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"KENDO" IN JAPANESE MARTIAL CULTURE:
SWORDSMANSHIP AS SELF-CULTIVATION.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, PH.D., 1978

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Kendō in Japanese Martial Culture:
Swordsmanship as Self-Cultivation

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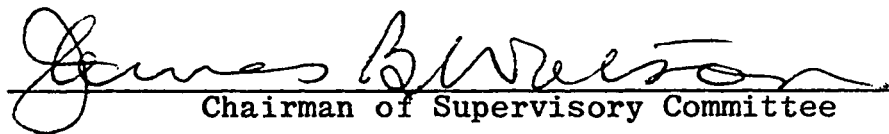
Jeffrey Lewis Dann

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
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1978

Approved by


Chairman of Supervisory Committee

Department

Anthropology
Departmental Faculty Sponsoring Candidate

Date

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We have carefully read the dissertation entitled Kendō in Japanese Martial
Culture: swordsmanship as self-cultivation

submitted by

Jeffrey Lewis Dann

in partial fulfillment of

the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

and recommend its acceptance. In support of this recommendation we present the following joint statement of evaluation to be filed with the dissertation.

The dissertation concerns the forms, meanings, and uses of kendō in modern Japan where, as a central part of martial culture, it is a regimen for "spiritual education." Tracing kendō--the way of the sword--to its principal historical roots in Japanese warrior codes and swordsmanship, the dissertation locates contemporary kendō among the "martial ways" (budō), which are developed and perpetuated today for the self-cultivation of the individual in a quasi-combative learning context. By relating the rules of performance and the theory of instruction in kendō to Japanese ideas of maturation and ideals of person-hood, the dissertation demonstrates persuasively the use of forms and precepts that make use of the sword, its manufacture, and its manipulation in combat as a metaphor and guide for individual discipline and morality, among other purposes.

The research is based on several years of participation in kendō, on extensive residence and field work in Japan and apprenticeship there at a traditional seat of kendō instruction, on interviews with leading exponents and masters of kendō, and on documentary reading, attendance at kendō conferences, and correspondence with persons in Japan and elsewhere that kendō has now become important as a form of self-development.

Describing the practice and theory of modern kendō training, the dissertation relates different aspects of the regimen to traditional martial culture and to the imagery and ideology of the wider culture of Japan. The analysis brings out implicit as well as explicit parallels and meanings between the swordsmanlike discipline and Japanese views of body, self, society, and the proper conduct of life.

The dissertation makes an original contribution to scholarship in several ways. It presents a well documented description of the place of modern kendō as one of several closely related expressions of traditional Japanese values. It recognizes and defines three contemporary guises of kendō, classical, cultural, and sports kendō. It breaks ground in suggesting convincingly that the combative systems of different peoples

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rather frequently give rise to sportive or broadly educational forms as a means of expressing and inculcating an array of strongly held cultural beliefs and behaviors; in effect that forms derived from combat and related activities often serve to simulate and symbolize a certain view of life and are thus used as preparation for it.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

In this dissertation the modern form of Japanese swordsmanship, kendō, is viewed ethnographically as an educational institution and a system of learning. Kendō belongs to a large class of cultural regimens derived from the combative training systems of Japan's pre-modern warrior class. These systems of combat, the martial arts and ways, have been a dominant form of education, training, and self-cultivation of the status-elite warrior class and continue to play a significant role in the definition of Japanese culture in the present day.

My purposes are (1) to provide an understanding of the role and meaning of the martial ways as a system of education in Japanese culture; (2) to introduce to the ethnographic literature the study of combative and combative-derived systems; (3) to clarify, in part, the misunderstandings and confusion regarding the so-called martial arts; and (4) to provide guidelines for the study of combative systems in the context of martial culture in Japan and elsewhere. I propose that systems of combative behavior within a society provide a key to the understanding of larger cultural patterns; that they are a significant form of education or socialization for male members of society; and that they are a model for a wide variety of cultural beliefs and behaviors.

The burgeoning growth of the "martial arts" as an international phenomenon calls for scholarly and reasoned research into the origin, development, and meaning of these combative disciplines. Scarcely a nation exists that does not have a major city with a place for organized instruction in these "martial

arts". Virtually all modern military and law enforcement institutions include training in hand-to-hand combat that is in some way influenced or modeled after these disciplines. Particularly since World War II, the "martial arts" have rapidly entered the world culture and international consciousness. One of these arts, judo, has achieved the status as an Olympic-class sport, significantly the only non-Western system of contest to receive that distinction.

The so-called martial arts are an array of disparate systems undergoing rapid change as they are adopted and modified by numerous cultures, each with its own tradition and meanings for combat and active contest. The martial arts present a striking phenomenon of what Irving Hallowell has called "transculturation"¹, in this case, the adoption of Asian cultural patterns into the realm of everyday American and European life.

With so little research to date we cannot speak with confidence about the similarities and differences among the "martial arts" or their diverse applications both in the countries of their origin or in their new host cultures. The "martial arts" are highly developed combative systems in the Asian culture area; they have the status of "national arts" in Japan, Korea, China, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and elsewhere². In this dissertation I propose no general statements about the Asian "martial arts". I offer instead a detailed analysis of the most influential of the Japanese combative systems, the study of swordsmanship. Even then, this study is introductory. It does not deal with the wide variety of combative systems other than

swordsmanship that are still extant in Japan. Swordsmanship is the most senior and respected of the Japanese martial arts and ways. It is the model for other disciplines, such as jūdō, karate-dō, and aikidō which are perhaps better known than swordsmanship to the international community. Swordsmanship has intimately influenced the philosophy, training methods, and actual combative techniques not only of these empty-handed Japanese martial systems but also the Japanese interpretation of Western sports such as baseball³.

The study of Japanese combative systems is appropriate, moreover, due to the leading position that Japan has held in the internationalization and popularization of the "martial arts". The reasons for this are complex but I shall briefly mention here two factors which are developed in other chapters. First, Japan's eight-hundred year legacy of rule by an elite warrior class has infused the culture with enduring symbols and meanings that intimately associate the combative disciplines as a formal system of education for cultivating the individual and inculcating idealized Japanese values and attitudes.

Second, as an elite form of education, Japan, during its era of modernization, systematized and unified her diverse systems of combative training for incorporation into the national public school system. Japan was the first Asian nation to modernize the martial arts and ways as a deliberate repository of what was most valued and most endangered in the traditional culture. Developed as a physical, mental, and moral regime for the citizenry at large, and rationalized in content and meaning as an integral part

of Japanese self-identity, the martial arts and ways have received international recognition in proportion to Japan's increased participation and stature in world affairs.

The educational context of the Japanese martial ways is fundamentally spiritual (seishin kyoiku) and seeks the development and maturation of the individual in an "inner" personal and "outer" social mode of self-cultivation. The martial ways define and clarify the Japanese conception of personhood and individual growth in the context of the social and natural order. Expressed through an active and kinetic mode, the martial arts and ways establish a model for understanding self, the working of mind and body, the relationship and uses of energy and strength, and strategies for dealing with others. In short, the martial arts and ways provide a model of being derived from the combative experiences and educational concepts of the idealized warrior class of traditional Japan. I discuss in this dissertation the configuration and meaning of education in Japanese martial culture as represented by its modern form of swordsmanship, kendō.

Theoretical Perspectives - Martial Culture

The study of combative systems has had little or no place in the standard ethnographies in the anthropological literature. When mentioned, combative systems are usually classified under the categories of sports or warfare, even occasionally as dance or expressive art form. I have been guided in my research not by notions of war, sport, or art but rather, by a concept, which I believe subsumes these categories. I propose that kendō, the Japanese martial arts and ways, and combative systems in general,

may be most fruitfully understood by the concept of martial culture. By martial culture, I refer to the sum total of culture that relates to combat behavior: weaponry, its uses and technology; inter- and intra-group social organization and relations; economic and political institutions; religion, law, and medicine, psychological, symbolic, and aesthetic concepts; ecological relationships and even ethological patterns of behavior.

Edward Hall recognizes ten Primary Message Systems that constitute the criteria for universal cultural systems. In order to qualify as a cultural system, each Primary Message System had to be:

- "A. Rooted in a biological activity widely shared with other advanced living forms. It was essential that there be no breaks with the past.
- B. Capable of analysis in its own terms...and
- C. So constituted that it reflected all the rest of culture and was reflected in the rest of culture" (Hall, 1973:38).

Defense is one of Hall's Primary Message Systems and is intimately related to other primary cultural systems such as interaction, association, subsistence, bisexuality, territoriality, learning, play, and exploitation (1973:38-39). Unfortunately Hall does not elaborate on the cultural patterning of defense although he does suggest that the cultural configuration of defense shares similar functions with medicine, religion, law, and warfare. There is a direct relevance between Hall's concept of defense and my notion of martial culture.

The concept of martial culture in anthropological thought has recently been expanded in a provocative article by Divale and

Harris (1976) where the authors speak of a "universal male-supremist complex that is intimately tied to the institution of warfare". In brief, these authors argue that in the evolution of human society, martial culture, or the defense system, has placed "A premium survival advantage...upon the group that rears the largest number of fierce and aggressive warriors" (Divale and Harris, 1976:526). They go so far as to include in this pattern of martial culture the following cultural constructs: patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance, polygyny, marriage by capture, brideprice, post-marital restrictions on women, property rights in women, male secret societies, male age grades, and men's houses (1976:532).

Also of relevance here is the virtually universal pattern of exclusive male possession of weapons of the hunt and warfare and the predominantly masculine and martial nature of competitive and combative sports.⁴

"The combat effectiveness of males is enhanced through their participation in competitive sports such as wrestling, racing, duelling, and many forms of individualistic mock combat (1976:524-525).

In discussing the cultural foundations of warfare Holloway (1968) speaks of "sentiment structures", an evolutionary concept of some relevance to martial culture. For Holloway, certain "sentiment structures" function to insure survival for the individual and the group. These structures, related to increasing brain complexity, are oriented towards co-operation and shared tasks which have the ability to mobilize individuals and groups for survival through participation in conflict and warfare.

Sipes (1963), too, seems to be groping towards the concept of martial culture where, in an interesting study of two theories concerning war, sports, and aggression, he states: "War and combative sports activities in a society appear to be components of a broader culture pattern" (1963:80). His study rejects the hypothesis that combative sports act as a vehicle for the displacement of aggression and that, in fact, those societies with the highest incidence of warfare have the most numerous and highly organized forms of combative sports.

Blanchard's study of team sports and violence among Choctaw and Anglo basketball players, quoting Sipes' "broader cultural pattern", states much the same position:

"Team sports behavior, as part of 'that broader cultural pattern', provides a specialized context for the expression of learned aggression needs through competitive forms of conflict" (1976:97).

Moreford and Clark (1977) associate the "true sports of contest" with the "agonal ethos of so-called warrior societies"⁵. Derived from the Greek agon which meant "any struggle for one's highest interests", the contests of martial and athletic prowess were inextricably bound together.

"In agonal societies, war activity offered the most prestigious avenue for displaying prowess but, since it was limited to contests with "out-group members" ...athletic contests offered an acceptable substitute...between members of the "in-group" (Moreford and Clark 1977:164).

Combative training in times of peace, they argue, easily took on an athletic cast as the need for battlefield preparedness was tempered by the requirements for relative safety among potential fellow combatants. Through combative contests, members

of social groups could use these systems further for legal adjudication⁶ or to express status and prestige hierarchies⁷.

Classical warrior societies are characteristically of a certain social and technological level that allows the formation of an elite, often aristocratic, warrior class. This class, as in the case of ancient Greece, medieval Europe, and pre-modern Japan, then evolves an elaborate martial culture and ethos.

"Creating its own world of play protected by the rules of the birth and lineage...the waging of agonal war was the prerogative of an elite...warrior caste, in which there developed a warrior ethic or a common standard of behavior, one that was unwritten but reinforced by the powerful sanction of unwritten deeds" (1977:165).

Moreford and Clark mention further, that while the lifespan of these warrior societies may be quite short they provide cultural patterns, symbolic meanings, and even specific forms of agonal contest that continue well beyond the demise of warrior society itself. Even a cursory glance at the names and symbols of American highschool and professional sports clubs immediately brings this point home: the Trojans, Vikings, Braves, Pirates, Knights, Rough Riders, and so on.

The discussion of combative systems as sports involves an important but subsidiary argument about the relationship between combatives and concepts of play, neither of which can be dealt with in detail here. Nevertheless, Draeger in Draeger and Dann (1977) offers fertile criticism for Huizinga's (1950) contention that Japanese systems of martial contest are to be considered as play⁸.

The concept of martial culture has been pioneered through the researches of Donn F. Draeger who has been investigating weapon usage and combative systems of the Asian and Pacific cultural regions. Terming his field of study, hoplology⁹, Draeger proposes that weapons systems and their combative applications provide a major key to the analysis of specific cultures (Draeger and Smith, 1969; Draeger, 1973a, 1973b, 1974, Draeger and Dann, 1977).

Proceeding on the assumption that man's earliest technology revolved around the use of weapons, he suggests that the study of combative systems reveal certain depths of the psychological and emotional understanding of man, his technology, social structure, and ecological relationships.

It is not my intention to offer a general theory of martial culture or to present a total ethnographic description of Japanese martial culture. These grand works are beyond the limited scope of this dissertation. My research and analysis, however, is informed by the concept of martial culture, and in this light, combative systems are seen as central to the concept. I suggest that both warfare and sports might best be understood as particular subsets within the larger framework of martial culture and that combative systems are intimately related to both. While it is important to understand the relationship of the martial ways to both sport and warfare, I have primarily understood kendō and the martial ways as systems of education, a type of self-cultivation derived from and expressed through combative training as understood by the martial legacy of Japanese culture.

The study of combative systems is a legitimate field in and of itself, and one which anthropologists have paid scant attention to. This neglect is undoubtedly due to a combination of causes which include the repression and masking of traditional combative systems under colonial rule and perceived personal danger and moral aversion on the part of the anthropologist. Combative systems offer a fruitful area of research. Through the limited case study of Japanese swordsmanship I shall demonstrate the form and meaning of the Japanese solution to combative behavior, its educational process, and underlying intent.

The Literature on Japan

The literature on Japanese combative systems and their relationship to the mainstreams of Japanese culture presents a paradox for while virtually all commentators have mentioned the importance of the warrior culture and their martial arts, there are no detailed studies of these disciplines. Whereas the relationship of Zen Buddhism, Noh Drama, Kabuki, and even Tea-ceremony to the warrior class has been a legitimate and ongoing avenue of research, the systems of martial training as the source of warrior authority, have been seriously neglected.

The reasons for this lacuna lie, in part, both with the combative disciplines themselves and with the contemporary academic community. The martial arts and ways are active disciplines requiring years of considerable effort before their essence is understood and their technical training complete. The few valuable studies of the budō (martial ways) have been consistently written by individuals who were themselves active

participants. The theory of learning and the knowledge gained through the budō, however, are in a sense antagonistic to verbal discourse and intellectual reasoning. The intuitive and experiential nature of the educational process has probably discouraged practitioners from attempting to explain their disciplines through extended academic reasoning.¹⁰ Also, it must be remembered that as a potent technology for personal and group authority, combative systems traditionally have been filled with secrecy and esoteric doctrine. Those who have written of the martial arts and ways often filled their accounts with hyperbole and misrepresentation as they sought to aggrandize the prowess and genealogy of their tradition.

Three levels of literature concerning the martial arts and ways in Japanese may be distinguished. The first is the voluminous popular literature on martial heroes and their battles, which though a valuable gauge of popular attitudes, is often filled with fictionalized history. The second class of literature is that written by practitioners for those in training. While the majority of these are simply training manuals, there are a number of valuable diaries, commentaries, and historical treatises¹¹. In general these works do not attempt any systematic synthesis between the development of the martial arts and ways and the larger cultural history. Finally, there are virtually no academic studies of the combative systems by professional Japanese scholars¹².

Precisely the same condition prevails in the literature in English. There is a plethora of popular publications devoted to

teaching the secrets of Japanese self-defense to an interested but gullible American public. There are, however, a number of good training manuals.

Few publications concerning the martial arts and ways exist from the pre-war period despite frequent mention of jūdō, "jūjitsu", and "Japanese fencing". Only a handful of foreigners studied the modern martial ways before the Second World War. After the military success against Russia in 1905, the shin budō were becoming vehicles of increasing nationalist nostalgia for traditional warrior ways, while being modified to fit the needs of the modern military nation state. Undoubtedly, for foreigners in Japan before the war, the shin budō were not the most congenial field for participation. Jūdō, perhaps, stands as an exception to this trend through the consistent internationalist outlook of its founder, Kano Jigorō. His publication with Lindsey (1888) is the first description of a Japanese combative system in English and his "Contribution of Jiudo to Education" (1932) stand as a continuing statement of Kano's efforts to explain and popularize jūdō as a positive physical culture regime.

E. J. Harrison's The Fighting Spirit of Japan (1966) documents the condition of jūdō at the turn of the century by an avid and perceptive foreigner. Harrison clearly perceived the spiritual and esoteric elements of the martial ways and offered many valuable leads that were never followed up. In a similar vein, although he did not study the martial ways as far as I can determine, the German philosopher Karlfried von Durckheim exquisitely elaborates the broader cultural implications of the spiritual

and psychosomatic concept of hara in a book by that name (1962). Another important pre-war study, also by a German, is Eugen Herrigel's Zen and the Art of Archery (1953). This is a brief but sensitive account of the spiritual goals and the teaching methods of Kyūdo.

Stimulated by individual participation of American and Allied Forces personnel during the Occupation, the post-war literature on the martial ways began to increase. The influential role played by the "beatnik" movement during the 1950's in introducing Zen Buddhism to American college youth must be mentioned for it was part and parcel of the rising interest in foreign films on college campuses which firmly embedded Kurosawa Akira's visions of the Japanese society in the American mind¹³. While these two influences did not result in any extensive studies of the budō, works such as Paul Reps' Zen Flesh Zen Bones (1957) further associated swordsmanship with Zen in the American public's mind.

The first major statement of the importance of martial culture and swordsmanship on Zen Buddhism and Japanese culture is the classic work of Daisetsu T. Suzuki, Zen and Japanese Culture (1959). With three chapters devoted to the swordsman and swordsmanship, Suzuki was clearly attempting to clarify the spiritual basis of the martial tradition while introducing this significant religious sect to an American audience. Although not a budō practitioner himself, Suzuki's study is valuable for its translation and interpretation of various classic documents and his interviews with leading contemporary kendoists. However, his study is somewhat misleading in that it overemphasizes Zen Buddhist

influence on swordsmanship to the exclusion of Shinto, Neo-Confucian, and Taoist traditions¹⁴. Nevertheless, as Zen Buddhism provided the spiritual vocabulary for a large portion of the warriors' states of mind in combat, Suzuki's work is an invaluable aid.

The most significant studies of the Japanese martial tradition and its combative systems come from the researches of Donn F. Draeger. Basing his work on first-hand experience, participant-observation, and interviews with leading contemporary practitioners, Draeger is the first author to present a general typology of Japanese combative systems, their history, and specific features of organization, philosophy, and training methodology. Presented in developmental order Draeger's trilogy Classical Bujutsu (1973a), Classical Budo (1973b), and Modern Bujutsu and Budo (1974) are the most complete volumes on the Japanese martial tradition in English to date. It is with great anticipation that scholars of the Japanese martial tradition must await Draeger's definitive ten-volume study of the history of Japanese martial culture.

The international growth of the martial ways has resulted in a concomitant increase in English books regarding each discipline, often sponsored or supported by the parent organization. As most of these works are technical training manuals, the long list of these is unnecessary to enumerate here. Of particular interest however is K. Tohei's Aikido in Daily Life (1966) for its explicit elaboration of the concept of ki or vital energy in the martial ways. As for kendō, three publications are worthy of note:

(1) Sasamori and Warner's This is Kendo (1965), (2) the All-Japan Kendo Federation's Fundamental Kendo (1972), and (3) Ronald Knutsen's "Kendo, Iai-jutsu and iai-do" (1975)¹⁵. Except for the last article, the other two books are essentially training manuals with a bare minimum of history or analysis. I have also found the following two unpublished Master's theses helpful: Thomas Preston, Some Aspects of the Japanese Martial Arts (1965); and Philip Relnick, Judo and Kendo Their Origins and Transformations from Martial Arts to Modern Sports (1971).

In the standard academic studies of Japan in English we find no reference to specific combative systems. Even where a particular martial tradition is named and called influential as an educative force as is the case of the jigen ryū in Ivan Hall's excellent study of Mori Arinori (1973). The reader finds no description as to the type of swordsmanship, its philosophy, or training methods represented by this Kyushu-based ryū.

Marius Jansen's excellent study of the late Tokugawa patriot Sakamoto Ryoma (1961) is unique for its details and attention given to the influential role of swordsmanship during this tumultuous period. Even Jansen, however, treats swordsmanship in a superficial manner for he fails to indicate that he is discussing only one type, that of gekken. He does not clarify that this new style of gekken, with protective equipment and a bamboo sword substitute, the immediate forerunner to modern kendō, facilitated the brotherhoods of radical patriotic swordsman. Under the older styles of swordsmanship, men from different traditions and locales would not have been able to train together, to achieve recognition and advancement through skill in contest,

and thus to relate to each other as upwardly mobile warrior cliques developing a national sense of political and social awareness. This point is treated in further detail in Chapter 2.

R. P. Dore's classic Education in Tokugawa Japan (1965) is an invaluable document for understanding the educational contexts of the martial ways. His explanation of the concept of bun-bu (civil and martial) as the context for warrior education is admirable and he indicates a wealth of information in his extensive quotes and bibliography. Nevertheless, his lack of clarity among the types of swordsmanship and his failure to treat specific influential ryū in any detail mars his work. Some of the gaps in Dore's appreciation of the martial ways are also indicated in Chapter 2.

Of the post-war anthropologists only Thomas Rohlen (1973, 1974, 1976) has followed up on some of the more general "cultural" concerns developed by Ruth Benedict in her classic The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (1946). Working with the employee training systems of modern companies, Rohlen has been developing a concept of "spiritualism" derived from the Japanese notion of "spiritual education" (seishin kyoiku). The martial ways are a major model for Japanese "spiritual education", a fact that Rohlen admits but fails to pursue. Nevertheless, my general orientation towards kendō and the martial ways shares a perspective similar to Rohlen's and has been influenced by his formulations. He says of the cultural pattern of "spiritual education":

"(It is) a set of ideas about human psychology and character development that inspired much of the country's pre-war education. "Spiritualism's" debt to the Zen, Confucian, and samurai traditions are quite

apparent. It emphasizes social co-operation and responsibility, an acceptance of reality, and perseverance. Its educational methods emphasize specially constructed training experiences" (1973:1542).

Rohlen sees the anthropological study of systems of Japanese spiritual education as valuable additions to the study of the anthropology of education which can contribute to:

"(1) studying educational processes outside formal school systems; (2) considering native concepts of psychology in analyzing educational processes...; and (4) discovering avenues of education that proceed by non-verbal means" (1973:1542).

Kendō and the martial ways form a major component for the systems of seishin kyoiku in Japanese culture. The popular growth of all forms of spiritual education in contemporary post-war Japan is a phenomenon of great interest. Rohlen suggests, and I concur, that this is not merely a matter of resurgent nationalism as some would have us believe. It is rather the manifestation of a deeper cultural pattern and one that is deeply imbued with Japanese "spirit", its concepts of individual psychology and educative process which is asserting itself as the formal educational institutions seek other educational goals and techniques based on Western models.

The headmaster of the Mito Tobukan dōjō, Ozawa Takeshi, who represents the oldest and most influential private dōjō in modern kendō told me:

"kendō represents a unique and special form of Japanese education. All the budō (martial ways) do. We call it "dōjō education" (dōjō kyoiku) and it may be seen as distinct from but complementary to the other two main forms of Japanese education, "school education" (gakko kyoiku) and "family education" (katei kyoiku). The "dōjō education" of kendō represents a traditional form of spiritual education that we Japanese have always valued for

it is the educational process that created our samurai ancestors. The modern Japanese family is changing and so is the nature of public school education. We may feel differently about it but the fact remains that the dojo stands as a significant educational institution for Japanese youth, and adults as well. The dojo is a model for traditional education and we provide a necessary and valuable instruction for areas not adequately covered either at home or in public school in contemporary Japanese society".

Following the lead of Rohlen and the words of Mr. Ozawa, this dissertation is a contribution to the anthropological study of Japanese educational systems. I believe that this dissertation will, moreover, direct anthropological attention to the study of combative systems and martial culture as a significant form of education in all societies.

Terminology

It is necessary in this study to stress that a number of familiar terms are not being used in a popular manner. Because of the academic neglect of combative systems and of Japanese martial culture in particular confusion and misunderstanding surrounds certain terms. First and most important is the clarification of the term "martial arts". In popular parlance we hear of "martial artists" and even "martial stylists". Academic professionals along with laypersons consistently confuse a number of distinct systems which differ in purpose, techniques, and social organization, lumping together all "martial arts". Jūdō is equated with jūjitsu¹⁶. Tokugawa age grappling and striking techniques are termed karate, a system which was not known throughout Japan until the nineteen-twenties. The dramatic swordplay of samurai movies is called kendō. In addition the

popularized Japanese martial ways are so well known on a superficial level, that scholars use such terms as jūdō or karate to describe combative systems of certain South-East Asian nations where there is little or no relationship, either genetic or structural¹⁷.

The Japanese terminology for the combative disciplines is itself prolific, varying from age to age and writer to writer. The result, even in Japanese, is a confusing welter of overlapping meanings and nuances. In his discussion of combative terminology and swordsmanship, Tominaga (1971) lists over seventeen distinct terms¹⁸. He does, however, recognize the tendency to distinguish between "arts" (jutsu) and "ways" (do); the former having a more technical combative application and the latter a more spiritual goal (1971:20-22).

For the purpose of this dissertation, I shall follow Draeger (1973a, 1973b, 1974) who distinguishes between the "martial arts" or bujutsu and the "martial ways" or budō. The martial arts are systems of combative training that are primarily concerned with battlefield effectiveness while the martial ways, although derived from the martial arts, are primarily concerned with the moral and spiritual self-cultivation of the individual.

A second dimension relating to the bujutsu and budō exists which temporally distinguishes between "classical" (ko) and "modern" (shin). Thus there are classical martial arts (ko-bujutsu) and classical martial ways (ko budō), likewise modern martial arts (shin bujutsu) and modern martial ways (shin budō). Classical and modern disciplines differ not only

in their age of origin but also in their social structure, training methods, and purposes. The classical martial arts and ways are organized around autonomous local social units, the ryū, tied to local and regional traditions. In contrast, the modern martial arts and ways are supervised by national federations (renmei). The classical disciplines are characteristically small in number and membership, and have tended to be dominated by individuals of warrior ancestry (buke), even into the present day. The classical disciplines are also distinguished by their simple three or four tier, menkyo-kaiden ranking system. They rarely have free-style contest and the core of their training methodology is the pre-arranged sequences known as kata.

In contrast, the modern martial ways tend to have a large membership, they are open to any and all who want to learn. Their ranking system is the more complex and finely graded dan-kyū method¹⁹. They tend to stress free-style training and competitive contest over their kata component in training. The modern martial arts and ways may be said to have been systematized during and after the Meiji Period (post 1877)²⁰.

Presented in chronological or developmental order we have the following. The classical martial arts (ko bujutsu) are complete systems of combat for the protection of the group devised by and for professional warriors (bushi) in the years preceding the Tokugawa Period (prior to the Seventeenth Century). These disciplines include a wide number of combative arts, various weapon systems and grappling techniques as well as non-combative arts such as signaling, field-fortifications, rope-tying and so on.

The classical martial ways (ko budō), derived from the combative systems of the older martial arts, had their origin in the Tokugawa era of peace (1603-1868). Moral and ethical self-cultivation and aesthetic concerns take precedence over combative realism. The classical martial ways, moreover, are characterized by weapons specialization such as grappling techniques, the spear, bow, sword, and halbert each developed into separate traditions and schools.

The modern martial arts (shin bujutsu) are "officially approved methods of hand-to-hand combat for people authorized by the government to deal with offenders against the social order" (Draeger 1974:58). Largely confined to members of the national law enforcement agencies and the Self-Defense Forces, the modern martial arts differ from their classical forefathers in that they are primarily defensive and seek to restrain the opponent rather than kill or maim.

The modern martial ways (shin budō) are the best known of the Japanese combative systems and have the largest number of participants. They are the only combative disciplines which currently exist outside of Japan. The modern martial ways have a wide variety of applications which include spiritual training, physical education, self-defense, recreation and competitive sport. While having no direct affiliation with their classical antecedents, the shin budō have been profoundly affected by the theory, technique, and symbolic content of the classical disciplines. Among the best known of the modern martial ways are jūdō, aikidō, kendō, karate-dō, naginata-dō, kyudō, jōdō, and

shorinji kempo²¹.

The arts of swordsmanship may be seen to have their own representatives within each category of the martial arts and ways. Thus we distinguish between classical kenjutsu and iaijutsu, classical kendō and iaidō, and modern kendō and iaidō. The distinction between kenjutsu and kendō on the one hand and iaijutsu and iaidō on the other is this: the former refers to swordsmanship performed standing with the drawn blade and most often with the substitute hardwood sword (bokken). The forms of iai are performed from a beginning position, either standing, squatting, or sitting, with the blade at rest in its scabbard. Whereas kenjutsu and kendō require a partner for training, iai, using a live blade, is normally performed in solo exercises.

The term kendō when used to refer to both classical and modern forms of swordsmanship presents certain conceptual and definitional problems for although the term kendō is recorded as early as the mid-seventeenth century²², its use was by no means common or standard until the creation of the modern form by the Dai Nippon Butokukai in 1912. The distinctive feature of modern kendō being protective equipment, a bamboo sword substitute (shinai), free-style training and refereed competition is the result of a transitional development in classical kendō during the mid- and later-Tokugawa periods (from the mid-eighteenth century). I shall use the term gekken to refer to classical forms of swordsmanship that had shinai training (shinai-geiko) and restrict the term kendō to refer to the modern martial way. A simplified chart of these distinctions is presented in Table 1.

Table 1
 Classification of the Japanese Martial Arts and Ways
 in Relationship to Swordsmanship

Type	Approx. Dates of Origin	Major Weapons	Social Organization	Training Method	Ranking System
Classical Martial Arts (<u>ko-bujutsu</u>)	Pre-17th Century	Composite: kenjutsu and others	<u>ryū</u>	<u>kata</u>	<u>menkyo-kaiden</u>
Classical Martial Ways (<u>ko budo</u>)	1603-1877	Weapon's specialization <u>kenjutsu</u> (<u>bokken</u>)	<u>ryū</u>	<u>kata</u>	<u>menkyo-kaiden</u>
1. transitional form gekken	c. 1750-1877	<u>bokken</u> and <u>shinai</u>	<u>ryū</u> .	<u>kata</u> and <u>shinai</u> <u>geiko</u>	
Modern Martial Arts (<u>shin bujutsu</u>)	post 1877	live sword	govt.	<u>kata</u>	--
1. Toyama Military School Swordsmanship					--
Modern Martial Ways (<u>shin budo</u>)	post 1877		<u>renmei</u>	<u>shinai-geiko</u>	<u>dan-kyū</u>
1. <u>kendo</u>	1912	<u>shinai</u>	<u>renmei</u>	<u>shinai-geiko</u>	<u>dan-kyū</u>

Because the forms of kenjutsu, iaijutsu, gekken, classical and modern kendō and iaidō share a great many similarities, particularly in theory and symbolic content including common training procedures, I use the term swordsmanship to refer to the general class of combative systems using the sword. This is in contrast to contemporary Japanese usage, by practitioners of modern kendō, who use the term kendō to refer to all historical aspects and types of swordsmanship (All-Japan Kendo Federation, 1972; Tominaga, 1971; Harris, 1974).

The term ryū and ryū-ha also require specific comment. Usually translated as "school" or "style", I follow Draeger in glossing this term as "tradition". The concept of the ryū transcends the meaning implied by the term "school" as a formal educational institution and seat of instruction. And it is more specific than "style" (kenpū). In its classical sense, the ryū is a corporate body tied to its ancestral founder (ryūsō) through a line of lineal or collateral or non-consanguineous headmasters (Draeger, 1973a:20-23). The ryū not only possesses weapons, artifacts, manuals (denshō and makimono), specific oral traditions, and techniques of behavior, but it also possesses a personality of its own; it "lives and breathes" as well as "takes action". It is characteristic of the ryū that their origin is attributed to divine guidance and that the elements of mysticism and supernatural that pervade the ryū are often expressed through relationship to an oracle at a particular Shinto shrine (1973a: 20-23).

I have also tried to avoid the term "samurai" which despite or perhaps because of its acceptance as an English word, is used uncritically and too broadly in speaking of Japan's pre-modern military class. The term bushi is preferable in reference to warriors in general. The term samurai²³ is technically used to refer to a higher class bushi who directly served a political leader such as the shogun or a daimyo. During the Tokugawa period the samurai were those bushi of hatamoto class in direct allegiance to the Tokugawa shogunate, or in the various han, it referred to warriors above the middle rank. Although the term samurai was occasionally used as a class marker to distinguish the warrior class from the other social classes, in the study of martial culture and combative systems it is improper to identify all bushi as samurai.

Finally, I have attempted to eliminate the large number of terms imported from the parlance of European feudalism to describe pre-modern Japanese society. Despite the rather standard use of such terms among historians on Japan, such as knight, liege, vassal and so on, I feel that specific and significant differences between the two martial cultures warrants a circumspect use of European terminology for the Japanese case.

Fieldwork

I conducted intensive fieldwork in Japan from September 1973 to May 1976. The bulk of my research was done through the Mito Tobukan dōjō in Mito City, Ibaraki Prefecture. Under the guidance and support of the fourth headmaster of the Tobukan, hanshi hachidan Ozawa Takeshi and kyoshi nanadan Miyata Hideyuki, I

engaged in the regular daily training schedule of kendō, iaidō, and naginata-dō, while observing the classical forms of kenjutsu, iaijutsu, and naginata-jutsu still preserved at this dōjō. I conducted intensive interviews with these individuals as well as other sensei, fellow kendoists, children, and parents who were affiliated with the Tobukan dōjō. Through the support and kind introductions of Messrs. Ozawa and Miyata, I travelled extensively to leading kendō dōjō throughout Japan. I also trained for six months at the famous Kyoto-City-owned Butokuden dōjō while studying Japanese upon my arrival to that country. Later while concluding my researches in Tokyo, I trained also for six months at the Sumitomo Insurance Company dōjō with hanshi hachidan Watanabe Toshio, leading instructor for Waseda University.

I worked closely with Donn F. Draeger while in Japan and through his generous introductions conducted intensive interviews and observations of training with the leading practitioners of a number of classical martial arts and ways, most notably the ko bujutsu of the Tenshin Shoden Katori Ryū and the Kashima Shintō Ryū of Chiba and Ibaraki Prefectures respectively.

I have also interviewed, observed, and trained with kendoists from Pusan, Korea; Sweden, Germany, England, France, Canada, Brazil, Hawaii, and the mainland United States. I currently hold modest ranks in the following modern martial ways: kendō, sandan; iaidō nidan; and naginata-dō, nidan.

Preview of Chapters

Chapter 2 provides the historical background for the development of modern kendō. I have particularly been concerned with

the changes in combative technology which led to a safe contest form of training with protective equipment and the bamboo shinai and the resultant adaptations of this new form in the educational system. Swordsmanship was perceived as an expressive form of "spiritual education" rather than a technical form of combat training. The unification of the gekken styles of swordsmanship is related to the modernization process of Meiji Japan and the use of the modern martial ways (shin budō) for the education of male youth in the public schools. The dialectical process of central bureaucratic schools and semi-autonomous local dōjō as the agents of preservation and growth of kendō is discussed in a historical framework and related to the present day situation in kendō.

Chapter 3 presents the theory of combat as understood by the cumulative traditions of Japanese swordsmanship. The theory of combat represents a program of learning and a strategy of being based upon the experience of individual confrontation and quasi-combat. The theory of combat in kendō training provides an understanding of the states of mind, of body, of energy and strength, and of interaction with others.

The organization of training is discussed in Chapter 4. After analyzing the dōjō, or training hall, as the conceptual and structural locus of training, I present a detailed description of the kinds and variations of training procedures. Based upon the presence or absence of specific training methods in particular dōjō, I suggest that three types of kendō presently exist. These are classical kendō, cultural kendō, and sports kendō. These three types also represent a developmental model

for the evolution of contemporary Japanese swordsmanship.

The theory of learning is presented in Chapter 5. In the first half I discuss the importance of model emulation in Japanese education. The process of self-cultivation in kendō is perceived through the model of the sword and its metaphors of forging and polishing. In the second half of the chapter I am concerned with the progression of learning in self-cultivation. Self-discovery and individual creativity are discussed in relation to obedience to tradition.

Concluding the dissertation in Chapter 6, I first present the cultural structuring of inner and outer self-cultivation through the adherence to reigi, the code of etiquette. The forms of propriety affirm the social order and give direction to the potentially aggressive emotions that are released in heat of training. In the second half of the chapter, I present a cultural analysis of the meaning of Japanese martial culture as expressed in the concept bu. Japanese martial culture, reflecting the larger patterns of Japanese culture, I suggest, generates a dynamic tension through the working out of two complementary but opposing cultural principles which are best understood as "return to origins" and "aristocratic distinction". These patterns are personalized by the warrior images of the ronin and the samurai. The relationship of the martial ways to Japanese militarism in World War Two is also discussed. In conclusion, the martial ways are presented as an interpretive educational system which reveals in cognitive, affective, and somatic dimensions the inner workings of Japanese culture.

Chapter 1 Notes

1. A. Irving Hallowell, "American Indians, White and Black: The Phenomenon of transculturation", Current Anthropology 4 (1963):519-531.
2. The only survey of the combative systems of the Far East worthy of note is Donn Draeger and Robert Smith, Asian Fighting Arts (1969).
3. The training techniques of most Japanese combative systems include forms for dealing with an opponent armed with a sword. The philosophy and techniques of swordsmanship are highly influential on Japanese sports in general. Professional Japanese baseball teams have special kangeiko training to forge their spirit (see Chapter 4) and even the all-time home-run king of Japan, Oh Sadaharu, trains regularly with a sword to improve his wrists, co-ordination, and spirit (see the August, 1977 issue of Sports Illustrated).
4. The anthropological literature on warfare has strongly sought to distinguish the social, economic, and ecological causes of warfare from the psychological causes that motivate individuals. Cultural evolutionists such as Leslie White state:

"War is a struggle between societies and not between individuals, making the psychological states of individuals irrelevant to the question of war" (The Science of Culture, 1949:129-134).

Opposed to the cultural evolutionists are the psychological and cultural anthropologists who tend to see warfare as caused by culturally induced patterns of conflict that demand the release of aggression, frustration or hostility. When viewed from this perspective, "primitive warfare" does not conform to the "total war" of the modern era which most anthropologists have experienced thus causing them to perceive warfare of the Plains Indians and of New Guinea, as in Dead Birds, as a kind of prestige motivated sport. This is Lowie's position on Plains Indian warfare (Primitive Society, 1920:356) and it has even led his students to see this type of warfare as having no intrinsic relationship to economics (Bernard Mishkin, "Rank and Warfare Among the Plains Indians", Monographs of the American Ethnological Society 3 (1940)).

In recent years the cultural evolutionists have been the most active in the study of warfare and have repeatedly attacked the cultural and psychological theories of warfare (Keith Otterbein, The Evolution of War (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1970). Thus Andrew Vayda (The Ecological Basis of Warfare, 1976) explains warfare in terms of land-man ratios; others, in turn, suggest man-animal ratios, intertribal man-woman ratios, control of strategic locations, and so on. All these explanations may be seen as having a Marxist con-

cern with the rise of conflict over the means of production or energy in and between societies.

In respect to the study of combative systems both schools of the study of warfare have been negligent. The Freudian-influenced psychological anthropologists see combative systems as sports which are activated by a frustration-aggression release mechanism. The cultural evolutionists, on the other hand, being more concerned with cross-cultural theory testing have not looked at combative systems. A unique exception is Keith Otterbein's "The Evolution of Zulu Warfare" (in Paul Bohannan (ed) Law and Warfare, 1967) where Otterbein explains the success of Zulu expansion in part on the shift in combat technology and social organization from the throwing spear to the stabbing spear.

Another perspective on warfare and one which has great potential for the study of postures and movements in systems of combat is the ethological study of aggression, dominance, and "display behaviors". I suggest that the study of combative behavior may provide a link between the various levels of analysis, materialist, psychological, and ethological. The combative mode runs deeply in man and finds expression in his most playful and most lethal cultural behaviors. Clearly combative behavior has survival value for both the individual and the group and all species have developed systems of defense. We must also research the relationship between the "culture of the hunt"- the weapons, behaviors, and values associated with the chase- and those of the martial culture. Are not the "martial values"- strength, endurance, will, and strategy- derived from man's evolution during the Paleolithic Era and earlier?

5. Moreford and Clark distinguish the agonal contest from the pseudo-agonal and the anti-agonal. The pseudo-agonal contest is associated with spectator sports and since the spectators are often a distinct class from the participants, the contest may be considered pseudo-agonal in that it lacks validation by and from one's peers. The anti-agonal contest is athletic farce, the contestant as entertainer. American professional wrestling would be an appropriate example.
6. The trial of strength or the contest of arms has been a widespread judicial process throughout different cultures in time and place. For a description of this custom in pre-Roman Europe see Henry C. Lea, "The Wager of Battle" in Paul Bohannan (ed) Law and Warfare (Garden City: Natural History Press, 1967):233-254.
7. The Greek tradition of agonal contest and its preoccupation with individualistic fame, glory, and honors is well known to us. Among numerous African cultures as well, wrestling is a pervasive form of martial training used to validate

position and status among men of similar age sets. Unfortunately little has been written of this significant form of African combative behavior (personal communication from Professors Simon Ottenberg and Phillip Stevens).

8. The question of the relationship of combatives to play is possibly broached at a deeper level that sees "play" as the essence of movement and variation of the living organism. Huizinga (1956) expresses this notion in that the root of the word play in many languages indicates movement, "fluttering", or scintillation. English expresses the same notion in the phrase "the play of a gear or wheel". At this broad psycho-kinetic level, perhaps, combative behavior, sport, dance, art, and "play" are all related. They may be thought of as having genotypic rather than phenotypic relationships.
9. Hopology is derived from the Greek terms hoplos - a mythical plate armored beast and hoplite - the classical armed Greek warrior.
10. Practitioners of the budō have been enjoined since ancient times to study bun, the civil arts and classical literature, to complement their activist martial pursuits. Where these individuals have written of the budō, it has most often taken the form of waka or kanbun poetry and personal diaries. Some more historically minded budoka have written expositions on historical treatises, the most common being interpretations of Miyamoto Musashi's famed Go Rin no Sho.
11. The most influential piece of modern literature on Japanese attitudes towards traditional martial culture is the ten volume study of Miyamoto Musashi by the novelist Yoshikawa Eiji. A perennial best-seller, Yoshikawa crystallized the mythology and cultural meaning of Musashi's philosophy of swordsmanship within the larger contexts of Japanese popular thought for all generations of the Twentieth Century. The novel, of course, being largely a fictional account, has drawn much scholastic criticism for its assertions of fact and history.

In Chapter 3 Note 4 I have listed the authors and titles of some of the major kendō training manuals. Because many of the diaries and personal recollections by great kendoists have a limited audience, they are printed in small numbers and are rapidly out of print. Some of the more interesting volumes I have been able to collect in recent years are as follows. Fukushima, Masatoshi. Kendō no Hikari (the brilliance of kendō) (Tokyo:1972); Ozawa Takashi, Ozawa Aiichiro no ikō to tsuioku (post-humous documents and reminiscences of Ozawa Aiichiro) (Tokyo: Sakonto,1976); Saimura T., Saimura Goro no iko to omoidasu (post-humous documents and remembrances of Saimura Goro) (Tokyo: Kodansha,1973); Sato Ukichi, Eien naru kendo (eternal kendo)

(Tokyo, Kodansha, 1973). For an interesting look at brief statements of their personal relationship to kendo by leading instructors see Zen Nippon Kendo Renmei, Gendai Kendo Hyakashin (100 modern kendo precepts) (Tokyo, n.p., 1973).

Some of the major studies in a historical vein include Imamura Yoshio, Nihon Budo Zenshu (Complete works of the Japanese martial ways) (Tokyo: Jimbutsu Oraisha, 1968); Tominaga Kengo, Kendo Gohyakunen shi (500 years of kendo history) (Tokyo, Kakusui, 1971); Watatani Kiyoshi and Yamada , Bugei ryuha jiten (A dictionary of the traditions of the martial arts) (Tokyo: Jimbutsu Oraisha, 1964); Nakamura Kyoshu, Ibaraki no kendo shi (Kendo history of Ibaraki Prefecture) (Tokyo, 1976).

An invaluable reference for locating books concerning kendo since the Meiji Period is Abe Chin, Kendō toshō moku-roku (a bibliographic catalogue of kendō) (Tokyo: Zen Nippon Kendo Renmei, 1974). Abe's bibliography is useful, furthermore, since it lists major libraries where rare books may be located.

12. This has been confirmed through the personal communications of the following scholars of Japan at the University of Washington: Kenneth Pyle, Glenn Webb, and Kozo Yamamura.
13. The influence of the "beatnik" movement on popularizing Zen Buddhist and oriental philosophy in contemporary America cannot be underestimated, however simplified their notions of the similarities between "enlightenment" and American ideals of individualistic freedom. The writings of Alan Watts and Jack Kerouac, as well as Gary Synder and Alan Ginsberg in the sixties, stand out in this tradition.
14. The popular association of Zen Buddhism with Japanese martial culture even among Japanese practitioners of these arts have tended to obscure the older and pervasive relationship of Shinto and Esoteric Buddhist doctrines (mikkyō) on the martial heritage. Few practicing Zen Buddhists are budō experts and it is not common for Zen temples or monastic institutions to sponsor training in the budō. It is not uncommon, however, to find Shinto shrines and even temples from the Shingon and Tendai sects performing such functions. Professor Glen Webb informs me that he knows of at least four temples within the Esoteric tradition which still require naginata training for their initiates, a fact that marks back to the clerical-warriors (sohei) so influential in medieval Japan.

For a statement of the relationship of Zen to swordsmanship by a practicing kendoist and Zen cleric, the reader is referred to Omori Sogen, Ken to Zen (the sword and Zen) (Tokyo: Shunshusha, 1972). Also of interest is Omori's

study Yamaoka Tesshu (Tokyo: Shunshusha, 1966) which documents the philosophy of this important Meiji leader and swordsman.

- For a commentary on another philosophical influence on Japanese martial culture see Mishima Yukio, "Kakumei no tetsugaku to shite no yomeigaku" (The revolutionary philosophy of Wang Yang-ming), Shokun (September, 1970).
 - 15. In Bryn Williams (ed) Martial Arts of the Orient (London: Hamlyn, 1975).
 - 16. This is a pervasive mistake among American scholars on Japan and Asia. Even the excellent works of Thomas Rohlen are marred when he discusses the pre-modern education of Tokugawa "military skills" as judo. Thomas Rohlen, "Spiritual Education in a Japanese Bank", American Anthropologist 75 (1973):1556.
 - 17. James Peacock also displays his popular misconceptions of Asian combative systems when he describes the Indonesian discipline of pentjak silat as a "judo-like dance" in one place and a "karate-like dance" in another. See James Peacock Rites of Modernization (1968).
 - 18. Tominaga indicates that the oldest recorded term for the martial arts is bugei as mentioned in the eighth century Nihon Shoki. Of Chinese origin, bugei refers to the "martial accomplishments" or "arts" of the Chou Dynasty warrior aristocrats. While the use of the term bugei might be used to subsume both the "martial arts"-bujutsu and the "martial ways"-budō; I prefer not to use the term bugei for conceptual clarity. Certainly in the English sense of the term "art" the bugei do refer to martial "arts".
- Tominaga does go on to say, however, that the popular use of the term bugei is closer to bujutsu than to budō (Tominaga, 1971:17). His general terms for "martial arts" include bu no michi, budō, bugei, bujutsu, and bugi.
- His terms for swordsmanship include tachikaki, tachiuchi, kenjutsu, kenpō, kengi, gekken, and kendō. The situation is further complicated, he reminds us, through the historical equation of various terms of military strategy with swordsmanship. Thus terms of military strategy such as heiho, gungaku, gunpo, and senjutsu may have meant either "martial arts" in general, strategy and generalship, or simply swordsmanship (Tominaga, 1971:20-22).
- 19. The dan-kyū system is constructed as follows. There are ten levels of kyū for the beginner arranged in decreasing numerical order. After receiving ikkyū (one kyū) the trainee then may "hold dan" (yudan) which are also composed

of ten levels in increasing order of expertness. Unlike the dan-kyū system of colored belts popular in America, kendō awards no colored belts or external markers of relative status. Rigid rules prescribe the age eligible, the criteria for advancement, and the passing of a written test, a competition test, and a kata test. Any dojo may award kyū to its members, while the regional or Prefectural Association may offer examinations and award dan up to the fifth level (godan). Above the fifth level, there must be national examinations held two or three times a year. Modern kendō also awards honorary titles for instructors with seniority who have helped promote the teaching of the art. In order of increasing status these ranks are renshi, kyoshi, and hanshi.

