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CHAPTER I

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF JAPANESE BUDÔ IN THE GLOBAL ERA

Uozumi Takashi
**INTRODUCTION**

Within the context of today’s rapid globalisation of politics, economy and society, the global proliferation of Japanese *budo* has become a pressing matter as well. *Budo*, or the Japanese “martial ways” are based on martial culture which evolved during the Edo period (1603–1867) in *bushi* (samurai) society, and was later reorganised and modernised during the Meiji period (1868–1912). After the Second World War, *budo* was “sportified” and subsequently internationalised; however, the introduction and subsequent phenomenal development of *budo* in foreign countries has brought to light the need to understand the complex dynamics seen in its globalisation.

A study on “global *budo*” must consider the problems that Japanese *budo* will have to endure while it undergoes the process of globalisation, and thereby unveil new potential for *budo* culture in contemporary society. We need to explore both the obvious and inconspicuous aspects of *budo*, and seek to somehow retain its essence.

Nowadays, Korean and Chinese martial arts are also embracing globalisation. Modern sports are commercialising which brings to the fore numerous issues and complexities, and it seems that we are approaching an important turning point in global sports culture across the board. It is possible to conduct an extensive cross-cultural study of *budo* by considering all of these dynamics. First, however, it is necessary to clarify the historical peculiarities that emerged with the development of *budo* culture.

People normally use the appellation “*budo*” in a singular sense, but in fact *budo* was established through, and still encompasses, a variety of martial disciplines. Each one developed in its own peculiar way, and so the characteristics of each *budo* and the way they have internationalised also differ. For example, the current form of *kendo* was already completed by the end of the Edo period. *Kendo* still relies heavily on traditions inherited from *kenjutsu* (classical Japanese swordsmanship) which evolved in the medieval era. *Judo* is based on different *jujutsu* traditions transmitted from the Edo period, but as it has now become widely disseminated throughout the world, its current *modus operandi* differs greatly from its original form. *Karate* was developed in the Ryūkyū kingdom (present day Okinawa) and was exported to Japan’s mainland in the early decades of the twentieth century. *Karate* was deeply influenced by *jūdō* ideals, and then restructured into a modern *budo* art for wider dissemination. *Karate* is still divided into several traditional *ryūha* or schools, but has spread far and wide overseas, and has even blended with other martial cultures. The number of *jūdō* and *karate* competitors is estimated between 30 and 40 million people worldwide. Another example would be *sumō*. Professional *sumō* was considered as Japan’s ‘national sport’. Recently, however, most of the wrestlers competing at the highest ranks of Yokozuna and Ōzeki are non-Japanese. Finally, *kyūdō*, a *budo* art which has preserved most of its traditional protocols, formed an international federation in 2006, and is now enthusiastically striving to spread the art abroad.

Readers who would like to learn more about the history of *budo* in English will find valuable information in the first book of this series, *IBU Budo Series Vol.1—The History and Spirit of Budo* (2010). This volume will focus on the state of *budo* in the present day, and address the issue of globalisation within the framework of cross-cultural studies. Ultimately, we will attempt to determine the potential of a globalised form of *budo*.

I. **THE MARTIAL CULTURE OF THE EARLY-MODERN PERIOD**

—**THE TRADITIONAL BASE OF BUDO**

1. The Establishment of Early-modern Japanese Martial Culture

In order to understand the fundamental nature of Japanese *budo*, we need to define its traditional background in the martial culture of the early-modern era (c. 1568–1868).
Early-modern Japanese martial culture created by bushi emerged from the second half of the sixteenth century through to the first half of the seventeenth century. This coincides with the formation of Japan’s pre-modern society. During the Sengoku period (“Warring States period”, 1467–1568), a time of nationwide turmoil that lasted for more than a century, martial art specialists founded their own ryūha, or “martial traditions”, through which they taught techniques for actual combat. During the second half of the sixteenth century, some of the disciples of the early ryūha discovered deeper principles, forged their own idiosyncratic techniques, and devised consistent teaching methodologies that would lead to the creation of more complex schools.

Mounted warriors in Japan traditionally demonstrated their martial skills on the battlefield in single combat, but this style of fighting became outdated during the Warring States era when battles were mainly waged by mobilising large regiments of foot-soldiers brandishing long spears (yari) or firearms. Several ryūha were created around this time, and they taught traditional bujutsu (martial arts) focussing mainly on kenjutsu (swordsmanship). Military commanders such as Kamiizumi Ise-no-Kami and Yagyū Munetoshi from the Shinkage-ryū tradition of swordsmanship were at the forefront in the creation of prototypical ryūha.

In 1590, Toyotomi Hideyoshi successfully unified the country, and subsequently implemented a series of measures for social control including cadastral surveys, the “katana-gari” edict (“Sword Hunt”—commoners were denied the right to possess swords longer than 60cm), and the “mibun-hōrei” law (“Separation Edict”; strict division of classes). The role of the farmer and warrior were thus separated, and only bushi were permitted to carry swords longer than 2-shaku (60cm). The katana became a symbol of the ruling class.

The Tokugawa shogunate was established at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The shogunate is generally seen as a nationally unified political power; but the 250 or so feudal domains (han) in Japan were politically and militarily independent, and operated under the leader-follower system of vassalage based on the relationship between the domain lord (daimyō) and his retainers. It was a period of durable peace, but bushi were still expected to maintain a semblance of military readiness.

There were numerous martial arts in Japan such as archery, horsemanship, swordsmanship, spearmanship (sōjutsu), hand-to-hand combat, musketry and so on, but it was kenjutsu which became prominent. Group-training methodologies did not exist in Japan at that time, so combat techniques were practised individually, or by a very small number of people. This is reminiscent of the fundamental characteristic of bushi martial culture—that is, the age-old tradition of the duel with one warrior against another in mortal combat to test individual skills and prowess, rather than large-scale regimented battles.

**The Concepts of Mushin and Maai in Kata-geiko**

Basically speaking, pedagogy in kenjutsu, sōjutsu or jūjutsu is centred on two people practising prescribed forms (kata) of the school they belong to. In other martial cultures or in sports, training methodologies often focus on fast body movements performed individually against an imaginary opponent. In Japanese kenjutsu, however, the kata of the school is memorised by the disciple while training with an opponent. The adept learns to enter the critical spatial interval, deflect the opponent’s strikes, and win.

For example, in the Shinkage-ryū tradition, there is a set of kata called “sangaku”. In the kata, the student views the path of the opponent’s sword as a vector; he must move freely around that vector, and adjust the maai (spatial distance between two opponents) in order to achieve victory. The student does not initiate an attack, but instead invites his opponent to strike first. He then waits until the sword is about to cut him, quickly evades it, and without affording the attacker a chance to initiate a second attack, he overcomes him from close quarters.

If the warrior fears the opponent’s sword and attempts to move backwards, he will be cut down.
Thus, discarding his fear he reads the distance with precision, and boldly steps forward under the enemy’s blade. This is the essence of *kenjutsu*. By repeating the *kata* over and over, the student develops his intuition to judge the very moment his opponent is about to initiate an attack, and he also masters the crucial skill of gauging *maai*. He must be able to perceive both the opponent’s and his own bearing at the same time, and move adroitly in response to his enemy’s attack. If the opponent is fast, he must move quickly; or slowly if the opponent is slow. He must read the path of the enemy’s blade, and spontaneously move around it while entering the *maai*. This is the essence of the Shinkage-ryū, and is called “*marobashi*”.1

Around the middle of sixteenth century, the founder of the Shinkage-ryū, Kamiizumi Ise-no-Kami, wrote in the *Kage Mokuroku*, “After catching a fish, we forget about the sen (cylindrical bamboo fishing basket).” By this he meant that when someone knows the secrets of swordsmanship, he does not need to think about the *kata* (fishing basket) anymore. He asserted that the warrior should undertake the study of swordsmanship with the following attitude: “Do not slay a [cowardly] snake with a sword used to subdue a dragon.” And, “Only learn swordsmanship from a master who stands out among a thousand men, or who has attained a level of excellence exceeding ten-thousand.”

At the beginning of seventeenth century, Yagyū Munenori, the third generation master of the tradition, was appointed instructor of swordsmanship to the *shōgun*. He wrote in the *Heihō Kadenšo* that the aggressive “Death-dealing blade” (*setsunin-tō*) brandished to conquer evil in troubled times should now become the “Life-giving sword” (*katsunin-ken*) in the peaceful era of the Tokugawa shogunate. He taught that it was important to “Let the opponent strike first, and only then move in to seize victory.” In order to achieve this, and to overcome one’s fears, one should never think about striking first, but instead judge the *maai* and take control calmly. He also stressed the importance of reaching a state of “*mushin*” (“no mind”). When *mushin* is attained, strength will flow freely allowing the warrior to execute techniques with the whole body and mind in unity. This teaching stems from the Zen priest Takuan, who explained these principles to Munenori in the *Fudōchi Shinmyō-roku* (translated into English as *The Unfettered Mind*).2

❖ **Miyamoto Musashi and the Gorin-no-Sho**

Miyamoto Musashi and Yagyū Munenori were contemporaries. After the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, Musashi, then in his twenties, lived the life of an itinerant swordsman engaging in life-or-death duels. After a decade of duelling, he felt compelled to seek “deeper principles”. Subjecting himself to an intense regime of ascetic training, he finally realised the true way of *heihō* (swordsmanship or strategy) around the age of 50. He wrote his famous treatise the *Gorin-no-Sho* (*Book of Five Rings*) in his sixties, just before passing away.

