi part. To help get a feel of how the part would sound with a full ensemble, I tried playing along with a professional recording of the piece. However, this turned out to be problematic since there are many different branches of the Kinko-ryū tradition. This means that depending on the branch, *Kurokami* can be played in multiple ways. After expressing my frustration to Sensei Gould about this issue, he was able to provide me with a recording of Taniguchi Sensei playing the piece so that I could practice with an ensemble that had the same transmission style. This was when I realized how much of a role transmission plays in shakuhachi study. My experience learning shakuhachi pieces will not be the same as those who study with different teachers.

Sankyoku and min'yo are not the only gaikyoku pieces that are included in the Dyokyoku curriculum. For example, Sensei Gould includes a variety of modern pieces (shinkyoku) for each rank. At the shoden level, beginners are introduced to Fukuda Rando, teacher to Yokoyama Sensei and founder of the Azuma-ryū. For the shoden rank, students will learn *Tsubaki Saku Mura* (*Camilia in the Village*) and *Yugure Genso Kyoko* (*Sunset Fantasy*). Both pieces have piano or koto accompaniment but can also be played as a solo.

Overall, to help prepare a student for the next level, the shoden curriculum contains fifteen to twenty transcribed folk songs, five to six honkyoku, and one to three sankyoku pieces. Students are expected to play all of the pieces in the curriculum with proficiency at the discretion of the teacher to receive a certificate at this level (see figure 5.2.2).

5.2.2 Chūden: Intermediate Shakuhachi Study

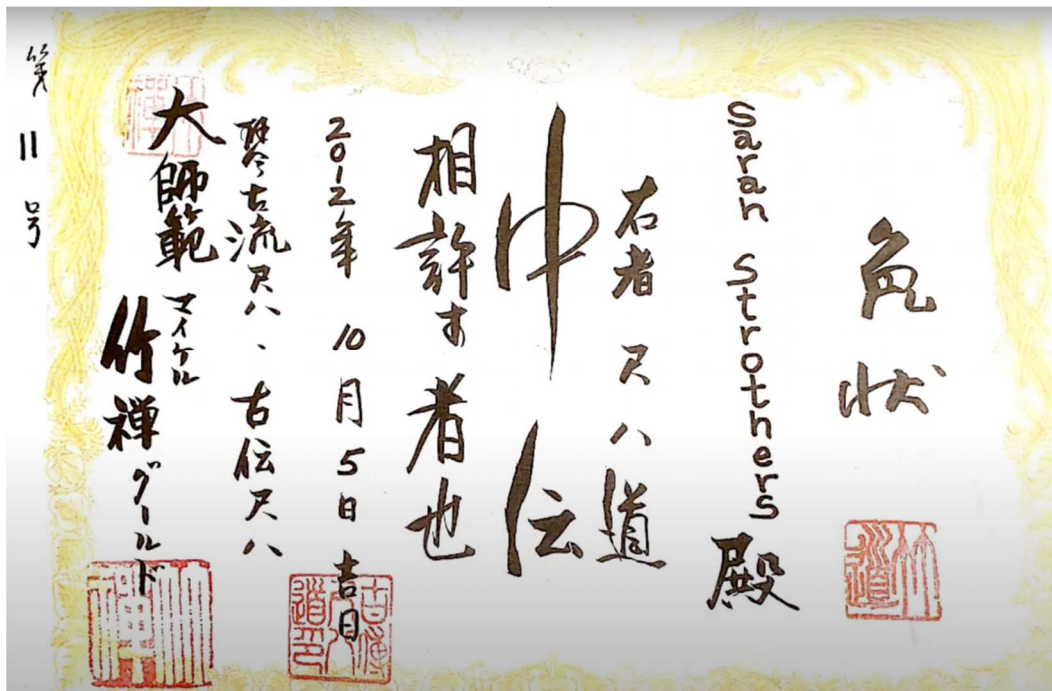


Figure 5.3 Photo of my Chūden License
(Earned after completing Chūden Rank)

My experience studying shakuhachi at the chūden level was that there was a strong emphasis on practicing and refining the meri technique. Most meri notes have equivalent pitches that can be matched with the western tonal system (equal temperament). It is recommended at this level that students start practicing with a tuner to ensure the accuracy of most meri and core pitches. There are some pitches that fall in between notes on the western scale. For example, the note *tsu-meri* is pitched between Eb and D and requires the player to lower the chin and shade the bottom hole on the flute. At this level, pitch accuracy with meri notes becomes a high priority. By the time the student is ready for okuden, they should have developed the aural experience and kinesthetic memory of all meri notes.

Students at this level are also introduced to *chū-meri* (middle meri), and *dai-meri* (great or large meri) notes. The five core pitches on the shakuhachi all have corresponding meri, chū-meri, and dai-meri pitches. Chū-meri notes, like meri notes, require the player to lower the head and shade holes to obtain the correct pitch. While most meri pitches require the player to half-hole, chū-meri notes require the player to use part of the finger to redirect the airstream to obtain the correct middle pitch. Dai-meri notes require that the player half-hole with accuracy and "demands that the player crank his or her neck down even farther than in the stander maneuver" (Wallmark 2022, 127). A common struggle when trying to properly play dai-meri notes is the airstream cutting out and not being able to produce sound and/or achieve the correct pitch. Expanding on this, Wallmark states,

It takes significant practice to learn reliably execute this technique because it requires that the player master a delicate balance between extreme meri, the resulting blockage of airflow (due to constricted trachea), and the material limits of the instrument, which the technique always threatens to breach. (Wallmark 2022, 127)

Since meri and dai-meri notes require the chin to maneuver in a way that redirects the airstream, meri, chu-meri, and dai-meri notes have a specific dynamic and timbral quality that

are sonically different from core notes. At this level, students are expected to develop and improve their ears (knowing how meri versus kari notes should sound) as well as their technique for dropping the jaw and lowering the head.

In the Dyokyoku school, chūden level students are also introduced to extended techniques that create dissonance, microtones, and, in some cases, multiphonics. One of these techniques is called *muraiki* (explosive or thrashing breath) and is a routine technique among advanced shakuhachi musicians, especially those who study within the lineage of Yokoyama and Watazumi Sensei. In the previous chapter, we learned that Watazumi used four different types of breath in shakuhachi playing (rough, strong, soft, and weak). Out of the four techniques, the rough breathing technique became extremely popular and eventually a quintessential characteristic of the Dyokyoku repertoire.

Muraiki is often characterized as the wind blowing into the bamboo grove and is a very expressive sound, capable of a wide dynamic range. It is important to note that not all shakuhachi schools use techniques that alter the airflow to purposely change the timbre of a certain note. Kinko-ryū style pieces that were composed in the eighteenth century do not utilize "augmented airflow techniques" because they were an invention by Watazumi and a product of the music culture habitus of shakuhachi during the twenty-first century (Wallmark 2022, 127). In this context, muraiki is a technique that draws on and mimics energies within nature, such as the wind or waterfalls. There are many other nature-energy techniques used in the Dyokyoku school; muraiki is just one example.

Out of respect for my teacher's wishes, I will not describe the process of obtaining an "inner" embouchure that is required for the successful execution of the muraiki technique. In a sense, Sensei Gould's pedagogical approach to teaching muraiki and other natural energies is a

secret: to obtain the knowledge, you must be willing to take lessons. Under Sensei Gould's tutelage, there are various degrees of mutability. Advanced musicians can control how breathy a note can get and have the flexibility to easily switch from core to hoarse timbres. In addition, some muraiki require a specific balance between breath and core sound, creating a multiphonic effect. Overall, at the chūden level, students are focusing on the creation and maintenance of simpler muraiki sounds through the practice of honkyoku and long tones.

5.2.3 Okuden (Advanced Level)

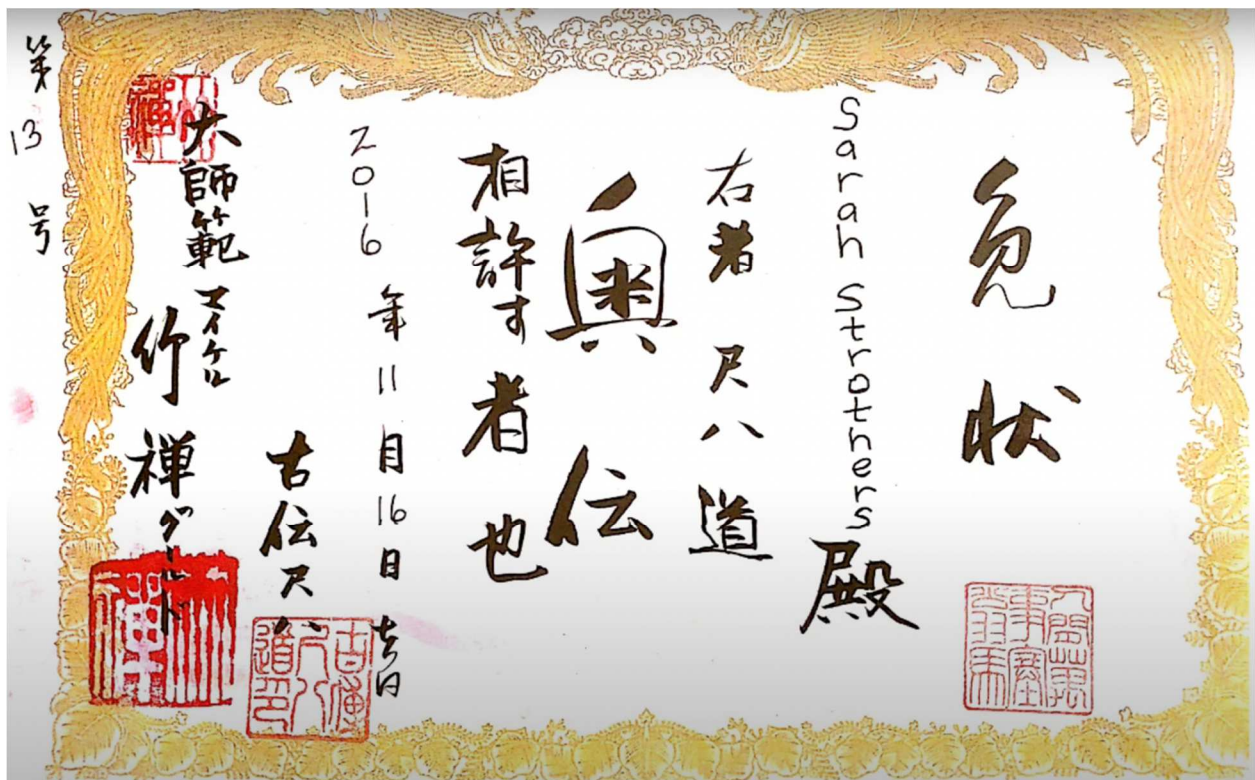


Figure 5.4 Photo of my Okuden License
(Earned after completing Okuden rank)

To pass to the next level, students must learn sixteen popular/folk songs, three modern pieces by Fukuda Rando, three sankyoku pieces, and six honkyoku. The repertoire was hand-picked to specifically work on note shaping, phrasing, and exposing common honkyoku technique motifs. For an example of these chūden level pieces should sound, listen to *Natsu no*

omoide (transcribed popular song), *Soo mukaiji* (honkyoku), and *Otome gokoro* (Fukuda Rando composition) included in the companion recital.

