

History of *Kyudo and Jaido*

In

弓道 Early

居合道 Japan

By

Jesse C. Newman



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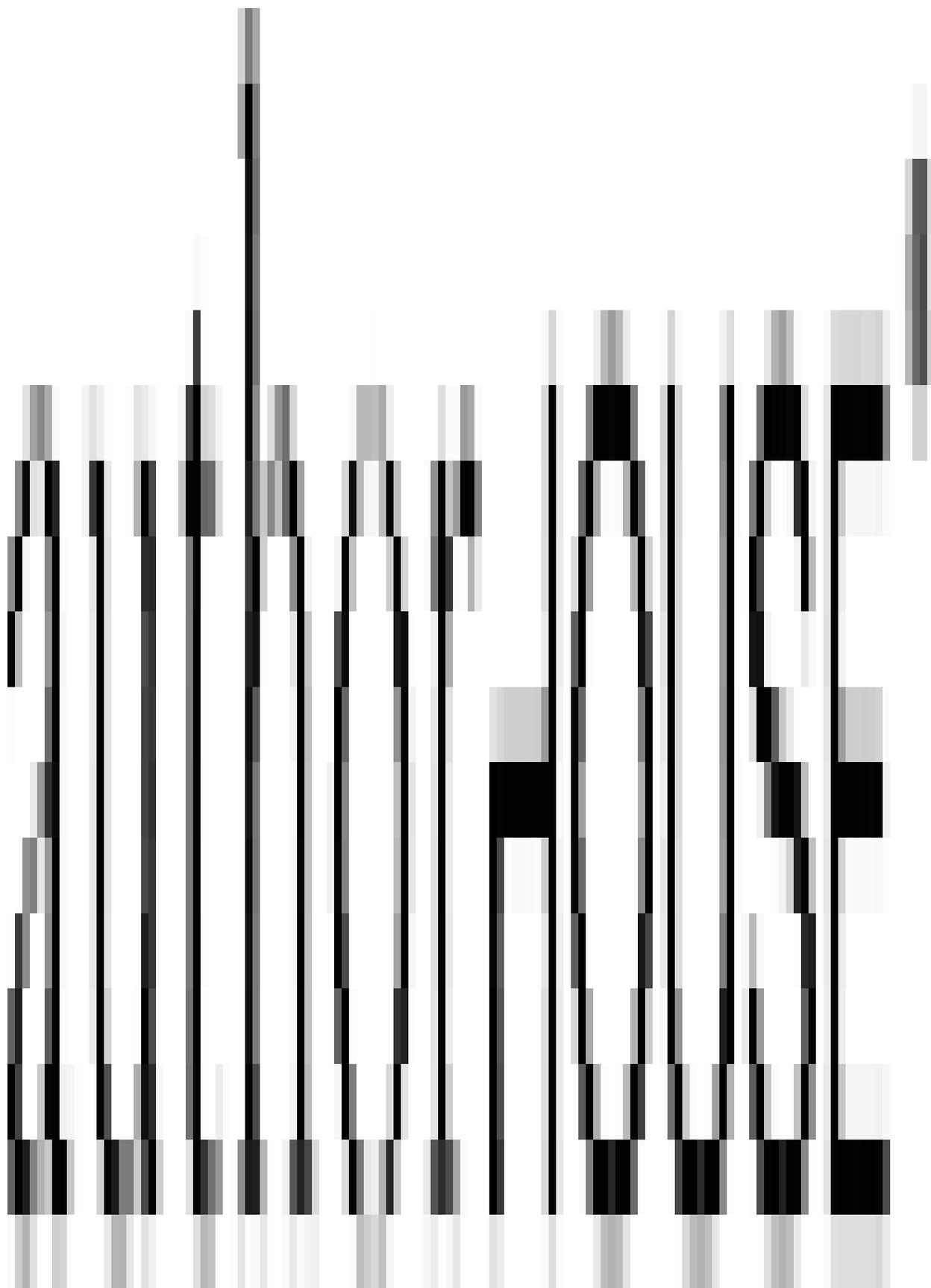
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1663 Liberty Drive

Bloomington, IN 47403

www.authorhouse.com

Phone: 1 (800) 839-8640

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Published by AuthorHouse 01/18/2016

ISBN: 978-1-5049-6360-2 (sc)

ISBN: 978-1-5049-6358-9 (hc)

ISBN: 978-1-5049-6359-6 (e)

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015919747

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Acknowledgement

I want to thank the people who helped me with this book that otherwise would not be.

Thanks to my mom who gave me the love of books and reading.

Rebecca Altenbernd for challenging me to write the book in the best possible way, for her super computer skills and the many hours she spent correcting mistakes and adding salient points, sending me to the library for additional references, thus making me a better writer.

I want to thank the Departments of Japanese History, Cultural Anthropology and East Asian Studies for my academic education at Kansas University. The strength and depth of my education made possible the publication of my four books and my guest lecturing at several universities and community colleges that had cultural anthropology departments.

With great pleasure I thank Dr. Kenri Honda for his beautiful artwork.

Great thanks to Pat Khan of Dr. Richard Yennie's Chiropractic and Acupuncture practice since the early 60's who functioned as an historian to this publication.

A very special thank you to Cheryl Intrater, the love of my life, for her computer

skills and for helping wrap this book up.

This book is dedicated to those who came before: to my beloved parents, Jesse C. Newman, Sr. and Maxine Kizer Newman; and to those who follow: Aviva, Shira and Ruth and to my grandsons: Justice and the twins, Phoenix and Pierce, and Griffen and Grant, and also Sean Mitchell. And to the man who is like a son to me: Sean Edinger.

In Memory



Willard "Bill" William Remmers

1939 -- 2013

I always loved his profound intellect in math and psychology. He would not let me call him "Professor" after he became a Professor -- just "Bill." I loved his mind and great laugh. I asked him to write a forward for *The History of Archery and Swordsmanship*, which he was happy to do. He was in awe of the statistics I had collected for this book, and he would have put pen to paper to expound his genius on the subject if only he had more time.

A letter to my friend since the fall semester 1960 at University of Kansas:

I am sorry 'we' will never see your words, Bill, but I know it was something you really wanted to do for me, and I will cherish the ever so many great memories from the Rock Chalk café and all the tremendous debates with John Garlinghouse and Harry Schaffer, beer being our Moderator. I learned so much, listening to the arguments, and they stay fresh in my memory. I really learned how to think and see into very deep subjects. Thank you for molding my mind in being able to think. I am so glad I knew you back then and also for being my neighbor. Even though I have moved away from Lawrence, when I return to go back to 415 Illinois and round the corner past 500 Mississippi, I will remember you.

Thank you.

Love,

Jesse

In Memory



Dr. Richard D. Yennie

1928 -- 2013

Above all, Doc Yennie was a friend and mentor to me. He had so many students, yet he always took time out to make each person feel special.

A chiropractor and acupuncturist, Dr. Yennie was an international influence in these areas. As a child Richard became fascinated with the mystery of the Orient and martial arts. In his quest to learn, he found Kenkichi Furuichi, DDS, who tutored him in speech, reading, calligraphy and Japanese culture.

Fluent in Japanese, Richard entered the presidio of Monterey Military Intelligence Service Language School, Japanese Division, which he used as a Language interpreter for USA and England, war crimes tribunal Tokyo, Japan and from 1945 -- 1948 in Tokyo.

U. S. Military personnel returning from Japan and South Korea had witnessed the martial arts and brought this martial art form back to the United States. Dr. Yennie was instrumental in starting martial arts training in the Midwest.

He enrolled in Cleveland Chiropractic College graduating in 1950 and practiced chiropractic the rest of his life. In his vocation of acupuncture, he was recognized as one of the top Japanese and Chinese acupuncturists in the United States.

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In Memory



Ogden R. Lindsley

1922-2004

Ogden R. Lindsley was a friend of mine. Our lockers were next to each other at the gym. He loved to talk about my guest lecturing and my publications, flying and his WWII experience as a radio operator in B-17s and as a POW in Rumania, as well as politics. I would help train him in lifting weights. He too wanted to contribute to this manuscript, but died before he could put pen to paper.

He was an American psychologist, best known for developing Precision Teaching and Celeration Charting. In 1948, he obtained an A.B. in Psychology from Brown University. At Harvard University he studied Psychology under B. F. Skinner, earning his Ph.D. in 1957. He was Director of the Behavior Research Laboratory at Harvard Medical School.

He was captivated by the statistical data: the archery contests records: four-, eight-, 12- and 24-hour contests, and the psychological applications of the information. He saw it as a way to emphasize his thesis and asked my permission to use information from this book you are reading in a keynote speech for the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association held in Washington, D.C. in 2005.

In 1965, Lindsley gave up the Harvard laboratory and moved into special education teacher training at the University of Kansas in 1965, where he lived with his wife Nancy until his death in 2004.

Preface

In February of 1961, by chance I saw a classmate of mine from my freshman English class, Soichi Yamamoto, in Robinson Gym working out at 2 a.m.

I questioned as to what he was doing and he told me Goju-Rue Karate. He explained it was Japanese fighting. America was not yet familiar with what Japanese fighting was; he showed me in a quick way that I was not as skilled as I thought.

So I asked if I could train with him, and we did, by ourselves daily at 2 a.m. It was the hardest training I had ever done since all I knew how to do was street fight and box (from my cousin Wesley Walker, a Golden Gloves and AAU Champion in Kansas and Missouri). But this was spectacular.

I will learn much later that he, Shoichi Yamamoto, was the all-Japanese Kata and Kumite champion. At that point I really had no comprehension of what that meant until much later. Shoichi asked if I would drive in to Kansas City, Missouri where he taught on Wednesday night and the noon to 3:00 p.m. classes on Saturday.

He introduced me to Dr. Richard Yennie, chiropractor and acupuncturist and owner of Shobu Karate dojo at 3936 Main Street, the very first dojo in Missouri started in 1958.

Dr. Yennie had seminars and brought in karate 'greats' including Masutatsu

Oyama in 1962; also Hidetaka Nishiyama in August of 1962 for 30 days. Another Grand Master came to Kansas City, Missouri was Takeyuki Hidofusa and gave seminars in Iaido.

Choi Honghi, the father of Tae Kwan Do also taught seminars at 3936 Main. During the Korean War, Dr. Yennie was an interpreter with military intelligence and met Choi, who was also in military intelligence. They were fast friends.

There were many other 'greats' who went through the door at 3936 Main. This was my foundation that gave me a control of the lethal power both mentally and physical that was life changing to me. It will flow in every aspect of my life's interests – music (piano and conga drums), flying, business practices, in my creativity and applications, and the many karate championships that I participated in the United States Karate Association (USKA). And later with USANKF (United States America National Karate Federation) and JKR (Japanese Karate Ryobuikai).

I met Howard High in 1994 at the University of Kansas and studied with him at JKR. He introduced me to Kiyoshi Yamazaki, founder of JKR.

In a turn of good fortune, Howard reintroduced me to Iaido when he had Sochi Nagase instruct at JKR. Sochi was Vice Counsel at the Kansas City Japanese Consulate. He was a student from the oldest Iaido Dojo-Katori, Shinto Ryn, in Japan. I would have loved to get Kyu, my damaged knees tried, but it was not to be. However, I thoroughly enjoyed those classes. So I stuck with competing in tournaments, and later being a judge.

So, like Miyamoto Musashi, while living in a cave and writing The Book of Five Rings (Go Rin No Sho), Masutatsu Oyama replicated Musashi's retreat to the mountains for a few years to refine his technique. I describe my personal

mountain this way: “I am retiring from the Mat to put pen to paper.”

In 1995 Chief Instructor Kiyoshi Yamazaki came to Overland Park, Kansas to teach a seminar at JKR. He thought that this JKR dojo needed more students and directed Sensei Howard High, who in turn directed me, to get more students. As a result, I put together the first Japanese Cultural Arts Festival, which evolved into my creating The Japanese Cultural Arts Foundation of the Midwest. We expect to have a campus in Olathe, Kansas, which can be previewed at www.jcaf.org. I have a published book called *The Hated Outsiders: How Manifest Destiny Affected the Japanese and the Jews*, published in 2010. In addition I have three other published books on various historical subjects.

Jesse Newman

Foreword

In the following chapters Jesse Newman has set down a record that represents a snapshot of the history of man. We human beings are a changing dynamic species catching up and falling short with the pace of time. We evolved with a backbone that was not originally designed for standing erect. Later came the time to throw a missile, shoot with a bow and arrow, or participate in erect combat with beast or fellow man. We evolved with an arousal and circulatory system preparing us to summon immediate energy to fight or, more often, take flight. In the current era we resolve stressful onslaught more often with logic and effective communication rather than with a crawling skeleton or massive physical effort. The residue and result from our bodies, still prepared for the physical demands of days long sped, are back pain and coronary heart disease.

Another change during the ascent of man is that, with our superior adaptation, we no longer require spending every waking hour in the search for food and other essentials for survival. We have free time. We can extend play and game and vocational and avocational skill into adulthood. There is more time to listen, record, and glorify what our parents and grandparents said about their experiences and achievements. The ways of game and play get passed down with uniform rules and traditions. Sometimes the motive is to compete and excel. Sometimes the motive is only to honor and repeat the tradition. It is here we have the rich legacy in the areas of martial arts, swordsmanship, archery, and artful performance.

Our tools and accessories evolve along with the ascent of humankind from survival to the perfecting of culture. The role of the missile for defending oneself or matching marksman skills or resorting to violent attack has evolved from throwing a rock, aiming an arrow, firing a gun or mortar, bombing a city, conducting a major naval battle where the ships are far beyond sight of each other, or piloting a drone with a guidance system half way around the world.

From generation to generation, depending upon time of peace or strife, these tools, once solely for survival, evolve into game, play, organized competition, or military-industrial assault. War was the first child of civilization. Organized sport was the second.

Another snag in the ascent of man has now divided the world into two functional groups. One group has advocated and fostered the education of women. Not only has this almost doubled the economy of developed and developing nations but a great change is created in the lives of infants and preschoolers. Better-educated mothers and nannies have created a new kind of head start.

The other group of women, uneducated if not also illiterate, is limited mostly to handing down what they have learned at the feet of their fathers and mothers. These are the traditions, values, and skills of their elders. Their roles are almost solely of childbirth, child-rearing, and domestic chores.

The growing split between these two groups as recent generations pass, has taken on world significance. One group prefers the idea of a national state with royal, dictatorial, and other family heritage replaced by democracy. The other group attempts to retrieve ancient family and clan values that they perceive as being destroyed. The word religion (re-referring to "back" in time and "ligio---referring to "linking") itself denotes the linking back, so that these traditions and customs, violent and nonviolent, become fused with the family-and clan-identified religious traditions. Democracy, espoused by the one group, is a balance between precedent and tradition (exercised by the court) and the ballot box (exercised by the legislative and executive). It is not surprising that the second group places greater emphasis upon the autonomy of judges.

That the main responsibility goes to the firstborn to carry down this family heritage is practical rather than chance. The firstborn will likely have more years at the feet of the elders. It is not surprising that the second group, as in the Old Testament, spends more time naming and recording the generational lineage, and

kinds of traditions passed down. Once that birthright has been established, however, not surprisingly, it is part of the historic record that Hamlet-like motives of assassination looms between the later-born uncle and the nephew heir apparent over who carries the torch forward.

Meanwhile, the other group minds less to family traditions and move on. But wait! I am speaking as a member of the first group, the one that chooses education and technology over tradition. If I speak from the other group's perspective, then the survival of family heritage---the mystical and spiritual values---are at stake.

Rue L. Cromwell¹

May 19, 2013

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Author's Note

In 1973 when Bruce Lee showed the spectacle of Kung Fu on the big screen, "Enter the Dragon," Americans became intoxicated with martial arts. The old John Wayne of cowboy fighting was placed in storage. This new style of fighting was electrifying even though in the late 1960s the serial of the "Green Hornet" in which Bruce Lee starred as the Chinese "Kato." His techniques were disguised in darkness and quickness. The next 30 years this Asian fighting will become a mainstay in film. America's violent past has always been a part of our nation's fabric, i.e., the cowboy and Indians conflict, the Civil War, WWII and Viet Nam.

The movie industry will predominately use kung fu and Korean styles of martial arts whereas the general American viewing public will not know the difference when they see these techniques as to what really comprises Japanese style techniques on the big screen.

This book is here to enlighten the purpose and show the dedication for excellence and cultural value of principle and PERFECTION of the Japanese Samurai. Lexus' slogan: "The relentless pursuit of PERFECTION."

One of the hallmarks of a samurai was his avowed purpose: Shinu kikai o motomo (Looking for the opportunity to die). In the West, we often seem to interpret this as an exaggerated sense of fatalism among the samurai, a view which reduces them to little more than half-crazed warriors throwing themselves wantingly into battle as if their lives were worthless.

While applying the principle of shinu kikai o motomo did free the samurai to

face his enemy with fearless disregard for his own life, it was not for the reason suggested by this shallow interpretation. Instead, the samurai held his life to be of great value. It was therefore to be lost---or even risked---only if the cause was worthy of such a noble and extreme sacrifice!

Thus, in searching for the opportunity to die, the samurai really sought the reason to live. As modern samurai, we should do no less. Facing death in our training helps us to focus on those things that are truly important to our lives, such as family, personal relationships, strength of character, and so forth. In this way, shinu kikai o motomo leads us to decide what is really worth living for.

Flashing Steel, Second Edition, Page 29

Masayuki Shimabukuro

& Leonard J. Pellman

Published by Bluesnake Books, 2008

Organized fighting is a universal form of sporting endeavor, enjoyed no less by the ancients than by modern man. Though writers have for centuries lamented as inhuman and brutalizing our fascination with watching one man inflict pain upon another, it is uniquely human to derive emotional satisfaction from watching a Riddick Bowe render an opponent senseless with a frenzy of powerful blows or to roar with approval as a Hulk Hogan hurls his bloodied foe to the canvas. The strange mix of awe and horror at the sight of bloodshed in the ring may indeed be a reminder of our kinship with the rest of the animal world; but the fact remains that we humans have since time immemorial organized combat between representative contestants to appease the dead, glorify manly courage, fulfill ritual needs, or provide vicarious pleasure for spectators. Despite the evolution of culture which sets us apart from other members of the animal kingdom, we cannot totally deny our biology of violence. This book follows Yale's publication of Michael B. Poliakoff's impressive analysis of Combat Sports in the Ancient World. I share Professor Poliakoff's belief that a study of sport can illuminate

important perspectives about different societies, and I hope that my work contributes to a better understanding of Japanese culture through greater familiarity with its combat sports, or the martial arts as they are commonly known. But if my purpose is similar to Professor Poliakoff's, this book and its projected companion volume differ considerably in scope, coverage, and format. The nature of the activities subsumed under the term martial arts and the dearth of materials on the history of sport in Japan demand that it be so.

Like the Greeks and Romans, the early Japanese developed the combat sport of wrestling, although not boxing, which evolved into modern sumo. For several reasons, however, this book does begin not with wrestling or boxing, the unarmed traditions which appear to be the earliest combat sports man devised, but rather deals with archery and fencing. Since martial arts proved to be too broad a category and its history too long, to discuss adequately in a single book, it was decided to devote one volume each to the armed and unarmed martial arts. The decision that this first volume should deal with archery and swordsmanship stems from the long association of the Japanese Samurai with sword and bow, both in the minds of Japanese and non-Japanese alike.

Sport in Japan

Sport is a physical activity involving competition between opponents under specific, mutually accepted rules and regulations, for purposes at least symbolically apart from the serious aspects of life.¹ The high degree of diversity in the sporting traditions of societies far separated in time and space, however, argues that the approach to various sports will differ significantly. Combat sports, for example, may have been nearly universal in human history, but not all societies held similar views toward organized fighting. Thus while contemporary Japanese are little different from Americans or Europeans in approaching boxing or wrestling in a largely voyeuristic manner, their ancestors knew a very different tradition from that which developed, for example, in Greece or Rome.

Japan has a historical record of reasonable reliability from at least the fifth century AD, and a legendary tradition which extends several hundred years before the Christian era, but combat sports were developed rather late in the nation's history. Sumo, for example, was a ceremonial court event by the ninth century, but did not become a sport with mass appeal until the seventeenth century. In archery, a sporting tradition developed quite early, and by the eleventh century there were several forms of archery competition; but again it was not until the seventeenth century that it enjoyed widespread popularity. Fencing did not really develop out of combat swordsmanship until the eighteenth century.

There are those who argue that even today, the martial arts are not---or perhaps more importantly, should not be---sports.

Pre-modern Japan developed a relatively modest tradition of sport, combat or otherwise, which did not leave a significant impact on the nation's extensive

literary or artistic heritage. There is archaeological and textual evidence of hunting, hawking, wrestling, archery, and horse racing from rather early in Japanese history, but it never became the focus of literary or artistic concern until well into the early modern period. The scroll painting of Sugawara Michizane enjoying an archery match in the garden or the description of Fujiwara Michinaga's heated competition with his nephew Korechika in the historical tale *Okagami*, are exceptions that prove the rule. Sport was, as the English term implies, regarded as a non serious endeavor. Martial activities, on the other hand, were very serious matters in Japan's pre-modern history, generally associated with warfare and not friendly competition. Thus many practitioners today are hesitant to call martial arts sports, as though doing so would diminish their value, or demean them in some way.

The most common modern Japanese word for sports is the English loan word *suptsu*; "sport" or "athletics" can also be rendered with the venerable if rather stilted borrowed Chinese term, *undo*, which literally means "physical activity" or "motion." (It is the term used in Chinese to translate, for example, Newton's laws of motion.) While no native Japanese term (or ancient Greek term, for that matter) evolved to convey precisely the meaning of "sport," words of a clearly similar etymology to the English term *sport*---from the archaic English *disport*, which in turn came from the Old French *desport*---appeared in pre-modern texts. Terms such as *asobi* ("play") or *tawamure* ("amusement," "diversion") could be used as pejoratives condemning once valued social practices which were seen as being degraded into something trivial. Sometimes the words were combined into the compound verb *asobitawamureru*, meaning "to disport" or "to amuse oneself;" the same characters in borrowed Chinese pronunciation yield the term *yugi*. The great Confucian scholar Ogyu Sarai criticized eighteenth-century competitive fencing a "child's amusement" (*yugi*) for both the fencers and the onlookers.

The traditional Japanese experience differed significantly from that of the Greeks, who gave us such valued terms as *agonistic*, *athletics*, and *stadium*; or the Romans, who while skeptical of the Greek passion for sport, still glorified organized fighting for public exhibition. Virtually absent in pre-modern Japan are athletic festivals, gymnasiums, rings, *palaestra*, *coliseums*, and other

institutions of the finely organized sporting tradition of the ancient Mediterranean world. Consequently, Japanese literature also lacks poems, inscriptions or texts which lionize the heroic deeds of athletes, or tracts which condemn excessive compensation for professional athletes. Similarly, if contemporary America shares with ancient Greece the linguistic practice of applying combat sport terminology metaphorically in quite different contexts---I am thinking of common English phrases like "wrestle with a problem" or "bring someone to his knees"---then such symbolic use of athletic terminology is comparatively unknown in the Japanese experience.²

Pre-modern Japan was not agonistic in the narrow sense of the term, glorifying competition between individuals to surpass one another in athletic contests. Not that competition and contests were foreign to the Japanese. Far from it. Japan's nobility competed fiercely for the political, economic, and social rewards of high office. Heian nobles exerted themselves in urban construction, elegant dress, and land acquisition to outdo their rivals. Cultural sensitivities were tested in contests (called *awase*, normally group rather than individual activities) involving poetry recitation, the identification of subtle scents, or the pairing of singing birds. Medieval Samurai took enormous pride in their combat record against opponents. But competition for most of Japanese history was channeled into arenas other than athletic: a Japanese was not praised above others because of his ability to run faster, to hurl a sphere farther, or to pummel his opponent to the ground in the ring. Japanese heroes were of a very different sort.

Of course Japanese history is replete with heroes revered for their combat prowess: Yorozu ("The Emperor's Shield"), Minamoto Yoshiie, Minamoto Yoshitsune and Miyamoto Musashi. But these were men who distinguished themselves on the battlefield, or in life-or-death duels. Their talents and courage were demonstrated in the heat of battle, not on an athletic field. While any Japanese today can easily list a number of sports heroes, from home run king Sadaharu Oh to former sumo grand champion Chiyonofuji, it is doubtful that anyone could name one pre-modern sports hero. A seventeenth-century Edo resident could probably have identified a wrestler or archer of acclaim, but Japanese source materials are largely devoid of references to, let alone exaltation of, athletes in combat or other sports.

Thus my treatment of Japan's combat sports is quite different from an analysis of Western wrestling or boxing. Indeed, given the definition of sport I offered earlier, one might argue the case that combat sports never existed in pre-modern Japan, and that today's martial arts---judo, karate, kendo (Japanese fencing)---are not sports either. My assumption is that there are many different martial arts practiced for a wide variety of reasons, some clearly sports and others not. But one cannot call all martial arts sport.

Judo, for example, is clearly a sport. Both men and women judo players compete under international rules in the Olympic Games, receiving medals just like sprinters. And full contact karate fighters have managers, trainers, and handlers like boxers; they are rated by professional organizations and receive money from gate receipts. Clearly these are sporting endeavors. A better question may well be: Are they martial arts?

For many activities we include in the term 'martial arts' are clearly not sports. A feminist karate club established out of concern with rising violence against women may be totally devoted to self-defense, with no interest in sporting competition whatsoever. Most practitioners of aikido---except in those few schools which emphasize sparring---are involved in an activity combining mental and spiritual development with graceful body movement which can be an effective self-defense technique. Only rarely does an individual choose to enter aikido practice because of a concern for self defense, much less sport. Aikido is clearly a martial art but almost never a sport.

For the suburban youth raised on a steady diet of Bruce Lee and "Karate Kid" films, however, competitive tournament karate may well be an alternative to Little League baseball. He may fantasize growing up to be the next Bill Wallace or Benny "The Jet" Urquidez, just as the teenage ball player dreams of becoming a Barry Bonds or a George Brett. Yet another martial art, Japanese archery---kyudo, often referred to in the West as "Zen archery"---falls somewhere in the middle, since it offers both competitive sporting aspects and mental/spiritual

development.

The world of the martial arts is fascinating precisely because it presents a wide variety of approaches. There is something for everyone: seekers after sport, physical fitness, spiritual growth, discipline and confidence building can all find their niche.

Whether an activity like martial arts is a sport or not must ultimately lie in the mind of the practitioner.

However rigorous the physical exertion, the presence of opponents and the competitive motive are, it seems to me, what distinguish sport martial arts from others. Perhaps we would be well to establish new terminology, to label judo and other clearly sport forms as martial sports, while narrowing the definition of martial arts.

For some connected with the martial arts, however, it is anathema to call them "sports." Taisen Deshimaru speaks for this group when he asserts that sports "train the body and develop stamina and endurance. But the spirit of competition and power that presides over them is not good; it reflects a distorted vision of life. The root of the martial arts is not there..."³

In the minds of such people, and Deshimaru is a Zen priest as well as kendō instructor, the martial arts traditionally were and ought to be something more spiritual. Yet one can argue that even in such an idealized, "spiritual" martial arts, there is competition, a struggle with one's self: an attempt to improve, to enhance, to fully understand, or even transcend oneself.

Common as they are in Western works on martial arts, negative attitudes toward "competition" and "power" as expressed by Oeshimaru should not be taken as orthodox, expressing some "truth" about a mystical Japanese martial tradition dating back to ancient times. Japanese history is filled with archers and fencers who sought to excel in heated competition with others. It is rather an attitude held from early modern times by certain individuals, developed from their reaction to complex social changes---the development of a lasting peace and the concomitant decline of combat techniques--and their interaction with other cultural and artistic traditions. The organization, teaching, and philosophical assumptions behind the martial arts as they developed in late medieval and early modern times are intimately linked to other art forms such as the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, Noh Theater, the blending of scent, and even culinary practices, all of which were heavily influenced by Zen Buddhism. This artistic dimension of Japanese martial arts serves both to distinguish them from Western combat sports and to give rise to passionate disagreement over whether martial arts should be called sports or not. It also makes them an integral part of the Japanese cultural experience, not something separate and apart, unrelated to the main flow of Japanese civilization, worthy of no more than a footnote in passing, which is essentially the way they have been treated by the academic world.

Circumstances have conspired to make the martial arts less well understood and respected than they deserve. This is partially due to the negative attitude toward the study of sport so long common among scholars, the deep-seated prejudice that sport is not integral but peripheral to "real" human activity. The synonyms we assign to sport bear this out: it is diversion, amusement, pleasure, pastime, enjoyment, merrymaking. Although scholars from Huizinga on have stressed the role of sport, and play in general, in human culture, the prejudice persists.⁴

Second, Japan scholars hold similar attitudes toward the study of the martial arts. Although there is some appreciation of academic research on the martial arts within the Japanese scholarly community, Western academics have all but ignored them.

Japan scholars have long been fascinated by the world of the Japanese warrior, the Samurai---how he rose to power, how he administered his lands and transmitted his property, and his ethical beliefs. The exquisite and technologically superb Samurai swords, and even the beautifully decorated sword guards, are objects of respectable study, as are warrior legal codes and literary works glorifying Samurai exploits. Yet few scholars have shown interest in Samurai fighting techniques, although it was largely through monopoly of combat skills that they dominated Japan for almost seven hundred years. Not surprisingly, the martial concerns of the Japanese warrior are essentially absent from the pages of nearly all scholarly works---my own included---on medieval Japan, a virtual conspiracy of silence.⁵

Ironically, probably more people today study Japan's martial arts than such popular, and more academically respectable, cultural forms as the tea ceremony and flower arrangement. There are numerous volumes and articles in monthly magazines devoted to aspects of the martial arts written by those who practice them, but rarely do they venture successfully beyond the instructional level. My students often bemoan the glaring errors on the most basic aspects of Japanese history in some martial arts publications. Few practitioners seem to have acquired the linguistic and area studies training necessary for serious scholarship in the field, and few Japanese scholars have chosen to practice martial arts. The conspiracy has unfortunately kept the worlds of Japanese studies and martial arts separated.

Thus I am presenting here a history of Japan's armed martial arts, archery and swordsmanship, those fighting systems which have developed a significant sporting tradition. Other armed martial arts such as Japanese gunnery, use of the spear, naginata (halberd), or other weapons will not be dealt with because they have not developed sufficiently in that direction, or are a minor tradition whose practice is largely confined to Japan. Since combat sports developed only very slowly in Japan, I will be dealing both with the history of the martial arts prior to their becoming sports and the subsequent course of their development.

The emphasis will be upon the transition from combat to sport, and as much attention will be devoted to combat techniques and forms of archery and swordsmanship as to sport forms. The nature of the martial arts demands no less.

The organization of the volume is thus essentially chronological. The first chapter defines terminology and presents a general overview of the martial arts in Japanese history and culture. Chapters Two, Three, and Four deal with the development of swordsmanship from ancient fighting system to sport fencing by the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Chapters Five and Six deal with the history of archery over the same period. Chapter Seven then discusses the transformation of these two arts into modern sports, after significant contact with the Western athletic tradition. A concluding chapter considers organization, teaching and philosophy of the martial arts, in an attempt to relate them more clearly to other Japanese cultural forms, and at the same time to suggest why they remain somewhat different from Western notions of sport.

Chapter One

THE MARTIAL ARTS
AND JAPANESE CULTURE

Defining Martial Arts

Understanding why people differ, sometimes passionately, over the seemingly minor matter of calling martial arts sport requires a close examination of the terminology. Martial arts is an English translation of several classical Chinese terms which were transmitted to Japan and then adapted to Japanese language and culture. They came to the West primarily from Japan, due both to the high level of development and duration of Japan's martial culture and a greater Western familiarity with that tradition. The term is now used widely around the world, either directly in English or in colloquial translation.

What do people mean when they use the term "martial arts?" Outside Japan, it is a comprehensive term by which Asian fighting systems are generally known: Chinese, Thai, and Filipino; kung fu, karate, and t'aekwondo; ancient and modern forms; combat and sport. All are "martial arts." In fact, the Japanese use the English term as well. When professional fighters of the World Karate Organization (WKO) meet in the ring at Tokyo's Budokan (Martial Arts Hall), the Japanese announcers do not refer to the event as "sport karate" or "professional karate" as is common in English. Instead, they use "maasharu aatsu" ("martial arts"), a foreign term which clearly indicates that they regard this hybrid of boxing and karate as distinctly different from traditional Okinawan-Japanese karate. In Japanese, there is a plethora of terms: budo, bugei, bujutsu, and bugi, to mention only the most prominent. While there are fine distinctions between these words, depending upon who uses them and when, they nonetheless can all reasonably be used to mean martial arts.

The late Donn Draeger's discussion of martial arts terminology is widely accepted by Western practitioners of martial arts. ¹ Draeger considers bugei ("martial arts") a general term for specific fighting styles or combat skills (bujutsu) Budo ("martial ways"), Draeger argues, are more concerned with spiritual discipline "through which the individual elevated himself mentally and physically in search of self perfection. ² In Draeger's view, budo developed from

bugei, and later forms of budo had to have bujutsu from which they developed: "no do form exists without a jutsu form from which it stems. ³ Thus for Draeger, bugei includes all those martial systems with jutsu in their names : kenjutsu (swordsmanship), kyijju tsu (archery), jujutsu (wrestling) and so forth. Their budo forms all have the suffix do: kendō, kyudō, judo, etc. Draeger considers bugei firmly grounded in the training of fighting skills, while budo are so divorced from the bugei that they "have lost all utility in practical combat." Bugei, he says, arose during Japan's sengoku era (1477-1600), while budo were developed after fighting as a way of life ceased to be relevant for most Japanese warriors in the Tokugawa or Edo period (1600-1868).

For Draeger true budo cannot be categorized as sports, since budo do not emphasize records or competition, but focus upon self-perfection. "Kendō kyudō, kyudo, naginata-do, and some forms of aikido are especially guilty of emphasizing the sportative elements," he notes, revealing both a disapproval of the more popular contemporary forms and the negative attitude toward sport common to scholars and martial artists alike.

Draeger also concludes that "a true fighting art cannot be practiced without the concomitant element of danger," ⁷ and thus sees the addition of techniques for safely practicing these skills---the "watering-down process" as he calls it---a having turned what once were true do into modern sport-related cognates. And, as we shall see, this is precisely what happened. Draeger considers a true combat system one which is practiced only in kata or prearranged forms, "for the tactics and methods of such a system are such that no conclusion between opponents can be reached without resulting in injury or death. Thus for Draeger, true martial arts are not sports.

Draeger's discussion in fact distinguishes far more sharply between terms than do traditional Japanese texts. The most commonly used word in Japan today to refer to both traditional combat arts and modern sport forms is budo. The word budo is a compound formed of two Chinese characters, bu or "martial" and do (michi in pure Japanese), which, like the English term "way," has both the

prosaic meaning of "street" and the more abstract sense of "path for living." It is through this second character that budo is intimately linked with other Japanese cultural forms, such as chado (tea ceremony}, kado (flower arrangement), and shodo (calligraphy), which, by elevating a skill (ki), technique (jutsu}, or art form (gei) to a higher plane, with both philosophical and moral implications, clearly set the cultural traditions of Japan off from those of much of the rest of the world. I will examine this phenomenon in Chapters Three and Eight, because it has also shaped the sport derivatives of martial arts in ways that make their practice and purpose fundamentally different from other sports, such as running, boxing, or polo.

Most terms which can be translated as martial arts contain the Chinese character bu. commonly translated "martial" or "military", its etymology is variously explained. The first century Chinese philology text Shuowen chiehtzu claims that bu is a composite of the character for "to stop" and an abbreviated form of the character meaning "halberd. By extension, halberd also means warfare, and thus the meaning of bu is "to stop a halberd" (that is, to quell an uprising). This is the sense in which the character has been used most commonly in Japanese, and is so defined in many dictionaries. Other explanations see the character containing the element, meaning "correct" or "to rectify", along with the halberd. Thus the meaning of bu is "to set aright a halberd". Another definition holds that bu is a homophone for the character bu meaning to "subdue" or "pacify", which follows the previous definitions rather closely.

Inherent in the character, then, is a hesitancy to employ force and the suggestion that bu is a corrective, not something to be applied rashly. There appears in fact to be a certain moral imperative for restraint. Indeed, in both the classical Chinese and Japanese traditions, the character bu is most often paired with that of bun, meaning "civil" or "literary." The two are joined together in terms such as bunbu yōdō ("the civil and martial arts"): they complement rather than oppose one another and always need to be kept in balance. This idea is important to bear in mind as we examine Japanese attitudes toward the fighting techniques out of which modern sport martial arts have developed.

In Japan, the term bugei seems to have come into use earlier than budo, appearing first in the Nihon shoki in the annals of Emperor suizei, of whom it was said that he "excelled in warlike accomplishments (bugei), and his will was resolute. Since Nihon shoki was compiled in the early eighth century, we do not know how far back use of the term actually goes. It appears regularly, however, in chronicles of the Nara (710-784) and Heian (794-1185) periods.¹⁶ By contrast, budo seems to have a shorter history in Japan, becoming a rather common expression only in writings of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods (twelfth through sixteenth centuries.) It appears in both literary works and in official documents."

Professor Nakabayashi Shinji has identified at least three meanings of the word budo as it was used in pre-modern times. First, it meant "the way the warrior should follow" in a moral sense, and thus was identical to the more well-known term bushido. The second meaning was the "way of the martial arts (bujutsu)," or training in the skills appropriate to the warrior's station, such as archery, swordsmanship, and horsemanship.

The final usage came from the Kabuki Theater, where it refers to one who plays a loyal warrior skilled in the martial arts. Nakabayashi acknowledges that in pre-Tokugawa times, budo was apparently not a fixed concept, but was rather broadly employed, incorporating such other more specific terms as butoku ("martial virtue"), bubi ("military preparedness"), buji ("military affairs"), bushido (the "way of the warrior"), and even senso (war). It differed in meaning according to the era and the person using it.

The term budo became somewhat clearer in the Tokugawa, or Edo, period, when the warrior class brought a lasting peace to Japan. In most Tokugawa texts -- for example, Daidoji Yuzan's Buda shoshinshu---buda clearly refers to bushido.²⁰ For techniques and training in swordsmanship, archery, gunnery, and other combat activities, the terms bugei and bujutsu are used. While budo included military skills, it was used mainly in the sense of "the way of the warrior."²¹ Works like Hagakure repeatedly lament that, although practicing bugei may be

of some advantage, a warrior should not devote excessive effort to them. They should, instead, concentrate on budo.n

Another Tokugawa author expresses a similar view of the relative importance of budo: "There are in society teachers of bugei, but not of budo. The arts are the extremities; the way is the base... No matter how skillful one is in the arts, without the martial way, one is of no use. In the same vein, Kaibara Ekken notes that the warrior needs both bugei and budo; but budo is the trunk while bugei are only branches. Bude was clearly distinguished from bugei in the view of these early modern writers. This is generally in accord with what Draeger has written, and demonstrates the Tokugawa concern for attainment of moral and spiritual perfection rather than mere skill in certain martial techniques, which were by that time of little practical value.

But one must not attribute more consistency to the usage of terms like budo and bugei than surviving texts allow. Confucian scholars like Ekken, often with little if any martial skill, used the term budo extensively, sometimes contrasting it with bugei or bujutsu; they were moralists concerned with statecraft and the ethics of the Samurai class. They rarely wrote of budo as a comprehensive term for specific combat activities. For them, it represented a moral ideal for the Samurai. In fact, it was used far more extensively than the word bushido to refer to warrior ethics.

Tokugawa martial arts texts rarely refer to do forms. Nor do they distinguish clearly between jutsu and do forms. Archery, for example, was commonly known as kyujutsu, and kyudo was almost unknown. The same was true for swordsmanship---kendo was not used---and unarmed fighting, where jujutsu was common and judo very rare. Thus, even if conceptually Tokugawa Japan witnessed what Draeger perceptively calls a transformation from practical fighting skills to martial arts for self-perfection, the terminology was not "from jutsu to do" but from bujutsu or heiho to bugei. The transformation to budo was distinctly a Meiji phenomenon. Bugei, not budo, was the most commonly employed term to refer to the martial arts.

Budo only became common as a term for Japanese combat activities in modern times. People began to refer to contemporary practices as budo, contrasting them with martial activities prior to the Meiji Restoration of 1868, which were now called kobudo, or "old martial arts." From the 1930s until the end of World War II, budo became closely linked with ultra-nationalism and the expansionist aims of empire, which has caused certain problems in the postwar era for those who wish to practice or study budo.v

This lengthy digression has, I hope, demonstrated the difficulty of finding an English term which captures the complexities of Japan's pre-modern combat systems, the moral philosophical dimension which was added to them, and the sport competition which developed out of some of these fighting techniques. But the term "martial arts," depending upon who is using it and where, might refer to any or all of these phenomena. I sometimes use the term in its broad sense to mean all Japanese fighting systems. But I usually refer to pre-Tokugawa forms as combat systems, and reserve the term "martial arts" to refer to the forms which developed almost of necessity out of the drastically changed social conditions of the Tokugawa period. The Martial Arts and the Samurai Internationally, the most popular Japanese martial arts today are karate and judo, two unarmed combative sports; indeed, one of the homophones for karate means "empty handed."

Despite the current popularity of unarmed forms, however, the origins of Japan's martial arts lie in deadly systems of combat employing a bewildering variety of weapons for dealing with an opponent. Unarmed fighting was something to rely upon only when unavoidable. And in fact to call these systems "unarmed" is somewhat misleading, since staves, ropes, and other weapons were part of many pre-modern traditions. I plan a subsequent volume that will deal exclusively with the unarmed arts of jujutsu, judo, and karate, so here I want to concentrate on weapons systems which developed sporting traditions.

Martial arts texts are a rather recent phenomenon in Japan; all but a tiny fraction

date from the Tokugawa period. Seventeenth-century writers began to refer to specific martial arts and classify them. The most common references were to the "eighteen martial arts" (bugei ju-hachibanji). Other frequently mentioned numbers were the "four martial arts" and the "six martial arts." Working from the lowest number to the highest, these arts include:

- 4 martial arts: horsemanship, archery, swordsmanship, and use of the spear
- 6 martial arts: the 4 arts plus gunnery (hojutsu) and jujutsu
- 18 martial arts: the 6 arts plus drawing the sword (battojutsu); torite (grappling); use of the short sword, shuriken (throwing projectiles), naginata (halberd), staff, truncheon (jitte), needles (spit from the mouth), sickle and chain (kusarigama), and mojiri (a barbed staff); swimming in armor; and ninjutsu (techniques of stealth and assassination).

These certainly do not exhaust the various systems of combat in pre-modern Japan. Draeger lists thirty-four, but there may be more than fifty depending upon the scholar consulted and the method of counting. But these are the eighteen most commonly mentioned in Edo texts.

Even among these were quite a few minor traditions not commonly mastered by warriors, the primary practitioners of combat arts. The kusarigama---a common sickle to which was attached a chain with a weighted ball for ensnaring an opponent and reeling him into sickle range---and the staff were primarily weapons of the peasantry. The spitting of needles was of greatest use to women and ninja spies, who were also the primary practitioners of the techniques of stealth and assassination. At least by the time most texts describing these arts were composed, methods of swimming and fighting while wearing armor were but quaint remnants of a former era. Thus, in fact, the Tokugawa warrior was likely to have some familiarity with only a few weapons; and among those the sword was liable to be the only weapon with which he had reasonable facility, either through studying swordsmanship proper or the more specialized form of sword drawing (battojutsu, or iaijutsu).

But this was not always the case. Japan's martial arts were created from primitive fighting techniques over a long period of time, with periodic infusions of technology and methodology from the Asian mainland and elsewhere, reaching ultimate refinement in the Tokugawa period. They were developed primarily, but not exclusively, by the warrior class, the bushi, more commonly known in the west as the Samurai. For almost seven hundred years, from the late twelfth until the mid-nineteenth century, the bushi class dominated the Japanese political system, either alone or in combination with other classes. Their elite status was predicated upon a mastery of military skills and the ability, indeed the responsibility as stipulated by Imperial edict, to provide for peace and order in the land.

Our ideas about the Samurai, and his fighting techniques and abilities, have apparently been heavily influenced by popular films.³¹ The image many Americans have formed of the Samurai through such films is that of the solitary, wandering warrior, a sword-fighter who travels the length and breadth of Japan in order to develop his skill and train his mind by dueling against other swordsmen of repute. Miyamoto Musashi is the classic warrior in this mold and Tashiro Mifune, the actor whose name immediately springs to mind in such roles. Figures like Mifune as Musashi, the Japanese analogue of the lone gunman of the American western, have been deeply implanted in the minds of a generation of film-going Westerners as the "typical" Samurai of Japan.³²

But the fact is that for most of Japan's pre-modern history the Samurai was a mounted knight, primarily a bow-wielding warrior. He was an integral part of an agro-military band, master perhaps of his own lands and controller of peasant labor, called upon to perform guard duty and military service or to undertake police action for a ruling civilian or military bureaucracy. He was not likely to be a solitary sword fighter wandering about Japan on foot. Miyamoto Musashi's legendary popularity in Japan stems not from his being a "typical" Samurai; it is his unique qualities which make him so attractive.

Many people continue to hold misconceptions concerning the Samurai, but this is not the place to try to correct them all with an extensive account of the rise and development of the bushi class. Succinctly summarized, the bushi arose during the long Heian period (794-1185) essentially as private military forces in the service both of the court and of powerful individuals and religious institutions. The important point to remember is that these Heian warriors remained subservient to the court nobility. The etymology of the term Samurai demonstrates well their relative status: it is a changed form of the verb saburau, meaning "to serve" or "to be in attendance upon."

The establishment of Japan's first warrior government, or bakufu, by Minamoto Yoritomo in the late twelfth century is often regarded as the beginning of bushi rule of Japan. Disregarding the finer points of academic disputes over the meaning of Yoritomo's actions, it is fair to say that, as far as other classes were concerned, the turbulent era did in fact usher in an "age of the warriors." For the next seven centuries, the word bushi was normally used to refer to warriors while Samurai usually meant a specific status within the warrior class. Furthermore, the term buke ("military houses") was used to distinguish warriors from kuge, or "courtier houses." The "age of the warriors" was to last until the arrival of Western imperialism in the nineteenth century.

Horse-riding and the Emergence of the Mounted Warrior Long before the advent of Miyamoto Musashi, the classic warrior of ancient and medieval Japan owed his reputation to his prowess with the bow, normally shot from horseback. Horses, of course, predated the emergence of the Samurai. Archaeology places horses in Japan at the end of the Jomon period (8000-3000 BC); but the Wei chih, the Chinese source which is our earliest reliable record, commented on the absence of horses in third century Japan, or Wa as the area was then called, so they must not have been plentiful.³⁷ Japanese sources do not mention horses until the fifth century.

In fact, the equestrian culture that was to become the backbone of warrior society for hundreds of years, dates essentially from the fifth century when the

Yamato state was being founded. The evidence for this is the wide variety of horse trappings, clay figurines (haniwa), stone statues, and wall paintings of horses which are found in abundance in the tombs of the fifth century. There is debate among historians as to the source of this new culture. Most scholars assume this development to have been indigenous: Wa natives initially imported both horses and military hardware from the continent and subsequently mastered the technology to produce the helmets, horse fittings, and other implements locally. Others suggest that there was an invasion from the Korean peninsula by horse riders who brought this new culture forcibly into the islands, since its adoption seems to them too abrupt and total to have been the result of cultural diffusion.

However they got to Japan---by cultural diffusion or violent invasion---horses were of crucial importance to the founders of the Yamato state. Primarily medium-sized mounts of Central Asian origin, these newly imported horses were used initially for warfare rather than transportation, cultivation, or as a food source. The unification of the islands of Japan was accomplished by force of arms, importantly by mounted warriors possessing a larger number of horses than previously known, as well as weapons and strategy previously unknown---or only dimly known---by the Wa people as a whole.

It is perhaps impossible for modern man, having experienced the awesome might of nuclear explosion, to imagine the fear that horse riders engendered among his ancestors. J. Bronowski manages to recapture some of that sense of terror in *The Ascent of Man*.⁴¹

For the rider is visibly more than a man: he is head high above others, and he moves with bewildering power so that he bestrides the living world.

When the plants and the animals of the village had been tamed for human use, mounting the horse was a more than human gesture, the symbolic act of dominance over the whole creation. We know that this is so from the awe and

fear that the horse created again in historical times, when the mounted Spaniards overwhelmed the armies of Peru (who had never seen a horse) in 1532. So, long before, the Scythians were a terror that swept over the countries that did not know the technique of riding. The Greeks when they saw the Scythian riders believed the horse and the rider to be one; that is how they invented the legend of the centaur. Indeed, that other half-human hybrid of the Greek imagination was Pan, half goat and half man, also the god of Music. The centaur was part horse and part man; so deep was the unease that the rushing creature from the east evoked... We cannot hope to recapture today the terror that the mounted horse struck into the Middle East and Eastern Europe when it first appeared.

Can it have been any less frightening to the inhabitants of ancient Japan? Is it not in fact the very awesome power of the horse as a war machine that explains the persistence of its image in Japanese religion and popular culture?

Horseback riding was soon widely employed by the nobility of early Japan. In the chronicles we find, at least as early as 486, mention of excursions to hunt boar on horseback. Paintings on the walls of tombs show nobles hunting, and textual references indicate that they dominated the land from horseback. Horses were soon associated as well with Shinto shrines, where they were tended and fed as living offerings to the gods, a fairly widespread practice among Altaic peoples. The impact of horse riders remained indelibly imprinted on Japanese culture thenceforth.

Even today, one finds ema (votive tablets, literally "horse pictures") dedicated at Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples to ensure security and bring other salutary results. Horses were kept at temples and shrines because they were regarded as mounts of the gods, and they were exhibited in religious processions on special festivals. But the sacred power associated with horses was such that people began to fashion horse-shaped figures and offer them to religious institutions to assure good fortune. Ema supposedly originated from the custom in the Heian period of painting horses on flat rectangular or square pieces of wood and offering them to temples and shrines to receive the same benefit. Indeed, in the

light of Bronowski's vivid description and given the sudden introduction of the horse and its crucial role in insular unification, it is not difficult to imagine why the early Japanese regarded the animal as the possessor of awesome magical powers.

Subsequently, the horse was more fully integrated into the ritual calendar of the Nara and Heian court, in the Aouma ceremony held on the seventh day of the first lunar month. Then, twenty-one horses from the Left and Right Imperial Stables were led to the Imperial Audience Chamber for review by the sovereign. The ceremony declined in medieval times, but even today there are shrines which perform a festival somewhat similar to the Aouma festival.⁴⁵

At any rate, whatever its source, continental horse rider culture presaged the emergence of the later Samurai culture: the helmeted fifth century haniwa warrior looks every bit the ancestor of a twelfth century bushi. This horse rider technology provided the means for the consolidation of a centralized polity, ruled over by a hereditary line of kings who claimed descent from the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. The military dominance of the Imperial House is indicated by the symbolic importance of heavenly bestowed weapons---bows, arrows, swords, and spears. It was personified in the official histories by Jinmu---the "Divine Martial" Emperor---who is credited with unifying the land.

The ancient Japanese nobility thus dominated society because of its martial abilities, or at least a monopoly of the specialized skills of mounted warfare. Even the powerful Soga clan, best known as fiscal officers to the throne and patrons of Buddhism, were responsible for the military destruction of their enemy the Mononobe clan. The Soga leader Umako and a host of other nobles and princes, including the sixteen-year old Shotoku who would soon become Prince Regent, all rode in the force which destroyed the house of Mononobe no Moriya, Umako's brother-in-law, in 587.

Warriors and Political Power

But over the course of the Nara and early Heian periods, Japan became more sophisticated through the widespread adoption of Chinese thought and practices, and the once martial ruling class chose to transform itself into a highly cultured civil aristocracy. By the eleventh century Japan was ruled by as refined and culturally sensitive a nobility as the world has ever seen, absorbed with the exact performance of elaborate court ceremonial, blending exotic scents, and composing highly stylized poetry. It would be an exaggeration, however, to imagine the Heian noble as a totally effete dandy who could barely sit on a horse. Nobles competed with one another in archery contests, and other masculine sports such as wrestling, hawking, and horseback riding remained popular. Even such an august person as an Emperor might retain a passion for riding; and Fujiwara Michinaga himself, the greatest statesman of the age, was a skilled horseman as well. But the martial accomplishments of the Heian courtier were a far cry from those of his ancestors. His sword was entirely ceremonial, and even his masculine sports were more spectator than participatory events. In fact, a very clear specialization of function in society developed, as lower ranking military nobles were recruited by the civil nobility to perform military and police functions for the state. Consequently, the warriors devoted their time and energy to the mastery of military techniques, in support of the nobility which ruled by mastering the genteel arts of Sino-Japanese civilization. The bun and bu elements were becoming specialized occupations in Heian times.

One might well ask why ancient Japan required a relatively substantial military force. From the fourth through the seventh centuries, Japan was deeply enmeshed in continental politics, as the Three Kingdoms on the Korean peninsula---Kogury, Paekche, and Silla---struggled amongst themselves for hegemony. All three kingdoms sought continental or insular alliances to advance their cause; and Japan was normally allied with Paekche in these wars.

But Japan's defeat by a T'ang-Silla fleet in 663 marked the end of continental involvement for some time, and any potential military threat from that quarter disappeared. Still, not all of the land, and certainly not all of the peoples, had been peacefully absorbed into the polity. Moreover, there were frequent armed conflicts among the nobility, precipitated by changing institutions of succession and access to high office, which necessitated reliance upon Imperial forces. But above all, the court felt the need for a national military force in order to secure the pacification of northern Japan. This was the land of the Ezo, who had yet to yield to the centralized powers of the state.

In essence, the settling of Japan resembles the growth of the American nation. In both cases, continental immigrants created new states in territory they seized from less advanced populations. In the United States, European settlers, possessing superior technology and a philosophy of progress, gradually wrested the land from Native American tribes---the Indians. As Europeans expanded westward, larger and larger armies were necessary to defend them from the Indians. Washington dispatched troops (cavalry) to erect military outposts (forts), followed by settlers who established the American sedentary agricultural pattern of life by pushing aside hunting and gathering cultures in some areas, and agricultural communities in others.

In Japan, the process was similar, but it had occurred nearly a millennium earlier and proceeded from west to east. The ancient state faced considerable opposition from the Ezo, the Indians of Japan, who, although racially similar, were considered primitive by the Japanese. The government continually sent conscript armies into the northeast against the Ezo. Japan's rulers also erected forts from which the state could guide its settlers into the territory to establish permanent communities. The campaigns of the eighth and ninth centuries brought only a measure of stability to the frontier, however. Indeed, throughout the Heian period the Northern provinces of Dewa and Mutsu remained recalcitrant, defying central authority even to the point of rebellion in the eleventh century.

The peasantry of Japan also rebelled against the conscript system, fleeing to the

hills to avoid service; moreover, they proved to be comparatively unreliable soldiers. But a military force was still necessary to enforce the will of the court in the provinces of Japan, even if there were no foreign threat. In order to solve the dilemma of a weak national army, the court abandoned both the elaborate provincial military organizations established in the eighth century legal codes and conscription of the peasantry into a national army. Instead it concentrated on harnessing the skills of the rising provincial warrior class as its "teeth and claws"---or as "hired swords" in Karl Friday's more modern metaphor---to maintain law and order, through the creation of a number of extra-legal military posts which "legitimized their use of private martial resources on behalf of the state. ⁴⁹

In fact, the establishment of the Kamakura bakufu in 1185 can be seen as the logical extension of this court policy to keep as much control as possible over the provincial bushi. That is, Yoritomo's new military "government" represents not the institutionalization of a national administration of warriors but a legal transfer to Yoritomo, the "Lord of Kamakura," of extensive rights to command the fighting men of the nation as a military and police force. Thus, the bakufu was originally no more than a dependent arm of the state, expected to provide the military and police services necessary to guarantee the flow of public and private revenues from the provinces to the capital. The evolution of a civil capital in Heian and a military center in Kamakura may thus be regarded as the logical culmination of a specialization of function: the courtier in charge of bun and warrior delegated authority for bu.

The Medieval Warrior

The classical warrior of Japan is the bushi of the Genpei War (1180-1185), the war between forces supporting the Heian court and the rising warriors of eastern Japan, which resulted in Yoritomo's victory. The military classic Heike monogatari (The Tale of the House of Taira) recounts in detail the heroic deeds of these great warriors who were regarded nostalgically by later bushi as embodying true Samurai ideals. What was this classic bushi like? How did he live? Most importantly, how did he practice his martial skills?

The typical medieval warrior was a houseman (goke'nin) of the Kamakura bakufu who lived in a fortified mansion (yakata) within the protection of a moat (hori) and mud walls constructed out of the earth dug out to make the moat. ⁵¹

Accordingly, the residence and defense area was known as the hori no uchi ("within the moat"), or sometimes take no uchi ("within the bamboo"), since bamboo was often planted around the perimeter to provide materials to make arrows. Close by the yakata lay the lands directly under the warrior's control, farmed by subordinate peasant labor. Beyond that were the borders of the larger unit within which the warrior lived, in Kamakura times usually as a jito or steward representing the bakufu. The directly controlled lands provided income to the warrior, while the shoen (estate) or other unit was an area from which he could extract certain levies in return for collecting taxes due the state or private owner of the land. And as well it might be an arena of potential conflict, since it might contain another warrior house intent on extending its control over the land and peasants who worked it. The right to control such land was the root of friction between local bushi and central owners or between larger bands of local bushi houses, known by later historians as bushidan.

Military Skills, Violence, and Combat Sports Medieval bushi were to some degree separated from the agricultural function, enjoying time to concentrate on developing their combat skills. Scroll paintings---Obusuma Saburo emakimono is a good example--show bushi practicing archery at targets set up in front of the mansion, or engaging in several forms of equestrian archery to hone their shooting talents in preparation for war, and certainly for competitive and recreational purposes as well. By late Heian times, there were already at least nine different forms of archery commonly practiced in Japan. ⁵³

Since the medieval Japanese warrior was primarily a mounted bow-wielding fighter, equestrian archery was his most important battlefield skill and apparently his favorite sporting activity as well. This actually entailed two different skills, equitation and archery. Medieval chronicles are replete with stories of the legendary archery accomplishments of great warriors; it was with bow and arrow that reputations were established.

Among other popular bushi sports were several forms of wrestling, hawking, and hunting for deer and boar. The limited primary information on the early use of swords indicates that the swordsmanship abilities of the bushi remained poorly developed until late Heian times. And even into the medieval era, they were a far cry from those of our prototypical Mifune film Samurai. But since the sword was being forged to a high degree of technical perfection, it must have been a weapon with which the bushi also practiced. We know too that the wooden sword (bokken or bokuto)---loquat was the preferred wood, but oak was also common---had long been in existence, so warriors were able to practice with one another in some degree of safety the techniques necessary to become proficient with the sword. Yet we have no evidence that dueling with real swords was common or that competitive fencing with wooden swords had developed.

In fact, one thing which clearly distinguishes pre-modern Japan from the civilizations of Greece and Rome is that combat systems did not develop into competitive sports. The picture sketched by Poliakoff in *Combat Sports of the Ancient World* is strikingly different from that presented by Japan. The

development of a class of professional athletes, the presentation of violent combat sports for audiences in a public arena, the circus of gladiatorial bouts, and the like, are all absent in Japan. Certainly, warfare surrounding unification and early dynastic changes, wars against the Ezo, pirate raids, and rebellions against the throne were bloody enough. And the populace was hardly squeamish at the sight of bloodshed. Indeed, Heian diaries record that when court-dispatched armies captured pirates and rebels, they returned in triumphant procession down the main avenue of the capital, Suzaku no Oji, with the gory severed heads proudly displayed atop their pikes. Nobles and courtiers eagerly competed with one another to construct elaborate viewing platforms along the avenue, and carriages crowded in among the throng of commoners to view the spectacle: "all the men and women of the capital flooded the streets. It was as though people had gone crazy," remarked a twelfth century eyewitness.

But this was bloodshed associated with warfare. Shedding of blood for sport or ceremonial purposes seems to have appalled the Japanese. We have no records until very late medieval times of swordsmen, for example, vying with one another in front of a lord for purposes of winning fame and honor or providing entertainment. There was no Japanese medieval equivalent of the jousting tournaments enjoyed by European knights. Bushi did not travel from place to place challenging one another to fencing matches, Samurai equivalent s of the western gunfight, to test one another's skill until quite late in historical times. What duels we find in the records were likely to be fought only over matters of honor, often on horseback."

Furthermore, there seem to have been no combat sports produced for the masses, as pageant or appeasement, in which the loser was likely to be killed. True, sumo wrestling was held at court; but it was less an agonistic or voyeuristic activity than one component in an elaborate calendar of annual observances, even if the wrestlers were often trained for the event. Injurious techniques were prohibited, and the populace was not invited.

There is little academic speculation on the absence of combat sports in ancient

Japan. Why did the Japanese not revel, like the Romans, in spectacles designed to produce the slaughter of men and animals? Perhaps the traditional Shinto abhorrence of defilement, especially the presence of blood, and the Buddhist prohibition of the taking of life combined to mitigate against the development of bloodletting as entertainment. Phenomena related to death and blood are the primary forms of pollution (*kegare*) in Shinto. Compared to cultures which, regarding blood as the sacred life-giver, practiced blood sacrifice, communion through blood, or the comingling of blood to bond men together, in Japan human blood was associated with ritual impurity. Thus there were taboos against causing bloodshed, incurring wounds, and especially against blood associated with childbirth and menstruation.

Human or animal death, perhaps because of the natural link with blood, was equally polluting, so that Shinto strongly prohibited the killing of animals and fowl and even cooking them for food.