Musashi’s life exemplifies an evolutionary process that transpired over a generation in the Edo period which is usually referred to as the transition from “*jutsu to dō*”—i.e. from “martial technique” to “martial Way” of life. The *Gorin-no-Sho* describes in simple terms the fundaments

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of swordsmanship to the pursuit of an ideal “Way of life”. Musashi advises that one should maintain an indomitable attitude at all times. He taught that one should train body and mind diligently so that the body is relaxed, and can respond to any situation instantaneously.

According to Musashi, when practising kata, the warrior must learn the path of the sword that cuts with the least amount of effort regardless of the stance, and hone his intuition to understand the intricacies of maai, and the appropriate opportunities for striking. Musashi warns to not swing the sword too quickly or recklessly, and to strike the enemy with perfect distance and timing. Furthermore, he advises learning how to “read through” the intentions of the enemy, and to adopt a posture that enables adaptability. Another famous teaching of Musashi’s is called “makura no ose” (“nip in the bud”), where the enemy is not permitted to initiate an attack. That is not to move indiscriminately, but to refine the body and mind to enable a connection with the opponent so that one can strike naturally.

Musashi also stressed the importance of striking instinctively in a state of mushin. Always questioning whether his way of training was sufficient, he advocated the need to grasp the concept of the “void” and “jikitsu”, or “direct path”. If the warrior trains in the martial arts and refines his body, mind, and wisdom, he will eventually reach a place “without clouds, or hesitation.” Musashi proclaimed that through training in kenjutsu, the warrior can ultimately live a life of freedom.3

2. The Nature of Early-modern Ryūha Bujutsu

From the sixteenth century, many martial artists created their own ryūha based on divergent theories and methodologies. They sought the patronage of powerful political figures such as shoguns or warlords, and interacted with Zen priests and famous artists. These were the circumstances through which the Heihō Kadensho and the Gorin-no-Sho were written, and explains the high level of philosophical theorising characteristic of such treatises.

There was considerable inter-ryūha rivalry at the beginning of the early-modern period which catalysed their evolution into highly refined systems of martial culture. Japanese martial arts were no longer based on victory through brute strength: by repeating kata with a training partner, the bushi could foster combat preparedness, and cultivate his mind and body. Bujutsu became a form of ascetic training in pursuit of a more profound way of life. Bushi carried two swords not only because they might actually be needed, but more because they symbolised the concept of self-perfection in which the ideal was to overwhelm an enemy without needing to draw weapons.

By the second half of the seventeenth century, ryūha bujutsu became a means for cultivating the mettle of a generation of warriors who would never enter a battlefield. As the shogunate’s hegemony stabilised, life-or-death combat became a rare incident, and the katana became more a badge of samurai honour and pride. Consequently, the spiritual aspects of swordsmanship took precedent over technical ones. Numerous ryūha developed in the feudal domains, each teaching different martial arts.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Hinatsu Shigetaka wrote the Honchō Bugei Shōden. In it he records details of 150 martial artists, under the six categories of kyūjutsu (archery), bajutsu (horsemanship), kenjutsu, sōjutsu, jūjutsu and hōjutsu (musketry). Several hundred traditions representing various martial arts had been created by the first half of the nineteenth century. Referred to as “kobudo” (old budō) now, classical pre-Meiji martial styles, or ryūha bujutsu, continue to be practised to this day.

3 See T. Uozumi, “Research into the Philosophical History of Miyamoto Musashi’s Gorin-no-Sho” in A. Bennett (ed.) Budo Perspectives, pp. 31-51.
3. A Comparison with Chinese and Korean Martial Arts

To clarify the nature of early-modern Japanese martial culture, it is useful to compare it with martial arts of the same time period in China’s Ming dynasty and Korea’s Joseon and Yi dynasties. A clear distinction is made in China and Korea between military martial arts and civilian martial arts. The military martial arts were devised for troops, and were centred on large-scale regimented battle strategies.

❖ A Chinese Martial Art Classic—“Ji Xiao Xin Shu”

The Ji Xiao Xin Shu is probably the most well-known Chinese martial art classic. It was written by General Qi Jiguang during the Ming dynasty. Around the middle of sixteenth century, Qi Jiguang suppressed rampages of Japanese pirates on the Chinese coast. His book explains in detail how to choose troops, various martial arts and their advantages, how to make encampments, and so on. It features explanations of archery, spearmanship, teng pai (rattan shield), liang xian (a multi-thronged spear that was used to block or entangle enemy weapons), swordsmanship, empty-hand combat, etc.

The techniques outlined in this treatise were highly practical, and some were newly devised to counter Japanese pirates and their style of kenjutsu. The book uses illustrations to make the techniques easily understood by soldiers. The kata (“taolu” in Chinese) described in the book depict a series of movements executed in solo. It seems that soldiers were expected to pass examinations testing their martial ability in the techniques, and their skills were evaluated on a scale of nine levels.

During battles against Japanese pirates, a squad typically consisted of six soldiers: the first one would use sabre and shield to block the attack of the enemy, the next two soldiers would use a liang xian to pin down the enemy’s katana, the next two would use standard spears to thrust at the enemy, while the last soldier at the rear would give commands.

The Ji Xiao Xin Shu has an appendix that reproduces illustrations from the Kage Mokuroku, which somehow passed from the Japanese pirates to the Chinese soldiers. The Kage Mokuroku contains detailed explanations of “enpi”, a set of techniques on which Shinkage-ryū’s “sangaku” teachings are based.

❖ A Korean Martial Art Classic—“Muyedobotongji”

The Ji Xiao Xin Shu also influenced the martial arts of Korea. Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded the Korean peninsula at the end of the sixteenth century, and the Ming dynasty dispatched troops as reinforcements for the Korean army. Some Chinese soldiers gave copies of the Ji Xiao Xin Shu to the Koreans, who selected and translated six techniques and compiled the Muyejebo. This book would be used as an instruction manual for soldiers, and each kata was supplemented with a series of illustrations depicting the moves. The Muyejebo was revised twice, and formed the basis for a later compilation called Muyedobotongji at the end of the eighteenth century. The Muyedobotongji features 24 illustrated techniques from China, Korea and Japan. It is noteworthy that the kata from China and Korea were portrayed with only one person demonstrating the different moves; whereas kata of Japanese origin were illustrated as paired exercises.

East Asia enjoyed relative peace from the second half of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The cultures of China’s Qing dynasty, Korea’s Joseon and Yi dynasties, Japan’s Tokugawa shogunate and the Ryūkyū kingdom were able to develop unhindered by war. Confucianism prevailed in Korea and China, and military matters were accordingly considered inferior to literary matters. Thus, the intelligentsia had little exposure to bujutsu apart from some manuals on military tactics written by famous generals, and there are virtually no treatises or

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commentaries dedicated to the martial arts similar to those that were popular in Japan. Moreover, during the Qing dynasty, several measures were taken to prohibit the practice of martial arts among the civil population, and consequently there are virtually no sources dealing with *bujutsu* among this echelon of society until the beginning of the twentieth century.

\*\* Chinese Gong-fu and Ryūkyū Karate

In China, the distinction between military *wushu* and civilian *wushu* is clear cut. Political regimes had traditionally shown caution towards martial arts through apprehension of the consequences should a civil insurrection arise. This is why civilian martial arts were unable to develop freely. In cities, civilian *wushu* survived by transforming into spectacles for entertainment. In the countryside, martial art teachings were secretly transmitted to a limited number of people in each tribe as a means for defending villages.

The different folk martial arts in China flourished following the weakening of Qing dynasty rule after the invasion of Western powers. Peasant riots increased dramatically around the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, and martial arts took on a new political and cultural significance.

*Karate*, which has its origins in the Ryūkyū kingdom (Okinawa) was also developed secretly among civilians. It seems that Chinese empty-hand techniques were transmitted around the fifteenth century by immigrants, and eventually served as the basis for the development of *karate*. From the seventeenth century, the Ryūkyū kingdom came under the influence of both China and Japan, and the local populace was forced to abide by a strict ban on practising martial arts. The Ryūkyū people apparently developed their empty-hand systems covertly, but sources to confirm this process are scarce, and the course of events is unclear until the end of the nineteenth century when the three original lineages of *Shuri-te*, *Naha-te*, and *Tomari-te* were restored.