The repertoire for okuden-level students includes six new folk tunes, six ensemble pieces, eight honkyoku, four Fukuda Rando compositions, and three modern pieces. Although there is less new material, students continue to study honkyoku at the hodden and chūden levels. The purpose of reviewing honkyoku from previous ranks is to study the material more in-depth. It is at this point in the student's study that the concept of "*shin, gyō, so*" is introduced and implemented in the curriculum. *Shin, gyō, so* (trans., formal, semi-formal, informal) is an expression of Japanese aesthetics found in calligraphy, architecture, garden design, tea ceremony, flower arranging, and noh drama. The expression describes elements of personalization, formality, and spatial design. In the chapter "Creativity of Formulaic Learning: Pedagogy of Imitation and Repetition" (2011), Koji Mastunobu describes how *shin, gyō, so* is applied to calligraphy (specifically Chinese character writing): "Rigid drawing in calligraphy is *shin*, whereas more natural flowing brush strokes represent *gyō* and *so* qualities" (Matsunobu 2011, 49). Furthermore, Mastunobu explains how *shin, gyō, so* developed into a theory for learning in the performing arts. For example, in noh drama,

Shin is the stage in which the student learns the basic repertoire (two songs) and the basic form (three set roles). Having mastered the basics, the student in the *gyō* stage is ready to study advanced styles of acting. By the time the student has reached the stage of *so*, he is able to perform the roles without thinking. (ibid)

In shakuhachi pedagogy, *shin* refers to the fundamental concepts of each piece. Sometimes this is referred to as the "skeletal outline," where the student is only focusing on concepts of maintaining the airstream and appropriate sound production (be it core sound and *muraiki*). Like noh drama performance theory, *gyō* in shakuhachi pedagogy refers to advanced extramusical aspects and techniques that are to be applied to honkyoku. This can range from

extending the length of long tones and phrasing to learning additional extending techniques such as *koro-koro* and *komi-buki*.⁹⁴ Unlike noh drama performance theory, shakuhachi study emphasizes that the student goes beyond mere imitation of the teacher. They should develop a sense where they are aware of not only what types of sound production styles can be applied to certain honkyoku but also use those styles to find their own voice. The essence of honkyoku is quasi-improvisational, and in the Dyokyoku school, it is extremely important for advanced students to be able to balance appropriate stylistic elements of improvisation with their own creative style. The different classifications and styles of honkyoku of the Dyokyoku-ryū will be discussed later in this chapter and plays a large role in how a student should improvise certain elements in honkyoku. In Taniguchi Sensei's teachings, he emphasizes the phrase "*honin no kyoku*," which means one's own song."⁹⁵ When approaching honkyoku at this level, students must "take an active mental approach" to develop their own voice—an enormous amount of time is spent on perfecting *gyō* qualities and developing aspects of *so*.⁹⁶ Representative pieces from this level include the honkyoku *Tamuke*, the modern honkyoku *Henro*, and Fukuda Rando's compositions *Seki no Akikaze* and *Kikkyo genso kyoku*.

5.2.4 Jun-shihan

After passing the okuden rank, the student has officially entered a phase of shakuhachi study at an extremely high level, also known as jun-shihan. At this level, students are expected to

⁹⁴ Korokoro is a onomatopoeia in the Japanese language and is meant to explain and encapsulate a variety of nature sounds such as rocks and pebbles falling down a hillside or mountain, ruffling bird wings, and waterfalls. Komibuki is a pulsating breathing technique that is used specifically in Dyokyoku style honkyoku.

⁹⁵ "Ajikan," Taniguchi Yoshinobu, International Shakuhachi Society, Accessed 1/4/2020, <https://www.komuso.com/albums/albums.pl?album=1090&lang=6>.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

take responsibility for each note and phrase. Knowledge of all pitches and their western equivalents is demanded. Pedagogically, this rank focuses much less on imitation and more on the development of one's voice (so). To complete the jun-shihan rank, students must master seven honkyoku, four Fukuda Rando compositions, three sankyoku pieces, four modern compositions with koto accompaniment, and four duets. Representative pieces of this rank that are included in the companion recital are *San'ya* (honkyoku), *Miyama Higurashi* (F. Rando), *Tone no Funa Uta* (F. Rando), the first movement of *Ichikotsu* (modern ensemble), and *Kaze no touri michi* (modern duet).

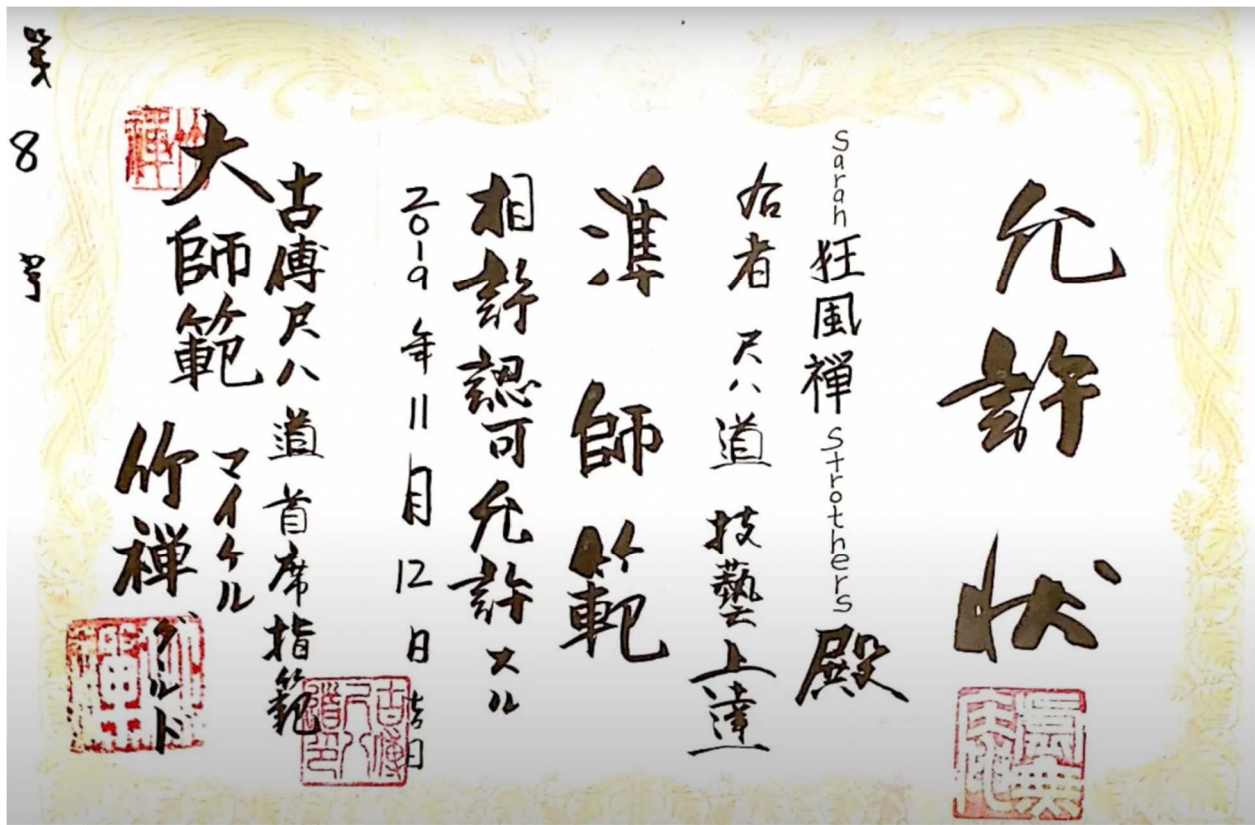


Figure 5.5 Photo of My Jun-shihan License
(Earned after mastering the Jun-shihan rank)

Once a student passes the jun-shihan level, they enter a liminal space of being a master-level performer as well as a student who is not only still learning to refine their playing ability

but also develop their teaching ability. The translation of jun-shihan helps explain the in-betweenness of this rank— "new master" and "teaching preparatory level." In other words, jun-shihan students spend time not only learning new material and refining their skills but also learning how to teach shakuhachi.

When a student achieves the rank of jun-shihan, they are issued a certificate of completion that includes a *chikumei* (trans., bamboo name), a professional/stage name. The tradition of *chikumei* is rooted in the iemoto guild system of the Edo period and symbolizes the musical kinship between master and student. In other words, earning a *chikumei* signifies successful transmission from master to student, transforming the student into a professional artist and connecting the professional artist to a lineage of shakuhachi masters.

Bamboo names are typically hand-picked by the teacher awarding the jun-shihan certificate and traditionally use at least one syllable from the teacher's name. For example, my sensei's *chikumei* is *Chikuzen* ("bamboo zen"). Likewise, when I achieved the rank of jun-shihan, I was awarded the name *Kyofuzen* (狂風禅). The "Zen" portion of the name is there to illustrate that a successful line of transmission from teacher to student occurred. In the Dyokyoku school, choosing a *chikumei* involves both the teacher and the student working together to pick a name that embodies that student's personality but also playing ability. The stage name also resembles the ultimate goal the shakuhachi musicians are constantly working towards. From the perspective of Sensei Gould, a *chikumei* should reflect not only playing characteristics that the student wants to aspire to, but also characteristics of their personality and a goal of personal growth.

It took me a few weeks to figure out how I wanted to represent myself to the professional world of shakuhachi teaching and performance and what direction of self-development I wanted to focus on in my continued training as a shakuhachi musician. Ultimately, what helped me find

my professional name was my research interests in figureheads in shakuhachi history, with special attention to Ikkyū Sojun. When I first started playing shakuhachi and learning its history, I became enamored with not only the origin story that was told in the *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* but also the role Ikkyū played as a religious figure who had a great interest in the hitoyogiri shakuhachi and emphasized the importance of the arts as a form of religious practice.

To review what was stated in chapter one, Ikkyū was a well-known eccentric who became disenchanted with formalized religion. Like Fuke, Ikkyū enjoyed challenging the status quo and forcing others to confront daily contradictions, especially within the religious establishment. Although Ikkyū was his dharma name given to him by his teacher, Ikkyū also named himself *Kyo-un* (狂雲, *crazy cloud*). With that self-given name, Ikkyū wrote a series of poems that were viewed as unconventional and borderline crazy. Known as the *Kyoun-shu* (ca. 1467-1468), the poems in this text cover a variety of taboo topics, including self-hatred, violating Buddhist precepts, and sex. Ikkyū enjoyed playing the hitoyogiri shakuhachi and references the instrument in his poetry and other writings.

The book *Wild Ways: Zen Poems of Ikkyū* (features translations of some of Ikkyū's poetry and includes one of my favorite texts by Ikkyū. This text is a driving factor in how my chikumei was chosen:

One short pause between
the leaky-road here and
the never-leaking way there:
if it rains, let it rain!
if it storms, let it storm!

My real dwelling
has no pillars
and no roof either
so rain cannot soak it
and wind cannot blow it down. (Stevens ed. 2007, 48)

For me, this poem signifies the mental fortitude needed to become not only a successful shakuhachi musician but also a mantra to help deal with adverse situations that happen in life. My interest in and admiration of Ikkyū are what led me to my professional name *Kyoufuzen* (狂風禪). The first character of my name is shared with Ikkyū (狂 *kyō*) and carries the following meanings: insanity, lunatic, crazy, and confused. The second character of my name is the kanji for the word wind (風, 'kaze' or 'fu'). The last character, Zen (禪), is the shared syllable with my teacher's chikumei. The combination of the characters for Kyoufuzen can be translated in the following ways: "Crazy Wind Zen," "Fierce Wind Zen," "Enthusiastic Wind Zen," "Mental-illness Zen," "Confused Wind Zen," and "Lunatic Wind Zen." What I like about my name is that it reflects and embraces my own yin and yang. Through my name, I recognize and embrace my faults and acknowledge my strengths. I understand that I am a continuous work in progress. I aspire to be fierce in my playing ability, and in doing so, I am creating my own way of shakuhachi performance.

It is important to note that students within the Dyokyoku-ryū must get permission to perform in front of an audience from their teacher if they are not the rank of jun-shihan. As a student of Sensei Gould, how I play during a performance is ultimately a reflection of his ability to teach. There have been occasions when my teacher hand-picked pieces for me to perform because he knew with absolute confidence that I would perform those pieces correctly. Likewise, I have been told on several occasions that I was not ready to perform certain pieces. At the jun-shihan rank, the professional name allows students to perform for audiences without their teacher's permission if they perform pieces that are jun-shihan level and below.

