Martial Arts of the World

Martial Arts of the World

An Encyclopedia

Volume One: A–Q

Edited by Thomas A. Green

ABC CLIO
Santa Barbara, California Denver, Colorado Oxford, England

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Martial arts of the world: an encyclopedia / [edited] by Thomas A. Green.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1-57607-150-2 (hardcover: alk. paper); 1-57607-556-7 (ebook)
1. Martial arts—Encyclopedias. I. Green, Thomas A., 1944–

GV1101.M29 2001
796.8'03—dc21 2001002823

06 05 04 03 02 01 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is also available on the World Wide Web as an e-book. Visit abc-clio.com for details.

ABC-CLIO, Inc.
130 Cremona Drive, P.O. Box 1911
Santa Barbara, California 93116-1911

This book is printed on acid-free paper ♾.

Manufactured in the United States of America

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Introduction

As many gallons of ink have been spilled in trying to define "martial arts" as have gallons of blood in the genuine practice of martial activities. In this place I will not spill more ink. On the other hand, I do not contend that the efforts of those who try to develop such definitions waste their time. My only contention is that these definitions are inevitably focused by time, place, philosophy, politics, worldview, popular culture, and other cross-cultural variables. So focused, they are destined to be less than universal. The same is true, however, of any attempt to categorize phenomena that, while universally human, are inevitably tied to worldview, to mindset, and to historical experience.

Many of the attempts to determine the boundaries of the martial arts draw on the model of the Japanese "cognate arts" by distinguishing between *bujutsu* (from *bu,* "warrior," and *jutsu,* also romanized as *jitsu,* "technique" or "skill") and *budô* (from "warrior" and *dô,* "way"). Those forms that are considered bujutsus are conceived to be combative ancestors of those that are considered part of budô, and the latter are characterized as disciplines derived from the earlier combat forms in order to be used as means of self-enhancement, physically, mentally, and spiritually. *Bugei* ("martial methods," used to refer collectively to the combat skills), itself, is commonly compartmentalized into various *jutsu,* yielding, for example, *kenjutsu* (technique or art of the sword), just as each way has its own name, in this case, *kendô* (way of the sword).

Such compartmentalization was a product of Japanese historical experience in the wake of *Pax Tokugawa* (the enforced peace of the Tokugawa shogunate—A.D. 1600–1868), and it gained widespread acceptance with the modernization of Japan in the late nineteenth century. Even in the twenty-first century, however, such segregation is not universal, as demonstrated by the incorporation of various martial skills (striking, grappling, and an arsenal of weapons) in the traditional *ryûha* (schools or systems) of contemporary Japan (see Friday 1997).

Outside the contemporary Western popular context and the influence of the Japanese model, it is clear that a vast number of the world's martial systems do not compartmentalize themselves as armed as distinct from unarmed, as throwing and grappling styles rather than striking arts. Grappling and wrestling "at

the sword" in European tradition; the use of knives, trips, and tackles in the "weaponless kicking art" of *capoeira;* the spears and swords (and kicks) of Chinese "boxing" *(wushu);* and the no–holds (or weapons)– barred nature of Burmese *thaing* compel a reformulation of the distinctions among martial arts that have informed our popular conceptions of them.

In this context, even the notion of "art" is problematic. First, the term may be used simply as a means of noting excellence, as a reference to quality rather than attributes. A more serious issue, however, arises from the fact that, in Western European culture, we commonly draw distinctions between art and life, the aesthetic and the utilitarian, work and sport, and art and science. These Eurocentric distinctions break down in the face of Thai *ram dab,* Indonesian *pentjak silat,* and Brazilian *capoeira,* which are at once dance and martial exercise, and have been categorized as both, depending on the interests of commentators who, with a few notable exceptions, have been outsiders to the traditions.

In addition, attempts to comprehend the nature of "martial art" have been further obscured by distinctions between self-defense/combat and sport (itself a culture-bound concept). George Godia characterizes the lack of fit between the contemporary category of sport and the physical culture of traditional societies well. "To kill a lion with a spear needs a different technique and different training than to throw a standardized javelin as far as possible. Spearing a lion was a duty to the young *moran* [Masai warrior], and different from a throw for leisure, enjoyment or an abstract result in terms of meters, a championship, or a certificate" (1989, 268). Perhaps for the same reasons, both our mechanisms for converting combatives (i.e., combat systems) to sports and for categorizing them cross-culturally frequently have fallen short of the mark.

The present volume does maintain some working parameters, however. Martial arts are considered to be systems that blend the physical components of combat with strategy, philosophy, tradition, or other features that distinguish them from pure physical reaction (in other words, a technique, armed or unarmed, employed randomly or idiosyncratically would not be considered a martial art). While some martial arts have spawned sports, and some of these sports are considered in this volume, the martial cores of such activities rather than the sports per se are emphasized. Also, entries focus on those martial systems that exist outside contemporary military technology. Thus, topics include Japanese samurai (despite their part in the Japanese armies in earlier centuries), American frontier gunslingers, and nineteenth-century European duelists (despite their use of firearms), as well as the sociocultural influences that have led to changing fashions in modern military hand-to-hand combat.

Moreover, this volume is not instructional. Rather, it strives to present clear, concise descriptions of martial topics based on sound research principles. In an effort to ensure this, the overwhelming majority of authors are both academics and active martial practitioners.

Obviously, a single work cannot hope to cover such a wide-ranging field as the martial arts of the world comprehensively. Although every attempt has been made to include major topics from a broad spectrum of traditions—insofar as material exists to document such traditions and qualified authors could be found to clarify them—any overview cannot be exhaustive within this format. The richness and diversity of the world's martial traditions make it inevitable that there is much that has been summarized or omitted entirely. The entries, however, do provide an introduction to the growing scholarship in the subject, and, to facilitate the pursuit of more specialized topics, each entry concludes with a bibliography of relevant works. Readers are urged to explore their relevant interests by means of these references. *Martial Arts of the World* attempts to range as widely as possible in its regional coverage and its subject matter. In general, longer, more comprehensive essay formats for entries (e.g., "India," "Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan") have been favored over shorter entries (e.g., "Zen Buddhism").

I am indebted to Texas A&M University for a Faculty Development Leave from the College of Liberal Arts in 1999–2000 that allowed me to devote extra time to the project at a crucial stage in its development. Courtney Livingston provided invaluable research on the historical backgrounds of a number of Asian traditions. My colleague Bruce Dickson lent his considerable knowledge of anthropological theory and African cultures on more than one occasion. The nonmartial Roger D. Abrahams, Dan Ben-Amos, and Bruce Jackson all provided significant research leads during the formative stages of this project—as they have on so many other occasions. Many martial artists whose names do not appear in the list of authors made valuable contributions of time, information, introductions, e-mail addresses, and encouragement: David Chan, Vincent Giordano, Hwong Chen Mou, Leung Yee Lap, Nguyen Van Ahn, Peng Kuang Yao, Guy Power, Mark Wong, and especially Jerry McGlade. I am grateful for the labors of Karl Friday, Gregory Smits, and Jessica Anderson Turner in creating consistency in the romanization of Japanese, Okinawan, and Chinese languages respectively. Their attention to linguistic and cultural detail went far beyond reasonable expectations. Todd Hallman and Gary Kuris at ABC-CLIO took the process—from beginning to end—seriously, but in stride.

My family maintained inconceivable tolerance for my behavior and clutter when I was in the throes of research. Alexandra was born into the family with only minor turmoil. Colin provided computer expertise, library assistance, and camaraderie during field research. My wife, Valerie, as always served as advisor, translator, and second opinion while keeping us all intact.

My deepest gratitude goes out to you all.

Thomas A. Green

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Godia, George. 1989. "Sport in Kenya." In *Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook*. Edited by Eric A. Wagner. New York: Greenwood, 267–281.