20. Draeger establishes three time periods for the Japanese combative systems: (1) the Pre-Classic Period which extends from the earliest history until the eighth century; (2) the Classic Period which covers the age of the professional warrior class from the eighth century until their defeat in the Satsuma Rebellion by the Meiji government in 1877; and (3) the Post-Classic Period which runs from 1877 to the present.
21. See Draeger's Modern Bujutsu and Budo (1974) for a discussion of the organization, history, philosophy, and training methods of each of these modern disciplines.
22. The first known use of the term kendō is attributed to the Abe Ryu or Abe Tate Ryu which described its form of swordsmanship as kendō as early as 1673 (Tominaga, 1971:20).
23. The term samurai derives from the verb "saburao" meaning to serve. Originally used to designate one who waited upon a noble, it gradually came to mean individuals from the great warrior houses who served a political superior. Until the modern era it was uncommon to refer to all bushi as samurai.

Chapter 2 Historical Developments of Kendō

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the development of Japanese swordsmanship from the Tokugawa period until the present day. During the years from the Bakumatsu period (1840-1868) through the Meiji Era (1868-1912) the form and content of modern kendō crystallized as a formal educational institution that would play a central role in Japanese culture. The questions I seek to answer in this chapter are why and how a system of combat, rendered obsolete as a battlefield method since the late sixteenth century, survived Japan's modernization in the Meiji period and her repudiation of militarism after the Second World War; and through what agents and institutions have the martial arts and ways retained their central place in Japanese culture?

I propose that the martial traditions such as swordsmanship have endured and grown not because of their technical or instrumental value as combative systems, but rather, the martial ways (budō) have persisted because of their symbolic and expressive value as a system of education derived from the elite warrior class and central to the primary values of Japanese culture. Deriving from the above proposition, the major points to be developed in this historical survey of kendō are as follows.

First, while the traditional combative systems have changed in purpose, technology, methodology, and organizational structure in the past three hundred years, the symbolic and cultural core of the martial tradition has not significantly changed. Indeed, the perceived value of the martial ways has been precisely in its expressive role as a system of formal education and self-cultivation that inculcates in mind and body the idealized traits of the

bushi (samurai). The history of kendō clearly reveals the dominant orientation to treat the martial ways as an integral and necessary part of the educational system. To conclude that the budō are self-defense systems, sports, or nationalistic cultism without recognizing their fundamental educational quality is to severely misunderstand their impact and importance on Japanese spiritualism and culture.

Second, I suggest that the development of gekken, the immediate precursor of modern kendō, was a reflection of and stimulus to significant social change occurring in nineteenth century Japan. Gekken, through changes in technology and training methodology, developed a wider social appeal than the older classical martial arts and ways. The increased numbers of participants from differing social classes developed relations that transcended the narrow bounds of regionalism and status hierarchy which had been impossible in the non-contestual fixed kata forms of the ko bujutsu. Participation in gekken provided an avenue for recognition and advancement based on merit or ability in the context of traditional warrior values by members of various social groups frozen out of important positions in the status hierarchy. A further consequence of gekken as a symbolic system of warrior behavior was its development as an indigenous form of athletic contest that could later be easily adapted to the modern public school system and eventually achieve recognition as an international sport.

Third, I suggest that the budō have endured and grown through the complementary interaction of two different types of

social organization. The core and locus of the martial ways has been the local autonomous units represented by the individual dōjō, its headmaster, and its tradition (ryū) or "style" (kenpū). Innovation and change have tended to come from the personal experience of the headmaster and the intimate social nexus of the local group as they sought to relate the tradition (dentō) to contemporary conditions. On the other hand, central bureaucratic institutions representing the larger social and political structure have tended to standardize the discipline, to elaborate and define more formally the role of budō education to the socio-political goals of the state, and to broaden the base of participation among the populace. These central bureaucratic structures are represented by the domain school (hankō) in the Tokugawa period and the national kendō federation in conjunction with the Ministry of Education in the present.

Third, the development of the national form of modern kendō is intimately tied to the formation and cultural definition of the modern Japanese nation-state. Kendō stood as a vital educational system that exemplified the cluster of core values that, for the modern nation-state, defined "spiritual education" (seishin kyoiku), bushidō, and the "Japanese Spirit" (Yamato Damashii). The creation of the Dai Nippon Butokukai in 1895 and the establishment by that organization of modern kendō as a system of preserving and inculcating idealized traditional warrior values in the public schools, represents the "nationalization" and "modernization" of the martial ways, which, heretofore, had been tied primarily to specific local traditions and autonomous social units. The result was the transition from the classical martial

ways (ko budō) to the modern martial ways (shin budō) whereby national organizations, in concert with various arms of the state, defined the symbols, values, and techniques of the martial ways as an educational system designed to cultivate "Japanese-like Japanese" (Nihonjin-teki Nihonjin). This shift from a personal sense of self-cultivation to a state defined one facilitated the co-option and abuse of the martial ways by the militarists as they led the nation to war in the nineteen-thirties and forties.

Finally, kendō and the modern martial ways are in a dynamic state of growth in the present post-war period. The traditional dynamic tension between the martial ways as personal self-cultivation and "inner experience" and as an affirmation of the social order through service to the state has been placed in balance. This has been intensified by the growth and promulation of the modern martial ways - kendō, jūdō, karate-dō being the best known - as modern international sports but athletics that still bear the firm imprint of traditional Japanese values of self-cultivation based on the combative mode of the idealized hero figure of the samurai.

Swordsmanship Prior to the Seventeenth Century

While the characteristics of modern kendō have their origin in the centuries of Tokugawa peace (1605-1868), it is necessary to briefly discuss the martial arts (bugei) of the preceding era. It is not my purpose to present a history of the professional warrior (bujin) and his arts of war in relation to the larger socio-political developments of Japanese culture. The origins

of Japanese warfare are obscured by the mists of prehistory. The martial tradition has its roots in a Shinto past wherein the mythology tells of armed dieties, sacred weapons, martial heroes, and the unification of the land by the military might of the imperial Yamato clan. Little is known of the actual techniques or social organization of the early warrior groups although the prominent weapons and fighting arts mentioned in the recorded Shinto documents of the eighth century¹ include the sword, the spear, the bow, and grappling. All have a sacred aspect although the sword is the most divine and authoritative of weapons.

Considerable controversy exists about the founding of the Yamato state and its military origins. Egami Namio has postulated a fourth century A.D. invasion of horse-riding peoples from the Korean peninsula who conquered Japan and founded the Imperial line (Egami, 1964). These mounted warriors of the Manchurian steppe, it is surmised, rapidly over-ran southern Japan and established themselves as a ruling military class which had strong affinities to the southern Korean kingdom of Paekche from whence they had come. Egami's theory of the "horse-riding people" (kiba minzoku) has created severe controversy in Japan because it casts doubt on the standard Shinto documents and on the official Japanese version of their early history. Nevertheless, recent researches such as those by Gari Ledyard (1975) has tended to confirm this startling theory. It is now generally accepted that the Mound Period of the fourth to seventh centuries which witnessed the establishment and expansion of the Yamato state was directly influenced by the new tactics of warfare introduced from Korea by this new military class (Ishida, 1974; Hazard, 1976).

The establishment of an aristocratic state government modeled after that of Tang China in the eighth century maintained military preparedness by the establishment of the kondei system which created a standing army of veterans who settled in the northern frontier regions to protect against and push back the remaining aboriginal groups. These warriors (shi) were the sons of powerful provincial families and led peasant foot troops (sotsu) (Hazard, 1976:143).

By the tenth century a professional military class, subservient to the aristocratic families in the capital and to large temple groups, was in existence and provided security for their extensive land holdings. It is in the eleventh century that conflict between the two largest warrior groups - the Taira and Minamoto, led to the establishment of political dominance of the nation by bushi under Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-99) who founded the Kamakura bakufu. The warrior class was to rule Japan for the next eight hundred years.

The general nature of warfare among the professional warriors was to engage in an initial volley of arrows, after which mounted leaders would engage in individual combat. If no decision was reached a general *melée* would ensue involving footsoldiers with spears (yari) and glaives (nagamaki and naginata). The Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281 radically affected the nature of warfare as the individualistic Japanese warriors were not used to the highly co-ordinated strategies of their naval supported mounted adversaries. After these engagements the Japanese use of field fortifications, organized foot-soldiers, and long shafted

weapons became more important². The Mongol invasions had a more far reaching effect in that because the war was defensive there was no booty to reward the warrior groups who had participated. These discontented warriors rapidly became involved in a dispute between two competing imperial lines and instead of finding rapid redress for their problems of land ownership, the warriors found themselves embroiled in civil turmoil³.

The Onin War (1467-77) destroyed the last vestiges of central governmental control which was undermined by bureaucratic extravagance within, and growing authority of independent constables who usurped land and power for themselves. These low-ranking but ambitious and skillful provincial leaders (daimyo) attracted local warrior groups and independent farmers to their side, and the shifting fortunes of warfare and fragile allegiances resulted in almost a century of constant civil strife⁴. It was not until the latter part of the sixteenth century that new groups of leaders who adopted the use of firearms, learned earlier from the Portuguese, succeeded in progressively unifying the land and establishing peace.

While the conditions of the Onin War and the later use of firearms radically changed the conduct of war, the extensive civil strife gave rise to the development of highly perfected and systematized training in combat by and for professional warriors. It is during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries that we witness the flowering of the "classical martial arts" (ko bujutsu). During this period warfare was still the prerogative and duty of a professional hereditary class of warriors.

Even later, after the Onin War, when mass engagements became more complex and peasant footsoldiers were more effectively utilized, the professional warrior (bushi) still acted in a commanding position.

The ko-bujutsu were complete systems of combat requiring many years of expertise to prepare warriors for all forms of conflict they might confront. Draeger (1964,1973a,1973b) has most thoroughly described the Tenshin Shoden Katori Shinto Ryū which is the oldest extant and historically verifiable classical martial art from this period. Included in its training system, the Katori Shinto Ryū taught the use of the sword (kenjutsu and iaijutsu)⁵, the halberd (naginata), the staff (bo), the spear (yari) armored grappling (yoroi-kumiuchi), battlefield horsemanship (bajutsu), throwing blades (shuriken-jutsu), cord-tying (hojō-jutsu), signal fire arts (noroshi-jutsu), espionage tactics (shinobi-jutsu), and field fortifications (chikujo-jutsu), as well as protective meditative and divinatory ritual.

The essence of this training system was organized around the pre-arranged sequences of attack and defense known as kata⁶. Of necessity, the deadly attack training could only be practiced through kata as free-style training would be too dangerous for in-group members and, furthermore, the risk of damaging expensive forged weapons would be too great. Consequently, this led to the substitution of hardwood weapons in practice modeled after their steel counterparts. Draeger estimates that complete training required at least ten years. The program of instruction was divided into an introductory omote (surface) phase which lasted

approximately three to six years and a more detailed oku (interior) phase that perfected and extended the technical range of the classical warrior⁷.

Although the sword was the symbol of bushi authority and an important personal weapon, it was not the deciding factor in battle (Hazard, 1976). Since the Onin War, peasant ashigaru armed with spears in tight formations changed the tactics of the battlefield which had previously been dominated by mass encounters of individualized mounted bushi. Even the professional warrior, as the history of the great swordsmen of this period attest, went to war with the spear (Knutsen, 1975). By the latter half of the sixteenth century the death knell of the professional warrior as the deciding arm of combat was completed, for the introduction of firearms and the subsequent developments of massive fortifications and castle seige made close combat, the highest art of the bushi, obsolete (Brown, 1948). The spears of the peasant foot-soldiers were replaced with matchlocks and although professional warriors still commanded these troops, the classical arts of horsemanship, bowmanship, and swordsmanship were rendered obsolete for battlefield use.

In searching for answers as to the continuation of the classical martial arts and the high esteem of the classical warrior, it is necessary to consider several factors. First, firearms were still rather scarce and expensive. As potent weapons of warfare their use was strictly regulated by military commanders who distributed muskets only when a battle was sure to be engaged. Thus, the spear and the sword were still significant personal weapons carried at all times. Secondly, the

classical martial arts as a symbol of traditional warrior values retained a status and prestige that firearms lacked. Moral courage was demonstrated by skill in close combat and the matchlock, despite its obvious advantages, remained a coward's weapon.

As battlefield conditions changed due to new methods of warfare, two separate lines of martial strategy developed. Those schools (sen-ha) concerned with group strategy and mass tactical planning became distinct from those systems (ryū-ha) developed by professional warriors committed to polishing their skills and theory of close combat based upon traditional expertise. Modern kendō has its roots in the development of ryū-ha schools of swordsmanship of the late sixteenth century (All-Japan Kendo Federation, 1973:10; Knutsen, 1975:19)⁸.

Among the ryū-ha of this period the most influential on later developments of swordsmanship are the Kashima Shinkage Ryū of Matsumoto Bizen no Kami (1467-1524)⁹; Bokuden Shinto Ryū of Tsukahara Bokuden (1490-1571)¹⁰; and the Shinkage Ryū of Kamiizumi Ise no Kami Hidetsuna (1508-78). It is significant that all of these three influential ryū developed out of the martial traditions established around the Katori and Kashima shrine region, from the combative system brought to perfection of Izasa Iano Choisai (1386-1488)¹¹.

The Early Tokugawa Period - Seventeenth Century

Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) was the last of a succession of three great military leaders in the late sixteenth century who proceeded to unify the country, establish peace and a stable social order that was to last for two and a half centuries. Under

a new alliance of semi-autonomous military units known as han, the Tokugawa bakufu invested the warrior class with a privileged social position. Following the reforms of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Ieyasu fixed the social order into four large occupational categories that de-armed the peasantry¹² and legally recognized the bushi as an hereditary status elite. The classical martial arts were significantly affected by these changes for while they had suffered a decline in battlefield importance, they regained a prominence symbolic of the new social position of the warrior class. In the changes in Tokugawa society to be detailed below, the classical martial arts (ko bujutsu) were transformed into the classical martial ways (ko budō), new systems based on their ancestral forms but designed for spiritual and ethical self-cultivation rather than primarily for combat readiness¹³.

With the land at peace after a century of constant war, Tokugawa society began to flourish as the economy, trade, agriculture, and literacy could now be attended to¹⁴. The military leaders, nevertheless, recognized that their position was due to military prowess and to this extent they encouraged the martial arts which in the early seventeenth century flourished and entered a golden age. The new direction of the martial arts was oriented to the cultivation of warriors in an age of peace. In their codes of the military houses (buke sho hatto) the Tokugawa shoguns enjoined the warriors to study both the martial arts (bu) and the civil arts (bun). The official patronage of the educational precept of bun-bu ryodō, "the two wheels of civil and martial arts", was reflected in the early Tokugawa shoguns'

personal study of Chu Shi Neo-Confucianism and Edo Yagyū ShinKage Ryū kenjutsu. This latter school of swordsmanship, deeply imbued with the philosophy of Zen Buddhism¹⁵, has been among the greatest of philosophical influences on modern kendō.

It would be a mistake to infer that the success of Ieyasu's regime instituted immediate peace, for the dislocations caused by earlier wars and the discontent among the numerous warriors (ronin) defeated by the Tokugawas remained a significant social problem. These battle-hardened bushi knowing only conflict and the arts of war, by necessity and often, by preference, turned towards the martial arts as the main source of their employment.

"...since all were ordered by the shogun's edicts to cultivate the arts of war alongside the arts of peace, there was a demand for their experience. In most cities and towns there were flourishing schools where students could practice the use of weapons...

- Such establishment naturally provided a meeting place for active men and became social as well as educational centers...Their numbers increased as the Bakufu took measures to guard against subversive conduct by ordering feudatories to expel from their fiefs men who were not in their service. These provisions (which are to be found in the Buke-Sho-Hatto) were aimed at the ronin and, of course tended to increase the number of masterless men gathered together in cities and towns."
(Sansom, v. 3 p:55)

Coterminous with the growing ronin discontent that erupted in an attempted rebellion in 1651¹⁶, there was a growing concern by bushi, some ronin by choice, regarding the moral significance of a hereditary warrior class in an age of peace. Whether stimulated by the official Chu-Hsi neo-Confucian doctrines or by the more intuitive and heterodox Wang Yang-ming school (Ōyomei gaku), warrior scholars such as Yamaga Soko (1622-1685) and Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691) sought to define the place of

the bushi in the moral order. Through these efforts, there developed in written form what later came to be known as bushidō, the "Way of the Warrior", which was to remain a central philosophy and ethical system for the Japanese until the present day. The central concepts of bushidō - loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, moral rectitude, frugality, diligence, and bravery unto death - were to be developed by conscientious self-cultivation in both the civil and martial arts (Bellah, 1957).

A number of warriors, now given the time to reflect on their experiences, systematized and elaborated their arts, forging philosophy to action, and created "martial ways" for warrior self-cultivation that embodied both bun and bu within activist disciplines. Some of the most influential of these ryū were the Itto Ryū of Itto Kagehisa (1560-1653), the Niten Itchi Ryū of Miyamoto Musashi (1584?-1645), the Ono-ha Itto Ryū of Ono Jirouemon Tadatsune (Tadaaki) (1565-1628), the Yagyu Shinkage Ryū of Yagyu Tajima no Kami (Sekishusai Muneyoshi) (1527-1606) and his fifth son Yagyu Tajima Matazaemon Munenori (1571-1646), and the Maniwa Nen Ryū of the Higuchi Family.

The "classical martial ways" (ko-budō) of the early Tokugawa period, like their predecessors, were based upon the pre-arranged kata format of training which strove for combat effectiveness and realism through "positive" (aggressive) actions (Draeger, 1973a). Nevertheless, the arts were in a process of change and as the Tokugawa warriors no longer expected to face varied combat situations there was a tendency for the various ryū to fragment and specialize in single weapons systems. Thus the arts

of the spear (sojutsu) and grappling (jūjutsu) which in the "classical martial arts" were component system, subordinate to the sword, became separate and distinct martial traditions in their own right.

Despite the specialization of combative techniques all the "classical martial ways" were distinguished by their emphasis on moral self-cultivation, philosophical elaboration, and increasing concern with aesthetic content. The ethical flavor of these "classical martial ways" may be seen in the writings of the Mugai Ryū founded by Tsuji Gettan in 1694.¹⁸ In a manual (denshō) of the ryū he states"

"The main purpose...exists in the persecution of the moral doctrine of human reason. As heaven and earth have two sides, shade and light, so do human nature, civil and military, and both depend upon each other. To found the state by loyalty is the civil virtue, and to govern it, suppressing a rebellion and conquering an insurgent is a military virtue. Heiho¹⁸ (strategy) seeks for the utmost effect of military arts. Originally heiho of the Mugai shinden is not for killing the other part, but is connected with right reason of the martial arts. Therefore...what Mugai shinden posits is the unification of literary and military arts, that is to say, mental mastery by loyalty (in or yin) and the protection of self (yo or yang) by heiho.

Elsewhere in the document Tsuji exclaims

"I know the true art of swordsmanship, which teaches us to deal with an enemy, holds true in everything in this world. When you come to know this, you will see no enemy in front of you, or in all directions around you. That is to say you merge with the enemy. You reach an altruistic and matchless state - the unification of being and naught.

The Mid-Tokugawa Period - Eighteenth Century

Social conditions in Tokugawa Japan were quite different

at the turn of the eighteenth century than one hundred years earlier despite the seemingly unchanging aspects of social organization and structure. While the Tokugawa bakufu retained its power among the allegiance of semi-autonomous domains and while the warrior class remained the official status elite, the nature and constitution of social life was changing. The bushi who had known war and conflict from the previous era or even from the battles at Osaka (1615) and Shimabara (1632) were now either dead or old men and their sons, having achieved literacy, became members of a bureaucratic and managerial elite of a government that was progressively less martial and dynamic in outlook. For the warrior status elite, the eighteenth century was in fact a period of increasing poverty, social stagnation, and moral corruption particularly in the higher ranks. From 1650 onward the Tokugawa bakufu's finances were running at a deficit and increasing extravagances by the shoguns, and higher ranking samurai combined with the heavy expenditures forced by the obligatory alternate residence (san kin kotae) in the capital placed great burden on bushi in all the han (Borton, 1936).

The vitality and growth of new cultural forms now shifted to the wealthy merchant class and rural gentry who most benefitted from the new economic conditions. As the market system and economy expanded, and as agricultural production increased (despite occasional fluctuations that only had a more inflationary effect), the warriors' wealth, calculated on a fixed rice-stipend from an earlier period, began to seriously devalue. On the national and local levels increasing financial strains placed the samurai

in debt to the merchants and corruption became commonplace¹⁹.

As they lost real status and influence, the warrior class became deeply affected by the rise of a flamboyant urban merchant culture that characterized the Genroku period (1688-1703). Their rising influence and wealth allowed the merchants and rural gentry to adopt status elite customs and values²⁰ despite their frustration at their low legal status in the rigid class hierarchy.

The combative arts of the warriors were not immune to these socio-cultural trends. The eighteenth century reveals both a martial stagnation among the urbanized bushi, and a new vibrant participation in the combative arts by commoners. Among the higher samurai ranks, the martial arts had become aesthetic exercises in sterile formalism where the quality of the sword-furnishings and clothing were more important than combat effectiveness. As a hereditary profession where there was neither war nor even a competitive outlet to test one's skills, the martial proficiency of succeeding generations of warriors greatly deteriorated. Sugita Gempaku (1733-1817), a famous doctor and Dutch scholar complained:

"Seven or eight out of every ten Bakufu retainers look like women and think like merchants...The best of them go in for archery and horsemanship and the lance, practicing the military arts as they call it, but this is only to get into the shogunal guard. They fawn on their teachers and try to make a good show before their superiors, and if they manage not to miss a fourteen inch target at the reviews and can keep their seat on their horse...they get their reward (Dore, 1965:193)

Another bushi critic stated:

"Learning is a matter of natural ability, some are

good at it, others are not...It is irrational of course, to make horseriding, military strategy, or swordsmanship a family skill, but these being times of peace such arts which prepare for war are never tested out and one never knows whether their practitioners are good at them or not" (Dore, 1965: 119)

The decline in the martial preparedness among bakufu garrisoned warriors during the Tokugawa period may be seen in the following table that lists the frequency of kenjutsu reviews (goran) held by the bakufu

<u>years</u>	<u>number of years</u>	<u>number of reviews</u>	<u>per year frequency</u>	<u>those attended by shogun</u>
1622-1680	58	137	2.3	61
1680-1712	32	4	0.12	-
1712-1786	74	5	0.06	2
1786-1827	41	23	0.56	3

(from Imamura, 1967)

On the other hand, there was a corresponding increase in commoner involvement in the natural ways that paralleled participation in the civil arts by wealthy merchants, district headmen, and village headmen who had at least the education and literacy in Confucian classics equivalent to the average warrior (Dore, 1965:221). Many of the rural gentry, moreover, were allowed a single sword (wakizashi) and to take surnames, often enjoying a status superior to that of ordinary footsoldiers (ashigaru).

Frequent criticisms by bushi complain:

"...village officials and rich farmers...leave the actual work of cultivation entirely to their hired men and women. They themselves wear fine clothes, hold large scale parties, follow samurai standards ...Some of them support tame ronin in their households and learn military arts unsuited to their station in life" (Dore, 1965:24)

Domain edicts were published regularly admonishing the warriors to be more diligent in their studies of bun and bu, and prohibiting commoner students attending the elite domain schools from practicing with the martial equipment. Moral readers (Ōrai) for farmers and commoners equated the learning of swordsmanship with the evils of laziness, drink, carnal pleasures, and gambling (Dore, 1965:284).

In the midst of these social conditions new developments were occurring among some of the schools of swordsmanship that attested to a fresh vitality and acted to counter the increasing stagnation of Tokugawa martial culture. These developments were essentially changes in martial technology, having their roots in certain schools derived from the ko-bujutsu, that had far-reaching social consequences. The innovations of protective equipment and a safe sword substitute, the bamboo shinai, opened new possibilities for practitioners, allowing them to train wholeheartedly without fear of serious injury. Even more importantly these new developments, whose style of swordsmanship came to be known as gekken (or Shinai-geiko), offered a contestual or competitive outlet whereby individuals could openly demonstrate their martial virtues and technical skills based on free-style contest.

It will be recalled that the classical martial arts (ko-bujutsu) of the sixteenth century and the classical martial ways (ko-budō) of the seventeenth were based upon the pre-arranged kata systems of training using the hardwood sword (bokken). Free style practice with this weapon was quite dangerous and inter-

school tests of skill (taryū-shiai) were often lethal. Lacking true combative experience or even open contests, which were banned in many domains due to the disruptive consequences of competition among the bushi who were easily provoked on questions of honor or shame, the martial ways and shifted to a more "passive" and aesthetic style of performance. Mid-Tokugawa kata no longer expressed the "positive style" that sought to create "openings" in the opponent, but rather now were "vacant styles" where one waited to "find the opening" (suki o mitsukeru) (Draeger, 1973b).

The precedents for the safe training weapon of gekkan go back to the pre-Tokugawa schools of swordsmanship where Kamiizumi Ise no Kami Nobutsuna of the Kashima Shinkage Ryū, developed a bamboo or hardwood staff wrapped with cotton and covered with hide. With this training weapon, known as the fukuro shinai, practice could be conducted with less fear of injury. Kamiizumi's style of swordsmanship was transmitted to the Yagyu family whose official patronage by the Tokugawa bakufu encouraged other ryū to adopt the fukuro shinai. Another influential ryū which adopted this training weapon was Ono-ha Itto Ryu, whose founder Ono Jiroueman Tadatsune was a kenjutsu instructor to the third Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu (Preston, 1965:6). In contrast to the eighteenth century developments of gekken, however, the fukuro shinai among the earlier schools remained as an ancilliary training weapon used to evaluate certain techniques taken from the kata and then practiced in a more safe free style kind of engagement (Draeger, personal communication).

In the early eighteenth century certain students of the Onoha Ittō Ryū and the Shinkage Ryū further improved the training weapon and protective equipment. Nakanishi Chuta, who established his own branch of the Ittō Ryū, is credited with improving the bamboo shinai and developing protective gauntlets (kote), as the Ittō tradition specialized in cuts to the wrist. Later, his son added a chest protector (dō). Circa 1716, Naganuma Shirozaemon, a teacher of a Shinkage Ryū affiliated school in Edo, developed the protective head gear (men), and standardized the practice fundamentals of kirikaeshi and uchikomi (Preston, 1964:6). (See Chapter 4 for details on these practice methods.)

By 1750, the equipment and training procedures for shinai-geiko, or later known as gekken, were fully established and as many students were eager to learn this art which would allow them to test their skills in relatively safe contest, a number of new ryū devoted largely to gekken methods were created. Even older ryū switched to the methods of shinai-geiko despite considerable criticism from more classically oriented bushi. Among the most enthusiastic converts to gekken were the urban merchants and rural gentry who could now give expression to their own manly values expressed on the warrior's terms. Their increasing participation in gekken appeared not to threaten the central warrior government for the bakufu permitted commoner participation and by the nineteenth century there were over five hundred ryū run by and catering to commoners (Draeger, 1974). Along with urban commoners and rural gentry, gekken was also popular among lower ranking bushi who found in the gekken dōjō

a chance for advancement and recognition based on personal skill which was denied them in the martial ways of the domain schools where contest was still forbidden among the rigidly stratified higher ranking warrior groups.

The Late Tokugawa Period - The Nineteenth Century

Before describing the developments of modern swordsmanship in the nineteenth century it is necessary to briefly review the Tokugawa educational system. Tokugawa Japan produced a vigorous and extensive educational system, increasing literacy among a broad sector of the population.²¹ Under official bakufu patronage studies flourished, schools and libraries were established, and the publishing of books greatly increased. Subjects included not only Confucianism and military strategy, but Shinto doctrine, local history, Japanese literature and poetry, mathematics, and translations from the Chinese of Jesuit works that led to developments in astronomy and agriculture (Dore, 1965:16).

The propagation and development of education was accomplished by two complementary institutions in Japanese culture that have provided a dynamic interaction, allowing for innovation and change even to the present day. On the one side are the central bureaucratic schools, represented in the Tokugawa period by the hankō (domain schools), and in modern times by the national public education system. On the other side is the private academy (shijuku or juku) conducted by an individual sensei or master.

The small personal educational environment of the private academy, where students are voluntarily bound to master by ties of positive affect in a familial context has often been more

innovative and responsive to changing interests than the official bureaucratic institutions committed to the perpetuation of the ongoing system. Often innovations established within the private academies have later been incorporated into the official educational institutions. A classic example of this is the study of western culture (rangaku) in the Tokugawa period which was initiated by independent scholars and teachers. Even in contemporary Japan, the thriving businesses of private English schools using more modern methods of language instruction indicate the Japanese belief that the juku still has special educational advantages over the public schools.

The core of the traditional arts, be they calligraphy, tea ceremony, flower arrangement, or the martial ways, has always centered on the private school, or dōjō, led by an individual teacher and his/her senior students. The persistence and adaptability of these arts, particularly the combative arts, in the modern world, is in large measure due to the creative individualism of expert and charismatic leaders, guided by the education dictum of shu-ha-ri (See Chapter 5), which fosters the development of one's own personal style. Among the internationally known martial ways, we may cite the examples of Kanō Jigorō in Kodokan, jūdō, Ueshiba Morihei in Ueshiba aikido, and Funakoshi Giichin in Japanese karate-dō.

The official patronage of the early Tokugawa shoguns in establishing formal educational institutions was followed by the various domains. The first domain school (hankō) was established in 1641²² but by the close of the Tokugawa period there were over

two hundred and seventy domain schools (Kaigo, 1965:48). Although largely for the warrior class, selected commoners of special ability often attended these schools. Neo-Confucian classics dominated the curriculum, organized around the dual cultivation of civil and martial arts (bun bu ryōdō), a concept derived from pre-imperial China and attributed to the Chou dynasty. For the bureaucratic warrior elite, education in both bun and bu was conceived of as primarily moral education, designed to cultivate individual virtue in harmony with the laws of society and nature through which the warrior could fulfill his personal and political function.

Preceding and co-terminous with the development of official domain schools there was a steady growth of private academies for both the civil and the martial arts. In contrast to the status hierarchies of the domain schools, the private academies seem to always have been based on a greater recognition of personal worth and merit. Some indication of the relative proportion of the two kinds of educational institutions is given by Passim who states that in the latter half of the Tokugawa period (post-1750) there were only two hundred and twenty-three domain schools, plus five hundred and sixty eight rural affiliates (gōkō), as compared to over one thousand five hundred private academies (Passim, 1965: 455)²³. Not only were a large percentage of the gōkō based upon pre-existing local academies, but by Passim's own admission the count of private academies entirely omits the large number of military training schools, especially those devoted to swordsmanship.

The schools of martial training (ryū and ryū-ha) existed

prior to the formation of official domain schools and it was a common procedure for domain warrior students (hanshi) to attend a military instructor's private training hall (dōjō). Eventually, the martial ryū were formally incorporated into the domain school structure as a separate training hall (bukan), for each ryū was built on school grounds. Even in these cases, it was common for the martial instructor to maintain his own private dōjō and to continue teaching in the local community. Over time, the relationship between a martial tradition and local warrior families might become hereditary, with descendants of these families committed to studying only that particular ryū (Dore, 1965). As with the case of Confucian scholars, the military instructors established themselves as professional hereditary families that to some extent were outside the normal hereditary status hierarchy. Securing employment on the basis of their demonstrated skills, these individuals had somewhat freer movements between different domains (Dore, 1965:116).

In the analysis of Tokugawa education, some writers (Dore, 1965; J.W. Hall, 1965) have stressed the role of the civil arts (bun) in the ethical and Confucian training of the warrior, excluding the role played by combative systems. By ignoring detailed studies of the martial ryū, these authors make a false distinction between bun and bu, misconstruing the role of bun within the martial systems themselves. The evolution of the martial arts into the martial ways fostered a system of physical education deeply imbued with the ethical and philosophical concepts of Neo-Confucianism, Esoteric and Zen Buddhism, Shintoism, and Taoism. These concepts so deeply penetrated the budō that the

basic physical postures (kamae), as well as the interpretation of movements involved in attack and defense, were themselves symbolic and kinetic re-enactments of moral and philosophical doctrines. Within the activist martial ways, philosopher swordsmen sought to express in Kinetic forms teaching devices which would "carve the Tao" into the bones and souls of their disciples.

Despite the educational advances represented by the domain schools and the private academies, there were severe economic and social problems in Japan through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Occasional reforms were attempted under Tokugawa Yoshimune (1716-45) and later by Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829); both leaders sought to correct financial imbalances and to restore the moral leadership of the bureaucratic warrior leaders in the domains, but as they presented no real innovative plans, their efforts were in vain (Sansom, 1963:196).

The deepening crisis of social disequilibrium between merchant prosperity and warrior and peasant insolvency was exacerbated by the increasing frequency of foreign contacts²⁴ that culminated in the forceful opening of Japan by Commodore Mathew G. Perry in 1853. These threats to Bakufu power were further complicated by a rising popular Shinto religious revival which eventually called for a restoration of imperial rule.

Thus, in the early nineteenth century these developments stimulated a growing debate and period of critical questioning. What was the proper relation of the shogun to the Emperor? How could the martial spirit and national defense of the country be

re-invigorated? And to what extent should there be a broader participation in government and a subsequent advancement of "men of talent" regardless of their social status?

Into the midst of this crisis of indecision, one of the collateral houses of the Tokugawa family, led by Tokugawa Nariaki (1800-1860) of Mito han, began to propose solutions. The direction of Nariaki's thoughts had already been pointed to by his ancestor, the second lord of Mito, Tokugawa Mitsukuni²⁵ (1628-1700) who had promulgated an intellectual tradition which was a synthesis of Neo-Confucian and Shinto doctrines. Tokugawa Nariaki and his leading intellectuals Aizawa Seishusai, (1782-1863) Fujita Yukoku, and his son Fujita Toko (1806-1855), revived the doctrines of the Mito School and were the first to clearly warn the nation of the internal and external crisis at hand. The Mito School provided "...the bakumatsu generation...a clear statement of values underlying Tokugawa society" (Harutoonian, 1970:49).

These leaders saw the problems facing Tokugawa society essentially as a moral crisis and only secondarily as a technological or administrative one. They sought to "restore" the managerial class²⁶ to its true position while unifying the entire country to meet the external threat of foreign intervention. The writings and commentaries on the Mito School are too numerous to detail here,²⁷ but we can perceive their essence by looking at the slogans they coined that had wide currency and effect throughout the land.

"The inseparability of Shinto and Confucianism" (shin-jū funi) provided the philosophical framework, while "loyalty to

sovereign and filial piety to family are one" (chū-kō ippon) defined the ethical base of action. "Revere the Emperor and expel the barbarian" (sonnō-jōi) gave renewed precedence to the imperial institution as a unifying point for rallying national consciousness against the foreign threat." The indivisibility of civil and martial arts" (bun-bu fuki) served as the educational format and "the unity of knowledge and action" (chi-gyō itchi) formed the basis for political action as well as justifying pragmatism which incorporated Western technology and strategy into the restoration movement.

Nariaki and the Mito school were faced with a nation whose military leaders had stagnated and gone soft; the bushi had made no significant advances in combat readiness or strategy for over two hundred years. The martial ways (budō) had degenerated into "flowery forms" of aestheticism, the combat effective classical martial arts (bujutsu) were in decline and restricted to isolated pockets of the nation, and there had been no improvements on firearms adopted from the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. The bushi administrators lacked the moral drive and sense of purpose to instill confidence in the populace and deal effectively with internal economic disaster and external military threats.

Activist Nariaki therefore decided to establish a domain school that would be a model for all the other han. His Kōdōkan was opened in 1840 and represents a significant attempt at educational innovation that was part of the larger reforms of the Tempō period (1830-1843).

Of particular interest to our discussion is the role the martial ways, particular gekken swordsmanship, played in the Kōdōkan's educational format. This influential domain school was the first to officially incorporate gekken and use it as a primary educational device for training bushi, rural gentry (shōya) and other commoners as a personal solution for moral catharsis facing the nation. Prior to this time, gekken had been gaining in popularity particularly in the capital of Edo, and although many samurai participated, most han schools did not recognize it in their curricula.

Nariaki was fully aware of the technological superiority of Western military armaments and the value of firearms. He imported Dutch books on these subjects, built a foundry that cast a number of cannons, and stimulated training in firearms, even creating a new ryū²⁸ devoted to weaponry and drill in tactical formations. Nevertheless, he saw great value in the traditional martial ways that not only contained philosophical and ethical concepts in harmony with his teachings, but also stimulated the martial spirit in mind and body for his fighting men. The technical values of traditional combat, though important, were secondary to their symbolic and expressive use.

A skilled practitioner of the Shindō Munen Ryū style of gekken, Fujita Toko, as Mito's leading scholar and administrator, must be credited with the official incorporation of gekken into the school's curricula. Toko was highly critical of styles of swordsmanship based purely on kata with no element of contest to test men's minds and bodies in combat. Arguing that scholars

deeply immersed in bun tended to become too abstract and intellectual, Toko demanded that han officials and retainers develop discipline in the martial ways to sharpen their perception and decision-making abilities (handan-ryoku). Toko's personal training as a swordsman was the basis of his educational theories (Harutoonian, 1970:123).

While committed to a restoration of the status elite, the Mito leaders recognized that the national crisis demanded the full utilization of human potential. Consequently, rural schools (gokō) were established that taught commoners the synthesis of Shinto and Neo-Confucian morality, gekken swordsmanship, and riflery (shajutsu). In this respect, Mito leaders only expressing the growing awareness among late Tokugawa intellectuals that there must be advancement through merit, and that the strength of the samurai derived from its hardy agrarian origins.²⁹

Despite the local and financial crisis, Nariaki liberally endowed the Kodokan building a spacious institution, and hired instructors at above the prevailing rates. His top military instructors (shihan) received one hundred oku³⁰ and their assistants (tezoe)³¹ fifty. In contrast, the militarily progressive Choshu han, which had been paying only three oku to its martial instructors, received pleas from domain bushi in 1840 to increase salaries to at least one hundred oku (Dore, 1965:118).

The Kodokan supported five different ryū of swordsmanship,³² the most important being Hokushin Itto Ryū, Shindō Munen Ryū, and the traditional form of Mito han's iaijutsu, Shin Tamiya Ryū battōjutsu,³³ dating from the early seventeenth century. In

addition, there were two ryū of sōjutsu (spear art), one ryū of suijutsu (swimming), two ryū of kyujutsu (bow art), four ryū of jūjutsu, four ryū of bajutsu (battlefield horsemanship), six ryū of hōjutsu (gunnery), and three ryū of heigaku (military strategy).³⁴ Among these martial systems, those of the sword, spear, and rifle were given the most emphasis, every bushi and rural gentry being encouraged to develop proficiency in their use.

Contest was an important form of training, and promotion was based on success in competition. Shiai (contests) within each ryū were conducted approximately once a week. On special occasions, usually several times a year, open contests (taryū shiai) were held with leading swordsman and spearmen from the Kantō region. Every year for two weeks in October, martial examinations and mass maneuvers under simulated battle conditions were held.³⁵

It is difficult to estimate precisely the amount of influence Mito han had upon the development and meaning of swordsmanship in the late Tokugawa, but its influence was clearly felt elsewhere. First, Nariaki gave official endorsement to the most popular ryū of kenjutsu that practiced in the gekken style by retaining Chiba Shusaku, founder of the Hokushin Itto Ryū. He also employed as instructors two students of the Shindō Munen Ryū whose headmaster, Saito Yakuro (1799-1868) was a personal friend and political confidant to Fujita Toko. Both Toko and Yakuro were students of the famed Okada Jumatsu³⁶ (1768-1821), a politically active leader and previous master of the ryū. His major disciple, Saito Yakuro, was even more politically active

and was also of goshi social origins. A close friend to the western gunnery expert Egawa Torozaemon (1801-1885), both men had their students study at each other's dōjō.

From about 1850 onward three gekken dōjō, Shukaku's Gembukan, Yakuro's Renpeikan, and Momonoi Shunzo's Shikakukan of the Kyoshin Meichi Ryū⁻³⁷, became the center of activity for swordsmen throughout the country. Built side by side in Edo, these dōjō were the congregating ground for lower ranking bushi and commoners who, while training together and actively testing their skills, developed a political awareness and bonds of friendship that transcended their narrower domain concerns. Though they were of relatively low-status backgrounds, these influential swordsmen received national recognition based upon their skill, personal charisma, and active espousal of warrior virtues that were threatened by the forceful arrival of Perry's black ships. Supporting the political and social aspirations of the gōshi, shōya, and warriors who came to them for instruction, these leaders of the late Tokugawa budō turned swordsmanship from aesthetic forms of self-cultivation to an increasingly political and patriotic statement.

Marius Jansen's study of Sakamoto Ryoma the influential patriot and early leader in the plot to overthrow the Tokugawa bakufu, (Jansen, 1961) most clearly reveals the significance that gekken swordsmanship held for the social and political aspirations of the lower-ranking status elites. Tosa han, in present day Shizuoka Prefecture, a strong supporter of gekken training, sent promising swordsmen to Edo to polish their skills.

Han officials permitted Sakamoto at the age of eighteen (1853) to study Hokushin Ittō Ryū under Chiba Shusaku's nephew, and it was during this period in the capitol that Sakamoto observed Perry's "black ships" arrive to shake the county to its roots. Also from Tosa was the loyalist radical Takechi Zuisan (1829-1865) who studied under Momonoi in Edo and then returned to Tosa where he was given the post of gekken instructor for the goshi of the han. Takechi was twenty-five at the time (1854)³⁸.

Speaking of the revival of gekken kenjutsu in the 1840's and 1850's, Jansen says:

No group threw themselves into preparedness with more enthusiasm than those of the lower ranks...the fencing academies, filled to overflowing with ambitious restless samurai, became the centers of extremist and obscurantist thought and action (Jansen, 1961:81).

The young men of the fencing academies tended to look to Tokugawa Nariaki as the leader of their cause...they applied themselves because they wanted achievement and to be freer from the official restraints of their betters (Jansen, 1961:85).

As the patriotic swordsmen from different regions lived and practiced together, they set a pattern for inter-domain communication that was to last beyond their youthful involvement in swordsmanship; the friendships of the dōjō deepened into political brotherhoods committed to radical patriotism and direct action. From these swordsmen came the radical imperialist loyalist brotherhoods: Tosa han's Kinno party; Choshu han's Kaimei party, and Mito han's Seigi party (Jansen, 1961:107).

Gekken swordsmanship had become a central component of self-development for the loyalist radicals. This martial training forged the inner and outer experience of these individuals

who believed that there was a practical relationship between gekken swordsmanship and national defense on the one hand, and on the other a spiritual relationship between swordsmanship and the imperial restoration.

It is important to reiterate that the revival of swordsmanship in its gekken form and its striking role in the political and social consciousness of the bakumatsu period was possible only because of the characteristics of the new art whereby protective equipment and the safe bamboo shinai facilitated free-style contest. It fulfilled the aspirations of the lower ranks who could now safely achieve recognition while acting within the context of bushi values. Moreover, the free-style shinai-geiko form of practice rather than that of the pre-arranged kata with the bokken³⁹ allowed swordsmen of different ryū and different domains to come together, setting the stage for the development of a national form of swordsmanship, kendō, which was to be completed in the latter part of the Meiji period.

Thus to the ancient and complex symbolism and the sword in Japanese culture, the image of Bakumatsu gekken as a statement of youthful patriotic warrior ardor with the clash of bamboo shinai, the modified medieval armor, the rustling black hakama on the polished cypress wood floors, and the hoarse primordial kiai would now stand as a symbol of positive masculine identification for many Japanese of the twentieth century. Marius Jansen describes the image thus:

Table 2

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF JAPANESE SWORDSMANSHIP
AND MODERN MARTIAL WAYS

	FOUNDER	TRADITION
<u>Ko-bujutsu</u> <u>classical</u> <u>martial arts</u>	.Izasa Iaeno Choisai (1386-1488) .Matsumoto Bizen No Kami (1467-1524) .Tsukahara Bokuden (1490-1571) .Kamizumi Ise No Kami Hidetsuna (1508-1578)	.Katori Shinto Ryu .Kashima Shinkage Ryu .Bokuden Shinto Ryu .Shinkage Ryu
<u>Ko-Budo</u> <u>classical</u> <u>martial ways</u>	.Yagyu Tajima No Kami (1527-1606) .Miyamoto Musashi (1584?-1645) .Itto Kabehisa (Ittosai) (1566-1653) .Ono Jirouemon Tadatsune (1565-1628)	.Yagyu Shinkage Ryu .Niten Ichi Ryu .Itto Ryu .Ono-ha Itto Ryu
<u>Transition to</u> <u>Gekken-Style</u> <u>Ko-Budo</u>	.Nakanishi Chuzo (c.1711) .Momonoi Hachiro Shikizaemon (c.1779) .Fukui Heizaimon Kahei (1703-1783) .Chiba Shusaku (1795-1857)	.Nakanishi-ha Itto Ryu .Kyoshin Meichi Ryu .Shindo Munen Ryu .Hokushin Itto Ryu
<u>Shin-Budo</u> <u>modern</u> <u>martial ways</u>	.Kano Jigoro (c.1885) .Dai Nippon Butokukai (c.1912) .Funakoshi Giichin (c.1925) .Ueshiba Morihei	.Kodokan Judo .Kendo .Karate-do .Aikido

"The cult of the swordsman, the wise and courageous samurai; eyes ever fixed on the ultimate objective with a heart as pure as his shining blade, trained to set aside all personal considerations, cultivating self-perfection in order to be a more perfect instrument of justice" (Jansen, 1961:97).

The Meiji Restoration and Modernization (1868-1912)

In the forty years of the Meiji Period, Japan made the striking transition from an isolated pre-modern society to an advanced military world power. To achieve this feat the social structure and formal institutions of government, economics and education were radically changed through the wholesale adoption and modification of western models. It would be misleading, however, to fully equate modernization with Westernization, for the cultural symbolism and "the central value systems...present in the Tokugawa Period remained determining in the modern period, in perhaps even more intense and rationalized form" (Bellah, 1957:188).

The individuals who overthrew the Tokugawa bakufu and instituted the Meiji Restoration did not question in large measure the central underlying cultural symbols and values; they presented "no bourgeois ideology which directly attacked the 'feudal' ideology" (Bellah, 1957:25). Having their own roots in the lower ranks of the warrior class, the new leaders sought to reorganize the society to meet the threat of foreign strength while meeting the challenges of modernization by "restoring" and preserving certain central values.

While many of the Meiji oligarchs were often deeply committed to a personal cultivation of the budō,⁴¹ particularly

having received training in their formative years, the political and social demands of rapidly establishing a new nation did not allow them to promote actively the martial ways. Nevertheless, their emphasis on the values of bushidō as a guiding principle for establishing "a wealthy nation and a strong military" (fukoku kyōhei) remained consonant with the aims of the budō.

In this section, I shall trace the transformations of the modern martial ways and swordsmanship during the Meiji Period from their ban in the early 1870's to their re-organization and total incorporation into the elite track of the public education system with a national organization providing instruction in every city, town, and village. By the close of this dynamic era, the budō were perhaps even more strongly re-established as a central component of the symbolic structure and cultural conceptions of the twentieth century Japanese experience than they were in the preceding Tokugawa era.

The growth of swordsmanship within the martial ways in the Meiji reveals three periods from 1868-1878 is a time of ambivalence and conflicting attitudes that saw gekken banned in the largest urban centers and elsewhere. During the second period (1878-1894) there is a growing acceptance of the martial ways with official imperial approval within the national police force and among certain individuals in universities and institutions of higher education. Nevertheless, considerable opposition among leading westernizers of the Ministry of Education and the intelligentsia against the martial ways still existed as these groups saw the budō as part of a larger traditional complex that was responsible for Japan's humiliating backwardness

and weakness in respect to the Western nations (Pyle 1969).

Finally, in the third period from 1895-1912 we see the complete acceptance of the martial ways, resulting in their creation of a modern national form and introduction into the public schools as a compulsory subject, designed to give support to the rationalized political values of the national polity (kokutai) and bushidō. During the three periods, we see how a particular institution of the combative arts, which retained a strong concordance with central and symbolic cultural values, was modified to fit the new social circumstances by experimenting with various structural alternatives for their preservation.

The Early Meiji Period (1868-1878)

For the small group leaders who had overthrown the preceding government, four major problems existed: (1) cultural identity, (2) national security, (3) technological change and economic development, and (4) a national political process involving its citizenry (J.W. Hall, 1965:168). The first two problems were the most pressing in the early years and to a large measure involved the warrior class whose loyalties were still directed towards the autonomous han. The restructuring of society and the needs of modernization necessarily altered the place and meaning of the warrior class who with their fixed stipends and often conservative values were a drain on the fledgling state's finances and a hindrance to complete modernization. Despite the original intent of the early Meiji leaders, to restore the fallen position of the status elite, the warriors were instead de-classed, impoverished, and their position usurped.⁴²

Their expectations not being met, discontented bushi became a distinct threat to the government that resulted in a number of rebellions that had to be subdued by force of arms.

The martial ways and gekken were seriously affected by these developments. The dismantlement of the domain system and schools and the withdrawal of bushi stipends resulted in wholesale unemployment and impoverishment for instructors of the martial ways. Either through lack of employment, unavailability of students, seeming irrelevance to the new age, and official pronouncements against the budō, many instructors discontinued their arts thus causing many ryū to die out.⁴³

For the men devoted to the perpetuation of the martial ways, alternatives had to be sought. Some of the martial ryū retreated into themselves, turning toward obscurity and continuing only within the family and immediate locale as an ancestral legacy of self-cultivation. One such tradition of swordsmanship is the Araki Ryū of the Matsudaira family in Echizen (present day Fukui Prefecture) (Draeger, 1974:26).

Another example is the Mito han samurai Ozawa Torakichi (1827-1888), an instructor of Hokushin Itto Ryu swordsmanship for Nariaki's Kōdōkan. Possessing a deep desire to repay the on (blessing) to Mito's ancestors and martial tradition, Torakichi established a private dōjō in 1874 for the youth of the community to teach the heritage of the bushi while making them loyal citizens for the new state.⁴⁴ The students to come out of Torakichi's Tobukan dōjō were to be among the most influential of those who later developed the new national form of kendō at the close of the Meiji period.