4. The Development of ‘Gekken’ in the late Edo Period

The early-modern Japanese martial arts cannot be classified into military and civilian arts as was the case in China and Korea. The shogunate was a hierarchical vassalage system, but it did not function as a unified national army. In the various fiefdoms, retainers were organised into *sonae* (military units that could be mobilised for battle), but vassals with a degree of power also had their own entourage of retainers. There was no unified national *bujutsu* per se. A *bushi* belonging to a particular clan voluntarily studied at a *dōjō* of some *ryūha*.

Martial arts were held in high regard in warrior society, and as *ryūha* were not subjected to any external control, a *bushi* could create his own tradition if he so desired. There was no official *bujutsu* manual published by the shogunate, but each *ryūha* had its own cryptic scrolls recording its secret techniques. *Bujutsu* thus developed in accordance with the customs of early-modern Japanese society.

As outlined above, *kenjutsu* study originally revolved around *kata* training. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, a revolutionary new training methodology emerged. With the invention of *bōgu* (protective training armour), and *shinai* (bamboo swords) it was now possible to engage in mock bouts without fear of death or injury. This training style took the name of “*gekken*” (clashing swords), and proliferated from the eighteenth century, eventually supplanting *kata* as the main training methodology. At the time of its inception, *gekken* was a useful means for testing whether or not a *kata* was actually combat effective. It was also a way to develop practical combative dexterity.

The *shinai* was considered to be analogous to a *katana*, and strikes had to be executed as decisive cuts (*ittō*) with full vigour to be deemed valid. The shogunate condoned this new form of *bujutsu,*
and soon rōnin (masterless warriors), rustic samurai and wealthy farmers—i.e. people on the periphery of bushi status—engaged actively in gekken matches as success could open doors for social mobility. Some of them even created their own new ryūha.

Kenjutsu based on kata, and gekken based on fencing bouts, differ greatly with regards to maai and the targets. Traditionalists were initially opposed to this new style of fencing, but others emphasised the notion that gekken was a vehicle to apply the combative principles learned in kata, and also facilitated kenjutsu ideals of “ningen-keisei” (self-perfection).

For example, in the Hokushin Ittō-ryū, a school that primarily focused on gekken, the deeper principle known in the Ittō-ryū tradition of swordsmanship as “mutō” (no sword) was also taught. Mutō was also an important principle in Yamaoka Tesshū’s teachings. A famous Meiji statesman and renowned swordsman, he created the Ittō Shōden Mutō-ryū during the Meiji period.

Because gekken enabled safe fencing bouts, the custom known as “musha shugyō” (warrior errantry in which swordsmen visited other regions or dōjō to compete in matches against exponents from other ryūha) was rekindled in the nineteenth century. Bushi from various domains who gathered in Edo (modern day Tokyo) practised gekken in the big machi-dōjō, or fencing salons located in the capital. There, low ranked bushi, rustic samurai, and wealthy commoners built their reputations through success in fencing matches, and trained with enthusiasm in the hope of making a name for themselves.

Schools in the feudal domains also had martial art curricula, and gekken was studied as an integral subject. Moreover, during the Bakumatsu era (final years of the shogunate), the government created the Kōbusho, a military academy where practitioners from various ryūha practised gekken together. During this period, the length of shinai was regulated to 3-shaku 8-sun (approx. 115cm), and gekken techniques were reorganised into “68 forms” sorted into categories based on specific targets. These changes are said to mark the birth of modern kendō.

II. THE MODERN REORGANISATION OF BUDÔ

1. The Modernisation of Bujutsu

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 led to the dissolution of the bushi class, which in turn precipitated the end of early-modern bujutsu. Martial artists experienced serious financial hardship, but for a short period at least, they could eke out a living by participating in public martial art demonstrations known as gekken-kōgyō. For a limited time, members of the public paid an admission fee to watch bouts between master swordsmen.

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In 1877, armed only with swords, a division of the newly formed Police Department (Keishichō) called the Battōtai played a part in the government’s victory against the rebels in the Satsuma Rebellion. The Battōtai exploits in battle made people reconsider the value of traditional *kenjutsu*. The police subsequently began to hire *gekken* and *jūjutsu* instructors to teach, thus instigating a revival of those disciplines. At the same time, reactionaries in the “Freedom and People’s Rights Movement” (*jiyū-minken undō*) also utilised *kenjutsu* gatherings to incite action. Nevertheless, a more thorough modernisation of *gekken* was required for widespread dissemination.

In 1878, the National Institute of Gymnastics was established in Tokyo by the Ministry of Education. A modern curriculum for physical education was implemented in Japan's schools under the guidance of George Adams Leland. In the process of modernising Japan’s education, some proponents sought a new role for the martial arts in the national curriculum. To this end, educators and martial artists attempted to modify the objectives for studying *bujutsu*, its techniques, and pedagogy. Martial arts needed to be transformed into educationally useful and safe forms of exercise that would appeal to common people. Kanō Jigorō’s Kodokan Judo stood at the vanguard of the movement to create a modern form of *budō* for educational purposes.

2. The Birth of *Jūdō*—Tradition, Modernisation, and Internationalisation

Kanō was one of the young elite who entered the prestigious Tokyo Imperial University. While there, he commenced study of two *jūjutsu* traditions attracted by the idea that a smaller man could throw a bigger opponent. After graduating from university, he founded his own school in 1882 which he called the Kodokan, and created his own style which he called *jūdō* by audaciously rearranging the throwing techniques he had learned in the Kitō-ryū, and the holding techniques from the Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū. Until then, training in *jūjutsu* consisted of mainly *kata*, but Kanō decided to remove the dangerous techniques and devised *randori*, or free sparring. He was interested in creating a competitive style, but preserved the traditional *kata* forms of the Kitō-ryū in what is called now the *Koshiki-no-kata* in the Kodokan. He also explained *jūdō* techniques by rationalising them with bio-mechanical theory.

Kanō chose the name “*jūdō*” instead of *jūjutsu* as he wanted to stress that, unlike traditional *bujutsu*, *jūdō* was something new, and was based on a comprehensive educational philosophy represented by the suffix “-dō” or the “Way”. In fact, the term already existed in the terminology of the Kitō-ryū which Kanō had studied previously, and meant to “correct one’s evil and advance on the way of virtue”. Kanō built on this ideal in his school of *jūdō*.

In 1889, he suggested to the Minister of Education that *jūdō* encompassed pedagogical values of “physical education, spiritual education, and competition”. A few years before in 1883, the Ministry of Education had already conducted research into the possibilities of introducing *gekken* and *jūjutsu* in the national school curriculum, but the government-run National Institute of Gymnastics rejected the idea. The quest to modernise the martial arts necessitated modern pedagogical values. Kanō emphasised *jūdō* as a vehicle for personal growth in which the student first learns by observation, then creates an image of the techniques and practises them. Ultimately, the learner must reach a level where he or she can explain the principles of *jūdō*, and develop the capacity to formulate new ideals. Moreover, the principles of *jūdō* were to be applied in daily life to improve relationships with others, learn to take the initiative in matters, and maintain self-control.

❖ The Diffusion of Kodokan *Jūdō*

Kanō implemented a number of strategies to popularise *jūdō*. For example, he recruited strong exponents from the *ryūha* he had studied in and from other *jūjutsu* schools, and around 1887 and 1888 his students achieved considerable success in the prestigious *bujutsu* tournament sponsored
by the police. He also replaced the traditional license system in which ryūha awarded mokuroku, menkyo, or kaiden as proof of advancement with a dan and kyū system. This was designed to encourage students to train hard to earn these more tangible rewards. Those awarded a dan grade were allowed to don a black-belt over their jūdō-gi, which in turn stimulated kyū students wearing white belts to aim for the same recognition. Kanō also organised several important events such as the kagami-biraki (New Year ceremony), the kōhaku-shiai (red versus white team contest), and the mid-summer and mid-winter training sessions at the Kodokan in order to keep members motivated.

Kanō worked at several prestigious schools as vice-principal or principal throughout his career, and he promoted jūdō at every one. In 1895, he became principal of the Tokyo Higher Normal School, an institution that nurtured high school teachers. He remained in this important position for 26 years, and dedicated himself to promoting jūdō, and also modernising the Japanese education system with a particular focus on sports and physical education.

The Dai-Nippon Butokukai (Greater Japan Society of Martial Virtue) was established in 1895, and Kanō was appointed director of the jūjutsu division. Jūdō had become relatively popular as a school club activity, and in 1897, the Kodokan sponsored the Tokyo Middle School Federation championship. Jūdō became even more widespread among students after the creation of the National Higher School tournament the following year.

With the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, two major conflicts on foreign soil, the wave of nationalism and militarism rose in Japan, and this resulted in a jūdō boom of sorts. At the time of the Kodokan’s inception there were nine members, but around 1895 the membership had risen to over 1,000. In 1897, between 3,000 and 4,000 people were registered at the Kodokan, and in 1906, membership had doubled to reach 8,000.

Kanō launched a periodical called Kokushi in 1898, and held a monthly series of lectures to explain the theoretical aspects of jūdō. In 1909, the Kodokan became a foundation and membership grew steadily gaining about 1,000 new members every year, reaching 23,000 by 1920. Kanō continued to promote his ideals for “life-long jūdō” in a series of periodicals such as Jūdō, Yūkō no Katsudō, Taisei, and Sakkō.

