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***Sankyoku* Magazine and the Invention of the Shakuhachi as Religious Instrument in Early Twentieth-Century Japan**

Matt Gillan

However much the shakuhachi descends into the realm of popular culture, it will always retain an irresistible charm, with a religious flavor [*shūkyōteki no fūmi*] grounded in a samurai atmosphere, and it has surely brought spiritual rewards [*kudoku*] to the world of mortals. With the changing times, shakuhachi believers [*shinja*] are no longer able to simply pledge devotion [*kie*] but, through their amateur pursuits, are able to better themselves and propagate the faith [*fukyō*].¹

The early twentieth century was an exciting period of innovation and experimentation in the world of the shakuhachi, a Japanese end-blown vertical bamboo flute. Prior to the widespread social changes that accompanied the Meiji restoration of 1868, the shakuhachi had been played predominantly by members of the Fuke sect, an organization loosely affiliated to Rinzai Zen Buddhism, who used the instrument as part of their mendicant practices. With the abolishment of the Fuke sect as a religious entity in 1871, shakuhachi players increasingly turned to more secular forms of music such as accompanying the art music of the shamisen and koto. The early twentieth century also saw the creation of many new secular compositions for shakuhachi, both solo and in ensembles including Japanese and Western instruments. At the same time, and despite the disappearance of the Fuke sect itself, there was a vigorous discourse within Japan concerning the spirituality of the shakuhachi, and how it could or should be used as a ritual or religious instrument in Japan's new modernized society. While part of this discourse ties in with attempts to reinstate the Fuke sect and restore its ritual practices, it also references a much broader discussion concerning "music" and "religion" that was taking place in

Japan at the time under the influence of newly imported Western understandings of these concepts.²

In this essay I examine articles from *Sankyoku*, one of the major pre-World War II Japanese music magazines, and consider how these articles enabled the construction of a discourse concerning the religious nature of the shakuhachi. I explore the often fluid and experimental nature of this discourse, and the ways it departs from formal religious organizations and teachings while simultaneously intersecting with various new religious movements in early twentieth-century Japan. I consider in particular the role of the magazine's editor, Fujita Shun'ichi, and suggest that, while he was not a religious leader in any formal sense, he was nevertheless influential in facilitating and leading debates about the religio-musical aspects of the shakuhachi, both in his own writing and in his selection of contributors to the magazine.

The use of discourse analysis as a tool to understand religions is a relatively recent phenomenon in religious studies. A themed issue of the journal *Religion*³ gives an overview of some recent theoretical developments and case studies. Teemu Taira's article in this issue,⁴ as well as an earlier article on the Wicca movement in Finland,⁵ emphasize the utility of

public documents such as newspapers, magazine articles, and other media in analyzing religious discourses, particularly those in which religious ontologies are contested, as in the case of the Wicca movement. Taira also describes how discourses function in the construction of power relations both within religious groups themselves, as well as between religious groups and wider society. To my knowledge this kind of approach has not been applied to the study of the music of Japanese religions, but I have found it useful in understanding the religious discourse surrounding the shakuhachi in early twentieth-century Japan, which was both contested and, at least in the period that I consider here, embedded within a much larger sociopolitical movement in Japan and the rest of the world concerning religion and modernity.

The shakuhachi is best known outside Japan for its associations with Japanese Zen Buddhism, particularly the Fuke-shū, an Edo-period (1603–1868) religious organization nominally affiliated to the Rinzai sect. The Edo-period history of the Fuke shakuhachi has been covered extensively in Japanese articles by Kurihara and Takahashi, and in English by Deeg, Kamisangō, Sanford,⁶ and others. According to many of these studies, monks of the Fuke sect, known as *komusō* (monks of nothingness), played the shakuhachi as a ritual instrument (*hōki*) for the purpose of spiritual training, and developed a repertoire of solo shakuhachi compositions (*honkyoku*) for this purpose. The Fuke sect developed a network of temples around Japan, including Myōanji in Kyoto, and Ichigetsu-ji and Reihōji in the Kantō region around Edo. The *komusō* performed religious practices outside the Fuke temples,

including religious mendicancy (*angya*) and collecting alms (*takuhatsu*).

Yet several of these authors have noted the lack of concrete evidence for the use of the shakuhachi in ritual contexts during the Edo period, and have doubted the extent to which the Fuke sect can properly be considered a Buddhist organization. The probable forgery by the Fuke sect of a document, the *Kyotaku Denki*, that purported to show a lineage dating back to the ninth-century Chinese Zen eccentric Puhua/Fuke,⁷ has cast doubt on its religious authenticity. In an important recent article, Deeg goes further to state that the image of the shakuhachi in the West is “connected to religio-spiritual connotations which it basically does not have, and never has had, in Japan.”⁸ Many studies in English have described the use of the shakuhachi as a spiritual instrument by communities outside Japan,⁹ and all of these note the construction of new religio-musical ontologies as the instrument came to be played in the West. Yet as I will show in this essay, Deeg’s assertion that the shakuhachi has never had such religio-spiritual connotations in Japan is itself very far from the truth, especially if we include the modern era in our analysis. Part of the reason for this misunderstanding is that there has been almost no analysis in any language of the twentieth-century discourse concerning the religio-musical position of the shakuhachi within Japan,¹⁰ an oversight I intend to address here. I hope to show that, whatever the situation may have been in the Edo period, the religious meanings of the shakuhachi were an important part of early twentieth-century Japanese cultural discourse, and that this discourse was crucial in establishing

the modern image outside Japan of the shakuhachi as Buddhist instrument.

Religious Modes of Discourse in *Sankyoku*

Sankyoku was published monthly between July 1921 and its discontinuation in May 1944 during the austerities of World War II.¹¹ The magazine contained articles on a variety of Japanese music genres, particularly those played on shakuhachi, shamisen, and koto (the word *sankyoku*, literally “three melodies,” refers to a genre that combines these three instruments). The driving force behind the magazine was the journalist, publisher, and amateur shakuhachi teacher/performer Fujita Shun’ichi (1883–1974),¹² a shakuhachi student of Kawase Junsuke (1870–1959). Fujita usually contributed several articles to each edition of *Sankyoku*, as well as soliciting articles and organizing regular concerts, events, and musical organizations. His founding of the Nippon Sankyoku Kyōkai organization in 1940 was one of the most impactful events of the twentieth century in the traditional Japanese music world.¹³

Fujita’s use of religious terminology connected with the shakuhachi may be seen from the very first year of the magazine in 1921, in an article titled “The Awakening of the Amateur Shakuhachi World” (Kakusei seru Shumi-teki Shakuhachi-kan), from which the quote at the beginning of this essay is taken. Fujita’s article, while not a formal discussion of religious doctrine as such, is full of spiritual allusions and terminology. The word *shūkyō* (religion) in this quote is an obvious example, but *kudoku*, *kie*, *fukyō*, *shinja*, and *kakusei* (awakening) all also have either Buddhist or strong religious overtones to them. Fujita’s term “shakuhachi believer” (*shakuhachi shinja*) is particularly revealing in the

context of a modern emphasis in Japanese religious life on personal faith.¹⁴ We will see below how Fujita returned in later years to this concept of “shakuhachi faith” in an attempt to apply it to specific moral dilemmas. His use of *shumi* (hobby) also emphasizes that *Sankyoku* was marketed largely toward amateur performers rather than simply listeners, a fact that is relevant in many of the articles I examine here.¹⁵ Finally, Fujita’s reference to a “samurai atmosphere” (*bushi-teki no jōchō*) is also relevant here for two reasons. First is the historical connection of the shakuhachi to the samurai class—membership of the Edo-period Fuke sect was limited to people from this inherited social class. At another level, Fujita is also perhaps referencing the early twentieth-century efforts of Japanese writers such as Nitobe Inazō to establish the traditional “way of the samurai” (*bushidō*) as a moral code for the modern Japanese nation in opposition to the West. As I show later, the idea of the shakuhachi as a spiritual path and a foundation for correct living was a central theme of the discourse in *Sankyoku* magazine.

It is apparent not only from Fujita’s articles themselves but also from his choice of writers in *Sankyoku* that he was deeply interested in religion and spirituality, and particularly how these related to music, daily life, and the Japanese state. In order to understand some of the ways in which a discourse of shakuhachi spirituality was constructed in the pages of *Sankyoku*, I carried out an analysis of 208 articles about the shakuhachi published between the first edition in 1921 and the magazine’s demise in 1944, counting the number of articles containing the terms shown in Figure 1. Obviously, many articles contained more than one of these terms, and most contained

multiple instances of the same term. This analysis did not include articles concerned mainly with the history of the Fuke sect, but focused only on those describing a religious ontology of the shakuhachi concerned directly with issues of religious practice or ritual aesthetics as they applied in the present tense (that is, from the 1920s through the early 1940s). (A full list of the article titles, authors, and publication dates is given in the Appendix.)