These solutions to the problem of perpetuating the martial tradition as a closed family art or a local dōjō for youth education were successful, but they did not address the needs of the large numbers of adults who lacked employment for their traditional martial skills. To Sakakibara Kenkichi house vassal (gokenin) to the Tokugawas and thirteenth headmaster of the Jikishin Kage Ryū, the pressing need for survival and employment was to be solved through the indigenous quasi-martial sport model of sumō where professionals performed for the entertainment of paying customers.⁴⁵

Conducting matches in the traditional structures used to house and exhibit sumō, Kenkichi organized a professional troupe of swordsmen and opened performances in the merchant center of Asakusa in Tokyo in April of 1873. The public response was so enthusiastic that immediately gekken exhibitions (kōgyō) were established in thirty-seven locales throughout Japan.⁴⁶ The growing warrior discontent at that time, was so great that the Meiji government prohibited all gekken exhibitions three months later. Clearly faced with such an internal threat, the Meiji oligarchs, many of whom had forged their own intent in the gekken dōjō during the bakumatsu period were not about to make the same mistake as their ousted predecessors. It was not until after the successful resolution of the Satsuma Rebellion (1877) that the government again granted permission to Sakakibara Kenkichi to hold his gekken exhibitions. These paid demonstrations then surpassed sumō in popularity for about seven years. A good measure of the popularity of gekken exhibitions was due to Kenkichi's employment of famous bakumatsu swordsmen organized to

into an East and West team representing men who had opposed each other in the actual conflict of the Restoration.⁴⁷

The attempt to preserve gekken as a professional sports-like entertainment ultimately had only limited appeal, for swordsmanship was too deeply embedded in the cultural symbolism of the warrior class as a means of self-cultivation. While Kenkichi's gekken troupe provided an important transition, giving employment to adult exponents and acting as a testing ground for younger swordsmen intent on preserving the art, there were numerous criticisms of these exhibitions from former bushi who saw gekken turning into mock swordsmanship for crass economic motives. The voices of dissent realized that paid professionals dependent upon the whims of capricious spectators would degrade the true arts of swordsmanship.

Meanwhile, the National Police Force was beginning to employ former martial instructors to teach gekken to its officers whose ranks were largely filled with ex-warriors. Organized under the Home Ministry for maintaining civil tranquility, the police force became the mainstay of the modern combative arts (shin budō), a role it still holds in the present day.

The case of the newly formed conscript army was somewhat different as the demands for a modern technologically proficient fighting force precluded active support of the modern budō. The higher ranks of the military, however, dominated by members of the warrior class, still valued the traditional martial ways both for developing bushi personality and for combat effective swordsmanship. Therefore, as early as 1873, the newly

formed Toyama Military School (Rikigun Toyama Gakko) instituted a course in kenjutsu as physical education exercise for officers (shikan) and non-commissioned officers (kashikan) (Watanabe, 1972). From these instructors the Toyama Military School would develop their own form of combat swordsmanship (Toyama Ryu Batto-jutsu) (Nakamura, 1973).

Despite the relative neglect of the budō by the modern military, the symbolism of the warrior as a model for the conscript fighting man was strongly emphasized. Yamagata Aritomo⁴⁸, founder of the modern military, sought to instill Meiji ideals of bushidō into the peasant conscripts intending a "nation of samurai". Later, the military would incorporate the modern martial ways more extensively into its training for the inculcation of bushidō values, but it never expected the budō to be productive of fighting ability in a technical sense for its personnel. Although military leaders held positions of great respect in national budō organizations, the armed forces were never influential leaders equal to that of the National Police Force.

While there was a general feeling of ambivalence towards the martial ways among the government and populace during the early years of the Meiji, the budō did receive great stimulation from the events of the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877. In preparation for the armed confrontation against the government, the conservative warrior rebels avidly trained in the traditional arts. The defeat of these reactionary die-hards led by Saigo Takamori (1827-1877) represents the last attempt of the traditional warrior class to stand against uncontrolled Westernization and

modernization⁴⁹. Their rebellion in the powerful former tozoma han of Satsuma, long a stronghold of bushi culture,⁵⁰ caused considerable consternation among the Meiji leaders who doubted that their superior conscript firepower could stand against the "spirit" of Saigo's classical warriors.

These doubts led to suggestions to Minister of the Army, Yamagata Aritomo, to recruit special groups of warriors to fight against Satsuma. Yamagata, however, committed to a centralized statist organization, did not wish to encourage more autonomous bands of warriors. He therefore created a special branch of the National Police Force which in turn employed selected bushi as civil servants. This group, the Tokyo Battotai (Tokyo Sword Unit), composed of over six thousand of the best swordsmen available to the Meiji government, was a crucial factor in helping to turn the tide against Saigo.⁵¹

The events of the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 served to stimulate a general revival of interest in the martial ways. First, the defeated warriors, as the last proponents of the traditional bushi's society, ethos, and techniques, were rapidly lionized as martyrs. Thus the public mind associated even more strongly the martial arts with the valiant tragic warriors, the last vestiges of "traditional" culture. Second, at the same time, the success of the Tokyo Battotai re-established the symbolic potency of the sword as an instrument of the government to create peace⁵². In any event, with the internal security of the nation assured, those individuals committed to the preservation of the budō could now publicly do so with a modicum of popular support and without fear of censure from the central

government.

Mid-Meiji Acceptance of the Martial Ways (1878-1894)

The Meiji government, having successfully established national security, now attempted to strengthen its technological and economic base while further developing its national consciousness through the public school system and the universal conscript army. During the early Meiji years, the largescale adoption of Western institutions and employment of numerous foreign advisors had produced a generation increasingly confused over the seeming conflict between Western and Japanese ways. There began to arise now in the 1880's a reaction to this which manifested itself in the development of highly centralized statist model for government and education and a retrenchment of Confucian morals and ethics.

The school system, represented by the educational ordinance of 1872, was adopted from the American model which called for the self-fulfillment of the individual, but it was actually over ambitious and too anti-traditional for most of the populace. The new set of educational priorities of the 1880's stressed the development of loyal citizens obedient to the state, but there arose a growing conflict between the statist, but Western oriented policies of Mori Arinori, the Minister of Education, and those of the more traditional scholars such as Nishimura Shigeki who advocated the reintroduction of Confucian morals (shūshin) into the public schools. Under Mori's leadership, the school system at its highest administrative levels remained antagonistic to the martial ways.

Although deeply set against the traditional regiment of swordsmanship⁵³ to discipline and forge "character", Mori found a Western analogue in the spartan physical exercises of Swiss style military drills popular in the elite public schools of England where Mori had received his introduction to Western culture⁵⁴. Therefore, he introduced heishiki taisō (military style calisthenics) into the normal schools and later into the elementary and middle schools. Mori believed that these exercises and martial disciplines were valuable strictly as pedagogical techniques and were not designed as military training (I. Hall, 1973:426).

By 1888, heishiki taisō was firmly established throughout the entire school system (I. Hall, 1973:426). This development resulted in numerous attempts by instructors of the budō to modify the traditional combative arts, making them suitable for mass drill exercise. Beginning in 1885, there appeared increasing numbers of publications of military drill manuals based upon traditional weapons and movements for adoption in the school programs⁵⁵. In conjunction with these publications there were proposals to include the budō in the school program which led the Ministry of Education to conduct a blue ribbon investigation in 1885 concerning the appropriateness of jūjutsu and kenjutsu for school exercises.

While finding some value in these "domestic arts" the investigative committee rejected their incorporation into the school system. Among the reasons given were the following: the martial ways were dangerous to students and tended to stimulate an aggressive, haughty, and competitive frame of mind. On the

panel were individuals who agreed with the Governor of Kyoto who ten years earlier had condemned the martial ways for their violent traditionalism and lack of Western progressiveness⁵⁶. There were in addition to these objections financial reasons for the rejection. The hard-pressed Ministry did not have funds to build training halls, buy equipment, or hire instructors. Moreover, since the budō were traditionally man-to-man arts, they lacked methodology facilitating group instruction, and, could not therefore, meet the school's needs⁵⁷ (Watanabe, 1970:772).

Resistance from the Ministry of Education to the formal inclusion of the budō was to persist until after Japan's successful wars against Russia and China, but by that time the martial ways not only had achieved a new popular recognition, but they had also standardized instruction and were developing teachers qualified for the public school system.

Despite the reservations of certain leaders in the Ministry of Education, respect for and participation in the martial ways was growing in the 1880's. The locus of support came from private citizens who perceived the budō as valuable education for youth, from the National Police Force, and from certain leaders and members of the Imperial Household Agency. It is clear that the martial ways were already being perceived as a part of the Japanese cultural heritage, as national arts, to be demonstrated to non-Japanese at state functions. The first recorded example of this was an Imperial Household sponsored command exhibition (tenran shiai) in 1879 for visiting General Ulysses S. Grant who observed demonstrations in kenjutsu, jujutsu,

other combative arts (Watanabe, 1970). Another tenran shiai was held several years later when, in a major effort to stimulate respect for the emperor and imperial tradition, a celebration was held for the five hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Kusunoki Masashige, Japan's premier loyalist⁵⁸. In this exhibition, gekken contests were held among the outstanding swordsmen representing the national police force, the military, and private citizens. This celebration in 1888 probably represents the first national gekken competition, although the creation of the Saineikan dōjō in 1883 by the Imperial Household and its opening exhibitions may be an earlier case. The Saineikan dōjō was created to preserve the traditional martial ways and to train the police guards attached to the Emperor; it stands as a direct and symbolic statement of official imperial support for the martial ways.

The police force was also showing a tendency during this time to consciously join the martial ways with Shinto traditions designed to express loyalty to the new nation state. In 1885, in commemoration of a shrine for officers who had died in the line of duty, the police force sponsored a national bujutsu tournament. As the greatest sponsor of the traditional martial ways, the national police force began to recognize the need for a unified system. The preservation of independent ryū, each having its members deeply loyal to its tradition and techniques, fostered competitive pride and hindered standardized instruction. Therefore, the national police force (Keishicho) began to develop its own modern ryū, creating kata and techniques from the sixteen major gekken ryū that were represented in the

police force⁵⁹. However, some of the best gekken swordsmen, such as Sakikibara Kenkichi, vigorously resisted this "melting pot" action, fearing that his on to ancestral tradition could not be fulfilled by merging with other ryū.

Thus in the 1880's we see a growing official acceptance of the martial ways by the Imperial Household and the National Police Force that sought to tie the martial ways to the growing national consciousness of Japanese cultural identity and the imperial tradition. But what of the new intellectuals and popular attitudes towards the budō at this time? Kenneth Pyle (1969) has written of the intellectual trends of the Mid-Meiji when new university elites were searching for a cultural identification that would allow them pride in the face of seemingly overwhelming Western technological and intellectual superiority. For these intellectuals, furthermore, the unequal treaties signed with Western powers at the close of the Tokugawa era still stood to recall the humiliation and condemnation of Japan's traditional martial culture. To these modernizing elites even the diminutive physical stature of the Japanese served as an embarrassment when compared with the peoples of the Western nations⁶⁰.

At this point, the discussion must shift from swordsmanship to jūdō in order to understand a new source of acceptance of the modern martial ways. Out of the intellectual elite at Tokyo Imperial University came individuals who sought a way to wed Western knowledge with traditional Japanese values. Kanō Jigoro (1860-1938) was one such individual who must be credited with giving the martial ways a definition and identity that would

appeal not only to the Japanese, but also to the international community.

A highly gifted educator sensitive to Western pedagogy and Japanese warrior values, despite his commoner origins, Kanō Jigoro, in the highest tradition of the martial ways, founded his own unique style that emphasized the spiritual and moral component of Japanese grappling arts. Kanō's designation of his art as jūdō rather than jūjutsu strongly underscores this basic attitude. Intensely interested in Western notions of physical education, particularly the then popular Swedish gymnastics, Kanō sought scientific explanations for the execution of physical strength within the context of Japanese notions of morals and spiritualism. In developing his Kodokan⁶¹ jūdō, Kanō formulated two basic principles: the Principle of Maximum-Efficient Use of Mind and Body (Seiryoku Zenyō) and the Principle of Perfection of One's Self and Mutual Welfare and Benefit (Jita Kyōei) (Relnick, 1971:12-13).

Kanō stressed moral principles as well as safety in practice. He eliminated many of the dangerous jūjutsu techniques prevalent at the time. His choice of selecting only men of good character for study at the Kodokan became legend when these stalwarts defeated exponents of jūjutsu in a famous national police contest that established Kodokan jūdō's fame. Jūjutsu until that time had an ambivalent public image, not only lacking the aristocratic imagery of swordsmanship, but also the reputation of being practiced by city toughs and gangsters. The famous novel, Sanshiro Sugata, cinematized by Kurosawa Akira vividly tells the tale of

self-cultivation in the martial ways during this period of Japanese history.

Throughout his rising career in the Ministry of Education, Kanō propagated jūdō, assiduously cultivating the support of sympathetic aristocrats and government leaders. In 1886, as assistant principal of the prestigious Peer's School, he instituted a course in jūdō. The contemporaneous teaching of gekken by Sakakibara Kenkichi at the same school also attests to the aristocratic support of the martial ways at this time.

Kanō devoted his life to propagating and internationalizing jūdō for he deeply believed it to be of value for men and women everywhere. He was an active member of The Asiatic Society of Japan and was the first to publish articles on jūdō or the martial ways in English through that society's journal (Lindsey and Kanō, 1888). Within fifteen years Kanō's Kodokan jūdō had the fame and national organization equal to the more traditional kendō. Japan's stunning victory over Russia in 1905 gave international recognition to jūdō⁶² and President Theodore Roosevelt invited Kanō to send a jūdō instructor to teach at the Naval Academy at Annapolis⁶³. Throughout his life Kanō remained a Japanese internationalist devoted to the propagation of jūdō as a sport and as a means of physical and mental self-cultivation. He was also the head of Japan's Olympic Committee, strongly supporting Japanese participation in international sports competitions. Although Kanō died before seeing his art achieve acceptance as an Olympic sport in 1964, the international phenomenon of jūdō stands today as a testament to Kanō's genius and respect for the Japanese combative tradition.

Another individual who must be given credit for promoting and encouraging the modern budō is the German doctor, Edwin Baelz, professor of Medicine at Tokyo Imperial University and personal physician to the Emperor's family. As was common then, foreign instructors in Japan often had to counsel their Japanese colleagues and students, overcome with blind enthusiasm for Western ways, not to depreciate their own cultural heritage. Edwin Baelz, coming from a Prussian tradition, immediately recognized the value of kendō and jūdō not only as a beneficial physical regime but also as systems valuable for preserving traditional values central to the Japanese positive self-image (Baelz, 1932). Besides encouraging his students, including Kanō, to begin a jūjutsu club at the Imperial University, he must have raised some eyebrows and contributed to a re-evaluation of gekken when he personally enrolled as a student in Sakakibara Kenkichi's dōjō⁶⁴.

Extra-curricular clubs in swordsmanship were established in the higher track public schools, from the universities down to the middle schools. Among students and teachers, both still represented heavily by the former warrior class, the martial ways seemed a valuable and meaningful addition to the physical education program which lacked specifically Japanese disciplines. In 1888, the First Higher Normal School of Tokyo sponsored a kenjutsu tournament, while the following year its feeder school, the First Middle School of Tokyo, established gekken and jūdō as a regular after school athletic program. Similarly, among the top universities in Tokyo and among higher schools in the prefectures, kendō and jūdō clubs were being formed (Watanabe,

1970).

It became the standard practice of these schools to request the services of leading budō instructors in the community, usually from the police department. This trend of hiring expert instructors from the police force for university clubs became a standard procedure, still common in the post-war period. The role of the university students was instrumental in fostering a new pride in the Japanese combative arts. Many of these elite, in the forefront of modernization, found that the budō offered a manly exercise and path of self-cultivation that allowed them to dramatically re-enact the actions of their ancestral heroes, and to express Japanese values supported by the growing national consciousness.

The Later Meiji Period and Complete Acceptance (1895-1912)

Japan at the turn of the century, victorious in foreign wars, with overseas colonial possessions, and unequal treaties repealed, proudly entered the world of international politics on her own. The Late Meiji has been described as the period of "Imperial Japan". In large measure the causes and symbols of this positive outward stance were the successes in war against China in 1895 and Russia, a Western power, in 1905. These events erased the earlier questioning and self-doubt that the Japanese entertained about their place in the world. Even such an intellectual as Tokutomi Soho, who had been alienated from the roots of Japanese culture described the effects of Japan's military victory as "the great turning point... a spiritual release" (Pyle, 1969:152).

In every sector there was a re-appreciation of Japanese martial values that had wrought this modern transformation into a recognized world power. The great Christian apologist, Inazo Nitobe, writing in English, likened the effects of bushidō on the Japanese spirit to that of Christianity upon the nations of the West (Nitobe, 1905).

The budō were significantly and dramatically effected by these developments and the event that stands out as the turning point for the modern martial ways is the formation of the Dai Nippon Butokukai (Greater Japan Martial Virtue Society) in 1895. Flushed with victory against China, a group of distinguished citizens, politicians, and police and military officers along with imperial support created this organization with the following goals: (1) to preserve martial virtue (butōku) as represented by the traditional martial disciplines, (2) to honor the older budō practitioners who had kept the tradition alive in the face of Westernization and who were the last generation to have experienced true warrior society, (3) to promote and propagate the classical martial ways as an educational system to help instil Bushidō in the minds and bodies of the nation's youth (Watanabe, 1970).

After the building of the Butokuden dōjō on the precincts of Heian Shrine in Kyoto in 1899⁶⁵, the Butokūkai sponsored national tournaments and demonstrations, awarded honorary ranks to leading instructors, and most importantly worked toward the standardization of these national arts with the goal of making them acceptable to the Ministry of Education as a required school subject. To further these aims, the society established

a national structure with branches in each prefecture to be headed by the prefectural governor and top police official. Each prefecture was to build a dōjō modeled after the head dōjō (honbu) in Kyoto.⁶⁶ Within ten years the organization had over one million adult members with branches offering instruction in the martial ways in almost every city, village, and town. The head dōjō in Kyoto established a teacher training program and offered numerous programs of short term instruction for local prefectural branches. The two men chosen to head the gekken instruction were former students of Ozawa Torakichi's Mito Tobukan dōjō, Naito Takaharu and Monna Tadashii. Thus did Mito's influence continue into the formation of the new national form of kendō that was shortly to be developed.

The Butokukai as a cultural nationalist organization did not promote the classical martial ways for the purpose of national defense or technical fighting ability among its members. Instead it sought to propagate traditional martial disciplines that would allow individuals to feel and experience their "samurai" heritage, a form of traditional education that would improve morals, elevate bushidō, and prepare the nation's youth to be loyal and healthy citizens of the state.

The positive attitude of Europe towards Japan at this time was a result of respect for her military and naval strength. The Japanese interpreted this as an affirmation of "spiritual" values, the result of the bushidō spirit embracing the entire nation. The martial ways as the educational method of traditionally inculcating bushidō became equated more and more with the political and military aims of the nation. The sense of

individual self-cultivation, though important, was becoming secondary to service to the state. Despite this identification of the budō with national goals, the Butokukai was not at this time active in political or military affairs.

Its first chairman was Baron Kanetake Oura, the Home Minister in the Okuma cabinet. After Oura's implication in an election fraud, he resigned from politics and the Butokukai and the organization sought to avoid political controversy by drawing chairmen only from the retired ranks of the armed forces. The Butokukai's theory was that these respected retired generals and admirals would be impartial and of the highest integrity.⁶⁷ This policy was followed until the war-time ascendancy of Prime Minister General Tojo Hideki.

In 1901, the Fourteenth Diet Assembly agreed to petition the Ministry of Education formally to teach gekken as a regular subject "to maintain the beauty of martial respect" (shobu). The Ministry refused. In 1905, with victory against Russia, pressure on the Ministry greatly increased, so the Ministry conducted a formal investigation, concluding, as they did in 1885, not to adopt the budō as a regular subject. While there were still some persons in the Education Ministry who felt that the martial ways were too violent and dangerous for school age youth, the main reasons for their rejection were financial and administrative. The Russo-Japanese War had seriously depleted the nation's finances thus hindering the attempts of interested schools to buy gekken equipment or hire new instructors. In fact, the worsening economic situation caused the Ministry to cut back in various prefectures on unessential programs

which reduced the salaries and eliminated budō instructor's positions⁶⁸ (Watanabe, 1970:793). This was in direct contrast to the situation after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 when numerous returning veterans were hired as school instructors for military drill and gekken. Many of these veterans opened machi dōjō and were influential in the spread of the Butokukai organization in the prefectures (Ishida, 1975:28).

More compelling than finances, however, were certain administrative problems derived from the fact that gekken was still composed of various ryū, each with its own training procedures and customs. The Ministry of Education, furthermore, was concerned that gekken instructors be qualified public school teachers, trained in the minimum requirements of pedagogy and sensitive to the "students' age and body type" (Watanabe, 1970:773).

In the next several years the Butokukai dealt with these problems. First, in conjunction with their own training institution, the Bujutsu Semmon Gakko (Martial Arts Technical School), and along with the Higher Normal School of Tokyo, they began to develop standardized teaching and practice methodology. The kata of the different ryū presented a problem to unification, so the Butokukai invited the leading gekken swordsmen⁶⁹ in the organization to decide upon a national kata to be introduced into the school system. The resultant kata, involving elements from ten different ryū, was known as the Greater Japan Imperial Kendō Kata (Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendo Kata) and was established in 1912.

In seeking a new national form of swordsmanship fit for educating school age youth, the Butokukai significantly changed

the name of swordsmanship from gekken or kenjutsu to its official appellation of kendō. Thus kendō, like jūdō, having the suffix "dō," was meant to stress its moral values rather than its fighting skills. The inclusion of the term "imperial" in the formal kata designation, however, clearly indicated an association of the modern martial way to contemporary political values.

In the previous year of 1911, the Ministry of Education approved kendō and jūdō as a regular subject for all normal schools as teacher training in physical education. In 1912, the last year of Meiji, kendō and jūdō both became required subjects for middle school students and both the Butokukai's newly re-organized Budo Semmon Gakko and the Tokyo Higher Normal School became the centers of budō training, offering year round training sessions (kōshūkai) to local kendō instructors who wanted to be qualified to teach in prefectural schools. Thus the Meiji Period closed with the total acceptance of the modern martial ways (shin budō) albeit in a modified national form that fit the political and social values of the government. Fully incorporated into the national educational system and with instruction available in every city, village, and town, the arts of jūdō and kendō rapidly became indelibly engraved upon Japanese culture of the early twentieth century. Buttressed by the popular media and its revival of samurai-hero stories, the budō gave form and meaning to "traditional" and "modern" Japanese values for all males in the public school system up to the end of World War Two.

The Taisho (1912-1926) and Early Showa (1926-1945)

The Taisho period stands as a watershed between the accomplishments of modernization in the Meiji Era and the ultra-nationalistic expansion of Japan in the nineteen thirties.

During the period through World War I and the nineteen twenties, the popularity of kendō and the budō continued to increase in the public schools, local communities, business companies, and police and armed forces. Among cultural nationalists the modern martial ways were seen as a highly positive system of expressing traditional values and attitudes that contrasted with foreign ideologies. Participation in the modern martial ways offered the opportunity for many Japanese of widely divergent backgrounds to participate in an officially sanctioned system of physical and mental culture that dramatically expressed, they believed, their idealized warrior heritage. Ultra-nationalist groups too, strongly supported the modern martial ways though these groups had not yet moved to radical political action.

Perhaps the most influential cultural nationalist to further the cause of kendō and the martial ways was Noma Seiji who was the most innovative publisher in the field of inexpensive popular literature that extolled traditional values. As a public school teacher in Okinawa, Noma was deeply concerned with the decay of traditional values and the increasing ignorance among the youth of their heritage, their myths and stories of heroism, romance, and drama. Above all he was troubled by the dissipation of moral conduct and beliefs contained in the traditional arts and literature by the current generation who had no access to them. Therefore he founded the Kodansha Publishing Company.

Noma's methods in popular literature and mass advertising revolutionized the publishing industry.

"In 1930, the total circulation of his nine magazines came to six million copies. It is conceivable that Noma...exerted more influence in molding popular culture from the 1920's to the end of the Second World War than any other person in Japan" (Hane, 1972:429).

Noma Seiji was an ardent practitioner and promoter of kendō. In his autobiography⁷⁰ he reveals himself as a boisterous trouble-making youth who finds his energies channeled by kendō, its philosophy and discipline eventually molding his character to give him the strength and direction needed to achieve his great feats in the publishing world.

Noma established the model for company employee training that has been so influential even to the modern day among businesses concerned with the technical, social, and spiritual development of their employees. His educational method was pragmatic, both traditional and modern at the same time; starting his youthful employees, even those destined for higher administrative posts, at the lowest and most menial tasks, he had them experience the publishing business in its varied aspects first hand (Noma, 1934:267-269).

Noma used kendō to train his employees

"In the way of special culture, intended to sharpen their intellectual and spiritual acumen" (Noma, 1934:270).

He built the Kodansha dōjō and employed the greatest masters of kendō, resident in Tokyo, to teach and practice there. In the nineteen twenties the Kodansha dōjō was the mecca of all kendoists who came to Tokyo; the Kodansha "early morning practice" was

daily attended by the most aspiring kendoists eager to perfect their skills under such great masters as hanshi Mochida Moriji (1885-72).

The growing popularity of kendō during the twenties was also reflected by the creation of the All Japan Student Kendo Federation in 1928. It promoted so many student sports tournaments that it shifted the balance of organizational effort away from the Butokukai itself⁷¹. This period also witnessed the creation of the new Kokushikan University in 1924. This university strongly supported the modern martial ways and under the instruction of hanshi Saimura Goro⁷², of the National Police Force, Kokushikan rapidly became a kendō center as influential as the Tokyo Higher Normal School and the Budo Semmon Gakko in Kyoto. Private machi dōjō by leading kendoists were also important at this time, two of the most influential being Takano Sasaburo's Shugakuin and Nakayama Hakudo's Shinpukan.

Japan's international involvement in the twenties is also reflected in her avid participation in the Olympics and her encouragement of national sports tournaments for developing healthy youth. The first of the National Athletic Meets (Meiji Jingu Taiiku TaiKai) was held at Meiji Shrine in 1928. Desire among student kendō groups to participate in this event hastened the formation of the All Japan Student Kendo Federation.

The categories of contest in kendō at the Meiji National Athletic Meet reflects the broad spectrum of contemporary participation. The matches included (1) young adult (seinen) teams, (2) young adult individual matches, (3) the Military

Reserve Association⁷³ (Zaigo Gunjin Kai), (4) middle schools, (5) universities, normal school, and technical schools, (6) open matches for those over thirty-five years of age, (7) open matches for those under thirty-five years of age, and (8) an army-navy match. Participation was determined by allowing all school groups and each branch (shibu) of the Butokukai to send two members, while each independent machi dōjō could send one (Shoji, 1967).

Another potent indicator of the central place of the modern martial ways in Japanese culture of the time was the rapid incorporation and Japanization of the Okinawan art of karate-dō⁷⁴. Finally the nineteen-twenties mark the total unification within kendō as the national police who had been using a separate ranking system adopted the system of the Butokukai.⁷⁵

The Nineteen-Thirties and the Road to War

The world-wide depression sorely affected the Japanese economy, always dependent upon foreign raw materials to operate successfully. Under military leadership and radical nationalist groups, the rise of a popular nationalism was further stimulated by "grandiose plans of conquest which promised prestige, wealth and power for the Empire" (Borton, 1935:321). For kendō and the other modern martial ways, the nineteen-thirties was a period of increasing co-option for militaristic and political purposes that saw the shin budō propagated, idealized, and spread to new sectors of the population.

In 1931, the budō were granted separate status from other athletics in the physical education departments thus strengthening

their importance and distinctiveness⁷⁶. This separation was designed to more fully develop the "national spirit" (kokumin seishin) through the "forging of mind and body" to cultivate the ideals of bushidō (Shoji, 1966:169). In the same policy edict kendō and jūdō became compulsory subjects for all male students rather than elective athletic programs.

As the Army gained control of the government, the ministry of Education created a new system of Youth Schools (seinen gakkō) in 1935 "to improve the training of large numbers of workers or potential soldiers for laboring youth" (J. W. Hall, 1965). Kendō and jūdō were instituted as compulsory subjects for the lower class youths in these schools in 1936. A new level of strident and pervasive militant nationalism was reached in 1937 with the publication of the Ministry of Education's Kokutai no Hongi (Fundamentals of National Polity)⁷⁷. This document, as the official position on public education, promulgated complete loyalty and obedience to the national polity through the Emperor system (tennō-sei), Shinto, and bushidō (R. Hall, 1949). By 1939, kendō and jūdō were incorporated even further into the public school system as quasi-regular subjects for male students in the primary schools in the fifth and sixth grades (Relnick, 1971:27).

In addition to the increasing use of kendō as an ancillary system for militant nationalism among non-elite tracks of the public schools, kendō continued to be stimulated by elite organizations that sponsored tournaments and demonstrations. The most important of these was undoubtedly the Imperial Review Contests (tenran shiai) held in 1930⁷⁸, 1935⁷⁹, and again in

1941⁸⁰. The imperial review contests are still spoken of today as demonstrating the highest expertise among swordsmen in the twentieth century.

As Japan mobilized for total war, kendō and the modern budō underwent significant changes to prepare youth for the war effort. Kendō manuals in the school system stridently associated the practice of kendō with ancient Shinto mythology, Emperor worship, and bushidō; stressing strong anti-foreign sentiments while exhorting students to selfless sacrifice for the imperial cause. At the same time there was a popular harkening back to the literature and teachings of Japan's samurai loyalist heroes, such as Yoshida Shoin, the Mito School, Kusunoki Masashige, and the teachings of the Hasakure⁸¹ by the bushi of the Nabeshina han of Saga.

Moreover, at the request of the ruling military authorities the Dai Nippon Butokukai was reorganized under the direct leadership of Prime Minister General Tojo Hideki while being administered through the Ministry of Welfare (Koseishō). This Ministry, with the aid of association leaders, sought to re-invest the modern budō with combat effective fighting techniques believed necessary for the national defense. This reorganization of semi-governmental institutions under direct military control was part of the rationalization of government by the military. Along with the Imperial Rule Assistance Association that was the new arm of governmental decision making, the Greater Japan Physical Education Association was also brought under control of the military giving athletic endeavor a war-time purpose

as well (Relnick, 1971:30).

In the schools, physical exercise courses (taisōka) were changed to a more severe tairenka⁸² program which required from three to six hours a week in calisthenics, military drill, and modern budō training. The object of this education was stated in the familiar dogma, "The essentials of physical training are to train the body, to discipline the mind...to foster selfless devotion to the county" (Relnick, 1971:28). In actuality, however, the changes were to give the students a modicum of realistic combative training for it was realized that perhaps, all Japanese youth would have to go to war.

Wartime conditions changed the modern budō as instructors now sought combat effective techniques from the neglected classical martial arts (ko bujutsu). Practice was conducted outdoors on natural terrain rather than in the dōjō; the traditional garments were discarded in favor of military school uniforms, and shoes were worn (Relnick, 1971:30).

Striking and thrusting were now done more realistically with an increased emphasis on close quarter grappling, body-contact (tai-attari), and even live sword cutting training (tameshigiri). Aesthetic and competitive point scoring tactics were abandoned. Teachers took quick trips to Kyushu to study the essentials of the aggressive style of swordsmanship known as jigen ryū, the tactics of which martial tradition they sought to add to their instruction.

One kendō teacher⁸³, recounting the training of those days, told me:

"It was desparate training for sending boys to the battlefield. It wasn't kendō. There was no time for finesse. First, get in condition by doing lots of running and jumping. Then put a bokken in their hands, have them give a great cry (kiai) and charge, trying to cut the opponent or target down with one stroke. That's about all we could teach."

In addition to kendō and calisthenics in the wartime tairenka program, the schools offered instruction in juken-jutsu, a Meiji period derived bayonet art, and rifle marksmanship practice. In most cases juken-jutsu was promoted over kendō because the military considered bayonet training a more practical battlefield technique. In jūdō, emphasis was placed on strangulation holds and striking vital points (atemi waza) (Reinick, 1971:38). Naginata-jutsu, the art of the halberd, was compulsory for girls in schools.

Finally, as the Allied Forces began to bomb the homeland, the martial arts and ways were incorporated into a last ditch civilian defense training. Local communities that possessed teachers of traditional arts, even those that had remained isolated from the nationalization process of the shin budō, induced teachers to train men, women, and children in spear techniques using take-yari, sharpened bamboo shafts⁸⁴.

The Post-War Late Showa Period (1945 to Present)

The Allied Forces under General Douglas McArthur as the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers (SCAP) sought to totally reform and restructure Japan, rooting out all institutions and individuals that contributed to militant nationalism and aggression. As the Allied Occupation continued, however, SCAP expanded its goals and attempted to create the social conditions that

would establish a democracy on the American model and a bulwark against Communism in the Far East (Baerwold, 1959).

The modern budō, represented by their national organization the Dai Nihon Butokukai, were a highly visible and symbolic example of militant nationalism that SCAP wished to destroy. The organization was banned, its offices and finances impounded, and an extremely high percentage of its leaders in national and local offices purged.⁸⁵ Later researchers have indicated that the Butokukai suffered from the excesses of SCAP officials obligated to find culpable individuals for pernicious militant nationalism. Richard Storry states that

"The society did not engage in political activity before the 1930's, and until that time, at least, appears to have had no connections with the Genyosha-Kokuryukai groups." (Storry, 1957:20-21)

He also states that nationalist societies such as the Butokukai

"...were, on the whole, conservative and mindful of the injunction in the Meiji Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors, against meddling in politics." (Storry, 1957: 42)

However despite the dissolution of the Butokukai and the purge of its leaders, the ban on the budō was contradictory and incomplete. Karate-dō for some reason was overlooked and never experienced the ban (Draeger, 1974:48). On the other hand, the decentralized police force required some training in restrictive techniques as well as physical exercise, so that in 1947 "the Allied Powers authorized the retention of several classical bujutsu⁸⁶ and the creation of a new modern discipline, taiho-jutsu, as a standard method of self-defense" (Draeger, 1974:48). In the following year permission was granted to the police for

training in jūdō as a sportive physical regimen. Jūdō, which did not have the excessive militaristic taint of kendō, and its symbolic associations with the sword and the sacred imperial culture complex, began to evidence a slight growth in popularity among the cautious Japanese. This was greatly stimulated by the interest and participation in the modern budō by members of different branches of the Allied Powers.

"Generals Curtis B. LeMay and Thomas E. Power of the Strategic Air Command (SAC) of the United States Air Force, both dedicated exponents of judo, were instrumental in accelerating the general revival of modern disciplines in post-war Japan" (Draeger, 1974:49).

Towards the end of the Occupation, and with the new influx of younger American soldiers due to the Korean War, many Japanese experts in jūdō, karate-dō, aikidō, and even kendō were making a living teaching members of the Occupation Forces. Jūdō, in particular, was regaining some of its former popularity, so that by May 1950, Amano Teiyu, the Minister of Education, requested SCAP to allow jūdō to be taught again as a school sport. In September of that same year, SCAP agreed but with certain provisions that made the art closer to American notions of sport⁸⁷ (Relnick, 1971:46-47).

The traditional role that kendō had played as the senior and most influential of the modern martial ways hampered its regrowth; SCAP officials as well as many Japanese, who had been forced to learn it under the harsh wartime conditions, felt that kendō was a cause of militant nationalism and a continuing threat to democratic processes.

Yet, numerous kendō masters, feeling deeply that kendō was a precious legacy of the past that could still contribute to the growth of individualism and a healthy democratic citizenry, sought to develop a modified form of kendō that would be acceptable to SCAP. The result was the formation of shinai kyōgi⁸⁸ (fencing play) and the Shinai Kyōgi Federation headed by Mr. Sasamori Junzo (1885-1976), distinguished lawyer, politician, budō historian, and kendō expert.

Shinai Kyōgi attempted to produce a cultural hybrid of Western fencing and sport and the essentials of Japanese swordsmanship as it practiced with the bamboo shinai. Under SCAP directives, all vestiges of the traditional martial culture were expunged; thus a western fencing uniform and protective equipment was substituted for the classical hakama (culotte-like trousers) and traditional protective equipment. All violent tactics were eliminated and three judges were used in tournament. The Western combative and sports conception of winning by scoring the greatest quantity of points or "highest score" was instituted in direct opposition to the classical Japanese martial theory of combat that sought for a quick and decisive one-strike victory.

The cultural biases of the Allied Forces also led officials to adamantly insist that the kiai or shouts (See Chapter 3, Theory of Energy) be eliminated. Kiai, seemed "barbaric" and highly conducive to a violent militaristic spirit. While the Occupying Forces misunderstood the true nature of kiai they almost "instinctively" reacted and intuited the primordial meaning of kiai in Japanese culture.

Because shinai kyōgi was the only available alternative for the preservation of kendō, many instructors participated in its propagation. It was relatively common, however, for kendō, but without violent techniques, to be practiced in private in the dōjō while performing shinai kyōgi at public tournaments.

In 1950 former university students held a national shinai kyōgi tournament attended by sixty teams of three men each and in the following year there was a larger turnout for the national tournament held in Nagoya. The reformed Japanese educational system, still looking for individual sports, and having admitted jūdō three years earlier, stated in May 1953 that shinai kyōgi was a valuable addition to the sports curriculum as an elective for middle schools and above. The main provisions were that it should be no different than any other sport, having "democratic values", a concern for the individual, and a positive attitude towards the physical health of the students. Also, all instructors had to take an approved training seminar in teaching methods and theory (Shoji, 1966:217).

With the termination of the Occupation, many former kendō instructors opened dōjō in their local communities and formed in 1952, the All-Japan Kendo Federation. In 1955 as shinai kyōgi was being approved for public school athletics, the Shinai Kyōgi Federation merged with the All-Japan Kendo Federation which agreed to the new style of "school kendō" (gakusei kendō) that was demanded by the Ministry of Education.

The popularity of kendō began to slowly increase in the later nineteen fifties. In 1958 the All-Japan Business Company

Kendō Federation (Zen Nippon Jitsugyōdan Kendō Renmei) was founded and proceeded to sponsor tournaments for company employee teams. The number of participating companies increased from 75 in 1959 to 133 in 1966 and 185 in 1976. The companies, many of which include the largest and most modern businesses in Japan, sponsored budō training not only as athletic recreation but as a form of "spiritual education" for their employees.

The All-Japan Kendō Federation, concerned with improving the image and status of its art, began holding the annual Budo Convention (Budōsai) in Kyoto at the old Butokuden dōjō and awarded honorary ranks (hanshi) to outstanding individuals who had worked to preserve kendō⁸⁹. In order to stimulate senior participant interest, the Federation in 1958 adopted the ten degree dan-kyū ranking system used by the internationally acclaimed jūdō. Prior to this kendō dan went only to the fifth degree (godan). At present only five men have ever received the highest rank of jūdan⁹⁰.

The central support of kendō remains the public education system where ever since 1963, all middle and high schools have been required to offer at least two budō among a choice of kendō, jūdō, or sumō. Students are obliged to take at least one year in one of these national sports. Popularity in school kendō, however, resides in the extra-curricula clubs (kendō-bu) whose members practice daily from two to three hours after school. Members of a school kendō-bu will often have an affiliation with a machi dōjō. The schools, nevertheless, offer an important source of employment for professional kendoists who are trained in the contemporary pedagogy of athletic instruction. Qualified

athletic teachers specializing in kendō are still lacking in adequate numbers and it is not uncommon for a teacher of some other subject who is a practicing kendoist to conduct the training and coaching.

The 1964 Olympics held in Tokyo gave an inestimable boost to the popular Japanese re-evaluation of the būdō. Jūdō had been accepted as a participating international sport. As a standing monument to the heritage of the martial ways, the Tokyo Budokan was built in 1963 to house many of the Olympic activities. Its purpose was to encourage the traditional heritage of Japanese citizens and youth "to build a healthy spirit and sound body and to promote world peace". The martial ways of kendō, jūdō, kyūdō, sumō, naginata-dō, and jodō, declared as "national arts" (kokugi), were demonstrated at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics⁹¹.

In the past twenty-five years Japan has actively encouraged the international recognition and growth of kendō as a sport. It is believed to be a discipline valuable for individuals of any race or country but one that expresses the particular values and heritage of Japan's idealized warrior class. The First World Kendō Goodwill Meet was held in 1969 in Tokyo with over twenty countries participating and as a result the International Kendō Federation (IKF) was formed. The Second International Kendō Meet was held in California in 1973 and recently the Third in London in 1976.

In recent years, through the active position of the Ministry of Education to promote kendō as a pure sport, participation by women in highschools and colleges has dramatically increased.

Girl's kendō now has its own tournaments that are recognized on regional, national, and international levels⁹². In addition to the new participation in kendō by females, the largest growth has occurred in students of primary school age (shonen kendō). This has been stimulated in part by the economic growth of Japan in the late sixties and early seventies which allowed many more machi dōjō to be built and for parents to purchase the expensive equipment required for training. The growth of shonen kendō is intimately tied to the local machi dōjō system as there are no formal educational opportunities for children to learn this art in school. Moreover, these students' parents, born during and after the war, perceive kendō as a valuable international sport and a traditional form of "spiritual education" that inculcates moral values and codes of propriety that are not currently taught in the public schools.

The post-war growth of the machi dōjō as an institution that is separate from the national bureaucratic structure of the All-Japan Kendo Federation which is in large measure tied to the problems and growth of kendō in the public school system is an important development. Machi dōjō, being intimately affiliated with the local community have their own needs and the formation of the All-Japan Kendo Dojo Federation (Zen Nippon Kendō Dōjō Renmei) in 1963 represents a significant re-assertion of local community interests that may not agree fully with the policies of the Ministry of Education.

The police department continues to be a mainstay of kendō, requiring kendō and jūdō for all police trainees and encouraging daily practice among men with the interest and skills. Police

competitors figure importantly in all national tournaments often to the discomfort of sensei representing smaller machi dōjō who complain that the police are "professionals" not amateurs. Certainly the police department constitutes a major source of employment for dedicated and professional kendoists. The police departments are also active in sponsoring kendō instruction for local neighborhood youth in areas where there are no machi dōjō present.

The historical role of the police force in preserving the budō and perpetuating the direct tie to the bushi heritage of maintaining domestic tranquility is an important motivation for many police practitioners. The police department, however, does not promote kendō and jūdō as a regular form of police restraint training; that is, it is not seen as a combative art. Rather kendō and jūdō are encouraged for their physical and mental capabilities that develop stamina, will, patience, and quick decision-making ability. In short, the value of kendō for police training is as an active and manly form of spiritual self-cultivation that buttresses the traditional values of maintaining the peace represented by the Tokugawa bushi.

The All-Japan Kendo Federation currently estimates the practicing kendō population at five million,⁹³ a number that is increasing with each year. In the final analysis the post-war growth and popularity of kendō has been achieved by its successful transition to an international sport that is consistent with the highest notions of "sportsmanship" in a Western cultural sense and simultaneously affirms traditional bushi values of self-cultivation for spiritual and physical health. The educational

components of kendō are so deeply ingrained in the art that it is questionable that it will ever achieve a pure sport status for even where its orientation is primarily sporting among Japanese it is thought of as a "spiritual sport" (seishin spotsu) that develops "character". In fact, it would be a severe misunderstanding to conclude that contemporary kendō is merely a sport, a Japanese analogue to European fencing as it is now played. The meaning and cultural symbolism of kendō is so deeply infused with the Japanese values of self-cultivation that large segments of the kendō population are actively opposed to the growth of kendō as a purely competitive sport. Different styles and interpretations of kendō currently exist and the shape of post-war kendō is in a dynamic state of growth. In the following chapters I elucidate the meaning and structure of kendō as it was revealed to me in the nineteen-seventies. The reader is referred to in Chapter 4 where I discuss the types of contemporary kendō so as to better understand the dynamics of the present situation. In any event, whether one favors a classical, cultural, or sports type of kendō, this modern budō is destined to persist, so central is it to the core concerns of Japanese culture. It is clear that practitioners of all three types of modern kendō perceive it as an integral component of Japanese culture and ethnic experience and one, which in the present day, represents a contribution to world peace through international participation in spiritual education and individual self-cultivation.

Chapter 2 Notes

1. These documents, put to writing in the mid-eighth century, provide the basis for most researches on early Shinto thought and history. For references in English see, Basil Chamberlain Kojiki or Records of Ancient Matters (1932); William G. Aston Nihonshoki - Chronicles of Japan from Earliest Times (1956) and The Manyoshu (1965).

The social structure of Japan prior to the sixth century seems to have included clans and occupational groups devoted to martial concerns. The mononobe were an important clan (be) of warriors and armorers. Early references also exist of other warrior groups such as the masarao and the chikara kurabe. Considerably more research is required on early Japanese martial culture (Draeger, personal communication).

2. Despite the changes in warfare stimulated by the encounters against the Mongols, the Japanese use of mounted warriors persisted for several centuries. Draeger has pointed out that most historians not trained in haplology or the study of martial culture make severe mistakes in their interpretation of the Japanese mounted warrior. Their tendency is to treat this warrior as an analogue of the Western mounted knight who acted in a calvary unit. Technically, Japan did not have a calvary, that is a massed unit of warrior who fought on armored horses. They had, instead, both mounted bowmen, and mounted infantry who were expected to fight on the ground as well as on horseback, Draeger personal communication May, 1977.
3. The dynamics of Japanese warfare and social organization have long been influenced by the opposing tendency of a central bureaucratic government against local provincial leaders tied to the land. The central structures have often given way to more hardy provincial groups who then established themselves as the new leaders of a centralized state tied to the sacred authority structure of the imperial institution. In time, these groups in turn, lose control of land in the provinces and are replaced by new coalitions. See J. W. Hall, Government and Local Power in Japan 500-1700, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966) and Minoru Shinoda, The Founding of the Kamakura Shogunate 1180-1185, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960).

Sansom in a History of Japan 1334-1615 (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1961) describes the warrior's and land-holders' dissatisfaction with the land reforms of the Emperor Go-Daigo in his brief ascendancy in the fourteenth century. He suggests that this discontent was intensified since many provincial warrior groups failed to receive recognition to or investment in lands they were de facto in control of (see pages 22-40).

4. See Paul Varley, The Onin War (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1967) and Hall and Jansen, Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).
5. Kenjutsu and iaijutsu are two distinct forms of training with a sword. In the former the sword is already drawn while in the latter, training commences with the sword at rest in the scabbard. Kenjutsu training often involves the use of the bokken and a training partner. Iaijutsu is executed with a live sword in solo forms, many of which include seated or squatting postures in contrast to the standing positions of kenjutsu.
6. Training in swordsmanship involved a number of different procedures each with its own practice weapon. While the kata tend to be performed with the hard wood (bokken) it was not uncommon to also use live swords with dulled blades (habiki). While iai is performed with the real sword in solo kata against an imaginary opponent or opponents, real cutting practice (tameshigiri) was usually done against bundles of wet rice straw or bamboo.
7. Draeger makes the telling point that peasant common soldiers could be trained to be an effective fighter, if armed with a musket, in less than half a year while the training of the classical bushi required more than three years of "countless hours of exhausting martial discipline" (Draeger, 1973a:44).
8. Although it is common for most foreign commentators on Japanese warfare to stress the individualistic melee style of warrior combat, certain evidence suggests that warfare in the sense of generalship was highly developed, the Chinese classic The Art of War by Sun Tzu being one important base for Japanese military strategy up to World War II. Foreign commentators have been led to their conclusion by the "war tales" (gunki) such as the Taiheiki (see McCollough, 1969) which, as popular oral literature have tended to stress individual prowess in battle. The martial researches of hoplologist Ronald Knutsen, investigating the classical martial ryu such as that of Kashima Shinto Ryu, indicates a deep preoccupation with group strategy (personal communication). Writing of the split in the study of warfare during the late Sixteenth Century, Knutsen says:

"The art of swordsmanship was gradually equated with heiho or tactics, and developed along two quite separate lines: sen-ha kenjutsu and ryu-ha kenjutsu or the academic study of swordsmanship. The former comprised practical tactics for coping with the melee of the battlefield. The latter concerned the study of classical Chinese military philosophy as applied to such matters as strategy, tactics, and the principles of warfare, often in terms of combat between two swordsmen" (Knutsen, 1975:19).