❖ “Seiryoku-zen’yō” and “Jita-kyōei”

Kanō explained that the essence of jūdō lay in the motto “Gentleness controls hardness”, but noticed around 1915 that techniques tended to lack vigour because of this definition. He rephrased his ideas by stating one should “Use the strength of mind and body with maximum efficiency”. This precept would be later known as “seiryoku-zen’yō”, or “maximum efficient use of energy”. Kanō was also concerned about morality, and declared that jūdō would help in the development of a durable society.

He defined this idea as representing “good”, and explained that an opposite course of action would thus constitute “evil”. He summarised the expression of “good” in the precept “jita-kyōei” or “mutual prosperity for self and others”. These two maxims were formally declared in 1922 with the establishment of the Kodokan Bunkakai (Kodokan Culture Council). From then, jita-kyōei and
**seiryoku-zen'yō** became the core philosophical concepts of *jūdō*. The Bunkakai’s mission statement explained this philosophy in the following terms:

1. The best application of *seiryoku-zen'yō* lies in self-completion
2. Self-completion is realised through helping others
3. Mutual completion forms the basis of human prosperity

Deeply concerned about the state of the world after the First World War, Kanō also explained that studying the principles of attack and defence constituted “low level” *jūdō*; adapting the essence of *jūdō* into one’s daily life denoted an intermediate comprehension of the art; whereas, using one’s strength for the benefit of the world was the “highest level” of *jūdō*.

**Creating the International Judo Federation**

Kanō was fluent in English, and never wasted an opportunity to introduce *jūdō* during his journeys abroad. In 1903, he sent *jūdō* instructor Yamashita Yoshitsugu to the United States. Yamashita taught *jūdō* with his wife to prominent persons in the United States, including President Theodore Roosevelt and his family members. Kanō was appointed as a committee member of the IOC in 1909, and two years later, he became the president of the newly established Japan Sports Association. In 1912, he accompanied two Japanese athletes to Stockholm to attend the 5th Olympic Games as the Japanese delegation leader. He also participated as an official in the 7th, 9th and 10th Games.

He promoted *jūdō* through lectures and direct instruction while visiting several groups in France, England and Germany. Eventually he was to recommend Tokyo as a candidate city for the Olympic Games in 1933, and also announced his idea of creating an International Judo Federation. Tokyo was accepted in 1938 as the host city for the 12th Olympic Games, but Kanō died from illness on the boat returning to Japan from the IOC meeting in Cairo.

Kanō was extremely adept at manoeuvring in international politics, and was successful in disseminating *jūdō* all over the world. He also opened the door to female students as early as 1922, demonstrating a comparatively progressive outlook for the times with regards to women’s participation in martial arts and sports in general. He was also instrumental in the promotion of other *budō*. In 1922 for example, he lent the Kodokan’s *dōjō* to Funakoshi Gichin, the Okinawan who introduced *karate* to the Japanese mainland. He also showed interest in Ueshiba Morihei’s *aikidō*, in its formative stage, and sent some of his students to study the art.

Kanō modernised *jūjutsu* and developed it into *jūdō*; he made rational reinterpretations of various *jūjutsu* principles during this process, and was influential in the subsequent development of the other *budō*.

**3. The Establishment of *Budō* in Modern Society**

—Dai-Nippon Butokukai, Éducation, and Competition

Modern *budō* was able to be propagated in mainstream Japanese society because of three central factors:

- Systematisation and creation of a governing organisation
- Introduction into the national school curriculum
- Competition

These factors enabled *budō*’s modernisation, and at the same time, triggered a mechanism that has been described as “invented tradition”.

The victory over China in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) was a cause of general excitement in Japan. The Dai-Nippon Butokukai, an organisation aiming for the unification of all the different bujutsu, was established the same year in Kyoto. Its foundation was linked to the 1,100th anniversary of the relocation of the imperial capital to Kyoto by Emperor Kanmu who stressed the importance of “butoku” or “martial virtue” during his reign. Asserting a common historical link, the Butokuden (Hall of Martial Virtue) was erected in 1899 in the precincts of the Heian Shrine in Kyoto, and served as the venue for the Butokukai’s annual martial arts exhibitions.

About 60 per cent of the participants were kenjutsu exponents, and the remaining 40 per cent represented the arts of jujutsu, kyujutsu, sōjutsu, naginata-jutsu and iaijutsu. The Butokukai maintained a connection with the imperial family, and recruited officials from among police officers and high ranking civil servants. The Butokukai’s membership increased rapidly, reaching about 820,000 members by the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), a mere decade after being launched.

During the Heian period (794–1185), the emperor would inspect his troops and observe demonstrations as he sat on his throne at the original Butokuden. In those days, however, martial art exhibitions consisted mainly of horse races and mounted archery. The Butokukai re-invented this tradition by rebuilding the Butokuden, and placed the “emperor’s seat” in front of the main wall. The demonstrations changed from equestrian arts to mainly jujutsu and kenjutsu. This is why some scholars point out that the Butokuden of the Meiji period provides a clear example of the phenomenon of “invented tradition”. Butokukai branch dōjō modelled on the Butokuden were erected in each prefecture of Japan. The prefectural Butokudens differed from the main one in Kyoto with the kamidana (miniature altar) situated behind the emperor’s seat.6

In 1904, the Butokukai created the honorary title of hanshi (grandmaster), and two years later the title of kyōshi (advanced teacher). Eleven martial artists were awarded the title of hanshi, and a further sixty-eight received kyōshi. This led to the formation of a new hierarchical pyramid in the martial arts world that would supersede ryūha affiliation, and be used to govern budō activities in different regions of Japan. From 1906, hanshi and kyōshi masters were invited to spar in exhibition matches without referees to judge the bouts, meaning that there were no winners. A faction strongly rejected the idea of having non-adjudicated bouts, but this system encouraged the prevalent notion that “kenjutsu is not a competition”.7

Moreover, the Butokukai sought to unify the various ryūha, and create new standardised rules. The “Dai-Nippon Butokukai Jūjutsu Match & Refereeing Regulations” were implemented in 1899. In 1905, the society created entirely new, standardised jujutsu and kenjutsu kata. Kanō was appointed chairman of the jujutsu committee, which devised 15 new nage-waza (throwing techniques), and 15 katame-waza (holds) by combining the techniques of 14 different jujutsu traditions. The Butokukai also created the “Dai-Nippon Butokukai Seitai Kenjutsu Kata”, consisting of three sets. This invited indignation among kenjutsu practitioners, who criticised the fact that the new kata were not the product of combining elements from different ryūha kenjutsu, but based on decisions made by the committee chairman without consultation. Six years later a new set of standardised kata was created to replace it.

The Introduction of Budō in Schools

From around the mid-Meiji period, some proponents of budō education started to submit proposals to the National Diet suggesting that gekken and jūjutsu be introduced into the school

curriculum. Their aspirations were finally realised in middle schools from 1911. The following year, the rival schools Tokyo Higher Normal School and the Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō (Bujutsu Vocational School) in Kyoto, commenced programs designed to train martial arts instructors. Budō spread in schools, and quickly found a dedicated following in all echelons of society. A committee of five celebrated swordsmen managed to transcend ryūha antagonism and devised the new “Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata”, consisting of seven techniques with tachi (long swords), and three with kodachi (short sword). This set of generic kata was devised in order to resolve the technical distortions that had manifested in shinai kenjutsu such as improper grip of the sword, bad posture, strikes with incorrect blade angle, etc. The kata is still practised today as the “Nippon Kendo Kata”.

Furthermore, a pedagogical method for teaching large groups of pupils in schools was also researched. In a traditional Japanese dōjō, the master would normally teach disciples individually. This was not possible in schools, so the overall content of bujutsu training and methodology required modifications to fit into the modern school setting. It was around this time that the sequence of etiquette consisting of sitting in seiza, mokusō (meditation), and zarei (seated bow) commonly seen in budō now was devised. Takano Sasaburō, kendō instructor at the Tokyo Higher Normal School, wrote his classic book Kendō in 1915. He explained rational methods for group teaching, and his book soon became an authoritative text for kendō instruction. The name gekken was replaced with kendō, and it is said that kendō was truly ‘modernised’ from this juncture.

❖ From Bujutsu to Budō—Invented Spiritualism

In 1919, the Butokukai instigated some important changes: the appellation “bujutsu” was officially changed to “budō”, and kenjutsu, jūjutsu and kyūjutsu respectively to kendō, jūdō and kyūdō. The Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō became the Budō Senmon Gakkō (often abbreviated to “Busen”). These initiatives were made by Nishikubo Hiromichi, Butokukai vice-president and Busen principal. Nishikubo was a student of Yamaoka Tesshū’s Mutō-ryū. He was of the opinion that studying swordsmanship for the sake of winning matches was erroneous, and that the goal of budō should be to forge the body and polish the mind.