A Note on Romanization

In 1979, the People's Republic of China (PRC) decided to employ the pinyin system of romanization for foreign publications. The pinyin system is now recognized internationally. As a result, the pinyin system is the preferred method in the present volume. Prior to this decision by the PRC, the Wade-Giles system had gained wide international acceptance. Certain terms, therefore, may appear under spellings unfamiliar to the reader. For example, Wade-Giles *Hsing I Ch'uan* or *Hsing I Chuan* appears as pinyin *Xingyiquan,* and *Wing Chun* is romanized as *Yongchun.* Pinyin spellings will be used in most cases. Old spellings, often unsystematic, are given in parentheses, for example *Li Cunyi* (*Li Tsun-I*). For those terms that are well established in another spelling, pinyin is noted in parentheses for consistency; for example, *Pangai Noon* (pinyin *banyingruan*). For Chinese names and terms that are not associated with the PRC, we have chosen to follow locally preferred romanizations.

A

Africa and African America

Although many of the societies of Africa developed in close proximity to Egyptian civilization, with its highly developed fighting arts and rivalry with other "superpowers" such as the Hittites, their martial systems developed in relative isolation from Middle Eastern combat disciplines. Rather, the martial arts, particularly those of the sub-Saharan Africans, belong to a world where (until the arrival of Europeans) the greatest martial threats came from the other sub-Saharan groups, rather than from another continent. Some of the African peoples did have contact with the Arabs, who brought Islam to the region and threatened the indigenous populations with enslavement. To the best of current knowledge, however, the technology and martial development of cultures relying on the same subsistence bases (for example, hunting and gathering and agriculture) were roughly the same for most of the civilizations of Africa, and they continued to be so until the arrival of the Europeans in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Even at this point, some groups resisted advanced weaponry when it became available because of cultural biases. For example, the Masai and Kikuyu viewed firearms as the weapons of cowards.

When one discusses the traditional African martial arts, it is important to note the wide variety and diversity of weapons that were available. Some groups had mastered the art of iron smithing. Although this knowledge probably crossed the Sahara in the fourth to fifth centuries B.C., the spread of iron occurred much later, and, in fact, the distribution patterns were irregular. For example, when the Portuguese entered southern Africa ca. 1500, the Khoisan pastoralists ("Hottentots") and hunter-gatherers ("Bushmen") did not have access to iron.

Those groups who did obtain iron were able to develop the usual variety of weapons that came from the art of iron smithing, such as swords, daggers, and metal spear points. For example, in Benin, Portuguese merchants encountered soldiers armed with iron swords and iron-tipped spears. Their shields, however, were wooden, and their anteater skin armor

A picture of a Zulu warrior holding a large shield and a short spear (assagai) characteristic of their armed combat system. This illustration appeared in a British publication during the war between British settlers and the native population in Africa, 1851. (Corbis)

was of greater significance as magical than as practical protection. In fact, magical powers were attributed to most West African weapons and defenses. Even without metallurgy, other groups produced lethal clubs, staves, and spears with stone points. African societies, some of them small states with standing armies, were militarily formidable even without the trappings of their European and Middle Eastern contemporaries.

Among the armed combat systems that developed were the ones that were used by the Zulu peoples of South Africa. The Zulu were proficient in combat with club, spear, and shield. Because they lacked body armor, the shield became the protective device used by the Zulu warriors. They initiated combat by either throwing a spear at the opponent or using it for a charge. When spear combat became impractical because of the range, the club was used for close-quarters combat. The club-and-shield combination could be used in ways similar to the sword-and-shield combination of warriors in Europe.

This type of fighting gave the Zulu an advantage in combat, as they had all of their ranges covered. The spear could either be used as a pole-arm weapon that allowed the warrior to fight from a distance or as a short-range stabbing weapon. In fact, Shaka Zulu revolutionized indigenous warfare by the use of massed formations and of the *assagai* (a stabbing spear with a shortened shaft) in conjunction with a redesigned shield. Modern use of the spear in traditional Zulu ceremonies has demonstrated that they continue to be able to use the spear in conjunction with the shield effectively. If the spear was lost, then clubs were used for effective close-range combat.

Perhaps no weapon signifies African martial arts more than the throwing iron. These instruments had many names from the different peoples that used them. They have been known as *mongwanga* and *hungamunga*. Many cultures have developed throwing weapons, from sticks to the famous *shuriken* of the Japanese Ninja. Similarly, many African societies placed a premium on these types of weapons. The throwing irons were multibladed instruments that, when thrown, would land with one of the blade points impaling its target. These weapons were reported effective at

a range of up to 80 meters. The wounds inflicted at such a long range were not likely to be deadly. At distances of 20 to 30 meters the weapons could connect with lethal impact.

In addition, these bladed weapons were also effective for hand-to-hand combat. Most of them had a handle, and so the blade projections also served as parrying devices if needed. The iron from which the instruments were created was durable enough to stand the rigors of combat, even when one was struck against another throwing iron. Thus, the African warriors who wielded these weapons had not only a reliable projectile device that could be used for long-range combat, but also a handheld weapon for closing with the enemy. Therefore, it was not uncommon for a warrior to carry three or four of these implements, always being certain to keep one in reserve.

These throwing implements were also able to serve as the backbone of a system of armed combat. Given the absence of advanced forms of armor, African warriors were able to use these throwing irons to maximum effect. Once a practitioner was able to penetrate the shield defenses of an opponent, a lethal or incapacitating wound was likely to occur, unless the recipient was able to avoid the strike. The effectiveness of these weapons against an armored opponent is unknown.

Another unique weapon is found among the Nilotic peoples of the southern Sahara region. These groups fought with wrist bracelets that incorporated a sharpened edge. Known by some groups as *bagussa* (Shangun; things that cause fear), the bracelets were said to be used for defense against slavers. They were also used in ceremonial wrestling matches associated with agricultural festivals. These distinctive weapons continue to be utilized by the East African Nilotic groups of Kenya, Somalia, and Ethiopia. For example, contemporary Turkana women of Nigeria still utilize the bracelets in self-defense. The weapons are brought into play by holding the arms in a horizontal guard position in front of the body until the opportunity arises to attack in a sweeping arc across the same plane using the razor-sharp bracelets to slash an opponent.

Combat training was as essential to African martial arts as practice is for martial arts of other cultures. One of the more interesting features of African combat systems was the reliance in many systems on the rehearsal of combat movements through dances. Prearranged combat sequences are well known in various martial arts around the world, the most famous examples being the kata of Japanese and Okinawan karate. Such sequences were also practiced in ancient Greece, through the Pyrrhic war dances. The African systems used drums and stringed instruments to create a rhythmic beat for fighting. Warriors, either individually or in groups, practiced using weapons, both for attacking and defensive movements, in conjunction with the rhythm from the percussion instruments. The armies of the Angolan

queen Nzinga Mbande, for example, trained in their combat techniques through dance accompanied by traditional percussion instruments.

From the evidence that survives, which, unfortunately, is scarce, many scholars now believe that this type of training was central to the development of African martial arts systems. The enforcement of learning martial arts through the rhythm created by percussion instruments developed an innate sense of timing and effective movement for the practitioner. In addition, these movements developed effective footwork for the warriors. Although these training patterns have been dismissed as "war dances," expressive movement rather than martial drills, they actually played a central role in the training of African warriors. In a nonliterate culture, this type of direct transmission through music allowed for consistent and uniform training without the need for written communication. This type of training is replicated today in the most popular of the African/African American martial arts, *capoeira* (see below).