9. Matsumoto Bizen no Kamii was a student of Izasa Choiisai and he was, in turn, the teacher to Tsukahara Bokuden. Both Matsumoto and Tsukahara came from important high-ranking families of the Kashima Shrine area. See Watatane Kiyoshi, Nihon Kenso Hyakusen, Akita Shoten, 1971 for brief biographies of these and other influential swordsmen.
10. Ronald Knutsen who is the only foreigner (along with John Piper) to be formally admitted into and trained in the swordsmanship of the Kashima Shinto Ryu states that the ryu's history of Tsukara Bokuden's military experience is as follows: thirty-seven regular battles, nineteen individual confrontations with a live sword, and several hundred matches using the bokken. It was common, in addition, for warriors such as Bokuden to use the spear when in mass battle (Knutsen, 1975:21).
11. Izasa Choiisai (1386-1488) was reputedly from a family of long residence in the Kashima-Katori region. This area has traditionally been the center of martial training and prowess for the hardy Eastern warriors. The shrine festivals of these temples are all enactments of military preparations and engagements which have been dated to at least the seventh century A.D. Ponsonby-Fane believes that the shrines were early outposts of the Yamato State from its earliest inception. Izasa was a kenjutsu instructor to the ninth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimasa, but retired and took the Buddhist tonsure when he found himself in disagreement with official policies. He then resided in the Katori area and continued with his martial researches where he developed and perfected the highly influential Tenshin Shoden Katori Shinto Ryu. Brief biographical data may be found in Draeger (1973a, 1973b) and in Watatani (1971).
12. Toyotomi Hideyoshi's famous "sword hunt" to dearm the peasants occurred in 1588. Tokugawa Ieyasu further rigidified the social structure into four hereditary classes of warriors, farmers, artisans, and merchants. He also instituted a policy of closed country (sakoku) which effectively sealed off Japanese culture from foreign influence for over two hundred years.
13. For further distinctions between these two forms of martial traditions see Draeger's Classical Bujutsu (1973a) and Classical Budo (1973b), Weatherhill, New York.
14. For a discussion of the Tokugawa Political structure see Conrad Totman, Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu 1600-1843. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1967.
15. There are two branches of the Yagyu Shinkage Ryu. The original founder Yagyu Tajima no Kami Sekishusai Muneyoshi was a kenjutsu instructor to the last Ashikaga shogun in 1571, Yoshiaki. When this shogun was deposed in 1573, Yagyu

- went into retirement and later refused employment to Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1594. Yagyu's son, however, Yagyu Tajima no Kami Matazaemon Munenori accepted the post as kenjutsu instructor to the second Tokugawa shogun, Hidetada. Henceforth, the Yagyu line developed into two branches: the Edo Yagyu and the Bisshu Yagyu lines of the Shinkage Ryu (Draeger, 1973b:73).
16. Sanson's discussion of the Ronin Conspiracy of 1651 describes the opening of a dojo for sojutsu (spear art) by one of the ronin leaders (Sanson Vol. 3:1963).
 17. Tsuji Getten's biography is as follows. The second son of Tsuji Yadaiyu descended from the Oomi Genji; Getten was born in 1650 (Keian 2). Refusing to become a farmer, he became a ronin at the age of thirteen and went to study swordsmanship in Kyoto studying Yamaguchi Ryū under Yamaguchi Bokushin-sai (1662). At age 26 (1676) Getten received his menkyo-kaiden from Yamaguchi and thence went to Edo where he opened a drill hall or dōjō in Kojimachi. He studied Chinese classics and Zen Buddhism under Rev. Sekishin at Kyudo-ji temple. In 1694 (Genroku 6) he achieved a state of spiritual enlightenment renaming himself Tsuji Gettan Sukemochi and created his own style of swordsmanship known as Mugai Ryū. Tsuji died June 23, 1728 (Kyoho 12) at the age of seventy nine. This information has been supplied by Donn F. Draeger in a personal communication.
 18. The quotes are taken from a Mugai Ryu denshō provided by Donn Draeger. Often personal property of the ryu or the families of former students, the denshō contain the core of information necessary for detailed study of the classical martial ways. Draeger has consistently argued that denshō can only be explained by the top masters of the various ryu for these documents have an accompanying oral tradition (kuden) that elucidates the esoteric and often cryptic meanings of the written document. Heiho in this case is written as hyohō.
 19. The state of corruption in the eighteenth century bakufu is revealed in the study of the Council Elder Tanuma Okitsugu (1719-1788) by John W. Hall (1955).
 20. Robert Bellan in his Tokugawa Religion (1957) clearly documents the adoption of samurai religious and social values by the commoner and merchant class.
 21. Passin (1965) estimates a forty percent literacy in Tokugawa society at the eve of modernization.
 22. The first domain school was established by the Wang Yang-Ming ronin scholar Kumazawa Banzan in 1641, in Okayama under the patronage of daimyo Ikeda Mitsumasa. Kumazawa's enlightened administration showed a deep concern for the peasant class

and for effective economic rationalization of domain affairs. He sought to give moral significance to the warrior class, emphasizing the role of bun-bu in their studies. Banzan was an ardent swordsman, regarding cultivation in the martial ways as essential for the development of samurai character. He says: "While on duty at Edo...I exercised with spear and sword. When I was on the night watch at my master's residence...I kept a wooden sword and a pair of straw sandals in my bamboo hamper, and with these I used to put myself through military drill in the darkened court after everyone was asleep. I also practiced running about over the roofs of the out-buildings far removed from the sleeping rooms...There were a few who noticed me at these exercises and they were reported to have said that I was probably possessed by a hobgoblin. This was before I was twenty years old. After that I hardened myself by going into the fields on hot summer days and shooting skylarks with a gun, since I did not own a falcon for hawking. In the winter months I often spent several days in the mountains taking no night clothes or bed quilt with me...In such a way I disciplined myself until I was thirty-seven or -eight years old...I was aware of my want of talent, and believed I could never hope to be of any great service to my country, so I was all the more resolved to do my best as a common samurai" (Tsunoda, deBary, and Keene, 1958:378-379).

Notice that while Banzan was trained in the uses of the gun he did not respect it as a military weapon for self-cultivation, preferring the more traditional art of falconry.

23. Passin offers no estimates as to the relative numbers of students in each kind of school. The size of juku varied greatly anywhere from several students to several thousand. Thus Chiba Shusaku's kenjutsu dojo was reputed to have had five thousand students but this in no way could have been based on daily attendance figures.
24. There were increasing contacts with Russian explorers in the late eighteenth century as Russia was seeking to open trade with Japan. Russian visitation in 1792 and then again in 1804 when a warship put in at Nagasaki Bay caused considerable consternation about the state of national defenses among bakufu leaders. In 1807 Russian ships attacked settlements in Sakhalin and Yezo. Then in 1808, the British warship Phaeton also called in Nagasaki seeking Dutch booty but finding none demanded provisions from the populace, otherwise they would bombard the harbor. Further breaches of Japan's seclusion policy were made in 1817, 1818, 1824, and 1825 (Sansom, 1963:202-205).
25. Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700) also known as Gikko or Mito Komon was one of Tokugawa Japan's most esteemed leaders. A devout Confucianist and Shintoist, Mitsukuni sought to write the first major history (Dai Nihon Shi) of Japan using

the great Chinese histories as a model. He was an enlightened domain administrator and sought to improve the conditions of the peasantry. Mitsukuni's fame persists in modern day Japan as he is the subject of a popular T.V. drama that depicts Mito Komon with his two faithful retainers who travel the land incognito seeking to restore inequities perpetrated by high-handed or unscrupulous individuals.

26. The term "managerial class" is used by Harutoonian (1970).
27. Excerpts from the writings of the Mito School may be found in the following: Richard T. Chang, From Prejudice to Tolerance: A Study of the Japanese Image of the West 1826-1864 (1970); Harry Harutoonian, The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan (1970); David Earl, Emperor and Nation in Japan (1964); Matthew Lambertini, "Tokugawa Nariaki and the Japanese Imperial Institution 1853-58" (1972); Herschel Webb, The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period (1968); and H. Van Straelen, Yoshida Shoin (1952).
28. Tokugawa Nariaki commissioned Yoshino Eishin Nobusada to formulate a new style of gunnery called Shinpatsu Ryū that would combine modern Western and traditional Japanese techniques.
29. Advancement through merit was generally recognized as a desirable Confucian concept by the beginning of the nineteenth century for domain administration. However, only as the crisis threatening the baku-han deepened did the lower ranking samurai and rural gentry begin to clamor for increasing participation in social affairs (Smith, 1967; Dore, 1965).
30. The koku was the fixed measure of rice capacity, about five bushels dry measure, used to determine bushi stipends.
31. The data concerning the Mito Kodokan and its martial curriculum was given me by Mr. Nagoya Tokimasa, president of the Mito Shisakkai in a series of interviews during 1975.
32. The types of swordsmanship employed at the Kodokan were Suifu Ryu kenjutsu, a new amalgamated form devised by Nariaki, Mokushin Itto Ryu, Shindo Munen Ryu, Togun Ryu, and Shin Tamiya Ryu iaijutsu.
33. Batto-jutsu is another name for iaijutsu although it has the connotation of being more aggressive and combat realistic. Shin-Tamiya Ryu batto-jutsu is different from most styles of iai in that its kata are not solo forms but are actual striking patterns against heavily protected areas with dulled swords between two opponents. The founder of Shin Tamiya Ryu batto-jutsu was Wada Heisuke, retainer to Mito's Tokugawa Mitsukuni in the 1640's. This form of swordsmanship is still preserved in the Mito Tobukan Kendo dojo by Ozawa Takeshi and Miyata Hideyuki.

34. The martial systems of the Kodokan were as follows:
- (1) sojutsu (spear art): Hozoin Ryū and Saburi Ryū.
 - (2) suijutsu (swimming art): Suifu Ryū. This has been a traditional art of the Mito han and its techniques are still widely known in Mito and the surrounding area.
 - (3) kyujutsu (bow art): Insei-ha Heki Ryū and Yamato Ryū.
 - (4) jujutsu (grappling art): Sanwa Ryū, Asayama Ichiden Ryū, Yoshioka Ryū, and Asayama Ichiden Ko Ryū.
 - (5) bajutsu (battlefield horsemanship art): Akuba Shinto Ryū, Otsubo Hon Ryū, Soan Ryū, and Otsubo Ryū.
 - (6) hojutsu (shooting art): Ogino Ryū, Ishikawa Ryū, Seki Ryū, Taketani Ryū, Takayama Ryū, and Shinpatsu Ryū.
 - (7) heigaku (military studies): Yamamoto Ryū, Matsuda Ryū, and Yamaga Soko Ryū.
35. All information concerning the Mito han school, the Kodokan, and its martial program has been provided by Mr. Nagoya Tokimasa of the Mito Historical Association.
36. Okada Jumatsu (1768-1821) is a good example of the lower ranking members' advancement through proficiency in the new style of gekken. He is also representative of the young age at which these swordsmen could become independent and establish their own dōjō. Okada was a goshi from the Saitama area. He began learning Shindo Munen Ryu from Togasaki Kumataro (1748-1810) at the age of thirteen. By 15 Okada was so skillful that Togasaki took him on a trip to engage in taryu-shiai in which he emerged undefeated. At the age of 18 Okada received his moku-roku degree of proficiency and at 22 his menkyo-kaiden license. Three years later at the age of 25 Okada opened his own dōjō in Edo. In 1796 his former teacher Togasaki Kumataro at the age of 48 retired and passed the headmastership of the Shindo Munen Ryu to Okada who received all his master's students including men of daimyo and hatamoto rank. He was 28 years old at the time. Included among Okada's students were Fujita Toko, Saito Yakuro, Miyamoto Saiichiro who was the first Shindo Munen Ryu instructor in Mito han and Kaneko who later was one of the leading Mito ronin radicals who assassinated the Genro Elder II Naosuke (Watani, 1971:176-77).
37. Momonoi Shunzo (1826-86) was the fourth Momonoi to be headmaster of the Kyoshin Meichi Ryu which had its origin in the late eighteenth century. An adopted son into the Momonoi line, Shunzo began Kyoshin Meichi Ryu at the age of fourteen, receiving his moku roku at seventeen, his kaiden ranking at twenty three, and his okuden at twenty five. He assumed headmastership of the Shigakukan dōjō at the age of twenty five which attests to the youth and upward mobility of many gekken swordsmen at that time. Momonoi was the teacher to the famed loyalist Takechi Zuisan but his loyalties lay elsewhere for he was employed by the bakufu's Kobushō in the last

years of the Tokugawa period. A brief history of Momonoi Shunzo may be found in Watatane 1971, pages 232-235.

38. Tosa han supported a number of mushashugyō trips for leading swordsmen to observe gekken in other parts of Japan. Takechi was sent with thirteen other members in 1859 on mushashugyo to southern and central Japan on a trip that probably included spying and political machinations as well as gekken training.
39. The gekken styles of swordsmanship still preserved and trained in the kata distinctive of their ryū. It is more proper to discuss these schools as having both kumiuchi, that is a set sequence of kata forms, and a shinai-geiko free style form that became synonymous with gekken. The kumiuchi of the ryū contained the sum total of technical expertise. It was a kinetic shorthand for theory and practice. There is a serious lack of knowledge and research on the relative emphasis in training methods involving kumiuchi and shinai-geiko in the gekken style of swordsmanship of the nineteenth century. It does seem however, that shinai-geiko must have played a dominant role as free style contest in ta-ryū shiai was the criteria for skill, recognition, and advancement.
40. One of the most popular kendō figures in the public media is the child's story of Akado Suzunosuke, a young gekken disciple of Chiba Shusaku. Originally a popular children's story at the turn of the century, it was revived as a comic strip (manga) in the early nineteen fifties, and again in the nineteen seventies as a child's television program. In these stories, Suzunosuke is a deshi (disciple) of the famous Chiba Shusaku who teaches his small charge the lessons of Zen swordsmanship and where the loyal and disciplined Suzunosuke defeats older ruffians.
41. Draeger (1974) has detailed the extent of the Meiji oligarch's participation in the classical martial ways. Besides Sakamoto Ryōma, other influential hero figures of the Meiji Restoration who were skilled gekken swordsmen include Katsu Kaishu and Kido Koin. It is said that Yamagata Aritomo, the founder of the modern Japanese military, was a skilled spearman of the saburi ryū who practiced daily even in old age to "force his spirit."
42. The han system of autonomous domains to which the bushi attached their loyalties was abolished in 1871. In the early 1870's also, commoners were given privileges such as the right to adopt family names, wear formal apparel and ride on horseback, heretofore perogatives of the samurai. In 1876 the government, under severe financial burdens, decided to commute the samurai's pensions, an action that resulted in an income decline as much as fifty percent for many of the lower ranking shizoku. The warriors' martial

perogative was stripped by the formation of a universal conscript army in 1873. Finally the symbolic dissolution of the warrior class by the Edict banning the wearing of swords in public was promulgated in 1876.

43. Some indication of the die-off of martial ryū in the period of modernization may be seen by the case of the Mito Kodokan where among the twenty four ryū present in the bakumatsu period only four ryū actively survive today plus one ryū whose complete densho have been preserved. Estimates of bakumatsu gekken ryū vary from eighty to two hundred, however the awards given to the classical martial way's instructors by the Dai Nippon Butokukai in 1895 number only eight gekken ryū.
44. Ozawa Torakichi (1827-1888), founder of the Mito Tobukan, appears to have always counseled moderation to his students. In the disastrous civil war of Mito between loyalists and bakufu conservatives, Torakichi remained neutral and as a result incurred an attack at his home by the radical Tengu-tō. Torakichi's emphasis was on loyalty and defense of the state, an admonition preserved in the Tobukan whose members were never active in the radical movements to come out of the Ibaraki region in the nineteen thirties.
45. Quite popular during Tokugawa times, as many wood-block printings attest, sumō was essentially a peasant art, drawing its professionals from the rural agricultural and fishing villages for urban entertainment. Its popularity has also been supported by numerous local Shinto shrine traditions that sponsor sumō as a ritual offering from the youth of the community. Although of lowly stock, the sumō wrestlers were often highly respected and in general believed to be quite honest individuals. They were allowed a surname and the right to wear two swords.

Kendō lore has it that the Emperor Neiji as an avid enthusiast used to occasionally challenge his officials to a sumō-like grapple. While these individuals always sought to lose, the great swordsman and imperial chamberlain, Yamaoka Tesshu, after trying to avoid the Emperor's challenge, summarily threw his royal personage, after which, it is said, the Emperor had a new respect for the sincerity and honesty of masters of the martial ways.

46. The information on Sakakibara Kenkichi's gekken exhibitions is taken from Watanabe's Meiji Budo Shi, "Gekken jidai shiryō" (Data on the gekken period) (1971:725-734).
47. Tradition has it that of the commoners who attended the gekken tournaments, many had never seen the art performed, believed that the matches they were witnessing between the formally opposed members of the shogitai and kōbusho were real shinken shobu - fights to the death.

48. Yamagata's devotion to the art of sojutsu has already been mentioned. Of his skill, Draeger has this incident to relate.

"Yamagata, known as 'the wild one' in his youth and later as 'pure madness', a pen name, was an expert in sojutsu... in the Yanaga han in Kyushu. Yamagata defeated all comers, using a wooden spear (yari) that had been provided with a tampo (padded tip), to demonstrate the efficiency of his technique against swordsmen armed with bokken (wooden swords)"(Draeger, 1974:23).

49. The conservative nature of the Kyushu rebels is dramatically portrayed in Mishima Yukio's novel Runaway Horses, Alfred Knopf, N.Y. 1973 where he describes the League of the Shimpuren who attacked the Kumamoto garrison armed only with swords. The death of the members of this league being a futile and yet symbolic statement of traditional bushi reaction to the force of Western culture obviously greatly influenced Mishima.
50. While the bushi population during the Tokugawa Period has been variously estimated as somewhere between five and ten percent (Sansom, Vol. 3, 1963:27), the Satsuma han had a much greater population of warrior status, estimated at approximately forty percent.
51. Volunteers for the Tokyo Battotai were numerous. In particular the Aizu han warriors were quite active in the unit, for they were spurred on by the desire to revenge themselves on Satsuma who had soundly defeated them in Kyoto and in their home domain in the closing battles of the Meiji Restoration.
52. Even such a westernizing liberal as Toyama Masakazu (1848-1900) who had advocated the replacement of Chinese script with a romanized alphabet, was greatly moved by the success of the Tokyo Battotai. While a professor at Tokyo Imperial University he wrote the first modern marching song for the nation, entitled the Song of the Sword Unit (Battotai no uta). Later as Minister of Education he had students memorize and sing this song daily. Ivan Morris, in his excellent book on Japanese martial heroes, The Nobility of Failure (1976) includes a translation of the song.

Furthermore, as Morris points out in the same book, the traditional Japanese sensitivity towards the loser (hoganbiki) who goes down to defeat with sincerity of purpose, greatly elevated the cause and remembrance of Saigo and his conservative minions.

53. Mori was apparently the first individual to publicly suggest that abolition of wearing swords. In July of 1869 he proposed that only civil and military officials should wear sword in their line of duty "as we gradually enter upon an

- era of enlightenment, as our people develop a new respect for moral principles, and as the odious customs of a rude and savage age begin to fade, the wearing of swords becomes empty show." Mori offered this suggestion to a deliberative assembly who were all armed with the double sword. His resolution was unanimously voted down and gave him national notoriety. One of his supporters was murdered and Mori was continually thereafter threatened by assassins. (I. Hall, Mori Arinori, 1973:140-144).
54. Ivan Hall indicates that the tendency for education of the elite on the Continent and England during the latter half of the nineteenth century was strongly influenced by the concept of military drill in public schools for character building (1973:380). Under the spell of Brocton and Eton, Mori wholeheartedly adopted military drill (heishiki taiso) without seeming to recognize its similarities to his own martial traditions.
 55. A number of books published in the mid-eighteen eighties that sought to adopt the budo to military style drill and exercises are reprinted in Watanabe Ichiro's Meiji Budo Shi (1971).
 56. Even as late as 1881 the Governor of Municipal Kyoto, Makimura Masano, was publicly discouraging kenjutsu and the martial ways. In the early years of the new Meiji government Kyoto completely banned the budo and placed instructors who persisted in teaching it under house arrest. The Governor stated that gekken is unnecessary for the modern world, that its practice makes individuals haughty and contemptuous of others, and that it is dangerous to one's health. In an interesting adoption of Western health concepts he says that gekken is dangerous because it allows striking of the head which is where the "spirit" (tamashi) resides and that kiai will also endanger one's health. From Meiji jusan nen shigatsu Kyoto-Fu Yutatsu (Demand of the Kyoto Municipal Government April 1881) in Watanabe, Meiji Budo Shi, 1971: 726).
 57. This is taken from a document entitled Honpō Gakkō Taisō-ka Shisetsu Gokaku Ryaku (A brief history of domestic school athletic exercises) dated 1891 in Watanabe, Meiji Budo Shi (1971:774).
 58. Ivan Morris in his study of Japanese martial heroes, indicates the deep and lasting influence of the defeated loyalist general, Kusunoki Masashige, on all other later patriotic radicals in Japanese history, including the kamikaze pilots and Mishima Yukio (I. Morris, 1976).
 59. The resultant form known as the Keishicho Ryū (Preston, 1965: 8) was an important forerunner to the nationalization of a standard form of kendō. Yet the precedents to this trend towards the amalgamation of gekken styles of swordsmanship

must first be attributed to Tokugawa Nariaki who commissioned a hybrid style known as Suifu Ryu Kenjutsu for the Mito han school, the Kodokan.

60. It seems probable that one of the great appeals of Kano's Kodokan jūdō was its demonstration that a small physical stature was no severe handicap to a properly trained individual. Indeed this has been a continuing appeal of jūdō and the martial ways in every country they have taken root. Harrison's first-hand experience with jūdō at the close of the Meiji period indicates the surprise and respect Britisher's held for this grappling system whose practitioners they could not defeat unless they learned its methods. See E. J. Harrison, The Fighting Spirit of Japan (1966).
61. Kano Jigoro named his style of jūdō Kōdōkan meaning to study the way. He undoubtedly was aware of Tokugawa Nariaki's Kodokan school in Mito and although the characters in the two words are different (Mito's Kodokan meaning to broaden the way) the spirit of self-cultivation implied in both the names is the same.
62. One of the greatest heroes in the Russo-Japanese war was a Lieutenant Hirose who gave his life in the attack on Port Arthur. Hirose was a fourth degree black belt (yondan) of Kano's Kodokan jūdō and his death in the war greatly stimulated an interest in jūdō for building character and producing men who lived out the ideals of bushidō.
63. Of an athletic, active, and martial cast, it is small wonder that Theodore Roosevelt should not have been attracted to jūdō or the Japanese martial ways in his attempt to understand the secret of Japan's success over Russia. In an extremely interesting and revealing account of T.D.R. by Lincoln Steffens (1931:580) we catch a glimpse of both of Steffens' and Roosevelt's intuitive sense of Japanese hara. Steffens recounts an interview with Roosevelt, himself and another reporter who asked if the president was going to run for a third time. The president instead of answering asks Steffens why he is so shocked at the question. He replies he was shocked that the reporter tried to get a response from a question directed at the president's mind. Roosevelt asked where the question should have been addressed. Steffens continues: "I don't know", I fumbled but I have known you a long time, and it is my impression that you don't think things out in your mind but that you mull them over somewhere else in your nervous system and- and form your conclusion in, say, your hips. If I wanted to get the answer he is after I would talk around indirectly until I got you to thinking out loud about what you were unconsciously concluding in your- hips".

"It was T.R. that was astonished now. He stood there, hands on his desk thinking....then he said..."Do you know that it's true. I do think down there somewhere. I am thinking over this third term business down there, and I think I have come to a conclusion. But I don't know it yet. I don't know what to say to you" (Steffens, 1931:580).

To a Japanese this conversation would have been clear, they were discussing Roosevelt's use of hara (see Chapter 3, the Theory of Body and the Theory of Energy).

64. Edwin Baelz was not the only foreigner to demonstrate an interest in learning the martial ways. Harrison (1966) records a number of early students of judō while several attaches to the French and English Embassies also studied gekken under Sakakibara Kenkichi.
65. The Dai Nippon Butokukai was established on the anniversary of the founding of the ancient Heian capital in Kyoto by the Emperor Kammu (781-806 A.D.) in 794. It was during this period that the first Butokuden (Hall of Martial Virtue) was established for martial training. The new Butokukai meant to honor this tradition of Imperial support for martial training.
66. Draeger describes this form of architecture of the Butokuden as bujin-tsukuri, a martial architectural form. Every prefecture built a branch dojo along the same stately architectural lines. These branches (shibu) were used for local competitions, demonstrations, and testing halls for advancement in rank.
67. This information is taken from a microfilm of The Supreme Allied Command (SCAP) Miscellaneous Papers, 1945, Vol. I, entitled History of the Purge- The Dai Nihon Butokukai Phase (15 pages). In this document then Prime Minister Ashida Hitoshi states, "With the ascension of the Konoye Regime in 1939, there was a tendency to amalgamate the society with the Tenno Rule System, but not until after the outbreak of the war did the organization come under the control of the government" (page 2). Elsewhere, it is reported that the total membership of the association as of March 1941 was 3,178,000.

Prior to the official surrender the officers of the Dai Nippon Butokukai attempted to restructure their organization to give it a more democratic and less military caste but the SCAP forces refused to recognize the changes and disbanded the organization claiming "The official purpose of the organization is not changed, so far as its charter reveals and these are "to promote military arts and contribute to the training of the people" (page 4). Although dissolved and its funds and property seized as of November 8, 1946 it was not until January 4, 1947 that a directive was issued

to purge all officers as falling under Category G which required purging individuals on a case by case basis. This was done only after repeated attempts by the Japanese government to exempt the association's members from being placed in Category C. Next, SCAP attempted to purge "all influential members" even at the local levels to which the government replied that if such members were purged "as the criteria stood, 8 governors, 9 vice-governors, 3 members of the Diet and 71 key bureaucrats then in office would have to be removed" (page 9). By November of 1947 the screening of purges was completed and on March 6, 1948 final action was taken. A total of 1312 Butokukai members were purged and or barred from political office, fully 63.3% of its officers. While 31.6% passed the screening process the greatest number of these individuals came from the Prefectural Section chiefs and sub-branch chiefs. Only 2% of the Prefectural Branch Chiefs (3 individuals) passed and 8.4% (5 individuals) among the national officers passed.

68. Watanabe's Meiji Budō Shi contains a reprint of one such complaint from the head of Kochi Prefecture's Diet in 1907 (Watanabe, 1970:793-794).
69. This fifteen member group was in the later phases of planning reduced to five members among whom two were Mito men of the Hokushin Itto-Ryū and one was from Tokyo of the Ono-ha Itto Ryū. Thus the Itto tradition had the greatest influence of all the ryū-ha on the development of modern kendō.
70. Noma Seiji, The Nine Magazines of Kodansha (London: Methuen and Co., 1934).
71. A Student Federation for the Kanto region had existed since 1909 and prior to 1928 an association existed for the Kansai as well. However with the formation of a national association its organizational structure grew rapidly from 45 schools in 1929, 57 schools in 1930, 63 schools in 1931, and finally 85 schools in 1939 (Shoji, 1966:149).
72. There is a slight suggestion that some kendoists have had dealings with ultra-nationalist groups. Thus Saimura Goro had some dealings with the famed Uchida Ryohei as early as 1917. See Saimura Goro Iko To Omoidasu (Writings and Memories of Saimura Goro) Seikosha, 1972:345. This is perhaps not surprising as Saimura also came from Fukioka which was an original hotbed of radical activity and as a leading figure in the world of younger kendō masters it was perhaps natural that Uchida would attempt to make contact with him. The Kokuryukai and other ultra-nationalist organizations led by Toyama Mitsuru and Uchida Ryohei did strongly support the modern budō organizations just as the right wing millionaire, Sasagawa Ryoichi, presently gives strong support to kendō and karate-dō. Toyama Mitsuru was quite active in encouraging kendō and sending loyal Japanese instructors to the Japanese

American communities of the West coast from 1935 on. See Beikoku Kendo Hyakunen Shi (A Hundred Years of Kendo in America) 1941, a copy of which is in the University of Washington's Far Eastern Library.

73. The Zaigo Gunjin Kai from its very origin in 1910 sponsored kendo tournaments among its members.
74. Karate-dō was unknown in Tokyo before 1923. The Okinawan karate-do master, Funakoshi Giichin, was invited by the then Crown Prince Hirohito to demonstrate his arts in the capital. Giichin was rapidly sponsored by leading Naval officers and the Education superintendent for the Okinawa region. Giichin systematized and Japanized this traditional Okinawan combative art. One clear case of its Japanization was the changing of the character kara from that meaning "China" (indicating karate-do's origins) to that meaning "empty" which gave it a more Zen-like feeling as well as expunging its non-Japanese origin. So thoroughly did the Japanese take to karate-dō that many foreigners in the West believed this art to be an ancient and indigenous combative system of Japan.
75. Prior to this time the police used a simple kyū system, with high, middle, and low designations while the Butokukai used a dan system that had five grades. A graduate from one of the elite kendo teacher institutes such as the Budo Semmon Gakko would usually have a san-dan. It is suggested that the increase in higher dan holders among school students was a considerable pressure on the police force to adopt the same ranking system for the kyū ranks did not carry the prestige of dan which were well known through jūdō.
76. This separate department status applied to the normal, middle, industrial, business, and agricultural schools.
77. See Robert K. Hall, Kokutai no Hongi (1949).
78. A review of the program of the participants of the first tenran shiai indicates that over twenty-five percent of the top contenders were of the shizoku or bushi class. Most of these men were in their early fifties or late forties at the time of this imperial match. They were a generation born and educated in the late 1880's when Japan was retrenching and returning to traditional Confucian values in the context of the developing nation state. During the wars against China and Russia, these leading kendoists were in their twenties and thirties.
79. This was attended by the Crown Prince rather than the Emperor.

80. For the 1941 Imperial command match a large contingent of top budoists from Manchuria were invited to participate in recognition of their patriotic efforts in that war-torn colonial outpost. Over 110 of the finest kendoists, judoists, and jodoists from Manchuria took part.
81. The Hagakure (Behind Hidden Leaves) is the famous primer on bushido as formulated for the warriors of the Nabeshima han in Saga, Kyushu. This Zen dominated tract enjoins the warrior to seek death at every moment so as to be ready to fulfill his obligations. Hagakure was widely read during the war-time years and is a crucial document for understanding a major aspect of bushido. It has been translated into English by Tamotsu Iwado as "Hagakure Bushido - the Book of the Warrior" in Cultural Nippon 7 (1939:33-78).
82. Tairenka implies a much more intensely regimented drill program than does taisoka which merely implies calisthenics or physical exercise.
83. Miyata Hideyuki, kendō kyōshi nanadan, of Shimodate City, Ibaraki Prefecture.
84. Katori Shinto Ryū in the agricultural vicinity of Narita City, Chiba Prefecture is reputed to have taught over one thousand people techniques derived from their classical spear arts during the latter part of the war when it became clear that the Allies would force the war on Japan's home ground. (Donn F. Draeger, personal communication.)
85. See note 67.
86. The two classical arts permitted the national police force and used in their technical training were hojo-jutsu (cord-tying art) and jo-jutsu (staff art). The police department has modified its form of jojutsu to conform with the realities of modern police restraint work whereas the classical jojutsu forms are predominantly concerned with an enemy armed with a sword.
87. The most important innovations demanded by SCAP were the additions of classifications based on weight and age. They also stressed division by relative rank, the elimination of dangerous techniques, and the abandonment of "customs not conducive to modern sports" (Relnick, 1971:46-47).
88. The character of shinai in shinai kyogi refers to pliancy or softness not to the bamboo stave. It is a dense play on words for not only is it homophonic with the bamboo stave used in kendō but it also refers to the spirit of pliancy or flexibility espoused by jūdō. Furthermore, by adopting shinai kyogi kendō masters were being "pliant" or "flexible" to the demands of SCAP. Clearly, in the formulation of this name, kendō leaders desired to disassociate

the harsh connotations of the "way of the sword" from the new art.

89. The newly reorganized All-Japan Kendo Federation was not about to over-inflate its hanshi ratings. In 1954, five out of sixty-seven nominations were approved. In 1955 only three out of seventy one and in 1956 nine out of eighty hanshi nominations were awarded. The percentage of coveted hanshi titles has remained much the same in the present day.
90. The following men have received the tenth degree (judan) in modern kendo: Saimura Goro, Nakayama Hakudo, Mochida Moriji, Ogawa Kinnosuke, and Sato Ukichi. All are recently deceased and there are currently no living judan holders.
91. Donn F. Draeger was the first foreigner chosen to demonstrate the budo at the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games. Acting as shidachi he demonstrated the kata of jodo (The Way of the Staff) with master Shimizu Takauji. He also demonstrated the nage no kata of Kodokan judo as torii with John Cornish of England. The 1964 Olympics was the first public opportunity for Japan to demonstrate their positive attitude towards the international growth of the budo, an attitude which is still prevalent.
92. Although the All-Japan Kendo Federation has collected no statistics on the increase of female participants in the post-war period, the increase of women in kendo is a striking phenomenon and is frequently discussed. Whatever the causes for this new growth of kendo among women, it seems apparent that the increase has been at the expense of the traditional woman's art of naginata-do which is in serious decline. Fewer and fewer schools have qualified naginata-do teachers and more female physical education teachers are specializing in kendo rather than naginata-do, thus reflecting the attitudes of the students as well. Virtually no men study naginata-do except for a limited number of foreign kendoists interested in expanding their budo repertoire and experience.
93. It is almost impossible to acquire accurate or detailed statistics on kendo or most of the martial arts and ways. The All-Japan Kendo Federation does not quantify any of its data except to get a rough estimate of total yearly membership. Their estimate of four million active kendoists does not include school-age students who are merely taking the one year required elective. High school kendoists are included in the total only if they are registered with a machi dojo or if they are members of the school's kendo bu. Primary school age kendoists are not included in this total, but if we were to count them, I estimate that there are approximately five million active kendoists in Japan as of 1976.

Chapter 3 The Theory of Combat

Kendō and the martial ways are predicated upon learning expressed through a combative mode. This is what distinguishes the budō from other forms of Japanese "spiritual education" (seishin kyoiku). In the process of "becoming human" or developing the complete maturation of the individual, self-cultivation in kendō is a personal experience of confrontation and struggle. Through the experience of close combat one may most fully learn of one's self- one's limits and personal reactions in the archtypal confrontation with another- with life and death.

All combative systems and many sports as well contain a more or less implicit concept of the individual as concerns his confrontation with death or defeat, a symbolic death, at the hands of an opponent. Through its systems of combat a culture generates metaphors and strategies for being, for dealing with others. For the Japanese, kendō and the martial ways provide a model for living, a guide to the self and the struggles he may encounter with life. These concepts express significant cultural perceptions of human nature, the functioning of the human mind, the application of strength, and strategies for social interaction. As these native theories of the nature of mind, body, and spirit are informed by people's first-hand experience with physical struggle, they necessarily entail strong kinesthetic dimensions.

Kendō and the martial ways value the combative experience for self-learning, for the "pure experience" of inner self-cultivation. The intense, though symbolic, confrontation with death

in the dōjō's training ground evokes and stimulates elemental emotions and "primitive instincts" of survival. Training is individualistic and devotes no instruction to teamwork or group strategy in combat. Single combat is the standard pattern of budō training. Based upon the classical warrior (bushi) styles of combat, the budō have preserved the Japanese ideal of man to man confrontation. The preference for single combat is characteristic of all traditional military elites for whom combat is fought among equals in the manner of the "noble contest"¹.

The martial arts and ways then, offer the Japanese male a classical model for individual behavior. The persistence and popularity of the budō is rooted in the traditional Japanese concern for individual development and a special kind of self-assertion that is not well understood by many foreign social commentators².

The warrior image of self-reliance and self-confidence forged through martial training provides an important balance for the pressures of group conformity and interpersonal dependency of daily Japanese life. As popular cultural regimens the individualistic character of the martial ways may be contrasted with the group nature of such characteristically American sports as baseball, basketball, and football. American sports provide a metaphor and model of living that emphasizes teamwork, group-coordination, and obedience to a group leader. Being a "good team-player" in American culture is an important social political, and work value derived from sports that is in contrast to and balances the dominant American concern with the individual.

Japanese culture, on the other hand, with its normative value that stresses the primacy of the group, finds in the martial ways an important balance to their concept of individualism.³ The great popularity of baseball in Japan may be attributed in part to its Western appeal while still supporting the primary values of the group. Even in such popular Western sports, individual or team, such as boxing, gymnastics, baseball, or volleyball, the Japanese still derive their approach to confrontation, their strategy of being, their sense of individual dilemma in struggle, and their training methods from the classical warrior ethos of the budō.

The Theory of Combat

Kendō can be seen as highly integrated and explicitly formulated cultural statement on the nature of man and his relations with others through the metaphor and training methods of quasi-combat. This combative theory, however, is not to be found in any concise and rigorously organized written form. Modern kendō has selectively amalgamated key concepts from various historical traditions (ryū) of swordsmanship. Particularly influential have been the writings of great philosopher-swordsmen such as Tsukahara Bokuden (1490-1571), Ito Ittosai (1560-1653), Miyamoto Musashi (1584?-1645), and Yagyu Tajima no Kami Munenori (1527-1606). (See Chapter 2, Table 2).

Although modern kendō has developed its concepts of combat from these and other historical precedents, the scope for interpretation and discussion is not rigidly fixed. This is explained in part by the strong conscious belief by

by kendō sensei that the essence of budō theory cannot, and should not, be expressed by means of any logical verbal format. They believe that the essence of kendō rests in an intuitive and inspirational kind of teaching that can be understood only after long and arduous experience based in the regimen of physical and mental training. The very process of understanding is believed to have an essentially mysterious and mystical nature that cannot be codified by intellectual discourse. The classical tradition of transmitting orally the "secret principles" (gokui) of self-cultivation in combat is still operant, although this transmission is not the matter of greatest secrecy as it was in pre-modern times.

The first complete and more or less official treatise on modern kendō was not published until 1916. This volume, entitled simply Kendō by one of the illuminaries of Meiji swordsmanship, Takano Sasaburo, was designed for teachers in the national educational system. It represented the official version of the new national form of kendō as established by the Dai Nippon Butokukai. Even this prestigious volume which served as the model for most of the subsequent publications for "school" kendō, however, did not discuss with any rigor the total theory of combat. Instead theory permeates the book, with major portions covered by such diverse chapters as: (1) theory of technique (jutsuri), (2) contest (shiai), (3) actual uses of techniques (waza no katsuyō), (4) victory or defeat (shobu), and (5) well understood truths (shiri) (Takano, 1916).

In an attempt to further discover the major organizational principles of combat theory, I reviewed the tables of contents of some fifteen major kendō manuals from the Meiji period until the present time⁴. Examination of these publications indicate that there is no single way of organizing or discussing the theory of combat. Depending upon the various approaches of the authors, the theory is most likely to be discussed under such headings as contest (shiai), training (keiko), and fundamentals (kihon). Only occasionally was a chapter entitled theory (riron or kenri) and even in these cases, other chapters also contained important theoretical discussions.

In addition, according to the concepts of learning in the martial ways, understanding is dependent upon the level of experience and insight of the specific individual. Each person who embarks on kendō training is different and comes to the self-cultivation process with differing needs and potentials for growth. Thus the same point of theory may have different meanings for persons of different levels of experience. There is, moreover, no simple or straight-line progression in either the teaching or the learning process.⁵

Nevertheless, I suggest a conceptual framework to understand the basic meanings of in the kendō theory of combat. I offer it for the purposes of anthropological clarification, recognizing that it is limited to my own limited level of experience in the martial discipline as well. I have organized this theory of combat into four parts: the theory of mind, the theory of body, the theory of energy, and the theory of interaction.

I must stress that it is an interpretation of kendō theory which has been conditioned by my fieldwork in Japan during the nineteen seventies. In some ways, it is a concept of kendō which is different from that of the pre-war years and which is different again from early Meiji or Late Tokugawa kendō. The interpretation of kendō is to some extent highly dependent upon the social conditions of the times and the uses to which it is being put. Post-war kendō has a much greater stress on self-development or inner self-cultivation that did kendō of the Taisho and Early Showa Periods. In addition, in an era of peace and lingering sensitivity to the wartime abuses of the martial ways, much less overt emphasis is placed on the concept of death. Meeting or confronting the moment of one's death has been a central teaching in the martial ways and continues in a muted form in contemporary kendō. Kendo's use of death, consistent with its classical budō heritage, has been to treat it as a spiritual metaphor for the "killing" of desire, weakness, and other disharmonies created by the "small self" (jishin) or ego.

The Theory of Mind

Kendō, as sensei repeatedly state, is first and foremost a matter of kokoro (heart/mind). Although physical strength and technical proficiency are recognized as necessary, they are, in themselves, inadequate for the development of the mature kendoist. Progress in training, success in tournaments, and the effective transference of teachings into daily life, all depend upon one's mental state. One's "mental posture"

(kokorogamae) is the most important aspect of confronting the adversary. This "mental posture" must begin and end in a state of natural composure and tranquility. The basic problem in combat is learning how to develop and maintain a natural state of composure (daishizen, "great naturalness") in the midst of action. In order to achieve this goal, heart, mind, and body must be forged together.

The concepts of mind in combat in the Japanese style are indissolubly tied to Zen Buddhist thought. This is expressed by the common adage ken zen itchi (the sword and Zen are one)⁶. Among the numerous and highly developed states of mind recognized in Zen philosophy, certain ones receive particular emphasis in the Japanese martial arts and ways. The concept of the "im-movable mind" (fudōshin) is, perhaps, the most important. In fudōshin the mind is "unmoved" by the transitory world of appearances and events, the "ten thousand things", that distract ordinary minds. In fudōshin the central essence of universal self stands firm and does not waver in the face of shifting interior desires.

Fudōshin, however, is not merely an abstract state of mind. It reveals itself in physical posture and in a certain ineffable quality of dynamic movement. An accomplished grace and seemingly effortless action in attack and disengagement characterize it. The man who is alert but "unmoved" in circumstances that cause shock, fright, and disorientation in others may be said to exhibit fudōshin. Kendoists seek to experience this state in the heat of practice and reminders of this fundamental objective are commonly displayed on large calligraphic scrolls hung on

dōjō walls and in the calligraphies on headbands worn underneath the helmet. As one teacher described "immovable mind" to me:

"Fudōshin is the centerpoint of all action. It is like the center of a wheel or the eye of a hurricane; despite all movement it remains calm and unmoving; and yet it is the cause of action. Fudōshin is always in balance with the universal laws of nature. It is like a circle with no center and no circumference."

It is believed that in the martial arts and ways that combative training creates a testing ground for revealing and thus cultivating one's inner state of mind. Within this "fight model", a confrontation with death, is the proper testing ground for encountering one's "true self". The causes for success or failure in combat are not to be sought in the intrinsic qualities of the opponent but instead in oneself, in the quality of cultivation and "forging" that produces the "immovable mind".

Combative training is a personal dilemma that reveals and tests the degree of one's emotional "wavering". It evokes man's most elemental states of mind: the desire to live, to protect oneself, to vigorously press the attack, to retreat, or to quiver in fear. These emotions and mental states may cloud perception and hinder spontaneous and appropriate action. Four injunctions (shikai) are given to kendoists to warn them of debilitating states of mind, hindrances to the attainment of fudōshin. These are odoroki (fright, surprise), utagai (doubt, perplexity), osore (fear), and mayoi (hesitation, confusion). These four states cause the less than fully developed "immovable mind" to "waver". Fright and doubt are induced by the appearance and actions of the opponent. Confusion and fear are more problems of the inner man and are less provoked

by outward stimuli. Insufficient self-confidence invokes hesitation and confusion about the proper course of action to be taken against the opponent.

Besides the "wavering" states of mind, a condition of "stopped mind" (shishin) may negate the attainment of fudōshin. The "immovable mind" is not fixed or reveted to any particular external point. It is always centered, always open to all, and cannot be "caught". In the rapidly shifting moments of combat, the "stopped mind" immobilizes one's mental and physical center. Over calculation or a rigidly conceived plan of attack, fixates the mind in time and space so that a spontaneous response is impossible.

Wavering and fixated desires are the natural consequence of the uncontrolled mind and are the primary cause of defeat. Recognizing that vacillating desires are the result of the self-identified (ego) mind, kendō and Zen theory propose a solution to the problems of this "small mind" by the development of "mushin" or "non-mindedness". In mushin, a state of heightened concentration in which one is oblivious to all, there are no boundaries between the self, the object, or the action. Transcending the vacillating, confused, and fixated states of mind, mushin exists in the condition of the "immovable mind" and acts in harmony with the ultimate reality of the existential moment. Kendō instructors often explain that mushin does not mean "nothing" or the absence of mental acuity. It is a state of total concentrated awareness: it neither wavers nor stops, nor is it focused on anything in particular.

Kendoists commonly seek and experience moments of mushin, particularly when practicing against a highly experienced teacher. In the relentless but futile attack against the superior sensei, the student may abandon all thought or strategy when, suddenly, "without thinking", he strikes a perfect blow. Because the student has momentarily entered a state of mushin, even the experienced teacher could not "read" or see the course of the attack, and is therefore unable to divert or avoid it. In mushin thought and action are one, there can be no hesitation or second thoughts once the action has begun.

The "everyday mind" (heijōshin) is another Zen-derived concept of mind and being. Indicating things as they actually are under normal circumstances, it is akin to the "Isness" of the Buddha-nature (Suzuki, 1959). In heijōshin there is nothing special, nothing extra, unusual, or out of the ordinary in thought or action. The "everyday mind" is natural, effortless, and lacks self-consciousness. Kendoists are reminded to set their minds in combat as if they possessed the "everyday mind", it is the proper way to approach one's death.

Thus at the very moment of combat, the swordsman seeks to attain a state of imperturbable emptiness; a oneness with the critical moment in which all distinctions between subject and object are obliterated. He puts himself totally into the action with no forethought and no afterthought. Yet, he must also be able to anticipate and act for the next moment. This "pre-post action" state of mind is described as zanshin, literally the "remaining mind".

In zanshin the mind is totally engaged but something of it remains, as if in reserve. This state of mind is expressed through physical posture and is highly visible in the gaze that manifests an intense concentrated alertness. Draeger describes this "remaining mind" quality as a "physical form united with mental acuity, concentration resulting from uninterrupted dominance over the adversary" (Draeger, 1973b:62).

Thought and action in the combative mode for the Japanese must not be overly planned or calculated (dasanteki). Kendō advises an inspirational and intuitive solution to the dilemmas of combat. Spiritual maturity is characterized by a harmonious spontaneity and its process is known as kūfū. Kūfū is best experienced and most clearly manifests itself when one is facing with a pressing dilemma from which there appears to be no solution (Suzuki, 1959). Kendoists are enjoined to eschew elaborate strategies or plans of attack. This is because forethought inhibits spontaneity and the spiritual goal of the martial ways is an intuitive mode of perception through the process of kūfū that leads to the "immovable mind".

The Theory of the Body

All cultures possess a conception of the body, its significant parts and its operation.

"The whole body can be taken as a 'map' whose interior and exterior terrain may be categorized, the parts acquiring various connotations according to the person or tradition" (Watson and Nelson, 1967:292).

I suggest that this cultural map of self as understood by the operation of the body is highly elaborated in combative systems and constitutes an important area for cross-cultural research.

The kendō theory of combat is as concerned with the organization, awareness, and operation of the body as it is with interior mental states. Although Japanese metaphysics recognizes a distinction between the mind and body (Rohlen, 1976), it posits an ideal of their harmonious interaction and ultimate inseparability. Japanese martial arts and ways reflect this metaphysics for although the mind is believed to be superior to the body and controls it, the operation of the two is inseparable. The body and its physical faculties are the human's sole means of experiencing the world and ultimate reality. Thus as Kanō Jigoro, the founder of modern jūdō stated, "life is the body" (Maekawa and Hasegawa, 1963:4). The body is regarded as a holy vessel; a sacred vehicle given to man by the kami and his ancestors through his parents.

The importance of the body as a primary referent in the martial tradition is expressed in the following poem of the Shindō Munen Ryū:

The body is a shrine
 Where the omniscient mind resides
 Its folly
 To worship elsewhere

(Mi wa yashiro, kokoro no kami no, aru mono wo, soto wo inoru wa, oroka nari kerī).

The budō theory of the body in combat begins with the supposition that mind and body are an integrated whole. Tranquility and action, composure and strength, relaxation and tension, are all products of a unified mind and body. This ideal is the "natural" condition of man. Readiness for combat is also considered the manifest product of a state of natural being. Physically or kinesthetically, this state is expressed

by the concept of "natural body" (shizentai). In this condition there is an inner harmony of mind and body, unified and adjusting to the external forces represented by an armed aggressive adversary. Shizentai exhibits the best posture for conducting oneself efficiently when confronted by an opponent; it eschews unnatural, awkward, or strained positions, movements, or thoughts. The body is in a state of alert relaxation; a low level of muscular tension exists so the body-mind is not constricted or bound in rigid immobility.

The "natural body", therefore, has specific kinesthetic properties. One stands quietly with the head and upper body relaxed and erect. The arms hang without constraint and the legs are naturally spaced as if in a relaxed walking posture. The center of gravity is kept low and breathing is regular and deep, coming from the lower abdomen. Body movements then will be fluid, clear, and decisive.

Kendō combative postures assumed with the sword (kamae) emphasize the "natural body". Whereas over three hundred combative postures have been recorded among classical traditions of kenjutsu, modern kendō concentrates on only five. Among these five postures (chūdan, jōdan, gedan, hassō, and wakigamae) usually only two are seen in practice and one, chūdan no kamae, is emphasized almost to the exclusion of the others. This posture, "the middle position", is the standard one taught to beginners and is almost universally used by experts. In chūdan no kamae the sword is held with both hands, directly in front of the body, the arms are bent in a relaxed manner, and the tip of the sword points directly towards the opponent's throat or eyes.

Martial postures or kamae are a behavioral semiotic (Draeger, 1974:39) that symbolize certain attitudes and abilities and communicate the character, intent, and technical range of the user. The overwhelming emphasis on the "middle position" in modern kendō represents a philosophical attitude of simplicity as well as a technical combative posture. Kendō teachers explain that this posture communicates a strong, calm, and ready fearlessness in which one simply but directly confronts the adversary. This posture lacks the contemptuous aggression of the jōdan position, the feigned defenselessness of the gedan position, or the challenging but devious openness of the wakigamae position. The "middle position" chūdan kamae is the best way to enter combat armed with a sword for it offers the greatest potential for a wide range of techniques.

As the sword is an extension of the body, one must be able to wield it as easily as one moves the hand. Physical strength and psychic energy are believed to flow through the sword. The source of these strengths originate in the hara or abdominal region, they flow through the hands, and out through the tip of the sword (kissaki or kensen). Where the sword is real, that is, when a "live" blade is used, the weapon is believed to have a soul of its own which the user must fuse with his. However, the bamboo substitute (shinai) used in kendō, has no "life" intrinsic in itself; instead it acquires life through skillfull and harmonious manipulation.