The Taishō period (1912–1926) saw many social changes such as the birth of the urban labour class, the spread of democracy, and the blossoming of sports events and competitions. In 1924, the Meiji Shrine Tournament (now called the National Athletic Sports Meet or “Kokutai”) was held for the first time. The Butokukai boycotted the event, stating that “the goals of budō are not to compete for victory in competitions.” In its annual bulletin, it declared that budō’s ideals are for the purpose of self-cultivation, and that “sport is an amusement, a hobby, and as such it naturally places importance on competition.” The aim of budō was to “temper the body and the mind”. The Butokukai forbade clapping, cheering, and other forms of encouragement during matches. In 1926, the Meiji Shrine Tournament (kyōgikai) was changed in name to Meiji Shrine Physical Education Meet (taiikukai), and the entry fee was abolished. Only then did the Butokukai agree to collaborate, but its stance impressed upon the public that budō was not so much a sporting competition as a means to strengthen the body and mind.8

The Ministry of Education amended the ministerial ordinance for junior high schools and normal schools in the same year, and officially adopted the terms jūdō and kendō instead of jūjutsu and gekken to accentuate the educational characteristics.

❖ The Position of Competition

Prominent kendō instructor Yamada Jirōkichi rejected competition outright, and only taught the kata of the Jikishin Kage-ryū school of swordsmanship. He had an extensive collection of budō

8 Ibid.
classics, but in his own book published in 1925, *Nihon Kendō-shi* (History of Japanese kendō), he writes that since the death of his mentor, Sakakibara Kenkichi, the educational value of kenshi had all but vanished.

Awa Kenzō, a renowned kyūdō master, emphasised the experience of drawing the bow in a state of mushin, and not being concerned with hitting the target. He advocated the idea of “kyūzen-ichimi” (bow and zen are one), and in 1925, he established the Daisha Dōkyō school. Awa Kenzō would later become world famous after the publication of Eugen Herrigel’s *Zen in the Art of Archery*.

Ueshiba Morihei started teaching aiki-jūjutsu inside the headquarters of the Ōmoto sect located in the Ayabe district of Kyoto. This discipline did not include matches at all, and was gradually developed into the modern budō art of aikidō after Ueshiba moved to Tokyo in 1927.

In 1929, in commemoration of Emperor Shōwa’s enthronement, the “Tenran Budō” tournament was held in front of the emperor himself. The best kendō and jūdō players in Japan and the colonies of Korea and Taiwan gathered for this unprecedented event. However, Naitō Takaharu, the Butokukai’s main kendō instructor, was strongly opposed, lamenting that it would signify the “demise of kendō”.

A system of three referees was adopted to adjudicate the bouts which were closely contested by the top-level competitors. The tournament further stimulated interest in budō among the general public. The following year, the Kodokan held the first All Japan Championships with the support of newspaper companies. With this sponsorship, competitions were widely covered by newspapers and could grow even bigger in scale as annual events. The Butokukai, however, never organised national competitions.

### 3. Spiritual Indoctrination During the War

In 1931, kendō and jūdō became compulsory subjects in normal schools and middle schools. The Manchurian Incident of 1931 signified the beginning of militarism in Japan. 1936 saw the attempted coup d’état known as the “February 26 Incident”, and also the promulgation of instructions to install kamidana (altars) in every dōjō in the country to promote State Shintō. The second Sino-Japanese War started in 1937, and Japan’s militarisation intensified. The following year, the National Mobilisation Law was enacted, and Tokyo’s accepted candidacy for hosting the Olympic Games obtained through the efforts by Kanō was rescinded.

The growing tide of nationalism and militarism exerted an influence on sports. Vocabulary was “Japanised”, emphasis was placed on moral development, and terms such as “Nippon no supōtsu-dō” (Japanese Way of sport) and “Nipponshugi supōtsu” (Japanised sports) were coined in an attempt to “budō-ify” Western sports.

With the launch of the “Taisei Yokusankai” (Imperial Rule Assistance Association) in 1940, government power strengthened. In 1941, the education system was modified and “physical education” (taiiku) in the newly introduced National Peoples’ Schools was changed in name to “physical discipline” (tairen). Classes consisted of calisthenics and budō, and jūdō and kendō became compulsory subjects.

Japan entered the Pacific War in December, 1941. In 1942, the Butokukai was re-organised into a government agency. In 1943, “physical discipline” was taught in middle schools, normal schools and vocational schools. In the “Physical Discipline Teaching Guidelines” it states, “Understand the mental condition of selfless dedication; forge your spirit for combat.” As the war situation became increasingly grave, military authorities advocated modifications to budō so that it could be adapted for actual combat training. The practical application of shinai kendō was questioned, as were pacifistic ideals of self-cultivation developed in the Edo period. Instead, battōjutsu (drawing and cutting with live blades), jūkenjutsu (bayonet fencing) and shageki (marksmanship) were
emphasised. Traditional aspects of *budô* inherited from the early-modern era were shunned in place of actual combat techniques. Before the end of the war, civilians trained outdoors in hand-to-hand combat, or with *take-yari* (sharpened bamboo spears).

III. **THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONTEMPORARY BUDÔ:**

**SPORTIFICATION AND INTERNATIONALISATION**

1. **Postwar Period: From Ban to Revival**

The Allied occupation commenced after Japan surrendered in 1945. In order to sweep away the remnants of militarism and nationalism, GHQ carried out reforms on numerous aspects of Japanese society. Because *budô* had served as vehicle to promote militarism during the war, “physical discipline” classes were ceased immediately, and *budô* was soon banned in schools and in the community. After the Butokukai was disbanded, a purge of public officials who had militaristic or ultranationalistic affiliations was carried out. The ban on *budô* was strict, and it was even forbidden to use the word “*budô*”. In order to be revived, *budô* needed to be sportified, militaristic doctrine had to be expunged, pedagogy reformed, and democratic non-governmental organisations set up to represent each art.

The ban was lifted in 1946 for *sumô* and *karate* as they did not have any clear association with the wartime “physical discipline” curriculum. The ban was also lifted for *jûdô* in 1947. The Kodokan remained, and in 1949 the All Japan Judo Federation was also established. *jûdô* soon became a contested event at the National Sports Meet (Kokutai), and the prohibition on school *jûdô* was lifted in 1950. However, GHQ maintained a strict stance towards *kendô*, and it could not be revived until drastic reforms had been enacted. A hybrid sporting version known as *shinai-kyôgi* was developed as the first step towards this goal. It was close to Western fencing in appearance, and adopted new rules such as a time limit and point scoring system. *Hakama* and *keiko-gi* were abandoned in favour of white shirts and light trousers. In 1950, the Shinai Kyôgi Federation was approved, and the sport was subsequently accepted as physical education in schools in 1952.

In the same year, the Treaty of San Francisco was ratified, and Japan became independent once again. There was a growing movement wanting to reinstate *kendô* in its original form resulting in the formation of the All Japan Kendo Federation (AJKF) that year. In 1953, *kendô* was resurrected in the community and in schools as a new democratic sport. In 1954, it was agreed that the Shinai Kyôgi Federation be absorbed into the AJKF. *Kendô* became affiliated with the Japan Sports Association in 1955, and was allowed to feature as a contested event from the 10th Kokutai.

The ban on *budô* lasted less than a decade, but it had a strong impact on *budô* enthusiasts and the way it developed thereafter. There was no leeway to revert back to the old ways and values, and instead, practitioners had to plot the future trajectory of *budô* along the lines of competitive sports, a trend that would continue for a long time. The most important objective for many of the newly setup federations was to seek redemption through affiliation with the Japan Sports Association, and become a Kokutai event. This state of affairs encouraged the sportification of *budô* even further.

*Budô* was fully revived in the education system from 1958 under the designation of “*kakugi*”, or “combat sport”, and boys could choose between *sumô*, *jûdô* or *kendô*. The term “*kakugi*” continued to be used by the Ministry of Education as the official term for martial art classes in schools until the designation of “*budô*” was reinstated in 1989.
2. The Tokyo Olympic Games

The country entered a period of rapid economic growth from the 1960s. The energy policy of Japan switched from coal to petroleum, and companies and people converged to the Pacific side of the country where large-scale heavy chemical and industrial zones were being established. A migratory flow started from villages to cities, which eventually led to a decline in the primary sector, while the secondary and tertiary sectors increased exponentially. Average earnings almost doubled, and the Japanese people began to show a growing interest in leisure activities.

In 1961, a law for the promotion of sport was promulgated, along with an ambitious plan to restore existing facilities. The Kokutai became a sponsored event of the Ministry of Education, and it was decreed that a different prefecture would host the meet each year. In 1962, a foundation called the Nippon Budokan was established to oversee the promotion of *budō*. The 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games was seen as an opportunity to show Japan’s postwar recovery to the world; the government and people joined forces to make the event an unreserved success. The Tokyo area was significantly remodelled, and new highways and Shinkansen (bullet train) tracks were built. A large-scale maintenance plan for existing infrastructures was also implemented.