Twenty-nine articles contained the word *shūkyō* (religion) in describing the music of the shakuhachi. A surprising number of these (eleven) did so without specific reference to the Fuke-shū or to Buddhism per se, as was the case with the article (1921/12/2–3) I quoted at the beginning of this article. The modern Japanese word *shūkyō* came into common

usage as a translation of the English “religion” only in the late nineteenth century,¹⁶ and a discussion concerning the nature of “religious music” in a Japanese context began to develop from the last decade of the nineteenth century. An early example of attitudes toward religion among Japanese traditional performing artists may be found in a collection of essays from 1910 titled *Geinin no Shūkyō* (The Religion of Performing Artists).¹⁷ The authors, coming from a wide variety of traditional genres such as nagauta, gidayū-bushi, kabuki, and sumō, discuss various aspects of religion in relation to their lives and art, and represent most sects of Buddhism, Shinto, Christianity, and new Japanese religions of the early twentieth century. One article by the Myōan shakuhachi performer Higuchi Taizan (reprinted in *Sankyoku* in

Word or phrase	Number of articles
Religion (<i>shūkyō</i>) 宗教	29
Buddhism (<i>Bukkyō</i>) 仏教	87
Spiritual training (<i>seishin shūyō, shugyō</i>) 精神修養 修行	85
Shakuhachi as a “spiritual path” (<i>chiku-dō, shakuhachi-dō</i>) 竹道 尺八道	30
Breath (<i>kokyū</i>) 呼吸	26
Religious mendicancy (<i>angya</i>) 行脚	41
Spirit/soul (<i>rei</i>) 霊	15
Fuke sect, <i>komusō</i> 普化宗、虚無僧	104

Fig. 1: Appearance of religious/spiritual terms in *Sankyoku* between 1921 and 1944

December 1936¹⁸) describes his family religion of Nichiren Buddhism, as well as his association with Rinzai Zen priests such as Takeda Mokurai (1854–1930).¹⁹ The article is surprisingly vague regarding the religious aspects of the shakuhachi itself: Higuchi describes “invoking in listeners a profound Buddhist feeling” (*bukkyō-teki no genmyō na kanka o chōsha ni ataeru*)²⁰ and observes that the “the shakuhachi can never be parted from religion” (*shakuhachi wa shūkyō to hanareru koto ga dekinai*).²¹ Yet, interestingly, he makes no mention of the Myōan Kyōkai organization (of which Higuchi was head) as a religious entity, nor of using the shakuhachi specifically within a ritual context.

Eighty-seven *Sankyoku* articles mention some aspect of the shakuhachi’s relationship with Buddhism in general (as opposed to the Fuke sect in particular). As with the Japanese word *shūkyō* (religion), the common modern word *Bukkyō* (Buddhism) was a late nineteenth-century invention inspired by the English term “Buddhism” and other European cognates, and is inseparable from the modern developments in Japanese Buddhism after the Meiji restoration.²² These articles vary quite widely in their approach. One 1936 article, “The Mahayanistic Spirit of the Performing Arts,”²³ describes Mahayana Buddhism (as opposed to the Hinayana sects of Southeast Asia) as indivisible from their performative aspects, thus emphasizing the religious aspects of many performing arts. The identity of the author is unclear, although the title suggests that “Tatebe Niyama” might be a pseudonym for the prominent pre-World War II Zen Buddhist philosopher Kimura Taiken, who published a number of books and essays with similar titles and content.²⁴

Other articles refer to Zen Buddhist figures of the past or present—several articles refer, for example, to the Rinzai monk Hakuin Ekaku (1686–1789),²⁵ and in particular to the breathing techniques he outlined in his work *Yasen Kanna*. Twenty-six articles make reference specifically to breathing techniques in the context of meditation or spiritual training (I did not include several articles referencing breathing techniques purely from the perspective of performance technique). As Kurita has outlined,²⁶ the early twentieth century saw a burgeoning Japanese interest in the spiritual aspects of breath and breathing techniques, and the popularity of theories of breath by Buddhist leaders such as the Shingon Buddhist monk Fujita Reisai. Fujita Reisai is referenced in several *Sankyoku* articles on the shakuhachi,²⁷ showing how new developments in Japanese Buddhist thought fed directly into the ways that the shakuhachi was being reimagined in this period.

One of the most prominent themes in *Sankyoku* concerns the shakuhachi as a tool for personal spiritual development. Eighty-five articles reference this idea through words such as *seishin* (spirit) and *seishin shūyō* or *shugyō* (both of which mean “spiritual training”). An early article by the Kinko-style²⁸ player Mizuno Ryodō titled “The [Correct] Frame of Mind for Modern Shakuhachi *shugyō*”²⁹ describes learning the shakuhachi as a process of spiritual development in much the same way as Fujita’s article from the same year mentioned earlier. The concept is also expressed in the terms *shakuhachi-dō* and *chiku-dō* (“way of shakuhachi” and “way of bamboo,” respectively), found in a total of thirty articles. The term *dō* (way or path) has a long history in Japanese performing arts to refer to the practice of spiritual

cultivation,³⁰ and *chiku-dō* dates at least to the early nineteenth century, appearing for example in the writings of Hisamatsu Fūyō (1791–1871).³¹ Takeshita Sumito's March 1934 article "Do Not Throw Away the Religious Value of *chiku-dō*" (*Chiku-dō no shūkyō-teki kachi o suteru na*)³² leaves no doubt that, at least for Takeshita, *chiku-dō* holds a specifically religious meaning. Takeshita's later article "On the Relationship between Religion and the Performing Arts"³³ is subtitled "Spiritual Preparation for the *chiku-dō* Practitioner" (*Chiku-dō-ka toshite no kokoro no yōi*), again demonstrating his views on the subject.

***Komusō* Tani Kyōchiku's Mendicant Travels: The Performativity of Pilgrimage**

Forty-one of the *Sankyoku* articles referred to the practice of Buddhist mendicancy (*angya*). By far the largest number of these were by the Myōan shakuhachi player Tani Kyōchiku (real name Tani Takeo, 1882–1950), one of the longest-running contributors of shakuhachi articles to *Sankyoku*, and a figure whom Fujita seems to have held in particular respect. Tani was born in Osaka, the third son of a medical practitioner.³⁴ He studied shakuhachi with Miyagawa Nyozan, and claimed to have been initiated into the Zen tradition after being given a *kōan*³⁵ by the well-known Rinzai monk Nantenbō (1839–1925) in 1909.³⁶ Tani also credited Nantenbō with giving him the name *Kokūsō* (monk of emptiness³⁷) and suggesting he carry out religious training through playing the shakuhachi. Following the death of his wife around 1917,³⁸ Tani took to the road and devoted much of the following years to traveling around Japan, and later abroad, playing the shakuhachi as he went.

Tani's first *Sankyoku* article, in December 1926, describes how he had been actively scouted by Fujita with a view to publishing the memoirs of his ten-year mendicant travels within Japan. While these memoirs do not appear to have been published in book form,³⁹ there followed a series of *Sankyoku* articles documenting Tani's subsequent travels around Japan, as well as his extended pilgrimage across Asia from June 1929 to autumn 1931, when he reached the sacred Buddhist sites of India. A partial list of countries and cities he visited on this trip includes Korea, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Bangkok, Singapore, Malaysia, Sumatra, Burma, Kolkatta, Bodhgaya, Benares, Aghra, Delhi, Mumbai, Ceylon, Bali, Borneo, and Manila. Tani's long-running serialized travel tales, in which he refers to himself as "*Komusō* Tani Kyōchiku," were a central feature of *Sankyoku* over several years, and were undoubtedly one of the most important ways in which Editor Fujita promoted a Buddhist image of the shakuhachi in the magazine.

Tani's travels were made possible partly because of the existence of a Japanese expatriate community that had been established in many parts of East and Southeast Asia in the early twentieth century, members of which organized events and concerts for him as he went. In the August 1930 edition of *Sankyoku*,⁴⁰ for example, Tani reports that a benefit concert was held in his honor at the Hong Kong Matsubara Hotel, organized by the Hong Kong Sankyoku-kai (Sankyoku Association). Tani himself performed the solo shakuhachi *honkyoku* pieces "Tsuru no Sugomori" and "Ajikan," while the rest of the concert seems to have been performed by Japanese musicians based in Hong Kong. Tani makes frequent reference in

his writings to Japanese companies, associations such as the Nihonjin-kai (Japanese Association), as well as Buddhist temples and organizations that had been established outside Japan beginning in the early Meiji period.⁴¹ We can get a taste of Tani's day-to-day existence from the following passage describing his arrival in Seremban in the Malaysian peninsula.

In the early morning of October 4 [1930], I alighted at Seremban and awaited the dawn in the waiting room of the station before paying a visit to Yamada Seiki, president of the Nihonjin-kai [Japanese Association] at the residence of the Malay company. I presented my letter of introduction from President Nakajima of the Singapore branch of Taiwan Bank, and explained my reason for being there. Mr. Nakajima graciously agreed to help. Mr. Yamada contacted Okano Chōjun of the Nichiren sect mission and Saitō Norimitsu of Kōtoku Zen temple, and it was agreed that a special "Tani Kyōchiku" concert would be held that evening from 7 p.m. in the Kōtoku temple, under the sponsorship of the Nihonjin-kai and the Kannon-kō worship association. As always, I found myself in debt to the kindness of my benefactors.⁴²

While he was enthusiastically received among Japanese expatriate communities, Tani seems to have had less success finding receptive audiences among the local populations of the countries in which he traveled. During his stay in Bangkok, for example, he had hoped to interact musically with the Thai Buddhist community, but did not receive a warm welcome:

I had understood that Siam [modern Thailand] was an unusual example of an entirely Buddhist country, and believed that they would thus have some understanding of a shakuhachi-playing *komusō* from the Zen tradition.... I had

the entirely selfish idea that they might then be inclined to organize some kind of shakuhachi concert to welcome me. However, far from being welcomed, they were actually quite antagonistic toward Japanese Buddhism as being outside their [Theravada] tradition, and I was advised by someone with much experience of Siam that my *komusō* shakuhachi would be laughable to them.⁴³