The sword-tip is the most active and intimate extension of the swordsman's body and soul that directly confronts the opponent. Since the quality of interaction between two adversa-

ries is expressed through the tip of their swords, each should feel as though connected to the other by a "single thread" of energy. Success in combat is often attributed to the skill with which one can be in touch with and control this energy flowing through the tip of one's sword. The expert's sword tip is "alive" (ikite iru) while the novice's is "dead" (shinde iru). This parallels the standards in calligraphy and painting wherein the quality of the movement of the implement, particularly its active tip, or "breath hole", reveals the user's inner essence as well as his technical expertise. Similarly, understanding that the sword is an extension of the self is crucial to the development of effective fighting techniques. The integration of self in combat is expressed by the kendō maxim "spirit, sword, and body are one" (ki ken tai itchi).

The mind-body map in any system of physical action must also deal with the nature of strength, its locus, and its maximum utilization. Physical strength, while necessary in combat, is given a special frame of reference in kendō. It does not refer to gross muscular development and kendō training does not encourage the over-development of musculature in the upper torso. In fact, in contrast to the training methods of jūdō and karate-dō, there are no special exercises such as weight-lifting to produce maximum physical strength and development.

As revealed in the following hierarchy of priorities for establishing skill in combat, physical strength is considered less important than other attributes: (1) eyes (gan), (2) feet (soku), (3) courage (tan), (4) strength (riki).

This martial teaching poem describes the true sources of strength, the items listed in their order of increasing importance:

This law you must know
 In wielding the sword
 (1) technique (waza)
 (2) skill (ude)
 (3) voiced energy (kiai)
 (4) "belly" (hara),
 (5) heart-mind (kokoro).

(utsutachi wa, ichi waza ni ude, san kiai shi hara, go kokoro no ho to koso shire).

1. The central torso region.

The Japanese mind-body map locates the mind, heart, and centers of physical and psychic energy in the same general body area, namely, the central torso region. Physical, mental, and spiritual strength are intimately related and are believed to be generated from the same source or center.

The physical map of the central torso region is composed of two parts, the hara and koshi. Together they constitute the center for balanced dynamic action. The hara, roughly translated as belly or abdomen, is located in the anterior lower torso, including the area of the stomach, intestines, and down to the pubis. The koshi is the posterior section comprising the lower back, buttocks and loins.

The concept of hara has received great elaboration in Japanese culture. As a metaphysical concept, it transcends the physical definition of the body and entails the notion of mind, will, spirit, true intentions, and strength. Because of its importance as the locus of mind and energy, I discuss hara more fully in the following section on the theory of energy.

Here, I shall discuss the koshi, as it is more predominantly a physical concept.

In all systems of physical action, from the martial arts to classical dance, movement derived from the koshi region is a crucial criterion for strength, grace, and balance. In general linguistic usage the concept of koshi represents the central point of a thing, its foundation and turning point. It may refer to the base or stand of an object, the part of a carpenter's tool that is grasped by the hand, and even the "turning point" in the classical poetic structure of the waka.

Linguistic reference to the koshi reveals a strong kinesthetic sense of that body part which interestingly has no precise equivalent in English.⁸ While perhaps less metaphysical than hara, psycho-somatic states are reflected in the action of the koshi. Thus, to "put koshi into..." (koshi o ireru) means to become earnest. To have a "strong koshi" means one is strong willed while one with a "weak koshi" lacks determination. A person with a "pulled koshi" (koshinuke) is "gutless" or "spineless". To make something one's own is expressed as "attached to the koshi" (koshi ni tsukeru). Bowing (rei), a crucial behavior in the code of etiquette, is made from the koshi and an arrogant person's "koshi is high" while a humble and defacing one's "koshi is low".

Japanese kinesthetic concepts feel that all physical actions must include the hara and koshi. The former metaphysically initiates action while the latter puts driving power into the movement, propelling the entire body from its center.

The proposition that the psycho-somatic unity of the person is generated from the central torso region is also reflected in the Japanese conception of breath control. Breath is a unique physiological function that while involuntary, is highly susceptible to conscious control. The condition of the breath reflects an unconscious, and partially uncontrollable function of internal emotional, mental, and physical states. Agitation, fear, and excitement all interfere with regular and relaxed breathing patterns. Highly emotional or active states such as these tend to raise the center of breathing so that the intercostal muscles of the ribs and back attempt to do the work rather than the diaphragm, resulting in a shallower, less regular and deep pattern of breathing.

The concern with the breath control in the martial arts and ways has been deeply influenced by the great attention given to this topic in Buddhist meditation practices⁹. It is taught that breath must be activated from the hara, the "one point" (seika tanden). Controlled deep breathing (shinkokyu) quiets and unifies the body and mind and prepares the trainee for experiencing his inner realm and its cosmic affiliations.

The kiai or voiced energy is intimately related to breath control. On its lowest level of interpretation kiai is simply a shout (kakegoe). Kendō instructors constantly reprimand student's whose shouts sound to originate in the upper chest, shoulders, or throat. Students are reminded to kiai forcefully from the hara because if done properly, the kiai not only intensifies the application of strength, but it also quiets the heart and mind.

Physiologically, power is determined by the degree of contraction of the flexor muscles. This is actually a measure of the difference in tension between the pre-action states and peaks of muscular contraction (Feldenkrais, 1948). A high degree of pre-action tension inhibits the full potential of flexor contraction. Regulated deep breathing maintains muscle tonus at maximum pre-action relaxation levels which facilitates greater muscular speed, strength, and control.

Likewise, kiai, by controlling breath through forcible exhalations, has important physiological functions in the combat situation. Kiai is said to inhibit fear within and in addition may evoke a fear reaction in the foe. Discussing the physiological basis of the fear reaction, Feldenkrais comments:

"the first reaction to the frightening stimulus is a violent contraction of all the flexor muscles, especially of the abdominal region, a halt in the breathing, soon followed by whole series of vasomotor disturbances..." (Feldenkrais, 1975:83).

The forcible expulsion of air from the lungs and tightening of the hara in a properly executed kiai abates excitation and controls the contraction of flexor muscles in the abdominal region. This is clearly the physiological correlate of the statement "kiai quiets the heart and mind".

2. Eyes

The eyes are one of the most important body parts singled out for conscious instruction. "The eyes are the 'window' to the heart/mind (kokoro)". The eyes reveal the opponent's mental state and intentions. The correct way to approach an adversary is with direct eye-to-eye contact, thus, never losing the "thread" that leads to his inner state of mind. This emphasis

on eye-to-eye contact in kendō is in striking contrast to the normal Japanese rules of propriety that avoids such direct and immediate contact between individuals.

The process of seeing is understood to be of two types: ken (looking) and kan (seeing). One teacher described the difference between ken and kan as similar to the difference between looking through a rifle and aiming it to shoot¹⁰. The theory of "seeing into" an opponent (metsuke) is largely derived from the discourse of the famous Miyamoto Musashi (1584?-1645) in his Go Rin no Sho (Book of Five Rings)¹¹. Musashi advises to look (ken) weakly and to see (kan) deeply. Ken sees only the externals while kan sees the totality. According to Musashi proper metsuke is achieved through the "distant mountain view" (enzan no metsuke) one sees the opponent as if one were viewing a distant mountain scene so that the foreground as well as the entire mountain, from base to summit, are encompassed.

3. Feet

The feet provide stability, driving power, stamina, and agility. In the learning process kendō places instruction in footwork and stance before cutting or striking training. The fundamental stance is one with the right foot positioned forward in a natural, relaxed walking style. If the feet are too close together, instability results; if they are too far apart, an aggressive forward attack as well as quick evasive actions to the side and rear are impossible.

The development of kendō, with the bamboo shinai practiced within the confines of the smooth wooden floors of the dōjō,

has tended to produce an overspecialization of one particular form of footwork that is not often seen in older styles of swordsmanship where practice is still conducted outdoors on natural terrain. Dōjō kendō has, therefore, developed a unique aesthetic component that outdoor styles of swordsmanship lack. The resultant modern kendō form is characterized by graceful forward lunges unconstrained by fear of injury or instability due to uneven terrain. This powerful lunging form of attack has resulted in a stylized footwork wherein the heel of the left foot is raised and only the forward portion of the foot are in contact with the floor. Although this mannerism is seen even among higher ranking kendoists, proper instructions do not fail to stress that both feet must be placed on the floor with the weight only slightly forward on the balls of the feet (rather than on the toes). Furthermore, should there be a tendency for the left foot to form an L-shape perpendicular to the leading right foot, it is believed that the body will twist and the impending cut will not impact straight into its target.

4. Shoulders

In all actions involving movement of the arms the shoulders must be held down and kept relaxed. When strength is put into the shoulders and upper arms, or if the shoulders are raised, the breath is constricted causing muscular tension in the neck, upper chest, and arms. Japanese kinesthetic concepts indicate that action begins from the central pelvic area and must be freely transmitted through the shoulders into the wrists and hands, out through the sword.

Tension in the shoulders is believed to constrict vital energy (ki) which cannot then flow out through the sword. Kendō instructors frequently direct the learner's kinesthetic awareness to the muscular state of tension that has concentrated in his shoulders. They often have the learner hold his awkward pose and then give verbal instructions to "pull the ki from the shoulders". Upon doing this, the learner often experiences a dramatic lowering of the shoulders, which have risen as muscular tension has accumulated in them.

The following instructional poem cautions against the error of putting too much strength into the shoulders and arms:

As for the technique of the thrust
 Strength in the arms
 Won't do
 Thrust from the hara
 Filled with ki

(tsuku waza wa, ude no chikara ni, yorazu shite, hara ni kiai wo, komete tsukubeshi).

5. Hands

A further area of physical importance lies in the wrists and hands. The hands are the crucial point of contact with one's weapon. The extent to which the weapon or any hand-held implement becomes a true extension of one's body depends in large part upon the flexibility of the hands and wrists. Tenouchi is the concept used for this crucial body part in kendō. Literally, the "inside of the hands", tenouchi refers not only to the palms but the entire region from forearm to finger tips.

The expression, tenouchi, is also used to indicate skill or capacity, as in the English form, "He is a good hand at ...". The hands reveal one's intentions and therefore the tenouchi can keep

or display secrets, as in the English expression "He showed his hand."

Facility with tenouchi is one of the most difficult technical aspects to master of swordsmanship. A powerful but light and responsive hand is the mark of the expert kendoist. The palms and wrists must be held lightly and softly - a condition likened to that of holding an egg¹². Cutting strength is transmitted to the sword through the left hand while guidance is provided by the right hand. The cut is delivered in a moment of concentrated action, the tenouchi "squeezes" (shimeru) the hands, in the manner of "wringing" a washcloth; the right hand pushes while the left hand pulls. The tendency for novices to cut by putting excess strength into the shoulders and right arm is continually warned against for it produces an uneven, misaligned, hard but not "cutting" action. If done with a live sword against straw or bamboo (tameshigiri) it is said that not only will the sword not cut clearly through but that it may damage the blade and injure its wielder (Nakamura, 1973).

Like the shoulders, the tenouchi is a potentially critical area for the constriction of vital energy (ki). If the tenouchi are not tense and if the vital energy generated in the hara flows freely, a "living" effect is produced that may be heard and seen at the tip of the sword. This action, called sae, is described as a "brightness" or "clearness" - a certain vividness that lingers when the action is perfectly performed. The sae action in cutting has an auditory quality as well as a visual one. It sounds sharp and clear rather than a dull "smack".

The action of the sword with its cold, awesome steel evokes a particular feeling to the Japanese aesthetic concept of *sae*, a term that also implies consummate skill. The flashing cut of the sword is sometimes poetically described in terms of the sea of the distant, cold light of moonbeams that appear instantaneously, reflecting the moon upon the water after a cloud has passed or the split-second entrance of moonlight into a room the moment a door has been opened. The sae quality of a kendō attack lies similarly in the swordsman's spirit and sword entering an "opening" in the opponent the moment it has revealed itself.

6. Face

A final body part that receives attention in kendō is the face. It is recognized that intense effort and tension tend to be reflected in facial expressions, particularly in the area of the mouth. The face-mouth area is believed in Japanese culture to represent the social self (Lebra, 1976). "Maintaining face" is the social front which is contrasted to the private inner self of the hara/kokoro. As an expression of inner calm and tranquility in kendō exercise, the facial muscles should be relaxed to project an image of alert unconcern. Tension and force, while properly expressed through the eyes, should not distort the mouth. Although the medieval armor of the classical pre-Tokugawa warrior included metal face masks of hideous and frightening cast, the self-cultivation enjoined in kendō frowns upon grotesque facial expressions.

The mouth, moreover, should be closed except when expelling air in the forceful and audible kiai. If the mouth is left open, not only is there danger to the tongue upon violent body contact, but vital energy generated within the body may seep out through this orifice causing a fragmented, inefficient control of energy.

The great attention paid to instruction and awareness of specific body parts in the martial ways has a significant influence on the somatic perceptions of budō practitioners. I suggest that the martial arts and ways reinforce for the Japanese these somatic, emotional, and cognitive conceptions of their cultural "mind-body map". The exercises produce a somatic awareness of Japanese identity.

The Theory of Vital Energy

For the kendoist, being at one in the natural mind (kokoro) is the primary and essential state. All actions originate in the mind, but thought and feelings must first be transmitted to the body where they are translated into action. This process of the mobilization of heart and mind characterizes the Japanese and East Asian concept "vital energy" (ki in Japanese, chi in Chinese). The notion of ki is Chinese in origin, coming out of the most ancient view of life so expressed in texts dealing with every aspect of human concern¹³. The martial arts and ways are deeply concerned with the application and maintenance of ki as a "life force" and its relation to both psychic and physical strength.¹⁴

1. Ki

Ki is a fundamental concern of Japanese culture. Glossed

into English, ki encompasses categories of feeling and personality and also stands for mind, will, person, temperament, breath, and energy. Emotional states such as willingness, inclination, attention, and vitality are products of the state of one's ki at a given time (Rohlen, 1976:131ff). Although ki is a universal life force existing in all individuals, not everyone can tap and utilize this energy with equal facility. It is believed that through self-cultivation in "spiritual education", that mind and body become unified and that this energy may best be tapped, directed, maintained, and increased. Ki is subject to training and thus, the self-cultivated individual exhibits characteristics of a powerful ki: composed strength, vitality, health, ease and grace of action.

An old kendō adage states that the mind and energy must be brought into accord (shin kiriyoko itchi): therewith the kokoro is calm and the ki fast.

"When the notion comes to move the hand, that is a function of shin or heart; when the movement is initiated, that is a function of ki. When ki is sluggish or out of harmony, the movements are clumsy and hesitant".

Japanese culture, through its linguistic usages, exhibits sensitivity to the concept of ki. Health is genki (literally "original" ki) and sickness is byōki ("sick" ki). Ki fluctuates within the individual and may be consciously manipulated. Other common linguistic usages include the following: (1) Ki is short/long -- impatient/patient; (2) ki is strong -- strong-willed, persistent; (3) ki is attached to -- the person is careful of, attends to; (4) ki is numerous -- the person is of many minds, fragmented attention; (5) ki is loose - off guard;

- (6) to use ki -- to care about, worry about, attend to;
 (7) to pull ki -- to relax, release tension (Rohlen, 1976)¹⁵.

The source of ki is believed to be located in the psychic center known as the tanden, the central point of consciousness in many Buddhist and Taoist meditation practices. This center is related to the ancient Indian metaphysics dealing with chakra or energy centers in the physical and spiritual body. In the Japanese conception, the seika (below the navel) tanden is generalized to include the whole of the lower abdomen and is variously described as shitahara (lower belly) or simply hara (belly or abdomen). Kendō and the martial ways place strong awareness on action and consciousness stemming from the hara for it is the center from which ki and physical strength are generated.

The heart/mind (kokoro) is also conceived as being located in the hara. Whereas Americans, when expressing "I think" or "I feel", kinesthetically locate the physical regions of thought and emotion by placing a hand on the head or heart region. It is common for the Japanese to indicate their belly as the source. The hara is the physical, mental, and spiritual center of man (Durckheim, 1962)¹⁶. Although hara may be used synonymously with the term kokoro, it is more specifically located within the physical body, acting as a mediator between psychic and physical states. Kokoro is a much broader concept, a universalistic metaphor for being fully human. It is through the hara, however, that kokoro and ki, heart/mind and energy, are felt, expressed, and cultivated. The hara/kokoro region of the central torso, is the seat of the soul, the private and personal "inner

realm" of the Japanese individual.

In kendō and Japanese culture the most common exhortation for increased physical effort, or for steadiness of mind, or for perseverance is to "put strength in the hara" (Hara ni chikara o ireru). Physical actions must be sensed and experienced in and with the hara during training. It is believed that when strength is "put" in the belly region, there will be a unification of mind, body, and spirit. Since energy (ki) is concentrated at this "one point", there will be no fragmentation or wavering of force. Maximum physical power will be produced, moreover, for the central torso region is also the center of gravity and coordinates movements of the lower and upper limbs. When the hara is filled with vital energy it is in the dynamic state of "immovable mind" (fudōshin). When the hara is incompletely filled or if the ki is fragmented the four admonitions of surprise, fear, doubt, and confusion are but the sensations of "wavering" in the unsettled hara. The English folk terminology that tells of queasiness, fear, and shock felt in the "pit of the stomach" fully expresses the sensations of the unsettled hara.

Just as the Japanese language fosters the enhancement of the perception of ki, so it similarly cultivates a strong psycho-somatic awareness of the hara. Hara is a potent cultural concept for mind, emotion, body, and action. A man with "no hara" is lacking a completed self and has no center or personal strength. He is not "fully human" and cannot relate to others openly or with generosity. In some cases hara corresponds to the English use of "heart" as in a "big heart" or a "black heart".

When one is angry, the "hara stands" and when one is composed, the "hara is settled". I suggest that budō training actively aims to develop a psycho-somatic awareness of the hara and that the concept of hara is intimately tied to Japanese somatic impressions of their ethnic identity.¹⁷

2. Kiai

A second salient component of the kendō theory of energy is the concept of kiai. Kiai is the conscious activation of and union with one's own ki or vital energy. It is directed energy which in combative systems is usually voiced although silent kiai is considered to be a much more advanced and difficult form of energy manipulation. Kiai is not to be confused with mere shouting (akegoe) despite the fact that it is through "shouting" that novices learn to call forth kiai. Kiai is related to breath control and the controlled explosive shouts propelled from the hara is a regular part of budō training.

The meaning and uses of kiai are a subject of great elaboration and discussion among past and present members of the martial arts and ways. It is an intensely difficult concept to analyze. Not only are different traditions of swordsmanship characterized by particular kiai but different kiai exist for differing modes of combat within traditions.¹⁸ The kiai in the Japanese martial heritage holds an important symbolic place in the identification with the archtypal Japanese race, it is the sound of primordial man who stands in "pure experience" against an opponent, against the refined social structure, against modernization, and ultimately against death. This theme of kiai in Japanese culture is treated more in the Conclusion¹⁹.

The Theory of Interaction

Closure or engagement with the opponent is the final combative test in the martial self-cultivation of kendō. Kendō teaches a model of social interaction, a strategy for dealing with others. It indicates the proper use of inner strength for dealing with others. In addition to one's mental attitude, will, strength, and technique, the distance separating one from the foe must be closed and an opening in his defense found. Upon "seeing the opening" the initiative must be taken to ensure ultimate successful "union" with the adversary.

1. Maai

A successful encounter with the foe is dependent upon the manipulation or understanding of time and space. Distance and rhythm determine events more than strength, speed, or technique, although all these are essential. Kendō theory describes this combative concept of space and time as maai. While maai is a technical term specific to the martial arts and ways, it is founded upon the more general Japanese concept of the "interval", known as ma. Maai implies a dynamic union with the interval and its rhythm.

Ma is a relational concept of space, the dynamic interval between things. Objects or situations achieve definition not only through their intrinsic individual properties, but also by their mutual relationship. Objects are defined by their relative situation; their mutual placement in a field of existence implies rhythm, timing, and balance.

Japanese culture exhibits a great interest in the notion of the interval rather than the fixed boundaries that demarcate

things. Ma is a prominent aesthetic, social, and somatic value. It informs the quality of action, time, and space in architecture, drama calligraphy, music, dance, social etiquette, and combative arts. Even Japanese street patterns are named by the intersection point of streets rather than by naming specific street grids (Hall, 1973) and in the well-known game of go the winner is determined by the capture of the greatest number of intersections rather than the most opposing stones.

Ma is also a unit of space. It is a classifier-counter for rooms and may refer to the primary room of a house, its entirety or only part of it. House size is described by the number of rooms or ma.

Even in interpersonal relations there is "interval", and proper social interaction demands sensitivity to the rhythm and space of one's life. The lucky person has a "good interval" while the unlucky one has a "poor interval" (ma ga ii/warui). A mistake or an error, something that is different or wrong, is the result of using a "different interval" (machigau). The fool is inept in social distance, for "anyone who fails to understand where ma ought to be is a fool (manuke)"²¹. The manuke "blows the interval"²².

In combat, as in social life, one must be sensitive to ma, the dynamic interval of inner and outer. Musashi says in Go Rin no Sho that there is rhythm in everything: in dance, music, martial arts, even in the Void. The successful attack is dependent upon proper timing, which itself is a measure of the fluctuating distance or interval. Even if the opponent reveals a fatal opening, if the interval established by the attacker is

wrong, the strike against this weak point will fail. One will be either too far or too close to the target, thus rendering ineffective the maximum cutting power of the sword generated by its distal end (mono-uchi).

Maai is one of the most difficult principles to master and takes decades of reflective application to use effectively. One's own capabilities and reactions must be completely understood and one must have the ability to "read" the opponent.

In interviews with highly advanced kendō teachers, the subject of maai frequently emerged as an aspect of theory that they continually sought to understand and improve. When asked to reveal a "secret" (gokui) of his skill against younger opponents, a sixty-nine year old ninth degree master (hanshi kudan) replied²³:

"It's the maai. Although my opponents have speed, physical strength, and youth, I can defeat them by properly understanding maai. I force them to attack. And this attack - the raising of the shinai and cutting in a forward motion - takes time. The opponent must traverse the long distance between us. At the moment his attack has committed itself, I 'cut the maai' - even one inch is sufficient, and they miss me completely. Then I counter attack."²⁴

Kendō theory describes three basic types of intervals. The first and most important is the "one step interval" (issoku-itto no ma), also known as the "striking interval" (uchima). At this distance, one can, with one step forward, strike the opponent. To deliver a correctly executed blow, the kendoist must be at this interval. This space is filled with great tension, for depending upon who takes the initiative, either opponent may strike first.

The second interval is the "distant interval" (tō-ma). At this distance the kendoists are out of simple striking range. To press the attack and find an opening, opponents continually shift back and forth between the "distant interval" and the "striking interval". In this interface of delicately changing space, different tactics are used to engage and "open" the foe. One must learn to attack from the "distant interval" and training here involves attack combinations that close the gap in a series of cutting lunges (ni-san dan waza). It is from the "distant interval", moreover, that one learns to "steal the maai", that is to inch up on the opponent without his realizing that the interval has changed to the striking one (uchima).²⁵

Finally, the third interval is that of the "near interval" (chika-ma) at which distance one may strike the opponent without moving. This is a highly dangerous interval, for the adversary can likewise freely attack, and evasion is most difficult. At this distance one must immediately attack or else one must "cut the interval" (maai o kuru) by moving to a more distant position. There is also the possibility of completely closing the gap so that close contact with the handguards touching (tsubazeriai) is made, at which point a series of techniques for disengagement, attack, and even grappling may be initiated²⁶. Control and use of the proper interval is a difficult task. The threat of a pressing attack can hinder one's proper metsuke or "seeing"; the sword action may distract the gaze and fixate the eyes. It is critical, however, in combat to control the interval. Effective swordwork with the tip of the sword, which attacks, presses, parries, and controls the opponent's sword tip is the mark of

the advanced kendoist.

Kiai is also important to the interval. It is often said that "kiai makes maai". A powerful and resolute kiai may stop the adversary's advance even for a brief instant, which then presents an opening as he hesitates or backs off.

As skillful and proper use of maai is often the deciding factor in combat and tournament competition, kendoists are constantly urged to reflect upon the concept of the interval and to spend time observing it in others. The following excerpt is from a brief talk given to schoolage boys by the headmaster of the Mito Tobukan dōjō about a week before a tournament:

"Shiai (tournament) is 'interval' and kiai. Always observe maai when others fight. This is the most valuable way to learn by watching (kengaku). Not only in kendō, look at the champion use of maai in boxing and sumō, it's the same."

2. Suki - "the opening"

Having negotiated the proper interval against the opponent, one must then find an "opening" in his defense. Even if the interval is well placed, and even if one attacks with speed and strength, if the selected target is not open, the attempt will be futile as it will be blocked or evaded.

The concept of an "opening", either a spiritual or physical gap, is known as suki, that is, a break in the opponent's defense. Kendō recognizes only four legitimate attack areas: the crown of the head, the lateral sides of the rib cage, and the wrists are the three cutting places; the one thrusting place is the throat. Flaws in the adversary's stance or method of attack may

reveal such "opening" at these points. One must be able to "read" them intuitively as well as create or evoke them in the adversary.

"Three methods of killing" (san satsu hō) govern the general principles of attack to create an opening. First, one may "kill the sword" (ken o korosu). The sword tip controls the center of the interval. The adversary who can "kill the sword" of his foe through dislodging, pressing, flicking, or striking the other's weapon, controls the center and may freely "enter the interval" (ma ni hairu) and strike at the "opening".

Second, one may "kill the technique" (waza o korosu). This principle advises spoiling the opponent's favorite technique (tokui waza) by various methods such as using the technique oneself before the foe employs it, by closing the "opening" at that point, or by thwarting it once it has begun.

Finally, one may "kill the ki", that is, upset the opponent's composure or state of mind. This method aims to repress the other's aggressive spirit by employing such techniques as a fearsome kiai, or maintaining one's posture in calm disregard in the face of attack so that the opponent, questioning the effectiveness of the moment, hesitates or decides on some other strategy.

In all cases, it is absolutely crucial that one take the initiative, to instantaneously strike when the opening and interval are in their proper moment. One must resolutely attack, without the slightest hesitation, so that the action and the perception (seeing the opening) are fused together. The concept of "initiative" is most importantly described by the notion of sen. There

are three different kinds of sen or "initiative", but in each case the opening must be struck without hesitation at the moment it appears²⁷.

At the moment before an opponent strikes, his physical and mental energy are not yet concentrated. At this embryonic point of energy formation an "opening" already exists. If one takes the initiative at this point, the foe may be caught unprepared and one can successfully strike his weak point. This is known as sen sen no sen ("the before initiative initiative")²⁸.

Kendō values most highly this resolute first form of taking the initiative, believing that it demonstrates fealessness and disregard for personal safety. It is also a spiritual exercise in which the technique "cuts all thoughts" (omoikiri) and "discards the 'small self'" (sutemi). This strongest of initiatives may be manifested as a mental state only, in which one's mind and energy are projected forward in attack before the physical action has begun.

The second most opportune moment for attack exists just at the moment that the opponent's attack has begun. At this point, his mental and physical actions are committed, but are not yet fully developed or mobilized. He cannot change his course of action easily. Striking the adversary at this moment is known as the "beforehand initiative" (sen no sen). The timing required for this moment of attack relies on various techniques that may be used to parry or deflect the oncoming attack at its point of initiation. The most sophisticated and prized techniques relating to this moment are known as "beginning

attacks" (okori waza) that strike the opponent down just as he has begun a movement.

The third favorable chance for attack lies at the midpoint of the adversary's attempted attack when his mind, body, and energy, are fully extended and committed. Counter attacks delivered at this moment are known as "delayed initiative" (gō no sen). Usually employed by advanced practitioners, "delayed initiative" attacks are considered to be most difficult. Beginners are not taught this technique, for the "delayed initiative" is best learned at a more advanced level of skill wherein, constant practice with less experienced opponents offers the opportunities for polishing the timing, distancing, and techniques peculiar to this form of attack.

3. Union

Successful attack depends upon the interval (maai), the opening (suki), and the initiative (sen). When these concepts are understood, one realizes that the act of seizing the chance for victory or life is not entirely dependent upon oneself alone. It is only through the mutual interaction of the opponent and self, creating a unity in time and space, that one may be in the proper moment for victory.

In its philosophical interpretation kendō theory suggests that the victor is he who can first dissolve the boundaries separating self and other, he who can first join with the unity of action and mind that is the two opponents. In this unity, "openings" appear "naturally", as it were, and just as naturally the one who is first in harmony with the situation "fills" them.

Thus the concepts of union in interaction resonate with the theories of mind and its notions of harmony and the dissolution of self in combat. Kendoists are encouraged to "win by obeying the opponent" (teki ni shitagai katsu): in other words, the opponent during combat reveals his flaws and the developed kendoist, being sensitive to this, understands and develops his strategy by following the opponent. If the opponent goes forward, one goes back; if he goes back, one goes forward. From the mutual movement and intention emerge the interval, the opening, and the opportunity for a successful attack.

In this sense, one is reminded to "join spirit" (aiki) with the opponent. By joining one's breath and ki with his, one can feel and understand the enemy's movements and intentions. The moment his breath falters, an "opening" presents itself.

The concept of union in combat is most developed in the notion of aiuchi ("mutual striking"). Here, two opponents have so completely joined with each other that a synchronized attack results, each foe felling the other completely. This "draw" exhibits the complete unity of self and other, each is victorious despite the fact that both could be dead. No matter the outcome of the enemy's attack, one must be prepared to resolutely go forward and simultaneously strike the other down.

"Ai-uchi ... means paying no attention whatever to the outcome of the contest, being not at all concerned with the question of coming out of it safely or not" (Suzuki, 1959:177)²⁹.

The concept of union is also reflected in the adage "attack and defense are one" (kentai itchi). Technically this may be glossed as the familiar "the best defense is a good

offense", for in actual battle one cannot separate the acts of attack and defense -- to do so would be to divorce a moment of action from its total context.

On a spiritual level, for self-cultivation in the combative mode, kentai itchi reminds one that attack and defense are one and the same insofar as the object of combat is concerned: both must seek to preserve life and restore order. The ultimate goal is to create peace and, therewith, the attack, as much as the defense, must be used for this end.

Summary

I have presented in this chapter the theory of combat as it is understood in kendō. The teachings have an inner and outer meaning. In their outer sense they refer to the technical aspects of effective combat while in their inner sense they indicate a spiritual interpretation of self in relation to the natural and social order. The quasi-combative situations of kendō offer a path of self-cultivation, for individual experience of mind, body, and energy in the intense moment of confrontation with another who is a guide to one's weaknesses and flaws. Kendō and the martial ways provide the Japanese with an integrated set of cultural meanings that are a strategy for being. They interpret and train elemental states of mind, body feelings, and the application of strength in the complex interaction against another. The ultimate goal is to quiet the mind and achieve complete unity within and without oneself. The learning process is intensely personal and private and provides for Japanese culture a significant foundation for the development and understanding of the individual.

Chapter 3 Notes

1. Huizinga (1950) gives numerous examples of the association of individual contest in war with classical warrior-class societies. He sees this as a function of the agonistic ethos whereby warfare had to be against "social equals" in order to validate rivalry, honor, and fame among members of the elite class. The relationship between the warrior agon and sports is discussed in some length by Moreford and Clark (1977). Japanese martial culture unquestionably has an agonistic ethos but further research is required to understand the causes whereby a fully developed sport or tournament complex did not develop as it did in ancient Greece or medieval Europe.
2. Many foreign commentators on Japan have tended to stress the importance of group dependency over the development of strong individual personality in Japanese culture. Although the volume by Craig and Shively, Personality in Japanese History (1971) seeks to redress this situation, the notion that Japanese culture does not produce strong individuals persists among Western academics. Japanese martial heroes (particularly the famed swordsmen who founded the classical ryū) offer a fruitful area of research that could bring about a more expanded and balanced conception of the individual in Japanese culture.
3. A comparison of Japanese and American sports generates a tentative hypothesis that posits an inverse relationship between the predominance of team vs individualistic sports and the dominant social ethos that gives precedence to group cohesiveness or individual action. Thus American culture, emphasizing individualism, has developed national team sports while Japanese culture, stressing the primacy of the group, developed individualistic sports. Unquestionably there is a great tension in American sports between the conflicting ideals of the "team player" and the "superstar".
4. The books reviewed were as follows:
Baba, Toyoji. Kendo Kyohan (Kendo Instructor). 1940. Soido, Tokyo.

Hara, Genji. Kendō. 1973. Tairyusha, Tokyo.

Konno, Eiji. Kendō Dantai Kyōhan (Kendo Group Instructional) 1913. Tokyo.

Kosaka, Masataka. Kenjutsu Meijin Hō (The Way of Great Swordsmen) 1885. in. Watanabe, Ichiro. Meiji Budo Shi (A History of Meiji Budo) (hereafter referred to as MBS), 1970.

Kosugi, Eiji. Kendō Kyōju Zenshō (The Complete Kendo Instructor) 1938, Shogakukan. Tokyo.

- Miyamoto, Naotoshi. Kendō Shogako. (Primary School Kendo). 1917. Tokyo.
- Nakano, Hasuoji. Kendō Nyūmon (Beginning Kendo). 1972. Tozai Sha, Tokyo.
- Negishi, Shingoro. Gekken Shinan (Fencing Master). 1885 in. Watanabe, I., MBS.
- Ozawa, Takahashi. Kendō Kyōshitsu (Kendo Classroom) 1968. Tsuru Shobo kyo.
- Oshima, Kotaro and Ando, Kozo. Kendō Nyūmon (Beginning Kendo). 1972. Tokyo Shoten, Tokyo.
- Takano, Hiromasa. Kendō Dokuhon (A Kendo Reader). 1973. Yomiuri ShinbunSha, Tokyo.
- Takano, Sasaburo. Kendō. 1916. Ryoshofukyukai, Tokyo.
- Taneda, Saiichi. Kendō Shinzui To Shidohō Shosetsu (An Account of the Essence of Kendo and Teaching Methods). 1933. Akibundo Shoten, Tokyo.
- Shido, Yoshitaka. Kendō Nyūmon (Beginning Kendo). 1970. Seiko Sha, Tokyo.
- Shimizu, Kunitora. Budō Kenpō Tebikigusa (Leaves from the Budo of Swordsmanship). 1889. in. MBS.
- Watanabe, Ichiro. Meiji Budō Shi (MBS) (A History of Meiji Budo). 1970. Shinjinbutsu Oraisha, Tokyo.
- Yanagida, Genjiro. Kendō Kyōhan (A Kendo Instructor). 1912. in. MBS.

5. Despite the foundation of the learning process of classical swordsmanship in mystical, intuitive, and non-intellectual modes, there has been an increasing trend towards the rationalization and systematization of teaching methods influenced by Western pedagogic concepts. This may be most clearly seen in the kendō instruction manuals aimed for school age persons. Particularly in the post-war period with the inclusion of kendō in the general public school athletic program, modern educational theories, methods of teaching, and techniques for evaluating student's progress are becoming more prevalent.
6. Professor Glen Webb informs me that Zen in this expression means "total awareness in stillness", although the term Zen is usually translated as "meditation". As active Zen, the budō express the harmony of stillness and action. In this connection, however, it is common for kendoists and lay persons as well to misunderstand that while the budō techniques for quieting the mind in training (shugyo) are

steeped in Zen, the actual core symbolism of the sword and its spiritual techniques are based on an older Buddhist source than Zen, that of Esoteric Buddhism (mikkyō). I am indebted to Donn Draeger and Otake Ritsuke, shihan of the Tenshin Shoden Katori Shinto Ryu for clarifying this point to me. Even for such a crucial Zen concept as fudōshin we may see its roots in early Confucian doctrine (see Mencius II.4).

7. D. T. Susuki in numerous writings has consistently emphasized that the metaphysical foundations of Japanese Buddhism, in contrast to Judeo-Christian thought, does not draw distinctions between essence and existence. Essence, the Ultimate Reality of the individual, is co-terminous with existence, that is, with the physical body.
8. Koshi is variously translated into English as the small of the back, the buttocks, the hips, waist, or loins. Traditional Japanese massage therapy is deeply concerned with this area and has a much better structural appreciation of the role of the koshi that does Western chiropractic therapy which is concerned with that vague area of "lower back pains".
9. The prevalence of systems of breath control as well as esoteric health practices in the martial arts can be traced to Esoteric Buddhist, Taoist, and originally Yogic sources.
10. This idea was given me by Mr. Whitey Takahata, godan, of the Hilo Nihonjin Gakko Kendo club, Hilo, Hawaii. Mr. Rod Omoto, nanadan kyoshi, president of the Washington State Kendo Federation, explained this concept to me as increasing levels of intensity of vision: looking, seeing, and staring.
11. There are innumerable editions of Musashi's famed Go Rin no Sho. I have relied on the version annotated by Kaneko Kan, published by Tokuma Shoten (1974). Victor Harris has translated Go Rin no Sho into English in a volume entitled A Book of Five Rings (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press: 1974). Unfortunately Harris persists in confusing modern kendo (shinbudō) with the classical kenjutsu (ko bujutsu) of Musashi's times.
12. The technique of using the metaphor of holding an egg is also taught by Zen masters to help novices maintain proper hand position in zazan meditation (Glen Webb, personal communication).
13. I am reminded by Professor Glen Webb that the Japanese concept of ki cannot be discussed without reference to its origin and importance in Chinese and East Asian metaphysical thought. The concept of ki or chi is intimately related to the yogic concept of prana, the Greek concept of pneuma, and the Hebrew concept of ruach.

14. Within the Japanese martial arts and ways, different traditions have treated the concept of ki with varying degrees of explicitness and concern in the learning process. The art of aikidō, a post-Meiji budō form, has most formally developed its core of teaching and experience around the ki concept. Older classical martial arts and ways, while demonstrating a deep concern with the maintenance and utilization of similar energy, do not exhibit the verbal explicitness that one sees in aikido. However, the influence of aikidō in America, Europe, and elsewhere has led to a general use of the term ki among practitioners of almost all the martial ways.
15. For a fuller description of the concept of ki see Y. Akatsuka Ki no Kozo (The Structure of Ki) (Tokyo, 1974) and Koichi Tohei Aikido in Daily Life (Tokyo, 1966).
16. The major work on the concept of hara is that of Karlfried Durckheim, Hara: The Vital Center of Man (London, Methuen Press, 1962).
17. Hara is not only an expression of mental and emotional states of being, it is also a central concept in Japanese health and prophylactic customs. This is reflected in the use of special clothing for the hara, a waistband (haramaki) used by adult men and children, and one (haraobi) used by pregnant women. Because they believe that the hara region should not be exposed to extremes of temperature, the people use the waistband to maintain a constant temperature on the central visceral region. The cultural occupation with the hara region undoubtedly has contributed to the flamboyant elaboration of women's clothing styles centering on the obi or waistband. The belief that the hara is the locus of the soul, moreover, lends an explanation to the traditional form of warrior ritual suicide (seppuku). Disembowelment is a symbolic statement in death, a public display of the purity and sincerity of the soul which is cut open to view.
18. Modern kendō recognizes two different kiai derived from the formal learning of the kata forms. One voice is for aggressive initiating action (yaa) and the other (tooh) is a reactive voice in response to aggression. In other ryū, for example in jodō (the way of the staff), there are different kiai for striking and thrusting actions. For a discussion of contemporary attitudes towards kiai see Sato, Ukichi (1975).
19. Numerous Japanese commented to me during fieldwork on the lack of kiai in Western sports. Mr. Ozawa Takeshi related a story during the Allied Occupation of a conversation he had with an American general when leading sensei were attempting to re-establish kendō or some viable alternative. This general was surprised at the Japanese use of kiai for

he believed that "shouting" and the expulsion of air caused one to lose strength and stamina. It was a "draining" action rather than a "concentrating" and "filling" one. In addition, the American perspective of kiai was that it was somehow barbaric and militaristic. Of course, American culture does recognize something akin to the kiai in the Confederate "rebel" yell and the American Indian "Geronimo" shout. In addition, combative training in the military, for example bayonet practice often includes shouts at the moment of impact. Kiai, however, has a much deeper meaning in Japanese culture. It is a sensory and auditory symbol of a primitive state of being. Novelist Mishima Yukio describes kiai as "the cry of our race bursting through the shell of modernization".

The use of kiai in the budō has strongly influenced the modern Japanese military styles of hand-to-hand combat. Japanese soldiers were trained in kiai during World War II, and Western soldiers, lacking experience with this shattering combat technique, felt its psychological effects. An interesting account of British and Indian troops' confrontation with Japanese warfare is revealed in a contemporary account from Burma:

"The Japanese keep completely silent while concentrating their forces...When ambushed they still remain silent. But once the hand-to-hand fighting starts, they suddenly shout loudly all together, making as much noise as they possibly can. Our men too- not only the Indians but even the boys from Yorkshire - have now got into the habit of shouting while they fight" (Curie, 1943:313).

20. Purely native Japanese Shoin architecture is also predicated upon the delicate flux of spatial perceptions. Walls are not fixed, closed boundaries; they are easily adjustable; sliding doors and windows allow rooms to vary in size depending upon the needs of the social situation. Furthermore, their use in conjunction with intermediate hallways (roka) and large overhanging eaves function to blur hard and fast distinctions between the interior and exterior of the home.
21. This definition of a fool was provided by Professor Kozo Yamamura.
22. Although the term nuke or nuku more properly refers to the notion of pulling, withdrawing, or slackening off, I have used the colloquial English gloss "to blow", for it more clearly implies the blundering use of the social "interval" that characterizes the manuke or "blockhead".
23. This was related to me by Saito Masaki, hanshi kudan, Kyoto.

24. Boxing provides an equally good example of the importance of the "combative interval" (maai) and its relation to age and experience. The following quote by Norman Mailer illustrates this.

"Towards the end of his career Archie Moore used to go fifteen rounds when he was hardly in condition to walk a mile. He had acquired the skill to avoid a murderous punch by the languid tilt of his chin. Why rush to move six inches when half an inch would provide? So Moore knew how long a trip you could get out of the oldest body. Leisure in the ring and absolute cool, no unnecessary movements, feel no fear and show a few tricks...".
Norman Mailer, The Fight. 1975, Little Brown & Co. New York, p. 97.

25. This "stealing the interval" is possible in kendō because of the floor length hakama (culottes) that obscure the movements of the feet.
26. Post-war kendō has largely eliminated grappling techniques and footsweeps from the tsubazeriai position. Nevertheless, these techniques are still allowed, even in tournaments, among police competitors. Moreover, individual dōjō and sensei, those who are more bujutsu oriented, still use these techniques in practice. For example, at the Mito Tobukan, it was common for certain teachers to use footsweeps if the student stayed in close too long. Also, the Tobukan always ended its practice for primary school boys by seeing who could tear off the helmet of his opponent, thus teaching grappling techniques. This common pre-war practice is extremely rare today.
27. In this discussion of taking the initiative when an "opening" presents itself, I have combined two separate kendō concepts that are not usually discussed in direct conjunction with each other. Although the ideas of "three methods of initiative" (mitsu no sen) and "optimum chances for striking" (utsubeki kikai) may have some strongly differing nuances, I discuss them together because of their similar end goals and their similar tripartate structure.
28. My translation of sen sen no sen differs slightly from that offered by the English edition Fundamental Kendo offered by the All Japan Kendo Federation. They choose to emphasize the notion of "forestalling", interpreting this initiative as "the long-hand forestall", and sen no sen as the "before-hand forestall". (p. 119). I choose to stress the relative importance of taking the initiative in both cases.

29. Although Suzuki offers the proposition the aiuchi is the proper state of mind for the beginner and that a higher philosophical concept, ainuki, exists, this concept does not seem to be a regular part of contemporary beliefs in kendo. Aiuchi, although an important state of mind for the beginner, is an act beyond his capabilities, thus, in modern kendo aiuchi becomes an important concept for advanced practitioners when opposing equal or more advanced adversaries in combat.

Chapter 4 The Organization of Training

The varieties of training found within the kendō dōjō are the subject of this chapter. Although kendō is regulated and supervised under the aegis of the All-Japan Kendo Federation, significant variations in training procedures may exist among different dōjō. Membership in this national organization does not preclude the autonomy of the local dōjō headmaster in organizing training to fit his own particular interpretation of the discipline. I suggest that by analyzing the specific training methods, we may distinguish three types of orientations to modern kendō. Arranged on a continuum these types are (1) classical kendō, (2) cultural kendō, and (3) sports kendō. I propose, moreover, that these three types present a developmental or evolutionary scheme. Sports kendō represents a postwar phenomenon, the most recent development within the discipline and strongly related to the internationalization of the art within the sports constraints required by the Ministry of Education (Mombusho). Cultural kendō, the predominant type, represents the adaptation of classical kendō for school use in the late Meiji period. Classical kendō is still an important model for many dōjō and is closest in theory, method, and symbolic content to the classical martial ways (ko budō) of the pre-modern era.

I introduce the analysis of training methods by a discussion of the dōjō and of the concept of keiko (training). The field notes used for illustration of specific training techniques are drawn from my research while at the Mito Tobukan dōjō in Ibaraki Prefecture.

The Dojō

Kendō cannot be practiced without a dōjō. In the absence of an actual building designated as such, the participants must, through ritual behavior, create the conditions and boundaries of a dōjō space so as to be able to train. The dōjō serves as a cognitive orientation to the spiritual goals of training as well as providing a structural orientation for physically locating all relevant behaviors from sitting to training exercises. The initial learning procedures for the beginner concern behaviors that are proper to the dōjō itself.

Considered as a sacred space (shinsei), entrance into and behavior within the dōjō enjoin the trainee to specific ritual behaviors that set his mind and body in the proper attitude of instruction in self-cultivation. The concept and structure of the dōjō are taken from Zen Buddhist meditation halls wherein the literal meaning of the dōjō is the "place of enlightenment"¹. The origin of the use of the dōjō for martial training is believed to date from the Muromachi period (1336-1568), a time when Zen Buddhism was particularly influential on the warrior class. While the early dōjō served the need for warrior groups to train in secrecy, the spiritual component and the role of the dōjō as a purified space has always remained central².

As a sacred space, the dōjō is both physically and spiritually centered upon the altar (shinden, kamidana, kamiza, or jōdan) where the spirits (mitama) of the deities (kami) and ancestors are enshrined.³ The kamidana (literally deity shelf) provides the central orientation for all behavior within the dōjō. Upon entering its precincts one leaves the profane world and enters

the sacred where the deities and ancestors are present. Time, space, and behavior take on a sacred aspect as one trains before their benevolent and watchful presence, the recipients and judges of one's sincerity in training. The ultimate goal of kendō practice within the dōjō is to reach a state of mental, physical, and spiritual harmony so that one joins essence with the deities (kami ni awaseru).

The presence of the dōjō is recognized and created by a series of ritual acts which focus on the rei (bow). All discrete units of behavior are punctuated by rei: one bows upon entering the building proper, upon entering the dōjō floor; in a group to the kamidana, to the sensei, and to each other. Every training set with a partner is initiated and concluded by a bow to both the kamidana and to each other. The pervasive ritual acts of propriety, as the teachers often remind their students, are to remind one of their spiritual training. Reigi (acts of propriety) are a kinesthetic reminder of and exercise in sacred social interaction.

The orientation of the kamidana separates students from teachers as well as aligns everyone on the basis of rank and seniority. The highest ranking individuals are those closest to the kamidana, a symbolic statement of their spiritual advancement and position in the social hierarchy.⁴

The proper attitudes of mind in training are reflected in the attributes of the dōjō itself. Architectural criteria stipulate that the building be clean and simple. The floor must be constructed of natural unfinished wood and there should be no ostentatious quality, bright colors or excessive ornamenta-

tion such as pictures and trophies. The dōjō is expected to conform to the Japanese aesthetic criteria of wabi and sabi, that is naturalness, simplicity, and rusticity, yet not without a certain contrived human effect (Draeger, 1973:43).

Following the Zen model, the dōjō is the place where one undergoes shūgyō or austerities. Lacking a Zen master to administer blows, kendoists mutually administer Zen-like blows to each other during training (Takano, 1972)⁵. The feeling of thankfulness (kansha) is crucial for this sense of mutual aid in practice. The dōjō is not so much a training hall or gymnasium as a "death ground" for the loss of egoistic self so as to be able to live more fully as a mature human being.⁶

While the dōjō is a sacred space, its importance as a social center should not be underestimated. It functions for meetings, gatherings, and parties of dōjō members. Like a men's club, the dōjō in small towns is an important center for groups of males bound together in positive affect to each other.

Keiko

Training is the heart of kendō. The psychological, philosophical, and spiritual wisdom of the art can only be understood and internalized through the forging process of training. This demand for learning by experience is expressed in such adages as "theory and technique in one body" (ri gi ittai) and "knowledge and action are one" (chi gyō itchi).

The concept of training is described by the term keiko which originally meant to cultivate oneself by reflecting or meditating on the things of the past.⁷ In contemporary Japanese, keiko has become synonymous with that of renshu meaning to "practice",

"drill", or "study". Keiko, however still retains its classical overtones as students in kendō are often reminded to set their minds on self-cultivation with the sword to participate and reflect upon the meaning of their warrior heritage of olden times.

The emphasis on keiko as the central component of kendō significantly but subtly changes the meaning of kendō combat. It will be recalled that the classical theory of combat - supposes a life and death (sei-shi) confrontation against an armed enemy. However in keiko, the training situation, there are no enemies. Rather, individuals, as members of a voluntary group, bound together by positive affect and graded by relative age and experience, practice kendō for mutual self-cultivation and growth.

Rather than train for competitive tournaments or for self-defense against unknown assailants outside the dōjō, keiko is mutual self-cultivation through personal confrontation.