5.2.5 Shihan

Performance etiquette in the ranking system includes rules about teaching. Higher-ranking students can mentor lower-ranking students, but students are not allowed to teach for monetary gain until they achieve the rank of shihan (master/teacher/sensei). Presently, I am working on shihan-level material. To successfully pass this rank, I must learn ten honkyoku, two modern solos, two ensemble pieces, three duets, and two compositions by Fukuda Rando. The honkyoku at this level must be played with precise nuances—nuances that could only be passed through oral transmission between teacher and student. Most importantly, the student at this level is also working on how to properly improvise a honkyoku (further development of the *so*). Analyzing honkyoku styles is a concept that is unique and very specific to the Dyokyoku school. At the jun-shihan and shihan levels, students spend time learning that honkyoku from the Dyokyoku-ryū can be classified in terms of the following categories: inner-temple and outer-temple. Inner-temple honkyoku are pieces that have been strongly influenced by chant music (*shōmyō*) and contain chant-based/chant-like melodies and motives within the framework of the music. *Tamuke* is an example of an inner-temple honkyoku and is included in the companion recital. The direct translation of the title symbolizes hands folded together in prayer. Because of this, this honkyoku is also referred to as a spiritual offering to those who recently departed. In lessons with Sensei Gould, he emphasized that *Tamuke* was more so about mourning and acknowledging absence. This absence could be the longing for a deceased loved one or recognizing the absence of a daily routine—of how things used to be before and reflecting how things are now.

Outer-temple shakuhachi pieces are honkyoku that have been incorporated and are influenced by nature energies. Nature energies refer to sounds, melodies, and extended

techniques that imitate or incorporate water (rain), wind, animals, and landscapes. *Tsuru no sugamori* is an example of an outer-temple honkyoku. The translation of the title means "Nesting of the Cranes," and throughout the honkyoku, specialized techniques are used to imitate the characteristics and movement of birds. For example, one of the most well-known and difficult techniques that are used in this piece is called *tamane*, which is the western equivalent to flutter tonguing or growling. In *Tsuru no sugamori*, the *tamane* sound represents the crane's call—students are expected to be able to execute and move fluidly between *tamane* and core sound.

The system of honkyoku categorization is not meant to be perfect but is supposed to help inform the student on how to properly improvise and develop their own voice. If a honkyoku is based on chant melodies, incorporating improvisational elements that draw upon nature energies would not fit the style of the honkyoku. In addition, there are instances when a honkyoku draws on nature's energies and chanting. The honkyoku *Daha* is an example and is included in the companion recital. The translation of *Daha* has two ways of interpretation. The title symbolizes the sound of striking waves against the shore. *Komi-buki* (separated breaths) is a specialized technique used in this honkyoku to represent the crashing waves. In addition, there are sections of this honkyoku that contain chant-influenced melodies.

Breaking through the normal mode of consciousness is the other interpretation of *Daha*. The *komi-buki* technique, as used in this piece, is a tool to help sonically represent moments of clarity. In addition, sections of *Daha* are devoted to chanted-based melodies. Since *Daha* draws upon both nature energies and chanting, it belongs to both inner-temple and outer-temple honkyoku styles. In this case, the student must pay attention to the different sections (also called chapters) in *Daha* to know how to appropriately execute the proper improvisational style.

5.2.6 Dai-shihan

Awarding ranks/licenses/certifications based on a student's level of playing is not unique to shakuhachi. This same practice can be found in martial arts and other cultural traditions. The rank of dai-shihan is an honorific title that can only be given to students/shakuhachi musicians by a teacher who has a dai-shihan license. Explaining further, Sensei Gould states that the dai-shihan rank is "given to someone who has worked for the shakuhachi community for a number of years through teaching, performing, lecturing, and publishing" (Personal communication, 2014). Since dai-shihan certificates are honorific, the teacher is the person who ultimately decides if a student is ready to earn that rank. While hoddenn, chūden, okuden, jun-shihan, and shihan all have set repertoire, the dai-shihan rank focuses more so on the maturity, character, and continued development of the shakuhachi musician.

5.3 CONCLUSION

After deciding to further my graduate studies in 2010, I switched to virtual lessons with Sensei Gould via Skype. I will admit that learning shakuhachi on Skype was extremely frustrating as an amateur and as a kinesthetic learner. The benefit of learning in person was the ability to see up close how the instrument is played. In addition, in-person lessons offer the opportunity to not only model very closely what the teacher is doing but also have chances to make music with the teacher. Taking lessons on Skype changed the dynamics of my learning process completely. While my travel time to lessons became more convenient, I had other factors to consider in making the online learning process successful. These include maintaining high-speed internet and having a high-quality video camera. When Sensei Gould started teaching virtual lessons, he knew to invest in superior products to help the success of his lessons. Likewise, for online shakuhachi lessons to be successful, students must be willing to invest in

similar first-rate products. My first camera did not produce clear images, and at times, it was hard for Sensei Gould to criticize my technique because he could not properly see my fingers, posture, or embouchure. Having lessons in person brings a certain type of accuracy that cannot be reproduced through Skype. In addition, Skype as a web application was not perfect. Call quality depends on the user's internet speed as well as the operating performance of the program. Another issue that could not be resolved so easily was microphone quality. When I first started to study shakuhachi, built-in computer mics had compressors that could disguise the student's true volume and make it hard to discern a student's progress over time. To help overcome the setbacks of learning shakuhachi online, Sensei Gould made sure he had the ability to zoom in on his embouchure and fingers, provided students with recordings of most pieces, and created a virtual space (the Chikuzen studios web forum) for his students to collaborate and supplement their online lessons.

Shakuhachi lessons online with Sensei Gould, in many ways, are a mimesis of the Edo period guild system. Lessons are structured around a ranking system, there are rules and etiquette behind teaching and performing, and Sensei Gould is the iemoto of Chikuzen Studios—his virtual dojo. The ranks that he has earned through Yokoyama and Taniguchi Sensei give him the authority to issue teaching licenses specifically from the Dyokyoku school. Although most, if not all, of Sensei Gould's students are studying online, the learning process emphasizes the same hierarchical stratification that symbolizes a bloodline kinship (lineage) between master (teacher) and student. Therefore, when the student becomes the teacher, the process of transmission can be traced back to several lineages of teachers. In this sense, Sensei Gould's virtual dojo is a post-modern Iemoto operating in a hyper-mediated global cultural supermarket.

CHAPTER 6

6.0 CONCLUSION: A CRISIS OF REPRESENTATION?

The crisis of representation is an anthropological concept that describes the inherent ambiguity within cultural studies to sufficiently analyze and describe a cohort's general attitude, belief, and/or opinions. This concept can be found in two seminal texts in anthropological literature: *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Clifford and Marcus, eds., [1986] 2010) and *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (Marcus and Fischer 1986). In the preface to *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Clifford and Marcus describe how the essays in the text argue

. . . that ethnography is in the midst of a political and epistemological crisis: western writers no longer portray non-western peoples with unchallenged authority: the process of cultural representation is now inescapably contingent, historical, and contestable . . . The essays . . . challenge all writers in the humanities and social sciences to rethink the poetics of cultural invention. (Clifford and Marcus, eds., [1986] 2010, ii)

The variety of essays in the text characterizes the crisis of representation as the uneasiness, discomfort, and awkwardness ethnographers experience when studying a culture that is not their own. In the chapter "Representations Are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology" ([1986] 2010, 234-261), Paul Rabinow describes how the crisis of representation is reflected in ethnography and ethnographic research and writing. He states,

The metareflections on the crisis of representation in ethnographic writing indicate a shift away from concentrating on relations with other cultures to a (nonthematized) concern with traditions of representations, and metatraditions of metarepresentations, in our culture. (Rabinow [1986] 2010, 251)

In *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (1986), Marcus and Fischer define the crisis of representation as "The uncertainty within the human sciences about the adequate means of describing social reality" (Marcus and Fischer 1986, 8). Ethnographies such as this project can only capture an interpretation of the culture in question.

As much time as I put into this work, I could not interview enough shakuhachi players, study all the different shakuhachi schools, or spend adequate time studying the instrument in Japan. Additionally, no interpretation is without some percentage of bias. In this sense, this dissertation is a representation of my version of the social reality of studying shakuhachi primarily online with a specific shakuhachi school.

For this project, I have created a more literal/concrete definition of a crisis of representation that specifically targets the issue of transmission. As a non-native culture bearer of the Dyokyoku style, my face, my body, and how I present myself to become the representation not only of shakuhachi but also (at times) of traditional Japanese music. Although I have the certifications that prove that I went through a legitimate formalized learning process, my presence as a transmitter of a tradition that is not my own is viewed as intrinsically problematic—no matter how humble I try to present myself when I am hired to perform.

An example of how problematic the presentation of non-native culture bearers can be is seen in one of the performances of Sensei Gould's shihan student, Cornelius *Shinzen* Boots. Sensei Boots is an internationally acclaimed composer and performer of both western music and the Dyokyoku shakuhachi tradition. After he earned his shihan, Sensei Boots started his own shakuhachi style that emphasizes "shakuhachi as a living art form evolving from the depths of contemplative Zen Taoist practice, specializing in jinashi and large bore shakuhachi."⁹⁷ In June of 2018, Sensei Boots was hired to play shakuhachi at the Sony Electronic Entertainment Expo (E3). His shakuhachi playing is featured in the video game *The Ghost of Tsushima*, and Sony

⁹⁷Ryan General, "'Flute Guy' Who Drew Backlash at E3 for Wearing Japanese Clothes Has a Surprising Back Story," Next Shark: Asian-America Daily—in Under 5 Minutes, Accessed 9/2018 <https://nextshark.com/flute-guy-drew-backlash-e3-wearing-japanese-clothes-surprising-backstory/>.

hired him to perform shakuhachi live for the gaming convention. For the performance, Sensei Boots dressed in period clothing and performed one of the pieces used in the video game *Bamboo Bridge*. You can watch his performance on YouTube using the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SSW76F0IoM>.

Although Sensei Boots received a receptive and enthusiastic round of applause at the convention, his performance received immediate backlash on the internet. On Twitter, a user tweeted (see figure 6):

Can someone @sony please explain why you chose NOT to hire a Japanese performer to wear traditional Japanese wardrobe, for a Japanese game? This is extremely offensive to your Asian-American consumers and blatant cultural appropriation. Please explain.



Figure 6.0 Screenshot of Twitter Post; Cornelius Shinzen Boots Performance at E3
(Accessed July 2018)

Another Twitter user stated, "PlayStation's presentation could've done without the cultural appropriation, like there wasn't an Asian classical musician available who could play a bamboo flute? This was right after the dead airtime..."



Figure 6.1 Screenshot of Twitter Post about Cornelius Shinzen Boots's performance at E3, accessed July 2018.

During and after the completion of Sensei Boot's performance, Twitter was full of critical comments towards the "white guy" performing "ancient flute," some harsher and more profane than others. For example, one user stated: "why the actual HELL did sony make a WHITE GUY play some bamboo flute in yellowface to kick off their e3 for ghost of tsushima??????? y'all couldn't find an east asian person to pay the flue for you'll???"



Figure 6.2 Screenshot of Twitter Post about Cornelius Shinzen Boots Performance at E3, accessed July 2018

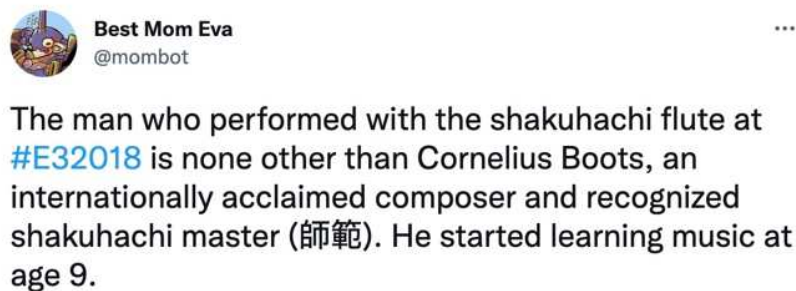
Likewise, on Reddit, Sensei Boots became an instant meme that went viral. The meme stated, "Anyone feel like Sony was just like, 'Wait, before you call that Japanese flute master, I could of sworn that Kenneth in Accounting mentioned he plays the ancient Japanese flute...".



Figure 6.3 Screenshot of Reddit Thread/Meme Photo of Cornelius Shinzen Boots performing at E3, accessed July 2018)

Sensei Gould's performance was also made fun of by users on YouTube, compounding these endless tweets and memes. His flute playing was dubbed over by a childish recorder-type flute playing a poor rendition of *Africa* by Toto. The parody can be viewed at the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DmtYQ7rYv0k>.

Despite the criticism Sensei Boots received, some members of the public came to the shakuhachi musician's defense. One Twitter user stated, "The man who performed with the shakuhachi flute at #E32018 is none other than Cornelius Boots, an internationally acclaimed composer and recognized shakuhachi master. He started learning music at age 9."