It is unclear whether the Thai antipathy toward Tani's visit was, as he claimed, based in doctrinal differences, or whether it arose from Japan's increasing colonial ambitions in Southeast Asia. As Richard Jaffe describes, Japanese Buddhist scholars and monks began traveling to the major Buddhist sites of Asia in the 1880s, partly under the influence of Western interest in Buddhism, which stimulated a rethinking of Buddhism within Japan itself. These travels were inspired by a new Japanese interest in the historical Buddha that was partly influenced by Western studies of Buddhism,⁴⁴ and Tani's travels seem at one level to stem from a genuine Buddhist piety. Jaffe also notes that relations between Japanese and other Asian Buddhists were often fraught as "Japanese Pan-Asianism turned into paternalism toward other Asian Buddhists"⁴⁵ during the pre-World War II years. In an article in the April 1931 edition of *Sankyoku*, Tani describes his emotion at finally reaching Bodhgaya, the site of the historical Buddha's attainment of enlightenment:

Graced by the Buddha's providence I finally arrived at the sacred site of Bodhgaya on the afternoon of January 23, 1931. At this sacred Buddhist site, my ultimate destination, I offered ritual offertory performances of [the shakuhachi pieces] "Ajikan" and "Kokū" through tears of emotion.⁴⁶

Tani returned to Japan in September 1931 to great acclaim—several pages of the October edition of *Sankyoku* were devoted to his final reports and welcome-home messages. Tani’s own greeting message is written in his typical self-deprecating style, yet the opening sentence makes explicit reference to the religious nature of his travels:

In an age when antireligious movements are breaking out in all parts of the globe, I [set out] as a self-styled “Japanese *komusō*,” with no personal regard for being anachronistic, nor for the ridicule of the world. I put up with discomfort and inconvenience, wearing a *tengai* hat⁴⁷ and wooden collection box [*gebako*] that do not belong in this age. Shod in my informal *geta* sandals, I suddenly imposed myself on a foreign land. As the winds of financial depression whistled around the world, the vagabond monk *Kyōchiku* blew most unskillfully on the shakuhachi, standing in front of people’s gates and delivering the tradition of the *komusō* that has existed in Japan for 600 years.⁴⁸

Tani’s use of the term “antireligious movements” (*han-shūkyō undō*) is a reference to the political movements that had developed from the late 1920s in Soviet Russia in opposition to Christianity, and had begun to be felt by Buddhist and other religious communities in Japan and other East Asian countries by 1930. In 1930, for example, Japan’s leading religious newspaper, *Chūgai Nippō*, published an edited book titled *Marukishizumu to shūkyō* (Marxism and Religion) outlining possible Japanese Buddhist and other religious responses to the growing atheist movement associated with communism, which some Buddhists felt threatening.⁴⁹ The fact that

Tani directly references this discourse in his message above demonstrates clearly the way in which he positioned his shakuhachi activities as a kind of religious practice. It also suggests that the religious position of the shakuhachi was not merely based in tradition, but was relevant to events taking place in the early 1930s. Tani was not alone among shakuhachi players of this period in positioning the shakuhachi in opposition to Communist antireligious theories. The Myōan shakuhachi player Takeshita Sumito, a regular contributor to *Sankyoku*, described the “antireligious museums” in Soviet Russia in a 1930 article titled “Subjugation of Religion” (*Shūkyō seibatsu*).⁵⁰ In this article, Takeshita specifically cites Lenin’s 1905 statement that “religion is the opiate of the people,”⁵¹ countering that “the biggest mistake of the Russians is in not permitting belief in a greater cosmic power and prohibiting the offering of thanks to that power on the grounds that it is an outdated custom.”⁵² Another Myōan shakuhachi player, Uramoto Setchō, likewise references the “religion is the opiate of the people” quote in the introduction to his 1933 book *Seimei no dai-yon genri* (The Fourth Principle of Life), in which he praises the “deep religious character of the Japanese people” (*Nihonjin ga shūkyōteki ni mo ika ni idai na kokumin*), while specifically denouncing the Japanese Marxist thinker Kawakami Hajime.⁵³ Both of these references demonstrate how religious discourse surrounding the shakuhachi was not confined to purely musical or spiritual concerns, but addressed international developments in politics, religion, and culture that impinged on what these writers considered the religious foundations of Japanese society. Tani himself wrote in a *Sankyoku* article in June 1932: “Young men, the decline and fall of a country depends on

religion! Wake up to the true religion, and rise up!” (Kokka no kōbō seisui wa shūkyō ni ari seinen shoshi yo! Shin no shūkyō ni mezamete furui-tate!).⁵⁴

We can glimpse the extent to which Tani’s travels held significance for a large and influential section of Japanese religious and political society from a commemorative party held on November 18, 1931, in commemoration of his safe return to Japan. A report of the party in the December issue of *Sankyoku* gives a brief summary of the order of events and a long list of attendees.⁵⁵ In addition to members of the musical community, the list includes extremely prominent Buddhist scholars such as Watanabe Kaikyoku (editor of the *Taisho Chinese Tripitaka*), and Okumura Dōrin, a member of the Sōtō Zen sect. Also of particular interest are the presence of Suenaga Misao, a leading member of the far-right Gen’yōsha organization, and Suzuki Ichirō, listed as a member of the Kokuryūkai (Black Dragon Society), another far-right organization, who attended “on behalf of Tōyama Mitsuru,”⁵⁶ one of the most prominent Japanese far-right pan-Asian activists in pre-World War II Japan. While there is no direct evidence to suggest that Tani himself had political motivations for traveling around Asia, the presence at this event of members of the Gen’yōsha and Kokuryūkai organizations, and the fact that Tōyama Mitsuru sent a representative, suggests that Tani’s pan-Asian pilgrimage had cultural and political meanings far beyond the musical, and was actively supported by key political players in Japan’s pan-Asian colonial movement.

Tani’s mendicant travels, whether or not they directly inspired individual shakuhachi players to take to the road, were indisputably part of a general interest in mendicancy

among the shakuhachi community. Tani was far from being the only early twentieth-century shakuhachi player to carry out mendicant travels, or to incorporate the practice into some kind of public performance. His own teacher, Miyagawa Nyozan, had visited China in 1919, giving a dedicatory performance of the piece “Ajikan” at the north gate of Zhengding, the place where the legendary founder of the Fuke sect bearing his name is believed to have died. A large number of articles in *Sankyoku* also reveal how widespread playing the shakuhachi as a mendicant activity was in the 1920s and 1930s. One example is a series of articles by Tomimori Kyozan (Kyozanbō) titled “How to Be a Modern Mendicant *Komusō*” (Tōsei komusō angya kokoro-e), which ran from September 1930 to March 1931, as Tani was making his way across Southeast Asia and India. Tomimori writes in the first installment:

An acquaintance graduated this year from a certain university, but with the current financial uncertainties, and little chance of finding suitable employment, and not wishing to sit around moping forever, after carefully weighing up various options, [he] decided to take the plunge and become a mendicant *komusō*. Fortunately, or unfortunately, he had studied Kinkoryū shakuhachi at university and was able to prove the old saying that “the arts will help you get through life” [gei wa mi o tasukeru]. In this age, where graduates from the most prestigious academic institutions are choosing to follow a life of mendicant pilgrimage, there has been a huge recent increase in the number of applications to become a *komusō*. Consequently, I have received many inquiries from all sorts of people about the details of carrying out *angya*.⁵⁷

Tomimori continues, over the subsequent months, to give detailed instructions concerning the practical aspects of *angya*, such as where to buy an appropriate costume,⁵⁸ whether or not the police will bother you if you cover your head with a *tengai* hat,⁵⁹ or what to do when people give you money or rice.⁶⁰ Tomimori's articles show clearly that *angya*, while perhaps not a financial necessity for the educated elite youth of 1920s and 1930s Japan, was a lifestyle choice partially provoked by the worsening financial situation of the time. Mendicant shakuhachi playing was also evidently not without risk. Tani himself writes in a 1930 article how he was beaten and arrested by the police, and subsequently charged with begging, after he was seen receiving money while playing the shakuhachi.⁶¹

Further evidence for what seems to have been a fairly widespread practice of *komusō* mendicancy in this period may be found in the regular advertisements in *Sankyoku* for sellers of *komusō* costumes and other paraphernalia. As with Tomimori and Tani's articles, these advertisements are usually framed in a lighthearted way, presumably in order not to overstate the religious nature of the practice. An advertisement in June 1934 by the Tanaka Tōsaku company in Osaka states: "Shakuhachi players, don't be lazy! The time for mendicancy is now!" (Shakuhachi suisōsha ni namakemono nashi. Angya no toki wa ima).⁶² While the advertisement makes no specific reference to organized religion, it states that carrying out *angya* is one of the best ways to get better at the shakuhachi, as well as providing additional income for the family and "spiritual cultivation" (*seishin shūyō*). A 1936 article by the same company in November 1936 states: "The *angya* season has arrived! Do you all have your *angya* costumes?"

(Angya no shizun to narimashita. Minasama, angya-yō ishō wa gozaimasu ka?).⁶³

Tani's accounts of his travels around Japan and, later, Buddhist sites in Asia frequently reference the Buddhist aspects of the shakuhachi, but are also notable for their playfulness and entertainment value. His writing is full of self-deprecating catch phrases that make the reader question just how serious he is. One of his favorites (in the form of a haiku) was: "When I'm done playing the shakuhachi I blow the conch" (that is, tell tall tales; Shakuhachi no aimaima ni hora mo fuki).⁶⁴ In a 2007 article on the use of religious imagery in Mizakai Hayao's *anime*, Jolyon Baraka Thomas coined the phrase *shūkyō asobi* (religion play) to describe the "forms of religious thought and practice arising at the junction between entertainment and religion."⁶⁵ In a later paper Thomas notes how "a given media product can be perceived as simultaneously facetious and pious on the side of production, or as both frivolous and poignant on the side of reception."⁶⁶ Thomas's *shūkyō asobi* concept seems to apply equally well to Tani's activities (as well as to much of the religious discourse surrounding the shakuhachi), which are often based in genuinely held spiritual frameworks, while simultaneously existing outside formal religious organizational structures, and are often framed in lighthearted or ambiguous terms.