The Tokyo Olympics were to have an important influence on the future direction of sports and *budō* in Japan. *Jūdō* became an Olympic event, and the government authorised the construction of the Nippon Budokan headquarters in the Imperial Palace’s Kitanomaru Park to serve as the venue for the competition.

During the first Olympic *jūdō* contest, Japanese athletes won the light, middle and the heavyweight categories, but Dutch athlete Anton Geesink was the gold medallist in the open-weight division. Geesink studied *jūdō* under Haku Michigami, who graduated from Busen and went to the Netherlands after the war. The victory of a foreign athlete in this division shocked the Japanese, but was also an opportunity for the diffusion of *jūdō* abroad. *Kendo*, *sumō* and *kyūdō* were also showcased during the games as demonstration sports.

The international outlook of the Japanese people broadened with athletes representing 96 countries gathering in Tokyo for the Olympics. Television, which had by then become a standard item in Japanese households, broadcasted Japan’s athletes who won a total of 16 gold medals (the highest number to date), generating a sports boom around the country. The number of people taking up sports increased exponentially, especially children and women. The government and the Japan Sports Association desired to foster sports among children to elevate Japan’s competitive level internationally, and youth sports organisations were created to solidify the country’s sporting base and to “build the physical strength of the people”. The popularity of sports and *budō* increased significantly after this.

3. The *Budō* Environment—School Clubs and Community *Dōjō*

Japan’s rapid economic growth continued until the 1973 oil crisis. The industrial structure changed and people were gripped by consumerism. In the post Olympic sports boom, *budō* spread mainly through school club activities and in community *dōjō*, and entered the next stage in its development.
School Clubs and the Preoccupation with Winning

As sport became popular among children, there was a marked increase in kendō or jūdō classes offered in public facilities all around Japan. The main venue for child participation in budō, however, was at schools. Junior high school pupils were encouraged to join extracurricular clubs which they stayed in until graduation, and often continued with the same sport through high school and university. There were no consistent pedagogical policies shared between schools. In fact, the only common goal for each club was to win tournaments. Budō practised at school clubs generally does not emphasise traditional aspects or spiritual values, and tends to favour competition. It is from within this environment that postwar budō practitioners developed a preoccupation with competition and focus primarily on winning at all costs.

Students who wish to become professional budō athletes enter the police or join corporate teams. Many students who specialise in budō also strive for careers as physical education teachers in schools. Yet, in reality, the vast majority of people stop practising budō after graduation. For example, there are numerous kyūdō clubs in Japanese schools, but most students quit after entering the workforce because there are not enough easily accessible dōjō or instructors. There are many schools that offer karatedō clubs in Okinawa, or sumō in the Tōhoku area, and a small number of girls pick up naginata; but still, most quit after graduation because of the lack of facilities, instructors, or friends to practice with outside the school environment.

The school club mentality of valuing winning above all else is clearly evident, not only in budō, but in all sports. School club activities are so important in Japan that few school-age athletes join regional or public sports clubs. Thus, community clubs remain under-developed and facilities outside the schools are thinly spread. Moreover, after entering the workforce, practitioners have little time left to continue training due to company commitments. Also, the merits of engaging in leisure activities to balance work are for the most part taken for granted in Japanese society.

There have also been some serious questions raised with regards to budō ethics. Etiquette is considered an important aspect of the martial ways; and there is an obligation to obey instructors and senior practitioners. The emphasis on forging the mind and body is sometimes so intense, that it leads unreasonable instruction methods. Budō consists of throws, locks, hits, and some techniques can be dangerous. There is also the widespread and complex issue of ijime (bullying) in Japan. If emphasis is placed on techniques devised to score points only, this will inhibit the student’s comprehension of deeper skills and principles.

An unacceptable number of accidents have occurred during jūdō classes and at club trainings, leaving children with serious injuries, or even resulting in death. This is an indication that many instructors are not conscious of the inherent risks involved. Some start to teach techniques before children have sufficiently mastered ukemi (break falls), and it seems that beginner instructional methods are not consistent.

Some instructors are unable to adapt the severe training routines that they underwent, and simply reproduce the same regimes instead of devising more suitable ones for children. It is important to devise methods of teaching that are safe and enjoyable, and will attract more beginners to budō.

After budō was banned in the postwar period, it was redirected down the path of competition. Nowadays, the traditional aspects and spiritual benefits of budō tend to be ignored. This is a problem recognised as needing urgent attention in Japan.

Community Clubs and the Philosophy of “Lifelong Budō”

Budō in the community is practised at public facilities such as dōjō, budōkan, or culture centres. The Kodokan, the Aikikai Foundation, and the Shorinji Kempo federation all maintain large central dōjō, but the vast majority of regional clubs are much smaller in scale.

Public dōjō typically have high-ranked instructors under whom small groups of people of all ages
train. Practitioners are motivated by the prospect of attaining higher dan grades, and the recognition that this brings. Generally speaking, public dojō instructors push the ideals of shugyō (ascetic training), and because the dojō is considered a sacred place for self-cultivation, instructors do not become involved with commercial issues: they almost always have jobs and teach budō as volunteers.

Boys and girls are often made to join budō clubs by their parents. Some children study at a community dojō without joining their junior high school club. Other people commence their study of budō after graduating, or even when they retire from the workforce. The relationships between dojō members of all ages deepen through the shared experience of training in the same environment. In larger public dojō, several events like the Kodokan’s aforementioned kagami-biraki ceremony and kōhaku-shiai are organised in order to foster friendships. As long as one remains healthy, budō is something that can be actively studied for a lifetime—an aspect that is rarely found in most other competitive sports.

4. The International Dissemination Budō

At the beginning of twentieth century, Japanese exponents of jūjutsu or jūdō travelled abroad and fought in demonstration matches against wrestlers and boxers. Their success was a major factor in the spread of Japanese jūjutsu. Before the war, the Kodokan actively sought to promote jūdō in Europe and in the United States. While budō was banned in Japan immediately after the war, a few European countries took control and created the European Judo Union in 1948. Soon after in 1951, the International Judo Federation was formed by seven member countries, with Japan affiliating the following year. Kanō Risei, head of the Kodokan, became the IJF president but the federation’s secretariat remained in Paris.

Japan was surprisingly passive during this period, maybe because nobody had a clear plan in mind for the worldwide dissemination of jūdō. The Tokyo Olympics provided a perfect chance to publicise jūdō on a massive scale. Kendō, following in the path of jūdō, also decided to take a more proactive stance towards internationalisation. In 1970, Tokyo hosted the 1st World Kendo Championships under the auspices of the newly established International Kendo Federation.

The internationalisation of budō developed considerably from the 1970s. In 1974, Musashi’s Gorin-no-Sho was translated into English as a “business strategy” book and became a best seller. In 1980, the Japanese economy expanded and internationalisation in all sectors increased. Matsumae Shigeyoshi was appointed as president of IJF from 1979 to 1987. In 1984 he founded the International Budo University in order to train “internationally minded budō instructors” and promote academic research into budō.

Many notable individuals were involved with the propagation of budō abroad from before the war. From the 1970s, international federations took a leading role by sending high-rank instructors overseas to teach, and by implementing measures to promote their art internationally. Since 1986, the Nippon Budokan has convened the annual “International Seminar of Budō Culture” for foreign practitioners residing in Japan.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Name</th>
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<th>Current membership</th>
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<td>International Kendo Federation</td>
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Table 1. International Federations (also reproduced on p. 125)
IV. BUDŌ ABROAD: TWO STREAMS

Differentiation between the traditional and modern aspects of budō is clearly visible overseas. Jūdō provides the representative model for the stream of budō that chose the competitive route. The second stream which emphasises tradition and spirituality is represented by kendō, and especially kyūdō.

1. In Pursuit of Competition—The IJF

As already mentioned, the International Judo Federation was created under the leadership of European countries. When Japan affiliated with the IJF, Kanō Jigorō’s son, Kanō Risei, was appointed as its president. Because Kanō did not protest the removal of jūdō from the official events list for the Mexico Olympics of 1968, a certain faction within the IJF took measures to remove him from the presidency. In 1965, a Briton named Charles Palmer became president and actively sought to revive Olympic jūdō. It was accepted again from the 1972 Munich Games, and the IJF has continued to traverse further down the path of sportification.

In 1965, the four weight divisions were reorganised into six, and the IJF adopted kōka and yūkō as point subdivisions in 1973. If a player is not attacking enough, he or she will receive a warning from the referee (shidō). Jūdō practitioners stopped striving to realise the perfect technique (ippon), and instead competed by trying to score a number of lesser points. The IJF also modified jūdō protocols in order to make it more suitable for TV broadcasting. This included the introduction of red tatami mats from 1974 to mark the edge of the match area, coloured jūdō-gi in 1997, “golden score” during overtime in 2003, and so on.