Native sensitivities must have been reinforced with the introduction of Buddhism, which preached strongly against the taking of any life. The general avoidance of meat eating in pre-modern Japan stems from a widespread acceptance of this combined Shinto and Buddhist tenet; ceremonies releasing animals from captivity and occasional edicts forbidding hawking are a testimony to its persistence in Japanese history. Heian literary works in particular abound with references to defilement associated with death and bloodshed. Thus strong religious feelings against the shedding of blood would seem to have inhibited early development of violent combat sport for ritual agonistic, or voyeuristic purposes.

Moreover, the Japanese court did not rule over an empire full of diverse and rebellious ethnic groups, where the institution of circuses presenting the slaughter of men or animals might be seen as a useful device for maintaining the support of an unruly populace. (Japan's ruling oligarchy was able to achieve popular submission by a combination of monopolizing military power and successfully manipulating sacred symbols.) And ancient Japanese society did not

place great value on individual competition, so that combat sports, or athletics in general, might function, as in Greek society, as outlets for "highly competitive and individualistic impulses. For several reasons, then, Japanese combative activities developed only slowly into vehicles for the enjoyment of vicarious violence.

Although the Japanese had by medieval times developed most formidable weapons of war, they found little sport in employing them for purposes other than that for which they were designed. In Japan, the transference of military impulses from warfare, or training for it, into combat sports developed rather late, and only after significant social change had taken place.

It is hard to believe, however, that warriors adept at using such weapons did not upon occasion try to use them on one another in forums other than battle, to see whose skill was superior.

But all sources indicate that they chose instead to compete in archery contests, hunts, horse races, or sometimes in wrestling, arenas in which the possibility of injury or death was minimized.

The film Samurai is ready to draw his sword at the slightest affront and actively seeks out the test of manhood presented by a duel. The image is clearly at odds with the historical record of the medieval Japanese warrior.

On the battlefield, however, the bushi could be ruthless; and nothing approaching the European concept of protection of innocent women and children was well-developed. Everyone might be slaughtered in a vendetta or grudge battle between opposing warrior enemies---lords and followers, fathers and brothers, women and children. Bloodshed between kinsmen was especially common. But this was war, not sport. The martial techniques of the medieval

Japanese warrior had not yet become arts, nor had they developed into sport forms. Ceremonial archery and sumo were the only fighting skills to have been transformed that far. In fact, they had lost much of their combat practicality and were performed for ceremonial purposes and enjoyed as recreational pastimes.

Hunting

One reason archery developed into a sporting endeavor long before swordsmanship was simply the ease with which results could be calculated. But perhaps more importantly, it could be practiced without injury by simply shooting at targets. As we shall see in Chapter Five, this allowed the Samurai to develop some very sophisticated archery forms by medieval times. But in medieval Japan, especially in the Kamakura period, it was the hunt where the warrior could demonstrate his martial potential and compete against the great marksmen of the day.

The medieval era was the "golden age" of hunting in Japan, although it remained quite popular with Samurai until modern times. Minamoto Yoritomo, the first Kamakura shogun, was especially fond of the hunt; and although bakufu sources do not depict him as a prominent hunter, or even warrior for that matter, he had at least impressed the Kyoto nobility with his prowess. The Buddhist prelate Jien recorded with great seriousness that "(a)s for Yoritomo's physical strength, when hunting he would have his horse run alongside a big deer, and then he would grab the deer's horns and bring it down with his bare hands."⁵⁹

During Yoritomo's shogunacy, there were several large-scale hunting expeditions, medieval equivalents of modern safari, in which the shogun was attended by most of his senior vassals and which lasted for as long as a month. In 1194, for example, Yoritomo led three major hunting expeditions outside Kamakura, including one in the fifth month which served as the stage for one of Japan's most famous vendettas, the revenge of the Soga brothers.

These hunts were called makigari, literally "enveloping hunts," since attendants went into the mountains and drove the game, primarily deer and boar, down the

slopes where the bushi surrounded, chased on horseback, and shot them down. The expeditions moved over several spots, covering days or even weeks. Temporary hunting quarters were erected, and there was much feasting and drinking. Yet lest one conclude that it was all sport, there was often a serious ceremonial, even religious, aspect to the proceedings as well. The 1194 hunt is a good example. ⁶¹

Accompanied by his major vassals, Yoritomo set out from Kamakura on the eighth day of the fifth month, although the party had just returned ten days earlier from an expedition that had lasted more than a month. The men first hunted in the area between Suruga and Izu Provinces, before proceeding to the southwestern slope of Mt. Fuji, at Susono. On the fifteenth day they suspended hunting, since it was a special day to abstain from killing; and the party instead enjoyed the company of prostitutes from nearby post stations on the Tokaido Road.

When the hunting recommenced on the sixteenth, Yoritomo's son and heir, twelve-year old Yoriie, shot a deer; and again the hunt was halted to celebrate the event. That evening the party performed a Yanokuchi ceremony attended by all the major Kamakura goke'nin. Three noted archers were called forward to present Yanokuchi cakes as offerings to the god, and were rewarded by Yoritomo with appropriate gifts. They, in turn, gave presents to Yoriie. Medieval sources indicate that especially large stags or boar were called "Great King of the Deer" (or Boar) and were regarded as manifestations of the Mountain God himself.

Consequently, the shooting of one's first deer seems to have been a realistic form of "coming of age ceremony" for the medieval bushi, proof of his martial prowess; and thus to suspend the hunt and offer a ceremony to thank the deity for having granted Yoriie the good fortune of shooting the deer was an especially important rite. ⁶³

* * * *

Having defined martial arts and sketched the general outline of the history of martial culture in Japan through medieval times, we can now turn to a consideration of the development of fencing and archery as sport martial arts.

Chapter Two

THE EARLY TRADITION OF SWORDSMANSHIP

Few countries in the world which do not boast some connection with the sword. It is virtually universal, the preeminent weapon, forged and utilized by man throughout most of recorded history in every corner of the globe. From ancient times onward, unknown craftsmen and famed smiths have forged raw iron into gleaming steel blades in Damascus, Kamakura, and Toledo. From the elegantly curved Turkish scimitar to the thinnest of fencing foils, swords have been fashioned in a bewildering variety of sizes and shapes: broadsword and rapier, the pirate's cutlass and the officer's saber, two-handed and one-handed. So intimately linked with their owners have swords become that they are often named: for example, "Excalibur," "Tizona," and "Kogarasumaru."¹

The technology available to the swordsmith largely determined the techniques of the user. Early swords were heavy, dull, and clumsy almost everywhere, and thus they were commonly used to pummel opponents into submission. This is a far cry from the graceful lunge and parry of the French fencing master or the razor-sharp slash of the wielder of the Samurai sword. But as swords improved, so did attendant skills. Accounts of the exploits of renowned masters of the sword, both real and fictional, have delighted generation upon generation of readers around the world: El Cid; D'Artagnan and the Three Musketeers; and Cyrano de Bergerac.

Few swords can compare with the technical perfection of the Japanese blade, especially those of the great masters of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. Indeed, as perhaps best captured by the title of Ruth Benedict's classic *The*

Chrysanthemum and the Sword, no country has been more closely associated with the sword than Japan. Benedict is hardly alone in stressing the role of the sword in Japanese history. Many foreign writers on Japan have been captivated by the Japanese veneration for and skillful use of the sword. The first European visitors to sixteenth century Japan---St. Francis Xavier, Alessandro Valignano, and Bernardino de Avila Giron among them---all noted the extreme value the Japanese placed on their swords. They were both astonished at the sharpness of the blades---and appalled by the method of testing them on the corpses and sometimes the live bodies of prisoners. In the practice of tameshigiri ("test cutting"), a good sword might cut through as many as three whole corpses or bodies, although the record appears to have been seven. ² The nineteenth century English Japanophile, Thomas McClatchie, observed: ³

There is no country in the world where the sword has received so much honor and renown as in Japan. Regarded as of divine origin, dear to the general as a symbol of authority, cherished by the Samurai as a part of himself, considered by the common people as their protection against violence, how can we wonder to find it called the living soul of the Samurai?

Like the gun in western America, the sword was considered a sine qua non for the Samurai by the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), when other classes were technically denied the privilege of wearing one. McClatchie was one of the first to use what has become the best-known cliché about the warrior and his sword---"The sword is the soul of the Samurai"-l. When the technology for forging swords was introduced from the Chinese continent, it was surrounded with an aura of mystery which required very specialized religious procedures to ensure the proper outcome.

Professor Bronowski reminds us that the making of the sword, like all ancient metallurgy, is surrounded with ritual, and that is for a clear reason. When you have no written language, when you have nothing that can be called a chemical formula, then you must have a precise ceremonial which fixes the sequence of operations so that they are exact and memorable.

Indeed, the solemn, religious ceremonial which still surrounds the forging of swords, and the reverent attitude adopted when handling a naked blade in Japan today, reinforce the symbolic role of the sword in Japanese culture.

Appropriately, it is the best place to begin our discussion of the development of Japan's martial arts.

Sword: "Soul of the Samurai." Perhaps because the Imperial House which commissioned them originally controlled the throne by virtue of military conquest, the first historical chronicles of Japan---the Kojiki and Nihon shoki of the early eighth century---are replete with references to weapons. Long before the chronicles turn to the peopling of the islands of Japan, the deities in the High Plain of Heaven are depicted as being in possession of swords, spears, bows, and arrows, which serve both military and ritual functions. The creation of Japan itself is intimately linked with bladed weapons: the brother-sister gods Izanagi and Izanami dipped the phallic "Jeweled Spear of Heaven" into the foamy brine, drops of which then dripped off the spear point to form the island of Onogorojima. The siblings descended to the island and began to procreate the rest of the archipelago.

Swords were especially common among both the deities and other mythical figures in the chronicles, achieving ultimate significance when incorporated into the Imperial Regalia. The Regalia are the sacred sword, mirror, and jewel which Amaterasu the Sun Goddess presented to her grandson Ninigi no Mikoto when she sent him down to rule over Japan: ⁶

The Reed-plain---1500-autumns-fair-rice-ear Land (i.e., Japan) is the region which my descendants shall be lord of. Do thou, my August Grandchild, proceed hither and govern it. Go! And may prosperity attend thy dynasty, and may it, like Heaven and Earth, endure forever.

The sword which became one of the symbols of Imperial authority was found within the tail of the body of a terrible serpent slain by Amaterasu's younger brother Susano o no Mikoto. ⁷ Susano o, having descended from the High Plain of Heaven and sojourning in the land of Izumo, encountered a serpent with an "eight-forked head and eight-forked tail" and engaged him in combat. Drawing the "tenspan sword" which he wore, Susano O killed and then proceeded to chop the serpent into small pieces, chipping the blade of his own sword in the gory process. The chipping was caused when susano o struck another sword, called the Kusanagi no tsurugi, or "Grass Mowing Sword," that was in the tail of the monster he was dismembering. Recognizing it as a "divine sword," susano o offered the Kusanagi no tsurugi to the Gods of Heaven. Known also as the "Heavenly Cloud Gathering Sword" (Ama no muragumo no tsurugi), this weapon later was incorporated into the Regalia, the transferal of which became part of the ritual of enthronement for Japanese sovereigns.

Amaterasu herself is closely associated with swords, an association which allowed later swordsmanship ryuha (schools) to connect their school with Japan's ancient military traditions through her. At one point, for example, fearful that Susano o might be planning to seize control of the High Plain of Heaven, "she made manly warlike preparation, girding upon her a ten-span sword, a nine-span sword, and an eight-span sword. ⁸ Thus, a swordsmanship ryuha like Kashima shin-ryu could claim in its texts that Japan's tradition of "divine martiality" can be traced all the way back to the Sun Goddess herself.

Other gods were likewise associated with sacred swords. When, for example, the gods Take Mikazuchi no Kami and Futsu no Kami negotiated the cession of the land of Izumo to the Amaterasu line, they conducted the negotiations while sitting on the tips of their swords. ⁹ Later Take Mikazuchi gave the first Emperor Jinmu his special sword, Futsu no Mitama (Mitama means 'divine jewel' and futsu is apparently onomatopoeia for the sound of a sword cleaving the air) to help him pacify the land in an especially difficult situation. ¹⁰

From antiquity, then, the sword has been associated with Japanese deities and

with the Imperial House and has been venerated widely throughout the country. During the earlier decades of this century, when ultra-nationalism was exploited to justify the nation's Asiatic expansion, writers were fond of glorifying the mystical martial tradition of the sword. Thus the kendo instructor, Diet member, and author Ozawa Aijiro wrote in 1942: ¹¹

It is clear from any number of ancient chronicles that our Yamato race is uniquely blessed with abundant manly valor, long on wisdom and resolute in will... It is the unique characteristic of our Yamato race that we especially venerate the sword. Testimony to this lies in the fact that our deities---starting with Izanagi and including Amaterasu no Okami and of course Susana no Mikoto---all girded themselves with swords, used swords to protect themselves, and as well made the sword their mind.

Of course, as I noted in the preceding chapter, the sword was for most of pre-modern Japanese history an auxiliary weapon, used in combination with bow and arrow, spear, and the like as part of a comprehensive weapons system (sogo bujutsu). Only much later did the famed Samurai sword become the primary weapon of the bushi. Early swords were comparably primitive, as were the techniques of swordsmanship.

Sword and Swordsmanship in Ancient Japan

The earliest surviving "swords" in Japan date from the Jomon era, and are roughly fashioned weapons of stone used for ceremonial purposes as well as for striking an opponent, or possibly for killing game. They were sufficiently sharp to be practical. In the Yayoi period, the techniques of working bronze were introduced into Japan. Both swords and spears of bronze from Yayoi times have been unearthed. These weapons were first imported directly from the Asian continent and then made locally. But before these items could really be developed into practical weapons, the technology of forging iron, which produced far superior weapons, was introduced to Japan via Korea, probably around the fourth century.¹²

Although the earliest prototypes of the sword in Japan appear to have been curved, the flat, straight broadsword characteristic of China and the Korean peninsula was widely employed in Japan during the tumulus period (300-645). These early iron swords were apparently used either to thrust at an opponent, or to swipe at them with swinging motions. They were, according to others, more useful for beating a person, since they were rather heavy and dull. The swords were obviously not too heavy, since they seem to have been wielded with one hand. The early chronicles indicate that it was customary to hold shields of various kinds in the other hand, although there are few surviving examples of these defensive implements.

The terminology in Japanese for swords is fairly complex, but there is one basic distinction. In the written language, the borrowed Chinese compound for sword--token--is composed of two characters both of whose dictionary definitions are given as "sword;" but in contemporary usage, the former refers to a single-edged weapon, the latter to a double-edged one.¹³ In the Heian period document *Wamyoshu*, this distinction between the two terms is already clear; but in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the *ken* character referred to both single and double-

edged swords. A more important distinction emerged later: ken was used to designate formal swords worn for ceremonial purposes, while swords actually employed in battle were referred to by the to character. ¹⁴ In spoken Japanese, the most common designation for sword is tachi, which can be written in a wide variety of ways.

Although Chinese style double-edged swords predominated early in Japanese history, the Japanese soon began to develop a marked preference for the single-edged sword, although whether this was for purely practical or esthetic reasons is unclear.

Double-edged straight swords did not die out, but persisted throughout the Nara and Heian periods---the ceremonial swords carried by sinicized courtiers and swords which functioned as ritual implements in various religious ceremonies, especially at Shinto shrines. ¹⁵

The famed Samurai sword with its distinctly curved blade, held in two hands, and sharpened only on one edge, is a distinctly later phenomenon. It required considerable experience on the battlefield to develop the versatility and skill for which bushi were to be known, as well as substantial technological expertise to produce the superbly crafted Japanese sword (Nihonto) whose blade is hammered and folded over and over again, often resulting in over thirty thousand layers of steel. ¹⁶

Although fine steel blades have been forged in Japan since at least the eighth century, the transition from straight to curved sword seems to have occurred in the mid-Heian period, over the century and a half from the revolt of Taira Masakado in the late 930s to the end of the fighting in the northern provinces in the 1080s. It was precisely that period when the Minamoto rose to prominence in the eastern provinces of Japan to join the Taira as the two greatest warrior names of the Heian period.

The development of the Samurai sword required extensive technological progress. Although the widespread use of iron dates from the Hittites around 1500 BC, it was about a half a millennium later that steel was made extensively in India. "Nevertheless, steel remained a special and in some ways a rare material for limited use until quite recent times." ¹⁷ Japanese smiths were forging steel for several centuries until they perfected the various requisite techniques in early medieval times. The carbon content, for example, had to be precisely controlled to make a sword that was at once hard but not brittle, to combine, as Bronowski suggests, the "flexibility of rubber with the hardness of glass." ¹⁸ Furnaces which could raise the temperature to the necessary degree needed to be developed; hammering, folding, welding, tempering, and polishing the blade all required a long and arduous process of trial and error until excellent swords could be produced consistently.

But the development of the curved Nihonto also meant that the techniques of swordsmanship changed greatly, since it was essentially a two-handed weapon. Yet the Nihonto also had to be light enough to use with one hand, since the bushi did most of his fighting on horseback. Despite the production of fine blades even in the Heian period, it is clear that the sword remained auxiliary to the bow and arrow, and was employed mainly when horsemen closed ranks and fell upon one another at close range.

Swords were also necessary when a warrior was unhorsed in battle, set on while on foot, or otherwise away from his horse and bow. But the Samurai we meet so often in film, a warrior on foot attacked by a host of swordsmen in a field or a temple ground, was decidedly foreign to the Heian period. ¹⁹

Medieval Swordsmanship

Nonetheless, literary sources like *Heike monogatari* mention techniques of swordsmanship which some warriors of the late Heian era must have employed. We learn, for example, the names of specific techniques from the description of the Battle of the Uji River, where the Taira forces face the fleeing Prince Mochihito and his troops on opposite sides of the river. The Prince's men rip up a number of planks from the bridge, so that the horses cannot cross. After both sides exchange arrows, a hand-to-hand struggle breaks out on the wreck of the bridge.^w

Jomyo Meishu of Tsutsui, one of the worker-monks, was attired in a dark blue *hitatare*, a suit of black laced armor, and a five-plate helmet. At his waist, he wore a sword with a black lacquered hilt and scabbard; on his back, there rode a quiver containing twenty-four arrows fledged with black eagle-wing feathers.

Grasping a lacquered, rattan-wrapped bow and his favorite long, plain-handled spear, he advanced onto the bridge and announced his name in a mighty voice.

"You must have heard of me long ago. See me now with your own eyes! Everyone at Miidera knows me! I am the worker-monk Jomyo Meishu from Tsutsui, a warrior worth a thousand men. If any here consider themselves my equals, let them come forward. I'll meet them!" He let fly a fast and furious barrage from his twenty-four-arrow quiver, which killed twelve men instantly and wounded eleven others. Then, with one arrow left, he sent the bow clattering away, untied and discarded the quiver, cast off his fur boots, and ran nimbly along a bridge beam in his bare feet. Others had feared to attempt the crossing: Jomyo acted as though it were Ichijo or Nijo Avenue. He mowed down five enemies with his spear and was engaging a sixth when the blade snapped in the

middle. He abandoned the weapon and fought with his sword. Hard-pressed by the enemy host, he slashed in every direction, using the zigzag, interlacing, crosswise, dragonfly reverse, and water-wheel maneuvers. After cutting down eight men on the spot, he struck the helmet top of a ninth so hard that the blade snapped at the hilt rivet, slipped loose, and splashed into the river. Then he fought on desperately with a dirk as his sole resource.

The techniques referred to in the text are not known to us today, but the description suggests that swordsmanship skills were progressing.

This was still the age of the heavily armored, mounted warrior, whose armor was designed for ease of shooting arrows; thus the primary sword techniques must have been thrusts aimed at the openings in helmets and armor. The weight of the armor, plus the fact that warriors usually fought on horseback, meant that swinging the sword with facility or speed was exceedingly difficult. Swordsmanship was part of an inclusive martial system, with horsemanship and mastery of halberd, bow and arrow, and sword all part of the bushi repertoire. Specialized swordsmanship skills as a separate system apparently did not develop extensively until the late Muromachi era, most significantly after the introduction of firearms.

A further clue to the quality of swordsmanship in the late Heian period can be gleaned from the Hogen Monogatari (The Tale of the Disorder in Hogen), a medieval chronicle recounting a brief but significant conflict in Kyoto in 1156. After a fierce exchange of arrows in the storming of the Shirakawa Palace, ²¹ Akushichi Bette, wearing armor laced with black leather and an antlered helmet and riding a gray horse dappled white, announced himself and galloped out.

Ebina Gempachi rushed up and fought him, but was shot under the armor skirt and faltered. When at this juncture Saito Betta ran in without a moment's delay, Akushichi Bette drew his sword and in a flash struck the bowl of Saito's helmet.

In spite of being struck, Saito struck upward under the helmet with the cutting edge of the point of his blade; he did not miss, and Akushichi Bette's head fell forward...

Moments later in the battle Kaneko no Jure was wrestled off his horse by the Takama brothers, Saburo and Shiro: "Thereupon Kaneko held down the left and right arms of the enemy beneath him with his knees, yanked up the left armor skirt of the enemy on top, and turning upon him, stabbed him three times as if both hilt and fist should sink into him. " ²² In both instances, the victors cut off the heads of the vanquished and displayed them on the points of their swords. But the techniques employed were a far cry from those of the sword masters of five hundred years later.

As far as the history of martial arts is concerned, it is important to note that warfare accompanying the founding of the Muromachi bakufu was much more extensive than the late twelfth century fighting involved in the establishment of the Kamakura warrior regime. Ashikaga Takauji organized his bakufu in 1336, but resistance by supporters of the Southern Court continued until the end of the fourteenth century. The Taiheiki (Chronicle of the Great Peace), which recounts many of the battles in the fall of Kamakura to the Ashikaga, is somewhat more explicit about the use of swords by the warriors of that era. Enemies are "cut down" as often as they are "shot down." Lighter armor had been developed, allowing warriors to use their swords while mounted somewhat more effectively. Although the historical accuracy of Japanese war tales is suspect, Taiheiki, a late fourteenth century work, does contain far more references to swordplay than the earlier Heike monogatari. "The Last Battle of Nagasaki Jiro Takashige" is a good example. ²⁴

Since the battle of Musashino, in more than eighty contests by day and by night had Nagasaki Jira Takashige fought in the foremost lines. Times beyond number had he broken encirclements and personally contended against enemy warriors. And therefore great numbers of his retainers had been struck down, until they became but a hundred and fifty riders.

At last on the twenty-second day of the fifth month, there came men saying, "The Genji have poured into the valleys, and few of the family's grand marshals remain unslain.¹¹

Thereupon Takashige galloped to meet the enemy wherever they drew near, not asking the names of the defenders in any place, but driving back the attackers in every direction and breaking them down on every side. When his horse was wearied, he mounted a new one; when his sword was broken, he put a new one at his waist. But after he himself had cut down thirty-one enemies and broken the Genji line eight times, he went back to the abiding place of the Sagami lay monk at Kasai Valley...

In other sections of the tale, warriors lop off opponents' limbs or cleave enemies in two with their swords; a bushi whose blade is bent with use straightens it out against the fortress wall. Warriors with swords famous enough to have names are much more common than in earlier war tales: ²⁵ the sword at Tamemoto's waist was called Omokage, a three-foot blade made by Raitaro Kuniyuki, who purified himself for hundred days beforehand. Omokage smashed to pieces the helmet bowls of those that came within its compass, or cut off their breastplates as though they had been monk's scarves, until at last the enemy no longer dared to draw near to that sword. Moreover, one finds in the Taiheki many more references to sword techniques ("breast slicing stroke," "bamboo splitter," "pear splitter," "goblin-toppling smiling stroke," etc.) than in Heike. At least in the war tales, the fourteenth century warrior relied far more upon his sword than had his twelfth century ancestors.

This should not be too surprising. There were greater numbers of bushi in Muromachi times, when Japan was fully governed by a warrior regime. Civil disorder was far more prevalent in this age than in the Kamakura period, and consequently training in fighting skills accelerated considerably. There was a concomitant advance in the manufacture of armor and weapons needed to equip the warrior class. For example, whereas there were 450 identified swordsmiths

over the 300 years of mid to late Heian times and some 1150 during the 150 years of the Kamakura period, the 250 years of Muromachi Japan produced 3,550 swordsmiths.

The real development of the sword fighting techniques of Japan for which the Samurai are well-known, and which provide the excitement in so many of the chambara (sword-play) films of the 1960s, came later in the Muromachi period--during the turbulence which followed the Onin War of 1467-1477. For the century after the Onin War, extensive provincial warfare raged throughout Japan, and neither Emperor nor shogun was able to exert authority over the country for any extended period. This "world without a center" has come to be called the "Warring States" or sengoku period in Japan, a term taken from a similar period of disorder in ancient China. The chaotic conditions which made survival itself problematic contributed substantially to technological progress in weaponry and fostered advanced techniques of swordsmanship.

Sword and Gun in Sengoku Japan

It was during the sengoku era that swordsmanship as a separate, distinct fighting skill, rather than as part of a total combat system, was developed by several expert swordsmen. Then a number of schools (ryuha) of swordsmanship were developed and passed on to students, normally by secret transmission. The development of swordsmanship ryuha was in fact part of a general tendency in late medieval culture for skills, arts, and pastimes—flower arrangement, the enjoyment of scent, the Noh theater, the tea ceremony, the playing of musical instruments, and various forms of chanting, for example---to be codified as special cultural traditions and transmitted by teachers and master artisans to students. Certification by the acknowledged head or master of the style or school, whether swordsmanship or flower arrangement, was common to all these forms. The martial "arts" must thus be seen in a larger context of Japanese cultural development.

Several reasons can be adduced to explain why swordsmanship and other fighting skills became specialized in this particular era of Japanese history.^v It was first of all related to significant changes in weapons and warfare. Few changes in the history of Japan have had as much impact as the introduction of firearms from the West. Japan's encounter with the gun is a fascinating chapter in the nation's history; and in her initial curiosity over something new, her quick grasp of the practical application of a heretofore unknown device, and her willing acceptance and subsequent refinement of firearms in the sixteenth century, one witnesses precisely the pattern of her pragmatic approach to Western technology in the nineteenth century.

The gun came with the Portuguese to the tiny, distant southern island of Tanegashima in 1543. The author of the Teppoki described the Portuguese firearms thusly: ²⁸

In their hands they carried something two or three feet long, straight on the outside with a passage inside, and made of a heavy substance. The inner passage runs through it although it is closed at the end. At its side there is an aperture which is the passageway for fire. Its shape defies comparison with anything I know. To use it, fill it with powder and small lead pellets. Set up a small white target on a bank. Grip the object in your hand, compose your body, and closing one eye, apply fire to the aperture. Then the pellet hits the target squarely. The explosion is like lightning and the report like thunder. Bystanders must cover their ears... This thing with one blow can smash a mountain of silver and a wall of iron. If one sought to do damage in another man's domain and he was touched by it, he would lose his life instantly.

Indeed, within several years quite a few who tried to do damage in another's domain had lost their lives, as the Japanese quickly mastered the technology. Skilled craftsmen, many of them swordsmiths, learned to produce high quality firearms, and the use of firearms spread through the provinces of Japan rapidly. As it did so, it brought a number of changes to the country.

The heavily armored mounted warrior was no longer invincible but could be easily unseated by a relatively untrained gunner of low station. Armor consequently became lighter and more flexible, as better mobility became crucial. Paradoxically, the introduction of the technologically superior gun did not toll the death knell for the sword, but actually spurred greater use of bladed weapons than before; sword and spear became much more important than in earlier eras.

One needs to remember that while guns were important, even crucial, in certain battles, they were not that numerous. Moreover, considerable time was required to reload them between firings. Larger armies were commonplace in late medieval Japan, with tens, sometimes even hundreds, of thousands of warriors fighting in a major engagement. Warriors closed upon one another for hand-to-hand fighting in the field, and large numbers of footsoldiers (ashigaru) filled out

the ranks of daimyo (feudal lord) armies, running around the battlefield to unseat sword---wielding warriors with spears. Thus swords and spears became more useful to the sengoku bushi; not only were they easier to wield, they could penetrate armor more easily. Sengoku sources are replete with references to famous warriors like Iizasa Choisai and Tsukahara Bokuden who were equally skilled with sword and spear (toso).

Commenting on the changes that the introduction of firearms wrought on the sengoku bushi, Yamazaki Mihei noted the following about his contemporaries:

The warriors of ancient times were called yumitori ("bow pullers") because they used bows and arrows. By the time of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, the use of the spear had become the supreme military virtue; consequently the warrior made the spear his tool. Even if he left the house for just a moment, he was never without his spear. Should today's Samurai be called a "spear holder"? Or a "spear bearer"? This is the difference between olden times and today.

But some daimyo and their higher ranking retainers looked down upon the gun, which meant that it was more confined to lower ranking warriors and ashigaru. Sword and spear became the principal Samurai weapons against the lightly armored ashigaru running around the battlefield. Thus, the introduction of guns and subsequent changes in warfare were crucial to the development of sword fighting techniques.

Civil Disorder in Sixteenth Century Japan

A second and closely related factor spurring the specialization of weapons training was simply the incessant warfare of the late Muromachi period, the dog-eat-dog world of gekokujo ("those below overthrow those above"), where naked power ruled supreme. Military prowess was the best guarantee of personal success or group prosperity for a warrior house or an entire domain. Thus from great daimyo all the way down to lower Samurai, warriors were encouraged to study strategy and practice combat skills. The most proficient were recruited by daimyo to serve as tacticians or military instructors for their followers, spurring the advancement of fighting techniques among warriors.

In documents of the times, terms like the four, the fourteen, or the eighteen martial arts begin to appear. For example, in the *Koyo Gunkan*, a chronicle dealing with the exploits of the great warrior Takeda Shingen, Shingen's strategist Yamamoto Kansuke claimed that while the "four martial gates" of horsemanship, archery, swordsmanship, and gunnery should all be studied by lord and vassal alike, horsemanship came before all else, then swordsmanship, followed by archery and finally gunnery.³¹ Many texts exalted the practice of military skills and the need for constant attention to training. We first find in some late sixteenth century works the proposition that martial training does not stop at simply technique for self-defense or victory, but that warriors needed to discover deeper meaning in the practice itself. This was an exhortation to search for self-perfection in the sense of *do*, or "the way," just as people pursued the way in other arts and practices of the day. We cannot say such an emphasis was completely lacking earlier, but it finds expression in texts only in the sixteenth century.

A third factor stimulating separate development of swordsmanship schools was the rise in popularity of the practice Japanese call *musha shugyo* ("martial training"), somewhat analogous to European knight errantry, which stemmed

logically from the emphasis on martial skills necessitated by the constancy of warfare. Musha shugyo, a journey or quest in search of perfecting one's combat ability, flourished in the late Muromachi era, as individual Samurai or groups of warriors set out to learn special techniques of fighting from famous practitioners.³² It was common while on such a quest to challenge a noted warrior to a duel (often using wooden rather than real swords); the defeated warrior might become the student of the victor and remain to learn his skills.

Quite apart from the goal of perfecting technical skills, musha shugyo was approached with the idea of personal fulfillment through ascetic practices like going without food or sleep, withstanding cold, and so forth, to train both body and mind.

This was strongly influenced by the ancient Japanese tradition of shugendo, the ascetic practices of the yamabushi, or mountain monks, whose syncretic beliefs intermingled religious Taoism and esoteric Buddhism, as well as the Shinto worship of sacred mountains." Musha shugyo also served the espionage needs of warring daimyo: practitioners often returned with detailed knowledge of the military preparedness of a domain they had visited, or the degree of martial skill of local warriors, the lay of the land, and other strategic information which increased their value as informants or spies. A warrior possessing such information might be employed by a daimyo after a sojourn in another lord's domain.

A final factor in the advancement of swordsmanship, again stemming from the generally unsettled nature of the times, was the spread of martial skills to other classes of society. It was the age of gekokujo, where even peasants or merchants who enjoyed some martial reputation might advance within the ranks of a lord's retinue.³⁵ Others, employing military skills for less acceptable practices, might form or join marauding bands of retainers and commoners, commonly called nobushi (perhaps "outlaw Samurai" best renders this term). Akira Kurosawa's classic film "Seven Samurai" deals with precisely such outlaws.

In an age when such types were prevalent, commoners, peasants, and of course many of the lower-ranking acolytes in the major temples---the so-called akuso ("rowdy monks") of an earlier age---became proficient in fighting. Indeed, among the most formidable obstacles to Oda Nobunaga's unification efforts were the great monasteries of Enryakuji, a Tendai headquarters dating back to the early ninth century, and the Honganji temples, manned by fanatic adherents of the Ikko ("Single-minded") Sect who were mainly townspeople or farmers. At any rate, in an age somewhat akin to the opening of the western United States, late Muromachi folk lived in a "world without a center" in which they had to defend both life and property. Consequently, fighting skills spread more widely among the populace, contributing to a general rise in swordsmanship. We tend to think of sword-bearing as the privilege of the Samurai, but in the Ashikaga period "everyone, right down to farmers, artisans, and merchants, wore swords;" they looked no different from Samurai. ³⁶ In fact, the spread of weapons among the populace alarmed Japan's rulers so much that they issued numerous orders forbidding commoners to carry swords : Toyotomi Hideyoshi's famous "Sword Hunt" edict of 1588, Shogun Hidetada's order of 1618, and Shogun Ietsuna's similar edict issued in 1685. ³⁷

Another important development of the Muromachi era is the appearance, at least in terms of textual references, of competition among swordsmen. Duels between skilled martial practitioners became very common. Most of the major late Muromachi swordsmen fought duels to demonstrate their prowess, to defend their family or personal honor, or simply to counter the enemy in the course of battles. But they also met other swordsmen in competition before shogunal and other audiences, in which case wooden swords were normally used. For example, Miyamoto Musashi's father, Shimmen Munisai, a specialist in the use of the truncheon (jitte), won a match against a swordsman by two out of three points before Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiaki; and he was praised as "Japan's peerless martial practitioner. ³⁸ Such matches appear to have been so common that we can state without reservation that fencing---non-lethal, competitive sword-play, or in fact sport---was beginning to develop by this time.

The Duel in Sengoku Japan Sengoku duels were only emergent fencing, however; they were still a far cry from combat sports, since they lacked such

components as formalized rules. But the emphasis upon competition and winning as a way of demonstrating superiority, the compilation of successful records against opponents, and the recognition of a category of professional sword masters serve to demonstrate how far pure battlefield skills were being transformed into combat sport. Duels were still likely to result in death, however, and swordsmen approached them with the kind of deadly seriousness appropriate to the situation. How did they fight and where? For what reasons? What techniques did they use?

First, there were no halls, rings, stadiums, or other officially recognized places where a duel might take place. Today, martial arts are practiced in a dojo, or training hall. But widespread use of the term is a modern convention. In Tokugawa times, a variety of different terms was used to designate fencing halls or academies.³⁹ In the sengoku period, however, martial arts dojo were rare. The primary purpose of learning swordsmanship was to develop skills to help one succeed, or at least survive, in battle. Battles were fought outside. Thus training too was conducted outside, as were duels. When swordsmen of the sixteenth century met, it was often in a clearing on the outskirts of a town, or perhaps in the garden of a nobleman's mansion, in the precinct of a shrine, or along a wide river bank. There was no set arena. Upon occasion, the match might be held before the shogun, a daimyo or other noble audience; sometimes, large numbers of interested spectators gathered if the swordsmen met in some public place. But it was more common for the only observers to be students of the two fencers, and most frequently they met alone.

Many duels were fought between swordsmen with a shared history: that is, one had slain the other's relative, teacher, or friend in an earlier duel, or some other matter of honor led one to seek revenge against the other. But a great many were fought for what were clearly sporting reasons---the pure competitive urge to demonstrate one's skill. Granted, there might be a hidden agenda, since a reputation as a superior swordsman usually attracted lucrative offers of employment from one of the great daimyo. Yet clearly, many a sengoku swordsman was motivated by the sheer agonistic desire to defeat a number of opponents.

The *musha shugyo* was often a vehicle for duels. Traveling through Japan, a warrior on his quest would arrive at a town or village, secure temporary lodgings, and then announce that he was seeking a contest (*shobu* or *shiai*) with local notable fighters. Considerable ego was involved: the swordsman would frequently erect a wooden sign board in front of his inn, or at a busy intersection or well-traveled bridge, announcing his intentions---often including a provocative claim that he was "the greatest swordsman in the land." Interested swordsmen would issue a challenge, either in person, through a go-between, or in a formal letter, after which the terms---date, place, and so forth---of the duel would be set.

Duels differed from formal combat sports insofar as "rules" were highly particularistic---and even after having been agreed upon were liable to be violated, as nothing approaching what we might call sportsmanship had yet developed. First, one had to decide how to fight. Depending upon the relationship between the fighters, the choice of weapons was either real swords (*shinken shobu*) or wooden swords, the latter obviously reducing, but hardly eliminating, the possibility that one of the parties might die. But there were also cases where one might encounter an opponent who used spear, halberd, or more unusual weapons like the *kusarigama* (sickle and chain). Stories abound which claim some noted swordsman met his opponent using only a fan, a piece of firewood, an oar, or some other non-military item close at hand, to dispatch an adversary.

Once weapons, time, and place had been agreed upon, one still had to proceed as though no agreement had been reached, since to do otherwise was to invite defeat and death. Miyamoto Musashi, for example, was reputedly fond of surprising his opponents by arriving late or early for a match; a swordsman uncertain of his abilities might arrive with a host of followers who could attack and overpower an opponent. Once dead, there was little objection that could be raised. A few examples of sixteenth century duels should suffice to show how far they were from true combat sport.

Tsukahara Bokuden once accepted a challenge to a match from a noted swordsman, and before the match, sent his followers to check everything about his opponent---his record, favorite technique, and so forth. ⁴⁰ Bokuden's "research" told him that his opponent favored a one-handed technique delivered from a stance with the left foot forward. This was highly unusual, since virtually all swordsmen adopted a right-foot forward stance, holding the sword and striking with two hands. Bokuden sent a letter to the man, calling such a technique "cowardly"---and demanding that he not use it in the upcoming match. His opponent responded that if that was Bokuden's feeling, he could refuse to appear for the match, and would thus be declared the loser. But he spent so much time worrying about the implications of the letter---"Bokuden must surely be vulnerable to a left-handed attack"---that Bokuden was easily able to defeat him, cleaving him open from forehead to lips with a vicious stroke. The letter had been no more than a psychological ploy to gain the advantage.

Saito Denkibo, one of Bokuden's students, was killed in 1587 simply because he had been victorious in a duel. ⁴¹ Challenged by the noted Shinto-ryu swordsman Sakurai Kasuminosuke, Denkibo killed him in an especially bloody duel, following which Sakurai's enraged students swore revenge. Sometime later, Denkibo was traveling with one of his students, when a group of Sakurai's students ambushed them. Denkibo quickly darted into a small Buddhist chapel, but a rain of arrows brought him out. Fending off the arrows---he purportedly cut several dozen of them in half with his spear---Denkibo fought valiantly, his body riddled with arrows. When his attackers closed, he slashed right and left, killing several before they finally finished him off.

Similarly, when Yamamoto Kansuke defeated Hashimoto Ryuha in a match, several dozen of Ryuha's students attacked him. Although he killed more than twenty of them and escaped with his life, Yamamoto was severely wounded in the left thigh and left with a permanent limp. ⁴² The duel often took on far more significance than what we would call sport.

For example, Negishi Tokaku, Iwama Shonan, and Hijiko Dorosuke were skilled swordsmanship students of Morooka Ippa.⁴³ When Ippa fell ill, the latter two exhausted all their funds nursing him for three years until Ippa died in 1593. Tokaku meanwhile had left them and gone to Odawara, where he achieved a name for himself as a great martial arts teacher. Iwama and Hijiko never forgave their former friend for deserting them and shirking his duty to their teacher, and spent the three years contemplating revenge. After Ippa's death, they drew straws to see who would revenge their dead master. Iwama won, and proceeded to Edo, where Tokaku was then residing, and teaching swordsmanship to important people. He erected a signboard just outside Edo Castle, at the Otemachi Bridge, challenging swordsmen to fight him---"Japan's peerless master."

Tokaku's students were outraged, feeling that Iwama knew full well Tokaku was in Edo and was simply taunting him. They threatened to destroy the sign board, attack and kill Iwama. But Tokaku opted to accept the challenge. The two met on the bridge at the appointed time, while authorities restrained crowds on either side. The elegantly dressed Tokaku, carrying a huge, hexagonally shaped wooden sword reinforced with bands of steel, stood in stark contrast to the simply clad Iwama, bearing a common bokuto, looking completely the country bumpkin. But Iwama quickly drove Tokaku to the edge of the bridge with his attack, grabbed his leg and dumped him unceremoniously into the muddy water. Tokaku became a laughingstock, fleeing Edo in disgrace, while the populace praised Iwama's name. Later, however, one of Tokaku's students took revenge by killing Iwama while he was bathing.

Duels where swordsmen encountered archers were not unusual either. Maebashi Shichikuro, a well-known swordsmanship instructor in Ise, for example, was shot dead in a duel with Imaeda Umanosuke Chikashige, an archer from Bingo Province who visited Ise on a *musha shugyo*.^M But the famous master of the spear, Hozoin In'ei, successfully defeated an archer, Kikukuni Nii Munemasa, who came to Nara to challenge In'ei. The two circled each other cautiously, but Munemasa was unable to find an opening to get off a shot and finally fled in frustration.⁴⁵

The Development of Swordsmanship Ryuha

As the use of the sword became more common, and as people became more proficient in its use, several well-known and successful swordsmen---like Tsukahara Bokuden and the others mentioned above---began to codify the techniques and experiences they had developed over the years into schools, or ryuha. The ryuha are especially a phenomenon of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, somewhat later than those of archery and horsemanship, which tended to develop separate schools earlier.

It was not only the militaristic spirit of the age and the changes in military technology which stimulated the formation of schools of swordsmanship. Much in the manner of other forms of Japanese culture in late medieval and early modern times, military techniques were transformed into arts, the martial arts (bugei), primarily but by no means exclusively under the influence of Zen Buddhist philosophy and esthetics: martial skills underwent a process whereby the great masters' techniques were codified and transmitted, first orally and then in secret written scrolls, to disciples. The forms (kata) of technique created by the master of a school were considered the authoritative way to practice the particular art, whether swordsmanship or flower arrangement. These kata were the principles, the standards, which the disciples were set to study by rote imitation over and over again in order to understand both the movement and the spirit of the master's style.

and reputation of the swordsmen it produced. The swordsmen mentioned above were among the most famous, and thus the schools they founded were authoritative. Moreover, Zen, which inherited a long tradition of Yoga practices and Taoist beliefs, placed value on process, on the performance of the act---a sword move or a Noh dance step---for its own sake: through the creation, or recreation, of these cultural forms, one sought both transcendent meaning and a true understanding of one's self. This search for deeper meaning, for self-

perfection through flower arrangement, calligraphy, or swordsmanship, was part of the transformation of what were earlier simply amusements, artistic endeavors, or, like the martial techniques, physical activities, into more philosophically profound forms. In the case of swordsmanship, the development of schools represented a shift from purely functional combat skills to more abstract artistic techniques, which would in turn lead to sport forms. Fighting techniques first witnessed the rise of schools in the late sixteenth century, leading to the development in the next century of what we know as the martial arts.

There are a great number of swordsmanship ryuha, 745 according to Watatani Kiyoshi,⁴⁷ but in fact most are derivative of three major styles whose origins require some explanation. Six of the greatest swordsmen of Japanese history were Iizasa Yamashiro no kami Ienao, Tsukahara Bokuden, Kamiizumi Ise no kami Nobutsuna, Matsumoto Bizen no kami Masanobu, Yagyu Muneyoshi, and Miyamoto Musashi. In an age where proof of the superiority of one's sword was measurable only in terms of victories over opponents, the establishment and maintenance of a ryu depended upon the number

A. SHINTO-RYU

The Shinto-ryu tradition, or more properly the Tenshinsho den Katori shinto-ryu, associated with Iizasa Ienao, is considered the oldest attested ryu of swordsmanship in Japan.⁴⁸ Iizasa was known as Yamashiro no kami, in accord with a practice whereby noted warriors of Muromachi times took old court titles (Yamashiro no kami means Governor of Yamashiro Province). But later in life he became a Buddhist lay monk and was known as Choisai, sai being a character chosen for the sword name of many noted swordsman.⁴⁹ Born sometime during the Oei period (1394- 1427) in the village of Iizasa in Katori district of Shimosa province, Choisai moved as a child to the vicinity of the famous Katori Shrine, a venerable Shinto institution located northeast of Tokyo in what is today Chiba Prefecture.

After studying swordsmanship as a youth, Choisai went to Kyoto where, according to most authorities, he was employed by the eighth Muromachi shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa, a devotee of the martial arts. When he returned home, Choisai offered prayers to the deities of both Katori Shrine and Kashima Shrine, another famous local shrine located in Tochigi Prefecture. In his dream Choisai was given a sacred scroll by the gods; and when he awoke, he committed to writing the entire text as he had remembered it.⁵¹ He called his swordsmanship style derived from this miraculous dream the Tenshinsho-den Katori shinto-ryu, literally the "Heavenly True, Correctly Transmitted Style of the Katori Shrine." This legend is typical of martial arts ryu and other cultural forms as well. That is, ryu founders often attributed their mastery to magical teachings transmitted by Shinto or Buddhist deities, to a long-dead historical figure like Minamoto Yoshitsune, or to legendary supernatural creatures like the tengu, a Japanese goblin commonly depicted as having a long red nose. Both Kashima and Katori Shrines, for example, worshiped deities which had been patronized by warriors over the centuries. As noted, Shinto mythology held that the god of Kashima, Take Mikazuchi no Kami and the deity of Katori, Futsunushi no Kami, were designated by the Sun Goddess Amaterasu to handle the negotiations with Okuninushi no Kami, the deity then ruling over the Japanese islands, for transfer of their control to Amaterasu's descendants. When the deities met, Take Mikazuchi no Kami took out the sacred Totsuka sword, thrust it upside down in the crust of the waves, and conducted the negotiations while sitting on the sharp tip of the sword's blade. This daring action established widely the Kashima deity's reputation for steadfast determination. (Take in the deity's name, usually written with the bu character of budo, means "manly valor.")

In ancient times Kashima Shrine was located on the northeastern-most edge of pacified Japanese territory, and troops dispatched to subdue the Ezo often stopped at the shrine to pray to Take Mikazuchi no Kami for assistance. This poem offered by a border guard dispatched to the north captures a long held sentiment among warriors:

What do I care for life or death--I who have come praying all the way

To the god of hail-spattering Kashima And joined the imperial host?

Kashima Shrine has subsequently been regarded as especially devoted to the martial arts. Shrine officials themselves reputedly practiced a form of swordsmanship, called hitsotsu no tachi, "the Solitary Sword." Today the Kashima Shrine training hall attracts kendo practitioners from around the world, and the chief object of interest for visitors is the Shrine's sacred sword. Katori Shrine also enjoyed a considerable martial reputation: the name of the deity itself---Futsunushi no Kami---is supposedly the onomatopoeic sound of a sword cleaving the air---futsu!

Thus presumably linked to the sacred ancient tradition of both Kashima and Katori Shrines, Iizasa's Shinto-ryu was transmitted through his own family; moreover, several famous swordsmen who learned directly from him or his immediate followers became founders of their own styles, with either the same name (Shinto, written with a variety of other characters), or different names: Arima-ryu, Kashima-rya, Kashima shinto-ryu, Kashima shin-ryu, Shigen-ryu, and so forth. Two other famous swordsmen of the era are especially well-known in the development of this major itream of Japanese swordsmanship: Tsukahara Bokuden and Matsumoto Bizen no Kami Masanobu.

Tsukahara Bokuden was born in 1489 in Kashima, the town which grew up around the famous shrine, into the Yoshikawa family of the Urabe clan, a family which had for many generations been officials of the shrine. Bokuden's grandfather, Yoshikwawa Kaga no nyudo, supposedly taught him Kashima's secret sword techniques, which later formed the basis of Bokuden's school, the Shinto-ryu (or Bokuden-ryil).⁵³ Bokuden was adopted by Tsukahara Tosa no kami Yasutomo, lord of the local castle just north of Kashima Shrine. His common name, Bokuden, is said to have its origin in the first character of his Urabe name, and hence means "transmitted by the Urabe." Bokuden learned the Kashima teachings from his father and Iizasa's Shinto-ryu style from his adoptive father.

According to legend, Bokuden secluded himself in Kashima Shrine for a thousand days. Receiving guidance from the deity of the shrine, he perfected the Shrine's mysterious technique of "the Solitary sword," and named his school Shinto-ryu.⁵⁴ The name, whose characters mean roughly "newly undertaken," is variously interpreted: Shinto-ryu texts claim that the name indicates either a new transmission from the gods or the application of new ideas to the ancient Kashima swordsmanship tradition. It seems more plausible, however, that the name was chosen simply because it was a homophone of Iizasa's original Shinto-ryu.ss

Bokuden enjoyed a remarkable career as a swordsman, although the claims of the Shinto-ryu texts may be exaggerated. Bokuden went to Kyoto at seventeen where he soon won a victory in a duel with live blades; later he defeated the famed swordsman Kajiwara Nagato no suke.s6 On the battlefield, Bokuden took the heads of twenty-one famous opponents. In his later years, he transmitted his teachings to Shoguns Yoshiteru (1536-1565) and Yoshiaki (1537-1597) in Kyoto. In total, Bokuden fought nineteen live blade duels, fought in thirty-seven battles, and killed 212 people, receiving only six arrow wounds during his career.

Among the many people reportedly trained by Bokuden were some of the great figures of the late Muromachi era: Hosokawa Yusai, Chosokabe Nobuchika, Arakida Yoshishige, and members of the Takeda, Uesugi, Gamo, and Sasaki families. When he finally settled down in Kashima, many students came to study with him, a number of whom earned reputations as swordsmen themselves.

Bokuden died at age eighty-three in 1571. He was the most important swordsman in the Shinto-ryu tradition---perhaps of his entire age---and added substantially to what Choisai started. Indeed, the classification and transmission of Shinto-ryu really began with him.

Another noteworthy swordsman of the school was Matsumoto Bizen no kami Masanobu, traditionally regarded as founder of the Kashima shin-ryu school. Also a Kashima native (the Matsumoto family, like Bokuden's, was one of four hereditary shrine official families, the so-called Kashima Shitenno, or "Four Deva Kings of Kashima"), Masanobu engaged in battle around Kashima and Katori Shrines some twenty-three times, capturing the heads of twenty-five noted warriors and seventy-six men of lesser abilities.⁵⁷ Bokuden reportedly learned Masanobu's techniques, which were also an important influence on Kamiizumi Ise no kami Hidetsuna, who ranks with Bokuden as the greatest swordsman of the late Muromachi era.

B. KAGE-RYU

Kamiizumi established the second of the three most influential ryuha in the sixteenth century, the Kage-ryu, or "Shadow School." The style itself---which spread as far as Ming China---can really be traced to Aisu Iko (1452-1538), a man originally from the Aizu area of Ise Province, but whose connections with foreign trading (actually piracy) took him all around the country, as well as to China.⁵ It is unclear from whom he learned his swordsmanship, but in accord with similar claims by other swordsmen of the day, Iko is said to have visited the Udo Shrine in Hyuga Province in Kyushu where he received divine transmission of the style. There, a deity in the shape of a monkey appeared to him in a dream and showed him the inner secrets. He called his style Kage-ryu or "Shadow School" after the shadowy apparition which enlightened him.

Legends about the transmission of Aisu's style to Hidetsuna are confusing, one claiming that Hidetsuna inherited the Kashima shin-ryu style from Matsumoto Bizen no kami and renamed it Shinkage-ryu, the other that he learned Aisu's style and called it his own Shinkage-ryu (the "New" Shadow School.) It appears that Hidetsuna most likely studied with Aisu's son Koshichiro; but he was probably also aware of both the Kashima and Katori traditions, suggesting that in fact Kamiizumi's Shinkage-ryu was a fusion of these two schools.⁵⁹ At any rate, Kage-ryu flourished in the Edo period, probably producing more skilled

swordsmen than any other ryu. Kamiizumi's accomplishments rank with those of Bokuden.

Born in Kazusa Province (modern day Gumma Prefecture), in 1508, Hidetsuna served under Nagano Shinano no kami Narimasa, a vassal of the Uesugi family who held Minowa Castle, and earned a reputation for himself with both sword and spear in several battles. When Takeda Shingen reduced Minowa Castle, he offered employment to Hidetsuna, since he was aware of the latter's reputation. Hidetsuna refused, however, and departed on a musha shugyo with several of his senior pupils, including Hikida Toyogoro Kagekane, who founded the branch Hikida-rya, and Shingo Izu no kami Muneharu, founder of the Shingo-rya.

Hidetsuna spent several years in Kyoto, meeting with Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru and prominent courtiers, as well as such leading swordsmen as Yagyu Tajima no kami Muneyoshi and Marume Kurando no suke, to whom he taught military tactics and strategy as well as swordsmanship. Kamiizumi Hidetsuna was a widely accomplished martial artist. In addition to the Shinkage-ryu swordsmanship school, he is believed to have founded a school of military science, which emphasized strategy and ninjutsu, and- through his student Hozoin In'ei---the Hozoin-rya style of spear technique. Perhaps the best known of his students was Yagyu Muneyoshi, whose family became hereditary fencing instructors to the Tokugawa shogunal house, and who developed his own branch style, the Yagya shinkage-ryu. The Taisha-ryu, Jikishin-ryu, Jikishin kage-ryu, Shin shinkage-rya, and Shin shinkage ichien rya are among the many schools which trace their heritage back to Hidetsuna, a true giant of the age.

c. ITTO-RYU

The third important ryu of swordsmanship which had its origins in the sengoku period was the Itto-ryu ("One sword School"). The school's roots are somewhat unclear, but seem to stem from the Chujo-ryu of Chujo Hyogo no kami

Nagahide, who allegedly studied both sword and spear with the famous priest Jion. ⁶¹ Nagahide combined techniques he learned from Jion with his own family tradition of martial skills---the family was based in Kamakura and held important posts in the bakufu---to form a ryu. Texts of the Itto-ryu record the tradition passing from Nagahide through six generations until Ito Ittosai, who transformed the tradition into Itto-ryu.

Ito Ittosai is a swordsman of uncertain background. Virtually nothing is known with certainty about his birth, death, or career. There is controversy over his date of birth, opinion being divided between those who think it was in 1550 and those who say 1560. In Itto-ryu texts, the founder Ittosai (his given name was Kagehisa) is said to have met with Kanemaki Jizai in Edo and from him learned both the techniques of Chujo-ryu as well as those developed by Jizai himself. ⁶³ Impressed with Ittosai's dedication to practicing his swordsmanship night and day, Jizai taught him all the secret teachings he knew. Ittosai is traditionally credited with victory in thirty-three duels with both live blades and wooden swords.

Like other major ryuha of the day, Itto-ryu spawned a myriad branch styles founded by direct students of Ittosai and later swordsmen as well. The tradition includes some of the most famous schools of the Edo period: Ono-ha, Chuya-ha, Mizoguchi ha, Nakanishi-ryii, Kogen itto-ryu, Shinpu itto-ryu, Hokushin itto-ryii, and Itta shoden muto-ryii. Along with the Kage-ryu schools, Itto-ryu became one of the two most important styles of Tokugawa kenjutsu. In fact, there are many noted kendo stylists of the Itto-ryu active today who received instruction from Takano Sukesaburo, one of the founders of modern kendo in the Meiji period. It is important to note that Itta ("the One Sword") does not refer to the number of swords a fencer used. Most schools in fact used but one sword for fighting. Miyamoto Musashi is known for his "Two Sword School" (Nito-ryii.), but Ittosai himself taught the use of both swords as well. The term and the school's concept of "One Sword" were derived from analogy to the Taoist idea that all things spring from the One and return to the One (i.e., principle). Thus "One Sword" changes into all swords, and all swords return to the one sword. Actually, Itto-ryu was one of the first ryu to add a philosophical dimension to the developing martial art of swordsmanship.

Preconditions for Ryuha Development

The main body of the hundreds of kenjutsu ryu are thus derived from the three schools mentioned above---Shinto-yu, Kageryu, and rto-ryu---which all had their origins in the late sengoku era. I have not touched on the careers of two other great swordsmen who lived during the period, Yagyū Muneyoshi and Miyamoto Musashi in this chapter, because their fame and contributions to swordsmanship really belong to the Tokugawa period.

The development of swordsmanship ryuha could not have occurred without several preconditions. First, it required the appearance of creative geniuses. In an age when the principles of martial arts were not yet fully formulated, the only criterion for a "superior" technique was victory---defeating, normally killing, an enemy. A swordsman whose exploits led others to regard him as a genius was crucial to establishing a ryu. Techniques themselves also had to be developed to a very high degree through years of practice. Finally, there had to be a systematization of techniques into a formalized course of instruction which could be taught to others and whose mastery could be certified.

A would-be founder of a ryu needed to develop elaborate techniques which would allow a smaller or weaker opponent to defeat superior swordsmen; therein lay the value for someone seeking to learn the style. Thus it was often common, as we have seen, for schools to incorporate mysterious and mystical elements into their teaching, to claim that their "secret teachings" came from Buddhist and Shinto deities or heroic figures from the past who appeared in dreams. The requirement of secrecy was also normally invoked, so that one who learned the teachings of the master would neither show them to another nor tell others about them, even immediate family members.⁶⁸ It was also common practice in the sixteenth century to award certificates of rank in a swordsmanship school to only one person per province to prevent exposing these deadly secrets too widely.

In the sengoku period there was but a handful of ryuha, most of which had yet to produce any kind of documents or scrolls of transmission. But when the peaceful Tokugawa period followed and a plethora of instructors of swordsmanship created slightly new techniques of their own to form ever more ryuha, they then developed more elaborate forms to pass on their techniques, teach students, and certify expertise in their styles. This was an important step toward the creation of fencing and the martial art and sport of kendo we know today.

Chapter Three

EARLY AND MID-TOKUGAWA SWORDSMANSHIP: FROM SELF-PROTECTION TO SELF-PERFECTION

The Turbulence of the Early Edo Era
Profound changes in the fabric of Japanese society accompanied the establishment of the Tokugawa or Edo bakufu, changes whose political, economic, and cultural ramifications have been the subject of extensive scholarly inquiry. But the changes in martial techniques were no less profound, if less well studied. It was during the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) that battlefield techniques became true martial "arts" and in the case of some popular schools of swordsmanship, were transformed into combat sports as well.

We tend to regard the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600 as the Tokugawa settlement, heralding the advent of peace and stability which persisted for two and a half centuries. In retrospect, there was indeed a marked change from constant warfare to ordered living as Japan entered "what was probably the longest period of complete peace and political stability that any sizable body of people has ever enjoyed. 11 Peace had come only slowly, however; and since neither of the two great warlords, Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, was able to rule for even two decades, it was far from clear to Japanese of the early seventeenth century that Tokugawa Ieyasu's newly established hegemony would survive for fifteen generations. Hideyoshi's son and heir Hideyori constituted a rival faction at Osaka Castle until two massive assaults on his headquarters in 1614 and 1615 brought an end to the Toyotomi family. Ieyasu had himself named shogun in 1603 and then transferred the title to his heir Hidetada two years later; but as long as Hideyori remained alive, many regarded him as Hideyoshi's legitimate successor. Not until the victory at Osaka Castle was the Tokugawa hegemony confirmed, as reflected in a common term for the Tokugawa peace---Genna no enbu ("the Great Pacification of the Genna Era"). The era name itself means "the beginning of peace" and was adopted early in 1615, after Ieyasu and Hideyori

concluded a "peace treaty" at Osaka, a ploy Ieyasu exploited to topple his adversary the following summer.

And yet more than two decades later the new bakufu was forced to quell a Christian-inspired peasant revolt, the Shimabara Rebellion, in a remote area of Kyushu. The uprising was an indication that the Tokugawa regime, now under the leadership of its third shogun, Ieyasu's grandson Iemitsu, was still not totally secure.

Thus for early seventeenth century Japanese, there was little sense of Tokugawa "domestic tranquility" so clear to the eye of the later historian. The new political order forged by Ieyasu, a delicate balance between the bakufu in Edo (modern day Tokyo) and autonomous daimyo domains (han), empowered the shogun to reorder the political map at will. During the early Tokugawa period many established daimyo were dispossessed---some were even forced to commit seppuku (ritual suicide by disembowelment) -- and their bushi retainers were cast adrift as ronin (master-less Samurai) with bleak prospects for employment. It was from among such ronin, in fact, that much of Hideyori's force at Osaka Castle was recruited.

The point is that "peace and stability" did not immediately accompany the founding of the Tokugawa regime. During the first three or four decades of the seventeenth century, there were still major military campaigns and intense preparation for warfare; and warriors throughout the country remained as fiercely devoted to the mastery of martial skills as they had been before Sekigahara. The ideals of the sengoku warrior---the traits of honor, courage and martial prowess, frugality and simple living, which later became merely elements in a bookish system of bushi ethics---were maintained in daily life by many warriors not fully unaware that they lived in a new era in Japanese history.