A Buddhist Morality Tale

An example of how ideas of spiritual training and *chiku-dō* were applied to real events can be seen through a notorious incident from 1933 in which a well-known shakuhachi player, Nomura Kagehisa, was arrested, charged, and hanged for the murder of a family of four and subsequent attempts to

withdraw money from their bank account. Nomura, a Kinko-style player who was representative of a forward-looking group of Western music-influenced shakuhachi performers, had himself been a frequent contributor to *Sankyoku* prior to his arrest, and had made a number of commercial recordings, often with Western instruments.

The Nomura incident set off a series of shockwaves through the *Sankyoku* community regarding music, morality, and spiritual training. A flurry of articles, including a roundtable discussion with Fujita and Nomura's teacher Kawase Junsuke,⁶⁷ attempted to come to terms with Nomura's actions, and to understand how his training in shakuhachi and judo (he held a third dan) had not prevented him from inflicting such brutality. Why had Nomura's training in the arts not produced the expected levels of moral strength? Why did he not immediately commit suicide after carrying out the murders? The same issue contains an extended essay by Fujita analyzing the Nomura incident,⁶⁸ and is one of the rare occasions when he allows himself to reveal his own religious affiliation and beliefs. In this article Fujita specifically cites the religious leader Shittara,⁶⁹ founder of a new Japanese religion known as the Dai-Uchū-kyō (Universe Religion), of which Fujita states that he is a follower. In particular, Fujita discusses Nomura's crime in the context of the Buddhist concept of "causality" (*inga-ritsu*),⁷⁰ returning to the concept of "shakuhachi faith" that we encountered at the beginning of this essay:

... we now have to move forward and bring faith to [have faith in] the shakuhachi. We must unify our hearts around the deep artistry of the shakuhachi. Where there is no faith, there is an unraveling of the heart. I have held this theory of

"shakuhachi faith" for some time, but following the Nomura incident I am unable to keep quiet, and have arrived at the above conclusion.⁷¹

Takeshita Sumito also directly addresses the Nomura issue in a May 1933 article titled "Blow the Shakuhachi from Your Heart" (*Kokoro no shakuhachi o fuke*). In an explicit reference to Nomura's judo third dan, Takeshita includes his own qualifications as "judo fourth dan," comparing the process of spiritual training through shakuhachi playing to the spiritual benefits gained through martial arts training:

As the name suggests, *shakuhachi-dō* must have the ultimate aim of being a "way" [*dō*] for the perfection of a person. ... In Japan, the arts [such as shakuhachi and martial arts] have always tended to develop into *dō*, and finally into a spiritual culture of morals and ethics.⁷²

After a flurry of articles in *Sankyoku* following the incident, news of Nomura disappeared until the beginning of 1935, when, on March 18, he was found guilty of murder and sentenced to death. The April edition of the magazine carried a collection of letters written by Nomura to an acquaintance, in which he described in detail his newfound devotion to Buddhism, and specifically to the Shin sect.⁷³ The July 1935 edition of *Sankyoku* announced Nomura's death by hanging on June 24, and included a final letter written by him shortly before his execution. The letter concludes: "Life cannot be lived through science alone. I cannot escape from the conclusion that faith [*shinkō*] is needed."⁷⁴

That Fujita allowed the publication of these letters in *Sankyoku*, from a convicted murderer on the eve of his execution, is extraordinary. The only plausible explanation seems to be that Nomura's

clearly stated acceptance of Buddhist teachings—his salvation through “faith”—coincided sufficiently with Fujita’s spiritual position that he felt the letters merited inclusion. Saitō has argued in his analysis of the Nomura incident that the subsequent discourse emphasizing the spiritual aspects of the shakuhachi was partly an attempt to overcome the negative and violent image that *komusō* had often had in Japanese popular culture.⁷⁵ I would also argue that the frequent references to spirituality in terms such as *chiku-dō* and *shakuhachi-dō* were in part attempts to address the rapid changes that the shakuhachi world was experiencing under the influence of Western music. In an article titled “*Chiku-dō* in Danger of Falling into Evil Ways” (*Jadō ni hairan to suru chiku-dō no tame ni*), for example, Katō Keidō discusses the Nomura incident as well as other recent shakuhachi scandals, linking them specifically with recent developments to develop the instrument to modern life—he mentions, for example, experiments with materials such as bakelite and aluminum in shakuhachi construction.⁷⁶ This is not to say that Fujita himself was against such developments—*Sankyoku* magazine frequently included articles featuring these kinds of forward-looking experiments. Nevertheless, I argue that Fujita and others’ emphasis on the spiritual aspects of the shakuhachi should be read as a desire to balance modern scientific empiricism with what these writers saw as a more distinctly Japanese musical/spiritual sensibility.

The Reemergence of the Fuke Sect as a Religious Entity

Finally, I look at the large (104) number of articles relating to the Fuke sect and *komusō*, many of which are connected with direct attempts to re-establish the sect

as a religious organization. Following its dissolution by the Meiji government in 1871, movements to revive the musical practices of the Fuke sect can be seen as early as 1890, with the establishment of the Myōan Kyōkai organization within the Rinzai-sect Tōfukuji temple in Kyoto. Although this organization revived the practice of playing the Fuke shakuhachi repertory and secured a temple building within the Tōfukuji grounds that they renamed Myōan-ji (Myōan Temple), the Myōan Kyōkai never existed as a religious sect in its own right. We begin to see a concrete movement by the Myōan Kyōkai organization to reestablish the Fuke sect as a religious entity from around the mid-1920s. The organization’s magazine, *Myōan*, dedicated a whole issue in August 1926 to the reestablishment topic, including an article headlined “Declaration of the Reestablishment of the Fuke Sect.”⁷⁷ Despite this declaration, no immediate progress seems to have been made in obtaining official government recognition for the sect.

It is apparent from a number of *Sankyoku* articles that Fujita Shun’ichi was an important facilitator of the Myōan Kyōkai’s efforts to gain public recognition. In April 1923, for example, Fujita invited three leading Myōan Kyōkai members⁷⁸ to Tokyo for a “Fuke Shakuhachi Meeting.” According to Fujita’s *Sankyoku* article,⁷⁹ the meeting was held in Kifukuji, a Sōtō-sect Zen temple in the Hongō district of Tokyo, and ostensibly took the form of a reconstructed Fuke-sect ritual. While Fujita, the organizer of the event, does not seem to have been an active member of the Myōan Kyōkai, he apparently held strong opinions concerning the way the group should develop and viewed this meeting as a way to shape its future. Fujita writes:

I wish to deal always with the Myōan shakuhachi on a spiritual [*seishin*] level, a tradition which, since the time of its founder, Kyochiku Zenji, has been used as a tool of the Dharma. Knowing that there are not a few people in Tokyo who are desirous of experiencing the true nature of shakuhachi Zen, I proceeded in organizing this spiritual meeting.⁸⁰

This event shows how Fujita as a nonperforming facilitator was influential in enabling the spread of Fuke shakuhachi activities to Tokyo, enlisting the most important Myōan Kyōkai teachers to these ends. Fujita's article also mentions, if only in passing, the contribution of Uramoto Setchō (Uramoto Seisaburō, 1891–1965), a medical doctor and Fuke shakuhachi aficionado, who was professor of physiology at Tokyo's Jikei medical school, as well as a prolific writer and social commentator. Uramoto describes this Fuke shakuhachi meeting in a 1926 *Sankyoku* article.⁸¹ In addition, the location of Kifukuji is less than a five-minute walk from the medical school of Tokyo University, where another Fuke shakuhachi enthusiast, Hashida Kunihiko, was professor of medicine. Hashida, a prominent scholar of the founder of Sōto Zen, Dōgen, and later the Japanese minister of education, science, and culture, went on to become a central player in the revival of the Fuke sect (see below), and was possibly also involved in the 1923 Fuke shakuhachi meeting.

The pages of *Sankyoku* were also used to tell the story of a separate attempt to reestablish Ichigetsu-ji, another of the main Edo-era Fuke temples. A series of articles by Ichigetsu Seikū in 1932 details his attempts to reconstruct Buddhist services at Ichigetsu-ji, following Fuke practices and using the shakuhachi as a ritual instrument. In September 1932 Ichigetsu reports the

completion of the rebuilding of the temple itself, followed in March 1933 by an article outlining the religious practices of the old temple, in particular the *Nyūbutsu-shiki* ceremony.⁸² An article in May 1933 announces the establishment of a teaching studio in the temple, followed on the next page by a program for a *Nyūbutsu-shiki* ceremony planned for that month. There seems to have been widespread interest in Ichigetsu's initiative among professional shakuhachi performers of all styles, with the famous Kinko-ryū player Kawase Junsuke, Tozan-ryū founder Nakao Tozan, and Ueda-ryū founder Ueda Hōdō⁸³ listed among players who gave offertory shakuhachi performances. Also present were several members of the Myōan Kyōkai organization, including its leader Kobayashi Shizan (1877–1938).