Among the weapons that were used extensively by the Africans, one of the most important was the stick. Stickfighting, which is practiced in many cultures the world over, has especially been practiced in sub-Saharan Africa. A variety of sticks continue to be used. For example, in addition to a knife and a spear, contemporary Nilotic men carry two sticks: a *rungu* (Swahili; a potentially deadly knobbed club) and a four-foot stick that is used for, among other things, fighting kin without causing serious injury.

Stickfighting has existed in Africa as both a fighting sport and a martial art. In the sporting variant, competitors met for matches, and a match concluded when a certain number of blows were registered against one of the combatants. The number ranged from one to three, and the match would be halted to avoid serious injury. Blows against vital points of the body or against the head were forbidden in most cases. For the Zulu, as well as the Mpondo, who staged intergroup as well as intravillage stick fights, matches with neighboring polities often took on a deadly earnest quality. The head is reported to have been the preferred target.

Thus, this type of martial arts activity fulfilled two functions for the African practitioners. First, this practice allowed participants to directly experience combat at a realistic level with weapons. Although the target areas were limited, the possibility of injury was very real. Participants had to have a high level of skill just to survive such a bout without injury. For this reason, this type of stickfighting was an excellent preparation for direct military combat.

In addition, stickfighting provided a sporting (although "sport" does not translate well in many non-Western contexts) outlet for the competitors and the societies involved. The contests were a test not only of the competitors' ability, but also of the training mechanisms that were imparted to

the competitors. In this respect, these matches were a point of pride for the villages themselves. The warriors were representatives of the village or society, and when intersociety or intervillage competitions were held, each competitor fought for the society's as well as for his own honor. This type of nonlethal outlet for warrior instincts allowed for a cathartic release of energy that helped to avoid all-out warfare.

Stickfighting also gave warriors a foundation for armed combat. Learning how to strike, block, thrust, and move with the weapon is critical for any aspect of armed combat. Learning how to perform these basic moves with a stick can be a foundation for building the movements needed for different weapons. In the case of the Zulu, for example, two sticks were used. One was grasped in the middle and used to block and parry the opponent's blows, while the other stick was used to deliver offensive blows. This practice served to develop skills similar to those needed for the combination of shield and offensive weapon typical of their warfare. For African military societies, this practice provided a method for training warriors that was both nonlethal and inexpensive, and the latter is a relevant consideration. Iron weapons in most cases were expensive and hard to produce. Moreover, in Africa iron weapons, like the smiths who produced them, were often thought to have supernatural properties. Therefore, their use entailed supernatural as well as practical sanctions.

African societies developed systems of unarmed combat as well. Perhaps the best-known type of unarmed combat was wrestling. From the oral accounts that survive, from Egyptian etchings and paintings of Sudanese Nuba wrestlers, and from the few remaining native wrestling traditions still practiced, African wrestling systems, beyond serving as a means of combat, fulfilled both a ceremonial and a sporting function. In most recorded cases, primarily from the Sudan and Nigeria, wrestling was associated with the agricultural cycle (e.g., harvest, yam-growing season) or the individual life cycle, as with the southern Nigerian Ibo, among whom wrestling was associated with male initiation.

Many African wrestling systems seem to have resembled modern freestyle methods, which is to say that the competitors were allowed to throw and to seize any part of the body, including the legs. The well-understood, though unwritten, rules of Nigerian traditional wrestling may be taken as representative: (1) opponents are matched by age; (2) contestants cannot use charms or drugs; (3) the genitals cannot be seized; (4) striking is prohibited; (5) attacks cannot take place before a signal to begin; (6) the match ends when one contestant is prone on the ground (Ojeme 1989, 251).

There are exceptions, however; the Senegalese style called *laamb* more closely resembles Greco-Roman than modern freestyle wrestling. Nevertheless, in sporting and ceremonial wrestling, as in modern amateur wrestling,

the object was to pin the opponent. This meant forcing the opponent's shoulders to touch the ground, thus placing the antagonist in a "danger" position. Once this was accomplished, the match was completed.

This way of ending the match was not always the case, however. A wide variety of cultural and regional styles existed. In southeast Africa, a tradition of wrestling from a kneeling (in the case of adult men) or seated (in the case of boys) position employing a single arm developed. As an adjunct to grappling skills, the Nilotic cultures just south of the Sahara (the Bambara of Mali among others) wore bagussa (mentioned above) during their ritual wrestling matches. In these sanguinary contests, one attempted to attack the opponent's head and in the process shed as much of his blood as possible. The blood that was shed in this fashion was believed not only to make the crops grow, but also to heal the sick. The Khoikhoi of southwest Africa, although fighting unarmed, engaged in a type of no-holds-barred wrestling, which came closer to the Greek *pankration* than to the catch-as-catch-can amateur style. Nor was wrestling a uniformly male pursuit. There are traditions of women wrestling in various groups scattered throughout the continent: Nigeria (Ibo), Sudan (Nuba), Senegal, Cameroon, Benin (Fon), Gabon, Gambia. The reasons for doing so vary, of course. In some cases, as with the men, the grappling is connected with the annual round of agricultural ceremonies; in others, it is an aspect of the courtship process.

As with stickfighting, intervillage and even interstate competitions existed. The Bachama, for example, staged tournaments in conjunction with their agricultural festivals, which included their Nigerian neighbors. On these ceremonial occasions the Bata, Bwaza, Jen, and Mbula were invited to field teams of their best wrestlers. This martial tradition continues into the contemporary period, as evidenced by the 1990 Nigerian national wrestling championship of Julius Donald Ngbarato, a man of Bachama heritage. Similarly, the Luo of Kenya held competitions in which villages or districts were pitted against each other. Although the tournaments were organized, the actual matches seemed less so, for wrestling—like Luo stickfighting—is reported as "having no rules at all" (Godia 1989, 68).

Given the fact that African wrestling champions have been regarded not only as superior athletes but also as superior warriors, it can be assumed that combat wrestling systems also existed. The matches reported among the Khoikhoi certainly sound combat effective. Therefore it is likely that, beyond the sporting repertoire reported in the literature, wrestlers learned the techniques of choking and joint locking (in which a joint is forced beyond its maximum range of mobility) appropriate to the battlefield. These systems were probably auxiliary training for warriors, to assist them if they lost their weapons in combat. Much of this must be left to speculation, however, given the paucity of written descriptions of these arts.

Beginning in 1415, after the Portuguese established their foothold in North Africa, Europeans introduced firearms in West Africa in exchange for slaves. Therefore, with the beginning of the slave trade, the nature of war in West Africa became Europeanized, although wrestling and stick-fighting persisted in local festivals.

European influence was not, however, the only threat to the traditional martial arts in Africa. Prior to the European incursions, most of sub-Saharan Africa had been infiltrated by Islam, which spread along trade routes both inland and on the coast. In exchange for gold, ivory, and slaves, the African kingdoms received goods from North Africa, many of whose rulers accepted Islam in order to improve trade relations with Muslim merchants. At first Islam's influence on sub-Saharan Africa was limited. The nineteenth century, however, brought a wave of Islamic revitalization to non-Arab Africa. Calling for reform, the establishment of Islamic states, and the crushing of pagan practices through the agency of jihad (holy war against heretics and unbelievers), these revitalization movements sought to crush traditional martial arts such as wrestling and stickfighting, which were elements of the ceremonies of those religions the jihadists so vigorously opposed. These arts survived the movements that sought to crush them.

Ironically, the European colonialist policies that proved destructive to many African peoples provided an agency for preserving and spreading at least modified elements of African culture. During much of the sixteenth century (1530–1600) the Portuguese, who were the major European slave power at that time, transported over a thousand slaves from West Africa to the Americas monthly. Captured Africans brought many of their native traditions with them as they were forcibly relocated to the New World. Some of these traditions included martial arts, which were sometimes transported in a disguised or hidden version. Because of this dispersion, some of the martial traditions of Africa (particularly of sub-Saharan Africa, from which many of the slaves were drawn) still survive and live in altered form.