That's him with Atsuda Okuda—the greatest shakuhachi player alive.



8:47 AM · Jun 12, 2018 · Twitter Web Client

Figure 6.4 Screenshot of Twitter Post, Photo of Cornelius Shinzen Boots with Astuda Okuda
(Accessed July 2018)

The backfire Sensei Boots received for his performance made me think even more critically about the fine line between cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation. In this current era, the cost of mobile telephony has become more affordable, allowing more people to have access to information in a matter of seconds. A question that I struggle to answer is, "Do we have a choice in how we participate when it comes to learning and transmission if we are forced to do it in a virtual setting?"

With the pandemic, people were forced to move much of their routine online, which was a huge disruption to everyone's daily routine. An exception to this would be those who study shakuhachi online. During COVID-19, my lessons were not disrupted. In the article "Virtual Shakuhachi with Dai-shihan Michael Chikuzen Gould: Shakuhachi Learning Before and During the Pandemic" (2010), I describe how COVID-19 has increased interest in learning shakuhachi and musical instruments in general. While the pandemic put a halt to live performances and in-person lessons, shakuhachi players continued to have virtual lessons that went uninterrupted, and, in some cases, lessons with Sensei Gould increased due to the extra time some students had due to the pandemic. Using data to support the increase of music lessons during the pandemic, I state,

Researchers Alberto Cadebo-Mas, Cristina Arriaga-Sanz, and Lidon Moliner-Miravet issued a survey to 1,868 individuals where they were asked to answer a variety of questions regarding their music listening and music-making habits. When asked about either playing or learning an instrument, more than 30 per cent of the participants reported an increase in those activities. In an era where COVID-19 continues to be a rapidly evolving global situation, it seems that the pandemic has presented many individuals with opportunities to engage in extracurricular activities that they otherwise could not participate in. For the students of shakuhachi and particularly those who study with Sensei Gould, the pandemic has forced them to participate in more online events. (Strothers 2021, 85)

Although the virus is still a global pandemic, there are many areas in our life that have adjusted to a new normal. For example, in some workplaces, the new normal has been working

from home. Likewise, before the pandemic, those who wanted to learn shakuhachi had to take time to search the internet for a teacher. Currently, interested students can simply google the phrase "shakuhachi lessons," and a series of prepackaged online courses can be found within the top ten search results.

The literal sense of the crisis of representation can also be felt by musicians of Japanese descent, such as Hanzaburō Kodō Araki Campbell, six-generation shakuhachi *sōke* (head of house) of the Kinko-ryū. His father was Tatsuya Kodō (also known as Araki Kodō V), iemoto of the Kodo-kai Kinko-ryū. The Kodō lineage is incredibly important to the success of the shakuhachi internationally. Chapter 3 explained how Araki Kodō II was instrumental in avoiding the extinction of the instrument by convincing the government not to ban the instrument and its music in its entirety. In the article "A Living Tradition: Erasure and Appropriation of a Model Minority" (2021), Hanzaburō Kodō Araki Campbell describes his experience of being overlooked and asked not to present at an event because an academic researcher was already covering the topic of shakuhachi. The name of the academic's presentation was "Warrior Monks and the Shakuhachi Flute" and was accompanied by a description that read, "a brief history of the shakuhachi flute who were the komusō and what's up with the hats and shakuhachi beating sticks?"⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Hanzaburō Kodō Araki Campbell, "A Living Tradition: Erasure and Appropriation of a 'Model Minority,'" Medium Digital Publishing, Accessed 3/2021 <https://medium.com/@hanzarakicampbell/a-living-tradition-d086709feb90>.



Figure 6.5 Photo of Hanzaburō Kodō Araki Campbell
(Google Images, 2022)

As a practicing shakuhachi musician, Hanzaburō's experience did not involve komusō monks or shakuhachi beating sticks. He tried to explain to the event coordinator that the academic's presentation only furthered stereotypical mythologist misinformation and was offensive and orientalist. The study of shakuhachi was part of Hanzaburō's ancestry and living culture—to see it being reduced to a watered-down interpretation of history was extremely insulting. Expressing his frustration with the presentation, Hanzaburō writes, "in the wake of this event, I have vacillated between anger and despair. It's difficult not to feel that all the talent, knowledge, labor, and experience of six generations of Japanese iemoto will never be equal to a white person with a college degree."⁹⁹

To be honest, it is situations like the one Hanzaburō experienced that make me fear the completion of my degree in ethnomusicology. Once I graduate, I will somehow become an expert or an authority on Japanese music. This is something that I deeply dread. Even though I had completed eleven years of applied study, I still feel very lost regarding the world of Japanese music at large—the image as well as the idea of the basket hat monk, the wanderer with the flute attached to his hip, which uses sonic meditation and isolation continues to capture the imagination of an international audience. The komusō monks and their peculiar activities have been and continue to be romanticized in stories, scholarship, and movies, have made brief cameos in anime, and are used in a variety of soundtracks for anime, movies, and even commercials. Explaining further, Hanzaburō writes,

⁹⁹ Hanzaburō Kodō Araki Campbell, "A Living Tradition: Erasure and Appropriation of a 'Model Minority,'" Medium Digital Publishing, Accessed 3/2021 <https://medium.com/@hanzarakicampbell/a-living-tradition-d086709feb90>.

Very simply, these mythologies arise because most American knowledge of Japanese history is shaped and informed by samurai films, saturated with images of the kamikaze pilots in the second world war, garnished with yakuza films of the 1970s, and served with a side of anime. This version of Japan is a world where everyone carries a sword and knows karate, and where if you saw a ninja, you were already dead." ¹⁰⁰

It is important to remember that shakuhachi's connection with Zen Buddhism crystallized after the Edo period, and its popular association and Zen Buddhist application happened during the twentieth century with Watazumi Do. Although the notion of ancient Zen and shakuhachi is an invented tradition, there are various people who find the practice of Zen shakuhachi to be a very serious religious practice. The combination of my intense study of the historiography of the instrument coupled with my years of applied practice is an effort to make sure that I do not Orientalize or inappropriately mischaracterize the shakuhachi tradition as I learned it.

¹⁰⁰ Hanzaburō Kodō Araki Campbell, "A Living Tradition: Erasure and Appropriation of a 'Model Minority,'" Medium Digital Publishing, Accessed 3/2021 <https://medium.com/@hanzarakicampbell/a-living-tradition-d086709feb90>.

APPENDIX A INFORMED CONSENT WAIVER

The Florida State University
Office of the Vice President For Research
Human Subjects Committee
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2742
(850) 644-8673 · FAX (850) 644-4392

APPROVAL MEMORANDUM

Date: 6/18/2014

To: Sarah Strothers

Dept.: MUSIC SCHOOL

From: Thomas L. Jacobson, Chair

Re: Use of Human Subjects in Research
Localizing the Global: The Shakuhachi's Place in "American" Culture

The application that you submitted to this office in regard to the use of human subjects in the proposal referenced above have been reviewed by the Secretary, the Chair, and one member of the Human Subjects Committee. Your project is determined to be Expedited per 45 CFR § 46.110(7) and has been approved by an expedited review process.

The Human Subjects Committee has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the aspects of the proposal related to potential risk and benefit. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals, which may be required.

If you submitted a proposed consent form with your application, the approved stamped consent form is attached to this approval notice. Only the stamped version of the consent form may be used in recruiting research subjects.

If the project has not been completed by 6/17/2015 you must request a renewal of approval for the continuation of the project. As a courtesy, a renewal notice will be sent to you prior to your expiration date; however, it is your responsibility as the Principal Investigator to timely request renewal of your approval from the Committee.

You are advised that any change in protocol for this project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee prior to implementation of the proposed change in the protocol. A protocol

change/amendment form is required to be submitted for approval by the Committee. In addition, federal regulations require that the Principal Investigator promptly report, in writing, any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to research subjects or others.

By copying this memorandum, the Chair of your department and/or your major professor is reminded that he/she is responsible for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in the department and should review protocols as often as needed to ensure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

This institution has an Assurance on file with the Office for Human Research Protection. The Assurance Number is FWA00000168/IRB number IRB00000446.

Cc: Frank Gunderson, Advisor
HSC No. 2014.12691

PI Name: Sarah Renata Strothers

Project Title: Localizing the Global: The Shakuhachi's Place in "American" Culture

HSC Number: 2015.15849(Original Application HSC#: 2014.12691)

APPENDIX B PROGRAM NOTES

Link to Recital: <https://youtu.be/VNKtzMPqkME>

This recital includes a variety of repertoire that represents the continued transmission of my teacher's dojo Chikuzen Studios. My performance is here to balance the academic side of shakuhachi study with the practice of living culture. Throughout this recital, I will not be wearing any formal Japanese attire. The recital reflects parts of my world in which I learned the instrument. I spent only ten days studying the instrument in Japan and I feel that the best way to honor the tradition that I learned would be to perform it in the context I learned it in.

Track 1

Title: Daha

Composer: Unknown

Ranking: Jun-shihan

Genre: Honkyoku, Nature base/ Buddhist Themed, Dokyoku School

Program Notes: From the aspect of nature, this piece is meant to invoke the sound of waves crashing onto the shore. From a Buddhist aspect, I was taught that this piece implores the student to break through the normal mode of consciousness. This piece employs a specialized technique called *komi buki* or separated breaths which resemble the waves as well as the concentration required to break through the standard mode of thought.

Track 2

Title: Henro

Composer: Kineya Seiho

Genre: Modern shakuhachi duet

Ranking: Okuden

Program Notes: Also referred to as the "Pilgrimage Song," this piece invokes the imagery, feelings, and thoughts evocative of a Buddhist pilgrimage to a sacred site. This recording was completed in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic using the app *Acapella*. The pandemic led me to discovering *Acapella* because I was searching for different ways to supplement my shakuhachi education with the shutdown of shakuhachi camps and events. I used the app *Acapella* so that I can play all the parts to a variety of shakuhachi pieces that were duets, trios, and contained accompaniment. At the time, the app worked well with a microphone that can directly plug into a mobile device. Since then, I have acquired upgraded technology that only uses Bluetooth connection microphones. I have discovered that making recordings with Bluetooth microphones delays the sound dramatically and makes it nearly impossible to coordinate and record different parts. This year I had to abandon using *Acapella*. My new technology is not compatible with making my own recordings of my own parts.

Track 3

Title: Kaze no touri michi

Composer: Arranger unknown

Genre: Modern shakuhachi trio

Ranking: Jun-shihan

Program Notes: The title of this piece translates to “The Path of the Wind” and is featured in the anime motion picture *My Neighbor Totoro*. Originally composed by Joe Hisaishi, this piece requires three shakuhachi for harmonization and texture. I use the app *Acapella* to play all three parts myself. This recording was completed in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Track 4

Title: Ichikotsu

Composer: Yamamoto Hozan

Genre: Modern Ensemble, shakuhachi and koto

Ranking: Jun-shihan

Program Notes: This piece is written in three movements and features shakuhachi and koto. For this recital, I perform the first movement only.

Track 5

Title: Miyama Higurashi

Composer: Fukuda Rando

Genre: Modern shakuhachi honkyoku, Azuma School

Ranking: Okuden

Program Notes: The title of this piece translated to “Cicadas Deep in the Mountain.” The western influenced melodies in this piece coupled with specialized techniques of tamane (flutter tonguing) invoke images of Cicadas in the springtime.

Track 6

Title: Murasaki Reiho

Composer: Unknown

Genre: Honkyoku

Ranking: Chuden

Program Notes: This piece is often attributed to the monk Ikkyū Sojun. The title of the piece translates to “Purple Bell,” and the sound of the piece suggests that the nature of people should be more in line with the nature of clouds. The alternating movement and stillness reflect how humans should take time to contemplate before moving to the next task.