The concept of mutual self-cultivation and fellowship within the dōjō is fully expressed by the following two martial poems.

We cross bamboo swords
 Comparing each other's ways
 Especially those of the heart,
 Polishing our soul's blade.

(utsu ga chikuto, waza kurabe, tomo ni kokoro, yaiba migakite).

And.

Flashing swords
 Crossed and drawn
 -jostling sparks-
 How the rivers of sweat
 Flow together

(momi nimomi, hibana chirashi, utsutachi ni, asemizuku tomo,
 nari ni keru ka na).

Keiko produces the environment through which the forging process (shin shin tanren) and self-cultivation (shūgyō) take place. By arduous training partners develop fortitude and perseverance, two core qualities of a fighting spirit. Numerous martial poems exist that seek to express the intensive spirit of keiko. The following is representative of these:

In the rough surf
 The seaweed is beaten
 By the waves
 But for every blow received
 It strikes back
 Never losing spirit

(araiso no mokuzo ga, nami ni, utareru mo, naosu kaesu, makeji
 dameshi)

Implicit in the concept of training or keiko is the notion of fundamentals (kihon or kisō); a continual reference back to the basic techniques and attitudes that one first learns as a beginner. No matter how advanced the kendoist may become there is always value in practicing fundamentals for they are the foundation of self-improvement. As has been established through the cumulative experience of untold generations of kendō masters.

The stress on basic training indicates a concept of learning grounded in simplicity through the medium of repetitive action. It is believed that bad habits are difficult to change. Moreover, in an individualistic art such as kendō, where the

personality of the individual determines his psychology and style of meeting the attack situation, there is a strong possibility of ideosyncratic "twisting" or distorting of pure form.⁸

The Organization of Training

Kendō practice usually lasts for about two hours and most dōjō hold training sessions at least three times a week, the specific times varying with the age of the participants. Thus school age kendoists tend to have training in the late afternoon after school and adult kendoists in the early evening after work. It is common to schedule at least one early morning training session a week for rising early is believed to have important physical and mental benefits.

Training is divided into a number of stages and types which represent a progression of learning for the beginner as well as model to return to for the advanced practitioner. In the discussion of each particular type of training I make reference to its place in the learning progression as well as its association with the three styles of kendō mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. In the examples taken from the field-notes the Mito Tobukan dōjō is representative of the cultural kendō type but having strong affiliations with the classical kendō orientation. We shall also see some sports kendō elements in its training.

1. Kihon-Keiko Fundamental Training

1.a. reigi - etiquette

The forms of propriety are the first lessons for the beginner, who is constantly told "kendō begins and ends with rei".

Instruction in reigi includes the standing bow for entrance to and departure from the dōjō. Next the bow from the seated seiza⁹ position is taught as well as the proper foot and hand motions for making the transition from sitting and standing postures. Other obligatory forms of propriety include wearing clothing apparel properly as well as holding the bamboo shinai and organizing the protective equipment. The student must learn to give loud and clear aisatsu - verbal greetings - for entering the dōjō, requesting training, and thanking the senior partner for instruction. During this introductory training great attention and detail are paid to physical posture and deportment as an expression of mental attitude.

1.a. reigi training - beginners' class

There are about thirty boys most in the fourth grade of elementary school. After one month (twelve sessions) they are still reminded about rei and aisatsu. The sen-sei has them bow several times from seiza posture. Carefully watching them he demonstrates a correct bow while verbally explaining crucial points. He and several assistant instructors then walk among the students carefully adjusting their postures, particularly their koshi (small of the back), head, shoulders, and hands.

Next they are told to line up in preparation for basic footwork exercises. They must first bow to the kamidana and state the request form, onegaishimasu. They do so but the instructor interrupts, saying "You have no spirit, I can't hear you". They bow and shout out the request. He makes them do it several times, meanwhile correcting individual boys who fail to hold their shinai properly while bowing. Satisfied with their form and spirited request, the sensei proceeds with the training.

Following training in the introductory forms of propriety, beginners then move on into work on the standard combative engagement posture (kamae), footwork (ashisabaki), grasping the shinai (nigirikata), and basic cutting actions.

1.b. suburi

A repetitive series of cutting actions performed while moving forwards and backwards, suburi is one of the most fundamental training forms. Kendoists will continue this training procedure throughout their careers for it is the most basic cutting action and can be performed by oneself. The greater number of suburi performed correctly on a daily basis, the greater progress the kendoist will experience. Suburi, moreover, is believed to be valuable for one's health and physical condition. It was standard in the Mito Tobukan's beginners classes to require 1000 suburi at each session, a number in extreme excess of that required in most dōjō.

2. uchikomi keiko - striking training

For the first several months the beginner wears no protective equipment and trains in his basic cutting actions without striking any object. Gradually they advance to striking against different targets. The learning theory involved in fundamental training is that the student must first learn proper posture and form in action. He may then gradually advance to attack training where he still has no fear of reprisal. Only later, when the fundamentals are set, may the beginner progress to actual combative situations.

Uchikomi keiko embodies this learning principle and is the basic training procedure subsuming all techniques and points stressed previously. Uchikomi means to drive into or strike. Divided into several stages it is not only a device for the progressing beginner but a foundation for the advanced trainee to polish their form (shisei) while perfecting their technique (waza).

There are three kinds of striking training, depending upon the object being struck. In the most elementary form, the student strikes sticks or bamboo staves held out perpendicular from the instructor's body. The next more advanced method of training is striking against a vertical hitting post.

Finally, there is striking against an armed instructor. Because it is necessary for the beginner to develop a forward driving technique and spirit of attack without hesitation the three stages of uchikomi practice provide a gradual introduction culminating in a forceful attack made against an instructor. In comparison with the first method, the hitting post, being of natural height and adorned with helmet and chest guard, tends to produce greater psychological tension because it approximates the feeling of striking against an opponent.

All uchikomi training forms are predicated on the free and unhindered attack by the beginner. If the novice must defend himself against attacks, it is believed that he will "pull in his ki", cause his form to waver as he attempts to deflect the attack, and will not learn to take the initiative. So even against an armed instructor, the beginner is not struck. Rather the teacher presents openings for a clear succession of attack patterns.

Uchikomi practice tends to emphasize a limited number of strikes and combinations. This is usually more restricted than the total of five areas one may legitimately cut and one target to thrust¹¹. The predominant forms of uchikomi attack are to the front of the crown (shomen), followed by the one-two combinations of wrist-head (kote-men) or wrist-trunk (kote-dō).

Another common combination is the triple attack on the wrist-head-trunk (kote-men-dō). In striking against an instructor, the student continuously hits at the openings provided by the teacher, or if equals are performing the training, the two partners take turns striking against pre-arranged targets (yakusoku keiko).

All forms of uchikomi keiko seek to develop the following: (1) an unhesitating, confident, driving-attack initiative (sen), while (2) maintaining proper postural form (shisei) with (3) a large, straight cutting technique (ōwaza), (4) launched from the "distant interval" (tōma). Uchikomi striking training coordinates the body, sword cut, kiai, and concentration (ki, ken, tai itchi) and develops speed, strength, and stamina in the attack.

2.a. kirikaeshi

The essence of uchikomi training is concentrated in the form known as kirikaeshi. This is a set pattern of cuts to the head while advancing forwards and then backwards, one set constituting approximately ten strikes. Even among advanced kendoists, kirikaeshi is used to initiate and conclude each training set with a senior partner. Kirikaeshi not only demarcates the boundaries of individual training sets, it also signifies relative rank, the senior member receiving the kirikaeshi of his junior.¹⁰

2.b. tai-attari

A variant of uchikomi training is that of tai-attari (body-hitting), also known as butsumari-keiko ("collision training"). Here, immediately upon striking the opponent's head with the

shinai, one drives into the opponent, attempting to knock the latter backwards. This practice gives a powerful and concentrated attack, teaching one to keep his center of gravity low and to retain his balance upon violent contact with the opponent. Repeated practice of this sort (butsumari keiko) is a physically demanding and realistic combat technique. During pre-war times this technique was strongly emphasized. Kirikaeshi, if properly executed includes a powerful tai-attari or body hit with each frontal blow to the head.

2.a. uchikomi keiko

1. Beginners' class, no armor. The head sensei and two assistant instructors form a line, one behind the other, holding their shinai out at the height of the boys' heads. In a single line the boys rush in to hit the target, giving a full shout, "men", with each cut. Approximately 10 minutes.

2. Beginners' class, with armor, less than one year of experience. The boys drag out a hitting post. They line up about fifteen feet from it, and singly charge forward with great yells and reaching the proper interval, drive a lunging strike at the head piece. Sensei interrupts the practice and demonstrates the proper maai, showing by example how many boys are too close. He again emphasizes tenouchi (handwork) and lunging with the hara and koshi. He lines up behind the post and observes each boy as they strike the post, commenting in a loud voice "good" or "bad". Compared to the kihon and individual suburi, the boys clearly enjoy the hitting post exercise and they jostle each other to be in line for their turn.

3. Adult practice. Lunch time government prefectural workers' practice. Formal practice completed, Miyata sensei calls over two students for work on the hitting post, saying that their cutting action needs improvement. He demonstrates and then he and the two students alternate turns by striking the post. One time the sensei comments that it was a good cut, another time he laughs and says, "no, you don't have it yet". He stops them, demonstrates, and tells them to listen to the sound of his strike. "It's tenouchi". He concludes by showing them a two-strike disengaging technique and walks off. The two students continue to practice what he has shown them, being joined by another student who had been observing throughout.

4. butsumari-geiko (collision training). Today I trained with Tobukancho sensei for the first time: kirikaeshi, uchikomi, and butsumari-geiko. He does butsumari with everyone, first letting you drive through with a series of strikes to the head, then suddenly he sits himself firmly, pushes out his belly, and doesn't move out of your way. Strike and collide, a strong disengaging cut followed by a driving lunge, collide and back off again. It really tires you out fast and to my surprise he knocked me flat on my back twice. After practice he told me that my koshi was wavering (furafura) and laughingly reminded me that he is seventy years old.

3. Kakarigeiko - Attack Training

The next stage is kakarigeiko or "attack training". Here the student has progressed to wearing armor and, having developed some proficiency in the simple regulated attacks of uchikomi training, he is now ready to launch attacks against the teacher. Whereas in uchikomi the student strikes the points clearly offered by the teacher, in kakarigeiko he must relentlessly attack, finding his own openings and combinations.

Kakarigeiko is the major training form of attack for practitioners up to the sixth degree (rokudan) any time they go against a senior instructor.

The quality of this attack practice is highly dependent upon the skill of the senior partner (sempai) or sensei. The instructor parries, evades, or hinders an improper attack but allows himself to be hit when the student takes a proper interval, maintains his form, and strikes in conjunction with a large technique and full-spirited kiai.

The teacher may at times hinder the attack but he does not retaliate or oppress the student with the force of his own superior attack. This characteristic, the lack of fear of reprisal, is considered necessary for the beginner in learning

to attack.

"(it)... serves to instill a positive attitude of mind in the execution of striking techniques and a setting of the mind so that the "four evils"-fear, doubt, surprise, and worry-which retard the free flow of action are eliminated" (Draeger, 1974:109).

It is patent that, in the skillful kakarigeiko instruction, the teacher allows the student to learn such attack essentials as timing and distance in a natural manner. Furthermore, it is believed that kakarigeiko stimulates the conditions for experiencing mushin, for in his relentless attack the student must achieve fully concentrated action and be oblivious to all else.

Kakarigeiko is highly demanding and quickly tires the student. It not only builds stamina, but with the skillful urging of the sensei, the student learns to draw on unrealized reserves of strength and determination. To be effective "attack training" should be brief and intense, usually not more than forty seconds per set. This is about the equivalent of running a one-hundred meter dash (Nakano, 1971:182).

3.a. Tobukan middle school boys' class. Seven instructors take their places and about six boys line up in front of each. The head sensei times the sets of kakarigeiko (about forty seconds) and with each beat of the large drum, the next line of boys charges. This goes on for about twenty times, approximately fifteen minutes.

3.b. Observations on giving kakarigeiko. The style of Tobukan kakarigeiko is quite similar to that of other sensei who attended the pre-war Budo Semmon Gakko. Rather than jam the student's attack, they let him charge through each time. If the distance is too close, or the beginning of the attack faulty, they parry the cut with the edge of the shinai and attempt to knock the person down or off balance.

If the student leans too far forward into the cut, that is, his legs and koshi are not propelling him, the teacher steps aside and placing his shinai either in the small of the trainee's back or across his shoulders, flings the

student forward in the direction of his ill-executed lunge. Often, suddenly in the midst of a series of attacks, the teacher may step forward and confront the student with a body block (tai-attari), thus testing the balance.

They give a rough intense practice and as the student begins to tire, they draw him out, putting their own kiai into the strikes and encouraging, challenging the student to make "one more" attempt and then another, and so on. As the student progressively tires, his form begins to deteriorate, his kiai weakens, and he struggles to find the strength for one good clean hit upon the sensei. When it comes, the teacher calls for kirikaeshi and the next student, bowing, jumps in to take his turn.

4. Hikitate keiko - "Supportive training"

The next type of training occurs when the student goes against the teacher in a more general free-form exercise. Hikitate means to patronize, back up, or to support, and it is a more advanced form of practice between the instructor and the student. It begins and ends with kirikaeshi and often includes elements of uchikomi training as well as kakarigeiko.

In hikitate keiko the instructor teaches the junior member by making appropriate reprisals. Thus it is different than kakarigeiko attack practice in which the student attacks without fear of reprisal and the sensei though he may take the psychological initiative does not force the physical attack.

Hikitate training makes great demands upon the teacher for he must carefully adjust his fighting techniques to fit the needs of each student. The instructor, maintaining a positive attacking spirit, must draw out and improve the student's attack without oppressing him with his superior skill. Therefore it is said that the sensei must always fight at a level just one step above the capabilities of his charge. In this way the teacher naturally and without verbal instruction teaches

the student the true art of kendō combat; the teacher must join his spirit and breath (aiku suru) to that of the student so that the latter's body naturally learns from the body and actions of the more advanced instructor.

4. Reflections on practice with a seventh degree sensei of the Tobukan dojo. Practice begins with kirikaeshi, then we engage in fighting. Each time he stimulates me to my utmost. It seems as if I almost have a chance. I can enter his maai and go in for the attack, but he quietly waits and catches me lightly in the throat with a tsuki thrust every time. It confuses me and when I hesitate, then he forces the attack and strikes my men. When my attack slows down and I seem to be just waiting, he calls for kakarigeiko, very brief, perhaps thirty seconds; and then he challenges me to a one-point match (ippon shobu). He keeps me at it till I strike one good one; then he calls for kirikaeshi and the practice is concluded.

5. Gokaku keiko - "Equal Training"

After the student has practiced with the available higher ranking instructors, he may train with those of the same skill. This is called gokaku keiko and in this case all other preceding forms of practice, including kirikaeshi are foregone.

Instructors strongly remind their students that "equal training" is neither a random exercise nor tournament practice (shiai-geiko). Rather it is an opportunity for one to study his own techniques and tactical applications. One's partner is there to help; it is a mutual sparring exercise.

This free-style training (jiyu keiko) tests the level of skills and psychological development between contestants of more or less equal ability. Compared to practice against the sensei, the individual has more time to think and to respond to the opponent's actions. New strategies and techniques may be tested. Gokaku keiko is highly enjoyable to its practitioners,

obviously, but both they and the instructor must be on guard lest the practice degenerates into pure play (asobi) or mere waiting to strike one good point.

5. Tobukan dōjō, 5th and 6th graders. "After having done suburi, uchikomi, and kakarigeiko, Tobukancho sensei tells the boys each to pick a partner. He beats on the drum and they begin gokaku keiko. After about three minutes he beats on the drum and they change partners. This is done five or six times. Meanwhile as the practice is going on he observes the students. Two are just "playing around," pushing against each other. He smacks one lightly but sharply on the bare leg with his shinai, and hitting the other on his helmet, shouts "what's the matter? no spirit?...."

He goes on to another pair, stops them and shows one boy his improper hitting technique. He adjusts the student's arms, putting them in the proper position and then demonstrates a good cut on the other boy's helmet. They both bow and enter the din of fighting boys in their midst...

Two partners are of unequal size and the larger keeps knocking the smaller down. The latter immediately gets up and charges at his opponent. Sensei observes laughingly and as the smaller one is knocked down again lightly taps him on the behind and encourages him to "attack, attack".

6. Shiai keiko - "Competition Training"

"Competition practice" simulates the conditions of actual tournament whereby the first partner to score two points wins. Shiai keiko may be formal or informal. In the first case, the sensei or senior students (sempai) act as official judges while all other contestants look on and wait their turns. This is also an opportunity for junior instructors to receive training in refereeing. In the second case, the two partners informally decide to hold a contest, acting as their own judges.

This formal competition training is not found in the daily routine of the dōjō. However, usually several weeks before a tournament, shiai keiko will be increasingly incorporated

into the training sessions.

Quite a number of variations exist for organizing shiai keiko and for thus maintaining the enthusiasm of the players. Some of these variations include situations wherein the winner remains until he is defeated or where the loser stays in until he takes a point.

A crucial but subtle difference between the three types of kendō may be seen in respect to "tournament training". In general, the greater the frequency of this type of training the more sports oriented the dōjō will be. The classical kendō dōjō while it may have this form of training does not overly stress it and does not spend much time in teaching or analyzing special techniques which may take points in contest.

6. Primary school age practice. With a local prefectural tournament approaching in two weeks, Tobukancho sensei decides to begin holding shiai keiko. He directs the fifth and sixth grade boys to one half of the dōjō and the younger boys to the other half. The boys in each group throw their shinai into a pile in the center. The sensei in each court pulls out two shinai thus deciding each set of contestants. They are directed to sit in two teams and their order of entry is explained. Sensei then reminds them that the essence of competition is kiai and maai. He judges one court and has me and another instructor judges the other.

7. Tokubetsu keiko - "Special Training"

Kendō is practiced all year round, having no special season for training or for vacation. Recognizing the age old belief that the extremes of climatic variation offer unique opportunities for forging the individual, Japanese martial culture provides for special training sessions during the winter and summer periods. Of these two, winter training (kangeiko) is considered the more important. Occurring in conjunction with

the New Year holidays, winter training provides a special sense of renewal and affirmation of individual to his place in kendō in his local community.

Winter training is considered most effective when it is practiced early in the morning. The dōjō are unheated, all windows are opened for maximum ventilation, and practice is conducted as usual in barefeet. There is only keiko, no competition (shiai).

Winter and summer special training sessions are of variable duration, depending upon the situation of the sponsoring dōjō and its members. It is common for University groups, for example, to postpone winter training until after the New Year's holidays because most students return home and train in their local communities. The special training sessions for the Mito Tobukan are ten days duration, beginning daily at 4:30 A.M. Participation in this session marks, for beginners, a graduation to a new status. They receive a diploma and then may begin to wear protective equipment¹¹. The Tobukan's kangeiko training is particularly well-known, televised yearly for its New Year's programming by N.H.K. Kendo clubs from the Kanto region apply months in advance to participate in the training, and individuals from all over Japan who have ties with the kendō tradition of Mito seek to attend to renew ties with former friends and teachers. With over three hundred participants, the session is divided into several stages, the youngest going first, the total session lasting nearly five hours.

6. Mito Tobukan. Kangeiko practice. Arrive at dōjō 4:30 A.M. The boys are already starting to dress, others still arriving on bicycles or driven by their parents.

The dōjō is ringed with the Shinto shimenawa marking the space as sacred. One sensei brings out rags and buckets of cold water and the boys as well as a few parents take turns clearing the polished dōjō floors. Other parents take brooms and sweep the outside entrance of the dōjō washing it down with water. Now one teacher begins pounding out a strong rhythm on the big drum and everyone, including the parents, run around the dōjō to warm up. On a certain beat everyone lets out a loud shout.

Ozawa sensei enters the dōjō when all the students have arrived. Everyone lines up. He invites the parents to line up behind the boys on the dōjō floor thus having them actually participate in the opening of kangeiko. He gives a brief talk emphasizing that this early morning kangeiko is a special form of shugyo (austerities) and that only people of strong will can do it. While others sleep in their warm beds on this second day of the New Year's holiday, kendoists are strengthening their bodies and spirits. This is the "path of the samurai" he says and recites a poem written for Tobukan's kangeiko fifty years ago, a haiku that reads "pierce the cold and strike the dawn".

He has the youngest boy call out in a loud voice for meditation and than for rei to the altar and sensei. Next he leads the warm up exercises, encouraging the parents to participate for "kendo is good for your health also".

Another sensei is then invited to sing a poem to fortify their spirits. Next the boys line up in pairs and begin marching around the dōjō, shinai in hands, singing the Tobukan Youth Song to the beat of the drum. On the last beat of the drum all boys must end their marching in unison. After two tries they succeed. Ozawa sensei has them all sit on the cold floor again and has groups of ten boys each sing the shigin poem of Mito's famed lord, Tokugawa Nariaki. By this time many of the sensei and older adults have arrived to help give practice to the boys and then to train themselves. It is about 5 A.M. now Ozawa sensei tells them to put on their equipment and to form lines in front of the many sensei who have turned out to give them special practice.

From 5:00 A.M. to about 7:30 A.M. the practice is intense and continuous. More and more people come, talking with old friends as they prepare their equipment. The youngest boys are done by six and the middle and high school youths rapidly take their place. Everywhere there is activity and bustle. The parents offering profuse thanks to the sensei for their taking

care of the boys, New Year's greeting and wishes. The head sensei and his wife hand out tangerines to all the boys who are leaving for home. A large bonfire has been built outside and many people stand around discussing their New Year's plans by its warmth.

From about 7:30 to 9:00 A.M. the adults practice. The highest ranking sensei, quit a little early, sit on the raised tatami platform next to a small kerosene heater talking and watching the practice, passing small cups of sake around to each other.

There are several other forms of "special training" in addition to the winter and summer sessions. For example, the Tobukan has a special practice on New Year's Eve which ends at midnight when all participants go to pay their respects at a local Shinto shrine¹². After the shrine, they retire to the dojō for a bowl of hot noodles and sake after which they individually join their families in the late night festivities.

Gasshuku or retreats are another form of special training often associated with school groups. These are intensive sessions, often held in the country-side during summer vacation. Training is normally conducted at least twice a day with considerable jogging and calisthenics in between. In the evenings the sensei and participating alumni have time to explain in detail the theories and dramatic stories with which kendō is filled. It is not unusual for gasshuku training sessions to include instruction in zazen meditation¹³.

8. Shiai - "Tournament"

Classical and cultural types of kendō regard competitive contests as an essential form of training, but they do not see tournaments as the purpose and goal of daily practice. Shiai is a valuable test of one's skill against an unknown opponent.

These more traditional forms of kendō have been vociferous in criticizing the trend in sports kendō to increase the number and importance of shiai. While sports kendō advocates claim that tournaments are the primary motivation for younger kendoists, there is widespread sentiment among older kendoists that over-emphasis on the yearly round of tournaments overstimulates the competitive instinct and tends to make kendō a pure sport¹⁴.

In contrast to Draeger's assertion that the classical martial ways (ko-budō) eschew contest, I suggest that the later developments in classical kendō which saw the development of protective equipment and the bamboo shinai indicate a central concern with contest. Gekken is predicated upon the testing of skills in contest and this capability of the discipline paved the way for indigenous sports-like developments in the pre-modern era and the transition to modern sport in contemporary times.

Competition matches are from three to five minutes, the first individual to score two points being declared the winner. Tournaments usually consist of both individual eliminations as well as team matches¹⁵. Because of the large number of contestants, tournaments are usually all day affairs. They are notable in that they seem to be designed more for participants than spectators¹⁶.

For the non-professional adult kendoist, that is one who is neither a police kendoist nor a physical education teacher whose specialty is kendō, tournaments are engaged in no more than twice a year. For these adults, a local or regional shiai may be the limit of their participation. For them it is a

pleasurable experience, to test their dōjō's mettle against other local groups. Among school-age kendoists, success in tournament assumes a much greater importance for these youths, their instructors, and parents as well.

Occasional participation in shiai is also important for the highest ranking sensei. These matches are usually of a non-elimination type, each sensei being matched with a competitor more or less his own rank.¹⁷

9. Kata - "Pre-arranged forms"

The training methods discussed to this point have primarily involved the use of the bamboo shinai as their dominant instrument. The use of the shinai, however, gives only a limited approximation of training with the real sword, its chief virtue being the safety it affords in all-out attack training. It is recognized of the shinai that its weight, length, and tubular construction significantly alter the manipulation and cutting action of the weapon from the real sword. Consequently, training with the bokken, the hardwood sword, is considered obligatory for true kendō training of the classical type.

Kata training is one of the dominant characteristics of the classical martial ways, many of which make no concession to tournament contest training. Within the classical martial arts and ways, the kata represent the distilled essence of the technical combative knowledge of the ryū. Carefully formulated and applied as a training system over the ages, the kata have no unnecessary movements; every action is of combative significance. In addition, the progression of the kata, their unfolding interaction often reveal fundamental aesthetic and

philosophical principles.

The contemporary kendoist has at his disposal three major forms of kata with which to train. First, if he belongs to a classical kendō dōjō he will be able to learn the kata of the ko-budō which his dōjō is affiliated with. Second, all kendoists are obligated to master the ten kata of the All-Japan Kendō Federation. Proficiency in these is required for advancement to higher ranks in formal examinations.¹⁸ Practice in kata with the bokken is essential to mature development it imparts proper form, accurate cutting action, maai, kiai, efficient breath control, and the proper spirit of mind for the combat situation.

The third form of kata training in which the kendoist may engage is that of iaidō. Again he may have an affiliation with a classical iaidō ryū or he may train in the limited seven forms of the All-Japan Kendo Federation.

In assessing whether a particular dōjō is of the classical, cultural, or sports type, I have come to place the presence or absence of kata training as a determining variable. For the classical kendō type, kata is a central component of training and its execution is often related to practical combative application. The sports kendō type, on the other hand, makes little or no use of kata training for many of the specific techniques are not recognized in tournament point scoring¹⁹. In cases where the sports type of martial way does use kata, the tendency has been to develop organized competitions based on evaluation of pure form.¹⁹

There has been a tendency in recent years for the sports orientation in kendō to prevail, thus resulting, even in cultural

kendō dōjō, in a serious neglect of kata training. This is characteristic of almost all the shin budō. Because proficiency in kata is required for dan examinations, most dōjō will schedule kata training only in those specific forms necessary for individuals who are applying for promotion. This training is usually initiated several weeks prior to the examination.

10. Non-Combative Aspects of Martial Training

This section deals with various behaviors found in the dōjō that may be part of training but that are not in themselves combative in nature. Rather, they represent educational adjunct roles; symbolic and expressive manifestations of the relationship of the martial tradition to broader areas of Japanese culture. There are many such behaviors and their presence or absence constitute the fundamental criteria for distinguishing cultural kendō from sports kendō. The development of sports kendō have tended to slough off and minimize the cultivation of expressive aspects of the Japanese martial tradition.

10.a. Waka, Shigin, and Kenbu

The incorporation of poetry, song, and dance are three distinctive expressive elements of classical martial culture in swordsmanship. Throughout this dissertation I have used examples of martial poetry to illustrate certain important values and attitudes in kendō. Classical poetic forms such as kanshi²⁰ and particularly waka²¹ are highly expressive Japanese art forms still actively and widely practiced in the martial ways.

As in many other civilizations, Japanese martial culture has maintained a close association with poetry, song, and dance to instil sentiment and encourage ardor. The Japanese martial

tradition, moreover, has used poetry as an important teaching device. One possible reason is that the brief poetic form is easily committed to memory (Huizinga, 1950:127). But even more important in the Japanese case is the belief that learning poetry fosters the intuitive process; a catalytic transcendence of words in which the inner secrets (gokui) of the martial ways may be transmitted. Learning gokui necessitates intuitive understanding which, in turn, may be grasped through the poetic form.

Thus in all the written documents and manuals of the classical arts and ways, waka poetic forms are included as a teaching device. Classical and cultural types of kendō have maintained this form of training. It was common for instructors affiliated with the Mito Tobukan to sing waka poetry to their students to instill a certain thought or feeling in them. Interpretation of waka is still a required skill in written examinations for the highest ranks of kendoists.²² Finally, poetry may be seen on the walls of many dōjō and in most contemporary kendō books.

In a similar manner poetry in the classical Chinese style may be sung. Known as shigin, this type of song is particularly believed to rouse the emotional sentiments of man. Shigin singing is a required part of Tobukan training, each boy must be able to sing (at least in a group) a poem written by Tokugawa Nariaki²³. A further incentive for the kendoist to learn shigin is that this style of singing will improve his breath control and hara.

Finally, the third expressive art form occasionally encountered in the dōjō is kenbu (sword dance). Accompanied with

shigin singing these dances recount some stirring historical battlefield incident involving heroic warriors or express a deeply felt traditional warrior poetic sentiment. Tobukan trainees must learn to perform at least one sword dance which is usually demonstrated at large tournaments.²⁴ Kenbu training, moreover, serves as a vehicle to introduce iaidō and develops the koshi, coordinating breath control with sword cuts.

In addition to poetry, song, and dance there are other expressive non-combative elements in kendō training. I may briefly mention here the traditional method of cleaning the floors before and after training²⁵ and reference to the aphorisms contained in calligraphic scrolls that adorn dōjō walls.

11. Mushashugyō - "Martial Travel"

In the classical martial arts and ways once a trainee had reached a certain level of proficiency he was obligated to travel to distant provinces to test his skills and polish his techniques against other opponents. This tradition has persisted in modern kendō among individuals and organized groups. For many dōjō such as the Tobukan, mushashugyō offers the opportunity to combine educational summer travel with intense kendō training. The Tobukan organizes two trips every summer to places of historical interest relating to martial culture. Attended by instructors, students, and many of their parents, it is an important social event for the adults to get to know each other better and for the boys to deepen their friendships.

During my period of stay at the Tobukan I participated on mushashugyō trips to the renowned mausoleum of Nikko, the

castle town of Aizu, and a more extended training tour through the Hokuriku region of Western Japan.

12. Embu and Shinto Shrine Related Activities

The Japanese martial tradition is indissolubly tied to Shinto religious symbolism and to local Shinto shrine festivals devoted to martial deities. The classical martial arts and ways often have formal relationships to particular shrines and modern kendō dōjō of the cultural type often maintain loose affiliations with local shrines. In large measure due to the revisions in the post-war educational system due to the Allied Occupation, modern sports including kendō have little or no relationship to Shinto practices.²⁶ The internationalization of sports kendō has strengthened this separation between the modern martial ways and Shinto. I include here some field notes of a yearly Shinto shrine festival participated in by members of the Mito Tobukan and other local kendō groups.

12. Mito City. Yoshida Jinja is having its annual festival in honor of Yamato Takeru no Mikoto, the ancient martial hero and prince of the Yamato Imperial clan. Yamato Takeru is remembered for pacifying the northern regions for the Imperial house, dying on a lonely plain in loyal devotion to his duties. Legend has it that he founded this shrine in Mito while he stopped here on his campaigns.

It is a sunny day and the competition is to be on the grassy field next to the shrine. There are about fifteen teams, including some members from local high-school teams. The winners are awarded prizes donated by local merchants who belong to this shrine. The meet begins about ten A.M. and many spectators from the neighborhood gather for the festival, to offer their prayers, and to watch the small booths being set up by vendors of foodstuffs and trinkets (mostly for the children).

The teams assemble on the field and various sensei open the proceedings, telling contestants that their efforts represent sincerity of the martial spirit that is pleasing to the diety enshrined there. From within the shrine itself the ancient sounds of gagaku music - flutes, drums and shichiriki - can be heard along with the chanting of the priests. The competition begins. The feeling among the groups is quite relaxed and amiable. This is a tournament for all to enjoy.

About noon an intermission is called. It is now time for all the contestants to carry the diety, enthroned in the sacred mikoshi, around the shrine grounds. Still dressed in their traditional kendo outfit all participants lend a hand to roughly carry the heavy palanquin, awakening the dieties to the presence of the shrine believers. Once outside the priests continue their prayers and rituals. Sacred sake (omiki) is offered to all who participate in the ritual and then the diety is returned to the shrine where the priests continue their labors. Lunch is eaten and the tournament continues.

Other Shinto shrines often sponsor martial activities which are not modern-styled competitions. Designated as embu these demonstrations are often associated with regular shrine festivities. Among the older shrines embu in kyūdō (bowmanship), bajutsu (combative horsemanship), kenjutsu, and even sumō are common. Often these major Shinto shrines such as Katori Jingu in Chiba Prefecture, Kashima Jingu in Ibaraki Prefecture, and Nikko in Tochigi Prefecture will have on their grounds large dōjō available to different groups for mushashugyō and gasshuku training sessions.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described at least twelve major forms of organized training activities. I have not treated the private training and experiences that an individual may use to deepen his awareness in kendō, although such pursuits are traditionally encouraged. I have suggested, moreover, that there

are currently three types or styles of kendō which may be identified by their configuration and interpretation of various training methods. These kinds of kendō represent different tendencies or orientations rather than hard or fast types. The actual mix of training procedures within different dōjō vary widely and in many cases one style or type of kendō shades into another.

Nevertheless, for theoretical purposes in understanding the modern martial way of kendō, the three types are useful conceptual tags. These types represent, moreover, a developmental or evolutionary scheme: classical kendō, as its name implies, is the most traditionally oriented of the three, while sports kendō is the most modern development. I see cultural kendō as the form of the art derived from the Late Meiji Period when kendō was standardized and systematized under a national organization for incorporation into the public school system. Cultural kendō represents the modernized form of swordsmanship, in the martial heritage, for citizens of the Japanese nation-state. Only future developments will tell if sports kendō will supercede cultural kendō as the latest evolutionary form of the martial heritage of swordsmanship for post-war Japan.

The differences in training methods among the three types are tabulated on the next page. Classical kendō is represented by a configuration of training that emphasizes self-cultivation through training in combat readiness with the sword as defined by the tenets and traditional practices of classic Japanese martial culture. Cultural kendō stresses self-cultivation through training with the bamboo shinai in a quasi-sport or contest form

that is infused with the symbolism and expressive acts of the larger martial tradition. Sports kendō is a system of competitive training based upon skill with the shinai for health, recreation, and sport that is becoming increasingly distant from the values and training methods characteristic of the traditional martial culture.

Classical kendō and cultural kendō differ mainly on the importance attached to training with the shinai and whether or not there is a concern with combative realism with the sword exercised in the form of kata training. Cultural kendō de-emphasizes kata training and combative applications. On the other hand, while sports kendō and cultural kendō predominantly stress training with the bamboo shinai, the latter has practices and values that seek to remain within the classic martial tradition of education. Sports kendō stresses success in tournament play and correspondingly minimizes traditional martial training methods that have combative application or that express deeply symbolic attachments to the classical martial tradition.

This chapter has certain implications for future research in other martial arts and ways. First, the individual dōjō and its specific training methodology must be the basic unit of analysis. Secondly, a broad range of training behaviors must be investigated for not all are strictly combative. In fact, the role of symbolic and expressive training procedures is a significant one and it is possible that as any combative system moves out of its original cultural context, these will be among the first elements to be shed in the internationalization process.

Table 3

Type of Modern Kendo

orientation significant training methods	<u>Classical Kendo</u>	<u>Cultural Kendo</u>	<u>Sports Kendo</u>
<u>SHINAI</u>			
1. <u>Kihon</u>			
1.a. <u>reigi</u>	stressed	stressed	present
1.b. <u>suburi</u>	stressed	stressed	present
2.a. <u>uchikomi</u>	stressed	stressed	present
2.b. <u>kirikaeshi</u>	stressed	stressed	present
2.c. <u>tai-attari</u>	stressed	present	present
3. <u>kakarigeiko</u>	stressed	stressed	present
4. <u>hikitate-keiko</u>	stressed	stressed	present
5. <u>gokaku-keiko</u>	present	present	stressed
6. <u>shiai-keiko</u>	present	present	stressed
8. <u>shiai</u>	present	present	stressed
<u>SWORD</u>			
9. <u>kata</u>			
9.a. All-Japan Kendo Kata	stressed	present	for pro- motion
9.b. <u>Iaido kata</u>	stressed	present	absent
9.c. <u>ko-budo kata</u>	stressed	absent	absent
1. <u>bokken kihon</u>			
1.b. <u>suburi</u>	stressed	present	absent
<u>SYMBOLIC TRAINING</u>			
7. <u>tokubetsu keiko</u>	stressed	stressed	present
10. <u>non-combative</u>			
10.a. <u>poetry, song, dance</u>	stressed	present	absent
11. <u>Mushashugyo</u>	present	present	present
12. <u>Shinto relationship</u>	stressed	present	absent

- (a) For the sake of conceptual clarity I have perhaps under-stressed certain training techniques in the sports kendo category, particularly in the shinai training methods. The superior sports kendo dojo would stress fundamentals with the shinai as much as the classical or cultural kendo dojo if not more so because the former is most concerned with technical expertise in that instrument.

Finally, and in conjunction with the following point, variations in training techniques, particularly in combative technology are a critical criteria for assessment of a particular martial art or way. It is suggested that the more closely a martial way approximates a sport form, the more simplification in technology and technique will be manifested.

Chapter 4 Notes

1. In the original Sanscrit the term refers to the "place of enlightenment" (bodhimandala) (Suzuki, 1959:128) while we may translate the Chinese characters as "place of the Tao". In any event the Japanese sense of the term dojo always indicates an educational structure for spiritual self-cultivation of some sort. While other traditional arts may term their place of training as a dojo, the term is popularly associated with the martial ways.
2. I suggest that the dojo for martial training is associated with the increasing developments of urbanization in the Muromachi period. It was still most common to conduct training outdoors under natural terrain. It was in the urban centers that bushi attached to a local lord required secrecy from prying eyes to perfect their specialized techniques and methods of combat.

The sacred space within which training was conducted, however, has direct antecedents that are associated with the martial tradition and Shinto culture rather than Zen Buddhism. Even now it is common to enclose dojo or even outdoor spaces with the sacred Shinto shimenawa (rice-straw cord with gohei amulets). This may be seen at embu (martial demonstrations by classical martial arts and ways), local Shinto sumo contests, and at New Year's practices. It is possible that because it dealt with the shedding of blood, that martial training was considered as potentially polluting and therefore in need of a sacred space to purify the acts conducted within (personal communication with Roald Knutsen at Kashima village, 1976).

3. The importance of the Shinto kamidana in the dojo belies the overwhelming significance attached to Zen Buddhism and Japanese martial culture. Shinto is equally important and the ancestral worship embedded in the martial arts and ways is often neglected. It constitutes an exciting area of research. The fertile sub-stratum that Shinto belief provided for Zen thought has been inadequately treated in Japanese studies. The most common ancestral deities to be enshrined in the kendo dojo are the two martial deities of Kashima and Katori Jingu, Takemakazuchi no Mikoto and Futsunushi no Mikoto. If the founder of the dojo is deceased it is common to have his mortuary tablets enshrined there also. Because of the strong ties to local tradition, the Mito Tobukan dojo also enshrines the two most famous lords of Mito han, Tokugawa Mitsukuni and Tokugawa Nariaki.
4. The Japanese equation of age with status and moral attainment is clearly reflected in seating patterns within the dojo. The sensei's side is closest to the kamidana, indicating their spiritual and temporal proximity to kami-ness.

Two basic seating patterns exist depending upon the placement of the kamidana is the usually rectangular dojo. If

the kamidana is placed in the center of the long side, the sensei sit with their backs to the altar while the students sit opposite them facing the deities. In this case, the highest ranking sensei will sit in the center while lesser ranking instructors will side to the left and right in decreasing order of seniority. More commonly since it is perhaps more ambiguous the highest ranking sensei will take an extreme position on the left and a line of decreasing rank will extend from him. The students follow the same positioning, each one sitting in order of his rank and/or seniority. The other pattern occurs when the kamidana is in the middle of the short side of the dojo in which case the instructors and students from two opposite lines arranged by high rank closest to the altar.

5. The Zen-analogy is most common in kendō among those instructors who are personally involved with this sect. The degree of explicit Zen-oriented interpretation is by no means uniform in kendō instruction. Takano Hiromasa, headmaster of the Nakanishī-ha Itto Ryu, clearly formulates his training in swordsmanship as active Zen and he requires the practice of Zazen meditation. His training methods have numerous historical precedents from Yamaoka Teshhu on back. The analogy of kendō training with Zen Buddhist methods of shugyō are taken from the Rinzai sect.
6. Although in contemporary kendō one does not hear much of the art and philosophy of death, one should not assume that this central conception is gone from the martial arts and ways. Because of the sensitivities of contemporary Japanese to the prewar over emphasis on death, the concept is skirted in public and generally avoided. Nevertheless, in the literature, poetry, and deepest feelings of its practitioners one must consider death in training and use this knowledge to reflect on one's daily life. Mishima Yukio stressed in his later writings and interviews that the demonic and "dark" side of bu (things martial) was neglected by contemporary Japanese and foreign scholars as well. Interpretations of "death" are highly subject to the social conditions of the times, particularly whether or not one lives in a time of peace or war. The concept of voluntary death, calmly waking under the sword to "polish one's spirit", is still central in kendō teachings.
7. Nakano Hasuoji, Kendō Nyūmon (Entering Kendō) (Tokyo: Tozaisha, 1972) traces the original meaning of keiko in the martial arts to the Muromachi period. This period (1338-1573) is undoubtedly one of the most crucial for understanding the evolution of the martial ways (budō) and the rise of highly perfected systems of combat by powerful and professional groups of warriors who expected to war on the battlefield.

8. Even if we perceive the major trend of modern kendō to be a sports form, the degree of aesthetic art criteria still runs strong. As a competitive contact sport kendō is unique for maintaining its aesthetic criteria of "good form". In most combative sports winning creates its own style and aesthetics. In boxing, basketball, or football the ends are separated from the performance of the means, winning is all important. In contrast, aesthetic sports such as gymnastics and diving make no such separation. Expert expression of the aesthetic canons in action itself constitute winning. For these expressive art forms, and we may include kendō as sport in this category, the constant practice in fundamental exercises is obligatory.
9. Training in the proper method of sitting seiza is one of the most important functions of contemporary kendō education. Seiza is the formal sitting posture for every type of Japanese social function conducted on tatami mats. Changes in contemporary house architecture particularly as regards eating patterns for the family and studying habits for school age children are producing a generation of Japanese youth who are neither comfortable nor proficient in sitting in the seiza position. Detailed instruction is paid to behavior in seiza in the kendō dojo and teachers often consciously have students sit for long periods in this posture to help them develop will-power and perseverance. Seiza posture is believed to have a beneficial effect on health and although there is a strong contemporary attitude that prolonged sitting in this fashion may deform the lower limbs or even inhibit natural leg growth.
10. In certain cases kirikaeshi may be used as a device to assert relative rank. Thus, a slightly senior individual may reinforce his superior status over his lesser partner by demanding that the other perform kirikaeshi instead of immediately going into "equal training" (gokaku keiko). On the other hand, the request to perform kirikaeshi by his lower status partner may be used to communicate his desire to develop a more personal sempai-kohai relationship with his senior partner. It may also indicate his sincerity to train in the fundamentals.
11. It is standard procedure for the Tobukan dōjō to require of its school age boys that they train in a group for a complete program of six months before they may graduate to wearing protective equipment. This is a common length of time in many dojo although some require as little as three months and some as much as one year. The situation for beginning adults is somewhat different depending upon the degree of his improvement. It is rare, however, to advance even the adult beginner to protective equipment (bogu) before three months of training have elapsed.

12. The Mito Tobukan maintains a close ritual relationship to the ancestral figures of local historical leaders, particularly Mito Mitsukuni, the second Tokugawa lord of the domain and Tokugawa Nariaki, the ninth lord. During this New Year's special training, participants go to the shrine devoted to Mitsukuni which was constructed in the early Meiji Period but which was firebombed during the war.
13. See Thomas Rohlen, "Spiritual Training in a Japanese Bank", American Anthropologist 73 (1974) for the use of zazen as a device for company employee training.
14. Frequent complaints on the current over-emphasis of shiai emerge from almost every meeting of the highest-ranking kendo sensei. Related to this is their dissatisfaction with the decline of kendo kata training. A significant proportion of these leaders are now calling for a renewed interest and research in the classical martial ways (ko-budo) of swordsmanship. For a representative example of these attitudes see the publication of the All-Japan Kendo Federation, ZenKenRen Gazette (February, 1975).
15. Numerous informants have told me that pre-war kendo stressed group matches (dantai shiai) while the tendency for post-war kendo is to stress individual matches (kojin shiai). It was common in Hawaii, for example, for sensei to schedule only individual matches, eliminating team contest because of time considerations. As of 1973 this tendency was becoming more pronounced and there was considerable dissatisfaction with this decision by older leaders.
16. The best example of this is Kyoto Budosai - a major demonstration tournament, and examination - held every year May 4-7 in Kyoto at the Butokuden dojo. In this, the most important of national gatherings for kendoists, there is scarcely room for observation of any kind. The building, designed for national gatherings in the martial ways, has a huge floor space and a comparatively minor spectator area.
17. The two major tournaments for higher ranking kendoists (kodansha) are the above mentioned budosai held in Kyoto in the spring and the "Battle of East and West" (tozai sen) held late in autumn usually in Tokyo. The budosai contests are individual matches while the tozai sen picks two teams of twenty-five contestants, representing the strongest senior kendoists from Eastern and Western Japan.
18. The All-Japan Kendo Kata consist of ten forms; seven with the long sword (odachi) and three with the short sword (kodachi). The first three kata are required through shodan; five kata for nidan; and all ten for sandan and above. Some contemporary sport kendoists denigrate the importance of the kata for many of the techniques are not recognized in

regulated contest. For example, the thrust to the chest in the third form, the kamae in the fourth form, the method of cutting do in the seventh form, as well as the last three forms that use the short sword. Conversely, sports kendō encourages techniques such as the katate jōdan which have no counterpart in any kata.

19. Sports competition of kata based on evaluation of pure form has been a growing tendency among many of the shin budō. While it is not true for kendō as yet, kata competitions are common in jūdō, karate-dō, naginata-dō, and iaidō. See Draeger (1974) for an evaluation of kata training in each modern martial way.
20. The kanshi is the classic poetic form of China used by Japanese literati. When kanshi are sung, the style is known as shigin.
21. The waka or tanka is the classic poetic form of Japan, consisting of thirty-one syllables divided into units of 5-7-5-7-7. The popular haiku, composed of seventeen syllables, is structural variant of the waka, merely lacking its last two lines.
22. I have seen examination forms for the eighth degree (hachidan) level examination in which at least five martial waka were presented. Applicants were directed to interpret at least three of the five poems. For an example of the kinds of questions used in written examinations through the seventh degree see, Osaka-Fu Kendo Renmei, Kendō Gakkā Kaisetsu (An explanation of the kendō written examination) (Osaka; 1974).
23. This shigin is highly representative of the type used in the classical and cultural kendō dōjō for expressing certain critical sentiments. The poem concerns the Mito-han school, the Kodokan, which was reknowned for its many plum (ume) blossoms. The ume is equally a symbol for the Japanese bushi as the cherry blossom. The ume blossom's distinction is that it is the first to flower while winter's snow is still on the ground thus symbolizing unhesitating devotion and perseverance to one's duties. This shigin was written by Tokugawa Nariaki.
24. The most popular kenbu dance performed among young kendoists recounts the tale of loyalty and suicide (seppuku) by the youthful bushi of the Aizu han. This teenage corps, the Byakotai, fought in defense of the Tokugawa shogunate against the imperial forces who sought to establish the Meiji government. This story is known throughout Japan. A large oil painting of the incident hangs in the Tobukan dōjō.

25. The traditional manner of cleaning the dōjō floor known as zokkin gakkae in which one bends over and runs the length of the floor with the cleaning rag held in the hands. Washing the dōjō is not only done for reasons of safety, it is also a purifying act. The practice is believed to be beneficial for developing strength in the koshi.
26. Specific religious sects that sponsor a kendō dōjō will, of course, not have a Shinto kamidana. I have seen this altar lacking in dōjō run by Zen Buddhist temples, Tenrikyo and P. L. Kyodan churches, and independent dōjō in Hawaii. Usually these dōjō will replace the kamidana with some iconographic symbol denoting something appropriately spiritual. Most dōjō in Japan, however, maintain a Shinto kamidana and often a Japanese flag.

Chapter 5 The Theory of Learning

In this chapter I describe Kendō as a regime for learning. In Japanese culture training, education, and self-cultivation are necessary for the development of a mature, "completed" human being. The goal of self-cultivation and self-perfection is most effectively accomplished through the emulation of models. In the case of kendō, the budō and all arts suffixed with "dō" or michi, the models for emulation are those based on tradition. Addressing the problem of individual creativity and self-expression, how the individual is understood to grow with guidance of traditional precepts -- the processes, techniques, symbols and beliefs for learning -- constitute the core of this chapter.

First, the symbolic content of learning is organized around the metaphor of the sword as the model for self-cultivation. An identification between the Japanese sword (nihon tō) and the heart and soul (kokoro) is established wherein the attributes of the sword stand for desirable personality traits and wherein "forging" and "polishing" describe the process and techniques of learning. Secondly, the learning theory is looked at in terms of its experiential emphasis and the relationship between "action" or "doing" and the concepts of mind and body discussed in Chapter Three. The methodology of model emulation is predicated upon imitation and repetition of fixed forms and criteria determined by tradition. Repetition as a kinesthetic technique for learning is related to the psychosomatic unity of kokoro, hara, and ki. Furthermore, kendō training seeks to induce self-discovery through repetition of set forms which in turn

discipline the "instinctual" areas of human nature. Finally, the process of self-cultivation is described by the concept of shu-ha-ri, a progression of self-discovery and individual creativity through adherence to tradition. The immaturity and inexperience of the beginner dictates the necessity of finding a living model, the master or sensei, who is the mediator, transmitter, and interpreter of tradition. Through the faithful adherence to and imitation of the sensei, the learner begins to incorporate the actions and beliefs of the tradition. Nevertheless, mere imitation of the model is not the final goal of the learning process as the practitioner must transcend the outer forms, as well as his dependence upon the sensei and seek his own resolution to the tradition in contemporary society.