Given the Portuguese role in the transport of Africans to the New World, it should not be surprising that the Portuguese colony of Brazil became a focal point of African fighting arts (as well as for many other Africanisms, such as the religion of Candomblé) in the Americas.

Brazilian capoeira is undoubtedly the most well known and widely disseminated of a complex of New World martial arts that rely primarily on kicks and head-butts as weapons and that are usually practiced to musical accompaniment. The origins of capoeira are recorded only in the traditional legends of the art, which invariably focus on African influence. Considerable debate exists among practitioners and historians as to whether capoeira is the New World development of an African martial art or a system originating in the New World with African influences ranging

from terminology to the *berimbau,* the primary musical instrument used to provide accompaniment for the *jôgo* ("match" or "game").

Scholar and practitioner J. Lowell Lewis maintains that capoeira manifests an "undeniably African esthetic" by virtue of body mechanics and music among other features (Lewis 1992, 18). The customary label for the earliest form of the art, *Capoeira Angola,* pays homage to its legendary African origins, usually in dances whose movements were converted to martial applications. One candidate for the ancestor of capoeira is the *ngolo* (zebra dance) performed by young Mucupe men of southern Angola in conjunction with girls' puberty rites. Robert Farris Thompson, perhaps the strongest advocate of the theory of African origins, notes the similarities between capoeira's *cabeçada* (head-butt) and the *ngwíndulu mu-tu* (striking with the head) of African *Ki-Kongo.* At any rate, some scholars argue that the similarity among the various New World arts is due to common origin, generally somewhere in Bantu Africa.

Capoeiristas practice to a beat that is set through various percussion instruments, the most important of which is a musical bow with a gourd resonator known as a berimbau. The rhythm that is developed by these instruments determines the cadence in the fight. There is a school of thought among capoeira practitioners that the use of these musical instruments developed to hide the martial function of the physical movements from the Portuguese overlords in Brazil. However, the historical foundations of African arts noted above seem to argue that the use of musical accompaniment for martial arts practice is a strong tradition. This would make the music used with capoeira part of a much older tradition.

Songs involving a leader and a response pattern are sung during play. The words of these songs embody, for example, comments on capoeira in general, insults directed toward various types of styles of play or types of players, or biographical allusions to famous capoeiristas. The sense of capoeira as a dance is established by this musical frame for the action and completed by the movements taking place within the *roda* (Portuguese; "wheel"—the circle of capoeira play). The basic stance of capoeira places one foot forward in a lunging move with the corresponding hand forward and the other back. There is, however, considerable variety in the execution of the stance (both between individual players and between the Regional and the Angola traditions), and stances rapidly shift, with feet alternating in time to the tempo of the musical accompaniment in a dancelike action called a *ginga.* The techniques of capoeira rely heavily on kicks, many of them embodied in spectacular cartwheels, somersaults, and handstands. Players move from aerial techniques to low squatting postures accompanied by sweeps or tripping moves. Evasion rather than blocking is used for defense. Head-butts and hand strikes (using the open hand) complete the

Many African combat systems relied heavily on the rehearsal of combat movements through dances. Here, game preserve guards in Ndumu, South Africa, practice a martial dance using rungu *(knobbed sticks) in conjunction with the rhythm from percussion instruments, 1980. (Jonathan Blair/Corbis)*

unarmed arsenal of the capoeirista. Again, there is a distinction between Angola and Regional, with the former relying more on low kicks, sweeps, and trips "played" to a slower rhythm.

As an armed fighting art, capoeira has incorporated techniques for the use of paired short sticks and bladed weapons (particularly straight razors, knives, and machetes). Even in those cases in which the art has moved from the streets to the training hall, training in weapons remains in the curriculum in forms such as *maculêlê,* which entails a rhythmic clash of short sticks while performing a dancelike action. Stickfighting persists on the streets of Trinidad during Carnival as *kalinda.*

Though not as well known as capoeira, other similar martial arts have been noted throughout the African Americas.

In Martinique a particularly well-documented form exists, which is called *ladjia* in the south, *damié* in the north, and also *ronpoin* and *kokoyé.* Like capoeira, ladjia is played to the accompaniment of percussion instruments (primarily drums, but also sticks that are clashed together) and leader-and-response songs, and it is characterized by vigorous acrobatic movements. The music controls the pace and character of the fight and therefore is of major importance to the event. Practitioners echo the sentiments of capoeiristas in claiming that without song there is no ladjia. With

movements guided by the tempo of the music, the combatants maneuver in ways that are reminiscent of the *ginga* (Portuguese; from *gingar,* "to sway, to waddle"). When an opportunity develops, they kick, punch, and eye-gouge. When one lifts the other and throws him on his back, the winner is proclaimed. There are regional variants of the play, the most striking being the bloody ferocity of combative ladjia in the south versus the dancelike performance of damié in the north. The various regional forms of Martinique have been successfully compared to the *kadjia* of Benin, a similar ritualistic form of activity practiced in conjunction with agricultural ceremony, but one that emphasizes grappling and throwing actions rather than the striking, kicking, and gouging of the New World form. A combat form of kadjia, designed for use when a warrior loses his weapons, incorporates a wider range of techniques.

In Venezuela, *broma* (literally, "just joking") is played among Venezuelans of African descent, particularly in the coastal city of Curiepe. Contemporary broma does not maintain a structured curriculum, accepting a variety of new influences at the whim of practitioners. The traditional essence of the style, however, consists of kicks, head-butts, and sweeps.

Other African Caribbean and South American fighting arts such as *maní* (Cuba), *chat'ou* (Guadeloupe), and *susa* (Surinam) may already be extinct. The same may be true of the last vestiges of a similar African American art that had at least one surviving master in the 1980s.

The art of "knocking and kicking" developed in the southern United States. According to Jackson Jordan Jr. of North Carolina, a master of the style, it was widely practiced by African Americans, particularly in the Carolinas and the Georgia Sea Islands, during his youth at the turn of the twentieth century. One hundred and fifty years earlier, Henry Bibb, a runaway slave from Kentucky, reported that slaves were forced by their masters to fight. In these contests, "The blows are made by kicking, knocking, and butting with their heads; they grab each other by their ears, and jam their heads together like sheep" (1969, 68). Bibb may well be describing the core repertoire of knocking and kicking. His description also may be the best surviving description of this martial art.

Just as little is known regarding susa, an activity reported from Saramakan Maroon groups in Suriname (Dutch Guyana) by Dutch sources in the late seventeenth century. The obviously martial activity was accompanied by percussive music (drumming and hand-clapping). The goal of the "game" was to knock down one's opponent. The folk history of this group, whose members claim African and African Indian descent, remembers susa as a dance derived from an African martial art called *nsunsa*.

The African martial arts in the Americas obviously share a common set of characteristics. It has been suggested that similar features developed

as a result of similar circumstances. There are equally strong arguments, however, that martial arts, like many other cultural traditions, survived the Middle Passage (the transport of Africans to slavery in the Americas) to be adapted to the changed cultural context of the Americas. Under less constrained circumstances, the process continues, as contemporary Senegalese immigrants compete in their traditional wrestling art of laamb in parks in Washington, D.C., on the Muslim holiday of Tabaski.

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See also Capoeira; Middle East; Performing Arts

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Aikidô

Aikidô is a modern martial system of Japanese derivation, developed by founder Ueshiba Morihei (1883–1969) over the course of his lifetime. Aikidô employs the redirection of an attacker's energy (or *ki*) into a variety of holds, locks, and projections, and is probably best known for an exclusive focus on defensive maneuvers and for its unique martial philosophy.