Toward the end of the 1930s, the movement to reestablish the Fuke sect as a religious organization began to make more substantial progress. In 1938 the formation of another Tokyo-based Fuke group was announced in *Sankyoku*, a group led by Uramoto Setchō, Tani Kyōchiku, Hashida Kunihiko (see above), and members connected with the Tokyo University medical faculty. In particular, Hashida's involvement seems to have been crucial. As one of Japan's leading pre-World War II intellectuals, Hashida had published widely on Zen Buddhism, Confucianism, education, Japanese national identity, and other topics, but he was also a serious student of the Fuke-style shakuhachi. Hashida himself contributed an article to *Sankyoku* on the shakuhachi piece "Ajikan" in 1940.⁸⁴ In 1939 the Religious Affairs Department of the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture of the national government published the twenty-fourth volume of

an ongoing investigation into Japanese religious organizations.⁸⁵ This volume, focusing entirely on the pre-twentieth-century history of the Fuke sect, states that the sect “has not been transmitted” (*konnichi ni wa tsutawaranai*) since its dissolution in 1871.⁸⁶ This document was published one year before Hashida became minister of education, science, and culture in 1940. Yet considering his deep interest in and knowledge of the Fuke shakuhachi, it seems very likely that the study was influenced by Hashida and was part of a more general movement to reestablish the Fuke sect. Uramoto states that he first met Hashida as early as 1922.⁸⁷ Both Hashida and Uramoto were professors of physiology, but Uramoto states that they quickly formed a bond through their interest in the Fuke shakuhachi.⁸⁸ A comparison of the writings of Hashida and Uramoto suggests that the Tokyo University shakuhachi group was also a site for the vigorous exchange of ideas concerning Buddhism, the shakuhachi, and society in general. For example, Uramoto’s June 1940 *Sankyoku* article “Music as *gyō* [*samskara*], Music for Appreciation,”⁸⁹ describing musical performance in the context of the *Heart Sutra*, shows strong influence from Hashida’s theories of the Buddhist term *gyō*, and its application to science and society.⁹⁰

The story of the reestablishment of the Fuke sect reaches fruition in one of the most fascinating stories to unfold in monthly installments in the pages of *Sankyoku*—that of the early career of the shakuhachi player Tanaka Yūhi, later known as Tanaka Fumon, Itchō Fumon, and eventually Watazumi Dōso. Tanaka was born Tanaka Kendō in Fukuoka city in 1911, and studied with the Myōan-ryū teachers Tsunoda Rogetsu and Nakamura Kikufū.⁹¹ The genesis of Tanaka’s

early career in the pages of *Sankyoku* is interesting partly because it represents a kind of culmination of earlier discourses in the magazine toward shakuhachi spirituality, but also because Tanaka went on to become one of the most influential shakuhachi performers in post-World War II Japan and was largely responsible for the image of spirituality that the shakuhachi holds in the West today.

Tanaka appears for the first time in *Sankyoku* in February 1938, seemingly out of the blue, in an article declaring the restoration of the Hakata Itchōken Fuke tradition in Fukuoka, and listing Tanaka, at the age of twenty-six, as “head bamboo master” (*chikushi-chō*).⁹² Following this article, Tanaka became a regular contributor to the magazine, writing monthly activity reports (*shōsoku*), often in extended form (*tsūshinran*), that were far more detailed than those of most other contributors to the magazine. An example from April 1938⁹³ shows that Tanaka was busy traveling across the country, visiting Uramoto Setchō⁹⁴ in Tokyo and Tōfuku-ji temple in Kyoto in the process of reestablishing the shakuhachi as a ritual instrument at Itchōken. The article is also notable for Tanaka’s early use of the word *hotchiku* to refer to the shakuhachi, a word he would later apply exclusively to his own roughly made bamboo instruments. The speed of Tanaka’s ascent to national stature, still having made no recordings, and with no official title save for his position at Itchōken, must be attributed largely to Fujita’s decision to commission these *Sankyoku* articles from him.

Shortly after Tanaka’s appearance on the scene, we see a characteristic that marks his early career—that of changing his name. In June 1938 he becomes Tanaka Fumon,⁹⁵ and in August appears as Itchōken Fumon.

By December he has become Itchō Fumon, the name he kept for the next three years. These frequent name changes—first taking the name of the temple to which he belonged, as well as the Buddhist name Fumon (Universal Gate)—seem to have been a way for Tanaka to assert his authority over a religious tradition at such a young age.

The political maneuvering was evidently successful, as an article in October 1939 announces Tanaka's initiation (*ihatsu*) as head priest of Shōtenji temple.⁹⁶ The article includes the full text of the initiation ceremony, which refers to the Fuke sect and the shakuhachi, although no mention is made of any musical performance. In almost any other case, the announcement of a promotion within a Buddhist sect in a music magazine would be quite unusual. Again, it is evidence of Fujita Shun'ichi's strong editorial support for the restoration of the Fuke sect as a religious entity.

The next stage in the Fuke-shū story is indeed the official government recognition of Tanaka's temple as a religious organization under the name "Fuke sect," following a change in the law that allowed for the creation of new religious sects in 1940. Again, the announcement was made in the pages of *Sankyoku*:

Following the implementation of the "Law for Religious Organizations" [*Shūkyō-dantai-hō*] on April 1 this year, Itchōken has been recognized as a religious society, with the formal name Fuke Zen Dōjō Itchōken. All documents were submitted on behalf of Shōtenji temple and the board of trustees, and Mr. Fumon is thus now the religious leader [*sōshu*] and founder [*kaiso*] of Fuke Zen, a branch of the Zen lineage. However, due to a recent illness and mental instability, he has expressed a wish to devote himself

solely to Buddhist practice through the playing of the shakuhachi.⁹⁷

It is clear from this short article that Tanaka/Watazumi was an extremely astute figure who was able to negotiate the changing legal system involved with religious organizations. It also seems likely that he was being supported by more experienced operators. One clue is found in a self-penned entry to Tanaka's high-school alumni publication, in which he states that his move to Tokyo in the early 1940s was "at the personal invitation of Hashida Kunihiko, minister for education, science, and culture,"⁹⁸ again suggesting that Hashida was actively promoting the reestablishment of the Fuke sect around this time. More evidence for Tanaka's influential connections can be seen in May 1942, when he announced the establishment of a teaching studio in Tokyo, accompanied by the first appearance of the name Watatsumi (Watazumi) by which he would be known for the rest of his life.⁹⁹ An announcement published in *Sankyoku* states that the "Watatsumiryū uses a single piece of bamboo in spiritual practice [*shin'gyō*] ... and aims to create a perfect unification of religion [*shūkyō*] and the arts [*geidō*]."¹⁰⁰ The announcement lists a group of "sponsors" that includes the shakuhachi player Nakao Tozan, the musicologist Tanabe Hisao, and, importantly, *Sankyoku*'s editor, Fujita Shun'ichi. Even more revealing is the very first name on this list of sponsors, Tōyama Mitsuru, the political activist whom we also met earlier as a supporter of Tani Kyōchiku's Asian shakuhachi travels. It is clear that the reestablishment of the Fuke sect, and the promotion of a religious discourse surrounding the shakuhachi, was

of great interest to a large number of key players in Japanese culture and politics in the pre-World War II and wartime years, extending far beyond the sphere of the performing arts.

Conclusions

The shakuhachi is a hugely misunderstood instrument both in Japan and abroad. As Deeg notes, the common image of the shakuhachi as an “instrument of Zen meditation” is not supported by much more than circumstantial evidence in pre-twentieth-century Japanese history. As Deeg and other writers have stated, these kinds of images are often romanticized Orientalist inventions by Western audiences and shakuhachi players, and have little to do with the cultural position of the shakuhachi in Japan at any historical period. Nevertheless, the religious and spiritual connections of the shakuhachi did not arise out of nowhere, nor are they solely a creation of the West. Throughout this essay I have considered ways in which a religious discourse surrounding the shakuhachi was constructed in the pages of *Sankyoku* magazine over a period of some twenty-four years prior to the end of World War II. My objective has not been to prove or disprove the ritual position of the shakuhachi during the Edo period. It seems beyond dispute that, at the very least, Edo-period shakuhachi players carried out mendicant activities based around a network of “temples,” and that they claimed a lineage that stretched back to the ninth-century Chinese Zen monk Puhua/Fuke. All of these elements were referenced by the early twentieth-century protagonists I have discussed. My slightly provocative use of the word “invention”

in the title of this essay is not meant to imply that the Edo-period shakuhachi had no cultural meanings that we might retrospectively describe with words such as “religion” or *shūkyō*. Rather, it is clear that religious meanings of the shakuhachi were socially constructed in pre-World War II Japan using new religious terminology and conceptions that were very much of their time, and were implicitly connected with Japanese modernity and its place in the early twentieth-century world. Far from simply representing a movement to recreate a musical or religious tradition from the Edo period, the *Sankyoku* magazine articles I examine here demonstrate how the discourse of shakuhachi spirituality was tightly bound up with political events occurring in Japan and Asia in the pre-World War II years. By looking at the relatively confined musical community centered around *Sankyoku*, I have shown that the shakuhachi was the locus of a vigorous and forward-looking discursive movement to construct theories of music and religion in pre-World War II Japan. At one level, as we can see in the Nomura incident and the discourse around *shakuhachi-dō*, the instrument was often seen as a tool of personal faith and personal moral betterment. At the same time I have also uncovered abundant evidence that this discourse was facilitated by a highly influential cultural elite that included members of the Japanese government and top-level religious and academic figures. Although the shakuhachi’s official religious origins and affiliations are unclear, the instrument was hugely influential in the development of modern conceptions of musical spirituality in early twentieth-century Japan.