Learning Models and the Sword

From pre-modern times systematic education has been highly valued in Japanese culture. Buddhist and more particularly Confucian tradition has always held the teacher and education in high esteem. Education in a formal sense has been viewed as necessary for the self-improvement and mature development of the individual. The high degree of literacy and the positive attitude towards formal education in Tokugawa Japan produced a cultural set for "training in being trained" that was in no small measure responsible for the successful emulation of Western models of mass education and technological development during the Meiji period (Dore, 1965:302).

This predisposition towards formal learning stems from the belief that "men, lacking innate defects, are perfectible through

education" (Munro, 1969:vii) and "that people are innately capable of learning from models...(which are) the most efficient method" (1969:96).¹ Learning, however, unlike the Platonic tradition, is not valued for its own sake, as an abstract intellectual exercise.² Not only is the Japanese view of education pragmatic, but it is also highly idealistic in its emphasis on the primacy of moral values in aiding the individual to fulfill his place in the social order, which is likewise a moral and ethical order. Indeed, in the traditional Japanese value system, moral education takes precedence over technical proficiency. On the Japanese cultural pattern of education, Ruth Benedict commented, "Beyond specific technical training, the individual needs self-training, cultivation of the self" (Benedict, 1946:229). The belief in the necessity of self-cultivation based upon model emulation still pervades contemporary Japan. Rohlen's opinion is that "the Japanese quest for character improvement is close to being a national religion" (Rohlen, 1976:128).

Kendō and the budō are among the primary learning models for the cultivation of the Japanese character. They are paradigms for the class of learning behaviors known as "spiritual education" (seihin kyoiku). It will be recalled that the historical analysis of kendō indicated that the persistence of the martial ways was due to their assessment as effective means of symbolic and expressive inculcation of "spiritual education" and values rather than for their effectiveness in teaching fighting arts.

The symbolic association of the sword with Japanese culture is universally recognized, at least in a general sense as Ruth

Benedict's Chrysanthemum and the Sword so clearly indicated. A complex and multi-referential symbol, the sword has dense associations with sacred Shinto mythology, Buddhist belief, and the idealized warrior heritage of the bushi. According to Shinto belief, the sword is both sign and symbol of sacred imperial authority, representing the force that pacified the unruly spirits of the earth and allowed for the establishment of the Yamato hegemony. Buddhist symbolism and iconography, moreover, represents the sword as the force that defends and protects the Dharma (Suzuki, 1959). Pre-Buddhist respect for the divine weapon resulted in the elevation of Acalantha (Fudō Myō) from among the Buddhist pantheon to an exalted position. This deity, whose very essence is the sword, "scarcely appears in Sanscrit Buddhist scriptures and is hardly respected in Chinese Buddhism" (Nakamura, 1969:411).

The symbolism of the sword is also central to popular Japanese culture. The nihon tō is regarded as one of the highest expressions of Japanese artistic endeavor, a fact widely recognized by connoisseurs of Asian art and handcrafted weapons.³

In Japanese popular media, particularly the samurai chambara genre of movies, the sword is depicted as the medium for the expression of "pure emotion" that frees the individual repressed by unjust social forces. The themes of life and death, purity and beauty, masculinity, blood and demonic rage cluster around the sword as symbol of the Japanese soul. Furthermore, in everyday thought and linguistic usage, the sword is a common metaphor for interpersonal interaction, one that presumes a knowledge of and respect for this weapon.⁴

There is no need here, however, to deal exhaustively with the symbolic domain of the sword in Japanese culture; suffice it to say it is a large one. My direct concern is with the sword as a metaphor for learning in kendō. I suggest that a central symbolic element of the sword is as a model for learning and spiritual self-cultivation in Japanese culture. Three relevant components constitute the sword as learning metaphor: first, the inherent qualities of the sword itself define the desired personality attributes or goals of learning; second, sword forging is taken as the model for "forging mind and body" (shin shin tanren) that describes the techniques of crystallization and incorporation of the learning process; and finally, "polishing" the sword refers to the constant maintenance and practice of self-cultivation.

For the practitioners of the budō and particularly for those who follow the way of swordsmanship (kendō, kenjutsu, and iaidō) the sword is naturally more than a generalized symbol of Japanese culture; it is a concrete object, the tool for learning and self-perfection. In this context all practitioners, sensei, sempai, and beginners (shoshinsha) share the same symbolic referents, their differences in experience and social structure are not reflected in their attachment to the sword as the primary model for learning.

Looking first at the sword itself and its attributes, we see that it is clearly a metaphor for learning and spiritual growth. Speaking of the three sacred imperial regalia, the mid-seventeenth century Wang Yang-ming scholar and swordsman, Kumazawa Banzan comments:

The three sacred treasures are the "sacred scriptures" of the Age of Gods...In primeval times there were no writings...and so these objects were fashioned as symbols. The jewel...Benevolence; the mirror...Wisdom; and the sword, the symbol of courage...These three symbols...supremely clear and simple are the fountainhead of morality and learning. Boundless in their wisdom, compelling admiration in their profundity, eternal in their mystery, their endowment is perfect. The standards of personal conduct, government, and learning are not to be sought elsewhere; they are sufficient (Earl, 1964:23).

The sword stands for bravery, will, and that which creates order or pacifies; "the virtue of the sword lies in its strength and resolution. It is the source of wisdom" (Herbert, 1967:154). Just to hold or be in the presence of a fine sword is believed to influence an individual. One informant told me:⁵

The sword itself is a teacher. It is straight (masugu), sharp (surudo), pure (kiyoi), and bright (akarui) -- just the desired qualities of our mind and soul. Properly used, the sword preserves life. The sword has a special and mysterious living quality, although to some extent that depends upon the maker. Just by wearing it, or even viewing it, one may be affected by its special qualities.

Beyond the symbol of desired personality traits, the sword represents the very soul and body of its rightful owner.⁶ The essence of the heart/mind is a blade (kokoro no yaiba), the incorporeal spiritual sword (mukeno katana) that cuts away the unseen evils of the soul.⁷ Whether or not a man owns a sword, for spiritual growth, he must forge and polish the blade of his kokoro.

The budō place an even greater obligation on those who are trained in the martial ways of the sword. They deal with the arts of life and death, the sword is unquestionably a dangerous weapon, its use dependent upon the heart and intention of its wielder. Kendoists are therefore enjoined to follow the sword

that gives life (katsujin ken) rather than the sword that gives death (satsujin ken). The great Early Showa kendō master and budo-ka Nakayama Hakudō⁸ used to repeat the following poem to his deshi:

The sword follows the hand,
 The hand follows the heart,
 The heart follows the Law (Hō)⁹
 The Law follows God (kami)¹⁰
 If you neglect to practice
 The sword forgets the hand
 The hand forgets the heart
 The heart forgets the Law
 And the Law forgets God.¹¹

Mysteriously sacred, a dominant symbol for the Japanese soul, the sword is the model for human self-cultivation -- a superior person like a superior blade is "neither bent nor twisted."

Self-Cultivation and the Sword

The metaphor of the sword as the model for self-cultivation is further elaborated by the concepts of "forging" and "polishing". Before proceeding with these analogies of perfecting the sword, it is necessary to briefly discuss the terminology for "self-cultivation." Three expressions, each having slightly different connotations, are frequently used by kendoists to refer to self-cultivation. The first, shugyō (修行) is a Buddhist-derived term for religious austerities. While quietistic and activist austerities are recognized, the budō are believed to be activist, intense austerities (aragyō). Having distinctly religious overtones, shugyō, to be effective, must be a voluntary acceptance and undertaking of hardships (kurō) that "forge" the mind and body.

The two other terms for self-cultivation and training are

shūyō (修養) and shūgyō (修業). The latter term, although homophonic with the Buddhist shūgyō, has the generalized meaning of study or of getting an education. The most general term for self-cultivation, however, is shūyō, which has deep overtones of moral education and mental training. For the purposes of my discussion, I shall treat the Buddhist shūgyō as analogous to the forging process and shūyō as the polishing process once the body and soul have been tempered. In general linguistic usage, however, shūyō encompasses all forms of self-cultivation, including the intense austerities of shūgyō.

Sword forging is considered to be a particularly sacred act deeply related to fundamental Shinto beliefs of purity, spirit, and mystery. Ritually purified in self and space, the smithy (kajiya) transmutes inert malleable material through the super-heated, repetitive hammering of the forge. Life has been created, awesome and beautiful in its potential through the harmonious unity of body and spirit, material, and the mystery of tradition.¹² But the life of the blade is still not manifest or complete, for it must yet be hardened through tempering and then meticulously polished to be brought to perfection.

Sword polishing is a unique and special art in Japanese culture, equal in respect and importance to sword forging. Whereas in most other martial cultures the owner must polish and sharpen his own blade, the Japanese have assigned this task to a professional class (Brinckly, 1902). Even today, the sword polisher (tōguya) and his arts are believed to hold a special place in the definition and preservation of traditional

Japanese culture, a fact seen by the designation of the Honami family, sword polishers and appraisers since the fifteenth century, as a National Living Treasure (ningen kokuhō).

One of the primary stated values of kendō training by its practitioners is the "forging of mind and body" (shin shin tanren), a necessary aspect of self-cultivation. The intense repetitive acts of mutual striking that constitute kendō training are felt to be directly analogous to the sword forging process. Individual essence -- hara, kokoro, and the body -- when forged, become completed, thus resulting in a unification of spiritual energy (seishin ryoku), vital energy (ki ryoku), and physical energy (tai ryoku). Forging must create conditions that test the trainee and thus allow him to discover his own limits. Shūgyō must therefore be voluntary, intense (hageshii), severe (kibishii), and difficult (kurō). These spartan ethics with the accompaniment of perseverance (gamman) constitute the core values associated with Japanese spiritual education and character development (Rohlen, 1973,1976; Lebra, 1976).

Shūgyō, or forging, in addition to being a necessary part of the learning process, is also considered a period in the life cycle (shūgyō jidai) of the individual in his quest for character improvement. This forging process is felt to be most effective during the state of young adulthood when the individual character has not yet matured, but when the untrained instincts are at the peak of vitality. Youth in their late teens and early twenties are believed to have a purity and vitality that is yet untrammelled by the demands of society. "Many Japanese adults,

while retaining the traditional bias towards gerontocracy, tolerate and sympathize with adolescents and students who rebel against the established order out of junjō (pure emotions)" (Lebra, 1976:161). Through the forging process of shūgyō, the young adult will be able to channel and direct his energies, better fulfilling his role in the social order as he enters society (shakaijin) and settles down to steady employment and a family.

"Polishing," or shūyō, is a more general process of continued self-cultivation that maintains the purity and vitality crystallized in the period of forging. The imagery of polishing the sword merges with that of polishing the mirror, another sacred metaphor for spiritual cultivation. Through neglect or carelessness, the shining soul (either sword or mirror) becomes tarnished and rusted. Continuous self-cultivation and care is necessary to maintain one's inner purity.

Kendō practice in the dōjō is not a competitive test of skill against one's opponents. Rather, it is a form of mutual self-cultivation. The dilemmas and tests of training are self-tests designed to enable one to conquer one's own weaknesses (jibun ni katsu). The master, senior students, equals, and even juniors ideally practice to help one another, each acting as swordsmith and polisher to hammer and grind out the flaws of their partner. The opponent is an aid to self-discovery, which is the most important goal of all. The tenth degree (jūdan) master, Nakayama Hakudō, included the following among his most important twelve sayings (juni kun):

- (1) In kendō if you know only your own strength but not that of the opponent, you cannot resolve to win.
- (2) Also, if you know only the weakness of the opponent without knowing your own -- you will certainly lose -- this is fundamental.
- (3) If you win, it's not because of your own strength but because of a weakness, an "opening" in the opponent. If you lose, it's not because of your opponent's strength, it's because of your own "opening or weakness"¹³.

Self-discovery, however, is not valued for selfish ends. With increased inner strength, one has a greater obligation to aid others and to act in harmony with the larger social order. The emulation model for the kendoist is the sword that gives life (katsujin ken). This sword represents the epitome of positive thought and spirit and is totally without the stain of negativity, discontent, or self-interest. The katsujin ken shares the attributes of its maker and the kendoist is enjoined to keep in mind and body these sacred attributes when learning: seriousness (majime), sincerity (makoto), correctness (tadashi), and cheerfulness (akarui).¹⁴

Experiential Learning and the Body

The symbolism and metaphor of the sword, as the dominant learning model, are underlain by certain concepts of the teaching and learning process. In kendō, the emphasis on doing and experience relates particularly to notions of the mind and body. The psycho-kinesthetic conception of self is intimately related moreover to the use of imitation and repetition as the key teaching devices. I look first at experience and the relation of repetition and imitation to the transcendence of set form. This

will be further elaborated in the final section, when I discuss the concept of shu-ha-ri.

The object of learning in kendō is the perfection and completion of kokoro (heart/spirit), the cultivation of inner essence and discovery of one's true form (jibun no sugata) . As activist disciplines, the budō postulate that the initial and final motivations for learning are self-activated. Growth is dependent upon one's own desire and intent. Self-cultivation and maturation are thus the result of personal experience and intuitive understanding forged through the restrictive and repetitious practice of set forms prescribed by the model of tradition.

Accumulated experience and demonstrated physical competence or performance are the core of learning as well as the primary criteria for evaluating learning. Direct individual experience is considered more fundamental than cognitive or intellectual understanding, a position that reflects the importance of ō-yomei gaku philosophy in kendō whereby

To know without acting means we still do not know...
If we do not immediately transform our moral truths
into action, our actual understanding is nullified "
(I. Morris, 1976:198)¹⁵.

Kendō is conceived by its practitioners as more than a system of athletics or of technical proficiency in self-defense with a sword. It is an attempt to intuitively understand "truth in action" (Draeger, 1973b:51). The context for this "truth in action" is the set forms of behavior, the stylized movements of attack and defense whose technical and aesthetic criteria have been established by the genius of tradition. Only through

the faithful emulation and repetition of set forms can the trainee learn and progress, utilizing the outer forms as criteria for judging his unity of spirit, body, and action.

Fixed forms offer a clear-cut guide to learning, a model and standard for the development of technical proficiency in an aesthetic and spiritual context. The importance of model emulation of fixed forms is reflected in the Japanese (and Chinese) linguistic equation of imitation (manabu) with learning (gaku) (Hurvitz, 1976:655). The fundamental movements (kisō and kata) are ultimately only a device, however, for the learner must seek to and experience the spirit that stands behind the form. Skillful imitation of outer forms leads only to technical proficiency, not to mastery of self. Mastery of self, "expertness" (Benedict, 1946), or enlightenment requires the transcendence of set forms.

Form is the framework of that which rises from it -- the activity of the spirit; to dispense with form means there is nothing left to serve its master, the spirit. Mastery of form is but a point, though an important one, to be sure, along the "way". In the end form is discarded and the final stage of personal development -- self-perfection -- is achieved" (Draeger, 1973b:36).

The spiritual and artistic goal of self-cultivation in kendō finds expression in the Japanese concept of yugen which may be translated as subtle profundity or deep suggestiveness. Kendō, as "truth in action," courts yugen which lies beyond words and concrete actions "for its essence lies precisely in that 'something' that is inexpressible" (Draeger, 1973b:38). The aesthetic and spiritual domain of kendō shares the goal and process of the Japanese waka poetry in which the highest aim is to transcend form and structure. The poetic notion of amari no kokoro ("overflowing soul") whereby "the words are so

magical that the soul of the poem overflows and lingers"¹⁶
 (Teele, 1976:30) finds deep resonance in the "mysterious skills"
 (myōgi) of swordsmanship. The outer forms, the structure of fixed
 behaviors, are as signs or symbols that point to the subtle
 profundity and suggestiveness of the inner spirit of the budō.
 "Suggestiveness" and "mysterious skills" can only be acquired
 "through direct experience and penetration of the hidden depths
 of spiritual discipline" (Draeger, 1973b:38).

These concepts discussed above reveal several implications
 for learning theory as understood by kendō practitioners. First,
 the art is not bounded by its expressed forms but contains
 levels of hidden and universal truths that are dependent upon
 the level of understanding and experience of the practitioner.
 There is no end, therefore, to the learning process; direct
 intuitive experience of self and of reality recognizes no limits.
 Next, learning is predicated upon doing and accumulated experience
 as the only solution to the dilemma posed by the endless require-
 ment of self-cultivation. The emphasis on accumulated experience,
 moreover, establishes an equation between seniority, ability,
 and authority, a fundamental value in traditional Japanese
 culture (Rohlen, 1974:100).

Finally, because the true goal of learning is self-cultivation
 -- inner maturation rather than mere technical competency -- the
 process is and should be long and slow. The development and
 completion of kokoro is gained through accumulated experience,
 action, insight, and age. What is sought is a lasting knowledge
 that is inseparable from the individual's essence and actions.

Consequently, haste or speed in learning is not particularly valued or even considered important. Rapid learning has the tendency to be shallow and not completely internalized. The Japanese, in kendō, believe that the rapid learner, the "natural talent," faces some outstanding difficulties for mature growth. Although skillful in the beginning, the rapid learner has not had to suffer or put forth extra effort toward his development. Lacking the forging experience of overcoming hardships through perseverance, determination and "guts,"¹⁷ his knowledge is limited. As with a tree that grows tall, outstripping the others in its midst, its poorly developed root system rapidly gives way during the first major storm.¹⁸ Slow growth, regular and persistent, is to be preferred to rapid growth and early success in tournaments, for resultant false pride is highly detrimental to the learner.¹⁹

The goals and techniques of kendō learning derive from the cultural conception of the unity of mind and body discussed in Chapter Three. Rooted in the psychosomatic unity of the kokoro/hara, the Japanese conception of self posits no duality between an upper godly intellect and a lower animal emotionality (Lebra, 1976). The hara and kokoro are non-intellectual psychosomatic domains; they are the doing and feeling centers of the individual. Lebra suggests that Japanese culture recognizes an opposition between the hara/kokoro inner self and the face/mouth (kao/kuchi) outer self (Lebra, 1976:159). The outer self tends to be distrusted for it is prey to the social pressures of conformity, dependency, and artifice in interpersonal relations. In some sense, the cultivation of inner sentiment (hara/kokoro) is felt

to be antagonistic to the development of outer self which is characterized by intellectual development. Inner sentiment is spontaneous and pure while intellectuality is calculating, dualistic, and contrived. Therefore, self-cultivation, concerned with the primacy of inner growth, requires a methodology for learning that is different from abstract intellectual learning.

This methodology and its underlying theory, I suggest, is founded upon a cultural concept of "body learning." Rooted in the hara/kokoro region and founded upon doing, experience, and intuition, "body learning" produces knowledge that is deep and lasting. This is in contrast to intellectual knowledge which, lacking physical experiential grounding, is shallow and short-lived.

The body is the source of knowledge and experience. In Japanese linguistic usage, the body (mi) represents life itself, the physical expression of the spirit (K. Hasegawa, 1974:30-36). As the ground of experience, the body determines the criteria for successful learning based on physical performance and kinesthetic awareness. The most common injunction for learning heard in the dōjō is "Don't think: learn with the body" (kangaezuni, karada de oboeru). Repetition of set forms establishes learning that "penetrates the bones" (hone ni shimikomu); it is "attached to the body" (mi ni tsukeru).

Body learning through the repetitive action of set forms is believed to be deep and lasting because it is totally internalized and is therefore spontaneous and "natural." Intellectual knowledge which is in the head lacks spontaneity and directness of

inner knowledge, for the intellect requires conceptualization and conscious discrimination among cognitive categories.²⁰

Kendō learning situations rarely make extended use of intellectual discourse or questions and answers. Books are never used or even recommended to trainees for study, although numerous kendō texts exist, most practitioners owning at least several. Learning in the fullest sense in kendō can only be experienced through the body engaged in active practice. Physical action, performance, and the dilemma posed by direct confrontation of the opponent provide the basic context for self-realization and reflection. Shallow intellectual knowledge, without the forging experience of action, may be lost altogether because it is not "attached to the body."

Honing the Instincts

Ultimately, what is sought in the spiritual learning process of kendō is the cultivation of basic human instincts. Combat training -- the confrontation with fear, life and death, its primeval scream of kiai -- brings out and works on man's most fundamental instincts.

The budō are the most dangerous of the Japanese arts of self-cultivation. They deal with potentially violent and primitive emotions which, although common to all humans, must be trained. We all have the same instincts, but our potential becomes different through the degree and quality of our training. By your own efforts and sincere self-cultivation you create something within yourself like instincts (honno ni chikai).²¹

Through the constant repetition of basic forms practiced over many years in certain states of mind and body, the budō seek to direct and hone the instincts to operate in a positive framework that is

socially productive rather than socially destructive. The perfected man, intuitively in harmony with his inner self and the cosmos, acts and re-acts in a "natural" (daishizen no yō ni) manner -- instinctively. His instincts must be forged and polished through conscious human effort grounded in the desire for life-giving, socially harmonious action.

Actions, feelings, and thoughts must be totally harmonized and internalized in order to be spontaneous. The internalization is spoken of not only as being "attached to the body," but even more deeply as "carved into the bones." The Japanese conception of self and body sees the bones (hone) as the center of nucleus of things; they are the essence of the body. The "boneless" person (honenashi) is weak-willed and one whose "bones are cut" (hone ga kikeru) undergoes great hardship or difficulty. Knowledge that is in the bones is essential knowledge that will never be lost or changed.

The set forms of training must permeate the bones of the practitioner; otherwise, there is only haphazard performance of skills, not transcendence or mastery. The Seventeenth Century classic manual on swordsmanship, the Sento Kyō, clearly states that a skillful demonstration of kokoro and ki is not enough, for there is no guarantee of essence remaining after the action. The ultimate secret (gokui) of the warrior, it says, is training that forges this knowledge "carved into the bones" (tesshin kakotsu). One's actions are, then, inseparable from one's essence (Sasamori, 1974:31-35).

Methodology

Having briefly discussed the cultural contexts of "body learning," I shall now discuss methodology in the kendō dōjō. First, other than active participation in training, there is no way to progress or achieve lasting self-cultivation. All participants, teacher as well as student, young and old, are enjoined to practice regularly and accumulate experience.²² Because learning is never-ending, the teacher is also a learner, although a more senior and experienced learner than his students. Unlike in other forms of athletic contest, the kendō sensei almost never takes the role of a non-playing coach or manager. He can only teach most effectively through active engagement with his students, and if old age or sickness prohibit active participation in the teaching process, it is considered best that he "retire" and assume an advisory position.

While it is important for the senior kendoist and sensei to maintain his skills by practicing with equal or superior partners, his role as teacher necessitates that he learn while practicing with his students. Indeed, it is believed that only a poor teacher cannot learn from his students, who in their naiveté and inexperience continually point to the "original mind" (honshin) that is the final goal of training. The sensei must learn about human nature, for he can teach effectively only by accepting each student as a unique being having his own particular personality and combination of needs and strengths. While practicing with his juniors, the sensei develops skills that are complementary to the learning goals of his lesser partner. Thus,

in such fundamental practice forms as kirikaeshi, uchikomi keiko, and hikitate keiko (see Chapter Four), the teacher may develop his defensive skills (ōji waza), footwork (ashisabaki), body movement (tai sabaki), and proper combative interval (maai). Furthermore, practice with his juniors will reveal the universal principles and psychology of the opponent's attack.

Because the body must intimately learn through repetition of set forms, instruction tends to be non-verbal with little or no explanation on the teacher's part. Directly engaging the trainee body to body, heart to heart, and mind to mind, the sensei attempts to set conditions for the learner's self-discovery by means of fundamental psychological dilemmas. Verbal explanation, when it does occur, is usually brief and is used as an introductory or conclusionary device to stimulate self-reflection. One of the most common forms of explanation is that of physical mimicry. A verbal explanation that appeals to the trainee's intellect is felt to be less useful than an explanation that demonstrates through mimicked exaggeration the student's faulty posture or movement.

The most fundamental teaching devices then tend to be non-verbal and predominantly kinetic. Because self-learning, according to kendō belief, optimally involves an inspirational intuitive response (kūfū) that develops out of the learners' personal dilemma in confrontation with the sensei, a common teaching method is what Jules Henry calls "jamming the machine" (Henry, 1960) or what Draeger calls "physical koan."²³ Of "physical koan," Draeger says the following:

They are...devices through which the trainee's mind is shocked into action. Physical koan are to be met head on and conquered in the sense that they are overcome through adherence to prescribed form; and even when this is not achieved, a degree of controlled skill is developed. Whether skill develops or not is of little consequence, for it is the quality of endeavor, endeavor made without artifice and with a sincere heart that matters (Draeger, 1973b:52).

The master deliberately places his trainee in technical dilemmas from which the trainee must escape by his own actions -- for there is no other way out. Through the use of intuition, the trainee can accelerate his escape, copying the only thing that is conveyable, the technique of the master (1973b:50).

"Jamming the machine" is a brief but regular technique for learning in kendō. Through intense conditions that induce fatigue and frustration, the sensei guides the trainee to experiences that reveal untapped potentials for action. Under these conditions the student has no strength or time to think or conceptualize, only a concerted effort to unify the will and action can release him from his dilemma. If successful, the trainee may experience a moment of mushin (see Chapter 3, Theory of Mind) which, having tasted it, he must seek again and again until he can totally enter and act within its realm.

Draeger, in his Classical Budo, which presents the best description in English of the learning process of the martial ways, offers a number of examples of "physical koan" based upon the repetitive use of kata sequences. In one example, the sensei will suddenly initiate kata practices out of their accustomed sequence, thereby testing the trainee's degree of mechanical attachment to the learning process.²⁴ Or in the middle of a kata sequence, the master may suddenly stop or change the action to test the student's degree of intuitive response to the actions of

the sensei.

In kendō training with the bamboo shinai, the sensei may attempt to shock the trainee into a state of intuitive self-discovery by initiating a particular line of attack. For example, the sensei may not force the attack, but at the onset of the trainee's attack will thrust (tsuki) at the student's throat. Repeatedly using this single strategy, the sensei forces the student into a seemingly insoluble dilemma. Fearful of the inevitable thrust to the throat, the trainee hesitates and feels oppressed. He cannot take the initiative. But he must attack and resolutely press on against the master's waiting shinai, for if the trainee waits, he realizes it will only call forth a stronger attack by the master, thus increasing the trainee's personal dilemma at this confrontation. Through the repeated "collision of heart and body" against the sensei, the trainee must seek an intuitive solution to his difficulties, for he has no time to think or plan strategy in the midst of action.

Another such case occurs when the teacher notices a flaw in the student's posture or manipulation of the shinai, one that exposes a fatal opening such as the kote (wrist). Without verbal explanation or warning, the sensei will regularly attack the "opening," striking it at every opportunity, attempting to force the trainee to some level of self-discovery of his own weakness. A verbal explanation to the student that his "kote is open" or that his shinai is held too low or so on, is felt to lack effectiveness, for the trainee's mind is not yet in harmony with his body. The mind may intellectually realize that the shinai is indeed held too low, but in the heat of action the mind forgets

and the body takes over. Intuitive self-discovery is believed to have more effect on the individual's learning behavior than is "outside" knowledge "put in" by the sensei.

In summary of this section, I suggest that the dominant mode of learning is directed through kinesthetic channels which in turn are a reflection of the Japanese cultural concepts of body and self. "Body learning" is achieved through imitation and repetition of set models of action (kisō and kata) which are the outer forms that intuitively point to the inner spirit. The set forms are the standards for technical and aesthetic performance, but they are "outside" skills. Self-cultivation (shūyō) involves the transcendence of outer technical forms, and places the final emphasis on priority of the "inner self" (hara/kokoro). However, the "mysterious arts" cannot be directly or explicitly taught by master to disciple. Rather, the master can directly teach the outer forms that are tangible to the trainee. Through imitation and repetition, the outer forms become "attached to the body," and as the intuitive process deepens through experience, the trainee begins to make an intuitive jump between self-understanding and the rigid criteria of outer forms that have been increasingly internalized. The intuitive jumps are often the result of personal crises consciously incorporated into the training as "physical koan" initiated by the sensei.

Through countless repetitions the "secrets" lie deeply embedded in the external forms. They are "at hand," but must be brought "into the bones." The tenth century Chinese poem by Po-Mu is often used in kendō to illustrate the closeness and yet distance in discovery of the "secrets" (gokui) of the art

of swordsmanship:

Though as close as your eyelids
the secrets are rarely discovered"²⁵

While imitation of set forms is the basis of learning, the methodology introduces an unending series of momentary personal crises and tests that seek to aid the learner in his quest for self-understanding. Techniques that "jam the machine," that are disjunctive to the normal mode of intellectual and rational learning, are frequently used to create conditions for intuitive resolution of personal dilemmas. Physical koan, the conundrums of combative encounter, shock the learner and test the unity of his body, mind, and soul in action.

In the process of learning, certain intense conditions metaphorically stated as "mind-body forging" must be met. The forged inner self is a product of training, but is not the end goal. Forging establishes potency -- spiritual and physical, wherein the primary characteristics are concentration ability (shuchu ryoku), decision-making ability (handan ryoku), and a particularly strong spirit or disposition (konjō). Konjō is a determined spiritual state aptly called "gatsu" ("guts") by the Japanese who recognized the English intuitive sense of hara. Konjō is most often described as an undying spirit (makeji damashi), the primitive instinct of the life force that never dies.

Shu-Ha-Ri: The Process of Tradition and Creativity

Throughout this chapter, I have been concerned with the concept of model emulation as the dominant mode of learning. In the symbolic domain, the sword and its forging and polishing

are the models to be emulated. For "body learning," imitation and constant repetition of set forms is necessary. The trainee is allowed little creativity. Nor can he intellectually question or experiment without censure from his sensei, sempai, or peers. Faithful obedience and wholehearted participation in established criteria are the sole route to progress. The question then arises, how does Japanese culture in the martial ways allow for individual creativity? Is there not a paradox somehow between the emphasis on self-cultivation and self-discovery, and the rigidity of adhering to the set forms prescribed by the master and by tradition? I suggest that the educational concept of shu-ha-ri is the cultural solution to these problems.

Tradition

A discussion of this concept requires a brief note about Japanese notions of tradition (dentō) as found in the martial ways. While tradition has an intrinsic value, it does not hold the trainee's interest out of slavish imitation of the past. Tradition is a living symbol of the genius of the past, of the experiences and understandings of one's ancestors, real or spiritual. If the tradition of kendō is considered in a narrow sense, as only a technical system of combat with the sword, or as only a competitive sport, it is a shallow interpretation of the spiritual qualities of the art. The value of kendō kendoists believe, lies in the methodology and wisdom of the swordsmen-philosophers who sought self-perfection through the solution of universal dilemmas posed in the confrontation of life and death. Self-confidence, perseverance, fortitude,

decision-making ability, and concentration are problems for the individual in any age, and the value of the tradition lies in the generations of systematic exploration of methods to test, forge, and polish these qualities that are at the foundation of the idealized warrior personality. Through participation in the symbols, rituals, and behaviors of the warrior heritage, the individual encounters an educational system that offers the warrior's solution to universal problems.

Training symbolically joins the practitioner to the historical past in a direct and intuitive way, a mysterious bond that recreates the mind and experience of the great philosopher-swordsmen. The set forms, repetitively imitated, take on a greater significance in the context of tradition, for they are believed to be the exact movements and kinesthetic solutions devised by the great ancestors to the problems of confrontation with life and death. Several informants have clearly expressed to me that by preserving and re-enacting the kata they are directly experiencing the mind and actions of the ancestors of the ryū.

In addition, the participation in tradition is believed to balance the novelty of contemporary life and the tendency to view fundamental human problems as unique to the present age.

Tradition's role lies not so much in the preservation of the cultural properties of the past in their original form as in giving shape to contemporary culture; not in retention of things as they were, but in the way certain national qualities inherent in them live on (Hasegawa, 1965:102).

Furthermore, because the tradition is expressed in the context of the Tao or michi, it is felt that in its highest level it is a universal system for self-perfection and enlightenment in the unchanging moral order of the cosmos.

Sensei

The tradition is a living entity whose vitality and genius is made manifest through the chain of practitioners extending from the original founder (ryūso), through the contemporary master (sensei), and into the future generations through the master's students (deshi). The sensei is the crucial link between the tradition and the individual learner. Without the acceptance of the master, the student cannot enter into the true "direct transmission" (jikiden) of the tradition. As the mediator and interpreter of the tradition, the sensei is the living model whom the beginner must emulate.²⁶ So important is the relationship between master and disciple that one still hears the old kendō adage, "Rather than beginning three years early, search three years for a good teacher."

Knowing nothing, the learner is "outside" the tradition; he is totally dependent upon the sensei to bring him "within the gate" (nyūmon). The sensei's acceptance of the learner as a pupil creates a bond of personal commitment that may last a lifetime and is expressed within a familial context of father and son. The relationship between the sensei and his students is ideally not a contractual one based upon payment in exchange for instruction.²⁷ The sensei accepts the student because of the latter's desire for self-improvement within the context of traditional wisdom. Acceptance by the sensei within the dōjō is a blessing (megumi) that the student has the obligation (hō-on) to repay through dedicated training and unquestioning loyalty and obedience to the master's mode of instruction. While the sensei

assumes the responsibility (sekinin) for providing the conditions for the student's growth, he has no obligation (hō-on) to his charge. Rather, the sensei's debt is to the tradition and to his sensei, and his sensei's sensei, the line of ancestors, as it were. The sensei repays the blessing of his master and the tradition by the preservation and transmission of the tradition through teaching.²⁸

Shu-Ha-Ri

The sensei as well as the trainee proceed along the path of learning at different stages, but both are subject to the notion of growth exemplified by the dictum of shu-ha-ri. An esoteric Buddhist concept expressed in martial terminology, shu-ha-ri informs the individual seeking self-cultivation as to the learning process in relation to tradition.

Simply stated, the three characters have the following meaning: Shu or mamoru means to defend or protect; ha or yaburu means to tear, defeat, or attack; ri or hanareru means to disengage or depart from. Thus, at its most overt level, shu-ha-ri is a guide for martial action: first, to defend; then to attack; finally, to disengage. Yet the dictum is more than this: it is a symbolic statement, a condensed program for learning and self-development.

Knowing nothing of the art and techniques of tradition, the novice is totally dependent upon the sensei to instruct him in even the smallest details. Lost in a maze of technical procedures which he can neither duplicate nor even understand, the trainee must faithfully follow, or defend (shu) the sensei's teachings.

At this level, unquestioning obedience and devoted attention to the replication of set forms, mechanically imitated, are the core of the learner's experience. The state of mind deemed optimal for the beginning learning is known as nyunan-shin (pliant mindedness), "a certain flexibility of spirit that attests to his readiness to accept things as they are presented by the master" (Draeger, 1973b:46).

Questions and intellectual speculation are considered counter-productive, particularly in the early stages of learning. Only through repeated practice can the beginner develop his experience, for without experience grounded in bodily understanding, intellectual questioning has no root. It is believed that even if the sensei should respond to such requests, his answers will lack meaning to the trainee. What good is his newly found knowledge if he cannot yet do the most simple and fundamental actions? Rather than wasting time asking questions, the trainee is better off to spend his precious time practicing, seeking within himself the answer to his questions, and letting the sequence of instruction unfold as the sensei deems fit.

During the shu level,²⁹ the learner is incorporating a mass of new technical data: body postures, essential movements, and fundamental states. The techniques are not a part of himself, so his actions reveal awkwardness, imbalance, and lack of consistency in the fine details of accomplished action.

Great will and perseverance are needed by the trainee to carry him through the countless repetitions of basic movements. This is a time during which the non-essential is being eliminated and the essential brought to light. The trainee's questions are met by the master's laconic reply, "Don't ask, train." This is a time for "doing" (Draeger, 1973b:47).

During this shu level, the learner is "outside" the teachings: they are not a part of him, lacking internalization impressed on mind and body through the forging practice. At this stage, while basic habits are being cultivated, it is important that the trainee faithfully follow the way of his teacher and have no other masters. A student cannot go to another sensei and neither is it common or generally accepted for a sensei to take an active part in the instruction of another's deshi.

As the trainee's technical proficiencies improve, as his tutelage within the dōjō under his sensei matures, and as he can freely operate within the fundamental motions, the learner may be thought to enter the ha or "attack" stage. At this point, he can practice with others from different dōjō, seeking experience and guidance from other sempai and sensei whom he encounters. The trainee is encouraged to broaden his experience by practicing with as many different opponents as possible and by actively entering in contest (shiai). The methodology of "wandering martial apprenticeship" (mushashugyō) most often begins to occur at this second stage.

Often the results of this ha stage are such that the trainee realizes how imperfect his skills and knowledge are. He does poorly against others. The perception of his flaws, enlarged through wider experience, makes him realize the distance between his abilities and that which his master has been seeking to inculcate in him. He is still only a poor reflection of the level of development of his sensei.

Through increased devotion to training and to the ground and reference of the sensei's teachings, the trainee internalizes the techniques of the art. His experience is broadened through contest and confrontation with others, but while he now may have mastery of technique, he still lacks mastery of self. The final stage of "separation" or ri occurs when the trainee discovers his true self, when he realizes his own unique meaning and experience of the discipline. Ultimately, the ri stage enjoins the learner to transcend the foundation provided by the master. But this is not a rejection or repudiation of the sensei or of tradition. Rather, it is a growth built upon the foundation of that tradition. "Separation," rather than negation, is an affirmative increment.

Shu-ha-ri, then, describes the process of self-cultivation that is grounded in adherence to tradition, but which in the end is a harmonious resolution of individual uniqueness and cosmic oneness. It is felt to be the final expression of the Tao that finds ultimate unity in the Void of manifest forms.

On the sociological level, however, shu-ha-ri is a formula for the progression within the apprentice system of traditional Japanese culture from dependency to independence. The tight social bond of the vertically structured "familial" groups has, in traditional Japanese social organizations, its own mechanism for independence and fission. New stems (ha) branch off from the central tradition (ryū), recreating the social organization of instruction developed by the tradition, but with the unique interpretation or features of the founder of the new ryū-ha.

Dore (1967:20) has described this process of career production in terms of dependency and independence as "parthenogenesis."

The "parthenogenic" model in the martial ways has, to some extent, been terminated by the formation of national styles of kendō and jūdō, organized under a centralized national body. In pre-Meiji times, before the creation of national budō, the formation of ryū-ha was the most common aspect of shu-ha-ri. After years of training, the particularly skilled swordsman who could demonstrate the uniqueness of his understanding of the art would often separate from his master and establish his own branch of the tradition.³¹ Modern kendō, with its standardization for the public school system and the All-Japan Kendō Federation which determines ranking and advancement procedures, rules for contest, and general teaching procedures, has obviated the possibility of kendō ryū-ha; thus, the process of shu-ha-ri is presently conceived of in a more abstract and spiritual way than its pre-modern sociological process of new branch formation would imply. Thus, one notices in contemporary kendō not ryū as distinct styles or traditions of swordsmanship, but nagare³² ("streams") of style, passed on from one sensei to another. In other martial ways, particularly those developed after the Meiji period, such as aikidō and karate-dō, the formation of new ryū indicates the ongoing vitality of shu-ha-ri in a creative sense, much as Kannō Jigoro's creation of jūdō stands as the genius demonstrated in shu-ha-ri.

The fissionary ryū-ha process of kendō having been rendered inoperative, most definitions of the shu-ha-ri are now predominantly inner-directed in content. One such interpretation is given

below.

In the shu stage, the beginner knows nothing of the art. He puts on the protective equipment, the kote (gauntlets), the men (helmet), and the dō (cuirass), but he feels constricted by them. He is ill at ease and has little control over his actions. His first actions are literally to "defend." But further, in order to progress, he must "defend" and "obey" the teachings of the sensei.

After some time, the trainee has become more familiar with the equipment; he is skilled and at ease with its use. Now he can thoroughly enter into the heat of practice: he can "attack" using his knowledge. Through repeated practice, the trainee in the ha stage perfects his techniques and deepens his self-experience. However, he is still dependent upon the context of the dōjō, his sensei, sempai, and the set procedures of training, to demonstrate inner growth. For the trainee at this level, his kendō is alive only within the dōjō. This level, too, must be transcended and the trainee must bring kendō into his daily life. Thus, in the ri stage, the practitioner can "separate" from the outer form and context of kendō: without wearing the protective equipment or using a shinai, he lives and practices kendō in his daily life. This, says Takano Sasaburo, the great kendoist of the modern era -- to bring kendō out of the dōjō and into daily life -- is the most difficult task of all.

On a lesser level, the stage of separation may also be indicated by the establishment of one's own dōjō, where having thoroughly incorporated the teachings of one's sensei, the trainee receives permission to establish his own place of instruction.

Although the formation of ryū-ha in kendō is no longer seen, I suggest that an analogous process is occurring among certain practitioners of modern shinai kendō who seek to transcend the form of training by deepening their martial study through the classical budō or ko budō. For these individuals, the entry into a classical martial way is both a "separation" (ri) from modern kendō, and the simultaneous entry or "defense" (shu) of the traditional ryū.

The concept of shu-ha-ri has provided a vital model for the relationship between individual creativity and adherence to tradition. The concept recognizes that the ultimate locus for self-development and perfection is within the individual himself. Grateful loyalty is due one's sensei and the larger tradition for which he stands, for they have provided the foundation for inner growth. And yet the student must find his own meaning within the tradition to nourish the spiritual needs of contemporary life.

In the arts a pupil is not considered to have inherited the spirit of his master until he has ceased to imitate him and has recognized what he has learned within himself" (N. Hasegawa, 1965:102).

Through model emulation and years of imitation of rigidly set forms, wherein the methodology of the sensei creates shocks or koan that forge the inner essence of the trainee, the tradition is transmuted from a fixed meaning and structure to a living spirit whose answer to contemporary and universal problems finds solution through traditional experience and wisdom. Nevertheless, the path to perfection is fundamentally an individual

process despite the model and guidance of the sensei and tradition.
The beauty and pathos of this individual learning process is
recalled in the following moral poem:

The mountain path
I climbed with my master
led to the foothills
The path to the peak
is a solitary one.

(shi no tsurete noboru yamaji wa fumoto ni te mine ni wa hitori
noboru michi ari)³⁴.

Chapter 5 Notes

1. While Munro is dealing with ancient China, particularly the Confucian theories of learning, I feel that his comments are valid for the Japanese case where traditional educational concepts have been largely based on the Confucian model. Munro further states that the notions of model emulation are shared by Confucian and Taoist traditions, although their premises about the nature of man and action differ.
2. Munro states that Confucian education "did not concern itself with the study of natural phenomena and laws simply for the sake of understanding more about them" (Munro, 1969:52). He contrasts the Confucian attitude with that of Plato who believed that ("the most divine form of activity is knowing for the sake of knowing" (1969:52).
3. The artistry and craftsmanship of the sword is recognized not only in the quality of the blade itself, but also in the sword furnishings, particularly the tsuba (handguard).
5. Nakamura lists at least twenty-five common expressions for social interaction based upon knowledge of the sword. Some of the most common are given below:
 - (1) itto ryodan: to suddenly and completely decide an issue. Literally, "one sword both decisions."
 - (2) ha ga tatanai: to have no effect, doesn't cut. Literally, the blade doesn't cut.
 - (3) sori ni awanai: incompatible, unreconciled. Literally, the curvature doesn't fit.
 - (4) shinogi no kezuru: to fight desperately, close and intense, the issue is undecided. Literally, clashing sword ridges.
 - (5) tsuba zeriai: a close contest, intense but undecided. Literally, the touching of handguards in close combat.
 - (6) tsuka no ma: a brief interval. Literally, the length of the sword hilt.
 - (7) tanto choku nyu: straightforward, uncomplicated. Literally, the direct entry of a short sword.
5. Nishino Shokichi, Mito City, Ibaraki Prefecture.
6. Brinckly recounts the Japanese belief that it is impossible for an evil-hearted man to retain the possession of a famous (and therefore good) sword. He states furthermore that the sword acts as a second conscience, the owner is affected by the attributes of the weapon (Brinckly, 1902:150-151).
7. The quote concerning the mukei no katana is taken from a late Meiji speech by Kaieda Nobuyoshi, vice-president of the Japan Physical Education Association (Nihon Taiiku Kai). In the same speech, he also likens the heart to an unseen mirror that needs constant polishing. The speech is reprinted in Watanabe's Meiji Budo Shi (1971:864-866).

8. Although lightly used nowadays, the term budō-ka or kendō-ka refers to a senior practitioner who is "within the house" and who is widely skilled in the martial arts and ways. Nakayama Hakudo was one of the foremost budō-ka of the Showa period, achieving tenth degree in kendō. He was also a licensed menkyo-kaiden practitioner of Yamaguchi Ittō Ryu, Shindo Munen Ryu kenjutsu, Muso Shinden Ryū iaijutsu, Shindo Munen jojutsu, Omori Ryu iaijutsu, Hasegawa Eishin Ryū iaijutsu, Tendo Ryu kenjutsu. For a brief resume of Nakayama Hakudo's life, see Shoji, (1966:69-72). Hakudo also achieved fame in kendō for his great skill and strength, despite his diminutive size, which was approximately five feet three inches. The February issue of Kendo Jidai (1974) includes semi-nude pictures of Hakudo's physique.
9. Hō is usually translated as law, although it may also mean the law of Buddhist doctrine or the Dharma.
10. I have taken the liberty here of translating kami as God rather than as deity.
11. This quote of Nakayama Hakudo's is taken from a student of his, Hasegawa Kotobuki, who graduated Budo Semmon Gakko in 1926. The poem is reprinted in a festschrift for the post-war twentieth anniversary of the All-Japan Kendo Association Genzai Kendō Hyakashin, 1973:116-117.
12. Alfred Dobree Japanese Sword Blades (London, Arms and Armour Press, 1905) relates the following incident: The famed swordmaker Goro Nyudo Masamune of the late Thirteenth Century had a favorite pupil, Samonji, whom he intended to have marry his daughter and take over the line. One day, before the formal investiture had taken place, he caught his disciple testing the temperature of the water for tempering the immediately cut off his offending hand.

Despite the highly technical and scientific process of sword-tempering, it is said that contemporary swordsmiths continue to employ "traditional secrets" such as testing the water temperature by hand.
13. I cannot locate the publication that includes the twelve sayings of Nakayama Hakudo, but these proverbs are a part of the oral tradition of kendō and are widely known.
14. Although translated as cheerful, akarui is even more properly glossed as bright. Another term commonly used to describe the attribute of the sword is hikari which means shining, brilliant, or flashing.
15. Ivan Morris (1976) points out that some of Japan's greatest heroes and men of action have been deeply influenced by Wang Yang- ing philosophy. He includes Oshio Heihachiro (whose quote is given in the text), Saigo Takamori, General

Nogi Maretsuke, and Mishima Yukio. Morris quotes Mishima as saying that since the Taisho period, the philosophical role of oyomei gaku has been replaced by Marxism among the intellectual class.

16. The quote and aesthetic dictum is attributed to Fujiwara no Kinto, the greatest imperial poet and anthologist, born 966 A.D.
17. It is common for Japanese to translate konjō as "guts," an unrelenting spirit that is forged within the hara through martial training.
18. The sword is not the only learning metaphor commonly used in the budō. The natural order, particularly plant life, is also a major model for individual growth. Despite the high respect accorded to the art of bonsai, this technique of miniatures is disparaged in the budō. Rather than bonsai, trainees are encouraged to emulate the daiboku or giant trees which are also sacred entities. The most admired tree is the kusunoki, or camphor tree. It is an evergreen hardwood with long slow growth and has many ritual uses. Less admirable is the hinoki, or Japanese cypress which, although large and useful, has a weakly developed root system and is often toppled in strong winds.

The top growth of the tree is analogous to technique (waza), while the unseen form of the roots represents the kokoro.

Bamboo is also a popular metaphor for learning and model emulation. I have a manuscript of a shakuhachi sensei's explanation of the famous Tang dynasty poet, Haku Raku Ten's (772-846) (Po Chū-1) treatise, The History of Cultivation of Bamboo. The manuscript, translated by Ingrid Seldin is as follows:

"The attributes of bamboo are presented as ideals for man to emulate; the root or origin is firm and strong, assuring goodness and virtue; the inborn character is straight and upright, assuring good fortune and position; the heart or mind is empty and innocent of evil, assuring that one will not stray from the Way; the regularly spaced rings represent constancy or fidelity, assuring a firm will and ambition to achieve a goal."

Whereas in kendō the primary model is that of the steel sword, the characteristics of bamboo, represented by the shinai, are an important though secondary metaphor for learning. It is interesting that the animal world plays only a minimal role for learning metaphors, although through Chinese mythology the dragon and the tiger are also important symbols.