Japan has lost much of its political sway in the IJF and was unable to convince other countries to follow its advice regarding several important developments such as the system of monetary awards, the introduction of ranking, or decisions on the outlawing of certain techniques. In fact, since the inception of the IJF, Japan has never held enough power to influence the direction of jūdō outright, and no other Japanese has been appointed to the role since Matsumae Shigeyoshi’s presidency.

In recent years, Japan has faced a series of setbacks in various IJF elections, and Japanese influence continues to decline. Since the 1970s, foreign jūdō federations have devised cutting-edge ways of training its athletes and promoting the sport. The way jūdō matches are competed in has changed dramatically with the introduction sport science research, new ways of doing the kumikata (jūdō fighting grip), and the tendency to simply try to snatch half-points during the match rather than aiming for a decisive ippon. Although Japan has endeavoured to preserve tradition as the birthplace of jūdō, it is now finding it increasingly difficult to keep up with the rapid changes. The number of Japanese medallists in major international competitions continues to decrease, but public expectations remain high. General opinion in Japan shows a strong tendency to embrace competition in the hope of future success in the international competition arena.

There are many countries in Europe where instructors can make a living out of managing a jūdō club, and have devised innovative ways to increase membership. Some, for example, advertise jūdō as an “educational sport”. Some European federations have created ranking systems for children above the age of seven, with detailed lists of techniques that need to be learned at each level. Illustrations of the techniques along with a “Jūdō Moral Code” are displayed on posters on dojō walls. Consistent systems for instruction and promotion have been used to great effect overseas, and in France for example, the jūdō population exceeds 560,000, about three times the membership of Japan.
2. Spiritual Budō—Zen in the Art of Archery

Many non-Japanese who choose to take up kendō or kyūdō seek the spiritual aspects of budō. After the war, Suzuki Daisetz advocated that the spiritual essence of Japan is found in Zen. Suzuki had published several important books on Zen extending back before the war. In his classic Zen and Japanese Culture, he explains the influence of Zen on samurai culture, kendō, Confucianism, tea and Noh. The second part discusses the Japanese perspective of nature and religion. The book was written in English in 1938 (the first part was translated into Japanese in 1940), but it only became widely known in the US and Europe during the 1950s. After moving to the US he taught extensively at different universities there and in Europe, giving more than 500 lectures and conferences on philosophy and religion. During his lectures, he often talked about kenjutsu and introduced the ideals of Yagyū Munenori and the concept of “kenzen-itchi” (Zen and sword as one) as explained by Takuan in the Fudōchi Shinmyō-roku (The Unfettered Mind), which he translated into English.

Eugen Herrigel’s Zen in der Kunst des Bogenschießens was published in 1948, and translated into English (Zen in the Art of Archery) in 1953. It is still one of the most widely read books in the budō genre. In the preface of the English version, Suzuki states that the book will serve as an introduction to Zen. His comment gave the book an aura of authority. Herrigel relates his sojourn in Japan from 1924 to 1929, and the personal experiences he had of kyūzen-ichimi while studying kyūdō under Awa Kenzō. He was often confused by his teacher’s guidance, but gradually placed his faith in Awa after experiencing some inexplicable events.

Zen in the Art of Archery is not only read by kyūdō exponents, but by practitioners of other martial arts as well. It contributed to the image people have now of the spirituality of budō. However, some kyūdō practitioners reject the book arguing that it is not a kyūdō manual, and criticise it as being “too mystical”. Nevertheless, Zen in the Art of Archery shows clearly how his training in kyūdō served as a vehicle for cultivating body and mind.

Herrigel went through four stages before experiencing the Zen concept of mushin in kyūdō. I will outline these stages while comparing his observations with some of Awa’s posthumous manuscripts on kyūdō procedures. In the first stage, Herrigel simply learned how to draw the bow. He is taught that the arm and shoulder muscles should remain relaxed, and to “press” his breath down gently to keep the abdominal region taut. Herrigel found this concept difficult to understand. His body became accustomed to archery after a year, and he learned to assume the correct posture, how to push his breath down into the tanden, and how to use the power in his feet and arms to draw the bow naturally. He wrote that at this point he started to understand the principle of jūdō in which the opponent is thrown to the ground by giving way and leaving it up to natural power.

The second stage deals with releasing the arrow. Herrigel was taught to not consciously open his fingers and let go of the bowstring, but instead to reach the state of mushin and wait for the release to occur naturally. Again, Herrigel did not understand, but he gradually devised a way to

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10 Eugen Herrigel, Zen in the Art of Archery, p. 27.
demonstrate an “unconscious” release while continuing to consciously open his fingers. Awa saw through his trick and asked him to leave the dōjō.

Concentration is crucial at this stage. The archer must focus on his breathing, and then follow the strict protocols culminating in the release. Awa made Herrigel use a bow that was too rigid for him. At first he frantically tried to pull the bowstring back, but Awa taught him repeatedly to focus on breathing rather than pulling, and finally made Herrigel forget about the bow and enter a state of mushin. From the moment the bow is fully drawn, he was taught, the archer must maintain intense concentration and wait for the hanare (release of the bowstring) to happen.

Herrigel trained for more than three years before he could truly attain mushin. He explained that in this state, “The soul is brought to the point where it vibrates of itself in itself—a serene pulsation which can be heightened into the feeling, otherwise experienced only in rare dreams, of extraordinary lightness, and the rapturous certainty of being able to summon up energies in any direction, to intensify or to release tensions graded to a nicety.” Awa called it “Right presence of mind”. Herrigel took this idea from Suzuki’s translation of the Fudōchi Shinmyō-roku. This is the state of “body and mind as one” or “bow and body as one”. Herrigel wrote that if one can execute hanare in the state of mushin, then “for the archer himself, right shots have the effect of making him feel that the day has just begun.”

The third stage deals with shooting arrows at the target. Herrigel was taught to not aim at the target, but just shoot in a state of mushin. This idea puzzled him as he could not grasp the concept of not aiming. In order to show him that it is possible to hit without aiming, Awa waited for the dark of night, and lighting a single stick of incense and placing it in front of the target, he hit the mark twice. By keeping a perfect posture and drawing the bow without trembling, and if the mind, the body, the bow and the arrow can become one, then the archer will demonstrate a natural hanare and hit the target. Herrigel went to the target bank and saw that the second arrow had pierced through the first one, right at the centre of the target. Apparently he sat speechless for a long time afterwards.

After this incident, Herrigel stopped thinking about hitting the target, and after a year he finally managed to release his arrows in a state of mushin. Awa wrote that one should break away from the desire for a good result, and comply instead with the “immensity of the infinity”; only then, he states, will one be able to experience “the true self”. For the first time, the archer will then know the profound nature of the self. Awa called this “shari-kensei”, or “enlightenment through shooting”.

Finally, the fourth level is reached when the archer is able to apply the principles of the bow in his or her daily life. Everything that one does in daily life should be done naturally, with full mind and deep, even respiration. If the archer can experience mushin when practising kyūdō, he or she will then find mushin in many aspects of their life. In this way, if one grasps the mysteries of kyūdō, one can escape from the technical realm and enter the world of Zen.

The emphasis on “kyūzen-ichimi” was actually started by Awa Kenzō, and was adhered to by disciples of his entourage. There is a strong element of opposition to Zen in the Art of Archery in the kyūdō community these days, however, Herrigel’s book shows clearly the mechanism by which body and mind change through refining each aspect of the technique. This provides a concrete example of how budō differs from other sports in the way that the practitioner seeks to access a different type of deeply internal power bringing liberation from physical technique, and to apply this in daily life.

11 Ibid p. 41.
12 Ibid p. 60-61.
13 “Kyūzen-ichimi” was already advocated by Ōhira Zenzō (Shakakuin) but was developed mainly by Umeji Kenran in Bu-Zen (1933-34). Awa’s writings were also influenced by Umeji. Umeji’s treatise can be found in the appendix of Nakanishi Seiji’s Yumi to Zen (Shunjusha, 1981). Karl Dürckheim learned kyūdō from Umeji and wrote about his experiences in the book Hara: The Vital Center of Man.
V. BUDŌ AND GLOBALISATION

After the end of the Cold War in 1989, several significant changes occurred in Eastern Europe including the removal of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union. In Asia, the newly industrialising economies of Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore entered a period of remarkable economic growth. From the 1990s, China launched its economic reforms and received considerable investments from Western countries and Japan. China became the “factory of the world”. Migration also increased, and the internet revolutionised information sharing. With these rapid social changes, budō also reached a turning point in Japan and abroad.

1. The Changing Situation in Japan

❖ Generation Changes

By the end of the 1990s, the prewar generation of budō practitioners had almost disappeared. Instructors who had graduated from Busen or the Tokyo Higher Normal School were influential even in their twilight years, and continued to teach or work as advisers for their respective federations. For example, the International Budo University hired Matsumoto Yasuichi 8th dan (graduate of Busen, and winner of the All Japan Judo Championships before and after the war) to teach jūdō; Komorizono Masao hanshi 9th dan (Tokyo Higher Normal School) to lead the kendō club; and hanshi Yoshida Sadako (Busen) to instruct the art of naginata. Some instructors continue to teach even into their nineties.