Appendix: List of *Sankyoku* Articles Dealing with Shakuhachi and Religious Themes

Year/month/page(s)	Title	Author
1921/9/25–27	The Mindset of Modern Shakuhachi Training	Mizuno Ryodō
1921/11/28	The Value of the Shakuhachi	Yano Takekuma
1921/12/2–3	The Awakening of the Amateur Shakuhachi World	Fujita Rērō/Shun'ichi
1922/9/49	Self-confidence Regarding the Shakuhachi	Miyazaki Gingetsu
1922/11/34–35	<i>Kaisei Hōgo</i> (late Edo-period shakuhachi treatise)	Hisamatsu Fūyō
1923/4/6–7 1923/5/4–5 1923/6/6–7 1923/7/24–28 1923/8/16–17 1924/7/8–9 1924/9/7–9	The Psychological Breathing Techniques of Hakuin Ekaku in Relation to Shakuhachi Blowing	Sasakabe Kōdō
1923/4/53	Fuke Shakuhachi Meeting	Fujita Rērō/Shun'ichi
1923/5/31–34	Notes on the Shakuhachi—Hitori Mondō	Hisamatsu Fūyō
1923/7/4–7 1923/8/5–9 1924/7/4–7 1924/8/4–	The Shakuhachi as a Japanese Musical Instrument	Uramoto Setchō
1924/8/8–10	The Way of the Brush and the Way of the Shakuhachi	Kobayashi Shizan
1924/10/4–6	Fuke Shakuhachi	Uramoto Setchō
1924/4/7–8	The Bells of Jetavana Temple	Tomimori Kyozan

1924/6/6–8 1925/8/13–16 1925/9/5–7 1925/10/12–14 1925/11/11–13 1925/12/11–14 1926/1/57–59	Blowing the Shakuhachi—from the Perspective of Musical Tone and Breathing	Tomimori Kyozan
1925/12/38–43	The Agony of Shakuhachi Believers Who Connect with Spirits	Fujita Rērō/Shun'ichi
1926/2/10–13	Fuke and the Shakuhachi	Yumeyama Dōjin
1926/2/14–16	Zen and the Heart of the Shakuhachi	Ōsaki Kanzan
1926/3/6–7	Private Study and Other Topics	Yumeyama Dōjin
1926/7/8–11 1926/8/10–11 1926/9/9–11	A Taste of the Zen Flute	Yumeyama Dōjin
1926/8/33–37 1926/9/42–45 1926/10/49–53 1926/11/38–40	Tales of Shakuhachi Lessons	Uramoto Setchō
1926/10/7–9 1926/11/13–15	Understanding the Ten Ox-Herding Pictures ⁱ	Yumeyama Dōjin
1926/11/7–12	On Shakuhachi Transmission	Ichimura Tomihisa
1926/12/58–61	Letter from Komusō Tani Kyōchiku	Tani Kyōchiku
1926/12/42–46 1927/1/33–36 1927/2/7–9	An Explanation and Theory of the Distribution of Myōan Shakuhachi	Tomimori Kyozan
1927/2/46–50	The Shakuhachi and Superstition	Tani Kyōchiku

1927/2/59	On the Hachigaeshi Text	Tani Kyōchiku
1927/3/50–52	My Life as a “Monk of Emptiness” [kokūsō]	Tani Kyōchiku
1927/3/45–48	Random Thoughts on the Battle for Shakuhachi Lineage Legitimacy and Other Things	Takahashi Ryūson
1927/4/34–37	On the Fuke-shū Shakuhachi	Takahashi Kūzan
1927/4/38–39	Higuchi Taizan, as Seen and Heard	Anfuku Gozan
1927/4/40–41	In Reply to Takashashi Ryūson’s Article	Tomimori Kyozan
1927/6/28–30	On the Dharani Reihō	Tanase Ritsudō
1927/8/32–36	What Exactly Is the Fuke-shū?	Takahashi Kūzan
1927/10/54–55	Regulations for Members of the Fuke-shū	Okazaki Jirō
1928/2/66–69 1928/3/47–50 1928/7/70–73	Collected Thoughts and Tales from a Shakuhachi angya Pilgrimage	Yoshida Seifū
1928/10/13–15	Komusō Worship	Takano Shūdō
1929/1/29–33 1929/2/11–15 1929/3/14–18 1929/4/10–14 1929/5/8–1 1929/6/10–14 1929/8/10–14 1929/9/7–11 1929/10/10–14 1929/10/15–19 1929/11/9–13 1929/12/10–14	Otodama and the Shakuhachi	Yamamoto Seiichirō
1929/7/45–48	The Komusō Spirit	Tomimori Kyozan

1929/9/20–23	The Original Lifeblood of the Shakuhachi	Takano Shūdō
1929/9/69–71 1929/10/62–64 1929/11/67–69 1929/12/60 1930/1/82–83 1930/2/71	Report from Komusō Tani Kyōchiku on His Departure for Korea, Manchuria, and China	Tani Kyōchiku
1930/24–27	The Shakuhachi as a New Instrument	Nomura Kagehisa
1930/4/2–3	The State of Ultimate Nonself [anatman]	Fujita Rērō/Shun'ichi
1930/4/94	Report from Komusō Tani Kyōchiku	Tani Kyōchiku
1930/5/50–53 1930/6/49–52	A Beginner's Guide	Nakatsuka Chikuzen
1930/5/95	Report from Komusō Tani Kyōchiku (Heading for India)	Tani Kyōchiku
1930/8/13–15	The Heart of Myōan Shakuhachi Blowing	Kobayashi Shizan
1930/8/63	Report from Komusō Tani Kyōchiku on His angya Pilgrimage to India Dressed in tengai and Sandals	Tani Kyōchiku
1930/9/20–22	Shakuhachi and Life	Takano Shūdō
1930/9/31–33 1930/10/48–50 1930/12/38–40 1931/1/40–43 1931/3/29–31	How to Be a Modern Komusō angya Pilgrim	Tomimori Kyozan
1930/10/71–73 1930/11/66–69	Report from Komusō Tani Kyōchiku on His angya Pilgrimage to India . . .	Tani Kyōchiku

1930/12/64–65 1931/1/98–102 1931/2/69–72 1931/3/66–69 1931/4/87–91 1931/5/51–58 1931/6/83 1931/7/59–61 1931/8/60–61 1931/9/54 1931/10/55–57		
1931/4/40–42	A Komusō Playing “Ginza kōshinkyoku”: Problems with Content and Form	Takano Shūdō
1931/10/58–59	Greetings [on his return to Japan]	Tani Kyōchiku
1931/11/85	Tani Kyōchiku Heads Straight to a Hokkaido angya Pilgrimage	Tani Kyōchiku
1932/4/48–51	The Curse of the Komusō	Takahashi Kūzan
1932/6/16	A Report on Tani Kyōchiku in Kagoshima Shinbun Newspaper	Staff
1932/6/48–50	Report from Kumamoto	Takeshita Sumito
1932/7/18–21	A Personal View of chiku-dō	Kawase Junsuke
1932/7/27	Tsuru no sugomori	Nomura Kagehisa
1932/8/51–53	The Shakuhachi in the Play Komusō	Odani Seifū
1932/8/64–5 1932/9/71–72	Report from Nagasaki	Takeshita Sumito
1932/9/19–20	On the Completion of the Rebuilding of Ichigetsu-ji Temple	Ichigetsu Seikū

1932/9/28–30	Promote the Characteristic Sounds of the Shakuhachi	Takeshita Sumito
1932/9/37–42	Random Thoughts on a European Shakuhachi angya Pilgrimage	Suzuki Fujie
1932/10/4–13	What Are the Characteristics of Shakuhachi-dō?	Kurihara Kōta
1932/10/38–42	On the Problem of Kinko-ryū Headmaster: The Relationship between Ichigetsu-ji and [Araki] Chiku-dō	Tsukamoto Kyodō
1932/10/58–62	Records of a Shakuhachi angya Pilgrimage	Takeshita Sumito
1932/11/17–19	Music Requires Seriousness	Takeshita Sumito
1933/1/14–18	The True Soul of Shakuhachi-dō	Ueda Hōdō
1933/1/18–21	Profession and Hobby	Takeshita Sumito
1933/1/52–53	My Hopes for the Sankyoku World This Year	Yoshida Seifū
1933/1/53	Kochō-an	Nakatsuka Chikuzen
1933/2/18–19	On the Shakuhachi as Buddhist Sacred Music [seigaku]	Iikura Gakudō
1933/2/48–49	The Nyūbutsushiki Ceremony and Offertory Shakuhachi Performances at Ichigetsu-ji Temple	Ichigetsu Seikū
1933/3/20–23	The Origins of Ichigetsu-ji Temple and the Order of Service for the Nyūbutsushiki Ceremony	Ichigetsu Seikū
1933/3/42–48	Roundtable Discussion on the Nomura Incident	Fujita Rērō/Shun'ichi
1933/3/54–55	Thoughts on the Murderer Nomura [Kagehisa]	Yoshida Seifū
1933/3/67–70	With Startled Dismay—Nomura Kagehisa	Fujita Rērō/Shun'ichi