Track 7

Title: Natsu no omoide

Composer: Arranger unknown

Genre: Modern shakuhachi duet

Ranking: Chuden

Program Notes: The title of this piece translates to “The Memory of Summer” and is an arrangement of a Japanese song that was popular in the 1950s. The original score and lyrics are by Shoko Ema and Yoshinao Nakata. This recording was made in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Track 8

Title: Otome Gokoro

Composer: Fukuda Rando

Genre: Modern shakuhachi ensemble/solo

Ranking: Chuden

Program Notes: The title of this piece translates to “The Feelings of a Young Girl” and is meant to portray the different types of social angst that a young teenage girl experiences during adolescence. This piece is meant to be played with piano accompaniment, but for this recital, I chose to play it as a solo.

Track 9

Title: Sanya

Composer: Unknown

Genre: Honkyoku, Nature based, Dokyoku School

Ranking: Okuden

Program Notes: Known as “Three Valleys,” I was taught that this piece invokes the imagery of what it is like to travel through the mountains. Specialized techniques such as muraiki portray the rough winds and mystical long tones make it appear that the traveler is looking at the horizon, contemplating on the scenery before him or her.

Track 10

Title: Seki no Akikaze

Composer: Fukuda Rando

Genre: Modern Shakuhachi Trio

Ranking: Okuden

Program Notes: “The Autumn Wind in Seki” is a piece composed for three shakuhachi that is meant to portray images and sounds of the fall season. I use the app *Acapella* to play all three parts for this recital. This recording was made in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Track 11

Title: Soo Mukaiji

Composer: Unknown

Genre: Honkyoku, Dokyoku School

Ranking: Jun-shihan

Program Notes: The title of this piece translates to “Fog Sea Flute” and is a major part of shakuhachi folklore within the *Kyotaku denko kokuji-kai*. In the text, Soo Mukaiji came to Kichiku in a dream. Upon awakening, Kichiku performed the piece for his teacher Kakushin which signified the beginning of the first transmission. In the context of the Dokyoku school, Soo Mukaiji is a piece used to introduce students to the “so” concept of shin, gyo, so. Students learn this piece to help develop and refine their own shakuhachi voice.

Track 12

Title: Tamuke

Composer: Unknown

Genre: Honkyoku, Dokyoku Transmission

Ranking: Okuden

Program Notes: The title of this piece translates to “Hands Folded Together in Prayer” and is typically performed as a eulogy because of how it emphasizes notions of absence and loss. A variety of specialized techniques are used in this piece to portray angst, longing, and loss.

Track 13

Title: Tone no Funa Uta

Composer: Fukuda Rando

Genre: Modern shakuhachi duet

Ranking: Jun-shihan

Program Notes: Known as “The Boating Song of Tone,” The first eight beats of this melody invoke the image of the oars being pulled in and out of the water. This recording was made during the COVID-19 pandemic

Track 14

Title: Suzuru (also known as Godan Tsugomori)

Composer: unknown

Genre: Honkyoku, Dokyoku Transmission

Ranking: Shihan

Program Notes: In the repertoire of shakuhachi music, this piece is known as “Nesting of the Cranes.” There are several versions of this honkyoku that come from various schools and transmissions. In this piece, the life cycle of a family of cranes is depicted using extended techniques to imitate the bird’s idiosyncrasies. Many shakuhachi practitioners consider this honkyoku to be the oldest piece in the Yokoyama lineage of transmission.

REFERENCES

Chapter One

- Addiss, Stephen, Gerald Groemer, and Thomas Rimer, eds. 2006. *Traditional Japanese Art and Culture*. Honolulu: University
- Alexander, James. 2016. "A Systematic Theory of Tradition." *The Journal of the Philosophy of History*, 10: 1-28.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 2001. *Globalization*. United Kingdom: Duke University Press.
- Arendt, Hannah. [1958] 1998. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentina, ed. 2014. *Ch@nge: 19 Key Essays on How the Internet is Changing Our Lives*. Argentina: Turner.
- Befu, Harumi. 1980. "A Critique of the Group Model of Japanese Society." *Social Analysis*, 5/6:29-43.
- Befu, Harumi, and Sylvie Guichard-Anguis. 2001. *Globalizing Japan: Ethnography of the Japanese Presence in Asia, Europe, and America*. New York: Routledge.
- Beiner, Guy. 2001. "The Invention of Tradition?" *The History Review*. XII: 1-10.
- Bellah, Robert.[1957] 1985. *Tokugawa Religion. The Cultural Roots of Modern Japan*. New York: The Free Press
- Benet-Martínez, Verónica, Janxin Leu, Fiona Lee, and Michael W. Morris. 2002. "Negotiating Biculturalism: Cultural Frame Switching in Biculturals with Oppositional versus Compatible Cultural Identities." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 33: 492-516.
- Benkler, Yochai. 2006. *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Benedict, Ruth. 1946. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Berger, Donal Paul. 1969. "The Shakuhachi and the Kinko Ryu Notation." *Asian Music* 1: 32-72.
- Bernard, H. Russel. 2006. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Oxford: Altamira Press.

- Bigenho, Michelle. 2008. "Why I'm not an Ethnomusicologist: A View from Anthropology." In *The New (Ethno)Musicologies*, edited by Henry Stobart, 28-38. Maryland: Scarecrow Press.
- Blasdel, Christopher Yohmei. 2005. *The Single Tone: A Personal Journey into Shakuhachi Music*. Tokyo: Printed Matter Press.
- Blasdel, Christopher Yohmei, and Kamisango Yuko. [1988] 2008. *The Shakuhachi: A Manual for Learning*. Tokyo: Ongaku no Toma Sha Corporation.
- Boas, Franz. [1929] 1987. *Anthropology and Modern Life*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Borneman, John, and Abdellah Hammoudi. 2009. *Being There: The Fieldwork Encounter and the Making of Truth*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Borup, Jørn. 2015. "Easternization of the East? Zen and Spirituality as Distinct Cultural Narratives in Japan." *Journal of Global Buddhism*, 16: 70-93.
- Brooks, Ray. 2000. *Blowing Zen: Finding an Authentic Life*. California: HJ Kramer.
- Burnim, Mellonee. 1985. "Culture Bearer and Tradition Bearer: An Ethnomusicologist's Research on Gospel Music." *Ethnomusicology* 29: 432-447.
- Casano, Steven. 2005. "From Fuke-shū to Uduboo: The Transnational Flow of the Shakuhachi in the West." *The World of Music*, 47: 17-53.
- Castells, Manuel. 2009. *Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Chakravarti, Uma. 2006. *The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Coleman, James William. 2001. *The New Buddhism: The Western Transformation of an Ancient Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Comaroff, John L., and Jean Comaroff. 2009. *Ethnicity, Inc.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Conze, Edward. [1959] 2003. *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Curra, John. 2007. "Sociocultural Relativism." In *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, edited by George Ritter, 4593-4598. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.
- Dale, Peter N. 1986. *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness*. London: Croom Helm.

- Day, Kiku. 2013. "The Effect of Meiji Government Policy on Traditional Japanese Music During the Nineteenth Century: The Case of the Shakuhachi." *Nineteenth Century Music Review*, 10: 265-292.
- Deeg, Max. 2007. "Komusō and "Shakuhachi Zen:" From Historical Legitimation to the Spiritualisation of a Buddhist Denomination in the Edo Period." *Japanese Religions*, 32: 7-38.
- De Ferranti, Hugh. 2000. *Japanese Musical Instruments*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- DiMaggio, Paul. 2013. "The Internet's Influence on the Production and Consumption of Culture: Creative Destruction and New Opportunities." In *Ch@nge: 19 Key Essays on How the Internet is Changing Our Lives*, edited by Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentina, 359-396. Argentina: Turner Press.
- Durkheim, E. 1933. *The Division of Labor in Society*. Translated by G. Simpson. New York: Free Press.
- Eppstein, Ury. 1994. *The Beginnings of Western Music in Meiji Era Japan*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Everett, Yayoi Uno. 2004. "Intercultural Synthesis in Postwar Western Art Music: Historical Contexts, Perspectives, and Taxonomy." In *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, edited by Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Eyal Ben-Ari, Brian Mocran, and James Valentine, eds. 1990. *Unwrapping Japan: Society and Culture in Anthropological Perspective*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Feld, Stephen. 1994. "From Schizophonia to Schismogenesis: On the Discourse and Commodification Practices of 'World Music' and 'World Beat.'" In *Music Grooves*, by Charles Keil and Stephen Feld, 257-289. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Firth, Simon. 2007. *Taking Popular Music Seriously: Selected Essays*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Foucault, Michel. 1971. "Orders of Discourse." *Social Science Information*, 10: 7-30.
- Fujita, Takamori. 2002. "Continuity and Authenticity in Traditional Japanese Music." In *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Volume 7*, edited by Tokumaru Yoshiku and J. Lawrence Witzleben Robert C. Provine. New York: Routledge.
- Galliano, Luciana. 2002. *Yōgaku: Japanese Music in the 20th Century*. London: The Scarecrow Press.

- Garfias, Richard. 1975. *Music of a Thousand Autumns: The Tōgaku Style of Japanese Court Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gethin, Rupert. 1998. *The Foundations of Buddhism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1991. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Oxford, England: Polity Press.
- González, Francisco. 2013. "Knowing Banking for a Hyperconnected Society." In *Ch@nge: 19 Key Essays on How the Internet is Changing Our Lives*, edited by Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentina, 11-35. Argentina: Turner Press.
- Gutzwiller, Andreas B. 1974. *Shakuhachi: Aspects of History, Practices, and Teaching*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Ann Arbor: University Dissertation Service.
- Hamers, J., and M. Blanc. 2000. *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Handler, Richard. 2004. "Afterword: Mysteries in Culture." *American Anthropologist* 106: 488-494.
- Hannerz, Ulf. 1992. *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Harich-Schneider, Eta. 1973. *The History of Japanese Music*. London: Oxford University.
- Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Harvey, Peter. 2013. *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History, and Practices*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Heidegger, Martin. 1977. *The Question Concerning Technology*. Michigan: Harper Torch Books.
- Hendrey, Joy. 1993. *Wrapping Culture: Politeness, Presentation, and Power in Japan and Other Societies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Hershock, Peter. 2005. *Chan Buddhism*. United States: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Herd, Judith Ann. 2008. "Western-Influenced 'Classical' Music in Japan." In *The Ashgate Companion to Japanese Music*, edited by Alison McQueen Tokita and David W. Hughes. Aldershot: Ashgate.

- Hirano, Kenji, and Fukushima Kazuo. 1978. *Sources of Early Japanese Music. Specimens of Early Notation in Facsimile*. Tokyo: Bensei-sha.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1983. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1-14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hood, Mantle. 1960. "The Challenge of "Bi-musicality." *Ethnomusicology*, 4: 55-59.
- Hughes, David W. 1988. "Music Archaeology of Japan: Data and Interpretation." In *The Archaeology of Early Music Cultures*, edited by David W. Hughes and Ellen Hickman. Bonn: Verlag für Systematische Musikwissenschaft.
- . 2008b. *Traditional Folksong in Modern Japan: Sources, Sentiment, and Society*. Folkestone: Global Oriental.
- Hughes, David W., and Alison McQueen Tokita. 2008. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Hsu, Francis L. K. 1975. *Iemoto: The Heart of Japan*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Inda, Jonathan Xavier, and Renato Rosaldo. 2002. *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Ishii, Maki. 1983. "Japan's Music of Encounter: Historical Background and Present Role ." *The World of Music*, 34:80-88.
- Izumi Takeo. 2016. *Paintings of Bamboo Flutes: A History and Genealogy of Shakuhachi Performance*. Translated by Philip Flavin. Tōhoku University Press.
- Jenkins, Henry. 2006. *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. London and New York: New York University Press.
- Johnson, Henry. 2011a. "A Modernist Traditionalist: Miyagi Michio, Transculturalism, and the Making of a Music Tradition." In *Rethinking Japanese Modernism*, edited by Roy Starrs. Leiden: Global Oriental.
- . 2014. *The Shakuhachi: Roots and Routes*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kamisangō Yūkō (上参 祐康). (1974) 2008. "Shakuhachi-gaku ryakushi: suizen no tame ni" (尺八楽略史-吹禅のために, "A Short History of Shakuhachi Music: For the Benefit of Blowing Zen"). Translated in *The Shakuhachi: A Manual for Learning* by Christopher Bladel, (1995) 2008, pp. 67-119. Tokyo: Printed Matter Press.
- Katsumura, Jinko. 1986. "Some Innovations in Musical Instruments of Japan During the 1970s." *Yearbook of Traditional Music*. 18:157-172.