19. Various informants have disparaged the type of sensei who, overly concerned with tournament success, cater to the natural talent while ignoring those less gifted. With a naturally talented youngster who does well in competition, it is believed that the sensei must be even more demanding and critical. Early and rapid success, they feel, leads to a loss of motivation and results in bad habits that are later more difficult to overcome.
20. I recall reading an interview with Buckminster Fuller in Mother Earth News several years ago wherein he spoke on models of intuitive and intellectual perception. Fuller likened the intellectual process to a binary calculator that makes a series of dualistic discriminations before reaching the conclusion. In contrast, he took the voltmeter as a workable model for intuitive thought, which is a direct and spontaneous process with no intermediate discriminations or calculations.
21. The quote is from an interview with Otake Ritsuke, shihan of the Katori Shinto Ryu.
22. Even in the case of sickness or disability, attendance in the dojo and practice by watching (kengaku or mitori keiko) is encouraged.
23. Jules Henry defines "jamming the machine" as educational situations where the child is forced beyond his capacity. (See "A Cross-Cultural Outline of Education," Current Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 4 (July 1960):267.) The Zen Koan is, of course, different than Henry's conception. The study of koans "is a unique method of religious practice which has as its aim the bringing of the student to direct, intuitive realization of Reality without recourse to the mediation of words or concepts. The koan is not a conundrum to be solved by a nimble wit" (Isshu Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki The Zen Koan: New York Harvest Books; 1965: x-xi).
24. Kata are kinesthetic sequences of learning. It is characteristic that, when trainees make a mistake midway through a sequence, they find they must start from the beginning and re-enact the entire set until they come to the faulty point. The set is encoded in the body and they find that they cannot with ease recall the sequence without kinesthetically acting it through.
25. This poem is reprinted in a manuscript by Yano Ichiro, Three Morning Talks (Tokyo, 1964:17). These are the English translations of three talks on the meaning of kendō, broadcast on N.H.K. (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) on November 19,20,21 of 1964.
26. The term shihan is frequently used for the most skilled of sensei. The term shihan explicitly stands for a teacher,

and han, example or model. Shihan has explicit reference to a master of swordsmanship. It is interesting that shi as master also has the meaning of army or war.

27. The student's obligation to the sensei is not without some remuneration, but this is not calculated on an hourly basis. It is common for modern kendō dojō to have a minimal monthly tuition that varies between 500 to 3000 Yen. This figure is still quite low compared to other forms of private instruction. In addition to monthly tuition (gessha), gift-giving (onrei) is still quite common. While this may be a monetary gift, it is more often a consumable item such as sake or food.

Both students and sensei alike realize that there is a strong tendency in Japanese culture for the superior to expect and receive gifts of appreciation from his inferiors. Sometimes the demands and expectations of the master are quite severe, as was the alleged case of Nakayama Hakudo who would refuse to teach his deshi the more esoteric arts of the budō unless they regularly made valuable onrei to him. Various informants refused to make value judgments on such behavior: "It is neither good nor bad, it's how it is. If you are the deshi of such a sensei, there is nothing you can do (shoga nai), it's part of your shugyo and hardships (kuro)." (Statement made by Miyata Hideyuki of Shimodate City, Ibaraki Prefecture.)

28. Many senior sensei, and particularly men such as Ozawa Takeshi, who have the responsibility of preserving an existing tradition, explained to me that they saw the teaching and practicing of the budō as repayment of on to the nation (koku-on). For these leaders of the budō, the Japanese national character is inextricably intertwined with the preservation of the martial arts and ways; it is the repayment of their endless debt to their ancestors.
29. Although he does not use the format of shu-ha-ri for discussing the learning process, Draeger presents an interesting scheme of four stages, gyo-shugyo-jutsu-dō. He further likens the process of learning to that of touch-typing. The beginning typist knows nothing and must through rote memorization and mechanical practice learn the fundamentals. In the shugyo stage, repetitive practice is still necessary and the trainee must still occasionally look at the keyboard and even then there are numerous mistakes and the words per minute is not high. In the jutsu stage, technical proficiency is achieved; keyboard memorization is complete, errors are few, and the typing rate is high. In the dō stage, the techniques are transcended, and while the execution is flawless, the master typist may fail even the simplest test to recite the keyboard from memory, for he has forgotten the locations of the letters. Yet, despite the failure of the most fundamental test of the beginning

typist, we cannot say that he cannot type, nor that he is a master typist (Draeger, 1973b:41-65).

30. Within an individual dojō, various sensei and sempai may offer aid and instruction to the beginner as they are all followers of the same master. However, all will be careful not to go too far and usurp the major teaching role which is the responsibility of the head sensei. Sensei from other dojō, while freely practicing with a beginner from another dojō, will often be hesitant to make any extended comments or advice.
31. The Ittō Ryū is one of the most important branches of swordsmanship of modern kendō and much research remains to be done on the many branches (ryū-ha) of this tradition. The process of ryū-ha formation is clearly seen in the case of Chiba Shusaku who began studying Nakanishi-ha Ittō Ryū under the famed Bakamatsu swordsman Assari Matashichiro. As a promising gekken trainee, Shusaku planned to marry Assari's daughter and it was intended that he continue the dojō. However, severe friction developed between the two and, although it is not clear what the basis for the dispute was, it seems that it was a combination of political and social attitudes towards the popular use of gekken. Shusaku strongly supported showman-like gekken competitions, even pitting women with naginata against men with shinai. In any event, Shusaku split from his benefactor's home, returned his license (denshō), and went off on a mushashugyō trip. Shusaku was 27 years old at the time. After five years of wandering and practicing with the best gekken swordsmen, Shusaku returned to Edo and opened his own dojō, calling his new style Hokushin Ittō Ryū. His great skill and charisma ensured that numerous deshi would flock to his dojō, but this kind of example of shu-ha-ri is hardly possible to imagine under the present conditions. Details of Chiba Shusaku's life may be found in K. Watantani's Nihon Kengo Hyakusen (100 Japanese Swordsmen); (Tokyo; 1971:205-210).
32. The character for ryū may also be read as "nagare." In the martial ways, ryū refers to a distinct school or tradition of swordsmanship with its own techniques, secrets, and licensing procedures. Since the modern national organization supervises techniques, licensing, and other organizational features of kendō, a more generalized "style" (nagare) of kendō is transmitted from master to disciple, rather than the intact tradition itself. This may also be expressed by kenpu or sword style; literally, sword wind.
33. This interpretation of shu-ha-ri comes from the nagare of the Ittō Ryū, established at Waseda University through Takano Sasaburo, Sasamore Junzo, and Watanabe Toshio. Mr. Kusaba, godan, of Waseda, related the interpretation to me.

34. The poem is quoted from hanshi jūdan Sato Ukichi Eien Naru Kendo (Eternal Kendo); (Tokyo, 1975:161).

Chapter 6 The Cultural Analysis of Kendō

The martial arts and ways are an enduring feature of Japanese culture. The martial legacy embodied in these disciplines infuses Japanese culture giving shape and meaning to its dominant symbols and cultural patterns. I suggest that the persistence and growth of the martial arts and ways has been refined, intensified, and broadened through their formulation as a system of spiritual education (seishin kyoiku). Forms of spiritual education such as kendō have endured both as independent entities and as regular adjuncts to formal educational institutions. Their enduring quality has not been due to their instrumental value in developing combative proficiency but, rather, has been due to their symbolic and expressive value in the spiritual self-cultivation of the individual. As part of the quest for self-cultivation, which one author has called the national religion of Japan¹, the budō play an essential role in shaping the Japanese consciousness. The Japanese understanding of close-combat and martial culture gives form and meaning to their underlying cognitive, emotional, and even somatic perceptions.

Self-Cultivation

The dominant educational theme stressed in the preceding chapters has been that of self-cultivation. In its broadest formulation self-cultivation is concerned with "becoming human," with developing a stronger character in body and mind, with gaining the ability to join wholly and harmoniously with the cosmic, natural, and social order. Self-cultivation seeks an inner psycho-somatic unity and an outer harmony and respect

for one's social requirements. As part of "spiritual education" it may be thought of as an organized system to increase man's natural vitality and spiritual energy so as to place the individual in true harmony with the total life process of which he is part.

Self-cultivation thus has an "inner" and an "outer" aspect, both of which require attention, training, and maturation through experience. Inner self-cultivation leads to personal self-realization while outer self-cultivation leads to the ordering and harmonizing of the world. The two are inseparably joined.

"One cannot assume that those overwhelmingly concerned with self-cultivation will be exclusively concerned with the "inner" realm, or their adversaries with the "outer" (Swartz, 1959:52).

Robert Bellah sees in Japanese culture two conceptions of the divine and their resulting forms of religious action which have relevance for this discussion of inner and outer self-cultivation. Taking the "outer" type of religious action first, Bellah describes a pattern whereby the divine is

"a super-ordinate entity who dispenses nurturance, care, and love. Examples include the Confucian Heaven and Earth, Amida and the other Buddhas, the Shinto deities, as well as local tutelary deities and ancestors. This category shades off imperceptibly into political superiors and parents, both of whom are treated as in part, at least, sacred. Religious action toward these entities is characterized by respect, gratitude for blessings received, and attempts to make returns for those blessings (Bellah, 1957:61).

Of the "inner" type, which he claims is the more profound and consequently "more difficult to explain", Bellah says:

"It might be described as the ground of being or the inner essence of reality. Examples are the Chinese tao; the neo-Confucian li...and hsin, heart or mind...; the Buddhist concept of the Buddha-nature; and the Shinto term kami in its most philosophical interpretation. Religious action toward these entities is the attempt on the part of the communicant to attain some form of union or identity with this ground of being or essence of reality (1957:61).

Self cultivation in kendō participates fully in both types of religious action. Inner self-cultivation, here, is the attempt at "pure experience", a realization, spontaneous and intuitive, that derives from the unmoving hara and the forged kokoro in the combative training process. The theory of combative engagement described in Chapter 3 develops a strategy of being which accords with Bellah's "inner" religious action.

"(It) attempts to attain this unity (with the "Great Ultimate") through private religious exercises or experiences...techniques of breath control or meditation may be devised...giving oneself up to a life of "pure experience"...Stated theoretically, this approach seems to be an attempt to destroy the self as an ontological entity, to destroy the dichotomy between subject and object" (Ibid:74).

Outer self-cultivation, manifested as the primacy of the collectivity over the individual, is a demonstration of mature inner development wherein selfish and egoistic desires are relinquished for the social good. This theme of the precedence of society over the individual in Japanese culture has been stressed by numerous authors (Bellah 1957; Benedict 1946; Caudill and Doi 1963; Lebra 1976; Nakamura 1964; Nakane 1970; Yanagisako 1976). In virtually all areas of Japanese culture normative values "stress the welfare of the group, and consensus among its members as primary goals" (Caudill and Doi, 1963:400). Although this position describes a major value in Japanese

culture, many researchers have ignored the complementary value and importance of self-cultivation and individualism as understood by various forms of seishin kyoiku such as kendō and the martial ways. The importance of individual growth in "spiritual education" has been cogently treated by Rohlen (1973,1976) and Lebra (1976), and in passing by Befu (1975). Self-cultivation enjoins a balanced approach to the primacy of the collectivity and the "inner" development of the individual; they are mutually supportive.

Reigi

"Kendō begins and ends with reigi".² This religiously repeated adage, a constant reminder to beginners and senior practitioners alike, is perhaps the central normative value in kendō. Kendō masters frequently relate that without reigi, the code of propriety that governs social relations, there could be no such thing as kendō, for in its omission the resultant actions are indistinguishable from pure violence or "primitive aggression".

The kendō dōjō mirrors Japanese social structure; it is a microcosm of Japanese culture and social organization. The pattern and content of this social order is made manifest through the enactment of reigi.

Reigi is composed of two elements: (1) dotokū, a universal system of morals and ethical rules such as honesty, selflessness, humanitarianism, and sexual morality; and (2) rei, a highly specific set of particularistic rules, the matters of proper form, for social interaction (Norbeck, 1970:131).

The exercise of reigi in kendō is therefore a moral training in the outer side of self-cultivation. It is a reflection of the Japanese fusion of morals and ethics with the forms of propriety. Foreigners might mistakenly regard the rigid adherence to etiquette in kendō as some basic authoritarian strain in Japanese culture or even as an antiquarian respect for the Tokugawa bushi whose cardinal virtue was the proper observation of reigi. These mistaken attitudes are likely shaped by the bias in Western culture which "cognitively separates morals and ethics from etiquette" (1970:116)³.

Codes of etiquette function as markers of social status and class boundaries. They identify distinctions in the social hierarchy and by relating members of different social statuses to one another in an efficient manner, they preserve the identity and integrity of the social order (White, 1949:225-227). Proper training in reigi therefore, is both an expression of moral virtue as well as an affirmation for the existing social order and the rules that govern it.

The dōjō is a sacred space that consecrates acts of self-cultivation. The dōjō creates a timeless moment of "spiritual exercise" that integrates the "inner" mystical experience of union with the kami (kami ni awaseru) and the "outer" harmonizing of a complex social hierarchy.

Among the innumerable specific acts of reigi, respect for seniority and age in the finely graded social structure is of central importance. Fukushima Masayoshi writes that one of the most important articles of Confucian morality in kendō is the

Confucian virtue of "precedence to elders" (choyo joari).⁴ The social relations between younger and older members in combative systems is a problem of crucial importance for any culture. Confrontation and contest between males of disparate ages is potentially highly disruptive to the maintenance of the social order. Combative systems, including sports, usually solve this problem by segregating opponents into age sets⁵ or by having elder members assume non-combatant teaching or coaching rules. While this is partially true for the budō, particularly in formal competitions⁶, in kendō older and younger members regularly confront each other in training. In fact it is customary for senior members taking the role of sensei to have no rest during training while junior members often have some respite as they wait in line. This situation develops both the sensei's endurance and demonstrates the strength of age and experience. It is not only the unique feature of kendō as a combative system using hand-held weapons⁷ but also the genius of the Asian kata system that allows men of advanced age to train effectively with younger more active partners.

The threat to the social order in combative systems for the Japanese is in large part solved by the rigid insistence upon the proper demonstration of reigi. Of course, methods and strategies exist that mediate the confrontation for the senior partner to equalize disparities in stamina and vitality. Training methods such as kirikaeshi, kakarigeiko and the sensei's prerogative to determine the length of each training set often serve this function. Nevertheless, reigi and the specific rule of "precedence to elders" ensure the harmony of the social

structure threatened by the violent forces of personal confrontation.

Reigi is symbolized and manifested most directly by the bow or rei. It is the primary kinesthetic semiotic that affirms the social order. In daily intercourse it is the posture through which individuals communicate recognition of relative status, humility, understanding, requests, thanks, and salutations. Consequently the bow is subject to intensive training. Great care and attention to detail are placed in the proper performance of the bow.

"Bowling is very serious practice...By bowing we are giving up ourselves...Usually to bow means to pay our respects to something which is more worthy of respect than ourselves. Bowing helps to eliminate our self-centered ideas. This is not so easy...and bowing is a very valuable practice" (S. Suzuki, 1974:43-45).

Because of the emphasis on inner experience and psycho-kinesthetic awareness in bowing, rei also becomes a matter of inner self-cultivation. The kinesthetic performance of the rules of propriety is itself a demonstration of moral virtue and inner harmony. The calm fluid movements of measured respect express a deep inner awareness and alertness. One cannot judge the quality of an individual's kendō without evaluating his bearing and demeanor in the measured acts of rei that punctuate and bind his intensity and skill in quasi-combat.

The path to inner self-realization in the martial mode of combative systems works on and releases violent and potent forces. The official English version for kendoists, Fundamental Kendō states:

"We employ these courtesies (rei) to control and humanize these motions (primitive aggression)" (All-Japan Kendō Federation 1974:125).

Kendō combat teaches attitudes and values which if not constrained by reigi would be highly detrimental to the normative values of daily social intercourse. The spirit of combat enjoins trainees to forcefully take the initiative and to eschew vagueness and indirection. The emphasis on "taking the initiative" (sen) is in direct contrast with the normative value of "restraint" or enryō. Enryō is the general rule of propriety for most forms of social intercourse.

Takeo Doi (1973) formulates that there are three distinct concentric boundaries of social interaction in Japanese culture. The inner circle, the mi no uchi or "inner body", consists of one's immediate family and closest friends. Within this sphere, human feelings of "love" and "diffuse enduring solidarity"⁸ spontaneously arise, and formal restrained behavior is not usually appropriate.

Next, in the large middle sphere, it is proper to assume an attitude of enryō and restraint towards other individuals with whom daily intercourse has created a social bond of reciprocal obligation. This is the area of giri, duty and propriety, which amounts to a conditional "promise in personal relations" (Minami, 1971:173). Restraint is not required in the extreme outer circle where one is dealing with tanin, complete strangers, for one has neither the "natural emotions" of kinship nor the obligations of propriety in the complex nexus of known personal relationships.

Enryō calls for restraint, reserve, and denigration of self. The advice of kendō to be bold and forward, looking the opponent directly in the eye and violently hurling primordial cries at him seems to paradoxically flout the canons of reigi and enryō.

The potent inner forces unleashed in combat must be balanced, buttressed, and constrained by ritual acts of reigi that affirm the social order. This is the deeper meaning of the saying "kendō begins and ends with rei". The structure of the collectivity and its relative status hierarchy are constantly reinforced in kendō training. All members are seated in precise order according to their relative rank. The group rei at the introduction and conclusion of practice pays respect to the social order, upholding the kami, the sensei, and each other respectively. Each individual training set which, in its stark confrontation, recognizes no niceties of social status, must be punctuated with initial and final bows to the altar and to one's opponent.

Reigi imparts morality to kendō exercise. It cultivates the "inner" self by means of cultivating the "outer". It humanizes and makes righteous, through forging and tempering, primordial aggression. Reigi creates the "sword that gives life" (ikasu ken). Without reigi, exercise in swordsmanship degenerates into the "sword that takes life" (satsujin ken).

The Cultural Structure of Bu

The ethos of Japanese martial culture may best be understood by an analysis of the concept embodied by the term "bu". Bu is the sub-system of symbols, meanings, and actions that include all things martial in Japanese culture. I include here not only the bujutsu, the budō, and the general culture of the bushi, but also all manifestations of combative behavior in its broadest interpretation. Bu includes aspects of aesthetic

thought, including art, dance, and music; philosophical, religious, and psychological doctrine, as well as elements of technology and social organization. This exposition, in an effort to approach the deepest meanings of the martial tradition and Japanese culture, is necessarily broad-ranging, tentative, and exploratory.

The Japanese theory of culture perceives the cosmos, and consequently man and the social order, as dynamically seeking a state of harmony and balance through the resolution of complementary but opposite principles⁹. The dynamic tension that induces change, growth, and ultimate union through fundamental dyadic oppositions runs through Taoist, Confucian, Buddhism, and Shinto thought in Japanese culture. The concept of ultimate being or union may be expressed as the Void (Mu), "Great Nature" (daishizen) the Absolute (ki-taikyo), or the "Middle Present" (naka-ima).¹⁰ The principle of complementary opposition is usually expressed through the workings of yin (in) and yang (yō).

Among the various dyadic principles upon which Japanese culture is motivated, I have found Kurt Singer's formulation of "nearness to origins" (Ursprunglichkeit) and "aristocratic distinction" (Vornehmheit) to be a potent and graphic metaphor. He says:

"The nature of such (cultural) patterns defies description by a single term but may be understood as the solution of a problem, the mastering of a task, that a particular society has set itself" (Singer, 1973:97).¹¹

While the concept of martial culture, bu, shares in both "nearness to origins" and "aristocratic distinction, its essence is on the primordial side. Despite the immeasurable debt of

Japanese culture to Chinese civilization and its transmission of Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist doctrines which have all shaped the meaning of martial culture, the Japanese have always felt that bu is somehow uniquely their own (Dore, 1965). The structure, meaning, and symbolism of bu is deeply fused with the native conceptions of Shinto thought.¹²

Bu is a sacred, primordial, and active force intimately associated with the origins of life and death, order and chaos, peace and war, and blood. In Shintō thought bu may be seen as the originating motive force (gendoryoku) joined to the founding of the Japanese race and the inhabitation of the Japanese archipelago. In Shintō mythology, the very act of creation is infused with the spirit of bu as Izanagi no Mikoto, the male forebear of the Sun Goddess, creates the land through the churning action of the "Heavenly Jeweled Spear"¹³. Again, when his sister and mate, Izanami no Mikoto, dies giving birth to the fire deity, he slays this kami in rage and grief with his sword and the dripping blood gives rise to the two major martial deities (bushin). These two deities, Futsunushi no Mikoto and Takemikazuchi no Mikoto, the "patron saints" of all the martial arts and ways, are credited with finally subduing the recalcitrant and chaotic Earth kami, thus making possible the descent from Heaven by the Sun Goddess's grandson.

The legendary founding of the Japanese race then begins with the reign of the first Yamato Emperor, Jimmu. It is significant that his name, in Chinese characters reads "sacred bu"¹⁴. Represented by the Emperor Jimmu, bu is again the original force that creates order out of chaos, righteously transforming

nature and humanizing it.

Bu is not conceived of as a destructive force although it is active and wild, even at times, uncontrollable. Esoteric Japanese philology associates bu (also read mu) with the concept of musubi, the active unifying force that makes things one. Symbolized by the sacred sword, bu cuts through duality and creates order. Through decisive and righteous action bu seeks to control destructive aggression. This is symbolically represented in the character for bu whose internal radicals read "to stop arms". Bu is also a purifying action as can be seen in the movements of the Shintō ōharai (ritual purification movement) is founded, in part, upon the mythological story of the divine sword, kunimuke tsurugi, that quelled the noisy land spirits (renchi) by cutting off their heads.

According to the Shintō scholar, Muraoka Tsunetsugu, two of the most fundamental characteristics of Shintō are soboku-shugi, "the doctrine of plainness" and kokoku-shugi, "the doctrine of the Imperial Country" (Muraoka, 1964:11). The doctrine of plainness embodies naturalness and simplicity and is related to the pervasive religious and philosophical concept of "Great Nature" (daishizen). It is the "return to origins". The doctrine of the Imperial Country and the symbol of the Emperor tempers and perfects this primitive natural state. It is the epitome of "aristocratic distinction". Bu though primeval in its originating motive force is also aristocratic through its association with the founding of the Imperial tradition.

The primordial force of bu is not to be cultivated in itself. It requires completion and balance: the primitive joined to the civilized, "nearness to origins" to "aristocratic distinction" War (ran) must be balanced with peace (ji); death (shi) with life (sei); hardness with softness; action with inaction; bu with bun.

The Shintō conception of human personality reflects this unification of complementary oppositions. Man has a divided soul (wakemitama) of which the two most essential parts are the "rough soul" (aramitama) and the "smooth soul" (nigimitama).¹⁵ All individuals even the kami have both types of soul, each person's spiritual task being to create a balance within himself of these complementary but opposing forces.

I suggest that the "rough soul" (aramitama) is the psychological dimension of bu in man. Ponsonby-Fane states that the "rough soul" is most frequently symbolized in Shinto ritual by the sword. He says that the ancient Shinto conception of the aramitama

"signified simply the active spirit, the spirit which manifested itself when some work of an active nature had to be done" (Ponsonby-Fane, 1953:313).

The "rough soul" is the active force that is empowered to rule with authority. In contrast, the "smooth soul" or nigimitama is the spirit that confers peace, makes adjustments, and maintains harmony.

These archtypal psychological dispositions in man may be in disequilibrium. Mishima Yukio's protagonist in the novel Runaway Horses,¹⁶ a youthful patriot and kendoist, is described as having the "rough soul" too strong in him. Ideally, the budō

act to create inner emotional balance not to simply stimulate the primitive emotions of aggression. This psychology may be seen in the motivations that cause parents to enroll their children in kendō. For children who are introverted (naimen-teki), kendō brings them out. It gives them self-confidence, makes them active, and overcomes their excessive feelings of restraint. For children who are extroverted (gaimen-teki), kendō is believed to calm and temper their exuberance. It teaches them self-control and restraint.

While bu or the martial spirit has both an inner and an outer face, both of which must be balanced, its essence lies in the primordial. Its place in the individual is personal and private, the primitive self, wild and close to nature. The cultural meaning of the budō is shaped by the Japanese aesthetic ideal of "naturalism" (shizen-shugi). Kendō "is the 'savage' brought to perfection by the civilized outlook" (Hasegawa, 1965: 51). For Mishima Yukio, one of Japan's greatest modern writers, kendō and the martial ways are critical images and metaphors for understanding Japanese culture. The paradox of the complementary oppositions in Japanese culture and the stark attempt to balance them in Mishima's unbalanced life, is reflected in his personal experience with kendō. He writes:

"Though it was just 12 years ago that I took up kendō in earnest, the truth of the matter is that I encountered it earlier as part of my middle-school curriculum. In my school such sports as kendō, jūdō, archery, and riding were required subjects, and so I hated all of them. I felt a hot flush of special mortification whenever I heard the rude, barbaric, threatening cries of kendō. My boyish sensibility was affronted by their gross shamelessness, their animality. They shattered culture. They threatened civilization. Whenever I heard them I wanted to cover my ears.

Now, 30 years later, I feel quite otherwise. The sound is pleasant to me; I have fallen in love with it. This sound is the cry of Nippon itself buried within me... It is a cry that present-day Japan is ashamed of and desperately tries to suppress, but it breaks out shattering all pretense. It is something bound up with memories that are dark... But whatever the recollections it provokes, they are the ones that most truthfully recall our nation's past. It is the cry of our race bursting through the shell of modernization...

When I hear the kendō cry issue from my own throat and from the throats of others, I sometimes look out the window of the small drill hall in downtown Tokyo where I practice. And as I look up at the new elevated freeways cutting across the sky, I say that there lies mere phenomena while here below, the substance of things cries out, and I am happy. Yet at the same time, how well aware I am that the happiness that comes of incarnating the force behind these cries is a happiness fraught with danger...I hope that kendō never becomes the international sport redolent of good fellowship that jūdō has. I never want it to lose the quality that sets it against the spirit of the modern age" (Mishima, 1971:26).

While Mishima was pre-occupied with the "dark side" of bu in his writings as well as in the dramatic but futile way in which he took his life, his formulations express only one side of bu. Indeed, the "rough soul" was in the end too powerful in Mishima who sought surcease and ultimate union with the Void.

Another source for discerning the meanings and sentiments associated with bu is to be found in the formal names given to dōjō. Dōjō names are public statements of the values and attitudes that are proper for entering into budō training. I have gone through a list of ninety-eight independent dōjō registered with the All-Japan Kendō Federation for the Kantō and northern Honshu regions. Of these about 34 percent of the dōjō are named after the city or area in which the dōjō was located while approximately 6 percent are named after the founding

sensei or the business that supports the dōjō. In the remaining 60 percent a regular pattern of names is seen to emerge in which the character bu appears with the greatest frequency.

Dōjō names are normally constructed from three characters, the first two expressing a name or ideal and the last indicating a building or hall (kan). The characters associated with bu are usually actions or qualities. In the first category of actions, I found the following words to predominate: to forge, to practice, to cultivate, to perfect, and to nourish. The words indicating the quality of bu were most often those of sincerity, righteousness, breadth, brightness, purity, sacredness, and virtue. In cases where bu did not appear, the most frequent substitute was the character shin for kokoro or "heart-soul" and the same list of actions and qualities were attached to it. Noticeably lacking were words that indicated a threatening, harsh, or violent character. Most prominent were the values of self-cultivation, growth and development, and spiritual training. This again emphasizes the Japanese position that the inner primordial forces of bu must be balanced and tempered with the primacy of the collectivity and ethical acts of self-cultivation that affirm the social order.

Learning in kendō must be seen as the attempt to achieve a spiritual resolution of the complementary but opposing forces of "return to origins" and "aristocratic distinction". I suggest that two significant personal images of swordsmanship and bu exist that illustrate and define the dyadic pairs of "inner" and "outer", self and society, the primitive and the civilized.

These are the warrior figures of the ronin and the samurai. The ronin is the masterless bushi, the "wave man" cut adrift from the social order. He is alone and primordial, someone who is dangerous because he has no role or clear-cut obligations in the social hierarchy. In contrast, there is the samurai, the high-class bushi who is morally bound through unconditional bonds of loyalty to maintaining his "servant's" role and upholding the social order.

The samurai is the personification of the outer dimension of bu. Through his great moral virtue and courage he creates peace in the land and because of these feats he does not labor but instead acts as the moral and intellectual elite for all other social classes. He is true "aristocratic distinction", the "savage made perfect".

The ronin lacks these qualities of the samurai. He is a wanderer and poor, living by his wits rather than by his fixed rice stipend. The ronin has an ambivalent image in Japanese culture; it is a status that is, in part, disparaged and frowned upon, for to be outside the nicely graded social structure is a disgrace and a calamity. On the other hand, the ronin is an archtypal counter-hero. His structural antagonism to the social order and rugged individualism has been quickly appreciated by Western movie-goers through the works of Kurosawa Akira. Kurosawa's bushi heroes, often portrayed by Mifune Toshiro, are heroes counter to the norms of Japanese society. As in the movie Sanjuro, Mifune is a crude, dirty, and sloppy ronin. Cheerfully anarchistic, he contrasts sharply with the spic and span, politely refined but inexperienced samurai boys whom he aids.

He flaunts the most respected of warrior traditions when upon being asked how the boys can thank him, replies "You needn't. How about giving me some money?"¹⁷

The ronin, furthermore, is not only the counter-hero as depicted by Kurosawa; he is the hero who through his great inner sincerity (makoto) is forced outside the accepted social structure to fulfill his duty. Japanese history hosts a long line of heroes who became ronin by choice so as to more fully act on their beliefs when they conflicted with the laws and duties of the existing social order. The history of the bakumatsu period is replete with such individuals.

Although it is a point easily forgotten, particularly during the militaristic pre-war period when loyalty was defined as the rigid obedience to specific outward acts, it must be remembered that in bushidō loyalty:

"The ultimate criterion is always internal: the individual must decide for himself where his duty lies in any given case. If his duty, as he sees it, happens to conflict with the law, the law must be ignored" (Earl, 1964:178).

The influential bakumatsu patriot and part-time ronin leader, Yoshida Shoin, who was executed for flaunting Tokugawa law wrote:

"Chu Hsi says, "Whether one is guilty or not guilty lies only within himself. This is why the ancients sacrificed themselves for the sake of Benevolence." Chu Hsi's words are rather similar to the position which I take. However, the question of being guilty or not guilty must be left to the general opinion of later generations. My intention is solely to exert my efforts in right action" (1964:178).

The Budō and Militarism

The association of the budō and most forms of seishin kyoiku with nationalist militarism in the minds of many

Westerners and even many Japanese is a problem that is appropriate to deal with at this point. Thomas Rohlen has written most cogently on the changes and uses of "spiritual education" in Japanese culture during the period of modernization through World War II. Kendō and the martial ways were unquestionably used and abused by the government and, in fact, the whole consciousness of all forms of "spiritual education" were distorted during the pre-war years. Absolute precedence was given to the collectivity over the self.

"the government, increasingly dominated by the military, attempted to raise the spiritual tradition into a national ideology...Political authority was inserted where personal experience (and...a personal teacher) had been appropriate. What was to be learned from life was replaced by codified rules and principles. Action of service to the state was made the central concern...The official view of Japanese spiritualism gave emphasis to the qualities of patriotism, diligence, duty, endurance, and sacrifice. The sense of biographical growth was subordinated to that of instant moral achievement" (Rohlen, 1976:137-38).

Disparagement of the martial ways in Japanese culture, however, goes further than the recent history of the "modern martial ways" (shin budō). Even such sensitive scholars as Ronald Dore misunderstood the budō as when he says:

"the traditions kept alive in the military half of the Tokugawa schools...produce(d) irresistible pressure for the pursuit of military glory and territorial expansion..." (Dore, 1965:313).

Dore misses the point that the "spiritual education" of the Late Tokugawa budō, as far as they might have deviated from the earlier classical martial arts (ko bujutsu) and classical martial ways (ko budō), were still strongly concerned with the personal expression of dissent (Rohlen, 1976:136). Personal evaluation of the social order and the individual's obligation

to sincerely act, even in transgressing the law, was a central notion in the "spiritual education" of this period. The quote of Yoshida Shoin's earlier clearly demonstrates this.

Dore is mistaken on another point as well. This error seems to derive from his unconscious association of the "samurai" (actually bushi) with the European knight. The economic structure and rule of primogeniture in medieval Europe produced a warrior class of second and third sons whose continued existence required "knightly adventure for profit and fame" (Singer, 1973)¹⁸. In contrast to the Sengoku bushi or even earlier warrior types, the Tokugawa bushi was socially and morally prohibited from seeking profit, fame, and power through military expansionism.

Research on overseas Japanese populations such as those in the United States and Canada reveals that kendō and the modern martial ways were primarily for the "spiritual education" of foreign-born Japanese youth. Kendō and jūdō dōjō were established by the immigrant groups as soon as was possible both as independent machi dōjō and as regular adjuncts to afternoon or weekend Japanese schools. The goal of kendō in Japanese-American communities was not to militarize nor mobilize the male youth for aggressive purpose. Rather, the martial ways were an education in Japanese ethnic identity and an exercise in self-cultivation through a traditional quasi-combative mode to develop "character" and health for youth as productive citizens in whatever nation they resided. It was not until the late thirties that various extreme nationalist groups in Japan attempted to stir up patriotic sentiment and exploit the militaristic potential of the budō in these overseas communities, and

that effort was met with a noticeable lack of success.¹⁹

Modern militarism and its causes are best understood and analyzed by economic and technological factors and by the subsequent manipulation of key symbols by political elites and special interest groups for legitimization of their expansionist policies. Attributing modern militarism to unique cultural or national characteristics is a weak and futile explanation, particularly when one considers the large number of diverse societies which have aggressively mobilized and initiated military action for economic and political gain, and who, in many cases, are continuing to do so.

Summary

I have presented the martial arts and ways as an enduring form of education in Japanese culture. Based upon the Japanese understanding of personal confrontation in combat, kendō and the martial ways are an exercise in spiritual self-cultivation and ethnic identity. Its program of learning seeks to create a harmony between two complementary but opposed forms of experience and action. Inner experience and personal development must be balanced with proper participation and affirmation of one's place in society.

The total configuration of Japanese martial culture, Bu, as it is organized and formulated in kendō and the martial arts and ways is a "deep" cultural construct. It is "interpretive" and gives the Japanese an understanding of nature, their society, of men, and of themselves.

I conclude this dissertation in the spirit of kendō by boldly learning from, imitating, and paraphrasing a senior master in the tradition of anthropology. While the Balinese cockfight shares little in common with the Japanese budō, the cultural meaning and interpretive role of the cockfight as described by Clifford Geertz is highly appropriate to our understanding of kendō in Japanese culture. Taking a conclusionary quote by Geertz on the cockfight in Balinese culture. have substituted kendō, Japanese, and other words where appropriate.

"Every people, the proverb has it, loves its own form of violence. Kendō is the Japanese reflection on theirs; on its look, its uses, its force, its fascination. Drawing on almost every level of Japanese experience, it brings together themes - primitive savagery, aristocratic distinction, sacred power, order and chaos, life and death - and binding them into a set of rules which at once allows them to play, building a symbolic structure in which over and over again, the reality of their inner affiliation can be intelligibly felt. Participating in kendō and the martial culture (bu) is, for the Japanese, a kind of sentimental and somatic education. What he learns there is what his culture's ethos and his private sensibility look like when spelled out externally."²⁰

Chapter 6 Notes

1. This statement is attributed to Thomas Rohlen (1976:128).
2. This expression usually reads rei rather than reigi. Rei is an abbreviated expression for the total concept of the rules of propriety, reigi. Its use in this adage also indicates the importance of the bow (rei) in kendō which must initiate and conclude all discrete sets of combat training.
3. This separation of morals from etiquette in Western culture has caused innumerable misunderstandings and cross-cultural problems for Westerners in Japan and Asia. Whereas the Western conception of religion sees the moral code as the most important and thus regards the breach of etiquette as much less grave than a breach of morality, Japanese culture tends to see transgression in the code of propriety as a moral failure.
4. It is sometimes strange to see an intensely fought training session be suddenly interrupted by the junior member who realizes that in the heat of contest he has maneuvered so that he is closest to the kamidana, the position of respect. He quickly runs back to the "lower side", bows to his senior for the transgression and interruption, and then resumes his relentless attack.
5. Segregation by graded levels of proficiency still functions to broadly arrange contestants on the basis of age.
6. This tendency may be seen in the All-Japan Open Kendo Competition held yearly in Tokyo during the winter. In earlier years it was common for older higher ranking kendoists (up to the seventh degree) participate in these tournaments. It was not uncommon for contestants to be in their mid-forties and even to win the tournament. In recent years, however, as kendō has shifted from its classical criteria of "cutting" to the sports criteria of "taking points" the winners have uniformly been individuals in the middle and late twenties who are about the fifth or sixth degree of proficiency. Consequently fewer and fewer senior kendoists have been participating in this major tournament for fear of losing status and contributing to the confusion of the social hierarchy.
7. In general grappling forms of contest favor pure strength, weight, and agility while hand-held weapons, as they separate the combatants, tend to neutralize disparities in physical advantage. The ultimate of this position is found with firearms that make any person, small, aged, or even female "a big man". The genius of the pre-arranged kata systems cannot be overstressed for allowing individuals to combatively train well into advanced age.

8. This concept in Japanese kinship is taken from Keith Brown "The Content of Dozoku Relationships in Japan" in Ethnology 7 (1968):113-138.
9. I am not entering here into the arguments concerning the hypothesis that societies are universally ordered by a fundamental dyadic principle inherent in the human condition. It has always seemed to me that the concepts of yin and yang ~~as formulated by~~ Chinese philosophers were more elegant in their simplicity and detailed manifestations than the overly wordy and convoluted thoughts of Levi-Strauss.
10. While the concept of "Great Nature" may be said to pervade all Japanese religious and philosophic systems the concept of the Void is Buddhist, the Absolute is Confucian, and the "Middle Present" is Shinto.
11. Singer says "nearness to origins" is a trait shared by Russia while "aristocratic distinction" is shared by France. In an interesting discussion of the polarities motivating various European culture, Singer gives the following patterns. "The German mind combines the will to widest universality with the sense for the most individual. The Italian mind combines enthusiastic ardor with pellucid rationality. The French, the spirit of geometry with the spirit of subtlety. The English, striving for personal liberty with readiness to submit to social convention" (1973:97).
12. The following description of bu in Shinto thought is derived in large measure from interviews held with Mr. Yahagi one of the head priests at Kashima Jingu, the major shrine for the martial deity Takemikazuchi no Mikoto. The interviews were conducted with Roald Knutsen and John Piper who were then studying formally the kenjutsu of the Kashima Shinto Ryu. My ideas were also strongly influenced by a reading of the classic study on combat, the Sento Kyo as published and explained by Sasamori Junzo.
13. I agree with Jean Herbert in his excellent book, Shinto, London: George Allen and Unwin (1967) that while one may interpret the act of creation with the spear as a phallic symbol, that this is to distort and misunderstand the active martial principle of bu in the creative process. Japanese mythology and culture is rather open and aware of its phallic imagery and sexual connotations and Herbert attaches little value to the sexual implications of the "Heavenly Jeweled Spear".
14. The character Bu is sometimes read as mu as in the case of the Emperor Jimmu or the term mushashūgyō. It may also be read as take as in the legendary hero Yamato Takeru or the common family name of Takeda.

15. Shinto psychology recognizes a four part soul in man. In addition to the aramitama and nigimitama there is also the kushimitama and the sakimitama. The kushimitama is the spirit that causes mysterious transformations and the sakimitama is that which imparts blessings or good fortune (Shinto Committee, 1958:68). As with so many other doctrines in Shinto thought, the concept of the divided four-part soul is not rigorously or logically formulated. According to Fujisawa Chikao according to some conceptions the kushimitama embraces both the aramitama and nigimitama and it may even be lost. Other theologians, he claims, take the nigimitama to contain the sakimitama and kushimitama. Fujisawa Chikao, Shinto and Zen (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1971:62).
16. The tetralogy Sea of Fertility by Yukio Mishima stands as a great piece of world literature and an important document for understanding Japanese culture and thought. The day Mishima handed in the final drafts of his manuscript he had completed in devotion to bun and then dramatically offered his life to bu by seeking to incite the Self-Defense Forces to rebellion and committing seppuku. The tetralogy in its entirety has been translated into English in the volumes Spring Snow, Runaway Horses, The Golden Temple, and Decay of the Angel.
17. The dialogue has been taken from Donald Ritchie, The Films of Akira Kurosawa. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970:155.
18. One of the most important functions of the early tournaments in medieval Europe was the economic gain by knights who received booty and ransom from their captured opponents. Robert Moreford writes "the political and economic developments in the twelfth century...affected patterns of knightly careers providing greater freedom and social mobility for those who were not first born. Thus, such knights could either seek their fortunes on the road as "knight errant", in which case the increasing popularity of the tournament became a convenient and viable means of support, or they could seek service as professional soldiers, mercenaries in the pay of a wealthy duke or even wealthier prince" (Moreford and Clark, 1977:183). The later Crusades indelibly fused Christian mission with militaristic adventure for profit, fame, and salvation.
19. An interesting volume published by Japanese nationalists in Japan records the history of kendo among the Japanese-American communities of the West Coast. This volume Beikoku Kendo Hyaku Nen Shi (A hundred year history of kendo in America) may be found in the Far East Library at the University of Washington.

20. The paraphrase is taken from Clifford Geertz "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" in The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books (1973):412-453. The quote is found on page 451 of that article.

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Appendix

A Character Glossary of Japanese Terms

aiki	合気	bun	文
aikido	合気道	bun bu fuki	文武不枝
aiuchi	相打	bun bu ryōdō	文武両道
akarui	明るい	bushi	武士
amari no kokoro	余の心	bushido	武士道
aragyō	荒行	bushin	武神
aramitama	荒御霊	butokū	武徳
ashigaru	足輕	butsukari-keiko	ぶつかり稽古
asobi	遊び	byōki	病氣
atemi waza	当身技	chadō	茶道
bajutsu	馬術	chambara	ちゃんばら
bakufu	幕府	chi gyō itchi	知行一致
bakumatsu	幕末	choyo joari	長幼序あり
battō-jutsu	抜刀術	chūdan	中段
bō	棒	chū kō ippon	忠孝一本
bokken	木剣	daishizen	大自然
bu	武	dan	段
budō	武道	dantai shiai	団体試合
budo-ka	武道家	dasanteki	打算的
buget	武芸	densho	伝承
bugi	武技	deshi	弟子
bujin	武人	dō	道
bukan	武館	dōjō	道場
buke	武家	dotokū	道徳
buke sho hatto	武家諸法度	doyo-keiko	土用稽古

enryō	遠慮	hageshii	烈しい
enzan no metsuke	遠山の目付	hanshi	藩士
embu	演武	hanshi	範士
fudōshin	不動心	hara	腹
fukoku kyōhei	富国強兵	haramaki	腹巻
gaimen-teki	外面的	haraobi	腹帯
gaku	学	hassō no kamae	八相の構
gamman	我慢	hatamoto	旗本
gasshuku	合宿	heigaku	兵学
gattsu	ガッツ	heihō	兵法
gedan	下段	heijōshin	平常心
gekken	撃剣	heishiki taisō	兵式体操
gekkenkai	撃剣会	hikitate keiko	引立稽古
gendōryoku	原動力	hō	法
genki	元気	hoganbiki	判官鼻筋
go	碁	hōjutsu	砲術
godan	五段	honbu	本部
gokaku keiko	互角稽古	hone	骨
gokenin	御家人	honenashi	骨無し
gokō	郷校	hone ni shimikomu	骨に沁み込む
gokui	極意	hone ga oreru	骨が折れる
gō no sen	後の先	honnō	本能
goran	御覧	hō-on	報恩
gōshi	郷士	iaido	居合道
gungaku	軍学	iai-jutsu	居合術
gunki	軍記	ikasu ken	活かす剣
gunpō	軍法	ikite iru	生きている
hachidan	八段	ikkyū	一級

in	陰	kan	勘
issoku ittō no ma	一足一刃の間	kangeiko	寒稽古
		kansha	感謝
jibun no sugata	自分の姿	karada de oboeru	身体で覚える
jibun ni katsu	自分に勝つ	karate-dō	空手道
jikiden	直伝	kashikan	下士官
jishin	自信	kata	形
jiyu keiko	自由稽古	katate jōdan	片手上段
jōdan	上段	katei kyoiku	家庭教育
jodō	杖道	katsujin ken	活人剣
jojutsu	杖術	keiko	稽古
judan	十段	ken	剣
jūdō	柔道	ken	梟
jūjutsu	柔術	kenbu	剣舞
juken-jutsu	銃剣術	kendō	剣道
juku	塾	kengaku	剣学
junjō	純情	kengi	剣技
jutsuri	術理	kenjutsu	剣術
kajiya	鍛冶屋	kenpō	剣法
kararigeiko	掛り稽古	kenpu	剣風
akegoe	掛声	kenri	剣理
kamae	構	kensen	剣先
kami	神	ken tai itchi	懸待一致
kamidana	神棚	ki	気
kami ni awaseru	神に合わせる	kiai	気合
kamiza	上座	kiba minzoku	騎馬民族
kan	観	kibishii	厳しい

kihon	基本	kufu	工夫
kirikaeshi	切返	kurō	苦勞
kiryoku	気力	kyūdō	弓道
kiso	基礎	kyūjutsu	弓術
kissaki	切先	kyōshi	教師
kiyoi	清い	ma	間
koan	公案	maai	間合
ko budō	古武道	maai o kiru	間合を切る
ko bujutsu	古武術	machigau	間違う
kodachi	小太刀	majime	真面目
kodansha	高段者	makeji damashi	負けじ魂
kokoro	心	makoto	誠
kokorogamae	心構	manabu	学ぶ
kōgyo	興行	ma ni hairu	間に入る
kojin shiai	個人試合	manga	漫画
kokoro no yaiba	心の刃	manuke	間拔
kokoku shugi	皇国主義	masugu	真直
koku	石	mayoi	迷
kokumin seishin	国民精神	megumi	恵
kokutai	国体	men	面
kondei	健児	menkyo kaiden	免許皆伝
koshi	腰	metsuke	目付
koshinuke	腰拔	mi	身
kote	小手	mitama	御霊
kuchi	口	mokuroku	目録
kudan	九段	monouchi	物打
kuden	口伝	mukeni no katana	無形の刀

mushashugyō	武者修業	ōwaza	大枝
mushin	無心	ran	乱
musubi	結	rangaku	蘭学
myōgi	妙技	rei	礼
nagamaki	長卷	reigi	礼儀
nagare	流	renmei	連盟
naginata	薙刀	renshi	練士
naginata-dō	薙刀道	renshu	練習
naimen-teki	内面的	ri gi ittai	理技一体
naka-ima	中今	riki	力
nigimitama	和御霊	riron	理論
nihon-tō	日本刀	ronin	浪人
ningen kokuhō	人間国宝	ryū	流
ni san dan waza	二三段技	ryū-ha	流派
noroshi-jūtsu	烽火術	ryūsō	流祖
nyūmon	入門	sabi	寂
nyūnanshin	入軟心	saburao	候ふ
obi	帯	sae	冴
ōdachi	大太刀	sake	酒
odoroki	驚	samurai	侍
ōharai	大袂	san dan	三段
ōji waza	応じ技	sankin kotae	参勤交代
okori waza	起り技	san satsu hō	三殺法
oku	奥	satsujin ken	殺人劍
omoikiri	思切	sei	勢
omote	表	seika tanden	膝下丹田
ōrai	往来	seinen	青年
osore	虞	seinen gakkō	青年学校

seiryoku zenyō	勢力善用	shinai kyōgi	竹刀競技
seishin kyoiku	精神教育	shin jū funi	神儒不二
seishinryoku	精神力	shin kiriyoku itchi	心気力一致
seiza	正座	shin budō	新武道
sekinin	責任	shin bujutsu	新武術
sen	先	shinde iru	死んでいる
sen-ha	戦派	shinden	神殿
senjutsu	戦術	shinken shobu	真剣勝負
sen no sen	先の先	shinkokyu	深呼吸
sensei	先生	shinobi jutsu	忍術
sen sen no sen	先先の先	shinsei	神聖
sempai	先輩	shin shin tanren	心身鍛練
seppuku	切腹	shiri	至理
shajutsu	射術	shisei	姿勢
shakaijin	社会人	shishin	止心
shi	士	shitahara	下腹
shi	指	shizen shugi	自然主義
shizoku	士族	shizentai	自然体
shiai	試合	shobu	勝負
shiai-geiko	試合稽古	shodō	書道
shibu	支部	shomen	正面
shigin	詩吟	shorinji kenpō	聖林寺剣法
shihan	師範	shoshinsha	初心者
shijuku	私塾	shōya	左屋
shikai	四戒	shuchu ryoku	集中力
shikan	士官	shūgyō	修行
shimeru	締める	shūgyō	修業
shinai	竹刀	shūgyō jidai	修業時代

shu ha ri	守破離	tenouchu	手の内
shuriken jutsu	手裏劍術	tenran shiai	天覽試合
shūyō	修養	tenshin shō	天心書
soboku shugi	素木主義	tesshin kakotsu	徹心化骨
sōhei	僧兵	tezoe	手添
soku	足	togiya	研屋
sonnō jōi	尊王攘夷	tokubetsu keiko	特別稽古
sotsu	卒	tokui waza	得意技
sojutsu	槍術	tōma	遠間
suburi	素振	tozama	外様
suijutsu	水術	tsubazeriai	鍔せり合
suki	隙	tsuki	突
surudoï	鋭い	uchima	打間
sutemi	捨身	ude	腕
tachiuchi	太刀打	utagai	疑
tachikaki	太刀掛	wabi	佗
tadashii	正しい	waka	和歌
tai-attari	体当	waza	技
taiho jutsu	逮捕術	wakemitama	分御
tairenka	体錬科	wakigamae	脇構
tairyoku	体力	wakizashi	脇差
taisabaki	体裁き	warui	悪い
taisō	体操	yakusoku keiko	約束稽古
take-yari	竹槍	Yamato Damashii	大和魂
tameshigiri	試斬	yari	槍
tanden	丹田	yō	陽
taryū-shiai	他流試合	yomeigaku	陽明学
tenno sei	天皇制	yoroi-kumiuchi	鎧組打

yudansha	有段者
yugen	幽玄
zanshin	残心
zazen	座禅
zen	禅

VITA

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