1933/4/15–16	Personal Development over Hobby	Takeshita Sumito
1933/5/11–13	Blow the Shakuhachi from Your Heart	Takeshita Sumito
1933/5/61	The Establishment of a Shakuhachi Teaching Studio at Ichigetsu-ji Temple	Ichigetsu Seikū
1933/5/62	The Nyūbutsushiki Ceremony at the Old Ichigetsu-ji Temple: Implementation and Order of Service	Ichigetsu Seikū
1933/6/79	The Shakuhachi-dō Song	Ueda Hōdō
1933/6/85	The Nyūbutsushiki Ceremony at Old Ichigetsu-ji Temple	Staff
1933/8/13–14	On Jinashi Shakuhachi	Takeshita Sumito
1933/9/13–14	Destroyed in Form but Living in Spirit: The Zen Shakuhachi	Takeshita Sumito
1933/10/2–3	Idealized and Embellished Music	Fujita Rērō/Shun'ichi
1933/10/13–14	The True Meaning of chiku-dō	Takeshita Sumito
1934/3/4–6	Do Not Throw Away the Religious Value of chiku-dō	Takeshita Sumito
1934/6/86	Shakuhachi Players, Don't Be Lazy! The Time for angya Pilgrimage Is Now.	Advertisement
1935/1/16–20	Return to the Original Spirit of chiku-dō	Uramoto Setchō
1935/1/103	Report of a Shakuhachi honkyoku sesshin Meditation Meeting	Nakatsuka Chikuzen
1935/2/42–45	Fudai-ji Temple in Hamamatsu	Takahashi Kūzan
1935/3/11–13	The Mindful Approach Involved in chiku-dō	Takeshita Sumito

1935/3/14–17	Chiku-dō Falling into Evil Ways	Katō Keidō
1935/3/43–49	Yoshida Itchō: A Theory of Breath	Nakatsuka Chikuzen
1935/4/47–50 1935/5/50–53	Nomura [Kagehisa]’s Mental State as Seen in His Letters	Kobayashi Tatsuya
1935/4/66–67	[Nomura] Kagehisa, [Fukuda] Randō, and [Araki] Baikyoku	Fujita Rērō/Shun’ichi
1935/4/87	Under the Cherry Blossoms: The Time for angya Is Now!	Advertisement
1935/5/75	Parting Thanks	Nomura Kagehisa
1935/6/4–6	Is chiku-dō a Kind of Zen?	Takeshita Sumito
1935/7/102	The Death of Nomura Kagehisa	Fujita Rērō/Shun’ichi
1935/11/64	News from Komusō Tani Kyōchiku	Tani Kyōchiku
1935/12/50–55	The Buddhist High Priests and the Shakuhachi	Fujita Rērō/Shun’ichi
1936/1/4–6	The Mysterious Effect of “Action, Speech, and Thought” [shinkui] and the True Meaning of chiku-dō	Takeshita Sumito
1936/2/4–6	On the Relationship between Religion and the Performing Arts: Spiritual Preparation for the chiku-dō Practitioner	Takeshita Sumito
1936/3/70	Report from Tani Kyōchiku	Tani Kyōchiku
1936/4/4–6	Read the Buddha Mind! The anatman State Achieved through honkyoku	Takeshita Sumito
1936/4/73	Establishment of the chiku-dō Society	Staff
1936/6/6–7	The Mahayanistic Spirit of the Performing Arts	Tatebe Niyama

1936/11/81	The angya Season Is Here!	Advertisement
1936/12/62–65	Higuchi Taizan Koji	[Nakatsuka?] Chikuzen
1937/9/9–11 1937/10/8–10 1937/11/4–5	The Theory of sankyoku: The Relationship between Music and Faith	Yamazaki Ransai
1937/11/66–67	Report from the War Zone: Shanghai	Koyama Hōshō
1938/2/66	Belief in the Shakuhachi on the Front Line	Ide Yōdō
1938/2/67	Declaration of the Restoration of Hakata Itchōken	Tanaka Yūhi
1938/3/73 1938/4/69	News from Performers: Tanaka Yūhi (Fukuoka)	Tanaka Yūhi
1938/4/72	Report from Tanaka Yūhi of Itchōken	Tanaka Yūhi
1938/6/63	News from Performers: Tanaka Fumon (Fukuoka)	Tanaka Fumon
1938/8/16–21 1939/9/20–26 1939/10/20–24 1939/11/19–26 1939/12/22–25	A Study of Shakuhachi Breathing Techniques	Fujita Rērō/Shun'ichi
1939/1/63	Artistic Cultivation or Performance Spectacle?	Yokoyama Setsudō
1939/1/64–65	Performances and Discussions at the Fuke Shakuhachi Evening at Saikyōji Temple	Fujita Rērō/Shun'ichi
1939/9/57	Fuke Shakuhachi meeting	Advertisement
1939/10/52	An Initiation Ceremony [ihatsu] at Hakata Itchōken	Itchō Fumon

1939/11/38–40	Tales of Bamboo	Shiunrō Shujin
1940/4/4–5	Shakuhachi-dō Is Precious	Satō Naotake
1940/6/12–15	Music as gyō (samskara), Music for Appreciation	Uramoto Setchō
1940/8/8–9	“Ajikan”	Hashida Muteki (Kunihiko)
1940/10/2–3	The Communal Spirit Is Most Important for Music: Group Music Making and the Shakuhachi Spirit in Wartime	Fujita Rērō/Shun’ichi
1940/11/11–13	The New Administration and the Spirit of Shakuhachi	Muraji Kyodō
1941/3/14–15	Fuke Shakuhachi	Gyōzan Hinoeuma
1942/4/5–7	The New Doctrine of the Watatsumi-ryū	Kobayashi Seikō
1942/4/17–19 1942/5/7–9 1942/6/17–19 1942/7/14–16 1942/8/8–10 1942/10/9–10 1943/1/8–10	Komusō Licenses in the Past and Present	Itchō Fumon (from October 1942 Watatsumi Fumon)
1942/5/37	The Watatsumi-ryū Teaching Studio	Advertisement
1943/2/2–3	The Spirit of the Shakuhachi and the Character of Bamboo: The Intimate Relationship with the Japanese Spirit	Fujita Rērō/Shun’ichi
1943/2/6–8	On the honkyoku Pieces “Saji” and “Ajikan”	Watatsumi Fumon

ⁱ The *Ten Ox-Herding Pictures* are a series of pictures describing the process of a practitioner toward enlightenment. They were used in the Chinese Zen tradition since the twelfth century C.E. and in Japan from the fifteenth century at the latest.

NOTES

1 Fujita Shun'ichi writing in *Sankyoku* magazine, December 1921. (All references to articles in *Sankyoku* are contained in the Appendix and are cited by year/month/page[s].)

2 For the development of the concept of "religion" in post-Meiji Japan, see Jason Ananda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). For the development of the Western concept of "music" in the same period, see Ury Eppstein, *The Beginnings of Western Music in Meiji Era Japan* (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellen Press, 1994).

3 Frans Wijsen, "Editorial: Discourse Analysis in Religious Studies," *Religion* 43/1 (2013): 1–3.

4 Teemu Taira, "Making Space for Discursive Study in Religious Studies," *Religion* 43/1 (2013): 26–45.

5 Teemu Taira, "Religion as a Discursive Technique: The Politics of Classifying Wicca," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 25/3 (2010): 379–94. See also Taira's "Making Space for Discursive Study in Religious Studies."

6 Kōta Kurihara, *Shakuhachi Shikō* [On the History of the Shakuhachi] (Tokyo: Chikuyūsha, 1918 [repr. 1975]); Kūzan Takahashi, *Fukeshūshi* [History of the Fuke-shū] (Tokyo: Fukeshūshi Kankōkai, 1979); Max Deeg, "Komusō and 'Shakuhachi-Zen': From Historical Legitimation to the Spiritualisation of a Buddhist Denomination in the Edo Period," *Japanese Religions* 32/1–2 (2007): 7–38; Yūkō Kamisangō, "The Shakuhachi—History and Development," in *The Shakuhachi: A Manual for Learning*, ed. Christopher Blasdel (Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomo Sha, 1988), 69–132; James H. Sanford, "Shakuhachi Zen: The Fukeshu and Komuso," *Monumenta Nipponica* 32/4 (1977): 411–40.

7 See Sanford, "Fukeshu," 415–21. 普化Puha is the Chinese pronunciation, Fuke is the Japanese pronunciation of the same Chinese characters.

8 Deeg, "Komusō," 9.

9 Kiku Day, "Zen Buddhism and Music: Spiritual Shakuhachi Tours to Japan," in *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics*, vol. 4, ed. D. A. Gilbreath, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015), 2815–31; Jay Keister, "The Shakuhachi as Spiritual Tool: A Japanese Buddhist Instrument in the West," *Asian Music* 35/2 (2004): 99–131; Koji Matsunobu, "The Role of Spirituality in Learning Music: A Case of North American Adult Students of Japanese Music," *British Journal of Music Education* 29/2 (2012): 181–92.

10 A notable exception is Christian T. Mau, "Situating the Myōan Kyōkai: A Study of Suizen and the Fuke Shakuhachi" (Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, University of London, 2014), which includes ethnographic details of the activities of the modern Japanese Myōan Kyōkai.

11 There was also a publication break between September 1923 and June 1924 following the Great Kantō Earthquake of Sept. 1, 1923.

12 Fujita took his pen-name, "Rērō," from two note-names in the common shakuhachi notation system.

13 For details of Fujita Shun'ichi's life, see Setsuko Fujita, ed., *Rērō-ki: 20 Seiki o Sankyoku to tomo ni ikita chichi Fujita Shun'ichi* (Record of Rērō: My Father Who Lived with *sankyoku* through the Twentieth Century) (Tokyo: P&P Service, 2000).

14 E.g., Yukio Matsudo, "Protestant Character of Modern Buddhist Movements," *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 20 (2000): 59–69.

15 See particularly the section on *angya* pilgrimage below.

16 E.g., Jun'ichi Isomae, *Kindai nihon no shūkyō gensetsu to sono keifu: Shūkyō, kokka, Shintō* (Religious Discourse and Its Genealogy in Modern Japan: Religion, State, and Shinto) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), 29–66.

17 Kyosui Yamagishi, ed., *Geinin no Shūkyō* (Osaka: Maekawa Shoten, 1910).

18 *Sankyoku* 1936/12/62–65.