- Keister, Jay. 2008. "Okeikoba: Lesson Places as Sites of Negotiating Tradition in Japanese Music." *Ethnomusicology*, 52: 239-269.
- . 2005. "Seeking Authentic Experience: Spirituality in the Western Appropriation of Asian Music." *The World of Music*, 47: 35-53.
- . 2004. "The Shakuhachi as a Spiritual Tool: A Japanese Buddhist Instrument in the West." *Asian Music*, 35: 99-131.
- Kishibe, Shigeo. [1981] 1984. *The Traditional Music of Japan*. Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomo-sha.
- Kitamora, Shinsuke. 2009. *Shakuhachi Culture Taking Root in the U.S.A.: The Construction of 'Japanese' Authenticity and the Lifeblood of American Players*. MA diss., Doshisha University.
- Koizumi, Fumio. 1977. "Musical Scales in Japanese Music Asian Musics in an Asian Perspective: Report of Asian Traditional Performing Arts." In *Asian Musics in an Asian Perspective: Report of Asian Traditional Performing Arts*, edited by Fumio Koizumi, Tokumaru Yoshihiko, and Yamaguchi Osamu. Tokyo: Heiden-sha.
- Kotz, David. 2002. "Globalization and Neoliberalism." *Rethinking Marxism* 14: 64-79
DOI: [10.1080/089356902101242189](https://doi.org/10.1080/089356902101242189).
- Kurihara Kōta. 1918. *Shakuhachi shikō 尺八史考 (A Historical Study of Shakuhachi)*. Tokyo: Chikuyū-sha.
- LaFleur, William R. 1986. *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Lande, Liv. 2007. *Innovating Musical Traditions in Japan: Negotiating Transmission, Identity, and Creativity in the Sawai Koto School*. PhD diss., Los Angeles: University of California.
- Lee, Riley. 1992. *Yearning for the Bell: A Study of Transmission in the Shakuhachi Honkyoku Tradition*. PhD Dissertation, University of Sydney.
- Lieberman, Frederic. 1971. "Music in The Tale of Genji." *Asian Music* 2: 39-42.
- Linder, Gunnar Jinmei. 2012. *Deconstructing Japanese Music: A Study of Shakuhachi Historical Authenticity and Transmission of Tradition*. Stockholm: Universitetsservice.
- Lynch, William. "Between Kin Selection and Cultural Relativism." *Perspectives on Science* 27: 278-315.

- Lysloff, René T.A., and Leslie C. Gay, Jr. 2003. *Music and Technoculture*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Malm, William P. [1959] 2000. *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments*. Tokyo: Kodansha International.
- .1986. *Six Hidden Views of Japanese Music*. Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Mathews, Gordon. 2006. *Global Culture/Individual Identity: Searching for Home in the Global Cultural Supermarket*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Matsunobu, Koji. 2011. "Spirituality as a Universal Experience in Music. A Case Study of North Americans' Approaches to Japanese Music." *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 59: 1-17.
- McCollum, Jonathan. 2018. "Embodying History and Pedagogy: A Personal Journey Into the Dyokyoku Style of Japanese Shakuhachi." In *International Perspectives of Translation, Education, and Innovation in Japanese and Korean Societies*, edited by David G. Hebert, 255-78. Switzerland: Springer.
- McLuhan, Marshall. 1994. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Merriam, Alan P. 1964. *The Anthropology of Music*. Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Mitchell, Donald William. 2001. *The Way of Buddhism: Introducing the Buddhist Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Morihide, Yamamoto. 1981. *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai (虚鐸伝記国字解) (The History of the Kyotaku, Annotated in Japanese)*. Tokyo: Nihon Ongaku-sha.
- Mayers, Dan E., ed. 1985. *The Annals of the International Shakuhachi Society*. n.p.: The International Shakuhachi Society.
- Mayers, Dan E., ed. 1985. *The Annals of the International Shakuhachi Society. Volume 1*. Wadhurst: The International Shakuhachi Society.
- Nakane, Chie. [1970] 1984. *Japanese Society*. London: Charles E. Tuttle.
- Nakatsuka Chikuzen. 1979. *Kinko-ryū shakuhachi shikan 琴古流尺八史観 (A Historical View of Kinko-ryū Shakuhachi)*. Published as a series of articles in *Sankyoku*. 1936-1939. Tokyo: Nihon Ongakusha.
- Nenzi, Laura. 2008. *Excursions on Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender, and Status in Edo Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

- Nettl, Bruno. 2010. *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Nishiyama, Matsunosuke. 1959. *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversion in Urban Japan, 1600-1868*. Edited by and translated by Gerald Groemer. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Olsen, Dale. 2004. *The Chrysanthemum and the Song: Music, Memory, and Identity in the South American Japanese Diaspora*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- . 1986. "A Japanese Master Musician in a Brazilian Context." *Hogaku*, 2: 19-33.
- . 1982. "Japanese Music in Brazil." *Asian Music*, 2: 111-131.
- . 1980. "Japanese Music in Peru." *Asian Music*, 11: 41-52.
- Papinot, E. [1910] 1973. *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan*. Tokyo: Tuttle.
- Piggot, Francis. [1893] 1909. *The Music and Musical Instruments of Japan. With notes by T. L. Southgate, 2nd ed.* London: B.T. Batsford/Da Capo Press.
- Pope, Edgar W. 2000. "The Shakuhachi, the Fuke-shū, and the Scholars: A Historical Controversy." *Hokusei Gakuen Kiyo*, 36: 31-44.
- Raz, Jacob. 1985. "Popular Entertainment and Politics: The Great Dengaku of 1096." *Monumenta Nipponica*. 40: 283-298.
- Richards, Michael E., and Tanosaki Kazuko. 2008. *Music of Japan Today*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Ross, Andrew. 1991. *Strange Weather: Culture, Science, and Technology in the Age of Limits*. New York: Verso.
- Sanford, James H. 1977. "Shakuhachi Zen: The Fuke-shū and Komusō." *Monumenta Nipponica*, 32: 411-440.
- Scherman, Rhoda. 2010. "A Theoretical Look at Biculturalism in Intercounty Adoption." *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 19: 127-142.
- Scheunemann, Jessica. 2011. "Development of Bicultural Competence: Factors Facilitating Bicultural Identity Amongst Internationally Adopted Youth (by American Parents) to Develop into Competence." *Counseling Across the Lifespan*. Marquette University, 1-14.
- Shils, Edward. 1981. *Tradition*. London and Boston: Faber and Faber.

- .1982. "Knowledge and the Sociology of Knowledge." *Knowledge*, 4:7-32.
- Soares, Joseph A. 1997. "A Reformulation of the Concept of Tradition." *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 17: 6-21.
- Sōsan, Nakamura. 1664. *Shichiku shoshin-shū* 糸竹初心集 (*Collection for Beginners of Pieces for Strings and Bamboo*). Shin-Gunshoruijū 6: Kakyoku 新群書類従第六歌曲, 1664.
- Stanfield, Norman Allen. 1977. "The 'San Kōten Honkyoku' of the Kinko-ryū: A Study of Traditional Solo Music for the Japanese Vertical End-Blown Flute—The Shakuhachi." Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia.
- Strauss, Claudia. 2018. "The Complexity of Culture in Persons." In *Advances in Culture Theory from Psychological Anthropology. Culture, Mind, and Society*, edited by Quinn, N., 109-138. Cham.: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-93674-1>.
- Strong, John S. 2002. *The Experience of Buddhism: Sources and Interpretations*. California: Thomson Higher Education.
- Stross, Brian. 1999. "The Hybrid Metaphor: From Biology to Culture." *The Journal of American Folklore*, 112: 254-267.
- Strothers, Sarah Renata. 2010. "Shakuhachi in the United States: Transcending Boundaries and Dichotomies Electronic Thesis or Dissertation. Bowling Green State University, 2010. <https://etd.ohiolink.edu/>." Electronic Thesis, Bowling Green State University.
- Sumiaki, Toyohara. 1512. *Taigen-shō* 体源抄 (*A Treatise on Gagaku*). National Diet Library: Call No. 231-38.
- Sunaga, Katsumi. 1936. *Japanese Music*, trans. by Iwao Matsuhara and Edwin Taylor Iglehart. Tokyo: Maruzen Co.
- Suzuki, D.T. [1938] 1959. *Zen and Japanese Culture*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- . 1964. *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism*. New York: Grove Press.
- . 1972. *The Zen Doctrine of No-mind*. Edited by Chris Humphreys. Boston: Weiser Books.
- Tanabe, Hisao. 1959. *Japanese Music*. Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinko-kai.
- Taussig, Michael. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Taylor, Timothy. 2001. *Strange Sounds: Music, Technology, and Culture*. New York: Routledge.

- Théberge, Paul. 1997. *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*. New York: Routledge.
- Titon, Jeffrey Todd. 1995. "Bi-musicality as Metaphor." *The Journal of American Folklore*, 108: 287-297.
- Tokita, Alison. 2012. "Bi-musicality in Modern Japanese Culture." *Journal of Bilingualism*, 18: 159-174.
- Tsukitani, Tsuneko. 2000. *Shakuhachi koten honkyoku no kenkyū 尺八古典本曲の研究 (A Study of Classical (koten) Fundamental Pieces (honkyoku) for Shakuhachi)*. Tokyo: Shuppan Geijutsu-sha.
- Tsuneko Tsukitani, Toru Seyama, Satoshi Simura, and Riley Kelly Lee. 1993. "The Shakuhachi: The Instrument and its Music, Change, and Diversification." *Contemporary Music Review*, 8:103-129.
- Vlastos, Stephen, ed. 1998. *Mirror of Modernity—Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Wade, Bonnie C. 2003. *Music in Japan: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weiss, Sarah. 2014. "Listening to the World but Hearing Ourselves: Hybridity and Perceptions of Authenticity in World Music." *Ethnomusicology*, 58: 506-525.
- Willis, David B. and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, eds. 2008. *Transcultural Japan: At the Borderlands of Race, Gender, and Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Wong, P., A. K. Roy, and E. Margulis. 2009. "Bimusicalism: The Implicit Dual Enculturation of Cognitive and Affective Systems." *Music Perception*, 27: 81-88.
- Xie, Philip Felfan. 2003. "The Bamboo-Beating Dance in Hainan, China: Authenticity and Commodification." *Journal of Sustainable Development*, 11: 5-16.
- Yampolsky, Maya, Catherine E. Amiot, and Roxane de la Sablonière. 2013. "Multicultural Identity Integration and Well Being: A Qualitative Exploration of Variations in Narrative Coherence and Multicultural Identification." *Frontiers in Psychology*, 4: 1-15.
- Yuasa, Aya. 2003. *Teaching and Learning Music in Japan*. PhD dissertation, University of Reading.
- Zheng, Sue. 2001. *Claiming Diaspora: Music, Transnationalism, and Cultural Politics of Asian/Chinese America*. New York: Oxford Press.

Chapter Two

- Akedo, Shin-ya. 2013. "The Temperaments of the Shakuhachi Pipes Owned by the Horyu-ji Temple and the Shoso0in Repository." *Ongakugaku: Journal of the Musicological Society of Japan*, 59: 1-15.
- Arntzen, Sonja. 1966. "A Presentation of the Poet Ikkyū with Translations From the *Kyōunshū*, 'Mad Cloud Anthology.'" Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia.
- Baroni, Helen Josephine. 2002. *The illustrated encyclopedia of Zen Buddhism*. Ukraine: Rosen Publishing Group.
- Besserman, Perle., Steger, Manfred B. 2011. *Zen Radicals, Rebels, and Reformers*. United States: Wisdom Publications.
- Blasdel, Christopher Yohmei, and Kamisango Yuko. [1988] 2008. *The Shakuhachi: A Manual for Learning*. Tokyo: Ongaku no Toma Sha Corporation.
- Chance, Linda H. 1997. "Constructing the Classic: *Tsurezuregusa* in Tokugawa Readings." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117: 39–56.
- Curtis, Paula Renée. 2011. "Purveyors of Power: Artisans and Political Relations in Japan's Late Medieval Age." Master's Thesis, The Ohio State University.
- Fletcher, Peter. 2004. *World Musics in Context: A Comprehensive Survey of the World's Major Musical Cultures*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Fuchigami, Rafael Hirochi and Eduardo Augusto. 2010. "Shakuhachi: de combate e ferramenta religiosa a instrument musical." *Opus* 16: 127-147.
- Garfias, Robert. 1959. *Gagaku, the Music and Dances of the Japanese Imperial Household*. United States: Theatre Arts Books.
- . 1975. *Music of a Thousand Autumns: The Tōgaku Style of Japanese Court Music*. United Kingdom: University of California Press.
- Grapard, Allan G. 1993. *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History*. United States: University of California Press.
- . 1999. "Religious Practices." Chapter. In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, edited by Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, 2:517–75. The Cambridge History of Japan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Groemer, Gerald. 2000. "A Short History of the *Gannin*: Popular Religious Performers in Tokugawa Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 24 :41-72.