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There were literally no daimyo of the early Tokugawa period who were not

battle-tested warriors; they vied with one another to invite masters of sword, spear, bow, gun, or military strategy to serve as instructors for their Samurai. The ranks of their troops consequently swelled with warriors long accustomed to the bloodshed of the battlefield, men devoted to the mastery of martial skills. These were daimyo like Hosokawa Tadatoshi of Higo and Nabeshima Naotomo of Hizen; they were swordsmen like Miyamoto Musashi and Yagyu Tajima no kami Munenori; they included archers like Yoshida Issuiken Insai and masters of the spear like Hozoin In'ei. Such men were encouraged in the practice of their military skills by the first three Tokugawa shoguns. Ieyasu himself was greatly enamored of military prowess, as befits a man who had spent the greater part of his life carving out an empire by military campaigns; and he promoted men of martial talent to important posts. ³ In 1615 the second shogun, Hidetada, promulgated the Buke shohatto or Laws Governing the Military Houses, in which he emphasized mastery of military skills.

Article One states: ⁴

The arts of peace and war, including archery and horsemanship, should be pursued single-mindedly.

From of old the rule has been to practice "the arts of peace on the left hand, and the arts of war on the right"; both must be mastered. Archery and horsemanship are indispensable to military men. Though arms are called instruments of evil, there are times when they must be resorted to. In peacetime we should not be oblivious to the danger of war. Should we not, then, prepare ourselves for it?

Iemitsu was especially fond of swordsmanship. He not only gathered masters of the martial arts from around the country and had them demonstrate their skills before shogunal audiences, but was himself something of a fencer.

The seriousness with which the early Tokugawa warrior approached the mastery of martial techniques is indicated by a heightened popularity of *musha shugyo*. As we have seen, it was a training period in which the devotee struggled not only to further his skills with sword, spear, or other weapons, but sought also to train his mind and refine his character through various ascetic practices. With the advent of peace following the Osaka and Shirnabara campaigns, however, bushi were no longer able to embark on such quests in hopes of gaining glory in battle or spying, but became concerned more with the perfection of specific techniques and moral development.⁵

A warrior on *musha shugyo* might practice meditation, expose himself to extremes of temperature, go without food and sleep, and shun sexual relations. Such austerities were thought to help toughen both body and spirit.⁶ Above all, the warrior hoped to challenge fighters of other traditions, to prove his skill and courage and make a reputation for himself, as well as to learn new techniques. Seeking matches against practitioners of other schools (*taryu jiai*) was especially important in the development of swordsmanship *ryuha* of the sengoku and early Tokugawa periods.⁷

Thus, the first four decades of the Tokugawa era can best be seen as a continuation of the previous sengoku period from the standpoint of martial arts history, making it perhaps logical to consider the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century a distinct division within that history. In fact, scholars tend to divide Edo swordsmanship into three periods, each reflecting changed social conditions.⁸ The first period lasted until about mid-century and was dominated by the personalities of several great swordsmen. Some scholars cut the period at the end of the Kan'ei era in 1644, while others mark its termination at the death of Iemitsu in 1651. It essentially paralleled the formative era of new bakufu institutions when the land was unsettled and combat-oriented swordsmanship was still prevalent.

Early Edo Swordsmanship (1600-1644)

Inheriting the tradition and spirit of the sengoku era, swordsmanship flourished in the early Tokugawa period. Both bakufu and han authorities emphasized martial virtues, warriors ventured off on musha shugyo, and there were still major battles and bloody duels with real swords, vendettas, and other occasions when some bushi at least confronted life-and-death combat. It was an era which saw the proliferation of many new ryuha established by swordsmen who witnessed in their lifetime the transition from a world of warfare to one of peace.

Several of the great swordsmen who lived through this transition are worthy of mention, both because the ryuha they founded are important in martial arts history and also because they have been revered as great sword masters by later generations. Moreover, some of them wrote important texts which contributed significantly to the intellectual tradition underlying the martial arts.

A. Miyamoto Musashi and Nito-Rya

Perhaps the most noteworthy figure of the era was Miyamoto Musashi (1584-1645). The basic facts of Musashi's life are disputed, including his birthplace as well as many of the exploits for which he became known.⁹ In his own brief autobiography, Musashi claims to have fought sixty-six duels without a defeat by the age of thirty; yet he fails to mention any of the duels for which he is best known in modern dramatizations. Musashi is the "king" of Japanese popular culture. Kabuki plays, radio and television dramas, films, popular songs and especially Yoshikawa Eiji's novel *Musashi* have made him a larger-than-life hero for generations of Japanese, and recently also for foreign audiences.

Musashi fought in the three major campaigns of his day: Sekigahara, the Osaka sieges, and the Shimabara Rebellion, where he was an advisor. His swordsmanship was apparently self-taught, since he claims in his *Gorin no sho* (The book of Five Rings) that he learned all the arts without a teacher. 10 He first called his style *Enmei-ryii*, then *Nita ichi-ryii* ("Two Swords as One" School), and finally *Niten ichi-rya* (*Niten* is his pen name, which is best known in art circles). All three of these *ryu*, as well as the *Musashi-rya*, were carried on by disciples after his death.

Though perhaps apocryphal, no Musashi story is better known than his duel in 1611 with Sasaki Kojiro at *Ganryu-jima*, a small, uninhabited islet off the southern tip of Japan's main island.

Sasaki, who has stalked Musashi through chapter after chapter of Yoshikawa's novel and reel after reel of its various movie versions, finally succeeds in forcing Musashi to a duel. With Sasaki already waiting on the beach, Musashi is rowed across from the mainland, clutching a wooden sword he has roughly fashioned himself. Springing from the boat even before it reaches the shore, Musashi rushes towards his opponent and they clash together, both striking downward, slicing blows. In the film version, both freeze in that position, grimacing at one another, for what seems an interminable period until Sasaki slowly crumples to the ground. Musashi gets back into the boat and is rowed off into the distance, as the film comes to an end. Musashi had a lasting effect on later views of the martial arts, primarily due to the popularity in modern times of *Gorin no sho*, which in English translation has now reached international audiences. In America, it was even marketed as a "guide" for understanding Japanese business strategy! ¹¹ Through his writings, his reputed martial exploits, and his artistic achievements-especially his powerful ink paintings ¹²---Miyamoto Musashi has become one of the major figures in the history of Japanese swordsmanship, a man who embodied the transformation of combat skills into more refined martial arts.

B. Yagyū Shinkage-Ryu

Another giant of the age was Yagyu Sekishusai Muneyoshi (1527-1606), founder of the Yagyu-ryu or Yagyu shinkage-ryu. Muneyoshi fought in the armies of Miyoshi Chokei, Matsunaga Hisahide and even Oda Nobunaga before retiring due to illness and taking the tonsure. He studied both Shinto-ryu and Itto-ryu and then learned swordsmanship of the Shinkage-ryu style from Karniizurni Ise no karni Hideutsuna, receiving a rare certificate of the "one person one province" type in 1571.

In 1594, Muneyoshi had an audience with Tokugawa Ieyasu at Takagamine in Kyoto. Ieyasu personally engaged the almost seventy-year old Muneyoshi in a match with a wooden sword, but was totally bested by his unarmed muto-tori technique, which involved seizing the opponent's sword while unarmed oneself.¹³ Impressed, Ieyasu offered to make him his personal fencing instructor on the spot, but Muneyoshi declined, recommending that Ieyasu instead employ the services of his fifth son Munenori (1571-1647). Munenori not only became Ieyasu's fencing instructor but continued as teacher also for Hidetada and Iemitsu, increasing the family income and prestige considerably and establishing the Yagyu as hereditary shogunal instructors in swordsmanship. But Munenori obtained even greater influence as the bakufu Inspector General (sometsume), a post he held from 1629 to 1636. In his last year as Inspector General, Munenori's salary was raised to ten thousand koku (1 koku=2.5 bushels of rice), giving him the rank of daimyo, and he resigned as fencing instructor.¹⁴

There are many tales relating the exploits of Muneyoshi and Munenori. Once, for example, when he traveled to Arima hot springs to recover from a serious illness, Muneyoshi was followed by a man with a grudge who sought an opportunity to attack and kill the lightly attended swordsman. One day Muneyoshi was sitting on the edge of the veranda playing with his favorite hawk, perched on his left hand. The would-be assassin judged this a perfect opportunity to strike, since Muneyoshi had even left his sword inside. He sneaked up, drew his own weapon, and launched an attack. But Muneyoshi swiftly drew his short sword and stabbed the man first. The hawk perched on his left hand was not even disturbed by the incident, so natural and lightning quick

had been Muneyoshi's response.

Another story illustrates Munenori's resourcefulness. Shogun Iemitsu once hosted fencing matches at his mansion. ¹⁶ Hearing that one of his vassals, Suwabe Bunkuro, was unbeatable in bouts on horseback, Iemitsu urged Munenori to test him. Munenori accepted, and mounted his horse. As the two contestants drew close, Munenori suddenly reached out with his wooden sword and struck Suwabe's horse square in the head, bringing the animal to a stunned halt. Munenori quickly closed ground and struck his opponent before he had a chance to recover. The shogun was impressed with a true master's ability to adapt to the situation at hand.

The Yagyu family is also well known for several classic works on swordsmanship, including Muneyoshi's *Shinkage-ryu heiho mokuroku no koto*, a guide to twenty-five techniques based on the secrets he had learned from Kamiizumi. The illustrated text, some of whose pictures show a swordsman encountering a fierce tengu or goblin, was addressed to Komparu Shichiro Ujikatsu, seventh head of the Komparu school of Noh dance and a skilled martial artist with certificates in *tusbo-ryu* horsemanship, *Hozoin-ryu* lance, and *Shinto-ryu* style naginata as well as swordsmanship. ¹⁷

A more important text was Munenori's *Heiho kadensho*, completed in 1632. This basic text of the Yagyu *shinkage-ryu* school is divided into three parts. There is a brief introductory section listing the techniques his father Muneyoshi learned from Kamiizumi, followed by two sections discussing various secrets devised by Munenori and his father over the years. Section two is entitled the "killing sword" (*setsuninto*) and section three, the "life-giving sword" (*katsuninken*).

Heiho kadensho begins with a paraphrase of the quote from Lao Tzu that arms are evil: "Arms are instruments of ill omen, and the way of Heaven despises them. But when one cannot avoid using them, this too is the way of Heaven." ¹⁸ Munenori argues the occasional necessity of relying on force: "Ten thousand can

suffer due to the evil of one man. But by killing the one, the ten thousand are given life. Thus, truly is not the sword that kills man also able to give him life?"

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Munenori describes a very sophisticated style of swordsmanship, devoting almost equal attention to technique, mental awareness, and discipline. Heiho kadensho is quite eclectic. There are clear influences in the text of Confucianism, of Zen precepts both within the Yagyu tradition and from the priest Takuan (whose Fudochi shinmyoroku was written for and addressed to Munenori), and of Noh philosophical influence most likely from Munenori's close association with the Komparu family. We even find hints of his association with such luminaries as Hosokawa Tadatoshi and Nabeshima Motoshige, two great warrior daimyo of Kyushu. ²⁰ Heiho kadensho is a work whose logical structure and sophisticated discussion of technique and mental preparedness go far beyond earlier swordsmanship texts, riddled as they are with obscure magical elements. Along with Takuan's Fudochi and Musashi's Gorin no sho, Heiho kadensho is regarded as a classic of early seventeenth century Japanese swordsmanship. But it is of greater value than Fudochi because Munenori was a practicing swordsman, and far surpasses Gorin no sho in philosophical sophistication.

c. Ono Takaaki and Itt-Ryu

Another major early Edo swordsman was Ono Jiroemon Tadaaki (1565-1628). Born Mikogami Tenzen in Kazusa province, Ono was, like his father and grandfather before him, a vassal of the Satomi house. ²¹ He was apparently a fairly well-known local swordsman, since in the 1570s he challenged the famous Ito Ittosai.

Ittosai was staying in Kazusa and, as was the custom at the time, he set up a placard in front of his inn challenging local swordsmen to a duel. ²² Most of the

locals were afraid to challenge Ittosai but, goaded on by others who thought him a worthy opponent, Tenzen accepted the challenge. He was embarrassingly defeated. In their initial encounter, Ittosai disarmed the hapless younger swordsman before he could even draw. Tenzen attacked again and again and had the sword knocked out of his hands repeatedly; he was never able to touch Ittosai.

This encounter proved to be a major turning point in the life of Tenzen, who became a disciple of Ittosai's and, abandoning the service of the Satomi, joined him on a *musha shugyo*. During a visit to Eda, Ittosai so impressed Tokugawa Ieyasu that the future shogun offered him employment. Ittosai declined, recommending Tenzen instead. Tenzen was made a Tokugawa vassal and instructor to Ieyasu's heir Hidetada in 1592 with a stipend of two hundred *koku*. It was then that he adopted his mother's family name of Ono. He later fought valiantly for the Tokugawa house at the Battle of Ueda Castle in 1600, earning a reputation as one of the famous "Seven Lances of Ueda." Although *itto-ryu* regards Ittosai as its progenitor, it is with Ono Tadaaki that it really develops. His son Tadatsune carried on the Ono-ha *itto-ryu* and his brother Tadanari the Ito-ha *itto-ryu*, or Chuya-ryu. And his students began several *ryuha* as well: Kobata Kagenori established the Mikogami *itto-ryu* (sometimes called the Itta so-ryu) and Mizoguchi Shingozaemon Masakatsu the Mizoguchi -ha *itto-ryu*. Hokushin *itto-ryu*, Itta shoden *mutto-ryu*, and several other branches of this prolific school also stem from Tadaaki, so that Edo swordsmanship appeared to some observers to be divided into *Itto-ryu* and *Yagyu shinkage-ryu* schools. ²⁴

D. Marume Nagayoshi

Another great early Tokugawa period swordsman, Marume Kurando no suke Nagayoshi (1540-1629), was born in Kyushu and started learning swordsmanship at an early age, venturing on a *musha shugyo* when only seventeen. Then he met Kamiizumi Ise no kami and challenged him to a match, in which he was roundly defeated and became Kamiizumi's student. When they met for their match, Nagayoshi encountered a situation which would

revolutionize Japanese swordsmanship. Kamiizumi said he would fight with a strange new sword, made of bamboo and wrapped in a kind of sheath which he called a fukuro shinai.²⁵ Amazed by this strange piece of equipment, Nagayoshi asked why he didn't use a wooden sword. Kamiizumi replied that the purpose of martial arts (or heido, the "martial way" as he called it) was not to injure one's opponent in practice, which was likely to happen with wooden swords. With this sword, he said, one could safely practice techniques without holding back---and not injure the opponent. We can see here already the direction which Tokugawa swordsmanship would take.

Following Kamiizumi, Marume Nagayoshi called his style Shinkage-ryu but later renamed it Taisha-ryu.²⁶ Nagayoshi, who was also a skilled calligrapher, was not only a swordsman but a complete martial artist, one of the last who could really claim mastery of many different weapons (in his case, twenty-one), including naginata, spear, shuriken, and iai-nuki (sword drawing), a versatility which decreased with both peace and the martial arts specialization that evolved in Edo times.v

E. Togo Shigekata's Jigen-rya

Among Marume's students was a young warrior from the Shimazu fief of southernmost Kyushu, Togo Shigekata (1561-1643). Shigekata first learned Taisha-ryu; but when he came to Kyoto with his lord in 1588, he began to study Zen Buddhism at Tenneiji and met the priest Zenkichi, a skilled practitioner of Tenshinsho jigen-rya, whose roots lay in Iizasa Choisai's Shinto-ryu.²⁸ Shigekata later returned to Satsuma, where he was victorious in forty-six duels and became the clan swordsmanship instructor. He changed the name of his style to Jigen-ryu using a different character for ji, supposedly taken from a line of the Kannan Buddhist sutra.D

Jigen-ryu was practiced in the closed Satsuma environment throughout the

Tokugawa period, and it remained in many ways more traditional than other ryuha. Shigekata espoused a pure, offensive style, sustained by the aggressiveness of a battlefield mentality even in peaceful times. Rather than adopt defensive moves like so many schools, in which the swordsman waited for an opponent to telegraph his intentions and then struck, Jigen-ryu sought to put everything into an initial offensive attack designed either to split the opponent in two or at least fell him with a single blow. It became the dominant style of swordsmanship in Satsuma, whose fierce Samurai were instrumental in overthrowing the Tokugawa regime in the 1860s. Jigen-ryu practitioners did not adopt the bamboo fukuro shinai but continued to practice with wooden swords. In rainy weather trainees donned straw coats and practiced outside, fencing while carrying sacks of rice or other heavy materials on their backs to develop strength. Thus in comparison to many styles which underwent considerable transformation over the years, Jigen-ryu tried to maintain the combat-like atmosphere of an earlier age.

F. Higuchi Sadatsugu

Another important early Edo style was the Maniwa nen-ryu of Higuchi Matashichiro Sadatsugu (dates unknown). The Higuchi family had long been noted swordsmen, dating back to Kaneshige who learned the Nen-ryu from its founder, Jion. Jion (sometimes known as Nenami) was the priestly name taken by Soma Yoshimoto after he avenged the murder of his father sometime in the fourteenth century.³¹ The Higuchi family first maintained the Nen-ryu tradition, then shifted to practice of the Shinto-ryu until Sadatsugu's time.

Born in Kozuke Province (Gumma Prefecture), Sadatsugu met Tomomatsu seize Nyudo Ian, a noted Nen-ryu swordsman who settled in the area as an eye doctor and swordsmanship instructor in the late sixteenth century. Sadatsugu studied with Ian for seventeen years and received certification of mastery just prior to the Tokugawa period.³² He called his school Maniwa nen-ryu (from the area where he lived), reviving the Higuchi family's Nen-ryu affiliation. Tradition has it that he was murdered in his sleep by a jealous student named Ukyo while on a

musha shugyo. ³³

One colorful story told of Higuchi Sadatsugu involves his famous duel with Murakami Gonzaemon, a noted instructor of Tenryū from nearby Takasaki Castle. A long-standing quarrel between the students of the two schools ultimately forced their masters into a duel in 1600. Sadatsugu was quite worried about the match, since the arrogant Murakami was rumored to use a furidashiken, a wooden sword with a live blade hidden inside, which would swing out to injure or kill an opponent during a match.

Sadatsugu prepared himself during three days and nights of prayer and austerities at the Yamana Hachiman Shrine in a neighboring village, reaching such a state of mental preparedness, so the story goes, that he split a huge rock in two with his wooden sword. It was a special sword of loquat wood from the precincts of the Sumiyoshi Shrine in Ochiai village which Sadatsugu had cut and fashioned himself. It was this wooden sword with which he prepared to meet Murakami's furidashiken.

When they met for their match, Sadatsugu saw that Murakami had in fact brought his awesome sword. As Murakami swung the sword, its live blade flashed out and cut Sadatsugu's sleeve.

But at that instant Sadatsugu brought his loquat sword down with all his force on Murakami's head. Murakami was not able to parry the blow, and the force of it shattered the two swords in a cross-like pattern across his head, smashing the skull.

Peace and the Martial "Arts"

After the deaths of such intrepid fighters as Musashi and the others who founded the leading ryuha of the early Tokugawa period, swordsmanship began to decline---or at least change---in concert with the transformation of warrior life wrought by peace, urbanization, and literacy. The early Edo transitional period yielded to almost two hundred years of peace and stability, during which the earlier forms of combative skills in Japan were transformed into true martial "arts." In swordsmanship, this period witnessed the development of forms of exercise far removed from battlefield tactics.

A. The Impact of Peace and Urbanization

The establishment of peace had several immediate ramifications for the Samurai lifestyle. First, it meant the virtual abandonment of armor, the wearing of which had been customary in sengoku times. Over the course of the Edo period the wearing of armor became so unusual that donning the various pieces became a specialized form of warrior ceremonial not known to average warriors, much as putting on a formal kimono today is difficult for most women and may require the services of a specialist. The absence of war also meant that the Samurai spent much less time on horseback. Such changes had an enormous impact on fighting skills and attendant training. No armor, for example, allowed for much greater mobility and flexibility, especially since warriors were more commonly afoot. Both offensive and defensive techniques previously unimagined were made possible. Since there were few major campaigns, combat was most likely to be a small-scale fight between unarmored opponents on foot. One might be the victim of ambush by highwaymen or an urban mugger, set upon by an individual or group for reasons of personal grudge, vendetta, or some other matter of honor (one recalls immediately the revenge of the forty-seven loyal retainers of the Ako clan), or the like. Consequently, Edo period martial arts came to be justified

and practiced for different purposes from those of sengoku times.

The bakufu policy of severing the bushi from his fief, a process already underway in Hideyoshi's time, also brought changes to warrior life. The emergence of the "urban Samurai" spelled the end of the tradition of the feudal retainer exercising control over an agrarian community and leading a troop of mounted sub-vassals in the service of his lord. The Samurai were removed from the countryside (although some remained as a country squire class) and gathered into the castle towns which served as the administrative centers of each han. Most Samurai lived near the lord's castle, where they rendered service as scribes, accountants, managers, advisors, or teachers and were rewarded with stipends, with no tie to a landed estate.

Samurai traveled in the city to and from his post by foot for the most part; a ranking warrior might ride in a palanquin. (Some members of the warrior class were unable to find employment as retainers and eked out a meager existence teaching commoners' children or performing menial jobs in Edo or other major urban centers.)

B. The Tokugawa Warrior and His Sword

Such warriors---in most domains they were differentiated into dozens of classifications, although a basic division can be assumed between upper and lower class Samurai ³⁵---therefore almost never found themselves mounted and fully dressed in battle armor, clutching bow and arrow and naginata as their fathers or grandfathers had. Not surprisingly, this transformation of the bushi meant that the sword, actually the two swords, or daisho as the set of long and short swords was called, became the primary weapon of the bushi. Like the six-gun in the American west, the sword was part of the daily attire of the Samurai; and legislation which permitted no other class to wear swords served to make them even more a badge of the bushi. While the sword may indeed have come to

be considered the "soul" or "mind" of the Samurai in a quasi-religious sense, it was more than anything a symbol of the warrior's status at the peak of a rigidly defined social hierarchy. Along with dress, hairstyle, and other privileges, the right to carry swords marked the Samurai off from the commoner, whom he was by law technically allowed "exemption to cut down and discard" (kirisute gomen) should the commoner fail to show proper respect.

The sword became THE weapon of the Tokugawa Samurai. It was both the weapon with which he was most likely to acquire some degree of technical skill as well as the symbol of the entire class. Even a progressive intellectual like Fukuzawa Yukichi who had decided that "swords were unnecessary in my scheme of things," had to wear a pair of swords when he went out.³⁷ Not to do so would have been unthinkable. And, unlike many other bushi of his day, Fukuzawa retained some skill with his sword.³⁸

Lacking the imperative of war as technological motivation, the art of sword-making seems to have declined somewhat in Tokugawa times. But if the swords themselves were of lesser quality than earlier ones, the decoration, admiration, and even veneration of swords reached a new height during the period.

Connoisseurship became an art form. Hilt designers, scabbard makers, and sword polishers were regarded as renowned craftsmen. It might even be argued that enjoying weapons as works of art became more important than learning to use them. Perhaps because he was largely spared the horrors of having to use it in actual combat, the Tokugawa bushi found more to admire in his sword.

The age-old mystical association of the sword with Shinto and Buddhist deities was intensified by the spread of texts devoted to theorizing and analyzing swordsmanship. Edo bugei texts are illustrated with mandala and other diagrams linking swords and sword techniques with Amaterasu, Fudo, Take Mikazuchi no Kami, Hachiman, Marishisonten, and other gods; they are frequently explained in esoteric language employing yin-yang and five-element theory. The focus of

swordsmanship as a means of "self-perfection" further increased the tendency on the part of many warriors to identify the sword with their very essences: the sword was looked upon as the "soul of the Samurai." In Shimada Toranosuke's words, the sword was "the mind."

Such feelings about the sword were far from universal, especially in early Edo times; but even then it was clear that the sword had become the primary focus of bushi attention. The very essence of the transformation of swordsmanship, and by extension all martial arts, in the Tokugawa period is captured in Yagyu Munenori's *Heiho kadensho*, which espouses turning the "killing sword" into the "life-giving sword." And Miyamoto Musashi says that "the sword is the basis of heiho (martial arts), since it is through the sword that one can pacify both society and oneself." ⁴⁰

Transformation of the rural mounted knight into the urban Samurai necessarily meant a transformation of the old fighting techniques of the Japanese warrior as well. Inevitably they "declined," in the sense that warriors with actual battlefield experience disappeared. The way Samurai practiced martial techniques, and the uses to which they then put those techniques, changed accordingly. Practice of deadly sword techniques never used was indeed, as the protagonist of Kobayashi Masaki's classic film "Harakiri" expressed it, like "swimming on tatami (floor matting)."

Scholars therefore recognize a second period in Edo swordsmanship, which includes the Genroku era (1688-1704) of cultural flowering and lasts until perhaps the Kansei reforms of 1789. It was an era which witnessed considerable stagnation, even decline, when swordsmanship lost its real meaning in an age of peace. Various ryuha concerned themselves excessively with the practice of empty forms and speculated on theories and principles of swordsmanship. Concern with showy forms of impractical swordsmanship led scholars to call it flowery swordsmanship. ⁴¹

Japanese historians usually attribute the decline of swordsmanship and other martial arts to the advent of peace, the shogunal prohibition of taryu jiai, and the decline of musha shugyo.⁶ Indeed, these three closely linked developments meant that there were simply few life-and-death situations in which Tokugawa warriors after about 1650 contested with one another, situations in which techniques could be improved and skills honed.

As first the bakufu and then the individual han forbade challenges against other styles (taryu jiai), the ryuha themselves issued similar prohibitions. Many of the texts of Edo period ryuha contain explicit bans against such practice: "It is the principle of our ryu that we not engage in bouts against other schools." Indeed, many ryu made students pledge not even to criticize other schools.

These bans in turn contributed to the decline of the practice of musha shugyo as well, since one of the primary functions of knight errantry was to challenge other swordsmen in order to test one's abilities and make a name for oneself. All the founders of major early Edo ryuha noted above, for example, earned their reputations as they traveled on musha shugyo and successfully challenged others. But the watchful eye of the bakufu was directed toward the activities of the various daimyo, through both regular censorial officials (metsuke) and spies dispatched to ferret out any instances of potential rebellion. Each han was consequently as concerned with internal security as was the bakufu itself, and random wandering about by the bushi of any han was discouraged. In fact, leaving a domain required a certificate of permission from the domain authorities, and leaving without such a certificate was technically "fleeing the han" (dappan), a very serious offense.⁴³ Thus a combination of both lack of opportunity to fight against other swordsmen and the restraints against leaving one's domain made musha shugyo increasingly difficult and of diminished value for swordsmen.

Although these conditions led to the "decline" of swordsmanship as a fighting skill, it should be emphasized that despite bakufu prohibition, taryu jiai never was entirely stamped out nor did musha shugyo completely vanish. Intrepid

bushi, ronin, and even commoners, intent upon improving their skills, demonstrating their prowess, or improving their physical and spiritual conditions, continued to engage in both practices. In fact, when their instinct for competition was revived by the spread of fencing matches in the eighteenth century, warriors could hardly be restrained from testing their abilities against one another. By the end of the Edo period, when neither the bakufu nor the han was sufficiently able to control the warriors as in an earlier age, the phenomenon of the dojo yaburi ("training hall destroyer") became common. These were swordsmen who made it a practice to visit other dojo and challenge the students, or even the head instructors, to matches. A good example is Katsu Kokichi, father of the Restoration leader Katsu Rintaro, who noted with some satisfaction in his autobiography that "I demolished every good-for-nothing in my own neighborhood of Honjo. Everybody obeyed me. I feared absolutely no one." ⁴⁴ The "decline" of musha shugyo and taryu jiai simply meant that for most of the Tokugawa period, they were seriously curtailed both by the trend of the times and the actions of the authorities.

Although bakufu regulations in fact contributed greatly to the decline or transformation of swordsmanship, two other developments were also significant: the bakufu emphasis on the civil virtues and the "professionalization" of the martial arts.

c. The Establishment of a civil Culture

While the first Buke shohatto enjoined warriors to practice archery and horsemanship, it was careful to emphasize the unbreakable link between the civil (bun) and martial (bu) elements. Although Western scholarship on Confucianism has tended to stress Chinese preference for the civil arts over those of the military, there is in Chinese culture a long tradition of emphasizing a desirable balance between the two. ⁴⁵ But the literate segment of Japanese warrior society had since the Kamakura period stressed this ideal of combining bun and bu in harmonious balance (bunbu ryodo). One finds the sentiment in the initial statement of Imagawa Ryoshun's Regulations of 1412: "Without knowledge,

one will ultimately have no military victories." ¹⁶ Or in Kuroda Nagamasa's Notes on Regulation: "The arts of peace and the arts of war are like the two wheels of the cart which, lacking one, will have difficulty in standing." ⁴⁷

Some sengoku house laws even quoted exhortations from Chinese classics advising a warrior that "when one has the least bit of spare time, he should always take out some piece of literature." ⁴⁸

The "ideals" of the pre-Tokugawa Samurai may have included a familiarity with the civil arts and an emphasis upon bunbu ryodo; yet when perused further, many works also contain warnings that "reading Chinese poetry, linked verse, and waka is forbidden. Unmistakably, the bu element took precedence: "one should exert himself in the martial arts absolutely." ⁵⁰ This should hardly be surprising since the majority of pre-Tokugawa warriors were unlettered anyway.

But during the Tokugawa period, the emphasis shifted towards favoring the bun element; it could not have been otherwise in an era of peace. And since the Tokugawa regime itself was above all interested in the preservation of its hegemony, it could scarcely encourage too dedicated a study of martial skills without endangering its own interests. Both shogun and daimyo valued law and order most highly.

Thus, although warriors were specifically enjoined in the 1615 Buke shohatto to practice fighting skills, bakufu enthusiasm for martial endeavors declined markedly in later versions. In both the 1635 and 1665 versions, the long editorial comment is gone and all that remains of the first article is the "arts of peace and war, including archery and horsemanship, should be pursued single-mindedly." ⁵¹ And by the 168J Buke shoha tto, Article One had been changed considerably, simply encouraging warriors to practice both civil and military arts, loyalty, and filial piety. Actual references to military preparations were relegated to Article Three. By 1706 Article One became even more vague: "One should practice the ways of peace and war, clarify morality, and adjust customs." n Article Three

merely states that "arms and horses ought to be prepared for military campaigns, and resources stored for public campaigns."

Despite continued lip service paid to *bunbu ryodo*, the bakufu's policy thus shifted gradually from encouraging the *bu* element in the early decades of uncertainty to emphasizing the *bun* element as society became settled and peace spread across the land. Another indication of the bakufu's concern for the civil arts is of course the adoption of Neo-Confucianism as a civil religion and the concomitant rise of learning and literacy. This too was an important outgrowth of peace, another aspect of the transformation of the Samurai in Tokugawa times. At the outset of the period the majority of warriors were illiterate fighting men, but by the end of the period literacy was virtually total for the class, which constituted perhaps six percent of the Japanese populace."

The encouragement of learning and spread of literacy had a profound effect on the fighting systems of Japan. The stress on study and reflection inherent in Neo-Confucianism and the emphasis upon the "investigation of things" resulted in a tremendous outpouring of written materials. While Samurai wrote many works on history, statecraft, and political economy, they also produced a significant amount of literature on the theoretical basis of the martial arts (*bugei* texts) as well as on the idealized behavior and social function of the warrior (*bushido/budo* texts).

This in turn had an enormous impact on military skills and training; in fact it was a major cause of the transformation of practical fighting techniques into something more highly refined, worthy of the term martial arts. That is, in pre-Tokugawa times, when men learned to use the sword, lance, or bow because of their immense value for succeeding or merely surviving in a world of war, there were few written texts describing, analyzing, or teaching these martial skills. The techniques were passed among warriors, sometimes in a formal teacher-to-student format, primarily by demonstration. It was felt that such skills could be attained only through long and arduous practice and battle experience, and that the secrets could not be transmitted by either spoken or written word. But with

the advent of peace, the adoption of a Confucian attitude towards learning, and the spread of literacy, practitioners of sword, spear, bow and arrow, and other weapons, began to reduce their experience to writing.

In the process, the martial arts as they developed in the Tokugawa period came to acquire a theoretical underpinning, derived on the one hand from the artistic thought of the Japanese medieval religico-philosophical tradition and on the other hand from the educational ideals in Confucian-inspired bunbu thought.

In some texts, we find the stress on the artistic function of swordsmanship, or archery; while in others the emphasis is on statecraft and/or moral development. Many texts even mixed the two approaches, but the result was that the martial arts, swordsmanship in particular, came to be explicated from a wide range of artistic and philosophical standpoints. The techniques (*waza*) as well as the mental framework (*shin*) necessary to engage the enemy, and even the underlying principles (*ri*) of the various martial arts, were discussed by writers espousing Confucianism, Buddhist---especially Zen---concepts, Taoist ideals as conceived by Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, and native Shinto; Chinese folk beliefs such as yin-yang and the five elements (*wu-hsing*) were also commonly invoked.

The approach to martial arts theory often differed depending upon the perspective and occupation of the writer---Confucian scholar, military strategist, martial arts practitioner, Buddhist monk, physician, or physical culturalist (*yojoka*). Confucians and strategists tended to discuss martial arts from the point of view of statecraft or character building. Many practitioners of martial arts, largely freed from the burden of having to use their expertise in real combat, urged a higher purpose for their activities: to discover their innermost secrets, develop a heightened degree of mental awareness, and even achieve enlightenment in a Zen or Taoist sense. Physicians were more likely to stress recreational or physical fitness aspects of the martial arts."

These philosophical strands were not necessarily separate; many writers mixed

Buddhist and Confucian ideas, and even adopted elaborate Taoist diagrams and explanations. Shingon esoteric Buddhist elements often appeared at the root of texts superficially claiming Zen or Shinto primacy. This is not the place to discuss in depth philosophical influences on the martial arts. It is sufficient to note that the appearance of texts discussing not only actual military techniques but also the requisite mental training and philosophical principles underlying those techniques, represented a new stage in the development of the martial arts in Japan. This phenomenon was largely attributable to the bakufu policy of encouraging learning and the consequent spread of literacy among the bushi. And it naturally contributed to the development of the martial arts as a means for "self perfection".⁵⁶

D. The Martial Arts as a Profession

Another crucial aspect of the transformation of swordsmanship and other fighting skills between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries was their "professionalization".¹¹⁵⁷ Although the first ryuha developed in horsemanship, archery, and swordsmanship during the Muromachi period, the great proliferation of these schools came during Tokugawa times. Ryuha in all forms of cultural endeavor were corporate groups whose existence transcended the lives of the constituent members at any one time. They normally held sacred the memory of the real or reputed founders of the ryu and diligently practiced in secret the techniques (waza) through the prescribed forms (kata) established by the founder. Elaborate ceremonial procedures often bound the head of the school and his students together in an almost religious manner, with pledges extracted from students to protect the sanctity of the ryu by swearing not to divulge its secrets.

The head of the school, whether he had ever drawn a bow or raised a sword in actual combat, commanded tremendous respect from his followers; his instruction had the force of law. Edo swordsmanship instructors were not unlike English masters of arms: both were "professors of an art once a condition of existence, then indispensable as a corollary to education, still cultivated for its

esthetic as well as for its proven physical value." 58

In Tokugawa times, in fact, the inheritance and transmission of the secrets of ryuha---whether swordsmanship, music, the tea ceremony, or any of the myriad other codified cultural forms---assumed great importance and was in many ryuha controlled by specific families who hereditarily transmitted the arcana of the school's style. Mastery of the specific art or skill was seen as a family business (kagyō) or profession (kagei) which the father, having been trained by his father, expected to pass on to his son. The head, or master, of the ryuha was often referred to as an Iemoto. Large-scale social organizations emerged where families over generations monopolized the Iemoto position and taught successive generations of students. Where this family monopolization occurred, the Japanese recognize the existence of an Iemoto system. Swordsmanship and other martial arts shared this organizational concept with other Japanese arts, although in general the martial arts ryuha developed later than other cultural forms, primarily in the Edo period. Nonetheless, instruction in swordsmanship came to be seen as a profession, a business by which a sword master supported himself, either as the head of a private academy in an urban area open to all applicants or in a domain academy restricted to warriors of that domain.

Instruction was often transmitted as a family profession, in the manner not only of medieval cultural forms such as the tea ceremony and flower arrangement, but as families in Japan since ancient times had monopolized the teaching of Confucian texts, the playing of Chinese instruments, the writing of certain poetic forms, and the like.

With the advent of peace and dissociation of warriors from actual combat, formalized instruction in the various techniques of fighting---not only swordsmanship, but use of the spear, archery and so forth---became more common. Earlier warriors were more often too involved in actual combat, and instruction was highly personal, eclectic, and irregular. In Tokugawa times it became a vocation. As with other arts, the tendency was for the profession to become hereditary. Always pragmatic in matters of kinship, however, Japanese

ryuha commonly adopted appropriate successors to become the next generation head, usually by marriage to a daughter of the house, when actual heirs were lacking or incompetent. Some martial arts ryuha were thus headed by generation after generation of men (real or adopted heirs) of the same surname---the Kunii family in the Kashima shin-ryu, for example. Sometimes a given name might be passed on generationally, like Rokuzo IV, V, VI, etc. Even when the iemoto system was not in full existence---when, as was most often the case in the martial arts, a single family did not control the ryuha or it split into multiple offshoot ryuha in each generation---the tendency was still for martial arts ryuha to function as corporate groups, modeled closely on Japanese kinship organizations.

Although there were some minor differences, essentially all Japanese ryuha share certain fundamental characteristics. They were similar in terms of their organizational structure and ritual; they held similar views on transmission of ryu secret teachings; and they embraced a similar philosophy and method of instruction. In Chapter Eight I will discuss these organizational aspects of martial arts and other ryuha in detail.

Kata Kenjutsu: "Flowery Swordsmanship"

Peace, urbanization, the growth of a civil culture, and the professionalization of the teaching of fighting skills gave rise to a type of swordsmanship, which flourished in the late seventeenth century and persisted throughout the period, known as kata kenjutsu, or swordsmanship focusing upon the mastery of kata, patterns or forms expressing the secrets of a particular ryu. Kata were created by the founders of ryuha who developed them out of their actual combat experiences. In a manner similar to other forms of cultural expression, swordsmanship ryuha deemed the fastest and most accurate method of mastering the techniques to be the constant repetition of these kata under the supervision of an unchallenged teacher.⁶¹ Kata were especially valued in swordsmanship; but almost a century had passed since they were conceived and actually used in combat and much of their original meaning was lost. The constant repetition of such patterns could, and did, deteriorate into an extreme formalism which emphasized the outward elegance of the kata.

New kata were devised by heads of new ryu, either as variations of those of established schools in which they may have first trained, or else as totally new creations. Indeed, some schools concentrated on the proliferation of kata, with the result that there were ryu boasting fifty, or one hundred---in one extreme case even one hundred and fifty---kata.⁶² Mid-Tokugawa swordsmanship thus primarily involved constant kata practice, the repetition of these old or new forms until the teacher deemed that a certain level of mastery had been achieved. A specified number of forms, usually increasing in complexity as the student progressed, was required for each level. And each level of progress was rewarded with a certificate---kirigami, mokuroku, menkyo, kaiden, okuden, etc., slightly different according to the ryu. Such certificates were analogous to the belt system employed today in karate, judo, and many other martial arts.

The kata assumed that the would-be swordsman was facing a single foe or

multiple opponents, and the moves were acted out as though the swordsman was being attacked. The kata were not tested in actual combat, although most were practiced with a partner. The emphasis came to be placed upon various postures (kamae) which refers to ways of positioning the body and handling the sword. The kamae were designed both to defend effectively against the presumed attack of an imagined opponent and also to discourage him psychologically from attacking---that is, destroy his concentration or upset any preconceived strategy before he attacked.

Somewhat overdramatized, these kamae provide the tension in Samurai movies, where minutes go by as the swordsmen slowly stalk one another, like two western gunmen approaching cautiously from either end of a main street. The camera focuses closely on the eyes, so that one can see the depth of concentration required.

Ryuha in fact emphasized the ways in which the eyes had to be trained (metsuke) to convey the psychological state necessary for combat. Scholars today are quick to criticize many of these kata, kamae, and metsuke as lacking practicality or purpose, as being little more than an elaborate embellishments.⁶³ They call them "showy swordsmanship" (kaho kempo, literally "flowery method" fencing), criticizing them much as Musashi himself criticized them in *Gorin no sho* as the tendency in swordsmanship and other martial arts even in his day.

A. The Results of Professionalization

The martial arts as they developed in early and mid-Tokugawa Japan were, as we have just seen, largely the product of a period of peace and stability that allowed what were originally deadly combat skills to be modified into tamer forms of artistic expression which, along with other Japanese arts, placed considerable emphasis upon more than mere external form: on mental attitude and character building---"self perfection." While most martial arts ryuha took their name from

their founders (Heki-ryu) or from their places of origin (Kashima-ryu), many early and mid-Edo period ryuha demonstrated their new found concern with mind and mental awareness by choosing names like munen and muso ("no thought"), or muteki ("no enemy"), mugen ("no eye"), jikishin ("correct mind"), shinshin ("true mind"), and the like. These names illustrate a concern in some ryuha with beautifying or elevating once deadly combat skills to a true art form with a philosophical dimension. Some proponents of martial arts did in fact combine their skill with a deeper understanding of Buddhist, Confucian, Shinto, or Taoist ideals and approximated the transcendent concept of kenzen ichinyo--- "the sword and Zen are one"---or lived the ideal often claimed today, that mastery of the sword is mastery of oneself, that competition is beneath a true warrior. ⁶⁴

This idea has received wide attention in the West, often through the writings of Buddhist priests who also practice kendo. Thus we read in such works as *The Zen Way to the Martial Arts* by Taisen Deshimaru---both a Zen master as well as a kendo expert---that ⁶⁵

At that point, the way that taught how to cut one's enemies in two became the way that taught how to cut one's own mind. A way of decision, resolution, determination. That was true Japanese kendo, true Budo. Strength and victory flow from decisiveness. One moves beyond the level at which most people stop, one transcends the conflict, transforms it into a spiritual progress. There was nothing sport-like about training in those days; the Samurai had a higher vision of life... Zen and the martial arts have nothing to with keeping fit or improving health, either...

But such a view of the martial arts, especially those of the Tokugawa period, is just that, a view, here a Zen view. And while it is indeed true for the author and others who chose a distinctly Zen path to life, there is the tendency to equate this understanding of martial arts with all practitioners. It results in such terms as "Zen Samurai" and "the sword and Zen are one," suggesting that all warriors approached swordsmanship with the same mentality or that they achieved this

level of almost religious understanding. In fact, it is the very difficulty of attaining such an understanding that made those few who did so special, so outstanding.

A superhuman figure like the late Tokugawa-early Meiji teacher Yamaoka Tesshu, who ultimately did achieve an understanding that linked kendo and Zen, was a rare figure indeed. And those who achieved such a detached and rarefied understanding were able to do so only after long and arduous training that was most likely filled with competition, the desire to excel, and other egocentric preoccupations. As Musashi claims, the purpose of heiho is really to excel, and he admits that a transcendent sense of the "meaning" of martial arts came to him only after he was fifty, when his understanding that "the way is one" allowed him to master other cultural pursuits.⁶⁸ But we must be careful not to consider Musashi as typical. Approaches to the martial arts were diverse, and competition was, as we shall see, a crucial element.

Abuses in Kata Kenjutsu

Abuses crept into the practice of kata-oriented swordsmanship and other martial arts, which had become almost totally divorced from the battlefield skills from which they were derived. In Tokugawa Japan, martial arts ryuha often required a large number of dues paying students, a dojo, and perhaps even a dormitory to house the students. Ranks became commonplace, so that progress in learning could be certified. The necessity for the head of the school to maintain a sizable following and sustain a complex network of feudal relations often meant that the awarding of ranks was influenced by factors other than attainment of skills.⁶⁹ In fact, certificates of mastery of a certain level of proficiency were given for various reasons in Tokugawa times, reflecting problems which today plague the "business" of teaching martial arts, especially outside Japan.

Transmission of the secrets of a school often degenerated into a kind of formalism. On the one hand, certificates were awarded to those who actually demonstrated ability in mastering the skills. Yet others were awarded certificates even though their level of ability was incomplete, for reasons of feudal obligation or for other personal considerations. Moreover, certificates were also awarded to technically unqualified people in return for money.⁷⁰ The latter practice is not uncommon today, since fees are charged for taking and/or passing tests for higher ranks, and some schools offer "contracts" for a set fee which then guarantee that a student will attain a black belt in a stipulated period of time. No one is certain of the frequency of these practices in Tokugawa times. But since swordsmanship became a full-fledged art like the tea ceremony, it is generally assumed that the feudal structure of the profession meant that the awarding of certificates for considerations of money or because of personal obligation was quite frequent.⁷¹ Naturally, the tendency for what were once fighting skills to be reduced to a business was the object of much criticism then, as it is now. Perhaps Miyamoto Musashi was one of the first to voice such criticism, when he complained that

In particular to take the way of heiho [swordsmanship, here] and add embellishments to it and show off techniques, or to speak of having one or two training halls [dojo]---that is, to teach and learn heiho with an eye towards profit, to practice a superficial kind of heiho, will surely lead to great weakness.

Many other writers criticized the tendency to make money from teaching martial arts. Not only did it seem to demean the skill itself and the attitude of teachers, but it encouraged practice of the martial arts for purposes also considered improper. Thus one reads of students unconcerned with the mastery of techniques and mental attitudes of a certain ryuha but interested only in receiving certificates, students who thereafter strutted around arrogantly, bragging that they held certificates even though they showed absolutely no sign of maintaining proficiency.⁷³ A similar criticism is often leveled against the eager rank-seeker today who is more concerned with impressing friends with his attainment of a particular rank than with learning the techniques properly. Instructors too came in for a good deal of harsh criticism. A particularly severe view was expressed in the early eighteenth century by Matsushita Kunitaka who ridiculed the tendency of proliferating styles to claim that their founders went off to some sacred mountain and learned their "secret" techniques from a goblin or deity. He observed that nine out of ten teachers were more talk than talent, and had turned "martial arts in which life and death hung in the balance... into a child's game." He concluded that these masters of sword, spear, and gun drew high salaries from their daimyo, but were little more than geisha who knew nothing of the world.

Another criticism of Tokugawa swordsmanship was that practitioners complained at the slightest injury sustained in practice. Again, Matsushita claimed fencers flinched when a wooden sword flashed in front of their eyes and the color drained from their faces at the slightest touch of the blade; in jujutsu practice, even a minor injury to a joint brought cries of pain.⁷⁵

This was perhaps the Edo equivalent of the "cry baby" phenomenon known today. Clearly for warriors accustomed to the realities of combat, a slight bruise

received in the practice hall from a bamboo or wooden sword could seem minor indeed. On the other hand, one would probably be wise to take such criticisms with a grain of salt. When in any physical activity new technology or otherwise changed conditions result in safer methods of practice, older performers are apt to complain that "in my day we never had it so easy. Players had to be tougher." Yet such criticism was inevitable, given the transformation of warrior society and the reality that martial techniques were being practiced for quite different purposes. The "decline" of the martial values and actual skills of the warrior became clear after the middle of the seventeenth century, but was especially marked---and thus the subject of frequent criticism---in the Genroku era (1688-1704). This period is regarded as the flowering of the urban culture of the merchant class, to which the now city-dwelling Samurai were also inordinately attracted.

c. Criticism of Swordsmanship

Criticism of the new urban Samurai focused upon the trend toward laziness, bureaucratization, ostentatious dress, and licentious behavior. Seventeenth-century paintings of Samurai visiting the popular pleasure quarters---Yoshiwara in Edo, Shimabara in Kyoto---depict them in resplendent, form-fitting costumes not readily distinguishable from those of the women they patronized. Criticism of Samurai was severe: warriors had become weak and dandified, effeminate; they powdered their faces and shaped their eyebrows like women. And the criticism naturally extended to the martial arts they practiced, if they practiced them at all.

Here, for example, is an opinion offered by ogyu Sorai, one of the leading intellectuals of the Tokugawa period:n

While there has been considerable inventiveness in the techniques of using spear and sword in recent times, for the most part it is common to square off against

one another and emphasize a brilliant defeat of the opponent before a crowd of onlookers. Particularly as social conditions have improved, swordsmen have grown weaker, and thus they discuss "principles" at a high level of abstraction; or else they concentrate upon beautifying moves which they have created, or they devise face-masks so that the blow of a bamboo sword does not cause pain... Thus, in all the martial arts while they ought to be concerned with learning to use the hands and feet and developing skill in various techniques, in fact they look down upon technique and instead argue about theory: this is all like some playful sport of an age of peace. Since today's bushi have become weak, that is all the more reason why they should find a ryu which strengthens the arms and legs and makes one firm in the techniques of the martial arts and study that style.

While one cannot decry the seriousness of Sorai's concern, historical perspective suggests the unreasonableness of his expectations. First, since war was little more than a theoretical concern for most bushi, the study of military skills almost axiomatically took on an artificial quality, no matter how instructors or writers like Sorai might stress the necessity for constant training and vigilance. Martial arts became compartmentalized, divorced from the many concerns of daily life of Samurai in an age of peace. Thus, practice of the martial arts perform "declined," or as I would prefer to say, was transformed into something they had not been.

Second, the professionalization of fighting skills into an accomplishment like the tea ceremony and other partially recreational and artistic activities of the period, coupled with the inclusion of martial arts training in the curricula of most han schools from the middle of the period, also contributed to a further transformation of the martial arts. Gathered together in schools at training halls, warriors competed among themselves for success in the eyes of the head of the ryu. The rise of a spirit of competitiveness, of a desire not only to master techniques and perhaps develop a certain spiritual awareness, but also to defeat an opponent in a match, meant that the martial arts became something quite different from the martial skills of a time when survival on the battlefield was all that mattered.

From Self-Protection to Self-Perfection

The changes in the lifestyle of the Samurai which drastically reduced their concern for actual combat thus produced a new form of martial arts. In fact, it is correct to say that the martial "arts" (bugei) actually developed in the Tokugawa period out of the martial "techniques" (bujutsu) of the previous age. The transformation has several aspects to it, although the literature in Western languages has focused on only one. This is the change which I noted in the introduction, best summarized by Draeger as a transformation from jutsu to do, which he translates as from "martial arts" to "martial ways."

This is the idea that the martial ways are far removed from earlier fighting skills, often having no practicality at all, and like other "ways" (tea, flower arrangement, etc), are more concerned with seeking personal internal goals---self-awareness, enlightenment, or other states normally expressed in Buddhist or Taoist terminology. Perhaps Draeger best captures this aspect of the transformation by the phrase "from self-protection to self perfection," focusing squarely upon the internal spiritual development possible through training in martial arts.⁷⁸

As I have just elaborated, forms of practical combat were in fact transformed into more refined and controlled martial arts. But Tokugawa texts do not support Draeger's conclusions from a linguistic standpoint. That is to say, forms of armed and unarmed combat training did not in the Tokugawa period undergo a change from jutsu to do: what had been previously called kenjutsu (sword techniques) did not become kendo (sword ways) or jujutsu become judo or the like. Such a transformation is a distinctly modern, post-Tokugawa one. In fact, specific references in martial arts texts of the period to any form of do-kendo, judo, kyudo, etc---are extremely rare.

In the sengoku period the most common term used by bushi to describe their comprehensive fighting system was heiho, alternately read as hyoho, literally "military methods." Even though some ryuha were formed with an emphasis upon a specific weapon, most still advocated a familiarity with other weapons in an inclusive heiho. Real specialization---swordsmen who knew nothing of using the naginata, for example---occurred only in the peaceful Tokugawa period. Documents suggest in fact that began to occur in the 1640s, during the time of the third shogun, Iemitsu. ⁷⁹

The comprehensive fighting system---heiho---was segmented into specific specializations as individual martial arts. Thus, it is proper to regard the Tokugawa change as from heiho to bugei---from martial techniques---to martial arts. ⁸⁰ In this sense, swordsmanship, or archery, or even ninja skills, came to be organized, practiced, experienced, and even marketed in a manner similar to other artistic traditions which were also transformed in the period. Most swordsmanship ryuha called their activity kenjutsu, kempo, kengei, or more commonly heiho (heiho in Tokugawa times normally took on the narrow meaning of swordsmanship). Thus, Miyamoto Musashi notes in discussing the way of heiho: ⁸¹

Recently, there are many who go about calling themselves practitioners of heiho, but what they mean is really just swordsmanship (kenjutsu). It is only in recent years that officials of the Kashima and Katori Shrines of Hitachi have established ryuha of swordsmanship claimed to be the tradition of their gods and gone around the country teaching it to people... But while concentrating solely on techniques of the sword, it is difficult to learn swordsmanship itself. This is not in accord with the principles of heiho.

Like it or not, Musashi lived in a world of tremendous change and the heiho he knew and practiced---finally, as he says, understanding its true meaning only when he reached his fifties, long after he had engaged in any real combat---inevitably died out. His criticisms of dojo and discussing "principles" and adding flourish to techniques were symptomatic of the changes taking place during his

lifetime, changes he was powerless to stop. After his death, his own style of Nito-ryu developed in precisely the same manner as other schools. Thus, for the rest of the Tokugawa period men who engaged only in swordsmanship continued to call their art heihb. The word kendo--- "the way of the sword"---is distinctly modern.

But that does not mean Tokugawa period swordsmen were not interested in a 11way11 --whether Confucian, Taoist, or Zen Buddhist. Many clearly were interested. It is simply that they rarely used the term. Gei, ho, jutsu were all much more common than do as suffixes applied to all weapon systems in Tokugawa times. ⁸²

Terminology aside, there was a definite transformation of martial techniques in the Tokugawa era into forms which were more specialized than the earlier, comprehensive heiho, and which were also concerned with something other than battlefield victory. Musashi idealized the "way" of heiho for the Samurai as "based on his excelling others in every endeavor, in winning in confrontation against a single opponent or in a battle against many; both for the sake of his lord and for his own personal sake, (the Samurai) tries to make a reputation, to establish himself. ⁸³ This he felt could be accomplished through the virtue of heiho. But such a focus was easier for a warrior like Musashi who lived in a time when actual martial skills were necessary. Maintaining such an attitude was quite a different matter for those who came later. Try as they might, they could not achieve the physical accomplishments of a Musashi. M Torno Goro Tokihide, reviver of the Shibukawa-ryu of jujutsu summed it up well in his Kunpa zatsuwa: ⁸⁵

Even those bushi born near the end of the sengoku period, men like Yagyu Jubei and Miyamoto Musashi, who equipped themselves with great mental power through their own inherent genius, were not able to teach the essentials of their experience to others. And even if they had been able to teach it, they could not have made them fully understand. And thus their direct students generally went no further than imitating them, and later generations of students continued only

the forms, so that (martial arts) was reduced to the level of watching a puppet play.

Thus, it is no accident that swordsmanship came to emphasize the spiritual aspects more heavily.

The "Decline" of Swordsmanship

The late Edo scholar and swordsman from Mito, Fujita Toko, discerned the transformation of swordsmanship from early to mid- Tokugawa times. "Even though men no longer went off to the battlefield in this age of peace," he wrote, "still in the Genna and Kan'ei eras (1614-1644) men's spirits remained violent and they were apt to fight one another with real swords. Consequently, there were people with considerable swordsmanship skills." Clearly, he meant people like Musashi and Yagyu Munenori.

Subsequently, however, things changed:

...the martial spirit inexorably declined.

Furthermore, since it was no longer the vassal's way to throw himself into mastering the skills necessary to defeat the enemy on his lord's behalf, the practice of fighting with real swords essentially disappeared. Various ryuha developed in individual families, and they competed against each other within their own school. But they could not fully fight each other. This led them to learn only forms, (so that swordsmanship) developed into a kind of child's amusement. Thus did training with the lance and sword decline.

If this was not necessarily a "decline" but a transformation as I prefer to describe it, it was indeed perceived as a decline in its day, as evidenced by the above quote from Fujita and contemporary criticism of both the mannerisms and the martial skills of Edo warriors. Matsushita Kunitaka noted wryly that the hand techniques of a swordsman looked like those of a Noh dancer who had simply

exchanged a sword for his fan, and their foot movements resembled those of court nobles and priests kicking a kemari ball. ⁸⁸

It would be incorrect, however, to assume that the bakufu stood idly by while its warriors lost all martial skills and virtues completely. In fact, virtually every one of the periodic bakufu attempts to reform society's ills included exhortations for warriors to renew interest in martial skills and military training.

The eighth shogun Yoshimune, for example, tried to reverse the trend during the Kyoho Reforms of the early eighteenth century. In good Confucian form Yoshimune advocated uprightness in government and simplicity in personal habits, issued laws designed to curb sumptuous living and encourage ethical behavior, promoted administrative reform and the employment of men of talent, and encouraged agricultural production and fiscal responsibility. Yoshimune also tried to restore the martial spirit of a century earlier. As something of a martial artist himself, the shogun employed men skilled in the use of weapons, constructed facilities and generally encouraged wider participation in the practice of various martial arts. ⁸⁹

Yoshimune was even interested in both contemporary Western weapons and equestrian techniques. He requested the Dutch to demonstrate, for example, how to fire a gun from horseback; and in 1732 the bakufu at length received two suits of bulletproof armor the shogun had been seeking since 1723. Horses were of particular interest to Yoshimune for their military potential, and he had animals imported from Korea and China as well as the West, along with riding instructors from Holland. The study of Western equestrian techniques improved under such training, and in 1736 Imamura Danjuro even compiled a work on Dutch horsemanship.

But like many of his other efforts Yoshimune's attempt to breathe new life into the changing forms of martial arts ultimately failed. The failure stemmed from the basic contradiction that the bakufu was a military government in an age of

peace. As John Hall notes, although the "military conscience of the age deplored the loss of martial vigor in the bushi class, by their actions the shogunate and the daimyo houses placed their prime emphasis on public law and civic order. ⁹¹ Thus, midTokugawa swordsmanship involved the endless repetition of kata in what were by then standard wooden-floored training halls, instead of the earlier practice on terrain where actual fighting might be conducted. While many students were diligent, others concentrated upon amassing certificates from teachers whose livelihoods depended upon fees charged students. It bore more of a resemblance to the martial arts world of today than we might imagine---or desire.

Chapter Four

COMPETITION:

THE SPORTING ELEMENT IN LATE TOKUGAWA SWORDSMANSHIP

Another important aspect to the transformation of combat into martial arts, in fact what makes the martial arts a proper subject for this study, was the development of the sporting element. As I have noted, some argue that the martial arts ought to be spiritual, and for them this development represents a "deterioration" into a sport. But the fact remains that if by mid-Edo times martial skills for self-protection had been transformed into martial arts for self-perfection, the second half of the period witnessed a change from self-defense to sport; and intense competition in martial arts, especially swordsmanship, became a hallmark of the mid to late Edo era, as Samurai sought, in Musashi's words, "to excel others."

A major stream within Buddhism and most other Asian philosophical and religious systems idealizes selflessness or a denial of self. Many who practice and/or write about the martial arts have seized upon this ideal and denounced competition as totally anathema, since it seems to involve an inordinate sense of ego. For such individuals a true martial art is an active form of Zen meditation: it should be a vehicle to transcend self and not a means to defeat others.¹ But competition, the desire to win, often demeaned as "mere" sport,² was a crucial element in the practice of the martial arts in Tokugawa times. Competition drew many bushi and commoners alike to fencing as it was taught in urban academies. The sporting impetus of that age led ultimately to kendo, and carries over into in judo, karate, and other contemporary sport forms of the martial arts.

The third and final period of Edo swordsmanship is more difficult to date

precisely, since the changes which led to the development of competitive fencing did not occur suddenly. But from about the middle of the eighteenth century a new spirit dominated Tokugawa swordsmanship, and while the practice of kata kenjutsu never died out, it was superseded by shinai uchikomi keiko, the forerunner of modern kendo.

Development of Shinai Uchikomi Keiko (Fencing)

The important technological change that transformed swordsmanship into fencing, a competitive sport as well as a form of physical and spiritual practice, was the perfection and widespread adoption of protective equipment---bamboo swords, helmets, padded chest protectors---which allowed for the safe practice of swordplay against an opponent. But like most technological innovations, protective gear aroused great controversy when they were introduced and were resisted by many traditional ryuha since their use seemed to lead even further away from the original life-and-death struggle which had been the core of earlier fighting systems. On the other hand, combat simulating fencing was much more realistic than the formalistic kata practice which had until this time dominated Edo swordsmanship. And of course, protective gear represented a dramatic step forward in the transformation of military techniques into the sport forms we know today. That fact alone exposed the use of protective gear and bamboo swords to considerable criticism. As ogyu Sarai correctly noted, Edo swordsmanship had become a "playful sport of a peaceful age." ³ The perfection of the bamboo sword and protective gear (bogu) used in kendo today occurred over a long period of time, and many people must have had a hand in it. As we saw in Chapter Two, the wooden sword had been in existence for hundreds of years, allowing for somewhat safer practice and duels than live sword blades. But the wooden sword also had its drawbacks. Though dull and thus not likely to pierce or cut, it was heavy and could easily break an arm, a wrist, an ankle, or a rib. In the hands of an expert swordsman, a wooden sword could be almost as lethal as a steel blade.

Kendo practitioners today wear protective gear that include the men, a head guard of heavy cotton with a metal face protector, tied at the back of the head with cords; it looks somewhat like a baseball catcher's mask. They wear gloves which also serve as wrist or arm guards called kote, padded and covered in leather. The upper body is protected by a chest protector called a do, made of strips of bamboo covered with hide and heavily lacquered; like the men, the do is attached by cords. The tare, a kind of waist armor, is tied around the waist by

two bands. Made of several layers of heavy cotton to give it stiffness, the tare protects the groin. The kendoist today puts on all this gear over a padded blue jacket (keikogi) and split skirt, or hakama, which together approximate the type of clothing worn in the Tokugawa era. The gear is donned essentially from the bottom up: tare first, then do; the men is tied on over a tenugui, or hachimaki, a cotton towel used to absorb sweat. Finally, the kote can be fastened to the arms. The kendoist fights his matches (shiai) with an imitation sword, called a shinai, constructed of four equal-sized pieces of highly polished and well-seasoned bamboo. The perfectly matched pieces are tied together with a length of cord at three places: from the tip where the strips are tied and then covered tightly with a leather cup, the cord stretches to the center where it is tied again, and then to the handle (tsuka) where it is tied once more.