The principle of *aiki,* a method of defeating an attack through harmonizing with rather than directly opposing the aggressive motion, predates aikidô, and it found expression in many of feudal Japan's sophisticated martial systems. Aikidô's most direct predecessor art, *Daitô-ryû jûjutsu,* laid particular emphasis on this strategy and on the techniques that employed it most efficiently (many of which would be seen in some form in Ueshiba's modern *budô* ["martial way"]). Indeed, Ueshiba was first known as a high-quality Daitô-ryû instructor, and he used the terms *jûjutsu* and *aikibudô* for his art through his early decades of teaching.

Among the schools derived from Ueshiba's pioneering efforts, patterns in technique and philosophy correlate closely with teachers' historical associations with Ueshiba and, later, with Tôhei. Prewar students of aikibudô retained an emphasis on *atemi* (striking) and generally expressed indifference (at best) about the well-being of an attacker as a result of the defense, resulting in a flavor closer to aiki-jûjutsu than to the peaceful art developed by Ueshiba in his later years.

The philosophy of aikidô correlates closely to the art's techniques, and though even the orthodox branches of aikidô are not in complete agreement on either, some generalizations can be made. In aikidô an attack is not responded to with a counterattack, in the classic rhythm of strike, block,

return strike; rather, the practitioner seeks to allow a committed attack to pass by, and then to exploit the attacker's resulting imbalance. Thus both the initial attack and forceful opposition to such an attack are characterized as futile and maladjusted endeavors, out of harmony with the universe; an aikidô approach to conflict (physical or otherwise) begins with searching for a way to "blend with" rather than oppose aggressive action. From this point a physical application normally proceeds to projection or control of the attacker, usually with an emphasis on preventing any (or at least any serious) injury to the attacker. The curricula of many aikidô schools lack or de-emphasize hand strikes, and most lack kicking techniques, although defenses against both are practiced.

Manipulation of the *ki* energy of both the attacker and defender is implied even in the art's name, but interpretation of the nature of ki, and its proper manipulation, vary. Aikidô is often classed among the "soft" or "internal" martial arts, like the Chinese *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan), *xingyiquan* (hsing i ch'uan), and *baguazhang* (pa kua ch'uan), and an emphasis on breathing exercises and ki exercises (meant to improve a practitioner's control of his own energy) is common. Aikidô schools descending from Tôhei Kôichi's tradition even maintain separate ki rankings (related but not identical to the student's aikidô *kyû* or *dan* rank, discussed below) based on the student's mastery of ki concepts and applications, including *kiatsu,* a healing method practiced by Tôhei Kôichi. Interpretations of ki in aikidô range from the mystical (complete with tales of miraculous feats by Ueshiba Morihei) to the utilitarian and prosaic.

Uses of the *bokken* (a wooden representation of the Japanese sword) and *jô* (a four-foot staff) are common auxiliary training methods in aikidô, reflecting the elements of timing, distance, and initiative that aikidô and its predecessor arts took from the armed disciplines of the samurai. In general, the use of these weapons in aikidô training is undertaken for the illustration and practice of aikidô principles, rather than for the sake of combat-oriented proficiency with the weapons themselves, although weapon-handling methods taught in various aikidô schools are widely divergent. Disarming and weapon-retention techniques are often included in this practice and related to similar unarmed procedures in other arts.

The *tantô,* a wooden replica of a Japanese dagger, is also maintained as a training tool, although unlike the other wooden weapons it is rarely considered from the wielder's perspective. Instead, the tantô is used exclusively for the practice of disarming techniques. (An exception to this occurs in Tomiki Aikidô dôjô, which engage in a competitive sport revolving around tantô offense and defense. In their matches, a rubber tantô may be used by the offensive player to score, while successful defense yields the defender both points and the tantô.)

An aikidô approach to conflict begins with searching for a way to "blend with" rather than oppose aggressive action. Here two men practice aikidô. (TempSport/ Corbis)

Aikidô training is usually centered on partner practice, in which students alternate practicing the roles of *uke* (the attacker and the one who ordinarily takes a fall) and *nage* (the defender). Other aikidô training methods may include *aiki taisô* (specialized calisthenics for the application of energy in the aikidô manner), weapon forms, sword and staff disarms and sword and staff retention techniques, *kokyu hô* ("breath power exercise") breath and balance training, and a multiple-attacker exercise called *randori.*

In aikidô's randori, a single nage uses aikidô protective strategy and techniques against a number of attackers, who may or may not be limited in the methods that they are allowed to employ against nage. Randori encourages versatile, decisive movement on nage's part and rewards swift and efficient unbalancing techniques rather than involved control holds or throws. It is often a prominent feature of aikidô rank tests.

Ranking in most aikidô dôjô is based on a belt system derived from the one originated for sport jûdô. A variety of kyû ranks lead up to certification as *shôdan* (first dan, usually translated as first-degree black belt), usually designated by a black belt. Dan ranks proceed from this important step, and upper ranks may vary according to the particular affiliation of the dôjô.

The *hakama,* a traditional divided-skirt garment, is seen in many aikidô dôjô, often as a rank designator similar to the black belt. Ueshiba considered the wearing of this garment to be a matter of basic courtesy for students of all ranks, but modern dôjô traditions vary widely, and the wearing of the hakama may be required for all students or restricted to particular students according to local custom.

With its lack of tournaments and its unusual philosophical emphasis, aikidô has spread through different venues than other popular martial arts. Seen from its inception as an art with broad philosophical implications and many applications outside the realm of physical conflict, aikidô has attracted more academic interest than most martial arts and has been advocated in adapted forms as a paradigm in psychology, business, and conflict management. The physical effectiveness of aikidô, along with its humane priorities, has held considerable appeal for law enforcement applications as well, and Shioda Gôzô's Yoshinkan Aikidô (a style heavily influenced by prewar aikibudô) was chosen for the training of the elite Tokyo police. However, the art has generally had a low media profile, with the exception of the film career of senior aikidô practitioner Steven Seagal. (His movies have featured a great deal of aikidô-influenced fight choreography.)

Training in aikidô is today readily available in much of the world, thanks in part to deliberate efforts by Ueshiba to establish his art worldwide as a way of promoting his ideals.

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See also Jûdô; Ki/Qi; Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan; Wrestling and Grappling: Japan

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Animal and Imitative Systems in Chinese Martial Arts

Very early, the Chinese observed the characteristics of their natural environment, including the wildlife and, as early as 300 B.C., there is evidence in the writings of Zhuangzi (Chuang-tzu) that they were imitating animal movements (birds and bears) as a form of exercise. The doctor Hua Tuo is said to have developed the Five Animal exercises (tiger, deer, bear, ape, and bird) around A.D. 100, and it is very easy to imagine how animal characteristics were adapted to fighting techniques. Another view is that at least some animal forms may hark back to a distant totemic past that still occupies a place in the Chinese psyche. This totemic influence is difficult if not impossible to trace in majority Han Chinese boxing styles; however, it can be seen in the combination of martial arts and dance practiced by some of China's many national minorities. Cheng Dali, in his *Chinese Martial Arts: History and Culture*, points to Frog Boxing, practiced by the Zhuang Nationality of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, as an example, the frog being considered their protector against both natural and man-made disasters.

The monkey or ape, with its combination of human characteristics and superhuman physical skills, has long been associated with martial arts. The most notable early reference is to the ape in the story of the Maiden of Yue (ca. 465 B.C.). In this story, an old man transforms himself into an ape who tests the swordsmanship of the Maiden of Yue before she is selected by the king of Yue to train his troops. Perhaps better known are the exploits of the monkey with the magic staff in the Ming novel *Journey to the West* (sixteenth century). He fights his way through a host of demons to protect the monk, Xuan Zang, during his pilgrimage to India and return to China with Buddhist scriptures.