- Gutzwiller, Andreas. 1984. "The Shakuhachi of the Fuke-Sect: Instrument of Zen." *The World of Music* 26: 53-65.
- Harich-Schneider, Eta. 1973. *The History of Japanese Music*. London: Oxford University.
- Hayashi Dōshun Razan. 1621. "Tsurezure-gusa nozuchi" 徒然草野槌 ("The Field Hammer of Tsurezure-gusa"). In *Kokubun chūshaku zensho (The Complete Annotated Edition of National Literature)* 1968. Tokyo: Kokugakuin Daigaku
- Iwasaki Kae. 1987. *Shokunin uta-awase chūsei no shokunin gunzō* 職人歌合—中世の 職人群像. Tokyo: Heibonsha Limited 平凡社, 1987.
- Jōsangō Yūkō. 1971. "Shakuhachi no Rekishi," in *Hōgaku Taikei* vol IV: 7-16.
- Kamisangō Yūkō (上参 祐康). (1974) 2008. "Shakuhachi-gaku ryakushi: suizen no tame ni" (尺八楽略史—吹禅のために, "A Short History of Shakuhachi Music: For the Benefit of Blowing Zen"). Translated in *The Shakuhachi: A Manual for Learning* by Christopher Bladel, (1995) 2008, pp. 67-119. Tokyo: Printed Matter Press.
- Keene, Donald. 1967. *Essays in Idleness: The 'Tsurezuregusa' of Kenkō*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kitamura Nobuyo. [1830] 1903. *Kiyūshōran* 嬉遊笑覧 (*A View of Happiness, Playfulness, and Laughter*). Tokyo: Kondō Katsuhan-jo, The National Diet Digital Library, <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/BIBibDetail.php>, January 2015.
- Kurihara Kōta (栗原広太). (1918) 1975. *Shakuhachi shikō* (尺八史, *A Historical Study of Shakuhachi*). Tokyo: Chikuyū-sha.
- Lee, Riley. 1986. "Blowing Zen: Aspects of Performance Practices of the Chikuho Ryū Honkyoku. Master's thesis, University of Hawai'i at Manoa.
- . 1992. *Yearning for the Bell: A Study of Transmission in the Shakuhachi Honkyoku Tradition*. PhD Dissertation, University of Sydney.
- Linder, Gunnar Jinmei. 2012. *Deconstructing Japanese Music: A Study of Shakuhachi Historical Authenticity and Transmission of Tradition*. Stockholm: Universitetservice.
- Malm, William P. [1959] 2000. *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments*. Tokyo: Kodansha International.
- McDaniel, Richard Bryan. 2012. *Zen Masters Of China: The First Step East*. Japan: Tuttle Publishing.

- Mikami Sanji (三上参次) 1902. "Fuke-shū nit suite" (普化宗に就いて, About the Fuke Sect). In *Shigaku zasshi* (*History Magazine*) 13: no. 4, 61-82 and no. 5, 64-82.
- Morrell, Robert E. 1985. *Sand and Pebbles: The Tales of Muju Ichien, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism*. United States: State University of New York Press.
- Mujū Ichien. 1283. *Shaseki-shū* 沙石集 (*Collection of Stones and Pebbles*). Version 1 from Kyoto: Nishimura Kurōemon, 1897. (Second ed, Part 8): 465–517. Version 2 from Chōkyō-bon (Copy from 1489). <http://edb.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/exhibit/k101/k101cont.html>, February 2014.
- Nakatsuka Chikuzen. 1979. *Kinko-ryū shakuhachi shikan* 琴古流尺八史観 (*A Historical View of Kinko-ryū Shakuhachi*). Published as a series of articles in *Sankyoku*. 1936-1939. Tokyo: Nihon Ongakusha.
- Olafsson, Mukuteki Torsten. 2020. "The 1212 Kaido Honsoku." in *The 'Ascetic Shakuhachi' Historical Evidence Research Web Pages*, updated in 2018. Accessed January 20th, 2019, <https://zen-shakuhachi.dk/toprekomosoufairytale.htm>.
- Ortolani, Benito. 1995. *The Japanese Theatre: From Shamanistic Ritual to Contemporary Pluralism*. United Kingdom: Princeton University Press.
- Rambelli, Fabio and Mark Teeuwen, eds. 2003. *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis.
- Raz, Jacob. 1985. "Popular Entertainment and Politics: The Great Dengaku of 1096." *Monumenta Nipponica*. 40: 283-298.
- Reader, Ian, and George J. Tanabe, Jr. 1998 *Practically Religious: Worldly Benefits and the Common Religion of Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press
- Sansom, George Bailey. 1958. *A History of Japan to 1334*. Japan: Stanford University Press.
- . [1931] 1978. *Japan: A Short Cultural History*. United Kingdom: Stanford University Press.
- Shigeru, Gorai. 1989. "Shugendo Lore." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 16: 117-142.
- Stanfield, Norman Allen. 1977. "The 'San Kōten Honkyoku' of the Kinko-ryū: A Study of Traditional Solo Music for the Japanese Vertical End-Blown Flute—The Shakuhachi." Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia.
- Sumiaki, Toyohara. 1512. *Taigen-shō* 体源抄 (*A Treatise on Gagaku*). National Diet Library: Call No. 231-38.
- Takeda Kyōson. 1997. *Komusō: Sei to zoku no igyōsha-tachi* 虚無僧—聖と俗の異形者たち (*Komusō: Odd People of the Sacred and the Worldly*). Tokyo: Sanitsu Shobō.

- Takeo, Izumi. 2016. *Paintings of Bamboo Flutes: A History and Genealogy of Shakuhachi Performance*. Translated by Phillip Flavin. Sendai: Tohoku University Press.
- Tsukitani, Tsuneko. 2000. *Shakuhachi koten honkyoku no kenkyū 尺八古典本曲の研究 (A Study of Classical (koten) Fundamental Pieces (honkyoku) for Shakuhachi)*. Tokyo: Shuppan Geijutsu-sha.
- Ueno Katami. [1983] 2002. *Shakuhachi no rekishi (尺八の歴史) (The History of Shakuhachi)*. Tokyo: Shuppan Geijutsu-sha.
- Weisgarber, Elliot. [1973] 2019. *Shakuhachi: The Voice of Nature: A Contemplative Art and a Source of Japanese Musical Tradition*. Vancouver: John Weatherhill, Inc.
- Yamamoto Morihide (山本守秀). (1795) 1981. *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai (虚鐸伝国字, The Annotated Legend of the Empty Bell)*. Tokyo: Nihon Ongaku-sha.
- Yampolsky, Maya, Catherine E. Amiot, and Roxane de la Sablonière. 2013. "Multicultural Identity Integration and Well Being: A Qualitative Exploration of Variations in Narrative Coherence and Multicultural Identification." *Frontiers in Psychology*, 4: 1-15.
- Yoshida Kenkō. ca. 1340. *Tsurezure-gusa 徒然草 (Essays in Idleness)*. In *Nihon koten bungaku taikei 日本古典文学大系 (Collected Classical Japanese Literature)*, edited by Nishio Minoru, 1965, 81-290. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Chapter Three

- Asia for Educators. 2002. "Tokugawa Japan, Ukiyo: The Pleasure Quarters." Accessed January 15, 2021. <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/at/tokugawa/tj14.html>.
- Blasdel, Christopher Yohmei, and Kamisango Yuko. [1988] 2008. *The Shakuhachi: A Manual for Learning*. Tokyo: Ongaku no Toma Sha Corporation.
- Blomberg, Catharina. 1994. *The Heart of the Warrior: Origins and Religious Background of the Samurai System in Feudal Japan*. Sandgate, Folkestone, Kent: Japan Library.
- Deeg, Max. 2007. "Kōmusō and 'Shakuhachi-Zen': From Historical Legitimation to the Spiritualisation of a Buddhist Denomination in the Edo Period." *Japanese Religions* 32: 7-38.
- Elison, George, ed. 1981. *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Fiorillo, John. 1999. "Viewing Japanese Prints." Accessed January 16, 2018. https://www.viewingjapaneseprints.net/texts/topics_faq/faq_floatingworld.html.

- Fletcher, Peter. 2004. *World Music in Context: A Comprehensive Survey of the World's Major Musical Cultures*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fraleigh, Mathew. 2009. "Songs of the Righteous Spirit: 'Men of High Purpose' and Their Chinese Poetry in Modern Japan." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. 69:109–171.
https://scholarworks.brandeis.edu/discovery/delivery/01BRAND_INST:BRAND/12418966420001921
- Fujita, Takanori. 2016. "Nō and Kyōgen: Music from the Medieval Theatre," In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*, edited by David Hughes, translated by Alison Tokita, 138-156. London and New York: Routledge.
- Gordon, Andrew. 2008. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to Present*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Groemer, Gerald. 2001. "The Guild of the Blind Tokugawa." *Monumenta Nipponica* 56: 349-380.
- Hall, J.W. and McClain, J.L., eds. 1991. *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 4, Early Modern Japan*. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hayashi Mieko (林美穂子). 1982. "Jiuta-sōkyoku no gassō no kenkyū: sangen to koto o chūshin ni" (地歌・箏曲の合奏の研究 三絃と箏を中心に, Research in Jiuta-sōkyoku Ensemble Playing: With Emphasis on Sangen and Koto). Master Thesis, Tokyo Geijustu Daigaku.
- History.com Editors. 2009. "Tokugawa Period and Meiji Period." *History, A&E Television Networks*. Last modified. 4/3/2021. Accessed May 3/27/2020.
<https://www.history.com/topics/japan/meiji-restoration>.
- International Shakuhachi Society. 2019. "*Renbo Nagashi*." Accessed January 20th, 2019.
<https://www.komuso.com/pieces/pieces.pl?piece=2090>
- Kamisangō Yūkō (上参 祐康). (1974) 2008. "Shakuhachi-gaku ryakushi: suizen no tame ni" (尺八楽略史-吹簫のために, "A Short History of Shakuhachi Music: For the Benefit of Blowing Zen"). Translated in *The Shakuhachi: A Manual for Learning* by Christopher Bladel, (1995) 2008, pp. 67-119. Tokyo: Printed Matter Press.
- Kaplan, David and Alec Dubro. 2012. *Yakuza: Japan's Criminal Underground*. Ukraine: University of California Press.
- Kasahara, Kazuo, ed. 2001. *A History of Japanese Religion*. 1st English ed. Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co.