These pieces of equipment were not developed at the same time, and until the modern age were not always used as a set. Kendo tradition holds that Kamiizumi Ise no kami, founder of the Shinkage-ryu, first fashioned the fukuro shinai, a bamboo sword contained within a silk-sword case, that strange tool with which he confused Mikogami Tenzen in their match.⁴ Early shinai naturally must have been quite primitive in comparison to the standard production model used worldwide today in kendo matches.

It is apparent that the protective head and chest gear were designed from analogy to Samurai armor parts. But the pieces emerged separately rather than as a set, so that Tokugawa fencers might use only a helmet, or just the do. Practice with the shinai and protective gear began in earnest in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. It was called shinai uchikomi keiko (practice of lunging strikes with the shinai) to distinguish it from the kata oriented swordsmanship then almost universal. We might as well call it fencing. Naganuma Shirozaemon Kunizato---appropriately an instructor of the Jikishin kage-ryu, an offshoot of Kamiizumi's original style---is credited with first fashioning the protective gear and initiating this kind of practice.⁵ Then in the 1750s Nakanishi Tadazo, the second generation head of the Nakanishi-ha itto-ryu, added further refinements to the gear and espoused the practice of shinai uchikomi keiko, but it was not readily accepted, even within his own dojo. One of his leading students, Terada Muneari, left the school in disgust, feeling that the use of kote and men was

simply not in accord with true intention of swordsmanship; and he went off to learn the Heijo muteki ryu of the Ikeda house. ⁶

Terada was hardly alone. From the 1750s on, practice involving the use of protective gear and shinai spread from ryu to ryu, attracting considerable attention, both negative and positive. As with any innovation of such magnitude, opinions were divided. One is reminded, for example, of today's debates over baseball's designated hitter and use of metal bats, golf's square groove controversy, or the three-point basket in college basketball. On the one hand, conservatives argued that this new technique was unrealistic and lacked the battlefield conditioning they wished to see: the bamboo sword bore little resemblance to a real blade. But the supporters argued persuasively that the kata focus was even more unrealistic. By allowing the proponents to go all out in attacking one another, shinai uchikomi keiko was much more aggressive and realistic than kata practice. Fujita Toko noted that it was about a century after the decline of real swordsmanship into 'flowery' kata-oriented swordsmanship that "the so-called men, kote, and do were developed, and techniques became stronger every day: ⁷ He was skeptical of the critics of this new style: ⁸

Now, people say that to use such gear to protect oneself is cowardly. But the reason that they claim that it is more courageous to compete with wooden swords or live blades against an unprotected body is because they are mired in the practice of forms. Contesting with live blades or wooden swords may indeed be valiant, but if you attack all out and strike someone, he will die on the spot. Even at sixty to seventy percent effort, [a blow] will result in serious injury or deformity. This is fine in the case of a real enemy, but hardly a practice to be employed between friends.

Thus in order to avoid injury, such people attack one another lightly, with about twenty or thirty percent of their strength. It is useless to attack with this kind of beginner's ruggedness. The various ryuha caution against and prohibit real attacks, so regrettably, even though they wield real swords, their technique is shallow, like that of a woman or a child.

The difference between striking with full power and attacking with only twenty to thirty percent force is similar to the difference between releasing an arrow at full pull and releasing it after a pull of two or three inches. Of course we can still measure hits and misses at a target a few feet away when the bow is drawn back only several inches, but what value is there in practicing [such archery] so assiduously that you can score a perfect one hundred hits in a hundred shots? Thus contesting with wooden swords or live blades is forceful in name only; in actuality, it is powerless.

Consequently, people have come to use the shinai, (consisting of) pieces of split bamboo held together in a leather case. Since it is made firmly, it is like a wooden sword. All the more, because it is soft---being made of split bamboo covered with soft skin or hide---even if you strike with seventy or eighty percent of power, it won't leave a mark. Fujita was not totally won over by the shinai, however. He also noted its shortcomings. After all, he wrote, since it was light, it didn't really resemble a sword; fencing with it was not the same as fighting with a live blade. It was rather like, he said, "practicing archery with arrows made of hemp stalks.¹¹⁹ But he concluded that by wearing the protective gear and using the shinai, you could attack with full force, and strike anywhere on the body, thus developing one's technique and training the body in a more realistic manner.

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Of course, from our vantage point today it is easy to criticize the "purist" conservatives interested in preserving the kata tradition of the great ryuha founders. We can clearly see that they themselves were practicing only an artificial form of the actual combat their forebears had developed. But perhaps realization of that fact made the conservatives more hesitant to accept what they saw as a further deviation from the original.

Nonetheless, as a form of physical training as well as competition, the new fencing spread rapidly. Compared to either a real or wooden sword, the shinai allowed warriors to attack each other with the abandon they might display

should they ever need to engage in real combat. By the end of the period, shinai keiko had captured the swordsmanship world. ¹¹

Shinai uchikomi keiko did not mean the end of either wooden swords or kata. Both remained a part of Edo martial practice and are still widely used today. But the older schools which emphasized kata declined, to be replaced by a number of new schools which stressed vigorous matches between its fencers : the aforementioned Nakanishi-ha itto-ryu, Hokushin itto-ryu, Kogen itto-ryu, Jingyoto-ryu, Jikishin kage-ryu, Kyoshin meichi-rya, and Shinto munen-ryu. ¹² These ryuha produced a number of noted late Tokugawa swordsmen/statesmen who overthrew the bakufu and founded the new Meiji regime, including such luminaries as Katsura Kogoro (Kido Koin), Takasugi Shinsaku, Fujita Toko, Watanabe Kazan, and Sakamoto Ryoma.

The emphasis upon competitive fencing bouts was given great stimulus by the reforms of the Kansei era (1789-1801) carried out by the bakufu official Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829). Besides urging fiscal reform to alleviate the bakufu's recurring economic problems, Sadanobu placed special emphasis upon stimulating both the martial skills and military spirit of the by-then largely civil-oriented Samurai class. In fact, so insistent was Sadanobu that Samurai practice both the civil and military arts (bunbu) that he was lampooned in a popular ditty which complained that with "bunbu, bunbu you can't even sleep at night." ¹³

Sadanobu, who served as chief councilor of the bakufu, was unusually well qualified for a high ranking official to preach about the martial arts. In his early years, he had practiced several of them assiduously to overcome a weak constitution and improve his health. He received certificates of mastery in Heki ryu archery, Shinkage-ryu swordsmanship, both Oshima-ryu and Fuden-ryu schools of the spear, and as well in Otsubo-ryu horsemanship. ¹⁴ He also studied Kito-ryu jujutsu in later years.

As the above ditty suggests, however, his contemporaries perceived Sadanobu's

policies as overzealous; and while they seem to have had some effect for a time, by the end of the Kansei era people were once again rather cynical about serious practice of the martial arts. The purchase of certificates of rank to impress others became popular again, prompting the bakufu in 1802 to tighten up regulations related to training in the martial arts.¹⁵ Nonetheless, Sadanobu's policy of promoting the martial arts proved a stimulus to those new ryuha---Jikishin kage-ryu, Shinto munen-ryu, Jingyoto-ryu, and Kyoshin meichi-ryu---which emphasized shinai keiko.¹⁶

An important result of the spread of shinai uchikomi keiko was that it shifted the emphasis in swordsmanship from mastery of kata to the demonstration of actual skills, that is from the spiritual to the physical realm. Although no longer a matter as in sengoku times of cutting down one's opponent, mid to late Edo swordsmanship refocused concern on victory over one's opponent in a contest. This was an important step in the transformation of swordsmanship into a true sporting activity.

For many ryuha of swordsmanship in the Tokugawa period, the proper "way" was to focus upon the ideal of self-realization, discipline, even enlightenment, through a mastery of kata. But with the introduction of the new form, there was a distinct tendency towards emphasizing skills which could be demonstrated in competition; and thus the shiai became the primary test of one's ability and the focus of both spiritual and physical training. Of course, due to the official prohibition of taryu jiai, competition for many was limited to members of their own schools. Yet some warriors still managed to go off on musha shugyo, and by late Tokugawa times, with the lifting of the taryu jiai prohibition, the dojo yaburi phenomenon of fencers seeking to test the skills of men from other schools was widespread.

Katsu Kokichi was a perfect example: "Challenging students from rival schools was getting to be a regular occupation. Night after night I roamed the streets with my followers in tow. 'u

The Dojo in Late Tokugawa Times

There were essentially two different ways of studying swordsmanship in the Tokugawa period. A would-be fencer approached the training hall (dojo) of a teacher of one of the proliferating ryuha, gained entrance to the course of instruction, and pursued that private path. As the period progressed, instructors opened dojo throughout the country, although of course the major cities---Kyoto, Osaka, and especially Edo, as the seat of the warrior government---were best served.

Sometimes bushi of a particular han practiced swordsmanship at the domain's own dojo, as part of the curriculum of the han school (hanko). Urban dojo (machi dojo) were advantageous from the swordsman's point of view because they brought together men from all over Japan, most likely with training in a different style, providing an opportunity to learn new techniques and improve one's skills.

From the bakufu's standpoint, however, the urban dojo, by allowing bushi from different han to congregate, might undermine the stability based upon a delicate balance of power between the bakufu and the han. Distance between the various domains, if not outright hostility and distrust, better served the shogunal hegemony. (The assessment was correct: many of the men who overthrew the bakufu in the nineteenth century---predominantly from the outside domains of Choshu, Satsuma, Hizen, and Tosa---practiced swordsmanship together in a handful of Edo's most prominent dojo.) Intra-han training in the hanko was a better way, from the point of view of the bakufu and the han, to control the actions of warriors, and such training also enabled the ryu to maintain better control over its secret techniques. On the negative side, however, hanko training limited competition with other fencing styles, especially if the ryu maintained a prohibition of taryu jiai.

There were many well-known swordsmanship dojo in Tokugawa Japan, several of which exist even today: the training hall at Kashima Shrine, for example, and the Renbukan in Mito are still renowned among kendo enthusiasts.¹⁸ But in the late Tokugawa (bakuma tsu) period there were four especially well-known training

halls in Edo which bear mention: Chiba Shusaku's Hokushin itto ryu dojo in otamagaike, Momonoi Shunzo's Kyoshin meichi- ryu dojo in Kyobashi, the Shinto munen-ryu dojo of Saito Yakuro, and the Jikishin kage-ryu dojo of Otani Nobutomo.

A. Chiba Shusaku

Chiba Shusaku Narimasa (1794-1855) is one of the legendary figures of bakumatsu Japan, a man who helped pave the way for modern kendo.¹⁹ Chiba was born in 1794 to a village Samurai family in northern Japan (today's Miyagi Prefecture). As a child he learned the Hokushin muso-rya from both his father and grandfather, but in 1809 the family moved to Matsuda, a suburb of Edo, where he entered the Nakanishi-ha itto-ryu dojo of Asari Matashichiro.

Asari himself was a swordsman of unusual background.²⁰ Born into a poor family in Matsuda, he seems to have earned his livelihood as a boy selling clams (asari). While peddling his clams in Edo, one day he sneaked into the kitchen of the Nakanishi dojo, a well-known training hall of the day, where he stole a look at the practice session. Discovered by master Nakanishi Chubei, the youth---as a commoner, he had no surname---expressed his interest in learning to fence. The master pitted him against one of the regular students, and the young man displayed an uncommon skill. He was admitted to the dojo and within a few short years achieved a certificate of mastery. He became so skilled that he was

recommended for a fencing instructorship at Obama domain. Nakanishi, feeling that it would be inappropriate for a nameless commoner to accept such a position, gave him the name Asari Matashichiro Yoshinobu.

Chiba received certification from Asari at age twenty-three, but Matashichiro then sent him to his own teacher for further study at the Nakanishi dojo. Among the students were such noted fencers as Terada Muneari, Shirai Toru (who had a reputation as unbeatable in matches), and Takayanagi Matashiro, renowned for his *otonashi no kamae* or "soundless" posture.²¹

Chiba received his *kaiden* there in only three years, and his certification match was a notable one. He was pitted against Takayanagi and the outcome ended in a draw. But at one point, when the two fencers had lunged in to strike each other, Chiba's foot broke right through the thick floor-board with a crash. The master was so impressed with this display of unusual power that he tore up the piece of board and hung it over the entrance to the dojo as a lesson for future students to bear in mind.

After a short period in the service of the Kitamura family, Chiba in 1822 opened his own dojo in Edo, called the Genbukan, in the Shinagawa-machi section of Nihonbashi, but later moved it to Otamagaike in Kanda. He named his style the Hokushin itto-ryu, and began to attract a large number of students, reportedly as many as five or six thousand. For a while, Chiba's younger brother Sadakichi assisted at the Genbukan before opening his own dojo in Kyobashi.

Students were attracted to the Genbukan not only because of Chiba's reputation as a man of excellent character and superior technique, but also because of his progressive, some might even say, lenient, teaching methods. Concerned with the philosophy and organization of teaching swordsmanship, he devoted much time and energy to improving both. For example, he reorganized the previous Itto-ryu system of eight ranks into only three, which besides having technical merit, reduced the financial obligations of students, thus increasing the number

who joined his school.

He also devised a method of instruction giving equal weight to training the mind and developing technique, which had a tremendous influence on the modernization of kendo in the Meiji era. Chiba's fame was such that he was sought by daimyo throughout Japan as an instructor, but he rejected these offers in order to stay in Edo. Finally, however, he could not refuse the offer of the Mito fief, since it was one of the Tokugawa houses. He went to Mito where he became an instructor in the well-known han school Kodokan for a brief period."

Chiba died in 1855, long before the Tokugawa regime was overthrown, but among his students were a number of men destined to play an important role in those tumultuous bakumatsu years. They included the Tosa loyalists Sakamoto Ryoma and Kiyokawa Hachiro;²⁶ Inoue Hachiro; Kaiho Shuhei, who became an instructor at Mito's Kodokan and married a daughter of Aizawa Seishisai; and Yamaoka Tesshu, a leading scholar, swordsman, and Zen practitioner who later served as tutor to the Meiji Emperor.

B. Saito Yakuro

Saito Yakuro Yoshimichi (1798-1871) also had an unusual career for a swordsman. Born in 1798 in Etchu, he was apprenticed as a young man to a merchant house dealing in pharmacological supplies. Later he traveled to Edo where he was employed in the house of a Tokugawa retainer (hatamoto). Saito entered the Confucian academy of Koga Seiri and then enrolled in the famous Gekikenkan, the Shinto munen-ryu dojo of Okada Jissho Yoshitoshi, where he was surrounded by such aspiring swordsmen as Watanabe Kazan, Fujita Toko, and Mochizuki Seisuke.²⁹

Saito also studied a number of other martial arts, including Western style gunnery with Takayama Shuhan. Training assiduously at Gekikenkan, he soon surpassed all his contemporaries to become the leading fencer at the school. He was so highly thought of that he took over running the dojo following Jissho's death, even though the head of ryu, Okada Jissho II, was four years his senior.

When he was twenty-nine, Saito established his own dojo, the Renbeikan in Kudan Sakashita (he later moved it to Okachimachi).

In the Ansei era (1854-1860), Saito retired, relinquishing control of the dojo to his eldest son Shintaro, who became Yakuro II.³ Famous figures who studied at the Renbeikan include Takasugi Shinsaku, Watanabe Noboru, Tani Kanjo, and Shinagawa Yajiro.³¹ But by far the most famous was the Choshu Samurai Katsura Kogoro, later known to history as Kido Koin, one of the leading early Meiji oligarchs. Katsura was the best of Yakuro's students, serving as the head student instructor (jukuto).³²

c. Mominoi Shunzo

The third famous Edo bakumatsu dojo was the Shigakukan of Momonoi Shunzo IV Naomasa (1825-1885).³³ The Momonoi family was then teaching the Kyoshin meichi-ryu at a dojo in Hatchobori. Naomasa was born Tanaka Kansuke and was adopted into the Momonoi family. He entered Momonoi Naoichi's dojo at age fourteen, achieved his first certificate (shoden mokuroku) at seventeen, and later married Naoichi's daughter. He received his okuden certificate at twenty-five when he also succeeded to the name Momonoi Shunzo. Momonoi's dojo was especially known for its postures (kamae), while the Chiba school was said to be best for technique (waza) and Saito's Renbeikan for power.

The Shigakukan produced many exceptionally strong swordsmen: among the students of Shunzo Naomasa were Ueda Umanosuke, Kanematsu Naokane, Sakabe Taisaku, and Kubota Shinzo---the "four Deva kings" of the dojo. Another talented student was Henmi Munesuke, of whom Yamaoka Tesshu once said "There are many swordsmen in the land, but as for true swordsmen there is only Henmi." But by far the best known political figure was the Tosa loyalist Takechi Hanpeita (Zuihan) who was a student of the fourth generation Momonoi Shunzo, Harumasa.³⁵

D. Otani Nobutomo

Another noteworthy swordsman of the bakumatsu era was Otani Nobutomo (1798-1864).³⁶ Otani learned the Jikishin kage-ryu style from Danna Gennosuke, but he also studied military strategy with Hirayama Shiryu and learned both Hozoin-ryu style of lance and Yoshida-ryu archery. He opened a dojo in Azabu Mamiana and soon enrolled a number of strong students, attracted by Otani's advocacy of taryu jiai to test one's real abilities. In Jikishin kage-ryu at that time matches normally were fought with wooden swords without the use of protective gear; and, in order to avoid the bitterness which was likely to follow such matches, the school required fencers to sign a pledge promising that they would not complain if injured.

Otani changed those rules and engaged willingly in regular shinai uchikomi keiko, claiming never to have rejected a challenge, even as a boy. Nicknamed "the gentleman's sword" (kunshi no ken) because he always showed proper respect for his opponent, Otani regularly allowed opponents to win at least one of three points---but purportedly no swordsman was ever able to take more than one point from him in a match. Among Otani's most famous students were Shimada Toranosuke and Sakakibara Kenkichi (another important figure in the development of modern kendo), Amano Hachiro, and Yokogawa Shichiro. Shimada also taught one of the leading figures of the Meiji Restoration, Katsu Rintaro, and was an intimate associate of his father Kokichi.³⁸

Training in Domain Academies

If some Tokugawa bushi learned their swordsmanship from private dojo in the major cities, many more must have attained the rudiments of training in their domains under private instructors who recruited willing pupils among the han retainers. A domain customarily retained several instructors in swordsmanship, use of the spear, jujutsu, gunnery, and the like, each one teaching a different ryu. The nature of instruction in these activities appears to have been very conservative, however, and the spread of shinai uchikomi practice and competitive matches in han schools was comparatively slow.

An instructor normally inherited headship of the family profession of swordsmanship and enjoyed a certain prestige in his domain's hierarchy. Such an instructor tended to be exclusive and secretive, and quite hesitant to engage in taryu jiai with the students of other schools even within his own domain. He was, moreover, very unlikely to invite distinguished martial arts instructors from other parts of the country or encourage practice with bushi of other domain.

Within these private domain academies, then, students were all sons of the Samurai of the same fief, and the observation of status and rank distinctions within the bushi hierarchy most certainly affected martial education as well as learning in general.⁴¹ Although most domains had several different swordsmanship instructors, some followed the practice of one ryu only (ikkoku ichiryii).⁴² A handful of styles predominated in domain school fencing dojo, but Kage-ryu affiliates accounted for 31%, suggesting that it was one of the most, if not the most, popular of the Tokugawa styles.

While many Tokugawa warriors studied swordsmanship in urban dojo, as the period progressed more apparently trained at dojo in proliferating domain

schools. In the early eighteenth century, fewer than 10% of the domains had formal educational institutions, but the number increased steadily to over 50% by the early nineteenth century. In the 1860s the percentage was around seventy-five. Most domain schools developed from the late eighteenth century and fully thirty-five were not set up until after the Tokugawa bakufu had been overthrown. Interestingly, the schools of domains in the Kanto, the bastion of shogunal strength, were established late in comparison with other areas of Japan.⁴⁵ The famous Kodokan of Mito, for example, was founded by Tokugawa Nariaki only in 1838.

The establishment of han schools tended to break down, but not totally destroy, the parochial nature of martial instruction within the fiefs. Many schools centralized instruction in military skills in a military training institute (embujo), and it was increasingly common for martial arts instructors to be allotted separate dojo within a central compound.⁴⁶ Dore, for example, describes the situation in Tsu with "four jujutsu sheds, three for gunnery, one for archery, three for riding, one for strategy, three for the lance, three for swordsmanship, and one for the halberd."⁴⁷ The same situation prevailed in Mito's Kodokan, where there was a regular "campus" with an eastern wing devoted to literary studies and a western wing for military instruction, as well as a separate building for the study of astronomy and medicine. The military section provided three swordsmanship dojo (Itto-ryu, Sufu-ryu and Munen-ryu); three dojo for spear practice (two branches of Hozoin-ryu and one for Saburi-ryu); and three more dojo taught sword-drawing (iai), use of the naginata, and jujutsu. Outside were located archery grounds, a gunnery range, and a course for equitation.⁴⁸

As was the case in Mito, the establishment of the domain school often resulted in the elimination of some older ryu, or a combination into fewer ryu (Mito especially valued the Hokushin Itto-ryu and Shinto Munen-ryu). Thus the newer mid Tokugawa period ryuha which espoused shiai competition, participated early in taryu jiai, and rationalized their methodology (stressing technique over theory, simplifying transmission of secret techniques, and maintaining high standards of certification)⁴⁹ made deep inroads into the conservative, feudal swordsmanship instruction of many domains. But not without a struggle. The ban on taryu jiai, for example, was lifted quite late in many fiefs---at the end of

the 1840s or even later. As Fujita Tako noted: ⁵⁰ If you examine conditions carefully, the smaller domains today have generally espoused shiai, but this is more difficult in larger han. In such domains, there are traditional families instructing the use of sword or lance. While their adherence to tradition means that bad influences are not likely to be adopted, it also means that good things are not adopted either. And yet even in the great domains, competitive matches are increasing daily, and I hear of lords who invite spear masters from the far north to their Kyushu fiefs and have them instruct the children of the domain's retainers.

In his excellent study of education in Tokugawa Japan, Ronald Dore notes that in the nineteenth century "the teaching of military skills was increasingly concentrated in the fief schools. ⁵¹ That was undoubtedly true simply because of the tremendous expansion of domain schools. In fact, of the estimated 133 domain schools in existence by 1814, between 90 and 100 of them were established after 1750, indicating a sharp increase in the number of Samurai incorporated into domain-wide educational institutions. But as Fujita suggests, domain schools were slower than private urban academies to be penetrated by the new ryuha which emphasized rugged, competitive fencing matches.

There was an increasing amount of interchange between domain schools and urban dojo, however. Many excellent swordsmanship instructors were attracted from Edo to domain schools, either for brief visits or to instruct on a permanent basis. In Mito, for example, shiai competition was brought to the domain even before the establishment of the Kodokan; in fact it dated from the end of the Bunka era (1804-1818) when Sugiyama Shigen entered the Edo Gekikenkan dojo of Okada Jissho.⁵² In 1819 Fujita Yukoku sent his son to the dojo. Some seven years later Fujita invited one of Okada's pupils---Miyamoto Torataka---to Mito where he began to teach fencing to the sons of Mito bushi. These initiatives were unofficial, and met with strong resistance. It was not until the opening of the Kodokan that official sanction was given to such competitive fencing.

In 1841 at the preliminary opening of the Kodokan, a Shinto munen-ryu dojo

was established in Mito, with Nagao Kagehide instructing several hundred students. Daimyo Tokugawa Nariaki even invited the famed Saito Yakuro, also of the Shinto munen ryu, to Mito where he stayed and taught for several weeks. While there are other examples, especially in the larger, more important fiefs (virtually all of which had domain schools), the conservative tendency of many swordsmanship instructors in local domains meant that the more progressive dojo tended to be in the cities, especially Edo.

Fencing Academies and Bakumatsu Activists Thus although regional daimyo tried to recruit noted swordsmen as fencing instructors from the training halls of Edo, in fact it was to the benefit of talented swordsmen to seek training in the cities instead. In much the same way as eager young bakumatsu students sought out famed scholars of Confucianism, Kokugaku (National Learning), or Dutch Studies in the large cities, it became common for swordsmen to visit the urban training halls of famous fencers. Sakamoto Ryoma, for example, after a promising start at Hineno Benji's local Kechi dojo, was sent to Edo to continue his fencing instruction with the younger brother of Chiba Shusaku, Sadakichi." It was by that time expected that promising fencers---most of them were lower Samurai but some were commoners---would, after achieving a certain level, be sent to other dojo, often of a different ryuha, to improve their skills.

As suggested, these urban dojo were much more highly competitive places than the domain academies, where the stringent regulations of rank, status, and income made competition among the bushi of a domain problematic. As Marius Jansen points out, Edo's fencing academies tended to attract lower-ranking Samurai who "were more free from official restraints than their betters. Since they lived and trained with their contemporaries from other areas, they could easily go on to conspire with them. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the majority of loyalists involved in overthrowing the Tokugawa regime were swordsmen from the academies of Edo, "centers of anti-foreign feeling" as Jansen labels them: Sakamoto Ryoma, Nakaoka Shintaro, Takechi zuizan, Kido Koin, Katsu Rintaro, and many more. Jansen concludes that Ede's fencing academies, "filled to overflowing with ambitious and restless Samurai, became centers of extremist and obscurantist thought and action."

The emphasis upon rugged competition in matches proved excellent practice for real action, as ambitious men were not only drawn into networks of conspiracy to overthrow the bakufu, but also into groups organized to preserve the very same military regime. Bakufu supporters, men like Kondo Isami and Serizawa Kamo of the Shinsengumi, were also products of Ede's fencing academies.⁵⁶ On whichever side of the political fence, bakumatsu swordsmen "tested their ability by domestic disorder and political assassination." Given the fact that these fencing academies, swarming with "the most extreme and reckless men" of the age, produced so many important figures of the mid-nineteenth century, it is surprising that there has been so little scholarship devoted to them.

Commoners and Swordsmanship

One final and important historical note on swordsmanship in the Tokugawa period needs to be made. While it is true that the Samurai theoretically monopolized the right to wear two swords, and thus the history of swordsmanship is largely a bushi development, there was considerable involvement of other classes, especially in the bakumatsu era. Not all great swordsmen of the age were bushi (the clam-selling commoner Asari Matashichiro is a prime example), and not all dojo catered solely to bushi. In fact, even though most of the noteworthy martial artists of the period were Samurai, they came predominantly from the lowest ranks, as Musashi had been, or they were rural Samurai (goshi), or even ronin. The higher ranking Samurai aristocracy, aping the shogunal court and daimyo, were drawn to more elegant cultural pursuits. Although some skilled swordsmen---members of the Yagyu family, for example---rose to daimyo height, such examples were rare.

But besides lower-ranking Samurai, peasants and townsmen also engaged in swordsmanship, especially after the development of shinai uchikomi practice, which emphasized simulated combat.

By the late Edo period merchants and artisans were able to enroll in urban training halls for swordsmanship practice, and indeed a number of non-Samurai became accomplished swordsmen in these years. For example, among the leading swordsmen of late Tokugawa times in what is now Saitama Prefecture, thirty-one were peasants---including such famous figures as Okada Jissho and Togasaki Kumataro---while only fourteen were bushi.⁵⁷

The spread of fencing to provincial areas was also marked, as dojo sprung up in regional towns and drew the sons of peasant and merchant families into the

network of sword practice.

Swordsmanship flourished especially in the villages of the Kanta, such as the post town of Matsuda on the Mito kaido, the road leading north from Edo to the Tokugawa collateral domain of Mito.⁵⁸ Matsuda was an important transportation center, a collection point for the agricultural produce of local domains, and also a sake brewing area.

Matsuda was the home of the well-known sword master Asari Matashichiro, who rose from obscurity to become fencing instructor to the daimyo of Obama. Matashichiro, who may actually have been the son of a local textile dye manufacturer,⁵⁹ apparently received his first taste of fencing from Suzuki Genzaburo, a rice wholesaler who set up a dojo for local enthusiasts in a warehouse. Suzuki taught the Ono-ha itto-ryu style; and as we have seen, it was to the main Edo dojo of that school run by Nakanishi Chubei that Matashichiro later went for further training. Like Asari, most of the Matsuda fencers of note were of merchant class origin, but in the surrounding villages, where the Hokushin itto-ryu style penetrated more broadly, many wealthy peasants as well as local merchants learned that style.

Another example can be found in Fujisawa, an important stop on the Tokaido route which lay astride the border of Musashi and Sagami Provinces (Kanagawa Prefecture). One of the better known local dojo in bakumatsu times was run by Hagiwara Rennosuke, who was counted among the top fifteen fencers in Japan by the Dai Nippon Butokukai in the mid-Meiji period, after a series of matches held in 1896.⁶⁰

Hagiwara was born in Edo in 1828 and began learning Jikishin kage-ryu style fencing when he was fifteen at the Hayata dojo in Kanda. He received his first certificate (shoden mokuroku) in two years, and his second (chu mokuroku) a year later. He subsequently went to the village of Hirado, outside Fujisawa, to begin teaching swordsmanship, but later returned to Edo and obtained his full

certification (menkyo kaiden) in 1851. After certification, Hagiwara went to Hirado, where he taught Jikishin kage-ryu fencing until the fall of the bakufu in 1868. The records show that 225 fencers joined his academy over the years.⁶¹ Furthermore, with the spread in popularity of musha shugyo once again, many noted swordsmen visited Hagiwara's dojo for matches to hone their skills.

Professor Watanabe Ichiro has examined the formal pledges (heiho kishomon) signed by the 225 fencers recorded as having entered Hagiwara's academy and found that 134 were middle-level peasants or youths and thirty-five more were men of village elite status or other houses of some significant lineage.⁶² Likewise, an 1860 record of the notable swordsmen visiting dojo around the country for matches shows that thirteen of the fourteen Sagami province fencers had some connection to the Hagiwara dojo, and most were of the village headship class.

Hagiwara's own record of visitors to his provincial dojo lists 148 swordsmen who came to test their skills with his predominantly non-Samurai students between 1852 and 1867.⁶³ Among them were students of such noted instructors as Otani Nobutomo, Saito Yakuro, Chiba Shusaku, Nakanishi Chubei, Momonoi Shunzo, and Shimada Toranosuke. While most were from Jikishin kage-ryu dojo (58), there were also many fencers from Shinto munen-ryu (22), Hokushin itto-ryu (21), Ono-ha itto-ryu (14), and Kyoshin meichi-ryu (11). Another famous personality to visit the dojo was Kondo Isami, a noted Tennen rishin-rya swordsmen and leader of the Shinsengumi, who came in the fall of 1858 but was disappointed not to have a match with Hagiwara.

Likewise, records of the domain affiliation of many of the bushi who called at the Hagiwara dojo for matches show that there were retainers not only from nine Kanta fiefs (including Mito, Odawara, Takasaki, and Kawagoe), but also from twenty-three other fiefs throughout the country---Choshu Himeji, Okayama, Nabeshima and several other Kyushu fiefs; one of the challengers was a retainer of the Kyoto machi bugyo (commissioner).⁶⁵

Examination of the years during which people entered the Hagiwara dojo is instructive. The peak years were 1851-58, with 1856 recording a high of twenty-five new pupils. These were the years surrounding the arrival and return of Commodore Matthew Perry, demanding the opening of Japan, and the signing of a treaty of friendship with the United States. A second peak was recorded at the end of the period (1864-66) as the fate of the bakufu was in question and unrest filled the land. During the 1850s peasant consciousness of an international crisis rose, which apparently helps explain the increase of peasants among Hagiwara's fencing students, especially in the last three years of the bakufu's existence. There were also attempts by both bakufu and domain authorities during this time to train and organize peasants into effective fighting units and to introduce them to Western military skills as well.

Primarily, however, the reasons behind the increase in peasant involvement in swordsmanship were related to problems maintaining the rigid formal distinctions in the Tokugawa class system.⁶⁷ Extensive change in the agrarian sector of society made control of the peasantry more difficult as the Tokugawa period progressed. Village headmen and other wealthy peasants enjoyed considerable status in rural communities, and it was hard to stop them from aping their social betters, the Samurai. The practice of fencing was one such example of imitation. Then too many impoverished Samurai who failed to make ends meet in urban areas or in their domains, returned to agricultural pursuits; and some of them retained pride in their military heritage, practicing and teaching fencing to rural youth.

From mid-Eda times onward, wealthy merchants as well as landlords turned to leisure activities, fencing among them, in their spare time. Moreover, the great increase in peasant uprisings---mostly directed at landlords---in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries served as a stimulus for upper-level peasants to take up serious training in the martial arts. Finally, in areas near Edo, many peasants and merchants had the opportunity to go to the city on business, whether private or in service of the domain, where they were able to enter the proliferating urban fencing academies. It was part of their general interest in imitating the bushi lifestyle. For a variety of reasons, swordsmanship became an increasingly popular pursuit among members of the commoner classes of Japan.

Late Tokugawa fencing thus became an activity in which Samurai and commoner were increasingly brought together, indicating the degree to which actual blurring of class distinction among lower-ranking Samurai and upper peasants or merchants occurred during the period. It is suggestive of the turn kendo and other martial arts were to take following the Meiji Restoration.

By the end of the Tokugawa period the competitive martial arts were widely practiced by Samurai and some commoners as well.

Successful fencers (normally of the bushi class) were recruited by daimyo as domain instructors; noted fencers attracted hundreds, even thousands, of students to their dojo; and dojo yaburi routinely sought to establish their names and improve their skills by challenging established masters. Not only was there keen rivalry among martial artists to establish individual reputations, there was also rivalry among ryuha to be considered the best. This was especially true in the provinces where two or three ryuha might each enjoy large followings among the warriors and commoners of a region. One example of this kind of intense competition will serve to close this chapter.

In the Chichibu region of Musashi (modern-day Saitama Prefecture), Kogen itto-ryu was the predominant school. Founded by Henmi Taishiro Yoshitoshi in 1783, it had become well established by the Tempo era (1830s). With more than a half century of experience, Kogen itto-ryu was headed by the fourth generation Henmi Iemoto, Yoshitaka, who trained students at the Yobukan dojo in Nishitani Kozawaguchi. Kogen itto-ryu enjoyed widespread popularity throughout the northern and western parts of Musashi.

But Henmi's dojo was challenged by the Shinto munen-ryu dojo of Togasaki Kumataro Teruyoshi in Kiyoku Village of Saitama District. Teruyoshi spent five hard years training at the Edo dojo of the Shinto munen-ryu founder Fukui

Heiuemon Yoshihira.

From Teruyoshi's establishment of the dojo, more than seventy years of history had produced luminaries such as Okada Jissho Yoshitoshi and Akiyama Yosuke Masatake by the Tempo era.

It was on the sixteenth day of the first month of Tempo ⁷ (1836) that Henmi Taishiro Nagahide, nephew of Henmi Yoshitaka, met the Shinto munen-ryu instructor Okawa Heibei Hidekatsu in a famous match.

Okawa, then thirty-five, ran his own dojo in Yokonuma within the Kawagoe fief. Receiving his menkyo certification from Akiyama Masatake in 1820 when only twenty years old, he was the head of a prosperous dojo. But he was surrounded by two growing Kogen itto-ryu dojo. Angered at the success Kogen itto-ryu was achieving among the local peasantry, Okawa determined to display his superiority, and that of Shinto munen-ryu, by smashing the reputation of the senior Itto-ryu Iemoto Henmi and his Yobukan dojo.

Arriving by palanquin at the Yobukan in the predawn hours, Okawa waited until sunrise, knocked on the gate and announced himself. Aware that the Henmi Iemoto had accepted the challenge, several hundred students and neighbors had gathered anxiously at the dojo. Expecting to see Henmi Yoshitaka take on Okawa, the onlookers were shocked to see his nineteen-year old nephew Nagahide stride into the dojo, carrying his shinai. Though nineteen, he was over six feet tall with a magnificent physique.

The two bowed formally to each other, and Nagahide addressed Heibei: "In our ryu we strike to the chest, so please wear your do (chest protector)." But the confident Okawa, clearly indignant at having to fight a mere youth, disdained any such protection and prepared to fence.

The two swordsmen focused intently on one another in the hushed dojo. Nagahide lunged forward with two successive throat level "two handed thrusts" (moro te-zuki), a secret Kogen itto-ryu technique, which Heibei avoided by backing away skillfully. But just when it appeared Nagahide was about to deliver a third, he suddenly dropped his shinai and struck straight into the chest. Heibei dropped to the floor, spitting blood.

The Yobukan students were ecstatic over Nagahide's victory, and Nagahide himself came to be called the "little goblin of Chichibu" (Chichibu no kotengu). His reputation soared, and students flocked to the dojo. The victory was considered so important that from then on the dojo commenced its New Year practice on the sixteenth of the first month, commemoration of Nagahide's victory.

For his part, Heibei recovered from his injury in several months, then assiduously devoted himself to learning the strengths and weaknesses of the Kogen itto-ryu school---especially how to defend against the blow which felled him. Six months later, when he felt he had found a solution, he challenged a local Kogen itto-ryu fencer named Fukuoka Honnosuke, a Henmi student who administered a large dojo of his own. Both fencers wore complete protective gear for the match. This time Heibei had prepared himself well, and when Honnosuke's thrust came at his throat, Heibei skillfully parried the blow and struck home on Honnosuke's mask for a clear victory. Even though Fukuoka's dojo was only a minor branch of Kogen itto-ryu, it was still a victory over that school. Heibei's honor was restored, his fame rose throughout the region, and Shinto munen-ryu students swelled in numbers. Such was the nature of fencing competition in EdoJapan.

* * * *

Thus as the dawn of modern Japan approached, the nation had a long history of swordsmanship, as a combat skill, a form of spiritual training, and as a competitive sport. Tokugawa texts linked swordsmanship to a myriad of native and imported deities, and in an age of unprecedented peace, the sword had become steeped in mystical associations. In the modern era, especially when Japan developed a narrow and inward looking ultra-nationalistic spirit to accompany her expansionist foreign policy in the 1930s, a revival of those associations would turn the sword into a powerful symbol of Imperial Japan.

But before surveying the modern history of swordsmanship, let us first examine a parallel tradition, the history of archery, in pre-modern times. For if in the modern world we are accustomed to linking Japan with the sword, the bow and arrow have equally old and sacred associations with the Japanese people and nation.

Chapter Five

ARCHERY: YUMIYA NO MICHI

The importance of the bow in human history can hardly be overstated. Doubtless the idea behind bending a length of wood back to propel a projectile through the air came from observing a wind-bent sapling snap back to an upright position. But once man had learned to harness this elementary principle of physics, his life changed enormously. "He was able to hunt game with success and comparable safety, and to strike at his human enemies at a distance. Not only could he attack his adversary from beyond spear-throwing range, he could also carry many more light arrows than his enemy could carry spears. ¹ Little wonder that the bow has been held in awe by many cultures.

Archery was the first of the traditional Japanese combat techniques to become modified into a sport form, and it was also the primary bushi fighting skill for most of Japan's pre-modern history. Only in the Tokugawa period did bushi veneration for the sword surpass that of the bow and arrow; but archery was never far from the warrior's heart, remaining a means of spiritual and educational development, as well as a martial skill and competitive sport.

Archery in Ancient Japan

Archaeology indicates that the Jomon period bow of seven or eight thousand years ago was the short type, characteristic of northeast Asia. Some consider the existence of this type of bow as evidence of the northern origins of the Japanese, suggesting the presence of northeast Asian peoples in the archipelago at an early age.² The subsequent Yayoi culture brought to Japan not only wet rice agriculture, a southeastern Asian monsoon zone development, but also the long bow, considered a development of southern forest regions.³ Both the long and the short bow existed side by side for some time in Japan, until the shorter one disappeared and the long bow predominated. But by the third century the Wa people were already using the distinctive type of long bow which was to remain characteristic of the Japanese throughout their history. The Wei Chih noted that it was "short at the bottom and long at the top,"⁴ an apt description of the Japanese bow in which the grip is not centered but sits about one third of the way up the bow from the bottom. By the seventh century, virtually all bows were of the long, or southern forest culture type, normally over two meters in length.⁵

By that time bows appear to have approximated the general contours of the contemporary Japanese bow (which averages 2.21 meters), and they were fashioned either of plain or lacquered wood. But the method of shooting appears to have been different from that of the present day. The difference is that there was no yumigaeri ("bow return") in which the powerful snap of the bowstring turns the bow around in the archer's hand. The early bow was less powerful; it was held firm in the left hand, the left wrist covered with a leather arm guard or tomo. The Kojiki and Nihon shoki in fact describe a variety of different arm guards, and in the poems of the Man'yoshu, one finds a number of references to the sound made when the bow string struck the arm guard.⁶ The use of this arm guard continued until the end of the Heian period in court ceremonial archery.

Although the Japanese adopted the southern style of bow, the predominance of

the northern element in Japanese culture is suggested by the preference for the Asiatic, often called the Mongol, style of releasing the arrow. Rather than the primitive thumb and forefinger method (which may well have been practiced in Japan, too), or the Mediterranean three-finger grip in which the arrow rests between index and middle finger, visual representations of archery---whether of contests or of battle scenes---in Japanese art depict the Mongolian grip, in which the thumb is wrapped over the bowstring. ⁷ Examination of Japanese archers in the Moko shurai ekotoba, picture scrolls commemorating the exploits of Takezaki Suenaga during the thirteenth century Mongol invasions, for example, shows the method of release to be identical to that of the Mongol bowmen, although the Mongol bows are the short, northern Asiatic type.

Archery developed in ancient Japan both as a hunting technique---mounted hunting was a popular recreation among the early nobility, as it had been in the kingdoms on the Korean peninsula---and as the dominant form of combat. The early Japanese practiced mounted and non-mounted archery, and both styles persisted throughout pre-modern Japanese history. I use the terms "non-mounted" or "ground" archery---in Japanese *kachiyumi* ("walking shooting")---because historically it consisted of shooting arrows on the run, especially necessary in combat situations, as well as while standing, sitting, or kneeling. Moreover, even in mounted archery, an archer could release the arrow either at full gallop, or while the horse was at a standstill. All these types of archery were practiced and used both in actual combat situations as well as in ceremonial or competitive archery.

From ancient times Japanese archery exhibited two closely related features which it has retained to this day. First was the intimate association with the Shinto religion, and second was incorporation into court ritual, under the influence of Chinese Confucian ceremonial. The religious and ritual aspects of Japanese archery (*kyudo*) are crucial to understanding its development, and help to explain how it differs from Western competitive archery.

A. Archery and the Sacred

Kojiki and Nihon shoki notations firmly linked archery and its accessories---bows, arrows, arm guards, and quivers---with the gods and their descendants, the rulers of Japan. This association is by no means unique to Japan, but indeed found in most sophisticated cultures. As Sollier and Gyorbiró remind us, "In Greece, one has Zeus's lightning arrows, Apollo's arrows of punishment, the poisoned arrows used by Hercules to kill the Centaur, and the arrows of Eros that transfixed the heart with the passion of love. ⁸ Japanese gods and rulers were thus in good company. Furthermore, references in the chronicles to possession by Imperial Family members of divinely bestowed archery paraphernalia like the "Heavenly-feathered-arrows" clearly suggest that bows and arrows were considered as much symbolic of Imperial House domination as the more well-known sword. Here, for example, is Emperor Jinmu, Japan's legendary founder, on his way to unifying the country, confronted by the forces of Nagasunehiko. The symbolic importance of archery equipment to the early Japanese is clear from the ensuing dialogue: ⁹

The Emperor said: "here are many other children of the Heavenly Deity. If he whom thou has taken as thy Lord is truly a child of the Heavenly Deity, there would be surely some object which thou couldst show to us by way of proof. "Naga-sune-hiko accordingly brought a single Heavenly-feathered-arrow of Nigi-haya hi no Mikoto, and a foot-quiver, and exhibited them respectfully to the Emperor. The Emperor examined them and said: "These are genuine. "Then in turn he showed to Naga-sune-hiko the single Heavenly-feathered-arrow and quiver which he wore. When Naga-sune-hiko saw the Heavenly token he became more and more embarrassed.

In another memorable scene from the Kojiki, which conjures up nothing so much as the yumi tori ceremony of a sumo tournament, we find the progenitor of the Japanese race, the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, has ¹⁰

...bound up her hair into knots and tied up her skirts into the form of trousers. Then she took an August string of five hundred Yasaka jewels, which she

entwined about her hair and wrists. Moreover, on her back slung a thousand-arrow quiver and a five-hundred arrow quiver. On her lower arm she drew a dread loud sounding elbow-pad. Brandishing her bow end upwards, she firmly grasped her sword-hilt, and stamping on the hard earth of the courtyard, sank her thighs into it as if it had been foam-snow and kicked in all directions.

The arrows and the quivers possessed by both Jinmu and Nagasunehiko are clearly presented in the text as sacred symbols of the descendants of the Sun Goddess who will unify the land by subduing other tribes. Amaterasu herself is armed not only with swords, but carries as well a bow and quivers full of arrows when she prepares herself for battle. Amaterasu and Jinmu are of course the mythical and legendary ancestors of the Imperial House, whose glory is recounted in the chronicles. The well-known Imperial Regalia, or "Three Sacred Treasures" of Japan's ruling family, are the sword, the jewel, and the mirror; but possession of heavenly bestowed bows, arrows, and quivers seems also to have been regarded as symbolic of the authority of the Tenson, or "Sun Line," people.

11

Mounted archery is mentioned in the chronicles in conjunction with both warfare and hunting; but also by at least the seventh century, mounted archery was being performed on sacred occasions at Shinto shrines. In 682, Emperor Tenmu made an Imperial progress to Yamato province, where, at the Nagatsuka Shrine, he had courtiers perform umayumi ("horse-bow"), shooting at targets from horseback.¹² In ancient Japan mounted archery performances were offered at shrines, apparently to guarantee peace in the realm and to bring bountiful harvests--- functions it continues to fulfill at many shrine ceremonies even today. More than a century later, for reasons as yet unclear, Emperor Monmu prohibited umayumi at the Kamo festival in Yamashiro;¹³ but his action simply underscores the fact that it had become a common practice.

The close connection between archery and Shinto, or the sacred aspects of Japanese life, was not reflected only in shrine performances; nor did it derive solely from the awesome technological impact of bow and arrow on the society.

From ancient times, the bow was considered to have magical powers in Japan, as it was in most early societies. The ancient Japanese believed, for example, that the appearance of gods and spirits was announced by certain roaring and reverberating sounds. By extension, it came to be believed that these deities and spirits could be summoned by making similar sounds, the classic example perhaps being the efforts of the other gods to lure Amaterasu from the Rock-cave of Heaven in which she had shut herself up, cutting off light in the world.^w The plucking of the strings of both bows and musical instruments was regarded as particularly efficacious in this regard. As Professor Carmen Blacker reminds us, in northeast Asia 11 • the bow is not so much a weapon as an instrument of magical sound... which reaches into the world of spirits. ¹⁵

Thus, the shaman could, by plucking the string of the catalpa bow, communicate with the spirit world, or even summon the spirit into her body. ¹⁶ Again by extension, the plucking of bow strings was also thought to have the power to dispel evil. "Bow twangers" in Heian times, for example, were called on at the birth of an Imperial offspring, at exorcisms, or even at seemingly more mundane occasions, such as when the Emperor entered the bath. The magical potency of the bow served to drive away defilement, even to cure illness, as when Minamoto Yoshiie supposedly cured Emperor Horikawa with "three demon-chasing twangs of his bow." Moreover, for the ancient Japanese shaman (miko), the bow---quite apart from its ability to produce magical sounds---was also a conductor (torimono) along which the deity or spirit might travel to enter her body • ¹⁸ Arrows too have their sacred and magical associations.

Professor Blacker notes that: ¹⁹

The arrow too in ritual situations on the Asian continent is less a weapon than an instrument which magically joins two worlds. Shot into the air, it will apprise a deity that a rite is about to take place. In considering the quivers of arrows which the medium still carried on her back in the course of her transport, we may recall that in Japan too the arrow had a similar function. At the beginning of the fire ritual known as saito-goma, still practiced by the mountain ascetics known as

yamabushi, an arrow shot in each of the five directions is the means of informing the Five Bright Kings who preside over the order that the rite is about to begin. The miko's arrows have been put to similar use, to summon the kami and warn him that his descent is required.

Even in contemporary, highly secular Japan, hamayumi ("evil dispelling bows") and hamaya ("evil dispelling arrows") remain potent symbols of sacred power for many people. Hamayumi, for example, may be given to a newborn male child on his first New Year's Day, and hamaya are among the most popular ritual items sold at Shinto shrines to ensure good luck. Arrows fired by mounted archers in yabusame performances are eagerly gathered up by spectators who take them home, in hopes that the magical powers of the arrow may protect the household from misfortune.

Perhaps archery's most explicit connection with Shinto religion came during the Edo period with the development of the Yamato-ryu, an archery school which proclaimed the superiority of Japanese archery over Indian and Chinese, and by logical extension the superiority of Shinto over the two "foreign" yet popular ways of thought, Buddhism and Confucianism.²⁰ Like other art forms, archery was also the subject of the most Japanese of poetic forms, the 31-syllable tanka. In several schools of archery, in fact, collections of poems known as kyoka or "instructional verses" were used to express refinement of technique or the principles which lay beneath the arduous training.²¹

B. Archery and Court Ritual

In ancient Japan, archery also became an important part of the annual calendar of rituals, its sacred association with native religion further strengthened by the Chinese ideal of the "six accomplishments" (rikugei). These date back as far as Chou times; both Confucius and Mencius stress archery for the gentleman. Accordingly, archery became a major component in the education of the Chinese

noble, along with music, mathematics, calligraphy, propriety (ritual), and charioteering. This Chinese influence strongly affected Japanese archery throughout its history. The emphasis upon posture, ritual, mental concentration and character development is part of this early legacy, long predating any influence of Zen on Japanese archery, with which Western writers are preoccupied. In fact, Japanese kyudo as practiced today still exhibits a very close connection with Chinese cosmological principles, although both native and foreign consciousness of this relationship has eroded considerably.²²

During the period of extensive borrowing from the continent, ceremonial court archery in the first lunar month of the year was common by Emperor Tenmu's time (671-686) and became fixed during the subsequent Nara period. Not only did Japanese nobles shoot, but visiting foreign dignitaries would often be invited to participate as well. In 715, for example, Silla emissaries anticipated in a match (the date was now fixed on the seventeenth of the first month), and Parhae dignitaries shot at an event in 740 during the reign of Emperor Shomu.²³ On both occasions, the matches were held by the South Gate of the Audience Hall.

The target was the so-called "large target" made of straw, consisting of three concentric circles, the innermost of which (naiin) was the most highly rated hit. By the early eighth century prizes were established for the contests. Thus although archery matches were part of an elaborate court calendar of ritual designed to preserve harmony between Heaven and Earth and secure the political order, there was clearly an element of competition involved. Prizes consisted of bolts of cloth and were awarded according to rank; that is, higher ranking individuals received greater rewards than lower-ranking courtiers, in conformity with the general classical tradition of deference to high office.

The Heian Period

The more elaborate Heian court continued these practices.

On the seventeenth day of the first month the ceremonial archery contest (known as jarai or "shooting ceremony") was regularly performed at the Burakuin ("Court of Abundant pleasures"), although later in the period, it was sometimes held at the ground east of the headquarters of the Bodyguards of the Right. Mounted archery ceremonies were performed on the fifth day of the fifth month at the Butokuden ("Hall of Military Virtues"). The importance of such ceremonial contests is attested to in a variety of Heian records. In the reign of Emperor Junna in the ninth century, for example, jarai was referred to as a "great national event of state" (kokka no daiji).

The court's interest in archery was hardly exhausted by these two annual ceremonial events, and in fact archery competitions---noriyumi (literally, "betting bow")---were quite common in the mansions of Heian nobles. It was customary to wager on these contests or to fix prizes for the competition. Scenes of Heian courtiers enjoying archery can be viewed in the Nenju gyoji emakimono ordered painted by Emperor Go-Shirakawa, or in the Kitano tenjin emakimono, in which the famous mid-Heian courtier sugawara Michizane is shown at the archery range. And in the mid-Heian historical tale Okagami (The Great Mirror), the leading political figure of the age, Fujiwara Michinaga, is depicted as an archer of considerable skill.

One especially memorable passage, described with charming hyperbole, would have us believe that Michinaga was a veritable Robin Hood. Wandering unprepared into an archery contest sponsored by his nephew and rival Korechika, who at that time outranked him, Michinaga was asked to shoot. He

got the better of Korechika, but the two were persuaded to shoot twice more. ²⁵

"All right, extend it," Michinaga said, somewhat annoyed. As he prepared to shoot again, he said, "If Emperors and Empresses are to issue from my house, let this arrow hit the mark." And didn't his arrow strike the heart of the target?

Next Korechika prepared to shoot. He was extremely nervous, and it may be that his hands trembled. At any rate, his arrow flew off into the sky without coming near the target. Michitaka turned pale. Michinaga got ready again. "If I am to serve as Regent, let this arrow find the mark," he said. The arrow hit the very center, striking with such force that the target almost broke. The Regent's cordiality vanished, and he showed his displeasure by ending the match. "Why should you shoot?" he said to Korechika. "Don't shoot! Don't shoot!" A chill pervaded the gathering. Korechika was in no immediate danger of being outstripped by Michinaga, but I suppose he may have been intimidated by his uncle's attitude and language.

With such a focus upon archery, there naturally developed people of considerable skill. Two of the most famous names of the early Heian period---Torno no Wataketamaro and Ki no Okimichi---are said to have developed somewhat similar styles which were passed on later to members of the bushi class. Furthermore, there were several noted bowmen among the great generals of the Sakanoue clan, especially Tamurarnaro, who won fame in campaigns against the Ezo. Consequently, it was common in later times to speak of Torno, Ki, and Sakanoue "ryuha" of archery, but most scholars do not consider them formalized schools like the later ryuha; others regard them as a form of court ceremonial archery, not to be confused with bujutsu. At any rate, when later in the Murornachi period true ryuha, with certificates of transmission and other elements of ryuha organizational structure emerged, they were referred to as "new" ryuha as opposed to the Torno and Ki "old" ryuha.

Archery was hardly the monopoly of court nobles. Indeed, many archers for

court ceremonial matches were drawn from among bushi who had been recruited to serve the state in police and military capacities. In fact, as was discussed at length in Chapter one, the Heian warrior was primarily a mounted knight whose major weapons were the bow and arrow: the emergent Samurai code was called yumiya no michi (the "way of the bow and arrow"), or kyuba no michi (the "way of the bow and horse"), or yumiya no toru mi no narai (the "practices of those who hold the bow and arrow"). Opponents were most commonly shot down, not cut down, and the reputation of a warrior spread far and wide due to his prowess with the bow. The heroic Heian bushi is frequently described in the literature of the day as a person of immense strength who can pull a bow others cannot or is capable of great feats of archery, showing the ability to shoot extremely accurately, swiftly, powerfully, or accurately even at great distance.

Here, for example, is Minamoto Tametomo, one of the most renowned warriors of the twelfth century, and a descendant of Yoshiie who had distinguished himself as an archer in the wars in the north in the late eleventh century. As described in the Hogen monogatari, Tametomon

"Surpassed other men in ability, his spirit was intrepid to the end, and he was a powerful drawer of a strong bow, a virtuoso in fitting and shooting arrows fast. His bow-arm reach was four inches longer than his horse arm, and the length of his draw was the best in the world... Tametomo was a man seven feet tall, with slit-like eyes... For his seven and a half foot bow, which took five men to string and was fitted with an arrow peg, he had thirty-six black feathered arrows... since his skill in the use of the bow would not have shamed even Yoyu (Yang Yu-chi), there was no bird that flew the sky nor beast that ran on the ground that did not fear him.

In the same chronicle, warriors are often known by nicknames stressing their martial prowess, particularly their archery: "Big Arrow," "Long Shot," "Eight-cha Far Arrow", or "Three-cho Light Arrow."²⁸

Hardly a Japanese is unfamiliar with the name of Nasu no Yoichi, the renowned Minamoto archer of the Genpei War whose shot so impressed friend and foe alike. ²⁹ At the Battle of Yashima, an especially well-decorated Heike boat drifted within the view of the Genji commander Minamoto Yoshitsune; a red lacquer fan was attached conspicuously to the mast. The Genji leader decided that it would be auspicious if a skilled archer could shoot the fan down. Yoichi was selected.

On command, Yoichi stepped forward. This young warrior was but twenty years old. He wore armor laced with light green silk cords over a deep blue battle robe. The collar of the robe and the edges of the sleeves were decorated with red and gold brocade. At his side hung a sword in a silver-studded sheath. In his quiver were the black and white feathered arrows that remained from the day's battle and a turnip-headed arrow fashioned from a stag horn and fetched with feathers from a hawk's wing. These could be seen protruding from behind his head. With his helmet slung on his back, he came into the presence of Yoshitsune and made obeisance.

Yoichi aroused Yoshitsune's ire when he displayed a lack of confidence in his ability to hit the fan, but conceded that "in as much as this is my lord's command, I shall try."

After he had retired from the presence of his master, he mounted a fine black horse with a lacquered, shell-inlaid saddle and a tasseled crupper. Holding his bow firmly, he gripped the reins and rode toward the sea...

The fan was too far off for him to take a shot from the beach, so Yoichi rode about one tan further into the water. The target still seemed very distant... As the boat rolled and pitched, the fan atop the pole flapped in the wind. out on the offing the Heike had ranged their ships in a long line to watch the spectacle. on land the Genji lined up their horses neck to neck in anticipation.

Now Yoichi closed his eyes and prayed: "Hail to the great Bodhisattva Hachiman! Hail to all the gods of my native land, Shimbtsuke! Hail to the god Utsu no-miya of Nikko! Grant that I may hit the center of that fan! If I fail, I will break my bow and kill myself. Otherwise how can I face my friends again? Grant that I may once more see my native land! Let not this arrow miss its target!"

When he opened his eyes, the wind had subsided little, and the fan looked easier to hit. Taking the turnip-shaped arrow, he drew his bow with all his might and let fly. Small man though he was, his arrow measured twelve hand breadths and three fingers, and his bow was strong. The whirring sound of the arrow reverberated as it flew straight to its mark. It struck the fan close to the rivet. The arrow fell into the sea, but the fan flew up into the air. It fluttered and dipped in the spring winds. And then suddenly dropped into the water. When the red fan, gleaming in the rays of the setting sun, bobbed up and down on the white crests of the waves, the Heike off shore praised Yoichi by beating on the gunwales of their boats, and the Genji on the shore applauded him by rattling their quivers.

The Heian Samurai's concern for his reputation as a bowman is well illustrated by the Tale of the Heike story of Yoshitsune's "dropped bow." ³¹..In the battle of Yashima, while fighting on horseback in the shallow waters, Yoshitsune found his favorite bow ripped from his hand by a grappling hook. Risking his life to recover the bow, Yoshitsune was chastised by his retainers: "However valuable a bow may be, can it be compared with our lord's life." They were startled but impressed by his unexpected answer.

"It was not because I begrudged the loss of the bow," replied Yoshitsune. "If it were one that required two or three men to bend, a bow like that of my uncle Tametomo, then I would gladly let it fall into the hands of the enemy. But if a weak one like mine were taken by them, they would laugh at it and say's this the bow of Yoshitsune, the commander-in-chief of the Genji?' That would be unbearable. I had to recover it even at the risk of my life!"

Kamakura Archery

With ample opportunity to perfect their techniques due to the increase in provincial unrest since the tenth century, the bushi had already developed considerable skill with the bow and arrow by the time the first warrior government was established in Kamakura at the end of the twelfth century. The extent to which archery had developed can be gleaned from a reference in the *Shin sarugakki*, in which Fujiwara Akihira praises the husband of Naka no kimi as the "number one warrior in the land," noting that he was proficient at nine different forms of archery.³²

From the Kamakura period on, archery continued to be practiced in the traditional forms at court; but it became even more important among the warriors of the Kamakura bakufu, both as military ceremonial in imitation of court tradition, and as well as a more typical form of combat skill. It was also very popular at hunts organized by Yoritomo and others, as we have seen. In fact, the Kamakura bushi favored equestrian over ground archery.

The popular forms of bushi archery during the period, the so-called *mitsumono* ("three things"), were *yabusame*, *inuoumono* and *kasagake*, forms already well-known from late Heian times, both at the capital and in the provinces. But they became even more popular and formalized in the early medieval period under shogunal patronage. Mounted archery was regularly practiced, for example, at Yuhigahama, and perhaps most importantly at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine in Kamakura, a shrine dedicated to the syncretic Shinto-Buddhist god Hachiman, often considered the clan deity of the Minamoto. Today there is still an annual equestrian archery ceremony at Tsurugaoka quite popular among Japanese and foreign tourists alike.

Archery of all forms flourished during the Kamakura period, as the bushi earned their epithet as the "men who hold the bow and arrow;" but yabusame was especially popular. Performed at certain Shinto shrines, yabusame included both religious and sporting elements.³³ A 238-yard straight horse track, lightly sprinkled with sand, was laid out in the shrine precinct, each end being fan-shaped where the horses could be turned around. Along the left and right side of the course, called the sakuri, were erected low fences behind which the targets were placed. Each rider would gallop along the course and shoot at three separate wooden targets set about fifty yards apart. The targets themselves were quite small (two feet) square pieces of wood attached to bamboo poles, placed only six and a half feet from the track. The rider began with one arrow nocked and three more ready in a quick-draw quiver: he had to neck, draw, and shoot twice more after releasing the first arrow, all at full gallop, requiring a great deal of skill handling both bow and horse for a successful run. A second pass along the course required the archer to shoot at tiny (3.5 inches in diameter) clay targets.