Monkey Boxing was among the prominent styles listed by General Qi Jiguang in his *New Book of Effective Discipline* (ca. 1561), and Wang Shixing (1547–1598) was impressed with a Monkey Boxer he observed practicing at Shaolin Monastery (Tang 1930). General Qi also mentions the Eagle Claw Style.

During the Qing period (1644–1911), the Praying Mantis Style appeared in Shandong province, and numerous other animal routines became associated with major styles of boxing, such as the five animals of Hong-

The magic monkey Songoku from a Chinese fable creates an army by plucking out his fur and blowing it into the air—each hair becomes a monkey-warrior. Illustration created by Yoshitoshi Taiso in 1882. (Asian Art & Archaeology, Inc./Corbis)

quan (dragon, tiger, leopard, snake, crane), sometimes seen as synonymous with Shaolin Boxing; the twelve animals (tiger, horse, eagle, snake, dragon, hawk, swallow, cock, monkey, Komodo dragon–like lizard, tai, and bear) of Shanxi-style xingyi boxing; and the ten animals of Henan-style xingyi boxing (tiger, horse, eagle, snake, dragon, hawk, swallow, cock, monkey, and cat). These styles and forms represent a human attempt to mimic specific practical animal fighting and maneuvering techniques. Of course, the dragon is a mythical beast, so this form is based on the Chinese vision of the dragon's undulating movement and the way it seizes with its claws—a pull-down technique. The tai is an apparently extinct bird whose circular wing movements suggest a deflecting/defensive form. Some of the so-called animal forms could be categorized in other ways. For instance, some of the animal techniques in xingyi boxing could be subsumed under the basic Five Element forms (crushing, splitting, drilling, pounding, and crossing). In addition to the actual animal forms, many Chinese boxing forms have flowery titles such as "Jade Maiden Thrusts the Shuttle," "Step Back and Straddle the Tiger," and "White Ape Offers Fruit." These are merely traditional images, familiar to most Chinese, used as mnemonic devices to assist when practicing routines.

The pure animal styles of boxing exude a certain amount of individual showmanship in the same way as does the Drunken Style, which is said to have evolved from an ancient dance, and some other particularly acrobatic styles. These are all basically popular folk styles as opposed to no-frills, military hand-to-hand combat styles, whose techniques can be seen subsumed in some existing styles, but whose separate identity has essentially been lost in modern times.

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See also Baguazhang (Pa Kua Ch'uan); Boxing, Chinese; Boxing, Chinese Shaolin Styles; Xingyiquan (Hsing I Ch'uan)

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Archery, Japanese

The practice of kyûdô or Japanese Archery is traced to two roots: ceremonial archery associated with Shintô and combative archery developing from warfare and hunting. Kyûdô has been called the earliest martial sport of Japan, as the warrior and noble classes used it for recreational hunting. Kyûdô was also considered to be one of the primary arts of a warrior, and the Japanese attachment to it and swordsmanship was so great that Japan rejected the use of firearms in the seventeenth century in favor of traditional arms.

The history of kyûdô is claimed to go back to the possibly mythical Emperor Jimmu (660 B.C.), who is always portrayed holding a longbow. Certain court rituals, probably imported from China, involved archery, and skill in ceremonial archery was considered a requirement of a refined man. During the ancient period, mentions of a *Taishi-ryû* of archery are found about A.D. 600. About 500 years later, Henmi Kiyomitsi founded what is generally accepted as the first kyûdô *ryûha* (style), the *Henmi-ryû*. His descendants later founded the *Takeda-* and *Ogasawara-ryû*. The Genpei War (1180–1185) led to an increased demand for warriors to develop archery

A young woman aims at a barrel of straw to practice the style of her archery, at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Grand Shrine in Kamakura, Japan, 1986. (Robert Downing/Corbis)

skills. Unlike in Western Europe, in Japan the aristocratic warrior class considered the bow a warrior's weapon.

This emphasis increased in the feudal period, especially when Minamoto no Yoritomo gained the title of shôgun. He standardized the training of his warriors and had the founder of the Ogasawara-ryû, Ogasawara Nagakiyo, teach *yabusame* (mounted archery). During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, civil wars raged throughout Japan, and the techniques of shooting were refined. Heki Danjô developed a new devastatingly accurate approach to archery he called hi, kan, chû (fly, pierce, center), which was quickly adopted. His school, the Heki-ryû, spread into many branches, and these "new schools" continue to this day. Use of the bow peaked in the sixteenth century, just before the Portuguese introduced the gun into Japan. By 1575, Oda Nobunaga used firearms to win a major battle, beginning the bow's decline.

This decline was temporarily halted by Japan's self-imposed period of isolation, and during this period as well as the following Meiji period and the modern period, the art of kyûdô has developed as a mental and phys-

ical discipline. Today, kyûdô is taught as a mental, physical, and spiritual discipline under the *Zen Nihon Kyûdô Renmei* (All Japan Archery Federation) rather than as a competitive sport. It is now taught in the high schools and universities as well as extensively practiced in private *kyûdôjo* (archery halls).

The Japanese bow, or *yumi,* is about seven feet long and constructed of laminated bamboo. The grip is placed one-third of the way up from the bottom, unlike the grip on Western and Chinese bows. This placement of the grip allows the bow to be used on horseback while retaining the advantages of a longbow. The arrows, or *ya,* are also longer than Western arrows, due to the Japanese method of drawing the bow to the right shoulder instead of the chin or cheek. Because the bow is drawn with the thumb as in other styles of Eastern archery, the glove, or *yugake,* is different, with a reinforced inner thumb. No thumb ring is used, as was the case in Korea and China. Only after the Ônin Wars, when an archer no longer had to use his sword, did the modern kind of glove with a hardened thumb and wrist develop. The uniform worn is normally the obi (sash) and *hakama* (split skirt) with either a *kyûdô-gi* (jacket) or a kimono (for the higher ranks). White *tabi* (socks constructed with the big toe separated from the other toes) are also worn.

Training begins with learning to draw the bow and shooting blunt and unfletched (featherless) arrows into a *mato* (target). The beginner practices the eight stages of shooting until his teacher is satisfied that he is ready to move to regular practice. The eight stages are (1) *ashibumi* (positioning), (2) *dôzukuri* (correcting the posture), (3) *yugamae* (readying the bow), (4) *uchiokoshi* (raising the bow), (5) *hikiwake* (drawing the bow), (6) *kai* (completing and holding the draw), (7) *hanare* (releasing the arrow, which also includes a step called *yugaeri,* or the turning of the bow in the hand), and (8) *yudaoshi* (lowering the bow). Each step is practiced until it is as perfect as possible. In this way, the beginner learns proper technique without the distraction of an actual target. Unlike Western longbows, the bow is not drawn in a push-pull movement but in a spreading movement as the bow is lowered. Since kyûdô is practiced as a means of personal development, mere accuracy is not prized. The proper approach and a sense of *zanshin* (the quiet period after the release of the arrow) are more important. Three levels of skill are described: *tôteki,* or arrow hits target, *kanteki,* or arrow pierces target, and *zaiteki,* or arrow exists in target. The first is also called "rifle shooting" and is concerned only with hitting the center. In the second, the archer pierces the target as if it were an enemy. An intensity is seen that is absent in the first level. The final level, zaiteki, is where the archer has unified his mind, body, and bow into one, and shooting becomes natural and instinctive. This is the true goal of kyûdô.