19 Taizan (Kōdō) Higuchi, "Higuchi Kōdō," in Yamagishi, ed., *Geinin no Shūkyō*, 146–47.

20 *Ibid.*, 147.

21 *Ibid.*, 149.

22 See, e.g., Eiichi Ōtani, Shin'ichi Yoshinaga, and Shuntarō Kondō, eds., *Kindai Bukkyō Sutadizu: Bukkyō kara mita mō hitotsu no kindai* (Modern Buddhist Studies: A New Modernity from a Buddhist Perspective) (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2018), esp. 10–14.

23 *Sankyoku* 1936/6/6–7.

24 See, e.g., Taiken Kimura, *Daijō Bukkyō Shisō-ron* (Theory of Mahayana Buddhist Thought) (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1936).

25 No historical connection is known linking Hakuin to the shakuhachi, and I include these articles in my analysis as fundamentally modern Japanese reimaginings of the shakuhachi in a historic Buddhist cultural context.

26 Hidehiko Kurita, "Zahō to kokyūhō no būmu" (The Boom in Theories of Sitting and Breathing), in Ōtani et al., *Kindai Bukkyō Sutadizu*, 121–24.

- 27 E.g., Sasakabe writing in 1923/8/16–17.
- 28 The Kinko style (*ryū*) is one of the major shakuhachi lineages, based on the teachings and repertoire of Kurosawa Kinko (1710–1771).
- 29 *Sankyoku* 1921/9/25–27.
- 30 E.g., Yoshiharu Nakagawa, “The Japanese Way of Spiritual Cultivation,” in *Global Perspectives on Spirituality and Education*, ed. J. Watson, M. De Souza, and A. Trousdale (New York: Routledge, 2014), 181–91.
- 31 See Andreas Gutzwiller, *Die Shakuhachi der Kinko-Schule* (The Shakuhachi of the Kinko School) (Kassel, Basel, London: Bärenreiter, 1983) for a German translation of Hisamatsu’s writings.
- 32 *Sankyoku* 1934/3/4–6.
- 33 *Sankyoku* 1936/2/4–6.
- 34 Nichigai Asoshietsu, ed., *Shinsen Geinōjinbutsu Jiten: Meiji~Heisei* (Japanese Entertainers of the Meiji-Heisei era: A Biographical Dictionary) (Tokyo: Nichigai Asoshietsu, 2010), 510.
- 35 The so-called “*Muji-kōan*,” the first in the collection known as the *Mumonkan*.
- 36 *Sankyoku* 1927/3/52.
- 37 The Sino-Japanese word *wokū* is a translation of the Sanskrit *ākāśa* (space, spatiality, sky, ether).
- 38 Kyozan Tomimori, *Myōan Shakuhachi Tsūkai* (An Overview of Myōan Shakuhachi) (Tokyo: Myōan Kyozanbō Dōkōkai, 1979), 38.
- 39 A collection of Tani’s writings edited by his student Inagaki Ihaku focuses on Tani’s later career. Ihaku Inagaki, *Komusō Tani Kyōchiku* (Toyoda: Inagaki Ihaku, 1985).
- 40 *Sankyoku* 1930/8/63.
- 41 The Higashi Honganji branch of the Shin sect established a temple in Shanghai in 1876, and by 1918 the Nishi and Higashi Honganji branches had a total of ninety-two temples in Korea alone. The Sōtō Zen sect, Nichiren sect, and other Japanese Buddhist groups were also active in establishing temples in Korea, China, Manchuria, and other parts of East Asia up until the end of World War II. For details, see Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 2006).
- 42 *Sankyoku* 1931/1/98.
- 43 *Sankyoku* 1930/10/71.
- 44 Richard M. Jaffe, “Seeking Sakyamuni: Travel and the Reconstruction of Japanese Buddhism,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 30/1 (2004): 69.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 95.
- 46 *Sankyoku* 1931/4/87.
- 47 *Tengai* are large woven hats, completely covering the head and face, that were worn by *komusō*.
- 48 *Sankyoku* 1931/10/58.
- 49 Chūgai Nippō Tokyo Shikyoku, ed., *Marukishizumu to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Daihōkaku Shobō, 1930).
- 50 Sumito Takeshita, *Kōun Ryūsui* (A Life Lived Freely) (Tokyo: Kyōwa Shoin, 1937), 57–58.
- 51 Deriving obviously from Karl Marx.
- 52 Takeshita, *Kōun Ryūsui*, 57–58.
- 53 Setchō Uramoto, *Seimei no dai-yon genri* (Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin, 1933), 1.
- 54 *Sankyoku* 1932/6/16.
- 55 *Sankyoku* 1931/12/82.
- 56 *Ibid.*
- 57 *Sankyoku* 1930/9/31.
- 58 *Sankyoku* 1930/10/48–50.
- 59 *Sankyoku* 1930/12/38–40.
- 60 *Sankyoku* 1931/1/40–43.
- 61 Kyōchiku Tani, “*Komusō gyōka*” (*Komuso Mendicancy*), *Shintenchū* (New Land) 10/1 (1930): 130–32.
- 62 *Sankyoku* 1934/6/86.
- 63 *Sankyoku* 1936/11/81.
- 64 E.g., *Sankyoku* 1930/12/65.
- 65 Jolyon Baraka Thomas, “*Shūkyō Asobi* and Miyazaki Hayao’s *Anime*,” *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 10/3 (2007): 88.
- 66 Jolyon Baraka Thomas, *Drawing on Tradition: Manga, Anime, and Religion in Contemporary Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2012), 16.
- 67 *Sankyoku* 1933/3/42–48.
- 68 *Sankyoku* 1933/3/67–70.
- 69 Real name Hori Saikichi (1890–1983). The Dai-Uchū-kyō was founded in 1919 and by the mid-1920s had a number of branches in Japan’s major cities (Dai-Uchū-kyō, ed., *Shittara Seson Reiga-shū* [Spiritual Paintings by the World-honored Shittara] [Numazu: Dai-Uchū-kyō Honbu, 1990], 60–61).
- 70 While the Dai-Uchū-kyō religion was not an official Buddhist sect, it drew heavily on traditional Buddhist teachings such as causality.
- 71 *Sankyoku* 1933/3/70.
- 72 *Sankyoku* 1933/5/12.
- 73 *Sankyoku* 1935/4/47–50.
- 74 *Sankyoku* 1935/7/102.
- 75 Kei Saitō, *1933 Nen o kiku: Senzen Nihon no oto-fukei* (Listening to 1933: The Soundscape of Pre-World War II Japan) (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2017), 40–41.
- 76 *Sankyoku* 1935/3/14–17. In particular, the modern-style shakuhachi performer Fukuda Randō had recently been publicly shamed in the Japanese print media for seducing a number of women with false promises of marriage.

77 Myōan Kyōkai, “Fuke-shū no Fukkō o Sensu” (Declaration of the Reestablishment of the Fuke Sect), *Myōan* 3/1 (1926): 1.

78 Kobayashi Shizan, who was then the head priest of Myōanji, Tsunoda Rogetsu from Kumamoto, and Myōchin Sōzan from Kagawa.

79 *Sankyoku* 1923/4/53.

80 Ibid.

81 *Sankyoku* 1926/11/38–40.

82 Ichigetsu describes this as a ceremony that was performed at Ichigetsu-ji prior to the abolition of the Fuke sect in 1871.

83 The Kinko-ryū, Tozan-ryū, and Ueda-ryū are three of the major (secular) shakuhachi lineages in modern Japan.

84 *Sankyoku* 1940/8/8–9.

85 Monbushō Shūkyō-kyoku (Religious Affairs Department of the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture), ed., *Fuke-shū ni kansuru Chōsa* (A Survey of the Fuke Sect) (Tokyo: Monbushō Shūkyō-kyoku, 1939).

86 Ibid., 4.

87 Tōkyō Daigaku Igakubu Seirigaku Dōsōkai, ed., *Tsuioku no Hashida Kunihiko* (Reminiscences of Hashida Kunihiko) (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Igakubu Seirigaku Dōsōkai, 1976), 4.

88 Ibid.

89 *Sankyoku* 1940/6/12–15.

90 Kunihiko Hashida, *Hekitan-shū* (The Hekitan Collection) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1934), 198. Also see Kunihiko Hashida, *Gyō toshite no kagaku* (Science as *gyō/samskara*) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1939). The *Heart Sutra* is one of the central texts and concise summaries of Mahayana Buddhism.

91 Asoshietsu, ed., *Shinsen Geinōjinbutsu Jiten*, 900.

92 *Sankyoku* 1938/2/67.

93 *Sankyoku* 1938/4/69.

94 There is plenty of evidence in *Sankyoku* for the direct personal interaction between Uramoto and Tanaka. In April 1938 Tanaka reported that he was staying in Uramoto’s Tokyo house (p. 72), while in May 1939 Tanaka reported that Uramoto was visiting “for the benefit of Itchōken,” during which time they played shakuhachi in Daijōji temple. The two both performed at a large national Fuke shakuhachi-kai meeting in Tokyo in December 1938.

95 *Sankyoku* 1938/6/63.

96 *Sankyoku* 1939/10/52.

97 *Sankyoku* 1940/10/58.

98 Yūichirō Noda, *Fukushō Chōryū* (The Story of Fukuoka Commercial High School) (Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon Shinbun-sha, 1972), 233.

99 The name was initially written 海神 in the May article and amended to 海童 in an official announcement in September 1942 (p. 43; also p. 24), when he also officially changed his name to Watazumi Fumon 海童普門.

100 *Sankyoku* 1942/5/37.