The archers---the number was not fixed, but seven, ten, or sixteen was common--also wore specifically prescribed dress, including proper boots, gloves, and quivers. They wore swords in their sashes and held riding crops while competing. Yabusame thus was a very highly organized form of warrior ceremonial.

Kasagake was also quite popular among Kamakura bushi. The arrangements were somewhat similar to yabusame, only the course was shorter and narrower. The targets were originally sedge hats (kasa), but by Kamakura times it was common to use wooden planks covered with cowhide and filled with cotton. Both large and medium sized targets were used, the archers were required to wear specific costume for the competition, and there were a number of officials to conduct the event (judges, scorekeepers, arrow retrievers, etc.) as in inuoumono, which we will discuss in the subsequent section.

From the outset of the period, either at ceremonial archery contests or at great

hunting expeditions, there were several noted archers who turned up on most occasions to demonstrate their prowess. Perhaps the archer with the best reputation, and who from surviving records seems to have competed most frequently, was Shimokobe Shoshi Yukihiro. The best known of Yoritomo's vassals to participate regularly was Wada Yoshimori, one of the shogun's major commanders and head of the Samurai dokoro, or Warriors Bureau, in the new bakufu. Miura Yoshizumi also participated on occasion. Ironically, Wada, Miura, the Tachibana brothers, and many other great archers among the retainers of Yoritomo, were all descendants of Taira families.

And Shimokobe was himself a descendant of Fujiwara Hidezato, one of the most famed archers of late Heian times. There were of course kinsmen of Yoritomo from various branches of the Seiwa Genji clan who were noted archers. Among them, the best were those of the Kai Genji, from which branch stemmed two families, the Takeda and the Ogasawara, who achieved fame as the most established archers later in the Kamakura period. But they were overshadowed in the early years by those, like Shimokobe, who followed the Hidezato tradition.

Yet as suggested before, it is incorrect to regard traditions like that of Hidezato as true ryuha of archery, mounted or otherwise, during the Kamakura period. True ryuha, like similar developments in swordsmanship and other weapons, are distinctly Muromachi period phenomena. Only then, when a number of schools stemming from the Heki-rya sought to discover the "roots" of their tradition, do we hear of "ryuha" founded by branches of the Seiwa Genji who traced their origins to Shiragi Saburo Yoshimitsu, younger brother of Yoshiie.

The seriousness with which the Kamakura warrior took practice with bow and arrow is illustrated by the following story from the Azuma kagami, the official chronicle of the Kamakura regime.³⁵ The first major yabusame competition was held at Tsurugaoka Hachimangu horseground in the eighth month of 1187.

The archery competition followed a hojoe ceremony, in which live birds and

animals were released, in accordance with the Buddhist injunction against the taking of life. Yoritomo had his men bring forward Suwa Morizumi, a Taira warrior captured during the Genpei War, and forced him to shoot. Despite having to ride an ill-tempered horse, Morizumi on his first ride managed to hit all three targets. On his second ride, he completely shattered the three clay targets; so Yoritomo ordered Morizumi to shoot the little pegs which had held the targets, on his third ride.

Realizing that his life was likely at stake, Morizumi gathered his strength and set off, offering prayers to the great deity of Suwa. To the amazement of the crowd he hit all three! Yoritomo was so impressed that he not only freed Morizumi, but even took him into service in the bakufu. Morizumi was a well-known yabusame expert who had mastered the secret techniques of Fujiwara Hidezato at the Tobadono, the detached palace of successive ex-emperors of the late Heian period located just south of the capital. It appears to have been through Morizumi that this form of mounted archery preserved in Kyoto entered Kamakura, enriching the mounted archery of the day.

While yabusame was thought to provide practical archery techniques for the battlefield, it was in reality practiced primarily for sporting purposes, and retained its religious and ceremonial elements as well. It was apparently offered frequently as a prayer for curing illness, or the like, at Shinto shrines as opposed to secular archery grounds; thus it can also be seen as a form of religious exercise.³⁶ Nonetheless, the warriors themselves seemed to place considerable weight on the competitive aspects. Yabusame is still performed at a number of shrines around the country, indicative of the longstanding religious nature of the practice. As I mentioned earlier, people struggle amongst themselves to carry off the arrows and targets, since they are considered to have magical powers to ward off evil.

Several important changes in archery equipment and form occurred during late Heian times which affected the style of the Kamakura warrior.³⁷ By this time bows (called mamakiyumi) were mostly composites of three layers bound tightly

together, bamboo sandwiched between two layers of wood. The bows were wrapped in rattan and lacquered, which made them excellent for battlefield use since they were much more able to withstand rain and extreme changes in temperature. Given the necessity of fighting in a variety of weather conditions, reliable bowstrings were also crucial. Gradual development by Kamakura times had produced two types of strings, one of which was silk thread tightly wrapped with paper and then lacquered; the other was woven of two separate strands of silk lacquered over in order to prevent any twisting.

Also by early Kamakura times it had become customary to use one of several types of leather gloves.³⁸ Since the bow was always held in the left hand, the archer's glove, called *yugake* or in Kamakura times often just "glove" (*tebukuro*), was only used on the right hand. Various styles were popular, used both for mounted and ground archery, with a specially reinforced thumb controlling the release. The style of shooting also seems to have undergone transition from the earlier short bow pull to a mid, or even full pull where the arrow is released from behind the right ear. The arrows became increasingly heavier, using a different, fatter type of bamboo to accommodate the heavier steel arrowheads of a variety of shapes. And they were also longer (around eighty-six centimeters), indicating that the bow pull was considerably extended.³⁹ Scrolls of the early medieval period show that the bow was pulled to the chest or even further during this period, in contrast to earlier styles; and although it is difficult from such pictures to understand the subtle working of the hand and fingers, it appears that it was basically the thumb which controlled the release with other fingers playing an auxiliary role. The bow did not spin around (*yumigaeri*) after the string was released as in *kyudo* today.

Apparently the popularity of archery during the period ensured that the Kamakura warrior's battlefield skills would remain sharp. The *Taiheiki*, for example, introduces the reader to Ogasawara Magoroku who responds resolutely to a surprise attack by the enemy, in this case, warriors supporting the doomed Kamakura bakufu.

With a corselet slung across his body, he ran up to the gate tower, carrying a closely wound rattan bow and a twenty-four arrow war quiver, drew forth an arrow from the middle of the quiver, fitted it along the string, and opened the boards of a window to make a peaked hole, and shouting down he spoke a word to the enemy.

"Soon you will know the degree of our skill, pretentious host! Who may your grand marshal be? Let him approach to receive one of my arrows!"

Speaking, he pulled back the bowstring, full and slow, until with a singing sound the arrows flew away that measured twelve hands and the breadth of three fingers. Its arrowhead hit square in the middle of the foremost rider's helmet and drove through clearly to the first neck plate, so that he fell headlong from the horse: Kinuzuri Sukefusa, a retainer of Kano Shimotsuke-no-zenji.

The Muromachi Era

Bows and arrows remained popular in Muromachi times for both ceremonial and military purposes. Since the new bakufu was established in the capital at Kyoto, both Imperial court and warrior ceremonial archery events (equestrian and non-mounted) were held, although shooting was apparently more popular among the bushi. ⁴¹ Even before the reunification of the Northern and Southern courts in 1392, the first three Ashikaga shoguns had established both ground and mounted archery as warrior ceremonial.

The most prominent Muromachi archers were members of the Ogasawara and Takeda families who had developed excellent reputations during Kamakura times. They were joined by the Ise family who, along with the Ogasawara, produced many skilled archers in both equestrian and ground forms. Of particular note was Ogasawara Sadamune (1294-1350), archery instructor to

both Emperor Go-Daigo and Ashikaga Takauji. His *Inuoumono mokuanbumi*, written in 1341 and presented to Shogun Takauji, stresses *inuoumono* as the essential skill for military training.⁴² As a leading warrior in Go-Daigo's Warriors' Bureau and author of another archery classic *Shinden kyōshūshinron*, Sadamune firmly established the Ogasawara tradition of equestrian archery. He even passed it on to Takeda Nobumune, shugo of both Kai and Aki provinces, from whom it passed back to Sadamune's son Masanaga.

Here we see an interesting sharing of the tradition of mounted archery ceremonial between the two leading families responsible for preserving the tradition (*kojitsu*) in classical Japan.⁴³ Later, when *ryūha* developed, with intense competition, inter familial jealousy and great concern with secrecy, such an exchange would be rare indeed.

Sadamune's great grandson Mochinaga (1396-1462) became eighth Shogun Yoshimasa's teacher and was a prolific author as well, publishing at least five volumes devoted solely to *inuoumono*. He also wrote on *kasagake* and other forms of shooting, but his best-known work was *Jarai shiki* (Personal Record on Ceremonial Shooting), which covered everything from equipment to prizes in thirty chapters.⁴³ Perhaps due to the influence of such luminaries as Sadamune and Mochinaga, *inuoumono* flourished in Muromachi times while *yabusame* declined in popularity. Several forms of ground and equestrian archery, especially *inuoumono*, continued to be performed as both court and bakufu ceremonial even during the incessant warfare that plagued Japan in late Muromachi times. But archery was also practiced for competitive sport purposes, as well as for its military utility.

A. Inuoumono

Like *yabusame* and *kasagake*, *inuoumono* was an elaborate affair with clearly defined "rules" rather than a simple pastime engaged in for recreational purposes

by warriors in their spare time. As codified in the Ogasawara tradition, it was a sport within which a set number of mounted archers, with blunted arrows, shot at dogs especially raised for such purposes (white dogs were the rule). The course itself was set off by a square bamboo fencing, within which were two circles marked off by rope. The smaller inner circle, *inutsuka* ("dog mound") where the dogs were kept, was built up with colored sand. The larger outer circle, for the riders, was partially covered with sand of a different color.

As in *yabusame*, the archers wore prescribed court dress, with their left arms exposed to aid in shooting. Each carried three arrows, one nocked before beginning. The archer entered the course and commenced to gallop at a sign from the referee, who then signaled the dog handler to release the dog. The archer then proceeded to chase down and try to shoot the dog. Different points were awarded depending upon where one shot the dog, and there were also parts of the dog which the archers were prohibited from shooting. There were normally 150 dogs, with ten rounds of shooting, fifteen dogs each round.

Besides the archers, a large number of officials were required at an *inuoumono* competition. The referee was in charge of determining the winner and conducted the match. (The winner was judged not only on his hits, but on his shooting and riding techniques as well.) There was a "shouter" to yell out the referee's decision, a recorder to write down the decision, and even a flag waver who signaled the recorder when the shouter yelled the decision! One man was responsible for the order of the archers, and another---a "gong striker"---who signaled them when to start. There was a marshal in charge of the archers, and another for the horses; yet another man handled the bows, and there were of course dog handlers. And finally there were some 200 attendants, chosen from *kawaramono*⁴⁵ --a category of base people in Muromachi times---one for each of the 150 dogs, and fifty more to assist. Thus *inuoumono* was a quite sophisticated sport with both competitive and ritual aspects.

It should also be noted that form was important, even crucial, in *inuoumono*, as it was in all types of archery. Today one of the major differences between

Japanese and Western archery is that the former is not totally concerned with results, that is, "hits." Also important is the way in which the archer composes himself and releases the arrow. Later, with some influence from Zen Buddhist philosophical trappings, archery texts would discuss the cultivation of inner, spiritual qualities. But as I noted earlier, such concern with form and decorum has been important to Japanese archery since it was first adopted as one of the "six accomplishments" of the Chinese noble. Archery was part of the training of the gentleman, with spiritual and civilizing qualities as well as practical skill emphasized.

The Ogasawara was perhaps the leading family in archery, having served even in Kamakura times as shogunal instructors (Nagakiyo was Yoritomo's teacher and his son Nagatsune taught Yoritomo's son Sanetomo). Many Ogasawara archers went on to serve in similar posts to both the Imperial family and the Ashikaga shogunal house. But the Ise family also produced noted archers, eclipsing the formerly influential Takeda. In fact, warrior ceremonial archery became somewhat standardized in Muromachi times. The Ogasawara became specialists in outdoor, mounted archery (tomuki), while the Ise were authorities in indoor (ground) archery (uchimuki). This was solely a matter of control of ceremonial, however, and records indicate that in terms of appearances in inuoumono events, Ise family members outnumbered Ogasawara archers.

Sengoku Ryuha

During the sengoku period, when the Ashikaga shogunate exercised little control over the country and provincial barons vied for regional power, sporting archery competition remained popular among the nobility in Kyoto. As far as equestrian archery was concerned, sengoku warriors preferred inuoumono over the other two of the mitsumono, although mounted archery in general lost much of its popularity. This was probably due to the introduction of the gun and a concomitant shift in strategy. With the building of large castles, siege warfare was more common, in which it was necessary to rain large numbers of arrows down on the besieged and the besiegers. In battle, arrows were often fired in intervals as gunners reloaded. Neither situation called for expertise in firing from on horseback.

While most warriors honed their bow, sword, and spear skills for use in combat, the Ogasawara and Ise families continued to serve as repositories for instruction in the ceremonial forms of archery. The Takeda, one of the three traditional Muromachi houses specializing in archery ceremonial, disappear from records of such endeavors.

There was a change which developed in shooting style during the late Muromachi period, and that was the introduction of the right breast, a mid-pull as opposed to the full pull employed today in kyudo.

Masatsugu is considered the founder of late medieval archery, since through him and Heki Noritsugu ⁵⁰ both the main Heki-ryu and several branch schools were descended: these include the Yoshida-rya (itself leading to the founding of a number of sub-schools), Izumo-ha, Setsuka-ryu, Yamashina-ha, Daishin-ryu, Chikurin-ha, and Yamato-rya. Since the line passed through the Hekis in two

branches and then split off, these "new" ryu are often called the "nine schools and ten branches" (kyuryu j ippa). ⁵¹

The formerly dominant Ogasawara style of ceremonial archery did not disappear. Just as many of that school had enjoyed status as archery instructors to the Ashikaga house, later members of the family enjoyed the same status once Ieyasu founded the new Tokugawa bakufu. The family head Nagatoki, for example, was chased out of Kai Province by Takeda Shingen, wandering for thirty years before he settled down with one of his students, Hoshino Mian, in Aizu, where he died in 1583. Both Nagatoki's sons Sadayoshi and Hidemasa, however, were recognized by Ieyasu, and their descendants in fact became daimyo in several fiefs in the ensuing period. The family teachings were passed on through Tsunenao who served Ieyasu, and whose descendants, known as the Heihyoe, continued the Ogasawara tradition in the service of the Tokugawa house.

The great peace which followed Ieyasu's victories at Sekigahara and Osaka Castle had as profound an effect on the fortunes of archery as they did on swordsmanship. That is to say, when the need to practice archery for distinctly military purposes declined, the focus of the art also changed---or in the case of archery, returned to the tradition which had been developing. Archery came to be practiced for spiritual purposes and physical education, and the physical activity involved became a sport. This, of course, was not a radical transformation for archery, which since ancient times had already served both martial and sport functions. It had long been common for courtiers or warriors to participate in archery matches or enjoy the contests as spectators. Prizes were given, wagers were made, and reputations established. It is likely that for something so easily measurable (such and such an archer hit the center of the target with ten of ten arrows, and so on), records were probably also noted. But by Tokugawa times competition to set and break records became intense, and the transition to a full sport occurred. Perhaps one can argue that it was an easier transition for archery, since it does not have the same crucial association with combat---and death---that swordsmanship, for example, did, which made the change from fighting to the death to fencing for competitive purposes a problem of a different magnitude.

Chapter Six

ARCHERY IN THE EDO PERIOD

Archery thus was the first of Japan's fighting skills to be transformed into a martial art and a competitive sport. Both the early association with the sacred and the tradition of Chinese civil archery with its ritualistic component remained strongly at work on Japanese archery. Consequently both the mounted and ground forms of archery became highly formalized, and by medieval times its practice was codified as part of warrior ceremonial (*buke kojitsu*) whose preservation and transmission were monopolized by the Ogasawara, Takeda and Ise warrior houses.

But the Heki-ryu and its many branches, which developed during the tumultuous sengoku era, dominated archery during the subsequent Tokugawa period. Traditional ceremonial archery continued, albeit in very reduced circumstances because of the rise of Heki-ryu styles. It became even more the private preserve of a few families, in conjunction with the tendency for all arts to become highly professionalized.

Despite the general decline in horse riding among Tokugawa warriors, there was something of a revival of interest in equestrian archery in the early Tokugawa period. The Kyushu daimyo Shimazu Nariaki, for example, invited other daimyo to view *inuoumomo* at his Edo mansion in 1646; and the next year Shogun Iemitsu himself attended an *inuoumomo* performance, sparking a return to mild popularity of this pastime preserved in Kyushu since Kamakura and Muromachi times, when it had been quite the rage. ¹

Iemitsu expressed considerable interest in promoting archery, attempting to revive ceremonial standing archery as well, setting up targets within the shogunal castle at Edo and encouraging his retainers to practice these forms. He even reestablished the old *kyūba no hajime*, the annual archery matches on the old court ceremonial calendar. The rise in popularity of these older styles reached its height under the eighth shogun Yoshimune, whom we have already seen exerted great efforts in the promotion of martial skills. He encouraged both equestrian and regular target archery among his direct retainers (*hatamoto*) by erecting archery grounds for distance shooting in several places in Edo. He also sponsored the compilation of a number of written works on archery ceremonial by the Ogasawara and Ise families who were the guardians of the tradition.² Moreover, it was also during Yoshimune's era that *yabusame* for religious purposes was revived and became popularized at such shrines as Takada Hachimangu and Oji Hiratsuka Myojin in Edo.

Thanks to Yoshimune's efforts, traditional archery forms continued to enjoy some popularity right down until the end of the Tokugawa period when the bakumatsu foreign policy crisis forced authorities to buttress national defense by adopting more practical martial techniques. Subsequently, archery, like most of the traditional martial arts, lost favor among the warrior class. Even before that, however, these earlier forms had become a minor stream in the world of archery, due to the tremendous rise in popularity of the many branches of the *Heki-ryū* which proliferated in late sengoku and early Edo times. The *ryūha* of archery were affected in much the same way as swordsmanship and other martial arts schools by peace, urbanization, the spread of literacy, and professionalization described in Chapter Three.

Ryūha proliferated in Edo times, but the teaching of the art was largely limited to domain schools. The phenomenon of the urban dojo we noted in Chapter Four was not part of Edo archery.

Like swordsmanship, archery too became almost divorced from the battlefield realities of sengoku times; and as peace settled in, many Samurai practiced the

martial art of archery---generally referred to as kyujutsu---for spiritual and character-building purposes, as well as recreation. It became common for the heads of archery ryuha to produce texts and scrolls which elucidated the principles of successful shooting such as mind-body coordination, often in Zen Buddhist terminology, in the same manner as swordsmanship schools.

In the West this traditional Japanese archery is normally called "Zen archery," and it is commonly assumed that hitting the target is of little concern to Japanese archers. The idea has been fostered that Japanese archers were instead Zen devotees seeking enlightenment through a mystical shooting experience and that competition to hit targets was antithetical to true archery. The late Edwin Reischauer helped popularize this idea in his influential film "The Japanese."

In Japan, it doesn't matter much if he misses the target altogether. So long as he draws the bow properly, with correct form and concentration. What he is working on is himself, not the flight of the arrow. The authors of a popular book on Japanese archery, Andre Sollier and Zsolt Gyorbiri mince no words: "the purpose of Zen archery is not to hit the target. ³

Perhaps no one has been more influential in propagating the idea that Japanese archery is a spiritual exercise rather than a sport than Eugen Herrigel, a German philosopher who went to Japan to study Zen and took up archery solely as a means of Zen meditation. Herrigel claims that in Japan: ⁴

...archery can in no circumstances mean accomplishing anything outwardly with bow and arrow, but only inwardly, with oneself. Bow and arrow are only a pretext for something that could just as well happen without them, only the way to a goal, not the goal itself, only helps for the last decisive leap.

As Sollier and Gyorbiri sum up Tokugawa archery, ⁵

Although outmoded as a fighting technique, the art of archery was kept alive by Zen monks as well as certain members of the upper classes, as a mental and physical discipline. It became closely identified with the court nobility and as a symbol of the whole Tokugawa period.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, however, archery had always been associated with the court nobility, and mental and physical discipline had as well been essential elements in archery from antiquity. What in fact distinguishes Tokugawa archery from that of other periods of Japan's pre-modern history is the rapid rise of competitive sport archery. Indeed, there was what might be seen as a nationwide craze for sporting competition among archers, a fascination with the setting and breaking of records which flies directly in the face of the stereotype of Japanese archery as a "spiritual" experience with no concern for practical results. In fact, in his history of Japanese archery, Saito Naoyoshi divides archery into three periods, the ancient period down about mid-Heian times, the "flourishing period" from late Heian until sengoku times, and a third period from the "Great Pacification of the Genna Era." While he admits there were Tokugawa archers who could shoot well, he sees techniques in decline and further notes that even excellent archers could not "reach the mystical qualities of a Yoshiie or the mental powers of a Tametomo." They were instead concerned with showing their talents in competitions. ⁶

Heki-Ryu Schools and the Yoshida Family

At least fifty-one archery ryu can be identified in Japan, although many are simply different names for the same school.⁷ Most of the prominent ryuha of the Tokugawa period, however, are essentially offshoots of the dominant Heki-ryu, established by Heki Danjo Masatsugu around the end of the fifteenth century.

These were the so-called "nine ryu and ten ha": Heki-ryu, Yoshida-rya, Izumo-ha, Setsuka-ryu, Chikurin-ha, Sakonemon-ha, Jutoku-ha, Yamashina-ha, Daishin-ha, Dosetsu-ha, Insai-ha, Okura ha, and Yamato-ryu. (It should be noted both that the actual numbers of schools bears no necessary resemblance to the phrase "nine ryu and ten ha," little more than a stylistic device to designate a "large number" of schools, and that some schools are referred to both as ryu and/or ha, the designation varying with the person or the text concerned.)

As we saw in the last chapter, Masatsugu is regarded as the reviver of archery, representing the beginning of the "new schools" which split off as branches of his Heki-ryu in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The history of these often contending schools indicates the difficulties inherent in transmitting the esoterica of a martial arts school to only one student in a generation and the competing claims of both family and actual competence.

A. Yoshida-ryu and Izumo-ha

Masatsugu transmitted his teachings directly to Yoshida Izumo no kami Shigekata {1463-1543}, from whom the proliferation of sects {ha} begins. Shigekata taught the style to his son and heir Sukezaemon Shigemasa, who died

in 1569.⁸ The Yoshida family home was located in Kawamori no sho in Omi, the province just northeast of Kyoto (Shiga Prefecture). Shigemasa had served as archery instructor to Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiharu, but later ran afoul of his warrior overlord and student, Sasaki Yoshikata. In fact, Shigemasa's prowess as an archer was a major factor in Yoshikata's defeat of the rival Matsunaga clan at the Battle of Kaguraoka in 1544.

Subsequently, however, Yoshikata requested Shigemasa to transmit the Heki-ryu teachings solely to him. When Shigemasa refused, he was forced to flee for his life and sought protection from Asakura Yoshikage in Echizen Province to the north. Thanks to Yoshikage's intervention, relations between the two men were repaired some six years later, and Shigemasa did transmit his archery secrets to Yoshikata. Yoshikata subsequently returned the favor by transferring certification back to Shigemasa's son Izumo no kami Shigetaka (1509-1585). Shigetaka's descendants thereafter continued the tradition: all family heads took the name Sukezaemon and in the Tokugawa period formed the main line of the Izumo-ha, located in the Abe domain (the name derived from the Izumo no kami title of the founder).

B. Setsuka-Ryii

This initial problem led to others in the inheritance of the Heki-ryu archery tradition through the Yoshida family.

Shigemasa's fourth son Shigekatsu (1514-1590), better known by his pen name Setsuka, for example, established his own school which came to be known as the Setsuka-ryu.⁹ He moved his family to Kyoto, where he enjoyed the patronage of a number of powerful political figures, including Hosokawa Yusai and Hideyoshi's son, the regent Hidetsugu. While there he also learned the old ceremonial style archery from Ogasawara Hidekiyo. Among Setsuka's students were Ukita Naoie and Garano Ujizato and his son Hidezato, three of the most

famous sengoku era generals.

But Setsuka's most important relationship was that with his patron Hidetsugu, an avid student of the martial arts who was especially keen on archery. It was Hidetsugu who gave Shigekatsu the name Setsuka, the two characters meaning "snow bearing."¹⁰

The story holds that while Shigekatsu was perfecting his archery in Kyoto, Hidetsugu requested him to make a bow, a skill for which Shigekatsu was also well-known. When the bow was completed, Shigekatsu personally delivered it to Hidetsugu on horseback during a heavy snow storm. Hidetsugu watched from the castle battlements as Shigekatsu approached, the snows heaped up atop his straw raincoat. It looked for all the world as though he were bearing a load of snow, so Hidetsugu gave him that name, which then was extended to the archery style as well. Setsuka passed that tradition solely to his son and heir Rokuzo Motohisa who became a teacher to the Todo clan, a position his descendants maintained throughout the Tokugawa period.

c. Dosetsu-Ha

Another among Setsuka's many students was Ban Kizaemon Ichian (?-1621), better known by his pen name Dosetsu ("snow on the way"). Dosetsu was at first a humble servant in the Kyoto Zen temple Kenninji. His position was koban, a servant who ground beans for soup; and when he decided to leave the temple, he took the name Ban as his own surname.¹¹ Dosetsu later joined the service of Hosokawa Yusai and, like his lord, also became a student of Yoshida Setsuka. He became so good that in 1588 Setsuka transmitted the entire teaching solely to him. Moreover, because Setsuka's heir Rokuzo was quite young and weak, Setsuka gave Dosetsu the Yoshida family name and expressed the desire to make him the heir. Dosetsu, however, argued that he should simply be allowed to serve as the boy's guardian, teach him the family archery tradition, and himself be

allowed to start his own school. Setsuka consented, and thus the Dosetsu-ha was born while Rokuzo later inherited and maintained the Setsuka-ryu. Dosetsu ended his life in the service of the Matsudaira clan of Koriyama in Yamato Province, and his lineal descendants and adopted son Seki Ichian maintained the main line there, while another branch descended from Ichian flourished in Aizu.

Dosetsu's adopted son Seki Rokuzo Ichian (1571-1653) was an especially talented archer.¹² He is credited with lengthening the distance for toshiya competition, shooting arrows along the hallway at the Sanjusangendo, a hall in the Rengeoin Temple in Kyoto. He was also famous for his distance shooting at Aozuka, an area in southeastern Kyoto well known as the premier spot in the land for distance shooting. Just south of Gion Shrine at Yasaka was an area of 180 ken (a ken is just under six feet) and further south around Kiyomizudera was a 242 ken spot, but Aozuka, with 205 ken, became the favored site, after archers began to compete at these three spots around the 1570s. Competitors flocked there from all over the country, vying to extend the record even an inch or a foot farther. But Seki Rokuzo Ichian and two other archers trained by Dosetsu were most famous for having shot arrows 20-30 ken beyond the borders of the course. Ichian died in 1653 at eighty-three years of age.

C. Okura-ha and Sakon ' emon-ha

Kataoka Ietsugu (1558-1615), a leading student of Yoshida Izumo no kami Shigetaka, is responsible for the formation of yet two more branches of the various Yoshida schools. In accord with the wishes of his dead master, he took over the responsibility for teaching the Izumo-ha secrets to Shigetaka's third son Masashige, who served first Toyotomi Hidetsugu and then, following Hidetsugu's forced suicide, the daimyo of Kaga, Maeda Toshiie, as archery instructor.¹³ Masashige is credited with founding the Sakon'emon-ha in Kanazawa, which was carried on by his first two sons. Masashige's third son also served Toshiie in Kanazawa and became known for his shooting of toshiya (literally "clearing arrows") at Sanjusangendo, where he was named best archer in Japan six of the seven times he competed. Known as Okura Shigeuji (1588-

1644), he is regarded as the progenitor of the Okura-ha, transmitted through his descendants in Kanazawa.

E. Yamashina-Ha

Kataoka Ietsugu had his own children to worry about as well as looking after Izumo no kami's son. Kataoka was from Yamashina, an area just outside the eastern city limits of Kyoto, where he remained even after an offer of a fief from Hidetsugu. He taught archery to his own eldest son Ienobu, and for generations the family remained in Yamashina, hence the name Yamashina-ha was given to this style which regards Ietsugu as founder. Successive generations produced many noted archers in the Tokugawa period, and its students numbered in the hundreds. As a school, the Yamashina-ha is well known for the application of Confucian and Buddhist learning which resulted in the elevation of both the physical and spiritual aspects of the art in Edo times.^M

Perhaps the greatest of the Yamashina-ha archers was Takayama Hachiemon, a retainer of the Sakai family in Shonai han, who studied under Ienobu and was the most talented among the several hundred students at the time. Takayama was three times proclaimed the best archer in Japan for his victories at the toshiya competition at Sanjusangendo. When he established a record of 3,051 successful shots in 1634, his teacher Ienobu presented him with a special bow of his own making.¹⁵ Hachiemon is regarded as the progenitor of the Takayama-ha which flourished in the Fukui domain. Insai-ha.

The Yoshida-ryu also is the source of the Insai-ha, whose founder Katsuramaki Gempachiro (1562-1638) was the son-in-law of Shigetaka's heir Shigetsuna. He first learned archery from Shigetsuna, then also studied the Sakon'emon-ha with Masashige before starting his own school, which derived from the name later given him, Yoshida Issuiken Insai. Insai was a successful archer who served not only Toyotomi Hidetsugu but later Tokugawa Ieyasu, finally becoming archery

instructor to both second and third shoguns, Hidetada and Iemitsu. ¹⁶

Insai's life demonstrates graphically the confusion which often surrounded the transmission of martial arts secrets and ryuha headship in the emerging profession at the time. He was given the Yoshida family name (by virtue of marrying the family head's daughter) on Shigetsuna's deathbed, and was also asked to serve as guardian for the young heir, Sukezaemon. That responsibility was to prove a big problem later during the Tensho era (1573-1586). Upon one occasion when Ieyasu was visiting in Kyoto, all the members of the main Yoshida house and most of the branches gathered at Miidera, a temple northeast of Kyoto, just over the peak of Mt. Hiei, for the purpose of reestablishing the main Yoshida line under the designated heir Sukezaemon Toyotake. Insai, who had been the young man's guardian, was the focus of the problem, and was asked to appear by all the family members.

Sukezaemon complained to the assembled group that Insai, who had been entrusted with the family scrolls, asked to look after Sukezaemon and then transfer the scrolls to him when he reached eighteen, had refused to do so. Repeated appeals to Insai had been rebuffed. Various family members questioned Insai, who maintained that he had not returned the scrolls because Sukezaemon had not yet mastered the family archery skills. Ishido Chikurin (founder of the Chikurin-ha, to be discussed below) argued that it was still wrong of Insai to deny the testament of Shigetsuna, and thus Insai was unworthy to be the sole inheritor of the tradition. They all demanded he give them back, but Insai still refused. Chikurin even tried to seize the scrolls and give them to Sukezaemon, but was unable to wrest them away. Finally, Shigetsuna's widow was consulted for her opinion on the issue. She testified that ¹⁸

On his deathbed, the late Sukezaemon spoke thusly. 'I transmit sixty-two articles to my son-in-law Genpachiro; but since ancient times there have been a number of examples of uncles killing their nephews. In such a case, then, the secrets would be lost to the main house.' So a portion (of the scrolls) he entrusted to me, with instructions that when Toyotake came of age, I present that portion to him

at an assembly of the entire house. Here is that scroll he gave me.

Chikurin, Setsuka, and the other Yoshida house archers had received 200 articles from their former teachers, and had added eighty more of their own devising; but now Sukezaemon had a total of 360 without which the family ryu tradition would be incomplete. So at the family meeting, Sukezaemon was formally guaranteed exclusive possession of all secret teachings, thus reestablishing the Yoshida-ryu main house. This argument was never totally resolved during Insai's lifetime, however, and continued to be a source of frustration between his heir and the next two heirs to the Yoshida-ryu main line.

F. Chikurin-ha

The Chikurin-ha of the Yoshida-ryu reveres Ishida Chikurinbo (? -1605) as its founder.¹⁹ He is regarded as inheriting the tradition stemming from Heki Yazaemon Noritsugu, a relative of Heki Danjo Masatsugu, whose actual connection is a source of debate.²⁰ Chikurin was a Shingon priest at the Yoshida family temple in Omi who learned the Yoshida-ryu style of archery before founding his own school. His teacher of the Yoshida style was Izumo no kami Shigemasa, but he also studied the main Heki-ryu with Yuge Yarokuro.

In 1558 Chikurin fought on Sasaki Yoshikata's side against Miyoshi Chokei at Shirakawa-guchi. There Matsunaga Danjo Hisahide won a hard fought victory against Yoshikata, a struggle which lasted the whole day. Near the end of the fighting Hisahide led a final charge, shouting out his pedigree and urging his men forward, and Chikurin loosed an arrow at him.

Fortunately for Hisahide, Chikurin's aim was slightly off the mark, and the arrow struck his horse instead. Hisahide leaped off the dead horse to the left, narrowly

escaping with his life. ²¹

In 1602 or 1603 Chikurin entered the service of the Matsudaira clan at Kiyosu in Owari (modern day Nagoya), with a stipend of 250 koku. He died there but his heir (Chikurin had left the priesthood and married sometime earlier) remained to establish the Chikurin-ha which was carried on by successive generations.

Among the most famous students of this Nagoya branch of the house was one Hoshino Kan'zaemon Shigenori (1604- 1696). Hoshino competed several times in the Kyoto toshiya competition, and in 1669 became the best in Japan by successfully clearing 8,000 arrows out of 10,542. Another was Wasa Daihachiro Norito who in 1686 also became the premier national archer with a score of 8,133 out of 13,053 shots---the highest score ever recorded.n

Competitive Archery: The Quest for Records

The toshiya competitions mentioned above suggest the course followed by those interested in the practice of archery during the Tokugawa period. That is, like other martial arts, archery totally lost its immediacy as a skill necessary for battle during the era of peace. It was instead practiced for a variety of other reasons: maintaining the tradition of warrior ceremonial, as handed down by the Ogasawara, Ise and Takeda families; for spiritual and physical training reasons; and for competitive sport purposes. Such motives were not necessarily exclusive.

Many archers from schools which, in the manner of other martial arts traditions of the day, couched their secret texts in Buddhist, Confucian, and even Shinto esoteric language, were among the most avid of competitive archers.

In fact, as I have pointed out, archery was already the first of Japan's traditional fighting techniques to be transformed into both a martial "art" and a sport, albeit one whose ritual and sacred characteristics were never eliminated. And it was during the Tokugawa period that this transformation was totally effected. One of the primary characteristics which, according to Allen Guttmann, distinguishes modern sport from its pre-modern predecessors is the quest for records.ⁿ Certainly no other martial art---save perhaps the newly introduced Western art of gunnery---was so naturally amenable to the compilation of records. The quest for records is perhaps the single most distinguishing feature of the development of archery during the Tokugawa era.

Toshiya, the shooting of arrows down the long corridor at Sanjusangendo in Kyoto, had been enjoyed sporadically for some time; but from the early seventeenth century on, it became a highly popular and competitive endeavor, attracting archers from all over the country to compete as the best in Japan. In

imitation, toshiya competition was also opened in Edo. Such competition became especially popular from the Genna era (1615- 24), with various domains eagerly supporting its archers in competition.

Toshiya was also known as d6sha ("temple shooting") since it was originally conducted over a distance of some 120 meters (66 ken) along the veranda of the Sanjusangendo Hall of the Rengeoin, a late Heian period Shingon temple established by retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa.²⁵ Toshiya supposedly began right after the Hogen Rebellion of 1156, but little is known about it until the sengoku era when it came into vogue again. For example, of the recorded 899 archers who competed in toshiya from the early Muromachi period until 1608, fully 778 of them competed during the eight years following the Battle of Sekigahara, under the shogunal sponsorship of Ieyasu and Hidetada.²⁶ Most of the archers came from areas close to Kyoto, primarily from Omi Province, hardly surprising since it was the home of the Heki and Yoshida families.

As mentioned before, Hideyoshi's son Hidetsugu, who was forced to commit seppuku in 1595, was especially devoted to the practice of archery and enjoyed watching competition as well. During his brief lifetime time sengoku fascination for distance shooting was converted largely into the practice of toshiya. Competition in Hidetsugu's day, however, was predominantly a matter of seeing who could shoot the most arrows through the hall in a specific time period. It was after the Genna period that the heated competition to set ever higher records of successful "clearing arrows" developed.²⁷ In order to win in such competition, an archer had to shoot the most arrows which successfully passed the length of the corridor without striking the ceiling, floor, walls, or pillars, thus the name "clearing arrows".

The various competitions at the Sanjusangendo are recorded in the Sanjusangendo toshiya meisai (Detailed Record of Toshiya Shooting at Sanjusangendo) compiled in late Edo times. Another record of archery competition, the Nendai yakazu-cho (Ledger of Annual Shooting Competition), lists the first competition of toshiya in 1606 when the Kiyosu fief warrior

Asaoka Heibei finished first by successfully "clearing" fifty-one arrows.³ The Detailed Record, however, claims that serious shooting of large numbers of arrows in competition began earlier, in 1599.

2 09 Whichever is correct, the tendency for warriors to fire numerous arrows in competitive archery begins essentially with the ascendancy of the Tokugawa. The numbers rose so rapidly that modern competition to break records, such as lowering the barrier in the mile run or raising the bar in the high jump or pole vault, seem slow by comparison.

While Asaoka's record of 51 may have impressed his contemporaries, the record was up to 200 by 1618, 300 the next year, 500 in 1620 and 700 by 1621. Yashima Heizaemon raised the record to 900 one year later, but in 1623 Yoshida Okura raised it to an astonishing 1,333, almost doubling the current mark!

Thereafter the record was bettered gradually, not reaching the 2,000 plateau until Kasuya Sakon hit 2,054 in 1630. Yet just seven years later, the record was more than doubled again when Nagaya Rokuemon of the owari Tokugawa domain scored 4,312 successful "clearing arrows."

Much of this incredible success in record-breaking has to do with conditions and the form of competition, rather than a physical improvement in the talents of the archers or a technological change producing revolutionary equipment. Toshiya competition in Kyoto was the first of such events, and it ultimately evolved into four distinct categories: oyakazu, the 24-hour event; hiyakazu, the 12 hour competition; a thousand arrow competition; and a hundred arrow event, the fewest number to be shot in all toshiya categories.³⁰ And these four types of shooting matches were further shot over three distances: the so-called "full hall" (zendo) of 66 ken; the "half hall" (hando) which measured exactly half of the zendo; and a special 50 ken event was later developed. Thus Kyoto had a total of eleven different types of toshiya matches in which archers competed.

Edo competition was basically similar, although because it emerged later, its historical development was somewhat different. While Kyoto toshiya enjoyed its greatest popularity in the seventeenth century and especially in the first four decades of that century before leveling off and then declining, Edo toshiya gradually rose in popularity, peaking near the end of the Tokugawa era in the nineteenth century. Edo matches were more diverse than those in Kyoto, adding several new distances: oyakazu at 40 ken; thousand arrow events at 40, 45, 50 and 60 ken; and hundred arrow matches at all seven distances, plus an event held on several occasions which extended the range even beyond that of the "full hall.

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Toshiya developed into a well organized competitive sport. What began as a simple test to see if an archer could shoot an arrow or two down the long corridor at Sanjusangendo, first saw the refinement of regular time periods during which an archer would attempt to lose as many arrows as possible (the 24- and 12-hour competitions). A subsequent refinement established new limited arrow competitions (hundred and thousand arrow events), and finally led to a division into several specific distance events. Ultimately there were eleven different events in Kyoto toshiya and twenty-one in Edo. A further amendment to the competitive rules, which is apparently the first of its kind in Japan's sport history, was age distinction: adults shot "full hall" while shorter events were younger to teenagers and even children.

The impetus behind this evolution seems to have been not only a need to accommodate a greater number of would-be competitors, but also to foster interest in competition. For example, when Wasa Daihachiro set his record of 8,133 successful arrows in 1686, he needed to shoot an arrow every 6.6 seconds over the 24 hour period.³³ Such a record required not simply extraordinary skill, but even more an abnormally well-developed physical and mental strength which became increasingly difficult for warriors to develop in an era of peace. So while early rapid record breaking served as an impetus to competition, such a high-level record may well have discouraged other archers. It was, after all, seventeen years after Hoshino Kanzaemon set the record of 8,000 before Wasa

barely managed to edge him out. Prior to that records had been raised with great regularity. Perhaps Kanzaki Sadamoto was close to the truth when he praised Hoshino's record but noted that "since he shot to such a level, future archers will lose hope. In that case, it seems archery will decline."³⁴ And it did, in Kyoto at least.

But Edo competition started later, gradually rose in popularity, and developed more categories of shooting. The proliferation of competitions employing a limited number of arrows and at lesser distances, distances in fact specifically established for youths, served as a stimulus to promote archery competition more broadly among the warrior populace of Edo Japan. From at least the early 1620s records not only of successful: 1.. shots but also of total arrows fired in oyakazu were kept, showing that whereas the number of arrows fired in earlier competitions may have been two or three thousand, it had reached some nine thousand by the 1640s. Percentages of arrows successfully clearing the course were rather high, considering the large number of arrows fired. As an example, Katsuranishi Sonouemon of the Tokugawa fief at Wakayama scored 78 percent with 7,077 successful shots in only 9,042 arrows in 1668.³⁵

Records down to the end of the period reflect the development of many young archers---some 47 under the age of 20---in the competition, the youngest being Rikimaru Daikichiro, then only four years old, who competed in the hundred arrow competition at 60 meters in 1793. Clearly the most amazing performance, however, was that of the 11-year old Oda Kingo, who in 1810 at the same 60 meter distance scored an incredible 98.7 percent accuracy, successfully shooting 12,780 out of 12,910 arrows! Among the most successful archers was the aforementioned Yoshida Okura, who was champion in toshiya six times in the 1610s and 1620s. Nagaya and Takayama Hachiuemon of the Shonai domain both held the record on three occasions.

If Wasa Daihachiro's record of 8,133 successful clearing arrows at the "full hall" of Sanjusangendo in 1686 was never bettered, records at lesser distances improved over the course of the period. At the 60 meter distance, for example,

Oda Kingo's astonishing mark was matched by Okuda Gunjiri in 1814. And for the 12 hour competition, in 1821 Chikurin Kichiman scored on 4,500 arrows out of 6,110 shots. In the limited arrow matches, Katsuranishi Sonouemon scored 960 out of one thousand arrows at the full distance in 1667.ⁿ

As I have noted, archery matches were not confined to Kyoto and the Sanjusangendo. Local matches were held at courses erected in many domains,³⁸ and of course there developed an important competition in Edo, the shogun's headquarters and by the late eighteenth century the largest city in the world.

Toshiya matches there were initiated to emulate and rival those in Kyoto, and in 1642 there was even an Edo equivalent of the sanjusangendo erected in Asakusa for the competition.³⁹ After a fire in 1698, matches in which archers vied for the honor of "first in Edo" (Edo-ichi) were curtailed until a new arena was constructed in Fukugawa under the eastern eaves of the Tomioka Hachiman Shrine. Competition began again in 1702 and continued until the end of the period.⁴⁰ The Kyoto match winners were still held to be foremost in Japan (Nippon-ichi), but in most forms of competition the archers of Edo established better records than those of Kyoto, even though no one in Edo could match Wasa's record in the oyakazu competition. Edo youths outshone their Kyoto rivals, however, none more so than the legendary Kokura Gishichi.⁴¹

Surviving records of the nineteenth century show that this youth held four separate records, beginning in 1827 when he was only eleven. That year he entered the thousand arrow competition at the "half hall" distance (60 meters), and successfully scored with 995 of 1,000 shots. When he reached fifteen in 1832, Kokura set two more records: 978 out of 1,000 at the 50 ken distance, and in the hundred arrow shooting at 55 ken, he scored 94. In all, he bettered records some eight times.

Although archers from several different locations often broke records, the most consistent were those from the Owari and Wakayama domains of the Tokugawa

house, especially during the 1640-1680 period when competition to raise the record appears to have been especially heated. And while the various branches of the Heki-ryu were all represented by leading archers, more came from the Chikurin-ha than any other.⁴² The old traditional warrior ceremonial archery houses---the Ogasawara, Takeda, and Ise---continued to perform their art and did not enter into these competitions, with the result that the record books are totally dominated by the Hekiryu schools.

Toshiya shooting was different from earlier forms in that the contestants sat along the porch and shot their arrows, rather than standing as in the traditional style. This required the use of slightly different equipment: bows were shortened somewhat from the classic bow about 9 centimeters to the sashiya bow. The sashiya was a special arrow for gallery shooting, pointless and thinner than arrows used in actual battle during the sengoku period. Since they were used for this kind of temple archery contest, they were also called doya ("hall arrow"). They were essentially of three kinds: straight arrows (ichimonji or "character one" arrow, since the Chinese character for one is a straight horizontal line); suginari arrows which had a fatter head; and another shaped like a kernel of grain, fatter in the middle and thinner at both ends.^c Toshiya shooting also gave impetus to the development of a new form of glove which differed from the stiff three-fingered one used for target archery (but not in battle) by the Ogasawara and other old styles. Yoshida Okura devised a four-fingered one which was especially good for toshiya, in which the archer needed more manual dexterity since he was concerned with shooting ten or more arrows in the brief period of a minute. This glove was popular among archers from the Chikurin-ha and Okura-ha, while most of the other Heki-ryu branches favored the three fingered target glove, and even popularized the style of wearing both right and left hand gloves.

Criticisms of Toshiya

Despite the popularity of toshiya competition among Edo period bushi, acceptance of this development was by no means universal. In the same manner that traditionalists opposed the transformation of combat swordsmanship into fencing, sport archery was never accepted by those who advocated a more hardcore, albeit anachronistic, approach to Samurai life. Ise Sadaharu example, noted that real archery (shajutsu), practiced by such earlier heroic warriors as Minamoto Yoriyoshi, involved using a weak bow and shooting strongly, one had to coordinate his entire strength with the bow and arrow. In dosha, by contrast, the archers prefer powerful bows and light arrows, the bow and arrows are constructed so they shoot for distance. This is not archery. Furthermore, in toshiya the archers wrap their stomachs in cloth, sip gruel and take medicine while shooting. Their bodies are those of sick people: no matter how many tens of thousands of arrows they shoot, they can hardly be called healthy archers.

Furthermore for shooting an enemy on the battlefield, one needs to practice shooting about seven or eight ken, so as to be able to penetrate his armor.

But in toshiya by sending an arrow light as a hemp stalk a distance of 66 ken (at Sanjusangendo, they consider two ken as one), how can one hope to pierce armor? And in a battle you don't shoot arrows all day and all night, so hundreds of thousands of arrows are useless in war. Thus toshiya is of no martial value. It is purely recreational shooting to entertain people, an art for winning fame and receiving rewards. Both the teachers and students of archery today, by focusing on toshiya and training in it exclusively as real archery, have lost the true way of archery...

This was a fairly common criticism for devotees of earlier warfare-related

archery, who saw toshiya---where archers sat on a veranda and fired hundreds or thousands of very light arrows down a hallway---as "mere" sport. But in fact the kind of archery they would have preferred was, like swordsmanship, no longer possible. Furthermore, as Professor Imamura points out, toshiya was a sport which combined the ability to shoot far, shoot rapidly and shoot with great endurance, so it required physical strength, technique, and mental concentration as well.⁴⁵ The difficulty of toshiya shooting was underscored in a television special produced in December 1987, in which Ashikawa Yuichi, a skilled 5th degree black belt with thirteen years experience in kyudo, tried his hand at Sanjusangendo, after assiduously preparing for several months. Shooting slowly and deliberately, he was able to score on nine successful shots out of one hundred, not clearing even one until his 62nd shot. So criticism notwithstanding, toshiya demanded superior physical abilities. Many domains seemingly agreed, as they frequently rewarded champion toshiya competitors with prizes running to hundreds of koku.

Archery and Hunting

We should also not forget that archery for sporting purposes was promoted through the medium of hunting, which continued to be a very important part of warrior life in Edo times. In fact, it was really the only arena in which the skills of horsemanship and archery (which the Buke shohatto had urged them to practice assiduously) could still be promoted. Of course hunting too changed over the course of the period.

Initially, the hunt was a place to hone battlefield skills: the ability to ride far and hard, to endure various weather conditions, to firm the body and develop strength. And, as we noted in an earlier chapter, it could also serve as an arena to demonstrate individual prowess, even to function as a manhood ceremony in some cases.⁴⁷ As bushi with considerable battlefield experience, the first three Tokugawa shoguns continued to hold hunting expeditions with such practical goals in mind, though secondary goals of traveling to discern the peoples' feelings and learn local customs were clearly involved as well." And at least for Ieyasu, hunting---including falconry---was his favorite form of recreation.

Ieyasu's hunts (at least seventy-four are recorded in sources available today) were often extensive affairs. On eight occasions Ieyasu and his party were gone for more than five days, and the longest hunting expedition he led was for just over a month in late 1615.⁴⁹ In fact, from 1604-1616, the Tokugawa jikki alone records Ieyasu as having spent some 200 days on hunting expeditions. And it may well have been his mania for the hunt which was the proximate cause of his death, since he went off hunting in the bitter cold of the winter of 1616 to try his hand at falconing in Totomi. Among all shoguns, Ieyasu's grandson Iemitsu was the most active hunter, recording more than 500 outings in the fifteen years between 1636 and 1651. But subsequently, the nature of hunting changed. As the bakufu became bureaucratized, making it more difficult for the shogun to absent himself from Edo for long periods, hunts became day long affairs, or at most

involved an overnight stay in a nearby town. Likewise, the warfare simulation aspects---hard riding and shooting from horseback-became less and less important while the sporting and recreational aspects of hunting came to predominate. ⁵¹

There was even a period during the rule of Shoguns Tsunayoshi and Ienobu when hunting was almost totally abandoned due to Tsunayoshi's obsessive concern with saving the lives of animals. Called the "Dog Shogun" because of the sixty-four laws passed during his tenure protecting the lives of dogs, birds, horses, and other animals, Tsunayoshi was apparently so serious in his philosophy of non-violence that it was even prohibited to shoot wild animals who had caused harm to people or their domestic animals.

Although hunting by bow and arrow from horseback was essentially transformed from military training to recreation over the course of the Edo period, the efforts of eighth Shogun Yoshimune to revive the martial spirit through hunting deserves mention. Along with his other policies designed to rekindle a true martial spirit in the extremely weakened Samurai class of his day, Yoshimune sponsored at least 388 hunting expeditions which emphasized battlefield training more than sport. ⁵³ His hunts were essentially a comprehensive training session in horsemanship, running, gunnery, swordsmanship, and use of the spear as well as archery. But unlike the warriors who served under Ieyasu as battle-tested bushi accustomed to the rigors of long periods in the saddle or bivouacked in hostile territory amidst adverse weather conditions, the warriors who accompanied Yoshimune "were unaccustomed to straw sandals and smoke," women like retainers who, when even hearing the word "hunt" did not know "what kind of frightening beast might come forth or despaired of returning alive and thus begrudgingly bid goodbye to their families and tearfully exchanged farewell cups of sake." Indeed, it is hardly surprising that Yoshimune was motivated to lead his vassals on hunts to re-instill in them the values and skills of the bushi of an earlier age.

The scope of Yoshimune's hunts were often as grand as those sponsored by

Ieyasu. On one occasion in 1726 for a deer hunt in Koganehara (Shimosa Province), for example, more than 30,000 people were involved, including 3,000 low ranking Samurai and 4,958 coolies recruited from Hitachi and Shimosa Provinces. They shot 470 deer, twelve boars and a wolf; a year earlier Yoshimune's party reportedly killed more than 800 deer and boar.ss

Interestingly, although shooting down game from horseback by bow and arrow was the primary means of hunting, guns were also quite popular in such hunts. In fact, because such animals apparently did considerable damage to the crops, peasants were even rather leniently allowed to employ guns in killing deer, boar, and the like.

But however strongly Yoshimune felt about returning to the values and standards of an earlier time, archery, like swordsmanship, could never again be the type of martial skill it had been in the days of Miyamoto Musashi. When the bakumatsu foreign crisis revealed the actual weakness of Japan's "warrior" government, people realized that toshiya competition and ceremonial archery were of little value in the world of war. In the face of the superior technology of destruction from the West, there was little sense in trying to revive the battlefield archery skills of earlier warriors, and archery, to survive at all in the modern world, had perforce to be transformed even further into a sport.

Chapter Seven

KENDO AND KYUDO:

THE MODERN TRANSFORMATION

The arrival of Western ships in the late eighteenth century forced the Japanese to reassess totally their martial tradition. Since the Tokugawa Samurai class was charged with policing and defending the nation, mastery of martial skills remained of potential practical value for serving one's lord or putting down rebellion or riot. ¹ The protracted Pax Tokugawa encouraged the transformation of combat skills into what are properly called the martial arts. Derived from techniques designed to kill, they had been refined into exercises practiced for physical fitness, mental and spiritual development, and for sporting purposes. Until the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry's "Black Ships" in 1853 opened the floodgates of internal disorder and ultimately led to civil war, therefore, few warriors had experienced actual combat. Most of those who knew martial arts had learned them in the dojo, although of course many spirited bushi like Katsu Kokichi did develop considerable practical fighting skills in duels, street brawls, and other arenas of confrontation.

But fencing and archery were of demonstrably little value in the face of foreign steamships whose cannons could rake the Japanese coastline at will. Nor were antiquated Japanese guns of much use in the face of the more sophisticated weaponry which had developed in Europe. While Japan never approached the point of "giving up the gun," gunnery too had been transformed from a battlefield skill into a martial art, in which marksmanship and hunting were of primary concern. ² The second coming of the West thus struck a major blow at the traditional Japanese martial arts; and swordsmanship, archery, jujutsu, use of the naginata and spear, declined precipitously as warriors flocked to new schools of gunnery based upon Western models, and the newly formed Meiji government

sought to develop a Westernized military system. ³ In fact, for the first three decades of the Meiji period (1868-1912), Japanese martial arts went into great decline, as the ideas of "civilization and enlightenment" undercut the perceived value of martial arts not only as practical combat skills, but even as ethical or physical fitness components of the emerging educational system.

Not until well into the twentieth century did fencing and judo become integral parts of the Japanese physical education system. Of course, by the outbreak of World War II they had been thoroughly "rediscovered" and distorted into a means of spiritually transforming Japanese school boys into willing volunteers for the Imperial armed forces. ⁴ In fact, the martial arts were so closely identified with the war effort that they were banned by MacArthur's General Headquarters in the wake of the Allied victory over Japan in 1945. This chapter examines the fate of swordsmanship and archery in the modern world.

The Establishment of the Kobusho since Western imperialism progressed from west to east and Europeans displayed a greater appetite for exploiting China, Japan was able to view imperialism at work in areas of Asia far to her south and west. By at least the victory of the British in 223 the Opium War of the 1830s, however, the impossibility of resisting the Western powers militarily was evident to many Japanese. True, in her initial confrontation, Japan could easily have overpowered the handful of men under Perry's command who sailed into Edo in 1853, demanding that Japan open her doors to trade and commerce. One Japanese author is only half facetious when he states "(t)hat Japan with (10,000) armed men should ignore public opinion, which was overwhelmingly in favor of expulsion of foreigners, and surrender to the 600 men of Matthew Perry's squadron surely deserves mention in the Guinness Book of Records. ⁵

But of course an ultimate victory was much less likely, and wiser heads decided to accept the lesser of two evils and accede to American insistence to open the country. In essence, unlike all other countries of East Asia faced with the same threat, Japan decided to join the imperialists rather than fight, and surely succumb to, them. Indeed, within several decades Japan had effectively joined

the ranks of leading world powers, becoming a partner in the scramble for colonies rather than a victim.

The decision was not arrived at easily. For almost two decades an internal debate raged in Japan, culminating in the successful revolution guided by a small group of relatively young men who rationally assessed the state of international affairs and Japan's position in the world. Argument and assassination, debate and deceit were all employed in the 1850s and 1860s as various forces in Japan struggled with the issue of whether to resist the West or yield to its demands. ⁶ It was an especially difficult question for a warrior ruling class technically charged with the defense of the country, but lacking the ability and the will to do so.

One defense initiative the bakufu adopted ultimately had little direct effect on Japan's initial encounter with Western military threats, but it indirectly helped to transform the martial arts into their modern forms---although that was clearly not the intention. This was the establishment of the Kobusho (Academy for Military Training) in 1856 at the order of Chief Councilor Abe Masahiro. ⁷ While most domains in Japan had established educational institutions with both a civil and a martial component, as we have seen in Chapter Four, the bakufu itself remained behind the times. Despite the efforts to increase martial skills and spirit in the eras of Yoshimune and Sadanobu, the bakufu had by the 1830s still not established any military training facility for its vassals, whose abilities had eroded even further. The bakufu began discussing in earnest the establishment of the Kobusho in 1854, however, the year following Perry's dramatic entry into Edo harbor. It seems clear that the impetus was a desire to strengthen the military capabilities of both the bakufu itself and the nation as a whole. ⁸

While various locations for the Kobusho were being debated, officials to oversee the facility were appointed in 1855. The Academy itself, occupying a large area of over 6,000 tsubo (1 tsubo=J.95 square yards) in Tsukiji, was formally opened in the third month of 1856. It was several times larger than similar institutions operated by major domains. The bakufu's primary concern seems to have been instruction in the techniques of Western gunnery, but Japanese gunnery

(hojutsu), swordsmanship, and use of the spear were also emphasized. ¹⁰

Training at the Kobusho evidenced a concern for the practical, and the organizing authorities deliberately chose to disregard some of the negative aspects of the Tokugawa martial arts world. For example, the Academy emphasized competitive matches, in which fencers used shinai and spear fighters fought with spear tips covered, and competitors wore protective gear. Moreover, teachers were selected without regard to the prestigious ryuha of the past. That meant that the fencing instructors to the shogunal house---the Yagyu and the Ono---were not selected, largely because their styles were more kataoriented and less practical. They were instead passed over for instructors from the new schools which had risen during the Edo era stressing shinai uchikomi keiko, like Otani Seiichiro of the Jikishin kage-ryu, who served as a supervisor at the Academy. ¹¹

Other Academy fencing instructors included Sakakibara Kenkichi, also of the Jikishin kage-ryu; Matsushita Seiichiro and Mihashi Torazo of the Jingyoto-ryu; and Toda Hachirozaemon from the Tamiya-ryu. ¹² Under the two directors of the Academy were three officials directly in charge of operations: Katsu Rintar5, Egawa Tar5zaemon, and Shimosone Kinzaburo. All three were involved in sophisticated Western-style gunnery at the time. In fact, if one considers the composition of the original "faculty" of the K5busho---fourteen in gunnery, eleven in swordsmanship, and ten in spear---it is clear that its main objective was to improve gunnery, which by 1850 had already been perceived as the most effective means to discourage Western coastal encroachment, defend against Western ships, and resist foreigners in general. ¹³ This is further underscored by the fact that the curriculum allotted almost twice as much time to gunnery as to sword and spear practice. ¹⁴

The Kobusho was moved from Tsukiji to Ogawamachi in 1860, after the death of Abe, by the new Chief Councillor, Ii Naosuke. The facility was expanded by almost triple, providing considerably more space for the Tokugawa vassals to practice their various skills. The emphasis upon gunnery did not change,

however, followed by swordsmanship and spear; but archery and jujutsu were now added to the Academy's curriculum with the shift in location. The faculty was expanded to sixteen gunnery instructors, ten remained for the spear, swordsmanship staffing increased to fourteen (essentially the same men with a few new additions), while two jujutsu teachers and one archery instructor were added.¹⁵

Apparently, over its ten year history, the Kobusho yielded to the argument of traditionalists and added archery---which as we have seen throughout pre-modern Japanese history retained a very special place in the heart of the Japanese warrior---and jujutsu to the curriculum. From the outset, Tokugawa hatamoto resisted the Academy because of its heavy emphasis upon gunnery and its practicality in general.¹⁶ The shogun's conservative vassals maintained a prejudice against gunnery as something for lower ranking warriors and common soldiers, despite a general recognition of its superiority in actual warfare. Thus, the bakufu included archery, even for a time such seemingly impractical forms as inuoumono, in the expanded Kobusho at Ogawamachi. Partly because archery had not been part of the original curriculum, many hatamoto had been unwilling to cooperate, some even claiming that the press of other duties kept them from regular attendance. In that sense, the latter Ogawamachi Kobusho seemed to represent a certain return to an earlier martial arts tradition.

Yet even in the face of hatamoto resistance, and despite struggles over the certification of fencers from non-shiai styles of swordsmanship, in its approach to martial arts, the Academy remained basically committed to training vassals in practical, contest-oriented swordsmanship and spear. By breaking through the closed nature of the myriad Edo ryuha, allowing their secrets to be displayed and practiced publicly, and pitting swordsmen from different ryuha in competitive arenas, the Kobusho encouraged a trend which had been developing in the bakumatsu martial arts world. By so doing, it unwittingly contributed to the virtual disappearance of the ryuha in the Meiji era and their replacement by a new form of fencing, or kendo.