Kevin Menard

See also Kendô; Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan

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Archery, Mongolian

See Mongolia

Arnis

See Philippines

B

Baguazhang (Pa Kua Ch'uan)

Of the four internal martial arts of China, the most distinctive appearing is baguazhang. The name means "eight-trigram palm," in reference to the bagua (eight-trigram) pattern used in Chinese philosophy, magic, and fortune telling. Part of the training in baguazhang is walking a circle while practicing certain moves, and this walking a circle gives the art its distinctive appearance. The bagua practitioner walks a circle of various sizes, reversing his movement, twisting and turning through eight sets of movements (called palms for the hand position used). Between the sets of movements, he walks the circle with his hands in one of the eight positions.

While a few claims of baguazhang's origins go back to the fifteenth century, most experts believe the art originated with Dong Haichuan (1789–1879), who claimed to have learned the method of divine boxing from a Daoist, who is sometimes given the name of Dong Menglin. Dong Haichuan used no name, claiming only that he learned from an old man in the mountains. He became a servant or possibly a eunuch in the Imperial Palace and, because of his graceful movements, was one day asked to demonstrate his skill at martial arts. The twisting, turning beauty of baguazhang impressed the emperor, and Dong Haichuan became a bodyguard and instructor to the court. Of his many students, five learned the art fully and formed the schools of baguazhang taught today: Cheng Tinghua, Li Cunyi (Li Tsun-I), Yin Fu, Zhang Zhaodong, and Liang Zhenpu. Many variations of baguazhang are practiced today and, depending on who is counting, there are five to fourteen substyles. The most popular today appear to be Emei, Wudang, Cheng family, Yin family, and Yin Yang.

Many stories are told about Dong Haichuan. The most famous tells how Dong fought Guo Yunshen for three days, with neither being able to win. Impressed with each other's techniques, they began cross-training their students in the two arts. More probable is the story that many masters of both systems lived in this province, and many of them became friends, especially bagua's Cheng Tinghua and xingyiquan's Li Cunyi (Li

Baguazhang is closely associated with Daoist yoga or inner alchemy and other Chinese esoteric traditions. Cultivation of inner energy (qi) and breathing practices are taught along with the fighting techniques. A student of baguazhang practices these moves at the Shen Wu Academy of Martial Arts in Garden Grove, California. (Courtesy of Tim Cartmell)

Tsun-I). The linear drills practiced in some styles of baguazhang are believed to descend from the interaction with xingyi. The style taught by Zhang Junfeng, a student of Cheng Tinghua, for example, teaches eighteen exercises that are fairly linear in nature.

Baguazhang is closely associated with Daoist yoga or inner alchemy and other Chinese esoteric traditions. Cultivation of inner energy (*qi*) and breathing practices are taught along with the fighting techniques. It has been suggested that baguazhang is a descendant of certain Daoist schools that practice moving meditations while walking in a circle. Baguazhang is still practiced as a form of *qigong* (exercise that develops psychophysiological energy) and Daoist yoga as well as a fighting art.

The student in baguazhang begins by learning to walk the circle. In the beginning, the circle is six to twelve feet in diameter. As mastery of the art is obtained, the circle can be as small or large as needed. Initially, the student walks the circle while concentrating on moving correctly and breathing. In the old days, this could continue for as long as three years. When the student is able to move correctly, he is introduced to the single and then double palm changes. After this foundation is learned, the student learns the eight mother palms. This is a long form that consists of eight sets of movements done to both sides, separated by periods of walking the circle in different positions. When observed, the bagua player is seen to go through patterns of fluid movement, fluidly twisting and turning in both high and low stances. Between these periods of activity, he tranquilly circles.

After he attains a certain degree of proficiency, the student is introduced to two-person drills, pole training, and weighted training. Two-person training teaches him how the movements of the form conceal striking, grappling,

and throwing techniques and also how to respond to an opponent. Pole training and weighted training teach power transfer and condition the body. Other techniques are used to train the development and release of applied internal power (*jing*). As the training continues, the student may learn other forms, such as swimming-body baguazhang, as well as weapon techniques. The range of baguazhang forms is great: Thirteen empty-handed forms, five two-person forms, and sets for the standard Chinese weapons exist.

When fighting, the baguazhang practitioner twists and weaves about his opponents, entrapping limbs and striking to vital points. Drills exist to train for multiple enemies that are similar to Hebei xingyi's Nine Palace Boxing, and it is claimed baguazhang allows one to fight eight opponents simultaneously. The elusive and entrapping nature of this style has given rise to the analogy that baguazhang is like a wire ball, where attacks are trapped and twisted around.

When fighting, baguazhang practitioners twist and weave about their opponents, emphasizing the use of the open hand in preference to the closed fist. Two men demonstrate a throw using this distinctive technique at the Shen Wu Academy of Martial Arts in Garden Grove, California. (Courtesy of Tim Cartmell)

While baguazhang uses the standard Chinese arsenal of *jian* (two-edged sword), *dao* (broadsword or cutlass), *qiang* (spear), *gun* (staff), *dao* (long saber), *gou* (hook sword), double knives, and *guai* (crutch), it also has two specialized weapons: a metal ring like a hoop and the lu jiao dao (deer hook sword). This latter weapon, unique to baguazhang styles, looks like two crescents interlocked to create a weapon with points. Used in pairs, the swords are close-quarter weapons designed to trap and destroy the enemy.

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See also Xingyiquan (Hsing I Ch'uan)

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Bandô

See Thaing

Banshay

See Thaing

Bersilat

See Silat

Boxing, Chinese

Chinese boxing is a versatile form of bare-handed fighting, variously combining strikes with the hands, kicks and other leg maneuvers, grappling, holds, and throws. Piecing together the scattered passages in ancient writings, one can reasonably conclude that the origins of Chinese boxing go back as far as the Xia dynasty (twenty-first to sixteenth centuries B.C.), making it one of the oldest elements of Chinese culture still practiced.

Originally called *bo* (striking), it was a skill practiced among China's early ruling classes, when strength and bravery were characteristics admired in leaders. There are even references to some of these leaders grappling with wild beasts. There are also descriptions of individuals skilled in empty-handed techniques against edged weapons. Thus, boxing appears generally to have been considered a life-and-death combat skill that supplemented weapons, although there are indications that it was treated as a sport in some circumstances.

However, about 209 B.C., the first emperor of Qin designated wrestling as the official ceremonial military sport. Then, for the first time, commentaries in the *Han History Bibliographies* (ca. A.D. 90) clearly distinguish between boxing and wrestling. This work lists six chapters (no longer extant) on boxing, *shoubo* (hand striking) as it was then called. Boxing is described under the subcategory "military skills," alongside archery,

fencing, and even a form of football, for "practice in using the hands and feet, facilitating the use of weapons, and organizing to ensure victory in both attack and defense" (Gu 1987, 205). So by the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.), boxing had become a basic military skill to develop strength and agility for use of weapons in hand-to-hand combat by the mass infantry forces of that time.

After the Southern Song capital was established at Hangzhou in 1135, the modern term *quan* (fist) appears and replaces shoubo as the common term for boxing. This seemingly abrupt change may have been based on common usage in the dialect spoken in the new capital. Some support for this view can be found in a later work by Zhu Guozhen (ca. 1621), who notes that boxing was more commonly known as *daquan* in his day (the term introduced during the Song period and still used today), but was called *dashou* (hitting hands) around Suzhou.

One contemporary Song author describes *shiquan* (employing the fists) as different from wrestling but similar to the skills used in the military. He thus infers that there was a popular form of boxing, similar to but not quite the same as that practiced in the military. This statement was probably based on the fact that military boxing was limited to practical, no-frills techniques employed in military formations, primarily to supplement the use of weapons, while the popular forms were likely to have been more individualistic and performance oriented, in the manner Ming general Qi Jiguang (1528–1587) condemned as "flowery."

During the short, oppressive Mongol rule (1206–1368) that followed the Song, Chinese (called *Hanren*) were prohibited from practicing martial arts, but opera scores from the period reveal that boxing was included in military scenes of the operatic repertoire. This dramatic use of boxing undoubtedly encouraged the "flowery" phenomenon General Qi noted.