For traditional martial art ryūha, the most critical factor for survival is transmission of the techniques in their pure form to the next generation. When the headmaster of a ryūha who has trained for many decades and reached a high level of mastery passes away, it is crucial that the next generation does not alter the techniques, but conveys them exactly how they were taught in previous generations of the school.

Table 2. High School Athletic Association sports club membership statistics. (Nakamura Tamio, Ima Naze Budo ka)
The decrease in Budō Practitioners

The budō population in Japan started to decrease after 1985, and has continued its downward trend. The main concern is the dwindling number of budō practitioners in high schools. For example, the number of boys doing jūdō in 1985 was 59,273, but in 2005 had halved to 28,519. The same can be said of kendō, with a one third loss from 55,871 to 36,798 in the same period. Also, kendō girls decreased from 39,716 to 20,210. Girls doing jūdō continued to increase after 1985, but started to decline in 1995 with 12,864, and then falling further to 6,601 in 2005. Of course, this trend is linked to a general decrease of children in Japan (about 5,640,000 high school students in 1989 against 3,600,000 in 2005), but this is not the only factor. Baseball increased its membership during the same period reaching 165,109 in 2005; soccer increased dramatically until 1995, and although it declined afterwards, it still had 48,109 high school practitioners in 2005. There are four to eight times more teenagers practising those sports than jūdō or kendō, so the departure from budō is very clear.14

2. The Changing Circumstances of Budō Abroad

Separation from Japan

The presence of Japan in budō overseas has also declined. In 2007, Japan lost the election for the presidency of the Judo Union of Asia and for the directorship for education and coaching in the IJF. Now there is only one Japanese on the IJF executive committee.

For the first time in the World Kendo Championship history, the Japanese team lost in the semi-final against Team USA in 2007. The technical level of non-Japanese kendō practitioners is now very high. Second and the third generation practitioners in the pioneer countries now instruct developing countries, and are spreading the discipline without the need for Japanese input.

The Rise of Chinese and Korean Martial Arts

The rise of Chinese and Korean martial arts accompanied the economic expansion of both countries. Chinese wushu or Korean taekwondo are now widely practised internationally. They are often confused with Japanese budō even though they have little in common. The Korea Kumdo Association is affiliated to the FIK, but there are also other rival federations in Korea such as the World Kumdo Association. This separatist group promotes different objectives from the FIK, and are staunch advocates for making kendō an Olympic sport. Kumdo is the Korean word for kendō; the federation translated all vocabulary into Korean, uses a different style of hakama, and the referee flags are different colours to those used in Japan. Some aspects of kendō etiquette have also been omitted in kumdo. Basically, the techniques are the same as in kendō, but many Korean practitioners vociferously claim that kendō was actually created in Korea, not in Japan.15 Korea also promotes Haedong gumdo, a discipline that resembles iaidō, and hapkido which is similar to aikidō. Both martial arts are in fact postwar creations, but many Westerners cannot tell the difference between these and Japanese budō. It is therefore useful for the sake of context to know about the roots of Korean martial arts as well as the history of Japanese budō in this era of globalisation. (See Chapter 3.)

15 See Bennett’s chapter “Kendo or Kumdo: The Internationalization of Kendo and the Olympic Problem” in A. Bennett, S. Yamada (eds.), Budo Perspectives, pp. 293-341.
3. New Activities in the Budō World

❖ The Budō Charter

Sensing that practitioners were starting to lose sight of the real nature of budō, and to provide a tangible base for future studies, the Japanese Budō Association established the “Budō Charter” in 1987.

ARTICLE 1: OBJECTIVE OF BUDÔ

Through physical and mental training in the Japanese martial ways, budō exponents seek to build their character, enhance their sense of judgement, and become disciplined individuals capable of making contributions to society at large.

ARTICLE 2: KEIKO (Training)

When training in budō, practitioners must always act with respect and courtesy, adhere to the prescribed fundamentals of the art, and resist the temptation to pursue mere technical skill rather than strive towards the perfect unity of mind, body, and technique.

ARTICLE 3: SHIAI (Competition)

Whether competing in a match or doing set forms (kata), exponents must externalise the spirit underlying budō. They must do their best at all times, winning with modesty, accepting defeat gracefully, and constantly exhibiting self-control.

ARTICLE 4: DÔJÔ (Training Hall)

The dōjō is a special place for training the mind and body. In the dōjō, budō practitioners must maintain discipline, and show proper courtesies and respect. The dōjō should be a quiet, clean, safe, and solemn environment.

ARTICLE 5: TEACHING

Teachers of budō should always encourage others to also strive to better themselves and diligently train their minds and bodies, while continuing to further their understanding of the technical principles of budō. Teachers should not allow focus to be put on winning or losing in competition, or on technical ability alone. Above all, teachers have a responsibility to set an example as role models.

ARTICLE 6: PROMOTING BUDÔ

Persons promoting budō must maintain an open-minded and international perspective as they uphold traditional values. They should make efforts to contribute to research and teaching, and do their utmost to advance budō in every way. It is important to reflect deeply on budō’s traditional peculiarities before considering its internationalisation. There is now a need for further academic studies and renewed teaching methodologies.

❖ Reconsidering Kobujutsu—Budō for the Disabled

The classical martial arts, or kobujutsu, are now being studied from renewed perspectives. Various techniques and postures from some ryūha are being utilised in sports, or even adapted into methods for nursing care and rehabilitation. There is now a trend among enthusiasts of traditional kobujutsu to revert back to the more practical aspects, and move away from the spiritual or educational ideals characteristic of modern budō. That is why some prefer to stress their art as bujutsu not budō, and focus on the universal potential of the physical body through the process of mastering classical martial arts.
combat techniques.

Recently, jūdō and karatedō have been adapted by some practitioners to enable easier participation by people with disabilities. The field of martial arts for the disabled is an important new area of research.

❖ The Interest in Budō Culture

Many years have passed since budō started to spread overseas, and non-Japanese have shown a strong interest in the profound aspects of its culture. There are numerous events and activities underway that demonstrate the international interest in the history and culture of budō. To give some examples, the International Seminar of Budō Culture held annually by the Nippon Budokan in collaboration with the International Budo University was convened for the 25th time in 2013. Kendo World is a specialist English language magazine launched in 2001 which continues to offer a high level of information about kendo and related arts via publications and the internet. In 2003, the International Research Centre for Japanese Studies, located in Kyoto, invited 23 renowned Japanese and foreign researchers to participate in an international symposium on budō.16 In 2010, the Nippon Budokan published the English version of Nihon no Budō, entitled Budō: The Martial Ways of Japan. The International Budo University also published IBU Budō Series Vol. 1—The History and Spirit of Budō in the same year.

❖ New Trends in the Budō World

The “Judo Renaissance” was promoted in Japan from 2001 in which seminars were held to debate the positions of tradition and competition in jūdō. A kata competition was also introduced for the first time at the World Judo Championships in 2009.

In kendō, a new training method comprising nine representative techniques called the Bokutō ni yoru Kendō Kihon Waza Keiko-hō (Training method for fundamental kendō techniques with a bokutō) was created in 2003. Its main objective is to teach beginners basic and advanced techniques using a bokutō rather than a shinai to provide a more comprehensive understanding of kendō than the Nippon Kendo Kata, which is thought by many to be too distant from the reality of shinai kendō. Also the Official Guide for Kendō Instruction was translated into English as one of many undertakings by the AJKF to promote correct kendō abroad. Also, the International Kyudo Federation was founded in 2006. The Kyūdō Manual is being translated into English now.

Finally, budō became a mandatory subject in junior high schools from 2012. Under the “budō” section in the “National Curriculum Guidelines”, it is stated that the purpose of budō education is “to preserve the traditional manners of Japan”. MEXT, the Nippon Budokan, and each budō federation have organised numerous seminars and short courses to ensure that instruction is safe and beneficial for pupils.

Conclusion

Budō has undergone many changes since the period of globalisation from the 1990s, and it is now timely to question again what the essence of budō is. The move towards sportification after the war obviously had considerable sway over the way budō has evolved over the last six decades. To get a firm grasp of budō’s peculiar culture, it is important to go back and revisit about the teachings espoused by the early pioneers of Japan’s martial culture laid down in classics such as the treatises of Yagyū Munenori or Miyamoto Musashi, Kanō’s essays on jūdō, or Awa’s Kenzō’s teachings on

16 See Alexander Bennett (ed.), Budo Perspectives.
kyūdō. Even today, these classic texts are extremely relevant, and can teach us many things about what we should be aspiring for in our study of budō.

Many non-Japanese practitioners are enthusiastically studying the history and culture of budō. In this era of globalisation, budō is no longer the sole property of Japan, but is also being developed by non-Japanese worldwide. Anyone who wants to learn and inherit the traditions of budō can do so now. If there is something to learn from the development of budō abroad, then it is incumbent on the Japanese people to do so. It is my hope that budō continues to develop as culture belonging to all of humankind.

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