Not surprisingly, the teaching of inuoumono at the Kobusho was short-lived. Probably introduced due largely to the political machinations of the Ogasawara family, this mounted sport archery was immediately perceived as being totally anachronistic.¹⁹ As we saw in Chapter Five, it had already become a complex sport in Muromachi times, and to seek to return to it was a momentary delusion. But it did go hand in hand with other attempts to teach vassals to use both sword and spear from horseback, which were initially regarded as potentially useful in the modern warfare Japan might be called upon to wage.²⁰

The Academy's commitment to practical military affairs reasserted itself in 1862 when archery, inuoumono, and jujutsu were all dropped from the curriculum, and even from official review by the shogun.²¹ This was confirmation that the authorities recognized the superiority---and inevitability---of the gun, but it did not meet with universal approval. Ogasawara Kanejiro, who was dropped as archery instructor, was personally shocked, and found it very short-sighted to ignore this "important weapon since the Age of the Gods."²² For Kanejiro as both archery instructor and Iemoto of the Ogasawara school, this dismissal represented an enormous loss of face. His family had cooperated with eighth Shogun Yoshimune in the reestablishment of the kyuba no hajime ceremony on the civil calendar. The peace of the realm, the security of the Tokugawa house, and the preservation of martial fortune had been regarded as protected by this annual ceremony, and to see it curtailed was both painful and socially demening. Kanejiro's petitions to the bakufu were ignored; but a year later shogunal instructions, while not advocating archery or reinstating it in the curriculum, at least recognized some value in shooting and suggested that carrying bow and arrows could be permitted. But this was a minor concession, and the fate of archery as a cherished martial art of both courtier and warrior alike was sealed.

The Kobusho also facilitated the modern development of kendo by standardizing the shinai, the bamboo sword which had become popular in Edo fencing. Until the bakumatsu era, shinai length varied widely, as individual fencers and specific schools found an advantage in having longer, or shorter, shinai. The Academy forbade the use of shinai longer than three feet nine inches, and that remains the official length in kendo today. Moreover, while the Kobusho's original intent was

to limit training to the hatamoto, in practice others who desired admittance were also allowed to study. This further enhanced open competition among fencers from different ryuha, a practice which had been largely avoided until the bakumatsu era.

Swordsmanship in the Meiji Period

The Kobusho was disbanded in its tenth year, 1866. Its gunnery section and instructors were transferred to the new Rikugunsho (Office of the Army), while the swordsmanship and spear teachers and students were reformed into the Yugekitai, a special unit for foot soldiers. But the new Meiji government, which embarked upon a course of rapid modernization after toppling the Tokugawa regime in 1868, soon took steps which all but put an end to the traditional martial arts, primary of which in numbers of schools, teachers, and practitioners was swordsmanship.

The Meiji Restoration, as the overthrow of the Tokugawa bakufu by other members of the Samurai class is termed, has puzzled historians. It is often seen as an incomplete revolution, a "revolution from the top down" or an "aristocratic" revolution, where one class did not displace another.²⁴ Others have argued that since it was predominantly lower Samurai with very specific class interests who toppled their higher ranking warrior superiors, there was in fact a class nature to the action. But what happened bore little resemblance to the French or Russian revolutions.

What is even more unusual is that although most of the new Meiji oligarchs were primarily Samurai,²⁶ they very quickly instituted measures to strip their own class of the privileges it enjoyed in Edo times. By 1871 they had abolished feudal domains and established modern prefectures. By 1876 the Samurai privilege of wearing swords was abolished, and in the same year, the stipend system instituted to replace income Samurai had once derived from their lords was brought to an end, with compulsory commutation to government bonds. Collectively, these actions represent the declassment of the bushi. Many ex-Samurai were able to make the transition to bureaucrats in the new government, or to become teachers in the new school system; some became entrepreneurs, businessmen, clerks, or even returned to farming. But as a class the Samurai was

gone. And the martial arts, which had been a source of livelihood for many, were no longer of use in a society whose goal was "civilization and enlightenment" along Western lines.

Many ex-Samurai were not able to adjust, however. Some became destitute. Others, disillusioned with the fate of their class and what they regarded as excessive Westernization, launched several armed revolts against the new government: the Saga Rebellion in northern Kyushu in 1874; the Shinpuren Rebellion in Kumamoto, the Akitsuki Rebellion in Fukuoka, and the Hagi Rebellion in Yamaguchi, all in October of 1876. The last gasp of the frustrated warrior element was the largest of the rebellions, the Satsuma Rebellion led by Saigo Takamori which raged for the first nine months of 1877. Here the newly trained conscript army of peasants, armed with Western rifles and trained in Western ways, proved far superior to the sword-wielding Samurai diehards clinging to the symbols of an older age. Swordsmanhood was on the verge of disappearing with the Samurai class.

But swordsmanship did not die out. Instead, it was rescued, resuscitated, and restructured into the kendo which today enjoys widespread popularity both in Japan and internationally. Important persons and institutions in that process include Sakakibara Kenkichi, who helped rescue fencing in the early Meiji period; the Tokyo Metropolitan Police, which began to systematize one form of kendo from a variety of ryuha; the Dai Nihon Butokukai, which further unified and spread the study of kendo; and the national educational system, which at length brought kendo to many Japanese young men in the prewar era.

The Resuscitation of Fencing

The early Meiji government adopted a hostile attitude toward fencing academies, closing the machi dojo, first forbidding the wearing of swords on all but formal occasions, and finally abolishing them altogether (except for government officials of high rank who wore Western style swords on formal occasions in the continental European manner). Naturally, a great number of instructors lost their source of livelihood in the process. ²⁸ one man who was determined to prevent this process from reaching its logical conclusion was the Jikishin kage-ryu fencer, Sakakibara Kenkichi.

Born in 1830 in the Hiroo section of Azabu in Edo, Sakakibara was a Tokugawa vassal who began training in Jikishin kage-ryu style in Otani Seiichiro's nearby dojo when he was thirteen.²⁹ Even after his mother died and his father moved far from Otani's dojo, Sakakibara continued to make the long commute to study with Otani, despite his teacher's suggestion that he attend another dojo closer to home. A proud young man of strong character, he refused to leave his original master and continued to practice assiduously. But since the family was poor, Sakakibara could never afford the examination and other fees necessary to take formal certification tests. Even when he had reached the level of mastery (menkyo kaiden), he made no attempt to undergo formal testing and celebration. Finally, Otani, realizing that lack of money inhibited his superior student from testing, raised the fee from instructors and formally awarded him certification.

Sakakibara, as we have seen, was appointed a Kobusho instructor when it opened in 1856, on Otani's recommendation. When it moved to Ogawamachi, Shogun Iemochi attended the opening ceremony, upon which occasion Sakakibara was pitted against the well-known spear expert Takahashi Kenzaburo. Sakakibara won a decisive victory which so pleased Iemochi that he was appointed the shogun's personal fencing instructor. ³¹ He became Iemochi's close companion, serving him in Edo Castle, and accompanying him on

expeditions outside the city. In fact, during a shogunal trip to Kyoto in 1861, Sakakibara got into an argument with former Samurai from Tosa han, a hotbed of anti-shogunal activity, killing three of them.

When the Kobusho was disbanded, Sakakibara Kenkichi opened his own fencing dojo. He remained a bakufu loyalist to the end, and even accompanied his Tokugawa lord to the fief granted him by the Meiji government in Sunpu (near Nagoya). But three years later Sakakibara was back in Edo, now renamed Tokyo. He even refused an order to become a member of the newly formed Tokyo Metropolitan Police. Disturbed by the successive orders disarming commoners and then Samurai, Sakakibara developed a project to help the declining martial arts community.³³

In 1872 he received official permission to organize the Gekken Kaisha (Fencing Company) and in the first ten days of April, he held a public demonstration of martial arts at a makeshift dojo he had erected on the grounds of the old Izumi mansion in Asakusa. Sakakibara constructed a sumo-like ring, divided the participants into two teams (an East and West side), and had an announcer (yobidashi) call the fencers to the center of the ring to announce their names and start the matches with the ritual opening of a fan, all in imitation of common sumo practice.³⁵ Moreover, he signed up a long line of "stars," 2 3 4 fencers well known from their participation in the Kobusho and other arenas, men like Akamatsu Guntaro, Ozawa Sei, and Ogawa Kiyotake. He included women using naginata, practitioners of the kusarigama, and even several foreigners (the Englishmen McClatchie and Binns)³⁶ to round out his card and attract curious spectators.

Opening day proved to be such a success that for the rest of the run, the small hall overflowed with customers, and many had to be turned away. Previously somewhat isolated from the vaunted fencing techniques of Ede's secretive ryuha, commoners flocked to see the spectacle. So successful was the endeavor that in imitation, other swordsmen like Momonoi and Chiba followed suit, setting up their own gekken shows. (Gekken or gekiken was a common term for kenjutsu

throughout the Tokugawa and Meiji periods.) By September there were more than twenty such martial arts exhibitions in Tokyo, and enterprising fencing promoters in Nagoya, Osaka, and throughout the country spread the interest among the citizenry.³⁷ Larger numbers of women were added, as was jujutsu, horsemanship and other arts which appealed to popular tastes.

The phenomenon of martial arts spectacles continued until mid-Meiji times, although with decreasing popularity.³⁸ The initial craze seems to have worn off: the antiquarian martial arts proved to have no lasting meaning in the lives of ordinary citizens as Japan embarked on the path of modernization. And the very proliferation of companies offering shows simply divided the number of interested spectators rather than expanding the market, once the initial novelty had worn off.

How to assess the contribution of Sakakibara's gekken shows has been a problem for Japanese historians and martial arts practitioners alike. On the negative side, many found the whole endeavor demeaning. Almost as soon as Sakakibara opened his show, editorials condemned this as "selling one's art" to make a profit, a criticism which was never fully rebutted.³⁹ The martial arts, the argument went, should not be beautified to attract spectators. Critics considered it corrupting of the true spirit of the martial arts to present them for the amusement and amazement of an audience. It may well have had some negative impact on the development of kendo training and matches. Indeed, it is a criticism still heard today in the martial arts community.

On the other hand, gekken shows undoubtedly gave a needed boost to fencing and other martial arts at a time when they were on the verge of disappearing. They provided a livelihood for fencers who might otherwise have totally abandoned their skills, and spread interest in (and some knowledge of) a hitherto largely unknown means of mental and physical training broadly among the populace. Clearly, the martial arts world today, where judo is an Olympic sport and karate and kendo tournaments pack gymnasiums around the world, depends heavily upon the support of spectators, whose interest was aroused in the early

Meiji period by these gekken shows. In fact, the popularization of fencing and other martial arts among the Japanese masses during this period provides an interesting parallel to their popularization in the United States in the early postwar period, where promoters used Madison Square Garden and other large public stadiums to stage "death defying" martial feats that were more show than substance. I will look at this phenomenon in detail in Volume Two, but suffice it to say that today there still are positive and negative assessments of the contribution of these gekken spectacles to kendo's development---just as there still remain strong differences of opinion over whether the martial arts ought to be presented as sporting competition or not.

Tokyo Police and the Reorganization of Kendo

If the resuscitation of fencing can be credited to the Meiji gekken shows, it was the Tokyo Metropolitan Police that began to reorganize the disparate world of Edo kenjutsu into a standardized modern kendo. Largely as a result of their experience in the Satsuma Rebellion, members of the police became convinced of the need for training in the martial arts, especially fencing. At the Battle of Tahara Castle in Kumamoto, for example, a troop of policemen (the Batto-tai) successfully routed the rebels in heavy fighting, thanks to their skill with sword and spear. The Tokyo Metropolitan Police was established in 1874 under the headship of Kawaji Toshiyoshi (1836-1879), a former Satsuma warrior who helped overthrow the bakufu and was subsequently sent to Europe to study police matters.⁴⁰ During the Satsuma Rebellion, Kawaji fought against many of his old Satsuma compatriots and some members of the police who resigned in disgust to join the revolt.⁴¹ After the rebellion, Kawaji drafted and presented to police leaders a proposal for the "revival of fencing," urging---based upon the success in Satsuma---that kendo be added to the training of the police force.

Fencing is practiced assiduously in the various Western nations. If Japan abolishes fencing, then someday we will have to learn it from them. Now the saber is nowhere near as sharp as the Japanese sword; so if we abolish Japanese swordsmanship (kenpo) and learn to use the Western saber, that would be equivalent to throwing away gold and picking up broken roof tiles... Although this may be the age of the gun, the success of the Batto-tai in the Sainan War is more proof of kenpo's worth than all other arguments. Moreover, swordsmanship is of great value in training character and instilling diligence.

Kawaji's argument was persuasive. In 1879, a number of noted late Edo swordsmen was recruited to demonstrate and then teach fencing to regular police officers. The group included such luminaries as Henmi Munesuke, Ueda Umanosuke, and Mihashi Kan'ichiro. But there was a major problem when these

swordsmen of different ryuha were brought together: they all espoused different styles, with narrow but deeply felt emotional loyalties to their own ryu. It was evident to police authorities that some form of unified, systematized kata was necessary to teach their police recruits a single form of fencing which would be useful to them in the performance of their duties.

The solution authorities adopted was to create a series of ten kata, selecting one each from the major ryuha represented by their instructors: Kyoshin meichi-ryu, Yagyu-ryu, Munen-ryu, Jigen-ryu, Hokushin itto-ryu, Hozan-ryu, Jikishin kage-ryu, Kurama-ryu, Risshin-ryu, and Asayama ichiden-ryu. This was a tentative first step toward the unification of kata from various ryuha into a systematized body of techniques for training and teaching purposes, which as we will see was later refined by the Dai Nihon Butokukai. There is no doubt that this work of the Tokyo police, however, was an important contribution to the creation of modern kendo. It was also clearly in accord with the trend to downplay individual ryuha differences which we saw in the establishment of the Kobusho in the bakumatsu era, and even in the pairing of swordsmen from different schools in the gekken shows.

Kawaji was succeeded after his death in 1879 by Mishima Toshitsune (1835-1888) who served as head of the Tokyo police from 1885 to 1888. Continuing Kawaji's policies, Mishima attracted swordsmen from all parts of the country as instructors without regard to ryuha affiliation, and scheduled major tournaments between these fencers. He was especially known for promoting the nationwide tournament at the Mukogaoka Yayoi Jinja, which thereafter became an annual event.⁴⁵ These two Tokyo police officials played an important role in the restructuring of Edo period kenjutsu into modern kendo, a process which was completed by the Dai Nihon Butokukai.

The Dai Nippon Butokukai and the Creation of Kendo

The Dai Nihon Butokukai, or 'Great Japan Martial Virtue Association,' was formed as part of a celebration to commemorate the founding of Kyoto as the capital of Japan by Emperor Kanmu in 795. The 1100th anniversary of the event took place in 1895, and the major activity was construction of the Heian Jingu, a faithful recreation at sixty percent of scale of the Imperial Audience Hall of the original palace. ⁴⁶ With its attached garden, the Heian Shrine remains one of the major tourist attractions in Kyoto, located in the Okazaki area near the Kyoto Zoo, the Kyoto Museum, and other well-known sites.

When construction of the Heian Shrine began, the nation was involved in the Sino-Japanese War; and nationalism, fueled by the "Rich Country, Strong Army" sloganeering of the Meiji government and an educational system designed to produce nationalistic citizens, was rampant in Japan. Perhaps inevitably, as the popularity of fencing and other martial arts was somewhat raised over the first two decades of the Meiji era by the gekken spectacles and the police institutionalization of kendo, these arts---now called kobudo, or "old martial arts"---attracted increasing attention from nationalists as repositories of traditional morality, spirituality, and unique martial virtues.

The initial craze for things Western had understandably peaked, and many Japanese sought to reassess their traditional values and institutions rather than mimic those of the West. That reassessment increased interest in the martial arts, but at the same time set Japan upon a course which ultimately led to the warping of the traditional martial arts and attendant values into something quite different--often lumped under the ambiguous but emotionally laden term "bushido"---designed to serve the expansionist goals of the Japanese state.

At any rate, as part of the celebration of Kyoto's 1100th anniversary, a movement to erect a copy of the Butokuden ("Hall of Martial Virtues") in Kyoto was directed by a number of Kyoto's leading citizens, including the head of the Heian Shrine Mibu Motonaga and Prefectural Governor Watanabe Chiaki. The Heian Shrine was erected amidst the outburst of nationalism which accompanied victory in the Sino-Japanese War and national outrage at the Triple Intervention in which Russia, Germany, and France forced Japan to yield the Liaotung Peninsula, ceded to Japan by China in the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Consequently, "in order to promote the traditional martial arts and stimulate the martial spirit of the citizenry," the Association inaugurated a movement to build a new Butokuden, in imitation of the hall erected to the northeast of the Imperial Audience Chamber by Emperor Kanmu for the encouragement of martial skills a millennium earlier.

The Association was nominally headed by Prince Komatsu Akihito; Governor Watanabe served as President, with Mibu, one of the courtiers who had participated in the Meiji Restoration, as Vice President.⁵² To commemorate the founding of the Butokukai, a temporary outdoor dojo was erected and a great martial arts tournament held in 1896. For kendo alone, there were six different groupings of at least fifty fencers, a total of 160 matches in all, from among the victors of which fifteen were selected to receive special certificates from the Prince himself. Among them was Hagiwara Rennosuke, the Saitama fencing instructor whom we met in Chapter Four. This particular pattern of annual matches, with victors being presented certificates, was repeated annually through 1903 with little change. The only major change was that in 1899 the Butokuden was completed and the matches were held there, rather than in the temporary dojo where the two first tournaments were held or the Sanjusangendo Temple which hosted the third.

There was a change, however, in fencing in 1903 during the Eighth Annual Tournament affecting the awarding of certification. At that event, a new designation for senior fencing instructors was established. The highest rank was designated as hanshi, followed by kyoshi, still today the highest ranks for kendoists. The Association's qualifications for hanshi included being a model fencer, having made significant contributions to the Association, having more

than forty years of martial arts experience after attaining adulthood, and having previously held the rank of kyoshi. A kyoshi had to be a respectable man who had received a certificate of training at the Association and had competed in the annual matches. Hanshi were at that time granted annual salaries, to be retained until death, of fifty yen; but this remuneration was later canceled during the Taisho era (1912- 2 6).

For the first nine annual tournaments, the Butokukai required that all fencers compete in refereed matches, but in 1905 at the Tenth Annual Tournament, some of the distinguished fencers were allowed to engage in referee-less (no decision) matches. In 1922 at the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting, that privilege was extended to all kyoshi and hanshi. But in 1929 at the Thirty-Third Tournament, the no decision privilege was once again limited to just a few fencers.

The Dai Nihon Butokukai was instrumental in establishing the standardized methods of teaching and practicing kendo as we know it today. I have already observed that the Tokyo Metropolitan Police brought some systematization to fencing kata by selecting one each from ten different ryuha. But the Butokukai went even further with that process. At the Eleventh Annual Tournament in 1906, the Association attempted to establish the Dai Nihon Butokukai kendo kata, consisting of three different forms.ss But there was too much opposition to the new system, and it was not universally adopted by kendoists.

Consequently, the Association made a more vigorous and concentrated attempt in 1912, forming a special committee of twenty-five of its leading fencers to consider the consolidation of kata. The Butokukai's then head, Oura Kanetake, served as chairman of the committee, assisted by Kano Jigoro, founder and head of the Kodokan judo headquarters. There were five hanshi and twenty kyoshi, selected to represent the nation rather widely: four from Tokyo, two from Kyoto, three from the Association's headquarters, and five from Kyushu prefectures. Tohoku, Shikoku, and Hokuriku were all represented, and there was even a representative from the colony of Taiwan. ⁵⁶ This time, the committee was able to agree upon a fixed Dai Nihon Butokukai kendo kata, which included seven

forms for the long sword, three for the short.

Following the establishment of the Butokuden as an arena for teaching and practicing kendo (still most commonly known as gekken in Meiji times) and other martial arts, the Association expanded and consolidated its organization in the fourth decade of the Meiji era, riding on the popularity of the martial arts and martial spirit, and then fueled by the publication of such works as Nitobe Inazo's *Bushido: the Soul of Japan*, which caught the public eye and was immensely popular even abroad.⁵⁸ An increased membership was recruited through police organizations, and with the help of prefectural offices, especially by appointing Governors to serve as regional chairmen of Butokukai local chapters. The Butokuden itself became, in the words of one author, the "mecca" of Japanese martial arts.⁵⁹

The Dai Nihon Butokukai played a very important role in establishing both facilities and standards for the teaching of kendo and other martial arts as well. Although kendo was only slowly and grudgingly accepted into the emerging Japanese school system, as we shall see, the Association developed primary responsibility for teaching it in schools, which helped to spread the practice throughout Japan. Despite a determined campaign supporting kendo's adoption, only after Meiji's mid-thirties did it appear that anything would materialize.

But if kendo were to be taught in schools, there had to be teachers. So the Association established, in October of 1906, a Martial Arts Instructors Training Center (Bujutsu Kyoin Yoseisho), with a two-year course. Apparently standards were not very high, because two years later the Association created a Martial Arts School (Bujutsu Gakko), soon renamed the Martial Arts Professional School (Semmon Gakko) when Ministry of Education permission was obtained. The course was open to graduates of middle schools. The Professional School provided a steady stream of kendo instructors for Japanese middle schools from the late Meiji period throughout the prewar and wartime era. In sum, it would be difficult to overestimate the role of the Dai Nihon Butokukai in preserving Japan's swordsmanship tradition, consolidating its

varied styles into a single nationwide form of kendo, and propagating it widely both in its own tournaments and through the school system.

Kendo and the Educational System

Westerners may find it surprising that Meiji politicians and educators opposed the teaching of fencing and other martial arts in schools. Emotions aroused by the Pacific War often color our views of prewar Japanese institutions. The educational system, for example, was especially singled out by the American Occupation as an institution requiring drastic overhaul, since it was regarded as a primary engine for fostering ultra-nationalism. Our image is of Japanese youth engaging in fierce kendo practice, mindlessly vowing loyalty to Emperor Hirohito. But in fact, the Meiji Japanese establishment resisted efforts to add kendo and judo to the curriculum for almost forty years, much to the dismay of many ex-Samurai and virtually the entire martial arts community.

Following the first decade of Meiji fascination with everything Western, the pendulum swung back toward a reaffirmation of Japanese tradition, including the value of the martial arts. Quite early on, some schools, the new universities like Keio, Waseda and Tokyo Imperial University, but also higher schools as well, began to experiment with gekken either as an elective or more often as an extra-curricular activity. A movement was launched to convince the government to add fencing and other martial arts to the school curriculum, a movement which gained momentum after Kano Jigoro founded the Kodokan judo organization in 1882.⁶¹

In response, the new Ministry of Education (founded in 1871) began questioning experts around the country as to the appropriateness of the martial arts as forms of physical education. The process was a long and arduous one, culminating by the end of the Meiji period in the introduction of kendo and judo into the school curriculum. But at the outset of the period, kendo was not favorably regarded. It could hardly have been otherwise, since the Japanese martial tradition had been thoroughly discredited by modern Western military technology.

The school system was conceived for a distinctly national purpose: to train bureaucrats and other professionals who could build a Japan which could compete with rather than succumb to the Western colonial powers. Consequently, "(t)he content of the new education system was almost entirely from the west. ⁶²

Among early Western advisors to the Meiji government were many educators, including those in physical education. One of them was the American Dr. George E. Leland, who was invited to Japan to assist in developing a physical education program. As a result of his efforts, the Taiso Denshusho (the Center for Gymnastic Training) was established in 1878. This Center in 1883 convened a panel of doctors, martial artists, and others to debate the issue of whether or not gekken and jujutsu had educational value. After an investigation which took over a year and a half, the Center concluded that while both did have physical and spiritual value, they were also dangerous, violent, and detrimental to growth and health. The recommendation was that since these martial arts were inappropriate as regular school subjects, they not be introduced.

More than a decade later, when nationalism was aroused during the popular war against China, several developments already mentioned---the founding of the Dai Nihon Butokukai, the police annual tournaments, the gekken shows, the founding of the Kodokan---heightened popular interest in the martial arts. In such an atmosphere the Ministry of Education took up the matter again in 1896, focusing especially on the health question. The conclusion was once again that kendo and judo should not be regular subjects. However, the committee felt that such activities were acceptable for strong, healthy males over sixteen---but only as elective subjects. ⁶⁵

Again in 1905 a Committee to Investigate Gymnastics and Sports was formed in the Ministry of Education to consider a number of questions regarding physical education in Japan. Once again the subject of gekken and judo was raised. And yet again the proposal was denied, both because of health reasons (they were not

suitable for physical development) and due to a lack of research on how to teach the activities. The Ministry opinion remained in favor of Western-style gymnastics and physical education, which were deemed more educational and scientific.

Martial arts supporters and practitioners did not give up, however. In the face of the educational establishment's preference for Western-style physical education, an interesting twist in the argument arose in 1907 with Matsumoto Shintaro's publication of *Shinan gekken taiso-ho* (Newly Formulated Fencing Calisthenics). The essential thrust of this work was to present kendo as a form of calisthenics, in a scarcely concealed attempt to deceive the Ministry.

Matsumoto was not alone. Elementary school principal Ozawa Unosuke argued for the same type of exercise in *Shinshiki bujutsu taiso-ho* (New style of Martial Calisthenics) stressing both spiritual and physical benefits practitioners could obtain from the "martial calisthenics." But this abortive effort was more than anything a sign of the desperation of traditional fencing exponents to convince a skeptical Ministry of Education of the value of the martial arts. Ironically, some four decades later, proponents of kendo, trying to disengage martial arts from the stigma of total identification with Japanese wartime education, would again be trying to convince the country's leaders---this time MacArthur's Occupation forces---of the same thing.

The pro-kendo movement finally succeeded in getting fencing added to the curriculum in 1911. The movement had by this time enlisted even members of Japan's new parliament, the Diet, to which body the matter was at length brought. Two representatives from Saitama Prefecture, Ozawa Aijiro and Hoshino Senzo, submitted a bill advocating the introduction of gekken and judo to the physical education curriculum at the twenty-first Diet session in 1905, where it was defeated.⁶⁸ But they continued their efforts within the Diet, while other kendo advocates worked to change official minds. Success was achieved in the next session when the Diet officially approved gekken. But in actuality it took until 1908 when another bill was passed, revising Ministry of Education

regulations adding gekken and judo to the school curriculum. With the subsequent school orders of 1911 concerning normal school and middle school curriculum, these two physical education courses were approved as electives. Thus the movement to have kendo, still in government orders referred to as gekken, and judo taught regularly in schools actually consumed the entire Meiji period. 1911 was the forty-fourth year of Meiji.

Important changes in Japan's international position meant that the history of kendo would be quite different over the next four decades. The Taisho period (1912-1925) saw little change, except that kendo became the term commonly used for fencing.

Kendo was finally allowed as a regular school subject in 1917.⁶⁹ But by the 1930s as Japan's rapid expansion on the Chinese mainland aroused both Chinese nationalism and foreign opprobrium, an ultra-nationalistic mood gripped the country which affected all social and political institutions.

For kendo, it meant an almost total about-face. Whereas the Meiji academic establishment feared the martial arts would be detrimental to their charges' health and foster undesirable competition, by the 1930s the very same authorities recast the martial arts, especially kendo, in a positive light. In a 1931 middle school order, for example, kendo was recognized as useful in fostering a resolute, determined national spirit and training both the mind and the body. By 1936 "forging character" was added to the positive values the Ministry of Education perceived in kendo.⁷⁰ Compared to other physical education endeavors, only kendo included classroom lectures as well as actual training; and in kendo the focus was clearly on the spiritual, moralistic (do) elements which were part of the Buddho-Confucian philosophical background of kendo's history.

The situation worsened after the Manchurian Incident of 1937 and Japan entered a state of war. Having withdrawn from the League of Nations two years earlier, Japan was increasingly forced to "go it alone" as an international outlaw, an

imperialist who had mastered the technology just when other nations decided imperialism was no longer justifiable. As Japan's school system was harnessed to serve militaristic government policies, kendo became a more important instrument for inculcating a nationalistic spirit and even as a potentially useful battlefield skill. Along with all other sports organizations and physical education bodies, kendo---both in the schools and elsewhere---was harnessed to political goals.

For example, the Dai Nihon Butokukai was totally reorganized to serve the war effort in 1941, again as an arena in which traditional "spiritual" values (increasingly cast as superior to "materialist" Western values) were to be inculcated. A series of government orders from 1937-42 served to focus the nation's physical education program around kendo and the martial arts (budo) in general, and budo flourished far beyond the dreams of those Meiji fencers who once sought to convince a doubting government to support swordsmanship. By the 1940s, gymnastics had given way to military training in schools, and elementary schools---renamed national people's schools (kokumin gakkō) in 1941---even had military training and kendo introduced into their curriculum. In fact, budo was required for boys of the fifth grade and above---and made possible for girls as well.

The lengths to which the Imperial government went to harness kendo can be gleaned from this plan for normal school martial arts teachers in 1943: ⁷¹

- 1.) We must induce (our students) to master our nation's unique martial arts and train healthy, vigorous minds and bodies;
- 2.) As well as nourishing a disposition to hone a martial spirit, esteem propriety and value modesty; we must encourage an aggressive spirit and a confidence in certain victory;
- 3.) We must inculcate a spirit of self-sacrifice and train an actual fighting mentality.

In teaching kendo, too, the emphasis was upon fostering an aggressive attitude and "killing" thrusts rather than simple strikes. ⁷²

The war forced Japan into a total national mobilization of human and natural resources, as her soldiers were strewn out over the entire mainland and insular Asian and Pacific region. Hardly an institution escaped mobilization for the war effort, and the martial arts were no exception. Along with the militarization of physical education within the school system, all existing martial arts groups were also subject to mass organization, at the suggestion of a special Martial Arts Promotion Society (Bude Shinko Iinkai) established by the government in 1939 to investigate the matter. As a result, first there was a special Martial Training Section (Renbuka) established in the Ministry of Health in 1941 to coordinate organization of a nation-wide martial organization. ⁷³ That goal was achieved in March, 1942, when the old Dai Nihon Butokukai was transformed into a new organization bearing the same name, but which now became a government-controlled national federation of all martial arts groups linked together to serve the war effort. The new Butokukai was composed of five different sections, one each for kendo, judo, archery, bayonet, and shooting. Never very effective at actually promoting tournaments, training, or other goals, the organization was immediately disbanded at the outset of the American Occupation. (The old Dai Nihon Butokukai was reestablished at the end of the Occupation in 1952, and currently it holds an annual Martial Arts Festival in Kyoto on the 29th of April.)

Postwar Kendo

Kendo did survive the almost fatal association with Japanese wartime militarism. As I suggested above, the situation facing kendo practitioners at the end of the war was somewhat analogous to that at the outset of the Meiji period: kendo was regarded as an anachronistic relic of a discredited system by a new, reformist government. In the mid-nineteenth century, it was the Western-oriented Meiji government, personified by the Ministry of Education; a century later, it was still the Ministry of Education as the agent of an equally Western-oriented new government, overshadowed by the occupying SCAP bureaucracy. (SCAP, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, was the technical title given to General Douglas MacArthur to oversee the allied Occupation of Japan, which in fact became an American affair. It lasted from 1945-1952.)

Of course, the situation was worse in 1945. Japan was occupied by enemy troops and civilians especially appointed to disarm and demilitarize Japan. The martial arts had been so closely identified with Japanese militarism that the very term *budo* was anathema to the Occupation authorities. Accordingly, the new Ministry of Education, under SCAP direction, soon banned the term itself and issued orders forbidding the teaching of kendo and judo in the school system, leaving open the possibility that it could be practiced as sport. Then in November of 1945 another Ministry order not only banned martial training in the curriculum, but also forbade it as a student club activity as well.

For those who sought the opportunity to practice fencing privately, on their own time but using school facilities, the way was also closed: in December an order forbade such practice on school properties. And since it was totally banished from the system, another order quite logically rescinded the licensing of kendo instructors, who were theoretically no longer necessary. ⁷⁵

The situation again recalled the early Meiji period, when the banning of machi dojo and the decline of interest in fencing resulted in unemployed swordsmanship teachers. In 1947 SCAP issued another directive dealing with educational reform.⁷⁶ In section 10, SCAP addressed the matter of militaristic education, stating that: In all educational organizations, the teaching of military curriculum must be forbidden. The wearing of student military uniforms must also be forbidden.

Traditional activities like kendo, which foster a fighting spirit, must too be abolished. Physical education must no longer be linked to "spiritual education." (You) must put more emphasis upon on purely physical exercise, games other than (military) training, and recreational activities. If instructors wearing military-type uniforms are employed as physical education instructors or engage in sports and physical education activities, they must have their qualifications examined.

As was the case almost a century earlier, however, fencing practitioners would prove able to outlast the authorities. Kendo enthusiasts did not give up their endeavor, continuing to practice informally while seeking ways to make it respectable again. In a move somewhat reminiscent of the Meiji attempt to practice gekken in the guise of "military calisthenics," kendoists this time created what they termed shinai kyogi ("bamboo sword competition") in which they totally deemphasized the spiritual aspects of kendo---for clearly it was the budo, the ethical, spiritual basis of fencing which was the biggest stumbling block to Occupation minds---and stressed instead the sporting nature of this endeavor. Professor Nakabayashi notes a number of changes they made in traditional kendo in order to satisfy the Ministry of Education, and ultimately its SCAP overseers.n

1. The shinai was constructed differently from the old one, in three sections which were made of 32, 16, and 8 separate pieces of split bamboo, working from tip to shaft. It was covered with cloth or leather to make it even softer. The result was a much lighter and whippier sword.

2. The protective gear was made lighter and more economical, again stressing the sporting aspect.
3. The old keikogi and hakama (skirt) were eliminated so that one could practice in shirt and pants.
4. A fixed ring was adopted.
5. Time limits were fixed, with the leader on points within the time frame declared the victor.
6. Illegal actions were established, with specific penalties to be assessed against the violator.
7. Hitting the legs, striking the body, and unnecessary shouting were all prohibited.
8. Finally, the refereeing situation was rationalized with three judges per match, a winner receiving two out of three votes. Shinai kyogi advocates even created an nation-wide organization, and ultimately succeeded in convincing the Ministry of Education to allow this new form of sport kendo to be part of the regular middle and high school curriculum in 1952.

But in 1953, after the Occupation ended, many of the American educational ideals were ignored, allowed to run their course, or otherwise eliminated. Thus while much of the contemporary Japanese educational system is new, much also links it to that of the prewar era. As an example, kendo was reinstated as a regular course in middle and high schools, along with shinai kyagi; but the two merged into school kenda by 1957, and shinai kyagi essentially disappeared--- although insofar as kenda today is practiced much more as sport, with well-defined rules, it is fair to say that shinai kyagi had some lasting influence.

Kenda today is a well-organized competitive sport, following the early organizational attempts of enthusiasts to resuscitate it from association with militarism. From as early as 1949 discussions of a possible nationwide organization began to be held, and on October 13-14, 1952, a meeting of

representatives from all over Japan met in the Tatetsu Shokuin Kaikan (Tokyo Railway Employees Hall) in Harajuku, Tokyo where they formed the Zen Nihon Kenda Renmei, or All Japan Kenda Federation. Soon, however, schools began clamoring for their own organization, with Osaka the focal point of the movement; and in 1961 the All Japan School Kenda Federation (Zen Nihon Gakka Kenda Renmei) was formed. Almost six months later in October, a similar organization for non-students, the Zen Nihon Jitsudan Kenda Renmei (All Japan Industrial Organizations Kenda Federation) was also established.

These three major organizations continue to administer kenda teaching, training, and tournaments in Japan, where kenda has enjoyed a boom since the 1960s. Kenda has received increasing international attention as well, and many countries around the world have established their own national organizations. The International Kenda Federation, operating with the same standards as the All Japan Kendo Federation, was formed in 1970. The IKF has a board of directors composed of representatives from various constituent nations, and it holds a tournament every three years.

Kendo practice today involves training in the various techniques (waza) of attack and defense: thrusts, parries, and body shifting. Practice sessions (keiko, just as in Edo times) involve either free style sustained attacks (kakari keiko) or preparation for actual matches (shiai keiko). Shiai are much more regularized than their Tokugawa or even their prewar counterparts. Shiai are held in square or rectangular rings, varying from nine to eleven meters on a side. The match lasts five minutes, the winner decided by two out of three points, awarded by three judges. Draws result in two minute extensions. Points are awarded for legal "cuts": center of the head or oblique cuts to either temple (the attacker must shout "Men!" meaning face); cuts to either side of the chest (while calling out "Do!", chest); or a cut to either wrist when the opponent's hands are raised (yelling "Kote!" to indicate a strike to the wrist); or a thrust to the throat (where one shouts "Tsuki" or thrust).

Kendo is popular among younger children, even girls, and adults from all walks

of life seeking a sporting and recreational activity which will not only have the enjoyable aspects of competition and camaraderie, but may also help develop character, instill discipline, and revive an interest in traditional Japanese values. The 1964 the huge Nihon Budokan, or Martial Arts Hall, was constructed for the Tokyo Olympics, where it was the venue for the first Olympic judo competition, among other events. Since that time, it has been used for many national kendo and other martial arts tournaments, to say nothing of rock concerts and similar mass events. It also spurred construction of many regional budokan, all of which have helped stimulate kendo popularity in Japan.

Moreover, it is increasingly popular overseas. Kendo clubs are very popular in America, for example, where many communities and universities have excellent clubs and facilities. In Europe, kendo is growing; and Korea and Taiwan, areas once under Japanese colonial domination, have seen a resurgence of popularity of modern sport kendo, despite the lingering ill will generated by Japanese rule. Kendo as sport seems in this case to have overcome political animosity.

While kendo today is essentially a competitive sport, it has never lost the association with character building, spiritual development, and morality which it assumed during the long, peaceful Tokugawa era. Moments of meditation may be perfunctory, but instructors are clearly concerned with more than merely teaching their students how to defeat opponents in a ring.

Whether Japanese youngsters enrolled in a kendo dojo are themselves interested in acquiring discipline and developing other desirable character traits---most likely they are attracted by the fun, competition, and comradeship as in baseball or other sports---their parents have often chosen kendo for them for precisely those reasons. If we recall that Wellington felt the British character was molded on the playing fields of Eton, and that American moralists once saw sport as a means of developing leadership, inculcating sportsmanship, molding personality, subordinating self for greater goals, and other such moral purposes; then the Japanese attitude toward kendo is little different. In fact, as we have seen it has long had this spiritual purpose as well. Such an orientation does not diminish its

value as sport. And calling it a sport does not imply that it cannot have more than "mere" playful activity as a goal.

The Modern Development of Archery

Archery, or kyudo as it has come to be called today, developed in a pattern similar to that of kendo in the modern era, although it was never reduced to quite as severe circumstances, for at least two reasons. First, kyudo, while never yielding the concern for character building which was part of the art from ancient times, had already been transformed from a military skill to a competitive sport in Edo times. If fencers could still hold fast to the ideal that their skills might be called upon even in an age of peace, most archers seem not to have been possessed of any such delusions. Therefore, archery was perhaps less affected by the transformation to Westernized "civilization and enlightenment." Second, unlike kendo, archery was not the core of the educational system's indoctrination of Japanese youth in a militaristic ultra-nationalism, so that it did not suffer the stigma of association with budo and bushido to the same degree.

But clearly, at the outset of the Meiji period, archery too declined precipitously, as the concern with mastering Western forms of combat and military organization preoccupied the Meiji government. Archery instructors too were thrown out of work, even if their numbers did not reach those of fencing teachers. Practitioners still attempted to maintain their skills, and somewhat like the fencers who were trotted forth in gekken spectacles, archers were often reduced to competitive shows for inquisitive citizens, or they opened shooting ranges where the public could try their hand. ⁷⁹ E.J. Harrison, an Englishman who arrived in Japan in 1897, described one such shooting range. so Archery is a very common pastime in Japan, nearly every town and village having one or more ranges at which, for a very small pecuniary consideration, all and sundry may try their skill. During my first year in Yokohama I spent many an enjoyable evening at a favorite daikyuba, or archery range, in the popular resort known among foreigners as Theatre Street and among the Japanese as Isezakicho. The keeper of the range was a member of the shizoku class and a man of splendid physique. He had a fine collection of bows, some of considerable age, the actual weapons of the ante-Meiji clansmen.

Archery thus never totally died out. For example, in 1879, former American President Ulysses S. Grant met with the Emperor and major government officials in Tokyo to discuss such matters as the opening of a parliament and the establishment of a constitution. Grant stayed for more than two months in Japan, as part of a worried tour for peace and goodwill. On August 25th he attended a ceremony at Ueno Park where he planted some flowering trees and was entertained by an exhibition of inuoumono by Ogasawara-ryu archers. The shooting seems not to have made a great impression on Grant. John Russell Young, who accompanied the former President on his two and one half year trip, noted that the General sat to the right of his majesty Emperor

Mutsuhito (Meiji), and that "he remained for an hour, while there were various sports and amusements, mainly feats of horsemanship." Grant's apparent lack of interest was probably shared by most Japanese at the time as well.

In the 1880s there were several performances of mounted archery---both yabusame and inuoumono---at palaces in Tokyo and the mansions of certain former daimyo. Although inuoumono soon died out, yabusame survives in Japan even today, although it is regarded as a quaint feudal custom. It is now performed on special ceremonial occasions at Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine in Kamakura or Meiji Shrine in Tokyo, and at other major shrines as a form of ritual handed down from the past. Both the Ogasawara ryu and Takeda-ryu continue to practice and teach this art to a few; but it is clearly an anachronistic historical ceremony, kept alive diligently by those concerned with preserving the heritage of the past. It is not really a sport, not quite a religious event, but one part of a long tradition of archery in Japan, with social, religious, and military aspects which a few people lovingly keep alive.

But if equestrian archery has been preserved only as a museum piece, ground archery as sport fared much better in Meiji and Taisho times. The preservation of archery traditions owes much to Honda Toshizane (1836-1917), a Tokugawa house vassal who played a role in the history of archery somewhat analogous to

that of Sakakibara Kenkichi in kendo. A student of Hoshino Shigenori in the Edo branch of Chikurin-ha, Toshizane is credited with the modernization of Tokugawa archery into kyudo.⁸³ Archery, as we have seen, was split into many ryuha in Tokugawa times, some emphasizing dosha matches, others remaining devoted to battlefield styles. Like fencing ryuha which had difficulty arriving at a standardized form until the Dai Nihon Butokukai was organized, archery practitioners also displayed a variety of shooting styles and rituals.

But when it was grouped together with kendo, spear, judo, and other martial arts in 1896 in the Butokukai, archery too underwent a resurgence in popularity. Given the Meiji period educational passion for establishing physical education appropriate to a modernizing country, Honda was apparently motivated to focus upon the sport and physical educational aspects of archery to increase its popularity. Accordingly, he created a new form of archery which combined the practical shooting techniques of his own Chikurin-ha with the ritualistic elements of Ogasawara-ryu. He taught numerous students who spread this style, known as Honda-ryu, all around the country. Honda-ryu, along with Ogasawara-ryu and Heki-ryu, continues to dominate Japanese archery today.

Prewar period archery was almost completely dominated by the Dai Nihon Butokukai, which held its annual tournament in Kyoto in the spring, as it does once again today. The Butokukai was instrumental in bringing some degree of standardization to archery with the initiation in 1921 of a new ranking system. Previously, the various ryuha continued the certification methods of their separate traditions, but now a dankyu system was adopted. Kyu are the lower grades, working in descending order to first kyu; dan recognizes a certain level of certification, often in martial arts symbolized by the wearing of the black belt. Dan ranks begin with the lowest, first degree (shodan) and work in ascending order. Such a system was instituted first in judo, but soon spread, through the work of the Dai Nihon Butokukai, to other martial arts as well. As it did in Kendo, the Butokukai also created uniform kata for Kyudo (kyudo yosoku) in 1933-34, breaking through the differences in the various ryuha and standardizing the form of shooting.

Under Butokukai auspices, kyudo was at length adopted as an elective in the school system, for both boys and girls. Interestingly, whereas the martial arts like swordsmanship, archery, judo, and the like had been almost exclusively a male enterprise in Tokugawa times,⁸⁷ in the modern era these sports came to be recognized as having benefit for both sexes. Judo---now an Olympic event even for women---did not easily develop along those lines, but archery did. In his 1907 publication of *Shinpen kyujutsu kyohan* (Archery Instructional Manual, New Edition), for example, Uchiyama Tsutomu includes a concluding section exhorting the practice of archery for Japanese women. Uchiyama observed that traditionally Japanese women were kept indoors, and allowed only to practice tea ceremony and flower arranging. He does note that in the feudal age some women learned use of the naginata and engaged in such amusements as shuttlecock, but he contrasts this with the Western attitude of encouraging women to participate in gymnastics, tennis, and other more rigorous activities. He advocates archery for women since it is refined and elegant, and also because it encourages a natural development of muscles and limbs.

With the increase in popularity of traditional martial arts (kobudo) in the wake of the Sino-and Russo-Japanese victories, kyudo, as archery was increasingly but by no means exclusively known,⁸⁹ also attracted more followers. Tournaments on a nation wide scale, such as were popular in the Ede period, became more common. Besides the Butokukai's annual event, there was a major competition sponsored at Tokyo's Meiji Shrine, commencing in 1924. The Meiji Shrine tournament was on a grand scale, with students vying for school honors and heated competition between archers representing prefectures and metropolitan areas. The Shrine, which was completed in 1920, was dedicated to the souls of the deceased Meiji Emperor and his Empress; a sports competition ground was included in the outer garden, where the archery matches were held, consistent with the ancient tradition which linked archery with the sacred elements of Japanese life. In 1931 the first annual All Japan University Kyudo Championship was held in Tokyo, and thereafter alternated between the capital and Kyoto until it was canceled in 1940.

Most of the major competitions in fact came to an end before Japan's decision to bomb Pearl Harbor, most by the late 1930s when the fighting in China was

already heavy. The pressures of war made the maintenance of archery competition difficult, as both resources and people available to compete dwindled. Kyudo did become part of the regular school curriculum in 1933, thanks largely to the efforts of the Diet member Sato Yonosuke, although it was not as commonly practiced as kendo or judo.⁹¹ Kyudo was also brought under the umbrella of the "new" Dai Nihon Butokukai of 1942 and the other government directed efforts to mobilize all martial arts and other sports organizations for the war effort.

This meant of course that at the end of the war the attention of the Occupation authorities was directed at kyudo as one of the martial arts. SCAP was, as mentioned above, especially concerned with the do aspect, the spiritual qualities which were linked during the forties with ultra-nationalism, Emperor worship, and a mystical belief in the divine martial characteristics of the Japanese. Certainly kyudo itself had few practical implications for the war effort; archery was hardly seen as a military threat. Rather it was the tainted association with a perverted wartime bushido that resulted in the banning of the martial arts by the U.S. Occupation forces. Even kyudo could not escape a temporary ban. Archery instructors and practitioners, like their counterparts in fencing, were no longer able to teach in schools and other public formats and were forced to practice their art in secret.

That situation continued until 1949 when the Japan Kyudo Federation (Nihon Kyudo Domei) was allowed to form and, by joining the Japan Physical Education Association (Nihon Taiiku Kyokai), was able that fall to have archery included in the fourth annual championship.ⁿ In 1950 the Federation started its own national tournament; both it and the Japan Physical Education Association tournament have continued until the present. By 1951, kyudo was reinstated in the school curriculum, and at the end of the Occupation, it enjoyed a resurgence as a school course, club activity, and popular sport. Kyudo federations for a variety of different social groups were formed with their own annual tournaments. Today the All Japan Kyudo Federation (Zen Nihon Kyudo Renmei) is the primary governing body for archery, but there are other student, industrial and local groups sponsoring championships, promoting study of the art, publishing texts, and the like.

In 1960 a new competitive situation was established for archery when the short (chikamoto) and long (tomato) course matches were separated, with the former moved to Tokyo or Ise for the Emperor's Cup, while the latter continued to be held in Kyoto.⁹³ The short distance (literally "close target") measures twenty-eight meters and the long ("far target") covers sixty meters.

Kyudo is the martial art which perhaps maintains the greatest concern with form and mental discipline, inheriting the long tradition of Chinese civil archery and the later influence of Zen Buddhism. In most competitions today (the twenty-eight meter---ninety-two feet---distance is most common), the archer wears a white quilted top and a dark blue split hakama, Japanese socks (tabi), and a glove on the right hand. The archer, holding a seven-foot three-inch bow, first observes several moments of proper ceremony before proceeding, with very deliberate steps, to the shooting line. The fourteen-inch target is set at the end of the course in the azuchi, a sand bank covered with a protective roof. There are normally five targets set up for the archers to shoot at, two arrows per round. In most tournaments an archer fires twenty arrows.

The routine of shooting is fixed, so that all archers proceed through the exact same ritual. The archer of course aims to hit the target, but achieving total mind-body coordination or proper concentration, so that the process flows entirely naturally with 'no thought' is also a goal, albeit one achieved by only a few. The first step is taking one's proper stance (ashibumi), and then setting one's upper body (dozukuri). Next the archer sets the bow and fixes the arrow (yugamae). The archer then raises the bow and arrow over the head (uchiokoshi), before drawing the bow slowly and fully behind the ear (hikiwake), and pausing at full pull (kai). Then the archer releases the arrow (hanare) and briefly remains as though frozen in position (zanshin). The bow itself twists around in the archer's hand counter clockwise (yumigaeri).

Kyudo is often referred to in the United States as "Zen archery." The terminology leads to some widely held ideas about kyudo which are highly

misleading. The first is that all Japanese archery is somehow a Zen Buddhist activity, which, as my discussion in Chapters Five and Six has shown, is far from the case. Second, it suggests that archery as an activity was and still is practiced mainly for religious purposes. And third, it also leads people to believe that those who do kyudo were and are necessarily Zen Buddhists.

Works like *Japanese Archery: Zen in Action* by Andre Sollier and Zsolt Gyorbíro, which claims that archery was "kept alive by Zen monks" in Tokugawa times or that "kyudo cannot be disassociated from Zen," reinforce this stereotype.⁹⁵ By contrast, a major Japanese encyclopedia entry for kyudo, written by a member of the famous Ogasawara family of archers, does not mention Zen or even Buddhism whatsoever. It defines kyudo as "a martial art in which a string is strung between two ends of a powerful piece of wood or bamboo and an arrow shot by utilizing the power of the bow. The bow, originally a weapon, lost its military function with the arrival of the gun, and from Tokugawa times has become widely practiced as a sport."⁹⁶ Some archery schools have had considerable Zen influence textually and psychologically: Zen vocabulary was widely employed to describe the type of mental concentration desirable in successful archery. But as we have seen, the mental aspect of shooting was already part of the tradition of Chinese civil archery, whose introduction to Japan predated Zen influence by many centuries.

The dialogue that ensued when the gun first arrived in Japan is instructive in this regard. When Lord Tokitaka first tried to fire an arquebus on Tanegashima in 1542, the Portuguese told him that the secret was "to put your mind aright and close one eye." Tokitaka was fascinated:

"The ancient sages have often taught how to set one's mind aright, and I have learned something of it. If the mind is not set right, there will be no logic for what we say or do. Thus, I understand what you say about setting our minds aright. However, will it not impair our vision for objects at a distance if we close an eye? Why should we close an eye?" To which the chiefs replied: "That is because concentration is important in everything. When one concentrates, a

broad vision is not necessary. To close an eye is not to dim one's eyesight but rather to project one's concentration farther. You should know this."

Delighted, Tokitaka said: "That corresponds to what Lao Tzu has said, 'Good sight means seeing that which is very small. '"

The corpus of Chinese classics and native writings available to the Japanese provided substantial information on the proper means of concentration for activities such as shooting, texts of Confucian, Taoist, esoteric Buddhist as well as Zen Buddhist, wisdom. Even a learned person like Tokitaka, far removed from the centers of Japanese civilization in remote Tanegashima, was able to apply classical Oriental knowledge to a new situation. Couching his understanding in a quote by Lao Tzu did not mean that Tokitaka was a Taoist. Thus, Zen Buddhism was only one strand, and a recent one at that, within that body of ideas.

In Edo times, when archery for military purposes was no longer of much importance, certain ryuha placed greater emphasis upon the formal and spiritual aspects of archery. It was a distinctly secular age, however, and archers were by no means all practitioners of Zen. Some instructors in some ryuha were Zen priests or practitioners; but as one of the earliest Westerners to have studied martial arts aptly expressed it, ⁹⁸

It is an undoubted fact that contemporary works on the secrets of the martial arts are written in the somewhat vague and ambiguous style affected by the Zen priests. But this circumstance cannot rightly be held to prove that knowledge of the secrets of the martial arts was due to Zen, but rather that the Samurai authors, who had been taught composition by the Zen priests, quite naturally copied their teacher's style when they sought to express themselves in literary form. In this way, then, the belief grew up that the secrets of the martial arts could be ascertained only by means of Zen learning.

Needless to say, this belief that Japanese archery is "Zen archery" is widespread in the West, perhaps especially in the United States, where the word Samurai is often preceded by "Zen" used as an adjective. Thanks to the mistaken impression that Zen Buddhism was somehow universally accepted by Japanese warriors from medieval times onward, we find references to "Zen Samurai" or "Zen warriors" scattered carelessly across the pages of general works on medieval Japan, the martial arts, or dealing with the influence of Zen Buddhism on Japanese culture.

There is undeniably Zen influence in the martial arts, and there are indeed Zen monks who are kyudo or kendo masters as well. But it is an exaggeration to assume that the spirit of Zen pulsed through the blood of every pre-modern Samurai and modern practitioner of the martial arts. In fact, one might argue that archery is the most Japanese of all martial arts, because it demonstrates so graphically the eclectic nature of the Japanese philosophical and religious tradition.

First, there is the close association of archery with the sacred element in Japanese society (Shinto). There is as well the long tradition of Chinese civil archery with its concern for etiquette, decorum and moral perfection {Confucianism) and even cosmological principles (Taoism). Finally, there is the increased sensitivity to archery as a vehicle for spiritual development (Buddhism), or more accurately, the application of Zen vocabulary and mental techniques, to accomplish astounding practical results in hitting the target. Kyudo is an elegant, refined sport which has evolved over several thousand years of history, retaining concerns for competition, composure, and spirituality.

Chapter Eight

THE MARTIAL AND OTHER JAPANESE ARTS

In this final chapter, I would like to expand upon a statement I made in Chapter Three, that Japan's pre-modern martial arts exhibited characteristics similar to other forms of cultural expression. They all shared organizational and ritual aspects designed to foster community and continuity; they transmitted their teachings from generation to generation in similar ways; they also shared basically similar philosophical concepts and methods of instruction.

Organizational and Ritual Aspects of Ryuha Japanese ryuha were corporate groups controlling a particular asset, in the case of the martial and other arts, mastery of specialized cultural forms. Ideally, they were based upon the long-standing principle for social relationships to be bound by fictive kinship rules. Relationships between the ryuha head and his students tended to follow authority-intensive patron-client relationships. Heads of ryuha often assumed parental like authority in the lives of their student/disciples, serving not only as teacher and role model but mentor, advisor, or even as go-between in contracting marriages.

Some martial arts ryuha developed fully the Iemoto pattern described in Chapter Four, in which successive generations of family members controlled the ryu. Examples include the Otusbo ryu of mounted horsemanship, the Yoshida family of the various Heki-ryu archery schools, or the Yagyu family shinkage-ryu of swordsmanship. But comparatively few bugei schools developed this way. It was more common for martial arts ryuha to split into subgroups, so that there are, for example, at the most conservative estimate well over 700 schools of

swordsmanship alone. The phenomenon of an enormous Iemoto organization, such as the Urasenke tea ceremony school in which the Iemoto today controls the activities of well over a million and a half students through a far-flung network of intermediate licensed instructors, was uncommon in the martial arts world.

The reason for this difference lies in the nature of the instructional system and the transmission of the corpus of ryū teachings, about which more will be said below. But in short, bugei ryūha tended to practice total transmission, so that an individual who had mastered all the secrets of the ryū was fully certified to instruct his own students.¹ Most often he opened his own dojo and created his own ryū, slightly different from, although derivative of, the style he learned. The original founder rarely retained control over his students after they mastered his techniques. The case of Kamiizumi Ise no kami, founder of the Kage-ryū school, is a good example.²

Kamiizumi attracted numerous outstanding students, many of whom received from him full certification of mastery and went on to teach their own students---over whom Kamiizumi exercised no control. In other words, Kamiizumi not only taught his students the entire corpus of his techniques, but he also granted them the authority to certify others. This process continued over the generations, so that although there is a record of the transmission of the tradition beginning with Kamiizumi, each generation of individual swordsmen operated independently of one another, even to the point of starting their own ryūha with differing names.

In fact, in martial arts this form of organizational development was far more prevalent than situations like the Yagyū family which served hereditarily as Iemoto of their Yagyū shinkage-ryū school, maintaining tremendous prestige as official fencing instructors to the Tokugawa house. The reason martial arts schools typically exhibited this pattern of discontinuity in headship was apparently due to the closed nature of the society, in which the bakufu jealously discouraged too much association between warriors of various domains.³ It

would have been virtually impossible, for example, for a swordsman from a Kyushu domain to learn swordsmanship at a Yagyu family dojo in Edo, and return to his domain and remain under the authority of the Yagyu Iemoto. Thus an extensive kenjutsu ryuha which organized many warriors from different fiefs along strict Iemoto lines was unthinkable for most of the Tokugawa period, although in bakumatsu times it was much more common, as we saw in Chapter Four, for bushi from different han to train together in a common dojo. And it led to precisely what the bakufu feared: inter-han plotting against the shogunate. Iemoto organizations were much more common in hanko fencing schools, where the clientele was limited to Samurai of one domain.

Similarly, the bakufu never approved a policy of testing its swordsmen---or other martial artists---in nationwide competition, in which case superiority of one ryu over others could have been demonstrated and perhaps the tendency to divide reversed, so that one huge Iemoto could have existed for swordsmanship. The Yagyu Iemoto served the shogunal house as fencing instructor but was never "tested" in any way, so could hardly have been considered the best swordsman in Japan despite his exalted position. Even though swordsmanship developed into the highly competitive sport of fencing, competition never approached the popularity of vying to be Nippon-ichi ("best in Japan") as in archery. Clearly no other martial art developed like sumo, which apparently had a number of ryuha at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but which later invited wrestlers from every domain to contest for the title of best in the land in the biannual Edo kanjin sumo matches. Such national competition ultimately killed sumo ryuha in Tokugawa Japan, bringing the whole endeavor under the Iemoto organization of the Yoshida Oikaze family. ⁵

Bugei ryuha failed to develop extensively the natori, or subordinate instructor, system which today still characterizes flower arrangement, the tea ceremony and other large Iemoto groups. The natori link together the mass of students in a ryuha with the Iemoto, as his licensed assistants. ⁶ High ranking students of the Iemoto, as they attain a certain mastery, are allowed to teach beginners just as though they were the Iemoto. Often they are given one character from the Iemoto's name and incorporated into his extended family, serving as the connecting link between the lowest student and the master. As the system grows,

there can be three, four, five, or even six layers between the Iemoto and his lowest students. But such a system for martial arts was rarely established, primarily due to the feudal fragmentation of Samurai society.

As corporate groups, however, martial arts schools shared with other ryuha the same concerns with organization and continuity. There was by Tokugawa times normally a dojo⁷, a formal training hall which served as the focus of the group's activity. By the bakumatsu era there were sometimes dormitory facilities to house students who had come from other domains to study with the teacher. Rather than Iemoto, the commonly employed terms by instructors themselves was shihan; while meaning teacher in the broad sense, it bears the sense of exemplar, or model, and is thus often rendered in English as "master."

Training halls in all forms of practice, not simply the martial arts, took on a semi-sacred character, since the term dojo originally meant a place where religious instruction was conducted and only later was its use extended to other forms of training. A dojo normally housed a kamidana, an altar dedicated to a Shinto deity, or a butsudan (Buddhist altar). There was often a portrait of the acknowledged founder or some other symbol dedicated to his honor. Ceremonies, commonly involving the exchange of cups of sake, were solemnly performed before the portrait to award certification of mastery of the ryu secrets.

8

These ritual aspects of the ryu served to enhance the group's corporate consciousness. Establishing authority was crucial to the reputation of a ryuha. Consequently, ryuha attempted to assert some form of traditional authority from the past.⁹ One cultural organization might assert that a former Emperor had issued an edict to its founder, granting him a monopoly over a certain activity. Tea ceremony schools tended to claim connection with Sen no Rikyu, as he became venerated as the saint of tea. Alternately, ryuha claimed divine transmission of their secret teachings to the founder by some deity, native or foreign. This was especially common among bugei ryuha, many of which consequently became intimately linked with a particular deity and shrine or

temple, the deity functioning essentially as a patron saint.¹⁰ Authority might also be enhanced by alleging transmission of the techniques from a famous historical person, like Minamoto Yoshitsune, or from a shadowy yamabushi or miraculous goblin. Such transmission of authority from a revered person or deity was normally accounted solemnly in ryuha texts, transmitted each generation to the succeeding ryuha head.

The Iemoto himself required personal authority to permanently differentiate his status from that of his pupils, especially in such physical activities as martial arts, where the pupil might in fact surpass the master in actual ability. In some ryuha, there might be a ceremonial costume which could be worn only by the Iemoto. In the Kanze school of Noh, for example, the piece "Yuminagashi" was originally taught to but one person each generation, the Iemoto; and when he performed it, he wore a special costume. Likewise, when performing "Dojoji," the Iemoto wore a slightly different costume from his disciples, clearly establishing his distinctive position.¹¹ Symbols of Iemoto authority might also be secret or exclusive items---a special mask, for example, fan, tea bowl, musical instrument, sword, or the like. Thus the Kikutei family traditionally inherited the famous biwa (lute) called "Iwao." Of course, the most crucial symbol of Iemoto authority, especially in martial arts ryuha, was the possession of scrolls or other texts explaining the secrets (hiden, okuden, gokui, etc.), to which we shall turn in a moment.