- Kawase Fukudō. 1892. *Kyokufu: Shakuhachi hayashinan* (Score book: Quick Guide to Learning the Shakuhachi); Nagoya: Shinonone dō.
- Kurihara Kōta (栗原広太). (1918) 1975. *Shakuhachi shikō* (尺八史, *A Historical Study of Shakuhachi*). Tokyo: Chikuyū-sha.
- Lee, Riley Kelly. 1993. "Yearning for the Bell: A Study of Transmission in the Shakuhachi Honkyoku Tradition." PhD diss., University of Sydney.
- Linder, Gunnar *Jinmei*. 2012. "Deconstructing Tradition in Japanese Music: A Study of Shakuhachi, Historical Authenticity, and Transmission of Tradition." PhD diss. Stockholm University.
- , 2017. "Analysis of Transmission in Japanese Traditional Art Forms: Part 2, A Comprehensive Study of Shakuhachi Lineages." *Journal of East Asian Identities* 2: 117-127.
- Lumen Learning. *n.d.* "The Edo Period." Accessed January 14, 2021.
<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-arthistory/chapter/the-edo-period/>.
- Malm, William. [1959] 2000. *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments* New York: Kodansha International.
- Matsutani, Fumio, and Yoshimichi Undō. 1956. "Buddhism." In *Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era*, Centenary Cultural Council series, edited by Hideo Kishimoto, pp. 101–69 in Tokyo: Ōbunsha.
- Mau, Christopher Theodore. 2014. "Situating the Myōan Kyōkai: A Study of Suizen and the Fuke Shakuhachi." PhD Thesis, SOAS, University of London.
- Mikami Sanji (三上参次) 1902. "Fuke-shū nit suite" (普化宗に就いて, About the Fuke Sect). In *Shigaku zasshi* (*History Magazine*) 13: no. 4, 61-82 and no. 5, 64-82.
- Murray, Phip. 2007. "The Floating World: An Investigation into Illustrative and Decorative Art Practices and Theory in Print Media and Animation." Master's thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology.
- Nakatsuka Chikuzen. (1936-1939) 1979. *Kinko-ryū shakuhachi shikan* (琴古流尺八史, *A Historical View of Kinko-ryū Shakuhachi*). Originally published as a series of articles in *Sankyoku*. Tokyo: Nihon Ongakusha.
- Nakamura Sōsan (中村宗三). (1664) 1976. *Shichiku shoshin-shū* (糸竹初心, *Collection for Beginners of Pieces for Strings and Bamboo*) In *Shin-Gunshoruijū 6: Kakyoku*. Tokyo: Fukkoku.

- Nelson, G. Steven. 2016. "Court and Religious Music (1): History of Gagaku and Shōmyō." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*, edited by David Hughes, 50-64. London and New York: Routledge.
- Nishiyama Matsunosuke. 1972. "Kinsei no yūgei-ron" (近世の遊芸論 Discussion on Artistry in the Premodern Era), In *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想大系 (*Collected Writings on Japanese Thought*), pp. 612-644. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Nishiyama Matsunosuke and Gerald Groemer. 1997. *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Olafsson, Mukuteki Torsten. 2018. "1628: The *Kaidō honsoku* Fuke-komusō Research Credo Version 1" in *The 'Ascetic Shakuhachi' Historical Evidence Research Web Pages*, updated in 2018. Accessed January 20th, 2019, <https://zenshakuhachi.dk/tokaidohonsoku.htm>.
- , "1678: The Enpō 5, 12th Month. 18th Day, Komusō-ha Oboe Bakufu Memorandum of January 11th, 1678." in *The 'Ascetic Shakuhachi' Historical Evidence Research Web Pages*, updated in 2018. Accessed January 22, 2019 <https://zen-shakuhachi.dk/tokomusohaoboe.htm>.
- Pasciak, Kenneth J. 2017. "A Transformational Approach to Japanese Traditional Music of the Edo Period." Master's thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst.
- Rambelli, Fabio. 2018. "Dharma Devices, Non-Hermeneutical Libraries, and Robot-Monks: Prayer Machines in Japanese Buddhism." *Journal of Asian Humanities at Kyushu University* 3: 57-75. <https://doi.org/10.5109/1917884>.
- Seiko Suzuki. 2016. "Gagaku, Music of the Empire: Tanabe Hisao and Musical Heritage as National Identity." Translated by Karen Grimwade. In *Cipango—French Journal of Japanese Studies*. Online since July 15, 2010. Accessed March 29, 2018. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/cjs.1268>.
- Smith, Bardwell. 1982. "Japanese Society and Culture in the Momoyama Era." In *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by George Elison, 239-274. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Takahashi Tone. 1990. "Tozan-ryū: An innovation of the Shakuhachi Tradition from the Fuke-shū to Secularism." PhD dissertation, Florida State University.
- Tokita and Hughes. 2016. "Context and Change in Japanese Music," In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*, edited by David Hughes, 21-50. London and New York: Routledge.
- Tsuge Gen'ichi (柘植元). 1977. "The History of the Kyotaku." *Asian Music*, 47-63.

Yuichi Tamura. 1997. "The Continuity of Violence in the Stages of the *Shi-shi* Movement of Nineteenth-Century Japan." *Social Thought & Research* 20: 169-86.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23252141>.

Weisgarber, Elliot. [1973] 2019. *Shakuhachi: The Voice of Nature, A Contemplative Art and a Source of Japanese Musical Tradition*, edited by Karen Suzanne Smithson. British Columbia: n.p.

Yamamoto Morihide (山本守秀). (1795) 1981. *Kyotaku denki kokuji-kai* (虚鐸伝国字, *The Annotated Legend of the Empty Bell*). Tokyo: Nihon Ongaku-sha.

Yamazaki Akasaburō. 1897. *Seisoku shakuhachi jizaihō* (*Systemic Shakuhachi Self-Learning Manual*). Tokyo: Kokkadō.

Zhao, Yiming. 2018. "Caught in Between: The Japanese 'Men of High-Purpose' of the Nineteenth Century and Their Ambiguous Position Between Assassin and Terrorist." Master's thesis, Duke University. <https://hdl.handle.net/10161/17156>.

Chapter Four

Atkins, E. Taylor. 2001. *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan*. United Kingdom: Duke University Press.

Ayer, Christopher. 1997. "Miyagi Michio and His Works for Koto and Shakuhachi. Master's thesis. University of Cincinnati.

Bukh Alexander. 2010. *Japan's National Identity and Foreign Policy: Russia and Japan's. Other*. New York: Routledge.

Casano, Steven. 2005. "From Fuke-shū to Uduboo: The Transnational Flow of the Shakuhachi in the West." *The World of Music*, 47: 17-53.

Chua, Beng Huat. 2000. *Consumption in Asian Lifestyle and Identities*. New York: Routledge.

Colborn-Roxworthy. 2007. "Manzanar, the Eyes of the World are Upon You: Performative and Archival Ambivalence at a Japanese American Internment Camp." *Theatre Journal* 59: 189-214.

Day, Kiku. 2015. "Zen Buddhism and Music: Spiritual Tours to Japan." In *The Changing World Religion*, edited by Stanley Brunn.

Etheridge, Katherine. 2014. "Japanese Musical Modanizumu: Interwar Yōgaku Composers and Modernism. PhD Dissertation. Florida State University.

Ferguson, Harry. 1942. "Manzanar Nice Place—It Better Than Hollywood." San Francisco News, April 21.

- Galliano, Luciana. 2002. *Yōgaku: Japanese Music in the 20th Century*. London: The Scarecrow Press.
- Gillan, Matt. 2021. "Sankyoku Magazine and the Invention of the Shakuhachi as Religious Instrument in Early 20th-Century Japan," *Yale Journal of Music & Religion*: 7: 24-52.
- Goffman, Erving. 2009. *Stigma: Notes on Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Gordon, Andrew. 2018. "Social Conflict and Control, Protest and Repression." In *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, edited by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson. Berlin: Freie universität. DOI: 10.15463/ie1418.11253.
- Kikkawa Eishi 1984. *Nihon ongaku no biteki kenkyū (Aesthetic Research in Japanese Music)*. Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomosha.
- [1965] 1990. *Nihon ongaku no rekishi (The History of Japanese Music)*. Osaka: Togensha.
-] Lande, Liv. 2007. *Innovating Musical Traditions in Japan: Negotiating Transmission, Identity, and Creativity in the Sawai Koto School*. PhD diss., Los Angeles: University of California.
- Landsberg, Edward. 2018. "Japanese Jazz: From Foreign Commodity to Cultural Trope." Master's thesis. Rutgers University.
- Mau, Christopher Theodore. 2014. "Situating the Myōan Kyōkai: A Study of Suizen and the Fuke Shakuhachi." PhD Thesis, SOAS, University of London.
- McVeigh, Brian. 2004. *Nationalisms of Japan: Managing and Mystifying Identity*. United Kingdom: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Rowen, Hobart. 1993. "Japan's Secret: W. Edwards Deming." The Washington Post.
- Seiko Suzuki. 2016. "Gagaku, Music of the Empire: Tanabe Hisao and Musical Heritage as National Identity." Translated by Karen Grimwade. In *Cipango—French Journal of Japanese Studies*. Online since July 15, 2010. Accessed March 29, 2018. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/cjs.1268>.
- Stars, Roy, ed. 2012. *Rethinking Japanese Modernism*. Boston: Global Oriental.
- Strothers, Sarah Renata. 2021. "Virtual Shakuhachi with Dai-Shihan Michael Chikuzen Gould: Shakuhachi Learning Before and During the Pandemic."

Wade, Bonnie. 2014. *Composing Japanese Music Modernity*. United Kingdom: University of Chicago Press.

Chapter Five

Arizpe, Lourdes and Cristina Amescua, eds. 2013. *Anthropological Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage*. New York: Springer.

Boots, Cornelius Shinzen. n.d. "Mukyoku: Instructional Materials for Taimu [or Hocchikiu or Shakuhachi.] n.p. Accessed 1/5/2022, www.muitsu.com/instructions&training.pdf

Franklin, Jim. n.d. "The Kokusai Shakuhachi Kenshukan. An Informal, Introductory Essay, and Personal Appraisal." n.p. Accessed March 1, 2022, http://files.shakuhachisociety.eu/shakuhachi-histories/KSK-introductory-essay_by_Jim_Franklin.pdf.

Hannerz, Ulf. 2006. "Cosmopolitanism." In *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*, edited by Joan Vincent and David Nugent. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kuutma, Kristina. 2013. "Concepts and Contingencies in Heritage Politics." In *Anthropological Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage*, edited by Lourde Arizpe and Cristina Amescua. New York: Springer.

Matsunobu, Koji. 2011. "Creativity of Formulaic Learning: Pedagogy of Imitation and Repetition." In *The Routledge International Handbook of Creative Learning*, edited by Julian Seftan-Green, Path Thomson, Ken Jones, and Liora Bresler. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis.

Mesckell, Lynn. 2014. "States of Conservation: Protection Politics, and Pacting within UNESCO's World Heritage Committee." *Anthropological Quarterly* 87: 217-243.

Skipworth, Lachlan. 2010. "Aspects of Shakuhachi Honkyoku and their Integration into a Compositional Approach." Master's Thesis, University of Sidney.

Stevens, John, ed. 2007. *Wild Ways: Zen Poems of Ikkyū*. Shambhala: United Kingdom.

Wallmark, Zachary. 2022. *Nothing but Noise: Timbre and Musical Meaning at the Edge*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chapter Six

Clifford, James and George E. Marcus, eds., [1986] 2010. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Marcus, E. George and Michael M.J. Fischer. 1986. *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rabinow, Paul. [1986] 2010. "Representations are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology." In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus, Berkely: University of California Press, 234-261.

Strothers, Sarah Renata. 2020. "Virtual Shakuhachi with Dai-Shihan Michael Chikuzen Gould: Shakuhachi Learning Before and During the Pandemic." *Perfect Beat* 21: 81-86.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sarah Renata Strothers is an ethnomusicologist who specializes in shakuhachi performance, pedagogy, and transmission. Sarah has been playing shakuhachi for eleven years under the tutelage of shakuhachi grandmaster (dai-shihan, 大師範) Michael Chikuzen (竹禪) Gould. Sarah has performed shakuhachi for the American Sumie Society, Roger Williams University, various library programs, and private events. On top of her duties as a professional shakuhachi musician, Sarah is also a high school music teacher and the director of an award-winning HBCU-style marching and pep band. Her future endeavors include the continuation of her shakuhachi studies and starting a private music school that incorporates applied world music curriculum for grades K-12 as well as young adults between the ages of 18 and 24.

ProQuest Number: 29397867

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality and completeness of this reproduction is dependent on the quality and completeness of the copy made available to ProQuest.



Distributed by ProQuest LLC (2023).

Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author unless otherwise noted.

This work may be used in accordance with the terms of the Creative Commons license or other rights statement, as indicated in the copyright statement or in the metadata associated with this work. Unless otherwise specified in the copyright statement or the metadata, all rights are reserved by the copyright holder.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17,
United States Code and other applicable copyright laws.

Microform Edition where available © ProQuest LLC. No reproduction or digitization of the Microform Edition is authorized without permission of ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346 USA