Bugei ryuha in Edo times, then, consisted of a head instructor who was either a member of a family of professional teachers of the art or a legitimate successor within an authoritative line of masters, and his students. Meeting in a semi-sacred dojo, protected by the god of the training hall and containing a solemn portrait of the founder, the members of the ryuha were drawn together in deep association focusing on the mastery of their art. The entire society was stratified, from beginning student to the most advanced senior pupil who was the master's primary assistant. As with other ryuha, bugei students normally paid a set fee to receive instruction, paid on a monthly basis and varying over time and among schools.

But the students were far more than mere dues paying pupils. As noted above, many boarded there, became extremely familiar with the instructor and his family, often establishing near familial ties or mentor relationships. Beyond the regular payment of instructional fees, the students offered special ceremonial gifts (salted fish, sake, etc.) at specific times of the year as a means of displaying respect for their teacher.¹²

For his part, besides acting as spiritual mentor, in loco parentis, and teacher of this craft, the master also provided a myriad of specific services for his students, from helping to arrange marriage partners to, most importantly, finding employment as instructors in other parts of Japan.¹³ Students stayed with the master through a number of graded ranks, similar to the system of belts widely employed in the martial arts today. The ritual nature of the Iemoto system and the mystique of camaraderie, often shrouded in secrecy, made it difficult for students to join and leave at will as is often the case today, where teaching is more often a business rather than a profession.

Transmission of Ryu Secret Teachings

The reason practitioners of various cultural forms, including the bugei, tended to remain with one teacher and stick with the endeavor follows logically from the description above. It was not considered a mere diversion, recreational pastime, or polished cultural veneer to round off one's character as it is more likely to be today, whether in Japan or abroad. It was considered a serious business, the art was respected, the Iemoto venerated, and the effects practice had upon one's character- especially the martial arts, which never completely lost the justification that warriors needed to maintain some form of combat readiness---were thought to be of considerable benefit.

And as we gleaned in Chapter Four, ryuha functioned as arenas of social mobility in strictly stratified Tokugawa Japan. Most expert fencers in late Tokugawa Japan tended to be lower ranking Samurai often blocked from advancement by the severe restrictions in warrior society, or by ronin without prospects in society, or even by commoners, a number of whom rose to head their own dojo and even serve as instructors to daimyo. Many achieved a degree of status based upon actual achievement---the demonstration of physical superiority over others---denied them in other social arenas. As was the case in other cultural forms, fencers, archers, and other martial artists often took special ceremonial names. Martial arts genealogies bristle with names such as Sekishusai, Ryounsai, Ikosai, Ren'yasai, so-called saimei which apparently were adopted after one had officially taken Buddhist vows. Such names afforded a degree of recognition within the special world of the ryuha. But even without special names, demonstrated expertise in such endeavors as swordsmanship, the tea ceremony, or some other art, conferred prestige and buttressed self esteem. For a Tokugawa vassal of low rank who never achieved any success as a retainer, for example, Katsu Kokichi took extraordinary pride in his achievements in the world of fencing, where he had few peers. It was one arena in which he could prove himself.

While ryuha thus functioned as important social organisms meeting both physical and emotional needs of their followers, they were primarily concerned with the transmission of what was regarded as an important cultural form: chanting, dancing, or swordsmanship. It was a serious endeavor; the responsibilities of both instructor and pupil were informed by a tradition of loyalty to the founder, and group consciousness restrained tendencies toward individualistic indulgence. One did not easily join nor leave a martial arts school. In fact, given the inherent danger of the skill instructors were going to impart to a would-be pupil, entry into the practice of swordsmanship necessitated careful scrutiny of the background of the applicant and normally required recommendation of a respected third party. In common with other ryuha, moreover, martial arts schools extracted pledges from their students, often upon several occasions, as the process of transmission progressed. ¹⁵

There were a number of ways that the secrets of any ryuha could be transmitted from master to disciple. In medieval times, when fighting skills were still practical, teaching and transmission was primitive, immediate, and often, ad hoc. Not only were there no texts, but it was generally thought, by way of analogy with many Japanese forms of religious expression from Tendai to Zen, that transmission occurred largely by example, allowing little room for verbalization. This idea---in Japanese the term is *ishin denshin*, or nonverbal understanding which goes, literally, from mind (*shin*) to mind---dates back to the beginning of Buddhist tradition and the esoteric transmission from the historical Buddha to his disciple Kashyapa in the Sermon on Vulture Peak. Texts often refer to this idea by the terms *furyu Monji* ("no reliance on the written word") or *kyge betsuden* ("transmission outside the sutras"). ¹⁶

The earliest form of transmission of martial skills was called *kuden* (verbal transmission) as was the case with much esoteric knowledge in early Japan, but by late medieval times verbal instructions were often written in brief form, in texts called *kudensho* ("writings of verbal transmission"). The pre-Edo martial arts *kudensho* extant in a few schools are quite rudimentary: focusing on recounting legends of the founder of the ryuha, the texts offer little in the way of actual instruction in and explication of techniques. All one finds is a listing of several techniques of the school, usually described by hyperbolic terms---"flying

dragon", for example---or simply the names of animals---"monkey" "rat", etc.--- which would not be readily understood by one without actual instruction from the teacher. ¹⁷

By the Edo period, however, it was customary in all ryuha, including martial arts, to write down the teachings of the school and transmit them formally, usually in scrolls but in some cases in bound volumes, to the successful students. The authority of the ryuha Iemoto lay in the absolute supremacy of his technique, at least in theory. He was the creative genius behind the techniques, who in effect created his own private law or canon which became sacred only as they were transmitted by successive Iemoto to their disciples. ¹⁸ These techniques were written down as hiden, gokuden, gokui (secret transmissions) or tora no maki ("The Tiger Scroll"), and were valued by the students as the embodiment of the wisdom of the ryuha.

Although as a rule transmission involved something which could be kept secret, a mysterious or sublime form transmitted to the student, there were ryuha where this was more difficult, such as acting and performing arts in general where an audience was involved. Thus although the ability of a disciple might outshine that of an Iemoto, the Iemoto enjoyed hereditary symbolic authority to control the ryu. The virtually total authority of the master helps to explain the tendency for martial arts ryuha to proliferate. That is, if a disciple became more skillful than the instructor or differed with him over matters of instruction, he found it necessary to seek another teacher or start his own style. The tendency is still common in the contemporary martial arts world, in which styles continue to proliferate essentially by segmentation.

Initiation into the secret techniques of the ryuha usually meant the award of a certificate of mastery, a license which carried with it the express right of the initiate to reproduce that form, whether flower arranging or swordsmanship. The licentiate system, as we have seen, accelerated the proliferation of bugei ryuha, since the initiated were essentially taught everything and allowed to function on their own, rather than as natori in many other cultural forms. In Iemoto systems,

even after the certification of mastery, the new licensee may have been able to reproduce the forms--perform certain Noh dances, play certain pieces on the biwa, or the like--but the Iemoto still maintained final authority and control over the kata themselves, the importance of which will become clearer in a moment. But because there was little room for a fencing school head, for example, to control the kata in each of numerous feudal domains, transmission tended to be complete. Those receiving certification became individual martial artists, fully capable of becoming Iemoto in their own right. Transmission of the ryuha teachings involved several levels or grades. In the martial arts it was common to have eight levels, but there were many schools with five and some were even reduced to three. Consequently, the typical Iemoto organization was a hierarchical structure with the Iemoto or shihan at the peak. He was the ultimate authority who transmitted the teachings in graded segments to the disciples, awarding certification for mastery of a certain level---mokuroku, chu mokuroku--at an appropriate ceremony. The highest level was normally referred to as kaiden ("complete transmission") or sometimes menkyo kaiden ("certified complete transmission"), the receipt of which in most bugei ryuha qualified one to become an independent teacher in his own right. Often such an individual began his own ryuha by elaborating on, or simply embellishing, the repertoire received from his master.

While this method of training and certification was generally accepted as reasonable, it was certainly not without its critics. In 1837, for example, Matsudaira Awaji no kami Takamoto wrote a lengthy, blistering attack on martial arts instructors.¹⁹ He claimed that the primary reason instructors created elaborate documents of transmission, established various levels of mastery, and then made it difficult for students to achieve, was simply to increase the fees they charged. Moreover, he charged that teachers not only refused promotion to those who had trained hard but instead easily awarded certification to favored students, without regard to actual ability. He noted that as a consequence, skilled students might lose confidence in their instructors and be forced to leave the school.

There were several forms of transmission in traditional cultural organizations.²⁰ "One generation transmission" (ichidai soden) meant that the master's

certification lasted only for the lifetime of the recipient: upon his death, the scrolls containing the ryu secrets passed back to the Iemoto house.. It was quite common in many Edo period art forms, including some schools of the martial arts. Ichinichi soden ("one day transmission") was a rare form in which for certain special performances (the "Azuma asobi" at the Kame Shrine in Kyoto, for example), the Iemoto permitted others to be trained to perform a special piece on that day only, after which the right passed back to the Iemoto.

"Transmission through access" (deiri soden) was granted to some individuals who were responsible for handling ryuha articles but not necessarily involved in learning the techniques themselves. They simply became members of the group because they "came and went" (deiri) in and out of the presence of the Iemoto. Also in the Edo period there were instances of kaeri soden ("returning transmission") which normally indicated that there was a sudden death in the Iemoto house before a proper successor was named, and the transmission went to a high ranking student; and then later it "returned" to the main Iemoto house. "Edict transmission" (ichoku soden) referred to those forms of cultural authority which required the edict of an Emperor, retired Emperor, or shogun upon each transfer of Iemoto authority.

Isshi soden ("one child transmission") is, as the name implies, a form in which but one child of the iemoto inherited the family profession's secrets, most often in Tokugawa times, the eldest son. Even today there remain organizations in which the transmission has never deviated from the eldest son to eldest son pattern.

For bugei ryuha, there were numerous examples of isschi soden in schools where one family in fact functioned as Iemoto, and in pre-Tokugawa times there were somewhat similar forms designed to limit the spread of the teachings, such as ikkoku ichinin soden ("transmission to only one person per province"). Ichidai soden ("one generation transmission") was not unknown either. These forms of transmission were by no means automatic or perfunctory, always smoothly flowing from one head to his successor. In fact, there were often bitter family

quarrels over the transmission of the secrets, perhaps not of the magnitude of the family headship disputes that drove medieval warrior houses into open warfare, but significant nonetheless. Instances of difficulty with kaeri soden were also common. In Chapter Six, for example, we saw just such a situation develop among the Yoshida family branches which controlled Heki-ryu archery.

As noted above, transmission of the secrets of a martial arts ryu was normally of an unconditional nature. Rather than becoming natori, fully licensed instructors still under the master's control, swordsmen who were granted full certification under the seal of the head of the school tended to become totally independent and able to form their own dojo with little or no interference from the master. Ryuha thus fissioned off from a handful of original ones. The tradition of correct transmission of the secrets within the line from master A to disciple B and then on to disciple C was revered. But Iemoto organizations which were able to assert total family control over the profession for successive generations were rarer than in other forms of cultural organization.

Concern for the secrecy of the teachings transmitted was paramount in all organizations, but perhaps of greatest worry to bugei ryuha, since the techniques in which students were being instructed were potentially lethal. Instruction to the wrong kind of person was a problem, and great care was thus exercised by most school heads to accept only pupils of outstanding character. In pre-Edo times, when teaching was barely developed and not yet a profession upon which livelihood depended, instructors were more strict. But even in Tokugawa Japan, students were not automatically accepted without some check on their character. A bad student could clearly, by his behavior, embarrass the head of a tea ceremony or flower arranging ryuha severely. But a student who misused the sword or spear to injure or kill someone was a far greater threat to both society and the reputation of the instructor. Yet concern appears about equally distributed across the Iemoto organizations. It was common for all to extract pledges and oaths from their students, swearing that they would not disclose the secrets of the school nor teach them to others without the explicit authorization of the master. Heads of bugei ryuha, especially swordsmanship, demanded pledges from students at virtually each level of certification. ²¹ Martial arts pledges were similar in form to those of other ryuha. Called kishomon, they

were normally sealed with the blood of the one making the pledge and written on special paper which indicated their importance. Making such a pledge was an act of an entirely different magnitude from signing an application to join a karate club and agreeing to pay a monthly fee, as is often required today.

The pledges were commonly written on Kumano goo paper, which came from Kumano Shrine, a series of three venerable Shinto institutions located in what is today Wakayama Prefecture. Goo or "Ox King" (alternately "Ox Jewel"), is a term of uncertain origin. It apparently derived originally from a secret rite in esoteric Buddhism, and may have been an honorific term of reference for the historical Buddha. Written with other characters, it also means cow bezoar, a miraculous medicine supposedly produced from the liver and gall bladder of the cow and believed by the Chinese to have great efficacy.²²

The specific Kumano goo was a talisman which became popular in the early medieval period as faith in the deities of the three Kumano shrines soared and they became the object of frequent pilgrimages. Yamabushi and miko (female shrine shamans) sold the talismans, which became a craze among pilgrims flocking to Kumano. It was a special sheet of paper on which were inscribed the five Chinese characters Kumano goh6in ("The Honored Treasure Seal of Kumano"). The inscription was written in a strange calligraphy: the characters were composed with small black crows, the crow being considered the messenger of the Kumano deities.²⁴ The paper was then pressed with the vermilion seal of the shrine. Pasted to doorframes, it drove away evil spirits; planted in fields, it scared away birds and the wind; and fixed to a pole in irrigated fields, it supposedly brought a bountiful harvest. As its popularity rose, Kumano goo became valued as the major form of paper used by Japan's warrior class in writing a variety of kishomon. By the Tokugawa period, it had become the standard paper on which oaths were written to protect the secrets of a ryfiha.

Written by the aspiring disciple, the document normally contained an introduction and a number of formulaic phrases which stated that the student would not show to anyone nor tell anyone of the secrets into which he was being

initiated, whether it be parent or child; nor would he show the scroll containing the secrets to anyone. All of this would normally appear on a separate sheet, followed by the Kumano goo paper, on which he pledged to keep his word, invoking the names of a variety of native and foreign gods. Some invocations were rather brief, but it was more common to be exhaustive, leaving no major deity unmentioned. Here, for example, is a pledge of an archery school.

1. I deem it a great honor to have imparted to me the secrets of the ryu.
2. I shall concentrate on my training day and night without remission. If, unfortunately, I have no time to practice, I shall give up the bow.
3. I understand that as I progress in my training you will gradually unfold to me the secrets of your art, and that you will regulate my progress not according to the length of my discipleship but according to the skill and accomplishment I display. Realizing this I shall never harbor any resentments against my teacher.
4. The verbal instructions and the written tradition which you give me I will never reveal even to my parents or brothers, much less to anyone else. If it should happen that after receiving the written tradition my house should die out, it shall be immediately burned or returned. It goes without saying that I shall not take pupils of my own until you give me a license to do so.
5. I shall never indulge in criticism of other schools of archery. Should I ever offend against anyone of these rules, may I receive the divine punishment of Hachiman-bosatsu, Bunten, Taishaku, the Four Tenno, all the Great and Lesser Gods of Japan, the Two Gongen of Izu and Hakone, Temman Tenjin and the Ancestors of my Clan.

In sign whereof I lay my oath and set my seal.

A similar document from the Inatomi-ryu of gunnery adds to the above list the deities of Kami and Shimogamo Shrines, of Hirano, Imari and Matsuo Shrines, the Mountain God of Hiyoshi Shrine, Gaze Tenno of Gian Shrine, and the

Gongen of Mt. Fuji, Mt. Hakusan, and Atago among others, praying they will visit leprosy upon him in this life and that Shaka and Amida will cause him to fall into hell in the next life if he fails to keep his pledge.^v It was also common to include the Indian god Marishi (Marishiten, or Marishisonten), a martial deity often depicted riding on the back of a boar while brandishing sword, bow and arrow, and spear in four hands.

Pledges were required no matter the rank or social status of the student. As noted several times, the Yagyu family held Iemoto status in the Yagyu shinkage-ryu throughout the Edo period, serving as hereditary shogunal instructors. And even the shogun was required to make such pledges. Kishomon from shoguns Ieyasu to Ietsuna were written and duly offered to successive Yagyu Iemoto, preserved as part of the esoterica passed on from one head to his successor.

Philosophy and Method of Instruction

The martial arts fall into the category of geido, or "artistic ways," in Japan. There are literally hundreds of forms of geido, but they can be classified into essentially three different types.²⁸ The first to appear historically were the aristocratic cultural forms created by the nobility from Heian times on. They include the playing of a variety of Chinese and native stringed and wind instruments (biwa, wakon, sho, etc.), gagaku and sarugaku performance, falconry, kemari (kickball), poetry composition (waka and renga), as well as art forms developed later in Muromachi times: Noh, flower arranging, tea ceremony, garden architecture, cooking, and others. These are essentially, in Professor Nishiyama's term, "polite accomplishments," enjoyed largely by the leisured upper class as personal forms of recreation and entertainment. By Edo times, however, a number of these enterprises had spread widely among the populace at large.

The martial arts---archery, swordsmanship, use of the lance, equitation, gunnery, even ninjutsu---comprise a second type. The third type of cultural form is the category of popular culture (taishu geino), ranging from various kinds of mime, puppetry and juggling to musical instruments and dance forms and including comical presentations, recitations, and illustrated storytelling among others. The scope of artistic activities which can be included in geido is thus extremely broad.

The martial arts share with other geido the characteristic of being a way of personally experiencing an art form. They involve, according to Nishiyama, actions which "create or recreate cultural value through the exercise of the whole body or a part thereof---dancing, performing, drawing, sniffing, tasting, speaking, playing, and so forth."²⁹ While the actions do result in some form of cultural product, they are normally formless, rather than objectified. That is, the resultant product is less important than the process: the value for the individual

lies in the doing---the playing, performing, singing, etc. In this creation through the actions of the body, waza (technique) is of primary importance. One must strive to develop the ability to perform requisite techniques to perfection. This concern for mastery of waza lies at the heart of every form of geido, from swordsmanship to tea ceremony.

In order to master the techniques of some art such as swordsmanship, it was crucial to select a good teacher. Accordingly, geido instructors exhibited serious concern for their reputations. A swordsmanship instructor could gain a reputation, at least through the early Edo period, by means of popular recognition of his successful duels, or the record of battles in which he had distinguished himself. Another way was simply to rely upon the weight of tradition, as the Iemoto of a well-known professional ryuha. And of course in Edo times, especially in the mid-to late period, a teacher could win a reputation for successfully defeating other skilled fencers in taryu jiai.

The instructor enjoyed almost absolute power over the student in any discipline, whether it be fencing or the tea ceremony. His authority was supreme, his word unquestioned. But contemporary educational philosophy held that the instructor was of limited use; he was only an imperfect guide to personal mastery of the techniques involved. The master conveyed the waza to the student, who through sheer repetition would ultimately, at least in theory, reach a perfect understanding himself. And despite the production of numerous texts in Tokugawa times which described the various waza and the kata, or forms, which were the actual vehicles for studying, the tradition that true understanding could not be conveyed verbally or through instructional manuals but only nonverbally, through experience (ishin denshin), never died. Many forms of Japanese Buddhism, from Tendai through Zen, emphasized an esoteric transmission from master to disciple. In that sense, the Iemoto of any bugei or other ryuha instructed his disciplines in a manner analogous to that of many religious masters.

In fact, early Japanese texts are replete with words which emphasize that the

realization of meaning of the techniques is a non-intellectual process but one of total bodily understanding that can only be experienced. They include such terms as taitoku ("to obtain with the body") or taikan ("to experience through the body") or tainin ("to understand with the body"). This is often expressed more colloquially by the phrase "to learn with the body" (shintai de oboeru or karada de oboeru).³⁰

The concept of "body" here requires some clarification in an understanding of geido, especially the martial arts. Both Chinese characters in the compound shintai can read in pure Japanese as karada, a native word for "body." But the concept goes far beyond pure physicality, the existence of flesh and bones. The body is always meant to be regarded as that entity which houses the mind, or spirit. The Japanese sense is that while animals have a body, or flesh, only man has a shintai.³¹ Thus any kind of training or education in Japan which involves physical activity. (shintai katsudo), does not distinguish between bodily training and mental understanding, but instead assumes a unified mind-body approach. Not only martial arts texts, but geido works in general abound with terms such as shinshin ittai "mind and body are one" or shinshin ichinyo "mind and body are the same."

In martial arts ryuha as they developed in Tokugawa times, there was the expectation that the student would endure extensive and exhaustive training---the term in all geido for training or learning is keiko, to which we will turn in a moment---and after a certain period, he would naturally, of his own accord, come to master the techniques. The function of the instructor, besides laying down the basic routines, was to certify the mastery of the required techniques. Ironically, one was set on a course to learn techniques essentially alone, with minimal instruction, but mastery of the techniques involved had to be formally certified by the teacher through the issuance of a license. The situation was similar to Zen Buddhism: the practitioner does not really have a satori until the master says he does.

Bugei in the Edo period, when the necessity of actually engaging an enemy was

little more than a theoretical problem for most warriors, developed within the context of an intellectual inquisitiveness spurred largely by Neo-Confucian scholarship.

Thus rather than a mere discussion of techniques, martial arts works dealt as well with theory, mental constructs, spirit, mind and other abstract principles, borrowing heavily from the vocabulary of Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and Shintoism in the same manner as other geido. In swordsmanship, this tendency was especially marked, as training and texts came to concentrate upon problems of the mind (shin). As Shimada Toranosuke, a well-known Jikishin kage-ryu fencer of the bakumatsu era, noted: "The sword is the mind. If the mind is not correct, then the sword will not be correct. If one wishes to study the sword, he should first study the mind."³²

By "mind," what martial artists were referring to was really the mental attitude, the frame of mind, or the psychological state necessary to face an opponent. The ultimate state that one might hope to reach was variously interpreted as mushin ("no mind"), munen ("no thought"), or honshin ("original mind").

These were terms borrowed from Buddhism, especially from the Zen sect, and perhaps no work expresses more clearly this idea than the Fudochi shinmyoroku of the Zen prelate Takuan. His work, usually translated in English as The Marvelous Record of Immovable Wisdom, was written for his friend Yagyū Muneyoshi, and it argued swordsmanship from a Zen point of view. The ideas are profound and have had an impact on the theory of martial arts ever since, even though Takuan was not himself a swordsman.

Ironically, Takuan seems not to have been all that influential in his day. He and his Fudochi text have been used by many, from the noted Zen scholar D. T. Suzuki through many Western writers on the martial arts, to emphasize the crucial role of Zen in swordsmanship. It was in fact only late in his life that Yagyū Muneyoshi used Takuan's work as a form of swordsmanship instruction

for a student. Even then he was apparently severely criticized at the time for overemphasizing the mental aspects of swordsmanship, such as could be learned from a Zen prelate like Takuan.

In Fudochi, Takuan argues that you must never allow your mind to "stop" (focus upon one thing) or you will be defeated by your enemy. He calls the non-stopping mind Immovable Wisdom: Immovable means unmoving. Wisdom means the wisdom of intelligence. Although wisdom is called immovable, this does not signify any insentient thing, like wood or stone. It moves as the mind is wont to move: forward or back, to the left, to the right, in the ten directions and the eight points; and the mind that does not stop at all is called immovable wisdom.

A mind which stops is a delusion, a boshin in Buddhist terminology; in swordsmanship, it prevents one from making the correct action. Takuan likens the condition to the dilemma faced by the Thousand Armed Kannon: "If the mind stops at the one holding a bow, the other nine-hundred and ninety-nine will be useless." "More specifically, for swordsmen,

If one puts his mind in the actions of his opponent's body, his mind will be taken by the action of his opponent's body. If one puts his mind in his opponent's sword, his mind will be taken by that sword. If one puts his mind in thoughts of his opponent's intention to strike him, his mind will be taken by thoughts of his opponent's intention to strike him. If he puts his mind in his own sword, it will be taken by his own sword. If he puts his mind in his own intention of not being struck, his mind will be taken by his intention of not being struck. If he puts his mind in the other man's stance, his mind will be taken by the other man's stance. What this means is that there is no place to put the mind.

Takuan felt that the mind must be pure, flowing, and not fix on one particular thought. What he suggests is that a fencer should not formulate a specific strategy: if he attacks me with a slashing attack from above, then I'll counter by

shifting my weight to the left and attacking his ribcage. The swordsman's mind must be unfettered. By stopping one's mind nowhere, it is everywhere, and thus a natural and spontaneous reaction to the opponent is possible. This is mushin or honshin for Takuan. In other works, the same idea of a mind that flows through the body without fixating on anything is described as hoshin ("released mind") or munen muso ("no concern, no thought") or as heijOshin ("normal mind").³⁶

For swordsmen and other martial arts practitioners, the attainment of such a mental state was not an intellectual activity. Nor was it a "religious" activity. Few martial arts texts espouse Zen meditation, and few practitioners were actual followers of Zen, as is often assumed by Western authors. I have argued throughout this book that just because martial arts texts contain Zen Buddhist and other religious references, one should not assume practitioners were religiously motivated. In his 1837 critique of ryuha, Matsudaira Takamoto of Toyama han, in a section entitled "Martial arts texts cannot be trusted," argued that these texts are simply collections of Shinto, Buddhist, and Confucian aphorisms collected from ancient manuscripts.³⁷ Furthermore, he was of the opinion that since they were by and large compiled by country scholars and priests with little knowledge of martial arts, the borrowed phrases of ancient wisdom contained numerous errors. He was especially critical of the many texts compiled by Buddhists: since Buddhist terminology had nothing to do with martial arts, he argued, such texts were filled with "falsehoods and absurdities."

In fact, during the Tokugawa period, when Buddhism was officially frowned upon and a distinctly Confucian mentality had replaced the medieval Buddhist consciousness, few warriors chose exclusive Zen practice. The way the student could attain this mental state was through the type of practice espoused by the martial and other arts.

As we have seen, this was often called shugyo, a word derived from religious training. But a more commonly used term in all geido of medieval and early modern times was keiko. While it can be broadly understood as meaning "to learn," the term is an ancient Chinese expression first used in Japan in the Kojiki

in the four character compound keiko shokon ³⁸ literally "to reflect upon past ways to shed light on the present." Thus the distinct meaning of keiko was to take the past as precedent, but in medieval Japan it came to be applied almost exclusively to learning outside pure intellectual study, specifically for the study of geido. As used in texts dealing with poetic composition, flower arranging, and of course swordsmanship, keiko took on the sense of learning which requires polishing through repetition of established forms, a positive, engaged learning as opposed to a passive acceptance of received written material.

There was also a certain attitudinal, or spiritual, sense about the term. Keiko was more than an intellectual understanding of a body of material; it was intimately linked to his own mental attitude (kokorogamae) and involved a concern for the way one ought to live. In both a Confucian and a Buddhist sense, keiko meant to learn the proper way of living (do) through mastery of one's art form. The English term "training" may be the most appropriate translation of keiko, which even today is the commonly used term to describe the process one goes through when he or she enters a study of tea, flowers, poetry, dance, judo or any of the traditional arts. It is a somewhat different experience from entering primary school or an after school English academy (juku), although these arenas of learning certainly share certain common attitudes. In keiko the emphasis is heavily upon the character and mental developmental aspects of learning: mastery of the way of tea, for example, as a means of personal fulfillment and development.

Keiko learning focused upon the mastery of kata (forms) which taught the disciple waza. Since all geido had a kata focus, many scholars have defined the Japanese cultural tradition as the "culture of kata." ³⁹ Among the bugei, archery developed a kata tradition quite early, as we have seen, but with most martial arts it was in the late medieval period that people began to teach individual battlefield skills as specific techniques.

Then a number of military geniuses created kata, based on their long years of military experience, as fixed ways of practicing necessary combat skills. It was

in the teaching of these highly individualistic techniques that specific ryuha emerged. Kata became the rules,⁴⁰ the basic methods, by which techniques were transmitted from master to student within the ryu. It was believed that kata most quickly and completely imparted the techniques to the students.

The method of instruction was simply to repeat, over and over again, the kata under the guidance of the master. Learning involved a rote imitation of the teacher's kata, with no resistance, no attempt to embellish, and commonly with no explanation of the individual moves. Constant polishing of the moves, inner reflection on the process, down to the tiniest detail of stance or how one held one's hands, it was believed, would ultimately result in an understanding---again through the body which included the mind---not only of the teacher's technique but also of the requisite spirit as well.

Geido in Japan today preserve thousands of kata which were originally developed by the founders of ryuha, altered and improved over the centuries and handed down until the present, as the most appropriate ways of mastering such diverse cultural activities as swordsmanship and Noh performance. The Iemoto enjoys almost total control over the students, who are subjected to intensive training in the no-questions-asked repetition of fixed forms until the teacher deems progress sufficient to move on to another stage. It seems peculiarly antiquated and out of step with the freedom and individualism of modern educational ideas. But the tyranny of kata training is ironic, insofar as total submission to authority is regarded as the best way to reach individual creativity.

41

Kata mastery was regarded as progressing through three stages. One finds throughout geido texts reference to shu, ha, and ri, a sequence of developmental steps to mastery.⁴² Shu means essentially "to preserve" and refers to the initial phase of study in martial and other arts. In this stage the novice simply "preserves" the tradition by constant repetition of kata, polishing both outward form and internal mental awareness until the waza become automatically replicable, whether it be the ability to use a sword or throw a pot with no

conscious effort. But there was concern that simple repetition could ultimately lead to (and certainly did in Edo period martial arts) the ossification of the art, so the student must "break down" or "destroy" (ha) the kata he has mastered, in order to move to the final stage of development where he was "liberated" (ri) from the kata and true creative individuality could express itself.

Of course, the number of people able to achieve mastery through a progression from shu through ha to ri is quite limited, both historically and today as well. It was exceedingly difficult to reach mastery in many of the traditional geido. For example, 1,384 people entered the Yabuuchi-ryu of tea ceremony during the Edo period and only eleven reached the pinnacle of kaiden rank. Nonetheless, the theory behind the mastery of secrets via kata memorization involved a progression from total subservience to tradition to a level of individualistic creativity.

The Japanese traditionally regarded keiko instruction as being very rigorous, and to a degree, still do today. Although many of the traditional arts were recreational, creative activities for leisure time (and are practiced as such today--tea ceremony for brides, kendo for kids), there was and still is an expectation that the student will give total devotion to the "way" of that art. Martial arts texts, for example, are full of terms such as shisshin ("devotion"), doshin ("devotion to the way", literally "way-mind"), and the like. The idea was that the student devote himself exclusively and totally to the mastery of the kata of the particular endeavor. In an almost a religious sense, one should cut himself off from the secular world and enter his art world; he should find the time (hima) to concentrate on his art so that, sleeping or waking, every moment was devoted to mastery.

Zeami said it for all geido in his discussion of the attitude required in mastering Noh: "He who would attain this Way must not engage in the non-Way. 1145 What he meant by "non-Way" was any other activity, other form of learning or art form. This single-minded devotion to the particular way one chose was widely

advocated among all the geido, and is especially common in martial arts texts. In Nakabayashi's words: Keiko advocated that one ought to concentrate powerfully (but without stubbornness and contentiousness), obediently, and purely on the way. And this way that one ought to focus upon single-mindedly was not simply just during the time one practiced the techniques but lay in a unitary focus upon all the aspects of one's life, so that in each and every activity of daily life, the way is one. A great number of martial arts texts express the idea that the way lay in the behavior and conduct of everyday life.

The idea was that if one devoted himself exclusively to the total understanding of a single way, then paradoxically, that understanding was consistent across all ways. Miyamoto Musashi, for example, claimed that after years of devoting himself single-mindedly to heihō (martial arts), he ultimately came to be conversant with a variety of geido, all without the aid of a teacher.

Epilogue

I have considered at length the history of two Japanese martial arts, kendo and kyudo, which have developed from military skills into modern sports. The transformation of archery came much earlier, partly because of the ease with which competition could be staged and measured. But perhaps an even more important consideration is that it is not necessarily linked with violence and bloodshed: it is as easy to shoot at a target as a man. The hesitancy to spill blood for non-military purposes derived from both native Shinto and imported Buddhist sanctions and was, I have argued, a primary reason why in Japan all combat activities developed only slowly into sports, and highly controlled, ritualized affairs at that. Clearly this concern, as well as the technical difficulties of devising appropriate safety devices, contributed to the much later development of fencing out of swordsmanship.

In both the cases of archery and fencing, it was the dramatically changed conditions of Pax Tokugawa that facilitated, indeed almost dictated, the transformation of military or at least paramilitary exercises into mature sporting activities. Extended peace dramatically altered the role of the bushi class from warrior to bureaucrat, literacy expanded his intellectual horizons, and urbanization wrought extensive changes in his attitudes toward economic endeavors and even leisure activities. During the long Tokugawa period, the bakufu tried to enforce a rigid caste-like stratification of society into four tier--- Samurai, peasants, artisans, and merchants---among which mobility was strictly prohibited. Over the course of the period, however, fencing, and even to a certain extent archery, emerged as an arena of competition in which talent rather than ascription determined success.

While by no means "democratic," fencing academies by bakumatsu times provided a good deal of social interaction among Samurai of different rank and clan affiliation as well as between Samurai and other classes, interaction other

institutions had sought to discourage: denied mobility within the domain hierarchy, a lower Samurai might become a noted fencer, or, as we have seen, a commoner might even rise to be an instructor of fencing to Samurai, ironically the only class supposed to have access to swords.

The fact remains that Edo's fencing academies did nurture the core of activists (shishi) who overthrew the bakufu. If not the motive force, these machi dojo were at least the catalyst for change, the arena in which frustrations must have been shared and plans nurtured. As an activity in which class was shown to be increasingly irrelevant, fencing in Tokugawa Japan was well along the path of evolution into modern democratic sport.

If my treatment of Japan's two unarmed combat systems which developed into sport has been more chronologically narrative than analytical, there are still several conclusions I reached in the course of my study which I tried to share with readers. The first is that the tendency among many martial arts practitioners to deny that they are sports is both futile and unnecessary. But there is something inherent even in the term "martial arts" that in the minds of many practitioners renders them not only different from but somehow superior to "mere" sport. It seems to me, however, that such a stance displays a basic misunderstanding of the history of sport and neglects the important connection between sport and religion, sport and art, sport and ritual in many societies. As Richard Mandell reminds us

The boundaries that we moderns use to separate "sport" from other areas of human endeavor have been indistinct and not worth noticing in other cultures. The Chinese martial exercises which could be engaged in competitively were at once workouts for fitness, paramilitary gymnastics, preparations for spiritual composure, and of course dance.

The same can certainly be said for kendo and kyudo.

A second point I have been concerned with communicating is that one should not overstress the religious element, especially the Zen Buddhist element, in either kendo or kyudo. While clearly Zen influenced the manner in which once deadly combat techniques were transformed into vehicles for self-perfection and competition, there has been, especially in the United States, a tendency to read far more religiosity into the activity than the facts permit. As I have noted several times, the description of paramilitary techniques and states of mental composure in Zen-heavy vocabulary in a number of martial arts texts, composed essentially after the need for such techniques in actual combat had long passed, ought not to be interpreted as proof that a "true" martial art is a Buddhist experience. Moreover, the Western fascination with Zen has caused people to ignore the widespread influence of esoteric Buddhism, Shinto, Taoism, and especially Confucianism on kendo and kyudo.

My own conclusion is that both kendo and kyudo have sufficiently long traditions of competition to be regarded as sports, without any of the negative connotations that scholars and practitioners like the late Donn Draeger or Taisen Deshimaru give to the term. If it would serve any purpose, I would be happy to refer to these endeavors as martial sports, and reserve the term martial arts for activities which shun competition.

But I would prefer not to. I would rather regard Japan's martial arts as falling well within the most commonly accepted definitions of sport. In fact, the emphasis in martial arts on the interconnectedness between one's art and other aspects of life, the concern for developing a mental framework in which one's mind flows freely, the tendency toward ritualization, and the focus upon self-perfection through the practice of swordsmanship or archery is hardly absent from the Western sporting tradition either. The ancients were concerned with *corpore sano, mens sano*, and both the British and American sporting tradition is closely connected with moral development and mental health. Placing martial arts within the category of sport does not diminish their worth at all. It seems to me that it is the degree to which such concerns have remained important to the martial arts that distinguishes them most graphically from other activities in the

richly diverse world which we call sport.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used for frequently cited works.

BRH Buda ryuha hyakusen

HM Heike monogatari

KGS Kenda gohyakunenshi

NBT Nihon buda taikai

NKH Nihon kenga hyakusen

NSK Nihon shoki

SMB shirya Meji budashi

Notes

Introduction

1. Michael B. Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 7. Scholars have attempted to define sports from a variety of perspectives, but thus far a general consensus on a single definition has eluded us. We all know what sports are; we just have trouble defining them. For several other views, see Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), p. 7; Jay Coakley, *Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies*, (St. Louis, Missouri: The c. v. Mosby Co., 1978), p. 12; Harry Edwards, *The Sociology of Sport*, (Homewood, Illinois : Dorsey Press, 1973), whose definition stresses the necessity of physical exertion, thus eliminating some of the endeavors which stress more manual dexterity than energy expenditure (p. 55); and more recently, David Sansone, *Greek Athletics and The Genesis of Sport*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1988), who offers the challenging definition of sport as "the ritual sacrifice of physical energy" (p. 36).

2. One can think of a few contemporary phrases, such as *ippon maitta* which means "to win a point" in judo or kendo. But it is often used when one is upset or nonplussed, or unable to deal with something. *Dohyogiwa de*, which literally means "at the edge of the ring" in sumo, is used by extension to mean "at the last moment."

3. Taisen Deshimaru, *The Zen Way to the Martial Arts*, (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1982), p. 2.

4. The situation has improved somewhat, but the study of sport has not risen in the eyes of intellectuals much since Paul Weiss observed two decades ago that "(I)f philosophers did take the commonality of sport to be a sign of its insignificance, and then supposed that its character tainted the study of it, they committed a double blunder. The common can be good and desirable. And whether it be so or not, it can be dealt with carefully and thoughtfully, and from

a perspective not necessarily known or shared by its participants. Whatever the reason for its neglect, the opportunity to deal with sport philosophically was let slip away by the Greeks and their followers. From their time to our own, sports have not been taken seriously enough as a source or instance of large truths or first principles." Paul Weiss, *Sport: A Philosophic Inquiry*, (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969, p. 8.

⁵. When this manuscript was largely completed, two excellent new works dealing with the military aspect of the Samurai appeared: Karl F. Friday, *Hired Swords: The Rise of Private Warrior Power in Early Japan*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992 and William Wayne Farris, *Heavenly Warriors: The Evolution of Japan's Military* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992. I have benefitted greatly from both of these books.

Chapter One

¹. See Donn F. Draeger, *The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan, Volume II: Classical Buda*, (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1973), pp. 23-40; and Donn F. Draeger and Robert W. Smith, *Comprehensive Asian Fighting Arts*, (Tokyo, New York & San Francisco: Kodansha International Ltd., 1981 second printing), pp. 90-4.

². Draeger and Smith, *Comprehensive Asian Fighting systems*, p. 91.

³. *ibid*, p. 90.

⁴. *ibid*, p. 91.

⁵. *ibid*, p. 92.

⁶. *ibid*.

⁷. *ibid*.

⁸. *ibid*, pp. 92-3.

⁹. Certain other terms, most prominently *heiho* (literally "military method"), employ the character *hei*, alternately *hyo*. *Heiho* was rather commonly employed

in pre-modern times to refer to one's own style of martial art, much more common than referring to it as kenjutsu, jujutsu, etc. But words using the character hei are much less common as generic terms for "the martial arts" both in traditional texts and modern usage.

¹⁰. Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kanwa jiten*, (Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten, 1981), Vol. 6. p. 86.

¹¹. *ibid.*

¹². KGS, p. 15.

¹³. Seki Humitake, *Nihon budo no engen: Kashima shin-ryu*, (Tokyo: Kyorin Shein, 1976), p. 35, argues in a somewhat similar vein that in analyzing Japan's martial arts, one has to consider bu a homophone of the bu which means "to produce," "to give rise to," or "to give life to." (Thus he interprets bu as meaning an active cultivation of peace. Seki is head of the Kashima Shinryu Federation of Martial Science which considers its teachings based upon the ancient tradition of shinbu ("divine martiality"), a tradition dating back to the Age of the Gods. A totally different interpretation of bu holds that it is composed of the halberd character plus the element for foot, and thus has the meaning of "to go forth with halberd" or by extension, "to be armed." Nakabayashi Shinji, "'Budo' no meigen ni tsuite," paper presented at the 9th General Meeting of the Nihon Budo Gakkai, no date, p. 2.

¹⁴. KGS I p. 15.

¹⁵. NSK, Vol. 1, pp. 218-9. English translation from W. G. Aston, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, (Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1972), p. 138. Hereafter cited as Aston. The gloss for the characters in the Iwanami edition has takekiwaza rather than bugei.

¹⁶. KGS, p. 16.

¹⁷. *Ibid*, pp. 16-7. *Azuma kagami*, the official history of the Kamakura bakufu, for example, records the entry of one of Minamoto Yoritomo's chief supporters, Kumagai Naozane, into Kamakura in 1195: "The priest Kumagai no Jira Naozane proceeded (to Kamakura) from the Capital. Ever since he renounced yesterday's martial arts (budo) in order to seek the Buddha's providence in the future, he has fixed his mind solely upon the Western Paradise." *Azuma kagami*,

in Shintei zoho kokushi taikei, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kabunkan, 1968) Vol. 1, p. 463. Kenkyu 6/8/10. Naozane's story is a celebrated one in Japanese literature. After having been responsible for the death of the young Taira general Atsumori in the Battle of Ichi no tani, Naozane became a monk to pray for Atsumori's soul. Heike monogatari chronicles the "Death of Atsumori" in especially moving fashion. HM, Vol. II, pp. 219-22. In English, see Heike (McCullough), pp. 315-7 and Heike (Kitagawa), pp. 561-3.

18. Nakabayashi Shinji, "'Buda' no meigen ni tsuite," p. 3.

19. *ibid*, p. 4.

20. For an English translation of Yuzan's work, see William Scott Wilson, trans., *Budoshoshinshu: The Warrior's Primer of Daidoji Yuzan*, (Burbank, California: Ohara Publications, Inc., 1984).

21. KGS, p. 17. See also Nakabayashi, *op cit*, p. 4.

22. KGS, p. 17.

23. The text, *Yuken sosho*, is quoted by Tominaga in KGS, p. 17.

24. Kaibara Ekken, *Bukun*, in NBT, Vol. 10, p.20. The same idea is repeated in somewhat similar words on both pages 18 and 19 as well.

25. Cameron Hurst III, "From Heiho to Bugei: The Emergence of the Martial Arts in Tokugawa Japan," *Journal of Asian Martial Arts*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1993), pp. 41-51.

26. Professor Imamura Yosio notes, for example, that while budo as an inclusive term for various bujutsu is old, only in Meiji do there appear publications which transmit that sense of the word to the Japanese public at large: in the Edo period, budo was essentially used to mean bushido, "the way of the warrior." He notes that the Ministry of Education first used the term budo in its physical education plans only in the year following the outbreak of World War II, 1942. See Imamura Yoshie, "Budoshi gaisetsu," in NET, Vol. 9, pp. 24-5.

27. Nakabayashi, *op cit*, p. 8.

28. When Funakoshi Gichin brought this Okinawan style fighting art to Japan

proper in the early 1920s, it was called in the Okinawan dialect *todei*. But the characters were soon pronounced *karate*, a more Japanese-sounding rendering with the same meaning of "Chinese hand." It was apparently due to nationalistic concerns that in 1929 first the Keio University karate club, and then everyone throughout Japan, began to use the characters meaning "empty hand" to downplay karate's Chinese connection. Japan was of course already involved in fighting in north China, and a decidedly anti Chinese feeling was in the air. See Fujiwara Ryozo, "Karatedo no rekishi," in NET, Vol. 8, pp. 28-9.

²⁹. Both the Japanese concept and term were based upon Ming Chinese originals, with slightly different arts being emphasized. See BRH, pp. 190-242 *passim*.

³⁰. Draeger and Smith, *Comprehensive Asian Fighting systems*, pp. 83-4.

³¹. An excellent introduction is Alain Silver, *The Samurai Film*,

³². (New York: The Overlook Press, 1983).

³³. When asked to describe a typical Samurai, my students inevitably come up with Mifune in the role of Musashi.

³⁴. Perhaps the best place to start in the extensive Japanese literature on the subject would be two general works: Takeuchi Rizo, *Nihon no rekishi*, Vol. 4: *Bushi no tojo*, (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1965) and Ishii susumu, *Nihon no rekishi*, Vol. 12: *Chusei bushidan*, (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1974). Two excellent new English language works on the subject---though with somewhat differing viewpoints--are Karl F. Friday, *Hired Swords: The Rise of Private Warrior Power in Early Japan*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992) and William Wayne Farris, *Heavenly Warriors: The Evolution of Japan's Military, 500-1300*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992). See also John w. Hall, *Government and Local Power in Japan: A study Based Upon Bizen Province, 500 to 1700*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), esp. pp. 129-154; Jeffrey P. Mass, *The Emergence of Warrior Government in Medieval Japan*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974); and Minoru Shinoda, *The Founding of the Kamakura Shogunate*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959). There are two useful coffee table books dealing with the Samurai, Richard Storry,

³⁵. *The Way of the Samurai*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1978) and s. R.

Turnbull, *The Samurai: A Military History*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Ltd., 1977.) H. Paul Varley, *Samurai*, (New York: Delacorte Press, 1971) is a short, general introduction for the non-specialist.

³⁶. On the Kamakura bakufu, see Mass above, and also "The Emergence of the Kamakura Bakufu, 11 in John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass. eds., *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 127-56.

³⁷. This was certainly the observation of many at the time. See, for example, Kitabatake Chikafusa's evaluation of the "delegation of authority to Yoritomo" in *Jinno shotoki·Masu kagami*, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), p. 155. For an English translation and commentary, see H. Paul Varley, *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns: Jinno Shotoki of Kitabatake Chikafusa*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980. See also the observations of the Fujiwara scion and Buddhist prelate Jien in *Gukansho*, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), p.265. For an English translation, with commentary, of this historical work, see Delmer Brown and Ishida Ichiro, *The Future and the Past*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979).

³⁸. Hayashida Shigeyuki, "Nihon zairaima no genryū, 11 in Mori Koichi, *Nihon kodai bunka no tankyū: Uma*, (Tokyo: Shakai Shisōsha, 1974, p. 237.

³⁹. Quoted in Mori Koichi, "Kbkgaku to uma," in *ibid*, p. 48.

⁴⁰. *ibid*, pp. 54-79 *passim* discusses archaeological evidence of horses in early Japan.

⁴¹. Gari K. Ledyard, "Gallop Along With the Horseriders: Looking for the Founders of Japan," in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 1975}, p. 217-54. Ledyard's article provided a very provocative reinterpretation of Professor Egami Namio's original thesis, but it has run into criticism on archaeological grounds. Walter Edwards, "Event and Process in the Founding of Japan: The Horserider Theory in Archaeological Perspective," *Journal of Japanese studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer 1983}, pp. 265-95, refocuses our attention on the process of state formation. Gina Barnes, *Protohistoric Yamato: Archaeology of the First Japanese state*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 1988), pp. 21-2, argues that the fifth

century polity "can be regarded as a quantitative expansion and hierarchical ordering of cellular units of organization already present in the fourth century. It was stimulated into existence through conflict and/or competition with the Kyushu area---which the chronicles reveal to have been hostile at this time." Whether one accepts the horse rider theory in one form or another, or rejects it, conflict still attended the formation of the state. And the technology of mounted horse warfare was apparently crucial.

42. According to Hayashida, *op cit*, p. 254, the small horse, characteristic of southern China, probably made its way to Japan in Jomon times; but he believes that from the Yayoi period into the tumulus period, the medium-sized horse of Central Asian origin---not the Mongolian type---came into Japan via the Korean peninsula. (See chart of Asiatic distribution of horse types on page 255.) Mori, pp. 45-6, emphasizes that from the sixth century on, when the horse was distributed all across the Japanese islands, the predominant use of the animal was for warfare. In the same volume, Goto Tomio, p. 185, also deals with the Wei chih notation that third century Yamato had no horses. Goto feels that the Chinese envoys were likely talking about domesticated animals; and so the report that they did not encounter such animals in the areas they visited means that Yamato people were neither raising nor utilizing domesticated horses. Thus he concludes that even though we find archaeological evidence of horses in Japan prior to the Wei chih, we should not assume that they were domesticated, much less ridden. Rather the few horse bones we do find were probably from wild animals which were hunted, perhaps for food.

43. William Wayne Farris also discusses the introduction of the horse and the spread of mounted warfare in early Japan. See Farris, *Heavenly Warriors*, pp. 15-18.

44. J. Bronowski, *The Ascent of Man*, (Boston/Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), p. 80.

45. *NHS*, Vol. 1, pp. 459-61. For English translation, see Aston, p. 336.

46. Takeuchi Toshimi, "Uma no minzoku," in Mori, *op cit*, pp. 162-71 discusses the horse as sacred mount.

47. *ibid*, pp. 168-9.

48. There is still an Aouma festival performed at Osaka's Sumiyoshi Taisha, in

imitation of the old Aourna no sechie of the court. Aourna--the word literally means "blue horse" but. it is written with the Chinese characters for "white horse"---was first written with the character for "blue," supposedly because of Chinese yin-yang associations. That is, the horse is a distinctly "yang" animal in yin-yang cosmology and the color blue is associated with yang as well. The idea behind the original ceremony seems to have been to rely upon the horses to drive away evil spirits and cause the yang element to flourish. Although the Aouma no sechie was already written with the characters for "white horse"--in keeping with actual color of the animals--by the Heian period, it occasionally appeared written with the "blue" character. Kurabayashi Shoji, ed., *Nihon no matsuri to nenjii gyoji*, (Tokyo: Ofusha, 1983), pp. 11-2.

⁴⁹. Moreover, Ivan Morris, *The Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon*, (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, Inc.), p. 267, notes concerning the "Festival of the Blue Horses," first introduced from China in the early eighth century, that "originally the horses were steel grey (hence the name 'blue'); but, since such horses were very rare and since white was the color of purity in Shinto ritual, they were replaced in the tenth century with white horses." (Kurabayashi, p. 12, says the first recorded instance of Aouma was in 775, in Emperor Konin's reign.)

⁵⁰. NHS, Vol. 2, p. 163.

⁵¹. For an account of the cultural life of the Heian nobility, see Ivan Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964).

⁵². The Okagami notes that Michinaga "rode a famous high-spirited horse, the name of which I have forgotten, controlling it with admirable skill." Helen c. McCullough, trans., *Okagami: The Great Mirror*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980, p. 196.

⁵³. Karl Friday, "Teeth and Claws: Provincial Warriors and the Heian Court," *Monumen ta Nipponica*, Vol. XLIII, No. 2 (Summer 1988), p. 153. op cit, p. 153. For more information, see *Friday Hired Swords: The Rise of Private Warrior Power in Early Japan*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), passim.

⁵⁴. G. Cameron Hurst III, "The K6bu Polity: Court-Bakufu Relations in the Kamakura Period," in Jeffrey P. Mass, ed., *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 3-28.

⁵⁵. The following paragraph is summarized from Ishii Susurnu, *Nihon no rekishi*, Vol. 12: *Chusei bushidan*, (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1974), pp. 110-2. On page 111, Ishii diagrams this information effectively. For an English adaptation, see Farris, *Heavenly Warriors*, p. 350.

⁵⁶. This scroll is included in several Japanese art collections. Perhaps the most useful one for reference purposes is *Obusuma Saburo emaki·Ise shinmeisho e-utaawase*, Vol. 12 in *Nihon emakimono taisei*, (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1978). See also *Nihon emakimono zenshu*, (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1968), Vol. 18.

⁵⁷. The *Shin sarugakki* lists the martial accomplishments of the "husband of Naka no kimi" who was regarded as the "supreme warrior in the land" (*tenka daiichi no masha*). Included among his martial skills were these nine different forms of archery, along with fighting battles and night attacks. *Shin sarugakki*, in Hanawa Hokiichi, ed., *Gunsho ruiju*, (Tokyo: Gunsho Ruiju Kanseikai, 1960, 3rd revised edition), Vol. 9, p. 342.

⁵⁸. The quote is from an 1108 entry in the *Choyuki*, diary of Fujiwara Munetada, describing Taira Masamori's triumphant entry into the capital after chastising the outlaw Minamoto Yoshichika, who had rebelled in Izumo Province. *Choyuki*, in *Zoho shiryō taisei*, (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1965, Vol. 3, p. 325. Ten'in 1/1/29.

⁵⁹. A good example is the story, in *Konjaku monogatari*, of the duel between Minamoto Mitsuru and Taira Yoshifumi. Translated in William R. Wilson, "The Way of the Bow and Arrow: The Japanese Warrior in *Konjaku Monogatari*," *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (Summer 1973), pp. 197-9. Also see "Karl Friday, *Mononofu: The Warrior of Heian Japan*, unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Kansas, 1979, pp. 14-5 for a partial translation and analysis of this story.

⁶⁰. Michael B. Poliakoff, *op cit*, p. 115.

⁶¹. Friday, *Mononofu*, pp. 112-4.

⁶². For an account of the history of hunting in Japan, see Chiba Tokuji, *Shuryō densho kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Kazama Shobe, 1969) and *Zoku shuryō densho kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Kazama Shobe, 1971). Also see Imamura Yoshie, *Jūkyūseiki ni okeru Nihon taiiku no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Fumide Shoten, 1967), pp. 254-332, for an extensive account of hunting during the Tokugawa era, when, despite shogunal

attempts to force hunting into the narrow confines of martial training, it had in fact become essentially a sport, a form of recreation for shogun, daimye, and bushi alike.

⁶³. Gukansho, in *Nihon bungaku taikai*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), p. 271. English translation from Delmer M. Brown and Ichiro Ishida, *The Future and the Past*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), p. 149.

⁶⁴. Azuma kagami, in *Shintei zoho kokushi taikai*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1968), Vol. 1, pp. 488-92. Kenkyu 4/5/8-6/7.

⁶⁵. The events are also expanded upon by Ishii Susumu in *Chusei bushidan*, pp. 64-70. The revenge of the Soga brothers on Kudo Suketsune, who had killed their father some years earlier, was carried out during this expedition, on the 28th. Azuma kagami, p. 490. Kenkyu 4/5/28.

⁶⁶. Due to the Buddhist injunction against killing. Because of the concept of the transmigration of souls, which meant that one could be reborn in animal form, there was considerable sensitivity to the killing of animals. Clearly, this injunction did not keep Japanese warriors from their passion for hunting, but there remained a deep sensitivity. *Konjaku monogatari*, for example, contains a touching story of an especially talented archer, a retainer of Fujiwara Yasumasa, the governor of Tango. One night before a hunt, he had a terrible dream in which his dead mother appeared to him, saying that because of her evil deeds, she had been reborn as a female deer in the area where the hunt was scheduled. She told her son to realize that if he saw a great female deer during the hunt, it would be her. He was not to shoot, and she would draw near to him for protection.

⁶⁷. Greatly disturbed by the dream, the retainer tried to absent himself from the hunt by claiming illness. But the governor became angry, and demanded his participation. Soon caught up in the event, the man drew his bow, and, forgetting the warning in his dream, shot and killed a large female deer. When he looked at the deer's face, he realized that it was indeed the face of his mother; and he left the service of his lord to become a monk. (When he learned of what his retainer had done, Yasumasa became angry; and told him that he should have stated the real reason for not wanting to hunt. Had he done so, Yasumasa would certainly have excused him.) *Konjaku monogatari*, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikai*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968), Vol. 4, pp. 75-7.

⁶⁸. Ishii, p. 66. Interestingly, the Azuma kagami, pp. 489-90 Kenkyu 4/5/22 records that Yoritomo was so pleased that he immediately sent his trusted vassal Kajiwaru Kagetaka as a courier off to inform Yorie's mother, Masako, in Kamakura of her son's success. But Masako dismissed the matter as insignificant, and hardly worthy of such a fuss. What should one expect of the heir of a warrior, she retorts, causing Kagetaka "to lose face."

Chapter Two

¹. King Arthur's Excalibur and El Cid's famed sword Tizona are certainly more readily identifiable to readers than Kogarasumaru. The latter was the family heirloom of the Taira house. Not surprisingly the origins of the sword are shrouded in mystery. Legend holds that in the reign of Emperor Kanmu (781-806), the ancestor of the most important Taira lineage, one day when the Emperor was performing a certain ceremony, a bird suddenly flew into the courtyard, announcing that it was the messenger from the Ise Shrine. Subsequently, this sword was found on the spot, so it was assumed the bird had brought it. It was consequently named Kogarasumaru ("Little crow") and was deemed to have powers protective of the court. When Taira Sadamori was appointed as general to quell the uprising of Taira Masakado in the tenth century, the sword was given him as a symbol of authority; thereafter, it became a Taira family treasure. Legend aside, the sword is inscribed on one side with the characters "Amakuni," a swordsmith supposedly 'of the Taiho era (701-3); and there is also inscribed on the other side of the blade the date Taiho 2 {702). But all evidence suggests that the sword could not have been forged at that early a date, nor by Amakuni. The real maker of Kogarasu and the date of its forging are unknown. See Sato Kanzan, *Nihon mei to hyakusen*, {Tokyo: Akita Shoten, 1983, 7th printing), pp. 111-3. See, for example, Francisco Carletti's description of tameshigiri as "A Barbarous and Cruel Custom," quoted in Michael Cooper, *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1965), pp. 158-9. Cooper, note p. 167, is also the source of the "record" for bodies cleaved in two during tameshigiri.

². Quoted in Robert Newman, *The Japanese: People of the Three Treasures*, (New York: Atheneum, 1964), p. 108. Another book which takes the sword as a metaphor for Japan is Ethel Mannin, *The Flowery sword: Travels in Japan*,

(London: Hutchinson & Company, 1860). Interestingly, I had some difficulty tracking down a

³. Japanese primary source for this most commonly quoted Western aphorism about the sword. As the foregoing quote from McClatchie indicates, the notion was known to people, even foreigners, in the nineteenth century. The first Japanese textual reference I have found to this idea is in the Tokugawa Nariaki hyakkajo, written sometime during the first four decades of the Tokugawa period. Tokugawa Nariaki hyakkajo, in Kinsei buke shiso, Vol. 27 in Nihon shiso taikai, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), p. 471, article 36. The entire article reads: "The sword is the soul of the bushi; those who lose theirs shall not be forgiven."

⁴. J. Bronowski, *The Ascent of Man*, (Boston/Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), p. 131.

⁵. NSK, Vol. 1, pp. 153-4. English translation, Aston, p. 77.

⁶. *ibid*, pp. 124-6. Also see Aston, p. 53.

⁷. *Ibid*, p.106. English translation is from Aston, p. 36.

⁸. *Ibid*, p. 138. See Aston, p. 68.

⁹. When the Imperial army was bogged down in its campaign in Kumano, Take Mikazuchi no Kami sent Futsu no Mitama to aid Jinmu. NHS, Vol. 1, p. 195. Also see Aston, p. 115.

¹⁰. Ozawa Aijiro, *Kokoku kendoshi*, (Tokyo: Shinjidaisha, 1984; reprint of Tanaka Seikodo edition of 1944), p. 2. The latent nationalism of the author can be gleaned even from the title of the book: *Kokoku*, or "Imperial Nation," which was used extensively in book titles on works instead of Japan earlier in this century.

¹¹. The entry for "swords" in the *Encyclopedia of Japan*, (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983). Vol. 7, pp. 295-6, gives the estimated date as fourth to fifth century, and Suenaga Masao, *Nihon buki gaisetsu*, (Tokyo: Shakai Shisosha, 1971), p. 21, gives "middle tumulus period."

¹². *suenaga, ibid*.

13. *ibid.*
14. *ibid.*, p. 22.
15. Nakabayashi Shinji, "Kendoshi," in NBT, Vol. 10, p. 34.
16. Bronowski, *op cit.*, p. 131.
17. *ibid.*, p. 132.
18. Not, however, totally absent. One story in *Konjaku monogatari* relates an attack on Tachibana Norimitsu, former governor of Dewa Province. When he was young and serving in the Imperial guards, he sneaked off duty one night to visit a woman. He was attacked on the street by a group of men. Norimitsu had gone out wearing only a sword and accompanied by one retainer. He was relieved when he saw that they had no bows with them, but were only armed with swords. He proceeded to dispatch three of them, splitting one's head and cleaving another open from the shoulder. Those that found the corpses at first thought they had killed each other; but one noticed that the victims had all been killed by the same sword, and he was awed by the skill of the killer's (Norimitsu's) technique with the sword. *Konjaku monogatari*, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968, 4th printing), Vol. 2, pp. 249-52.
19. HM, Vol. 1, p. 310. English translation, *Heike* (McCullough), p. 153. The weapon Jomyo "mowed down" Taira warriors with was actually a halberd (*naginata*), a singleedged blade attached to a pole.
20. William R. Wilson, trans., *Hogen monogatari: A Tale of Disorder in Hogen*, (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1971), p. 43.
21. •*ibid* I P •44 •
22. Fighting in the so-called "war between the Southern and Northern Courts" (*nambokucho no nairan*) was sporadic between 1331 and 1392, when the third Ashikaga shogun Yoshimitsu reunited the two contending Imperial factions. It is customary not to consider the years between Go-Daigo's rise in 1331 and the end of his Kemmu Restoration in 1336 as part of the Nambokucho period. The war raged in different parts of the country at different times, and was characterized by a good deal of guerrilla warfare by the weaker Southern Court. See H. Paul Varley, *Imperial Restoration in Medieval Japan*, (New York: Columbia

University Press, 1971. My second volume will deal somewhat more with this period due to the influence of Kusunoki Masashige, a southern Court supporter with ninja connections.

23. Helen C. McCullough, trans., *Taiheiki: The Chronicle of the*

24. *Great Peace*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 305-6.

25. *ibid*, p. 294.

26. Nakabayashi, "Kendoshi," in *NBT*, p. 36.

27. Summarized from Nakabayashi, pp. 38-42.

28. Translated in Ryusaku Tsunoda, et al, eds., *The Sources of Japanese Tradition*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958)I P• 319.

29. Nakabayashi, pp. 38-9.

30. *Honcho seiji danki seigo*, quoted in Imamura Yoshio, "Budoshi gaisetsu," in *NBT*, Vol. 10, p. 9.

31. Quoted in Nakabayashi. p. 39.

32. There is little literature on the phenomenon, but one of the best treatments can be found in *KGS*, pp. 63-9, 181-2.

33. For a good general study of shugendo, see Wakamori Taro, *Yamabushi*, (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1971, 9th printing). See also Togawa Ansho, *Shugendo to minzoku*, (Tokyo: Iwasaki Bijutsusha, 1976, 4th printing). The standard English language work is H. Byron Earhart, *A Religious study of the Mt. Haguro Sect of Shugendo: An Example of Japanese Mountain Religion*, (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1970).

34. Nakabayashi, p. 41; Tominaga, *KGS*, pp. 65-8 gives some excellent examples of warriors on *musha shugyo* in the late Muromachi period.

35. Nakabayashi, *ibid*. Toyotomi Hideyoshi is the most conspicuous example, having risen from peasant to master of all Japan. *KGS*, p. 55, quoting The

ineffectiveness of Hideyoshi's efforts is underscored by the necessity of the later edicts.

³⁶. Tominaga Kengo, *Shijitsu Miyamoto Musashi*, (Tokyo: Hyakusen Shobe, 1957, rep. 1969), pp. 18-9. See also G. Cameron Hurst III, "Samurai on Wall Street: Miyamoto Musashi and the Search for Secrets," *UFSI Reports*, 1982/No. 44 Asia.

³⁷. 39. KGS, pp. 409-15.

³⁸. 40. NKH, pp. 24-5.

³⁹. Sakakibara Nagatoshi's *Honpo tokenko*.

⁴⁰. Hideyoshi's sword hunt (*katanagari*) edict is the most well known of these unsuccessful efforts. Noting that the "possession of unnecessary implements (of war] makes difficult the collection of taxes and dues and tends to foment uprisings," Hideyoshi exhorts peasants to "devote themselves exclusively to agriculture" and further intends that all confiscated weapons will be melted down and used as "nails and bolts in the construction of the Great Image of the Buddha." Quoted in Tsunoda, et al, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, p. 329.

⁴¹. *ibid*, pp. 37-8.

⁴². *ibid*, pp. 44-5.

⁴³. *ibid*, pp. 41-3.

⁴⁴. KGS, p. 59.

⁴⁵. *ibid*.

⁴⁶. For a thorough discussion of the function of *kata*, see Nakabayashi, "Budo no susume: budo no tokusei-'kata'," in *Buda*, March 1976. See also Karl Friday, "Kabala in Motion: Kata & Pattern Practice in the Traditional Bugei," paper presented at Association for Asian studies Annual Meeting, March 28, 1993.

⁴⁷. Watanabe Ichiro, "Bakumatsu Kanto ni okeru kenjutsu shoryfi no sonzai keitai," in *Tokyo Kyoiku Daigaku, Bungakubu, Shigaku kenkyu*, No. 601 (March 1967), p. 4, quoting Watatani' s *Nihon bugei shoden*. "Bakumatsu

Kanta." Hereafter cited as Watanabe'

⁴⁸. Imamura Yoshie, "Budoshi gaisetsu," in NBT, Vol. 9, p. 12.

⁴⁹. As I note in Chapter Eight, the occurrence of saimei ("sai" names) is rather common in the cultural world of Tokugawa Japan, adopted by artists as well as professionals in a wide variety of cultural endeavors, including martial arts masters.

⁵⁰. For genealogy, see NBT, Vol. 3, pp. 6-7. A short biography can be found in NKH, pp. 19-20.

⁵¹. Many texts contain the information on Iizasa's life. See, for example, Tenshinsho-den shinto-ryii heiho denmyaku, in *ibid*, pp. 28-34.

⁵². Quoted in Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, trans., *The Man 'yoshu*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 254. A short but useful work on the history of Kashima is Hotta Yoshie, *Kashima Jingo.: kamigami to rekishi to bushotachi*, (Tsuchiura, Ibaragi: Tsukuba Shorin, 1982, 3rd printing), esp. pp. 1-33 on the ancient period.

⁵³. For Bokuden's career, see Tenshinsho-den shinto-ryu heiho denmyaku, *op cit*, pp. 30-1. See also NKH, pp. 23-9.

⁵⁴. NKH, p. 24, quoting Tenshinsho-den shinto-ryu heihoden.

⁵⁵. Nakabayashi, "Kendoshi," p. 51.

⁵⁶. NKH, p. 27.7. NKH, pp. 21-2.

⁵⁷. NKH, p.29. Iko (sometimes Ikosai) was apparently a member of a Kurnano pirate group who went as far as the Ming coastline, both for pillaging and whatever trading they could engage in. Two decades after Ikosai's death, in 1561, one Japanese pirate fled to China carrying a copy of the Kage-ryu scroll with him. It was later reproduced in the Ming period Chinese martial arts text *Wubichih*.

⁵⁸. Nakabayashi, p. 53.

⁵⁹. See NBT, Vol. 1, pp. 12-5; NKH, pp. 32-6.

- ⁶⁰. See, for example, Honcho bugei shoden, quoted in NBT, Vol 2, p. 130.
- ⁶¹. Nakabayashi, p. 54.
- ⁶². *ibid*, p. 55. For the meeting with Kanemaki Jizai, see Itt6- ryu gokui, NBT, Vol. 2, p. 130.
- ⁶³. Honcho bugei shoden, quoted in NBT, *ibid*.
- ⁶⁴. Nakabayashi, p. 55.
- ⁶⁵. *ibid*, pp. 33-4; Imamura, p. 11.
- ⁶⁶. It is common for modern scholars to treat the stories of founders as so much superstition, arguing from a modern, highly secularized tradition. But in the Buddhist world of medieval Japan this was far from the case. William R. LaFleur reminds us that "it is one of the hallmarks of this era that muchu mondo, 'conversations taking place in dreams,' are highly valued and are considered so directly relevant to the problems faced by the dreamer that they require no act of interpretation. They are not cryptic messages that need to be decoded by someone with expertise in such things but direct exchanges between dead persons and living ones." *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983). p. 4.
- ⁶⁷. In virtually all schools, students were required to sign written pledges, both when entering the course of instruction and upon the achievement of each level of expertise, requiring that they keep secret the techniques of the master not revealing them "even to my parents or brothers." For more on this, see Chapter Eight.

Chapter Three

1. Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert M. Craig, *Japan: Tradition and Transformation*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989), p. 91.
2. Nakabayashi, "Kendoshi," p. 57.

3. As an example, see Watanabe Ichiro, "Heiho densho keisei ni tsuite no isshikiron," in Kinsei geidoron, vol. 61 in Nihon shiso taikai, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982, 7th printing), p. 653 for a discussion of the encounter at Takagamine between Ieyasu and the Yagyus.
4. For original text, see Kinsei buke shiso, Vol. 27 in Nihon shiso taikai, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), p. 454. The English translation is from Ryusaku Tsunoda, et al, eds., The Sources of Japanese Tradition, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 335-6.
5. Nakabayashi, p. 73.
6. Ascetic practices essentially similar to those of shugendo- curtailing the intake of food, avoidance of sexual -----Tokugawa Samurai, (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1988), especially p. 74 and p. 143.
7. Gorin no sho, in NBT, Vol. 2, p. 58.
8. Nakabayashi, p. 74.
9. ibid, p. 73; KGS, pp. 267-74. Typically, both Nakabayashi and Tominaga refer to the "decline" (suitai, using slightly different characters) of swordsmanship.
10. Thomas Huber, The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan, (Stanford. California: Stanford University Press, 1981), p. 14 describes the difficulties Yoshida Shein encountered when he left Choshu without permission. Katsu Kokichi faced similar difficulties, taking off without a proper travel permit when he attempted to set off on a musha shugyo. Musui's story, pp. 62-3.
11. Musui's story, p. 60 is the specific quote, but his dojo yaburi activities are extensively chronicled in pp. 46-60.
12. There is a tendency in Western works to overemphasize the civil elements of the Confucian tradition and denigrate the military aspects, stressing for example, the idea that "just as good steel should not be used to make a nail, a good man should not be made into a soldier." It is true, as John Fairbank notes, that the gentleman, 'extolled in the classics as the highest product of self-cultivation, should be able to attain his ends without violence... (for the Emperor) the resort to warfare (wu) was an admission of the bankruptcy in the pursuit of wen...

Herein lies the pacifist bias of the Chinese tradition." Frank A. Kierman, Jr., and John K. Fairbank, eds., *Chinese Ways in Warfare*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 7. But the concept of a balance between the civil and martial aspects of society dates back to the overthrow of the Shang Dynasty by the Chou Dynasty (1122 B.C.) and the respective roles of Kings Wen and Wu (Japanese bun and bu). Like yin and yang, the two elements are seen not as diametrically opposed but complementary. While perhaps never arriving at the stage of the devotion to the wu element of the Japanese, the Chinese nonetheless have a long and hallowed martial tradition; and the balance between the wen and wu elements is part of the Chinese legacy to the Japanese. A recent, well-received study of the military element in Chinese history is Ralph D. Sawyer, trans. *The seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press, 1993.

¹³. Quoted in William s. Wilson, *The Ideals of the Samurai: Writings of Japanese Warriors*, (Burbank, California: Ohara Publications, Inc., 1982), p. 59.

¹⁴. *ibid*, p. 136, Kuroda Nagamasa's "Notes on Regulation."

¹⁵. *ibid*, p. 78, from "The Twenty-One Precepts of Hojo Soun."

¹⁶. *ibid*, p. 131, from "The Precepts of Kato Kiyomasa."

¹⁷. *ibid*, p. 102, quoting from Takeda Nobushige's "Opinions in Ninety-Nine Articles."

¹⁸. *Kinsei buke shiso*, vol. 27 in *Nihon shiso taikai*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), p. 456-7.

¹⁹. *ibid*, p. 459.

²⁰. John W. Hall, *Japan from Prehistory to Modern Times*, *op cit*, p. 219.

²¹. Some Tokugawa texts combine both elements, but by and large one can distinguish between those works which address the ethical and moral aspects of warrior political life, primarily from a Confucian standpoint; and those which much more narrowly seek to explicate the physical and mental dimensions of the martial arts. The former, texts of the budo/bushido type, may of course refer to the importance of training in the martial arts, as do many written by well known

Edo period scholars such as Kaibara Ekken, Ogyu Sorai, and others. But they differ distinctly from bugei texts, for example, like Munenori's Heiho kadensho or Musashi's Gorin no sho, which concentrate almost solely upon swordsmanship or some other military skill.

²². Imamura Yoshio, "Budoshi gaisetsu, 11 in NBT, Vol. 10, pp. 17-8.

²³. The term is taken from Donn Draeger, *The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan, Volume II: Classical Budo*, (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1973), esp. pp. 41-65.

²⁴. I am using the term "professionalization" here in a somewhat looser sense than social scientists normally do. The literature on professions suggests that a profession requires perhaps a greater body of abstract knowledge than that possessed by masters of military skills, although mastering the philosophical subtleties of the basic texts of their schools demanded that many of these individuals possess very sophisticated knowledge. I am not certain that the evidence is strong enough to argue for the existence of a "martial arts profession" in the same way that my colleague John Dardess, in *Confucianism and Autocracy*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983), argues persuasively for the existence of a Yuan and early Ming "Confucian profession." Tokugawa martial arts instructors were part of a larger community of specialists in a wide variety of cultural forms, most commonly known as geido, who either made their living through paid instruction to students or through the patronage of people who enjoyed the products of their cultural endeavors. And it was common, of course, for these skills to be passed down within the family as a specialization, a process that Japanese refer to as kagyoka or kageika, literally "becoming a family business or art." It is in this sense that I use the term "professionalization." For more information, see Chapter Eight.

²⁵. J. o. Aylward, *The English Master at Arms: From the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956), p. 3.

²⁶. See Nishiyama Matsunosuke, *Iemoto no kenkyu*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1982). An excellent discussion of the nature of the iemoto system is P. G. O'Neill, "Organization and Authority in the Traditional Arts," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1984), pp. 631-45).

27. Even Musashi noted that it was only recently that people like those from Kashima and Katori shrines started talking of "schools" (ryū) and going around teaching techniques they claimed to have been handed down from the gods to people. *Gorin no sho*, p. 53.

28. Nishiyama Matsunosuke, "Kinsei geido shiso no tokushitsu to sono tenkai," in *Kinsei geidoron*, Vol. 41 in *Nihon shiso taikai*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972), pp. 585-6 sums up the significance of kata.

29. Nakabayashi, "Kendoshi," p. 74.

30. *ibid.*

31. One has to be very careful with the idea of combining Zen and swordsmanship, or asserting that "swordsmanship and Zen are one" (*kenzen ichinyo*). There is no necessary connection at all, and few warriors were active Zen practitioners. Even the instances of requiring moments of meditation (*mokuso*) at the beginning and end of martial training are at best formalistic, even if they do serve to calm the mind. In Isshi Chozanshi's *Tengu geijutsuron*, the goblin is asked about whether famous Zen monks, since they have been able to transcend matters of life and death, can also do swordsmanship easily. The goblin is quick to explain that the purpose of the training is different. The monk does not know how to protect life; it is simply that he does not despise death. The goblin is then asked why, when martial artists meet famous Zen monks, they often come to understand the deep secrets of their art? He answers that these monks are not transmitting martial secrets. It is just that since they expound control over one's spiritual condition, one can learn to respond correctly to all things. He is careful to point out that the beginner in swordsmanship will be lost if given such information; it is only for a very well-trained person that a discussion with a Zen monk might be of benefit. *Tengu geijutsuron*, in Yoshida Yutaka, *Buda hidensho*, (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 1968), pp. 219-22. In English, see Reinhard Kammer, *The Way of the Sword: The Tengu-Geijutsu-ron of Chozan Shissai*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, ARKANA edition, 1986), pp. 53-6.

32. Taisen Deshimaru, *The Zen Way to the Martial Arts*, (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1982), p. 72.

33. A conspicuous example is Thomas Hoover, *Zen Culture*, (New York:

Random House, Inc., 1977), esp. Chapter 5 "Zen Archery and Swordsmanship (The Kamakura Era, 1185-1333)."

³⁴. For an excellent treatment of this extraordinary figure, see John Stevens, *The Sword of No-Sword: Life of the Warrior Master Teshu*, (Boston: Shambala Publications, Inc., 1984).

³⁵. *Gorin no sho*, p. 52.

³⁶. *Nakabayashi*, p. 46.

³⁷. *ibid*

³⁸. *ibid.*

³⁹. *Gorin no sho*, p. 54. *Nakabayashi*, p. 73.

⁴⁰. *Shinbu kenkoroku*, quoted in Imamura Yoshie, *Jukyu seiki ni okeru Nihon taiiku no kenkyu*, (Tokyo: Fumido, 1967), p. 176.

⁴¹. *Nakabayashi*, pp. 72-3.

⁴². *Ibid.*

⁴³. *Ibid*, pp. 72-3.

⁴⁴. Donn F. Draeger and Robert W. Smith, *Comprehensive Asian Fighting Arts*, (Tokyo: Kodansha International, Ltd., 1981), p. 91.

⁴⁵. Watanabe Ichiro, "Bakumatsu Kanto," p. 3 notes that this is the conclusion reached by Shimokawa in his classic *Kenda no hattatsu*.

⁴⁶. While many texts continue to refer to their own ryu's techniques as *heiho*, the term *bugei* is much more commonly used in texts as a generic term to refer to martial arts.

⁴⁷. 81 *Gorin no sho*, p. 53.

⁴⁸. For an excellent study of the concept of *do*, see Terada Toru, *Do no shiso*, {Tokyo: Sobunsha, 1978), esp. pp. 83-103 for "Heiho no do."

⁴⁹. Gorin no sho, p. 53.

⁵⁰. Indeed, one of the most attractive features of the Musashi image is that he was the last of the great swordfighters who witnessed the transformation of the sengoku period into Tokugawa peace. In a sense, he is somewhat like John Wayne in the film "The Shootist," a gunfighter in the age of the automobile. With the Tokugawa settlement, it was virtually impossible to enjoy the freedom of a Musashi, although some of the young warriors of the bakumatsu era who became caught up in plotting to overthrow the Tokugawa regime perhaps approached that ideal.

⁵¹. Shibukawa Tokihide, Kunpu zatawwa, in Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Henshu, ed., Nihon zuihitsu taikai (Daini-ki), Vol. 18,

⁵². (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kibunkan, 1974), pp. 57-8.

⁵³. Fujita Toko, Hitachi-obi, in Mozume Takami, ed., Shinchu kagaku sasho, (Tokyo: Kobunko, 1928), Vol. 12, p. 493.

⁵⁴. *ibid.*

⁵⁵. Imamura, p. 176, quoting Matsushita.

⁵⁶. KGS, pp. 267-8; Nakabayashi, p. 74.

⁵⁷. Grant K. Goodman, Japan: The Dutch Experience, (London and Dover, New Hampshire: The Athlone Press, 1986, pp. 56-8.

⁵⁸. John W. Hall, Japan From Prehistory to Modern Times, p. 187.

Chapter Four

¹. Perhaps the best example in English of this idea, see Taisen Deshimaru, The Zen Way to the Martial Arts, (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1982.) A rather good Japanese example is Omori Sogen, Ken to Zen, (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1983).

². Omori, pp. 71-2. See also Donn F. Draeger and Robert W. Smith, Comprehensive Asian Fighting Arts, (Tokyo: Kodansha International, Ltd,

1981), p. 92 on the distinction between martial arts and sports. A good Japanese discussion is Nakabayashi Shinji, "Budo to supotsu, 11 Part I in Buda, October 1976; Part II in Buda November 1976.

3. Nakabayashi, "Kendoshi," p. 73, quoting Sarai. Watanabe Ichiro, "Heiho densho keisei ni tsuite no isshikiron," op cit, p. 648.

4. Nakabayashi, pp. 74-7.

5. NKH, p. 191.

6. Fujita Toko, Hitachi-obi, p. 493.

7. *ibid.*

8. *ibid.*

9. *ibid.*

10. Nakabayashi, p. 77.

11. *Ibid*, pp. 81-9 discusses these ryuha. See appropriate sections in Vols. I-III for the extant documents relating to these ryuha.

12. Quoted in Watanabe, "Bakumatsu Kanta," p. 8.

13. *ibid.*

14. *ibid.*

15. *ibid.*

16. Musui's Story, p. 60. Some other interesting stories of dojo yaburi and taryu jiai can be found in Yamamoto Kunio, Saitama bugeicho, (Urawa, Saitama: Sakitama Shuppankai, 1981), pp. 112-64.

17. on dojo, see Yamamoto, *ibid*, pp. 103-11, 177-203, and 226-8; KGS, pp.

18. NKH, p. 205.

19. *ibid*, ' pp. 206-7.

20. *ibid*, p. 207. For Terada, see pp. 191-3; and for information on Shirai, pp. 194-7.
21. *ibid*, pp. 207-8. Nakabayashi, p. 83. See NBT, Vol. 2, pp. 296-341 for documents relating to Chiba and the Hokushin itto-ryu.
22. Nakabayashi, *ibid*.
23. Watanabe Ichiro, "Bakumatsu Kanto," p. 22.
24. Marius Jansen, *Sakamoto Ryoma and the Meiji Restoration*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959) discusses the career of Sakamoto, including his days as a fencer. For further information on Sakamoto's swordsmanship career, see Shimaoka Shin, *Sakamoto Ryoma no shogai*, (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Oraisha, 1983), esp. pp. 28-43.
25. On Yamaoka, see NKH, pp. 255-8 and John Stevens, *The sword of No-Sword*, (Boulder, Colorado and London: Shambala, 1984).
26. NKH, p. 232; NBT, Vol. 3, pp. 345-6, 348-56 contains several interesting documents relating to Chiba's dojo.
27. NKH, p. 217.
28. NKH, p. 219.
29. See chart in NBT, Vol. 10, p. 86.
30. For Kido's career, see Sidney D. Brown, "Kido Takayoshi: Japan's Cautionary Revolutionary," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XXV (May 1956).
31. NKH, p. 232. NBT, Vol. 3, pp. 330-8 includes extant documents relating to the dojo.
32. NKH, p. 235.
33. Takechi's career is related in Marius Jansen, "Takechi Zuizan and the Tosa Loyalist Party," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (February 1959).
34. NBT, Vol. 3, pp. 295-6 and documents pp. 300-26. 37. NKH, pp. 203-4.

35. See chart in NHK, p. 205.
36. Hitachi-obi, p. 493.
37. *ibid.*
38. See Ronald Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), pp. 180-2.
39. Imamura Yoshio, "Budoshi gaisetsu," NET, Vol. 10, p. 17.
40. *ibid.*, p. 16.
41. Dore, p. 71 (Table 1).
42. Watanabe, "Bakumatsu Kanto," p. 17.
43. Dore, p. 96.
44. *ibid.*
45. Watanabe, p. 20.
46. Nakabayashi, p. 80.
47. Hitachi-obi, p. 494. 51. Dore, p. 149.
48. Watanabe, pp. 21-2.
49. Jansen, p. 82. 54. *ibid.*, p. 85-6.
50. *ibid.*, p. 81.
51. For Kondo, see NKH, pp. 252-5.
52. Yamamoto, Saitama bageicho, pp. 87-8. 58.
53. Watanabe, p. 57
54. *ibid.*, p. 58.

⁵⁵. *ibid*, p. 61.

⁵⁶. *ibid*, p. 62.

a. *ibid*, pp. 62-3, *chart p. 264. ibid*, p. 64.

b. *ibid*, *chart p. 65*.

c. *ibid*, p. 66.

d. *ibid*, pp. 66-7, *chart p. 67*.

e. This summary is largely from Yamamoto, *Saitama bugeicho*, pp. 86-93 and Watanabe, pp. 9-12, on the spread of swordsmanship among the peasantry in the Kanto.

f. Yamamoto, pp. 120-8.

Chapter Five

1. Robert Hardy, *Longbow: A Social and Military History*, (New York: Arco Publishing Company, Inc., 1976), p. 11.

2. Ishioka Hisao, "Kyudoshi," in NET, Vol. 10, p. 119. There are surprisingly few Japanese works on archery, especially when compared with the plethora of the ones devoted to swordsmanship. I have found Ishioka to be the most useful. For an interesting account of famous archers in Japanese history, see Saito Naoyoshi, *Kyujutsu monogatari: kyuba to meisho*, (Tokyo : Yuzankaku, 1975).

³. *ibid*, p. 116.

4. See Wada Kiyoshi and Ishihara Michihiro, eds., *Gishi wajinden·Gokansho waden-Sosho wakokuden·zuisho wakokuden*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1963, 19th printing), p. 80. The text only briefly touches on the Wa military style: "Soldiers use spears, shields, and wooden bows. The bows are short at the bottom and long at the top. The bamboo arrows are tipped with either iron or bone arrowheads." Although the Japanese bow has thus had an uncentered grip since antiquity, Andre Sollier and Zsolt Gyorbíro, *Japanese Archery: Zen in*

Action, (New York & Tokyo: Walker/Weatherhill, 1969), p. 27 somehow conclude that this phenomenon "has been ascribed to the relatively short medieval Japanese bowman's desire to increase the power of his bow." While the placement of the grip may indeed have had something to do with a desire for increased power, their conclusion suggests a host of questions. One wonders, for example, against whom the medieval Japanese were measured as "relatively short," or why other short people did not develop similar bows. At any rate, the Han Chinese emissaries to Japan found the bows unusual, different from those used in China; but they seem not to have inquired into the reasons why the grip of Wa bows was not centered.

⁵. Ishioka, p. 121.

⁶. Aston and other early commentators all translated the Japanese term *tomo* as "elbow pads" or "elbow guards," but they were in fact arm guards. Made of deer or sometimes bear hide, they were strapped on the left wrist to keep the bow string from striking the inside of the forearm. Besides textual references, there are examples on haniwa figurines of the tomb period and several among the collection of artifacts in the Shosoin at Nara. Textual and scroll evidence suggest that *tomo* were used until the late Heian period but disappear in Kakamura times. The sound of the bow string striking the arm guard seems to have been considered mellifluous. The sound is frequently mentioned in poems. For example, listen to the sound of the warrior's elbow-guards; our captain must be ranging the shields to drill the troops. *Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkokai*, trans., *The Man 'yoshu*, (New York and London: Columbia Press, 1965), p. 81. The poem was composed by Empress Genmei in 708.

⁷. Ishioka, p. 124-4.

⁸. Sollier and Gyorbiró, *Japanese Archery: Zen in Action*, op cit I P • 26 •

⁹. NSK, Vol. 1, pp. 209-11. Aston translation, p. 128.

¹⁰. NHS, pp. 105-7. Aston, pp. 34-5. Scholars have long considered this section as descriptive of an essentially shamanistic performance. Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1986, 2nd printing), p. 105, notes for example that "when we read that the goddess tied her hair in bunches with vine, wound round her arms and hair long strands of *maga tama* beads, that she carried on her back and on her chest

quivers full of arrows, that she brandished a bow, and that in her rage she shouted, stamped and kicked the earth, we are in fact seeing a medium 'seized' by the goddess and in the throes of a divine possession."

11. Throughout *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* one finds numerous references to "heavenly deer bows," "heavenly deer arrows," "heavenly feathered arrows," "divine arrows," and the like possessed by the gods and their earthly representatives. Even in historic times, Imperial association with archery remained strong. Empress Kogyoku presented this poem to Emperor Jomei by a messenger when he was hunting: I hear the twang of the mid-string of his royal birchwood bow, which my sovereign, ruling in peace, Loves to handle at break of day, and fondly leans against with dusk. Now he must be out for his morning hunt, now he must be out for his evening chase; I hear the twang of the mid-string of his loved birchwood bow! Quoted in *Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkokai*, trans., *The Man'yoshu*, op cit, p. 4.

12. *NSK*, Vol. 2, p. 443. Tenmu 9/9/9. Aston, pp. 347-8. The characters are written "horse target" but traditionally read as "horse bow" (*umayumi*). Emperor Monmu canceled this affair at Kamo Shrine twice, once in 698 (Monmu 2/4) and 702 (Taiho 2/4). *Shoku Nihongi*, in *Shintei zoho kokushi taiki*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1966), p. 2, 14. No reason is given for the cancellation, but the wording suggests that large numbers of peoples gathered together to engage in this event, so it may simply have been to cut down on confusion resulting from the number of archers. The 702 entry notes that people from the province in which the shrine was located---Yamashiro --were exempted from the prohibition.

13. See Shida Jun'ichi, *Kodai Nihon seishin bunka no rutsu*, (Tokyo: Nihon Shoseki Kabushiki Kaisha, 1984), p. 82.

14. Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow*, p. 106.

15. ???

16. *ibid*, p. 107. *HM*, Vol. 1, pp. 325 describes Minamoto Yoshiie's attendance upon Emperor Horikawa when the sovereign was ill. Yoshiie gave "his bow three demon-chasing twangs at the hour of the Emperor's affliction, and shouted in a mighty voice, 'Minamoto no Yoshiie, the Former Governor of Mutsu!' Everyone's hair had stood on end, and the Emperor's affliction had vanished."

HM (McCullough), p. 161. This story appears in Chapter Four, part 15 "The Thrush Monsters," in which Minamoto Yorimasa performs a great service for Emperor Konoe. The Emperor was being terrorized nightly by some demon, and no prayers or rituals performed by the great prelates of the day could quell it. In imitation of Yoshiie's precedent, it was decided to have Yorimasa stand guard over the Emperor. That night Yorimasa saw a vague form in the cloud overhead and shot at it, killing a terrible monster with a "monkey's head, a badger's body, a snake's tail, and a tiger's legs, and which uttered a cry like that of the golden mountain thrush." Emperor Konoe rewarded Yorimasa with a sword, called "Lion King" (Shishio). *ibid*, p. 162-3.

17. Blacker, p. 107.

18. *ibid*.

19. See Yamato-ryu kyildō kyōkun no maki, in NBT, Vol. 4, pp. 312-4. This text, written in 1652 by Morikawa Kozan Yoshitada, founder of the Yamato-ryu, sets out the reasons why Yamato-ryu is so called, the procedures for granting certification in the style, and the various levels of techniques taught in Yamato-ryu. He emphasizes that it dates back to Amaterasu and was an imperial archery style (teio kyūdo) whose practice was then "permitted even to warrior houses (busho no ie)." The three reasons for selecting the name Yamato-ryu were: (1) to venerate Japan by adopting the classic name Yamato representing the country, (2) because Heki Danjo Masatusgu--the real founder of kyūjutsu in Japan--was from Yamato Province, and (3) in order not to promote a foolish technique and principle of shooting, to "greatly soften (oi ni yawaragu---written with two characters otherwise read "yamato") the wicked and conceited barbarian heart. "In a longer work, Kyūdo jisanshō, Morikawa also discusses the greater virtues of Japanese archery, noting that Japan is a small country having "taken larger countries" and that though a small country has a bow longer than that of larger countries. *ibid*, p. 305.

20. *ibid*, pp. 393-425, contains four excellent kyōka texts: Heki-rya hyakkajo uta no maki, Shagi shinanka, Ogasawara shahō waka hyakushū, and Bijingusa.

21. Ursula Lytton, a German researcher, in a paper presented to the September 1988 meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan, tried to downplay the mystical aspects of "Zen archery" as described by Eugen Herrigel and others, especially ideas such as "shooting without aiming" and "arrows of pure spirit." Instead, she

emphasizes the "close connection between kyudo and Chinese cosmology, in which the structure of the universe is explained in yin-yang dichotomous relations." Mrs. Lytton concluded that "the whole etiquette of the kyudojo was related to the Chinese cosmology, characterized by the predominance of the left and the south, though the etiquette was now followed without any knowledge of its cosmological implications." See *The Asiatic Society of Japan, Bulletin No. 8*, October 1988, pp. 2-4.

22. The Ruiju kokushi, in *Shintei zoho kokushi taikai*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1965), pp. 328-327 contains a listing of all primary references to court archery matches (jarai) from Nara through mid-Heian times. For these specific references, see p. 328 Reiki 1/1/17 and p. 339 Tempyo 12/1/17.

23. Ruija kokushi, p. 332. Tencho 2/1/17. In his work dealing with jarai, Jarai shiki, Ogasawara Mochinaga, archery instructor to Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa, emphasizes the deep connection of archery to the sacred elements in Japanese life: "the origin of (ground) archery can be seen as a religious event, along with the offering of food and drink in shrine ceremony. It was solely a religious ceremony to pacify the nation and drive away the interference of evil spirits. Thus bow strings are twanged to drive away illness in the Imperial Household, or arrows are fired to quell unusual happenings at the Palace." *NBT*, Vol. 4. pp. 10-1.

24. Helen McCullough, trans., *Okagami*, p. 197. Ishioka, pp. 133-4. Ishioka quotes a medieval chronicle by Ise Sadabumi which argued against considering these ancient "schools" of archery as true ryuha.

25. Willam R. Wilson, trans., *Hogen monoga tari: A Tale of the Disorder in Hogen*, (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1971), p. 25.

26. *ibid* I P 2 6

27. *HM* (Kitagawa), pp. 659-60.

28. The symbolism here is the red colors of the Genji and the white of the Heike.

29. *ibid*, p. 6 6 3.

30. In Hanawa Hoki'ichi, ed., *Gunsho ruiju*, (Tokyo: Gunsho Ruiju Kanseikai, 1960, 3rd revised edition), Vol. 9, p. 342.

31. John E. Thayer III, "Yabusame" entry in Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, (New York and Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), Vol. 8, p. 283.
32. Perusing the appropriate sections of the Azuma kagami following the conclusion of the Genpei War, one finds numerous references to archery matches, and Yukihiro's name occurs most frequently.
33. Azuma kagami, Vol. 1, pp. 369-70. Bunji 3/8/15.
34. See Thayer entry in Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, op cit.
35. Ishioka, p. 144.
36. 38. *ibid*, p. 145.
37. *ibid*, p. 146.
38. McCullough, trans., Taiheiki, pp. 21-2.
- 39. Ishioka, p. 146. 42. Quoted in Ishioka, p. 149. 43. NBT, Vol. 4, pp. 10-19.**
40. This section is based on the entry for inuomono in Nihon Rekishi Daijiten Henshukai, eds., Nihon rekishi daijiten, (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo, 1968), Vol. 1, pp. 408-9.
41. Kawaramono, literally "people of the river flats," were a type of base people in medieval Japan who lived along the banks of the Kamogawa, a river which ran north-south along the eastern edge of Kyoto, having been so created with some extensive riparian work when the capital was established in the late 8th century.
42. Ishioka, p. 153. 47. *ibid*, p. 158.
43. Ishioka, pp. 133-4, 159.
44. See NBT, Vol. 4, for an extensive collection of archery documents from various ryuha.
45. For the genealogy of the Heki-ryu and its offshoots, see *ibid*, pp. 25, 27-9. Some of the historiographical problems are dealt with in the same volume, pp.

20-3, as well as in BRH, pp. 151-3. See also Ishioka, pp. 161-2.

⁴⁶. In the next chapter, these specific ryuha will be dealt with in some detail.

⁴⁷. For the Ogasawara family genealogy, see NBT, Vol. 4, p. 6-9.

Chapter Six

¹. Ishioka, pp. 180-1.

². Most notable were the Ogasawara texts Sangi itto and Kyuba hyakumondo. NBT, Vol. 4, p. 5.

³. Andre Sollier and Zsolt Gyorbíro, *Japanese Archery: Zen in Action*, p. 23. The assumption results from overstressing in the West the idea that Japanese archery is somehow "Zen archery," an oversimplification which I hope I have laid to rest in this book. It is the same idea against which Mrs. Ursula Lytton was arguing in *The Asiatic Society of Japan, Bulletin*, October, 1988, p. 2.

⁴. Eugen Herrigel, *Zen in the Art of Archery*, (New York: Vantage Books, 1971), p. 8.

⁵. Saito Naoyoshi, *Kyujutsu monogat ari*, (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1970, p. 2 6.

⁶. *ibid* p. 2 2 •

⁶. Imamura Yoshie, "Budoshi gaisetsu," NBT, Vol. 10, p. 13.

⁷. Most of the information on the transformation of techniques within the Yoshida tradition is best summed up in BRH. Here, see section on Izumo-ha, p. 20. Watatani seems to rely heavily upon Hinatsu Shigetaka's *Honcho bugei shoden's* chapter three dealing with archery. For an English translation and excellent discussion of this section of Hinatsu's work, see John M. Rogers, "Arts of War in Time of Peace: Archery in Honcho Bugei Shoden," *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Autumn 1990), pp. 254-84.

⁸. BHA, p. 91 (Setsuka-ryu) *ibid*.

9. *ibid*, p. 120 (Dosetsu-ha). 12. *ibid*, pp. 120-1.
10. *ibid*, p. 50 (Okura-ha).
11. Ishioka, p. 166.
12. BRH, p. 181 (Yamashina-ha).
13. NBT, Vol. 4, p. 252.
14. BRH, p. 39 (Annsai-ha).
15. Quoted in *ibid*, p. 40.
16. For biographies, see NBT, Vol. 4, pp. 169-71; *ibid*, pp. 102-7 (Chikurin-ha).
17. See NBT, Vol. 4, pp. 21-3 on Noritsugu's genealogy.
18. BRH, p. 102.
19. Ishioka, p. 172.
20. Allen Guttman, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp. 51-
21. Guttman even mentions Japanese toshiya competition, citing the record of Wada Daihachiro, pp. 53-4.
22. To counter the erroneous impression that Japan somehow "gave up the gun" engendered by Noel Perrin, *Giving Up the Gun: Japan's Reversion to the Sword, 1543-1879*, (Boston: David R. Godine, Publisher, 1979), see the section on Edo period gunnery in NBT, Vol. V, pp. 3-210. For an even fuller treatment, see Ansai Minoru, *Edo jidai ni okeru hojutsuka no seikatsu*, (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1969).
23. See my *Insei: Abdicating Sovereigns in the Politics of Late Heian Japan, 1086-1185*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 269 on the Rengeoin. The temple, located across the street from the Kyoto National Museum on Shichijo, remains a favorite tourist attraction today.
24. Ishioka, p. 170.

25. *ibid*, p. 171.
26. *ibid*, p. 173.
27. Ishioka, pp. 173-4, 176-8 has reduced the important records from the Nendai yakazucho to a handy chart form.
28. *ibid*, chart, p. 174.
29. **Imamura Yoshie, *Jukyaseiki ni okeru Nihon taiiku no kenkyu*, (Tokyo: Fumido Shoten, 1967), pp. 222-30. Imamura has also compiled the competitive information into charts, pp. 223, 227-30 for Kyoto, pp. 235, 237-44 for Edo.**
30. *ibid*, pp. 234-8 discusses the various forms of Edo archery competition.
31. *ibid*, p. 244.
32. Imamura, p. 245, quoting Okinagusa. Astonishingly, Wasa reached his record number of arrows a full two hours before the time limit was up. Morikawa Kozan, *Kyudo jisansho*, in *NBT*, Vol. 4, pp. 308-11, discusses the matter of different time frames for shooting, problems of shooting at night, the fatigue suffered by archers, etc.
33. Ishioka, chart, p. 174.
34. *ibid*, chart, pp. 173-4.
35. *ibid*, chart, p. 178.
36. Imamura, p. 247 provides several examples. Imamura, pp. 231-4, discusses the building of the Edo Sanjusangendo. Most importantly, this was not a temple built for religious purposes, like its Kyoto prototype, but simply a place for archery competition. Though essentially a private venture, there were several donations from the bakufu to aid construction, since it was built to fulfill the public function of stimulating martial arts interest. Also, following the earthquake damage in 1703, funds were solicited from various daimyo to make the repairs.
37. Ishioka, p. 175.

38. *ibid*, chart, pp. 177-8.
39. *ibid*, p. 175, summarizing his charts from pp. 173-4.
40. *ibid*, p. 182.
41. Quoted in Imamura, p. 246. Sadaharu is here quoting his grandfather Sadabumi's views on toshiya.
42. *ibid*, pp. 244-5, 247.
43. *ibid*, pp. 247-8.
44. See Chapter One, p. 41
45. Imamura, pp. 298. 49. *ibid*, pp. 299-300.
46. *ibid*, p. 300.
47. *ibid*, p. 302.
48. See *ibid*, pp. 302-5, for information on the effects of Tsunayoshi's legislation protecting animals.
49. *ibid*, p. 306.
50. *ibid*, pp. 307-8, quoting Yutokuindono gojikki. 55. The information comes from Zokushigusho, quoted in *ibid*, pp. 309-11.
51. *ibid*, p. 311.

Chapter Seven

1. Thus Tokugawa period treatises continued to emphasize that loyal vassals should assiduously practice martial arts to fulfill their obligation to their lord. See, for example, the works of such authors as Nakae Tōjū, Kaibara Ekken, Izawa Nagahide, Issai Chōzan, and others in NET, Vol. 9.

2. Noel Perrin in *Giving Up the Gun: Japan's Reversion to the Sword, 1543-1879*, (Boston, Massachusetts: D.R. Godine, 1979), argues that for several mainly social and aesthetic reasons, Tokugawa Japan abandoned a superior technology (the gun) and returned to an inferior one (the sword). Mr. Perrin is only partly concerned with Japan and the gun; it is used as an historical precedent to counter technological imperativists: like Tokugawa Japan, Perrin argues, we are not inevitably doomed to use nuclear weapons but have the capacity to turn back to simpler, less awesome weapons. But in fact, Tokugawa Japan never gave up the gun; gunnery remained a vital part of Tokugawa martial arts, and there were almost 200 different ryuha by the end of the period. In the absence of an "arms race," however, there was not the technological imperative, as there was in sengoku times, to develop more and better guns. Thus Japanese guns were relatively unsophisticated compared to those developed over two hundred years of Western internal and international warfare by the 1850s; guns were hardly abandoned. For a good discussion of Japanese gunnery, see Ansai Minoru, *Eda Jidai hojutsuka no seikatsu*, (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1969).

3. Ozawa Aijiro, *Kokoku kendoshi*, (Tokyo: Shinjidaisha, 1984 reprint of 1944 work), pp. 222-3.

4. The Japanese government, especially in the educational and military institutions, relied heavily upon the long history of Samurai rule and their reputed spiritual qualities to develop an aggressive militant mentality among the citizenry, especially the young men who were involved with both institutions. In the process, they perverted their martial history into an ultra-nationalistic modern bushido which, while effective, bore little resemblance to its Tokugawa counterpart. As described in *Kokutai no Hongi* (Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan), (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1949), pp. 145-6, 'It is this same Bushido that shed itself of the outdated feudalism at the time of the Meiji Restoration, increased in splendor, became the way of loyalty and patriotism, and has evolved before us as the spirit of the Imperial Forces.' For an interesting discussion of how even foreigners could come to espouse this bogus bushido, see Grant K. Goodman, "Nitobe's Bushido: The Samurai Ethic in a Philippine Setting," in *Festschrift in Honor of Dr. Marcelino Foronda, Jr.*, (Manila: De la Salle University Press, 1987), pp. 56-71. Sakaiya Taichi, "Debunking the Myth of Loyalty," quoted in G. Cameron Hurst III, "Wall Street Samurai: Miyamoto Musashi and the Search for Success," *UFSI Reports*, 1982/No. 42 Asia, p. 7.

5. For an excellent discussion of the turmoil of the very end of the bakumatsu era, see Conrad Totman, *The Collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1862-1868*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1980).
6. Ozawa, pp. 214-5, reproduces bakufu orders establishing the Kobusho, setting the schedules for practice, and the procedures for enrolling. Although Abe was Chief Counselor at the time, the idea for the Kobusho is widely assumed to have been based upon proposals by both the daimyo Mita Nariaki and the fencing instructor Otani Seiichiro. Imamura Yoshie, *Jukyu seiki ni okeru Nihon taiiku no kenkyu*, (Tokyo: Fumido Shoten, 1967), pp. 552-3 reproduces Nariaki's proposal to Abe that a martial training facility be added to balance the bakufu's Shoheiko Confucian academy.
7. Imamura, p. 556.
9. *ibid*, p. 564.
8. The bakufu order also established swimming practice from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. during the four summer months. Ozawa, p. 214.
9. NBT, Vol. 10, p. 79. Ozawa, p. 217, claims that the exclusion of the Yagyu house was due to Otani's suggestion.
10. Imamura, p. 560.
11. Imamura, p. 585-7.
12. *ibid*, p. 586.
13. 15. *ibid*, pp. 587-9.
14. 16. *ibid*, p. 577.
15. 17. *ibid*, p. 589. 18. *ibid*, pp. 584-5.
16. 19. *ibid*, p. 596. 20. *ibid*.
17. 21. *ibid*.
18. *ibid*, p. 597.

19. *ibid.*
20. See, for example, Thomas c. Smith, "Japan's Aristocratic Revolution," *Yale Review*, 50 (1961), pp. 370-83.
21. Thomas M. Huber, *The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1981).
22. The early oligarchs included among their ranks several court nobles, like Iwakura Tomomi and Sanjo Sanetomi, but most were lower-ranking Samurai from the victorious western clans of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa, and Hizen.
23. The rebellion was led by one of the early Meiji oligarchs, Saigo Takamori, who left the government over the issue of invading Korea in 1873. At home in Kagoshima he watched with growing disillusionment as the privileges of the Samurai were reduced one by one; and he devoted considerable efforts in propagating the martial arts, especially swordsmanship, among the ex-Samurai of Satsuma. But these swordsmen were no match for the modern weapons and training methods of the new Imperial forces. For many, Saigo is essentially "the last Samurai." For an interesting discussion of Saigo and his appeal to the Japanese, see Ivan Morris, *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan*, (New York: Hold, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc: 1975), pp. 217-275.
24. Ozawa, p. 224.
25. 29. NKH, p. 243. *ibid.*
26. 31. *ibid.*
27. 32. *ibid*, p. 246.
28. 33. Watanabe Ichiro, ed., *Shiryō Meiji budoshi*, (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Oraisha, 1971), p. 727, reprints an article from the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* of May 5, 1901, a reminiscence on the *gekken kaisha* by Nomi Teijiro. Nomi says that one day in 1873 he visited Sakakibara's house, and the two of them began discussing the negative repercussions of abolishing swords. Nomi claims he suggested the idea of organizing a *kenjutsu* show. Sakakibara was very impressed and determined to carry out just such a project. Hereafter cited as SMB.

²⁹. SMB, p. 725.

³⁰. Ozawa, p. 225. The gekken show so captured the imagination of the public that a number of woodblock artists made it the subject for their prints. Several are reprinted in the front of Watanabe's *Shiryō Meiji budōshi*. Watanabe also includes photographs of Katsu Rintarō's portrait of Sakakibara, with his calligraphic inscription; a commemorative fan with the program inscribed on it of that first show; and a copy of the original handbill advertising the show and its featured pairings. See also pp. 729-35 for photographs of other handbills of Meiji gekken shows.

³¹. SMB, p. 728, continues Nomi's reminiscences. He notes that two Englishmen--Thomas McClatchie and Jack Binns-- "redheads" who were students of Sakakibara participated in the show. McClatchie was a secretary at the British Embassy, a fencer with reportedly no peer in England. He showed up at Sakakibara's dojo one day requesting a match. After some deliberation, Sakakibara matched him with one of his students, who directly knocked McClatchie to the floor, accompanied by much laughter. McClatchie then became a student at the dojo. Somewhat later Mr. Binns joined but was never any good. Nomi understood that both men were now dead.

³². *ibid*, p. 725.

³³. Nakabayashi Shinji, "Kendōshi," in NET, vol. 10, p. 93.

³⁴. SMB, p. 725. Ozawa Aijirō, a skilled kendo practitioner and chief proposer in the Diet of bills to have kendo introduced into the Meiji school system, was a strong critic of the gekken spectacles. As he introduces the chapter on Sakakibara's efforts in his book, he laments, "Ah! Kendo had thus at length deteriorated into performances. The author can scarcely bear to write such a sad chapter. But I can do nothing about facts, so in order to be true to historical fact, I will record the general outline of these (gekken) performances." Ozawa, p. 224.

³⁵. Keishichō Keimubu Kyōyōka, ed., *Keishichō budo kyūjunenshi*, (Tokyo: Keishichō Keimubu Kyōyōka, 1965), p. 4. Kawaji returned from an official visit to inspect police systems in Europe and proposed a separate police organization for the Tokyo capital region. (For an overview of the police system in Tokyo from just before the Meiji Restoration through 1881, see pp. 1-8.) Following Kawaji's proposal, the Council of State in early 1874 established the Tokyo

Metropolitan Police and a month later set the number of policeman at 6,000. (p. 8) There are few English language studies of the Meiji police, but one excellent article on the establishment of the Tokyo police is Eleanor Westney, "The Emulation of Western Organizations in Meiji Japan: The Case of the Paris Prefecture of Police and the Keishi-cho," in *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer, 1982), pp. 307-42.

³⁶. The early Tokyo police force was heavily recruited from among former Satsuma Samurai. As the early Meiji government settled in, concern for security in the new capital region led them to post 3,000 patrolmen, called rasotsu, in Tokyo. 1,000 were brought from Kagoshima (Satsuma) by Saigo Takamori, Kawaji was responsible for another 1,000 recruited from Kagoshima, and the final 1,000 were to be recruited from among former Samurai of all other prefectures. *ibid*, p. 4. One result of the heavy recruitment of Satsuma men was the prevalence of Kagoshima dialect among policemen in Tokyo, and consequently attempts by the populace even to mimic their speech--so much so that even today (at least 1965 when KBK was compiled), one occasionally hears Kagoshima foul language in Tokyo. *ibid*, p. 7. Another ramification of this Kagoshima corps of Tokyo policemen was that when the Satsuma Rebellion (in Japanese it is called the Sainan, or Southwest, War) broke out, former Satsuma warriors were divided in loyalty. Some, like Kawaji, supported the government and others joined Saigo.

³⁷. *ibid*, p. 16, quoting from Yokoyama Kendo's *Nihon budoshi*. Kawaji was hardly alone in calling for a revitalization of the martial arts, especially swordsmanship, among former warriors. Fukuzawa Yukichi too proposed to the government that it should "arouse the martial spirit of the former Samurai. *ibid*, p. 11.

³⁸. *ibid*, p. 24.

³⁹. *ibid*, pp. 24-5.

⁴⁰. Mishima became Police Commissioner in late December 1885 and died in office less than three years later. He was instrumental in developing matches in both kendo and judo---in which he brought the Police Department into a certain degree of competition with Kano Jigoro's Kodokan. The first major competition at the Yayoi Shrine was a magnificent affair, attended by both the Meiji Emperor and Empress. For Mishima's contributions, see *ibid*, pp. 29-38.

41. Sawa Ryuken, Naramoto Tatsuya, et al, eds., *Kyoto daijiten*, (Kyoto: Tankosha, 1984), p. 813
42. Nakabayashi, "Kendoshi," p. 95.
43. Although bushido is a commonly heard term in both Japan and many Western countries, understood as referring to a pre-modern "warriors' code," in fact the term was little used before this time in Japanese history. In Tokugawa times, the term budo was more commonly used to refer to the moral-ethical aspects of martial arts. In fact, it was Nitobe Inazo who really popularized the term, with his English language book *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, creating what Basil Hall Chamberlain claimed was an entirely new religion.
44. SMB, p. 735 is the document setting out Watanabe and Mibu's intentions.
45. Having followed standard international procedure in prosecuting the war and demanding concessions upon victory, the Japanese were outraged at the intervention of these powers, especially Russia. According to one historian, "The psychological effect of the Triple Intervention lasted for decades, and may not have disappeared entirely today." Richard Storry, *A History of Modern Japan*, (Middlesex, England: 1984 edition), p. 127.
46. SMB, 9. 735, Article One of the Butokukai's Charter.
47. Mibu was born in 1835 into the Niwada family, but soon adopted by Mibu Michiyoshi to continue the family line. Deeply involved with Sanjo Sanetomi and other courtiers to overthrow the bakufu, Mibu served the Meiji government in a variety of military and civil posts. He became a member of the House of Peers in 1890 and was appointed to his Heian Shrine post in 1895. By his death in 1906, he had risen to the rank of Count (hakushaku) in Japan's pre-war peerage. A recent discussion of the initial organization and funding of the Butokukai is Nakamura Tamie, "Dai Nippon Butokukai setsuritsu katei no kenkyii--soshiki no keisei to zaisei kiban ni tsuite," in Irie Kohei and sugie Musatoshi, eds., *Nihon budogaku kenkyu: Watanabe Ichiro Kyoju taikan kinen ronshu*, (Tokyo: Shimazu shoko), pp. 404-430.
48. SMB, p. 373. See also Ozawa p. 236. Ozawa himself became a hanshi in 1925.
49. Ozawa, p. 238.

50. 55. SMB, p. 741, Ozawa, p. 238 56. Ozawa, pp. 238-240.

51. These were fully described in the Association's publication, reproduced in *ibid*, pp. 312-7.

52. Nitobe Inazo, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, (New York and London: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1905). The work was written in English in California, where Nitobe, a Christian married to a Quaker American woman, was then recuperating. The book was an immediate success, and was translated into French, German, Polish, Swedish, Hungarian, Russian, Chinese, Norwegian and Arabic. Theodore Roosevelt was so impressed by the book that he bought dozens of copies to give to friends. Suwa Tokuhei, *Nitobe Inazo to bushido*, (Tokyo: Seijisha, 1984), pp. 52-3.

53. Nakabayashi, p. 97.

54. *ibid*, pp. 97-8.

55. *ibid*, pp. 100-5 deals with this movement at length. SMB, pp. 761-96 is an excellent compilation of the documentation. Strangely, Ozawa, who played a major role in getting kendo finally accepted into the curriculum, touches on it only briefly on p. 244.

56. Kenneth Pyle, *The Making of Modern Japan*, (Lexington, Massachusetts, D.C. Heath and Company, 1978) p. 74. But Pyle emphasizes the importance of the Tokugawa legacy on pp. 71-3.

57. Imamura Yoshie, *Nihon taiikushi*, (Tokyo: Kaneko Shobo, 1951), pp. 86-143 discusses this in detail.

58. *ibid*, p. 136. SMB, pp. 770-1. An 1890 Ministry report reassessing the situation lists the pros and cons of kenjutsu and jujutsu--four positive, nine negative points- p. 772.

59. Nakabayashi, p. 101.

60. SMB, pp. 773-5.

61. Both Matsumoto and Ozawa's works are reproduced in SMB, pp. 343-438.

62. Nakabayashi, p. 103.
63. Ozawa, p. 244.
64. Nakabayashi, p. 104.
65. *ibid*, p. 106 72. *ibid*.
66. *ibid*, p. 107.
67. Kyoto daijiten, p. 580.
68. Nakabayashi, p. 108.
69. Sengo Nihon kyoiku shiryō shusei, Vol. 1; Haisen to kyoiku no minshuka, (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobo, 1985), p. 58.
70. Nakabayashi, pp. 100-10.
71. Thomas Rohlen, *Japan's High Schools*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 63-76 examines Japanese education from the occupation period.
72. Nakabayashi, p. 183.
73. E.J. Harrison, *The Fighting Spirit of Japan*, (Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 1982), p. 25.
74. For the Japan stay, see John Russell Young, *Around the World with General Grant*, (New York: The America News Company, 1879), pp. 484-613.
75. *ibid*, p. 575.
76. Ishioka Hisao, "Kyudoshi," in *NBT*, Vol. 10, p. 184.
77. Kyōdo entry in *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), Vol. 4, p. 340.
78. Ishioka, p.185.
79. Practice with the naginata was one of the few martial arts extending to

women on any regular basis.

- ⁸⁰. The work is reproduced in SMB, pp. 541-574. The final page includes an exhortation for women to take up archery.
- ⁸¹. Uchiyama's works, for example, all use the term kyujutsu.
- ⁸². Ishioka, p. 185. ⁹⁰. *ibid*, pp. 185-6.
- ⁸³. *ibid*, p. 186.
- ⁸⁴. *ibid*.
- ⁸⁵. Sollier and Gyorbio, pp. 46-53 and "KyUdo," entry in *Dai Nihon hyakka jiten*, (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1968), Vol. 5, p. 556 show the sequence clearly. See also Eugen Herrigel, *Zen in the Art of Archery*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1971).
- ⁸⁶. Sollier and Gyorbio, p. 11, 23.
- ⁸⁷. *Dai Nihon hyakka jiten*, p. 556.
- ⁸⁸. Ryusaku Tsunoda, et al, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 319-20, quoting Teppo-ki.
- ⁸⁹. Harrison, *The Fighting Spirit of Japan*, p. 141.
- ⁹⁰. See, for example, Thomas Hoover, *Zen Culture*, (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), especially Chapter 5, "Zen Archery and swordsmanship," pp. 57-67.

Chapter Eight

1. Nishiyama Matsunosuke, "Kinsei no yUgeiron," in *Kinsei geidoron*, Vol. 61 in *Nihon shiso taikei*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972), p. 618.
2. Nishiyama Matsunosuke, *Iemoto no kenkyu*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1982), p. 278. Also see Watanabe Ichiro, "Heiho denshb keisei ni tsuite no

isshikiron," in *ibid*, pp. 646-8.

³. Nishiyama, "Kinsei no yUgeiron," p. 618.

⁴. Of course, near the end of the Tokugawa era, fencers from various dojo routinely challenged one another to duels to prove supremacy; but the bakufu never hosted tournaments whose purpose was to determine the best fencer in the nation, as was the case in toshiya archery. The closest the bakufu came to such matches was the mingling of fencers from different schools in the Kobusho {Academy for Martial Training} as noted in the last chapter.

⁵. Nishiyama, *Iemoto no kenkyii*, p. 145.

⁶. For *natori*, see *ibid*, pp. 105-38.

⁷. For information on dojo, see KGS, pp. 409-15. Prior to the Tokugawa period, martial arts like swordsmanship were practiced largely outdoors where actual battle conditions could be approximated. But in the peaceful Tokugawa era, as martial skills became martial arts, and especially in late Edo times when individual competitive matches became popular, fencing increasingly took place in dojo. They ranged in size from very tiny ones--the Yoshikawa family dojo where Tsukahara Bokuden practiced in Kashima is so small one cannot raise a sword fully over his head--to magnificent ones in Edo like the Nakanishi school with some fifteen ken of wooden floor. (One ken is just short of one yard.)

⁸. Nakabayashi, "Kendoshi. ", p. 45.

⁹. Nishiyama, *Iemoto no kenkyu*, pp. 83-4.

¹⁰. The most famous of the swordsmanship ryuha with such connections were, of course, associated with Kashima and Katori shrines. Nishiyama, p. 77. In all forms of cultural performance, but perhaps especially in such physically demanding endeavors as martial arts, it was not unlikely that the student might have greater ability than the teacher. Thus, special mechanisms were established--family transmitted teachings, special clothing or ritual implements, and the like--to allow even untalented masters authority over their students.

¹¹. Most schools had written rules and regulations, often referred to- as *kokoroe no koto* (literally, "things to be understood") which included matters of financial consideration. See, for example, the *Nyujuku kokoroe no koto* of the famous

Shinto munen-ryu Renbeikan of Otani seiichiro in Nihon budo zenshu, (Tokyo: Jinbutsu oraisha, 1967)I P • 152 •

12. The relationship was considered important from the moment the student entered the instructor's charge. Usually accompanied by his parents and in formal dress, the would-be fencing or other martial arts student (age of entry ranged from around nine or ten to mid-teens) visited the school for a formal meeting with the instructor, presented an appropriate registration present (sokushu)--usually fans or writing brushes---and signed a pledge to study hard under the master's tutelage and keep the teachings secret. KGS, pp. 401-2.

13. Musui's Story, *passim*.

14. Many of these are extant, including the pledges from are Tokugawa shoguns to heads of the Yagyu shinkage-ryu school. Four of them---Ieyasu, Hidetada, Iemitsu, and Ietsuna---are reproduced in Iwamura Yoshio, Shiryo Yagya shinkage-rya, (Tokyo: Jimbutsu oraisha, 1967), Vol. 1, pp. 249-53.

15. Nakabayashi Shinji, "Nihon kobudo ni okerushintairon," Riso, No. 604, September 1983, p. 109.

16. Thus a text might be extremely brief, listing the names of techniques, followed by the words "verbally transmitted" (kuden).

17. Nishiyama Matsunosuke, Iemoto no kenkyu, pp. 24-5.

18. Imamura Yoshie, Jukyii seiki ni okeru Nihon taiiku no kenkyu, pp. 184-5, quoting Matsudaira's Riko yakugen.

19. *Ibid*, pp. 39-53.

20. Nakabayashi, p. 45.

21. "Kumano goo," entry in Nihon rekishi daijiten, (Tokyo: Kawade Shobe, 1968), Vol. 4, pp. 95-6.

22. *ibid*

23. *ibid*

24. *ibid*
25. **Quoted in Ronald P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), pp. 149-50.**
26. Reproduced in Nishiyama, *Iemoto no kenkyii*, p. 58.
27. Nishiyama Matsunosuke, "Kinei geido shiso no tokushitsu to sono tenkai," in *Kinsei geidoron*, pp. 589-92.
28. *ibid*, pp. 585-6.
29. Nakabayashi Shinji, "Nihon kobudo ni okeru shintairon," *Riso*, No. 604 (September 1983), p. 114. Nakabayashi Shinji, "Buda no susume, 4: Buda no tokusei 'kyaiku'," *Buda*, February 1986, p. 14.
30. Quoted *_by* Nakabayashi, "Nihon kobudo ni okeru shintairon," p. 109.
31. Watanabe Ichiro, "Heiho densho keisei ni tsuite no isshikiron," pp. 663-667 discusses Takuan's relationship with the Yagyū and his influence on swordsmanship.
32. William S. Wilson, trans., *The Marvelous Record of Immovable Wisdom*, (New York and Tokyo: Kodansha International, 198), p. 20.
33. *ibid*, p. 29
34. Nakabayashi, "Shintairon," p. 110.
35. Imamura, *Jukyu seiki ni okeru Nihon taiiku no kenkyu*, pp. 188-9. Quoting Reiko yakugen.
36. Nakabayashi Shinji, "Bude no susume, 6: Keiko ni tsuite," *Buda*, April 1986, pp. 123.
37. Nishiyama, "Kinsei geide shise," p. 586. For a good English language discussion of Kata, see Karl F. Friday, "Kabala in Motion: Kata and Pattern Practice in the Traditional Bugei," paper presented at Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, March 28, 1993.

³⁸. For the idea of kata as "rules," see Yoshitani Osamu, "Kenjutsu kata no keze to kine ni kansuru kenkyu: bude no bunkateki tokusei ni kansuru kenkyu no shikiron," in Irie Yasuhira and sugie Masahide, eds., *Nihon budogaku kenkyu: Watanabe Ichiro kyoju taikan kinen ronshu*, (Tokyo: Shimazu Shobe, 1988), pp. 114-29.