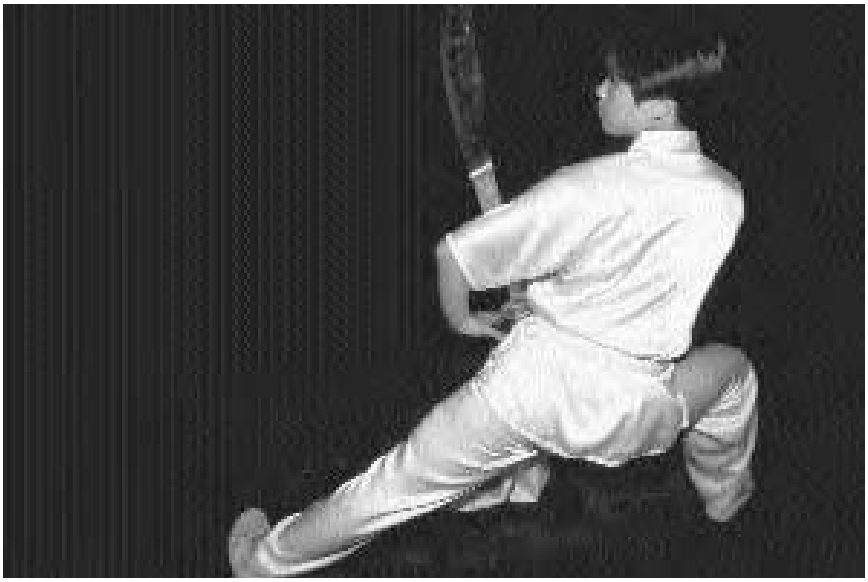
The Ming period (1368–1644) opens the first window in China's long history through which to get an illustrated glimpse of Chinese boxing. The Ming experienced a chronic rash of large-scale Japanese and indigenous marauding and piracy in the southern coastal provinces during the mid-sixteenth century—an environment conducive to the application of traditional military martial arts. The ultimate solution came in the form of a well-led, disciplined volunteer peasant force trained in hand-to-hand combat by General Qi Jiguang and others. The existence of such a force in turn demanded a bottom-up training program supported by standardized, illustrated, easy-to-understand manuals that set an example and contributed greatly to what we now know about the martial arts in general and boxing in particular. General Qi Jiguang's "Boxing Classic," a chapter in his *New Book of Effective Discipline* (ca. 1561), not only provides illustrations of the thirty-two forms Qi selected from the most well-known styles of the

Chinese children in a martial arts class in Beijing, November 1997. (Karen Su/Corbis)

day, but also records the names of sixteen of these styles for posterity. Prior to Ming times, boxing had only been mentioned in generic terms. Writings by several other Ming-period authors further raise the number of known styles to about thirty-six. These writings also offer insights into boxing techniques such as *changquan* (long fist) and *duanda* (short hitting), and they reveal a number of related boxing skills, including *pofa* (breaking), *jiefa* (escaping), *nafa* (seizing), and *diefa* (falling), some of which could be categorized as independent fighting systems, which show a striking similarity to Japanese jûjutsu.

According to the *Ming History* (Zhang 1936), boxing was even included in the official military examinations toward the end of the Wanli era (1573–1620), possibly in recognition of General Qi Jiguang's successes. Qi realized that boxing, in itself, was not particularly useful in battle, but that it was a confidence builder and provided the necessary foundation for effective use of the traditional weapons with which most of his troops were armed.

During this same period, some monks from Shaolin Monastery volunteered individually and in groups to help fight pirates. They were known to have practiced boxing, but no specific style of boxing was named for the monastery. Their main claim to fame lay in their skill with iron staves, and



A martial artist in Beijing practices Chinese boxing, one of the oldest elements of Chinese culture still practiced. (Karen Su/Corbis)

on one occasion their heroic exploits earned them the everlasting reputation of Shaolin Monk Soldiers.

With the Manchu conquest of China in 1644, Chinese boxing became politicized, perhaps to a greater degree than it had ever been before. Among his writings, the pro-Ming historian, Huang Zongxi, included comments on an epitaph dated 1669 (1936, 5a–6b) that appear to have been misinterpreted ever since. In the context of the times, his description of an External School of boxing originating in Buddhist (foreign religion) Shaolin Monastery meeting its match in an Internal School originating on Daoist (indigenous religion) Mount Wudang can be seen as symbolizing Chinese opposition to the Manchus. However, less critical individuals took this piece literally as a serious discourse on Chinese boxing theory, an interpretation that has encouraged a degree of divisiveness in the Chinese martial arts community to this day.

Other anti-Manchu intellectuals and teachers such as Yan Yuan (1635–1704) practiced boxing and other martial arts as part of what they considered to be a well-rounded education. Heterodox religious groups such as the Eight Trigrams and White Lotus sects used martial arts for self-defense and included them in their religious practices. The Heaven and Earth Society, otherwise known as the Triads or Hong League, practiced martial arts, including *Hongquan* (Hong Boxing), and attempted to identify their organization with the fame of Shaolin Monastery. Professional martial artists ran protection agencies and escort bureaus to protect commercial enterprises and the homes of the wealthy, and to ensure the safe transport of valuable items. Finally, there were various protest groups such as the Boxers United in Righteousness, whose antiforeign movement in

A modern picture of a Buddhist monastery on Mount Wudang. (Courtesy of Paul Brians)

1900 brought the retaliation of an eight-nation expeditionary force comprising British, French, Italian, Russian, German, Japanese, Austro-Hungarian, and American troops.

The boxer's fists and talismans proved no match for bullets as China entered the twentieth century. Under the Manchu Qing dynasty they were a symbol of China's backwardness, but after the Revolution of 1911, the traditional martial arts became a symbol of nationalism when they were introduced into the public school system as a uniquely Chinese form of physical fitness.

One survey conducted in 1919 identified 110 different boxing styles being practiced throughout the country (73 in the Yellow River region of north China, 30 in the Yangze River region, and 7 in the Pearl River area). Many professional martial artists opened their own *guoshuguan* (training schools), and some became associated with a government-sponsored Central Martial Arts Institute that was established in the Nationalist capital of Nanjing in 1927. The institute was originally organized into Wudang (internal—including only taijiquan, baguazhang, and xingyiquan) and Shaolin (external—comprising all other styles) branches according to the Chinese view of their two major boxing schools. Using boxing as its foundation, the institute produced martial arts instructors for public service. Prior to the anti-Japanese War of Resistance (1937–1945), nationwide form and contact competitions were held, with mixed results.

The Nationalists abandoned the program when they retreated to Taiwan in 1949, but the Communists built upon its foundation. Under the Physical Culture and Sports Commission, they integrated traditional martial arts into their physical education programs and developed standardized routines of *changquan* (long boxing), *nanquan* (southern boxing), taijiquan, and weapons routines for nationwide practice and competition.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), aspects of the traditional martial arts, such as teacher-disciple relationships, were severely criticized, and many old, valuable documents were destroyed in what could be termed a decade of blind ignorance. Since the Cultural Revolution, especially after 1979, there has been a revival of the program, although interest in state-sponsored activities has dwindled.

Meanwhile, there has been recognition of the fact that the earlier emphasis on standardized routines has resulted in neglect and loss of some as-

pects of the traditional arts, particularly in the practical application of fighting techniques. But Chinese boxing and the martial arts in general have already begun to take on a new life outside China.

The world is beginning to realize that the term *kung fu* or *gongfu* really means "skill" in Chinese, not "boxing," and that Chinese boxing has a long and colorful history, deeply rooted in Chinese society and culture for many centuries before the founding of Shaolin Monastery (ca. A.D. 425).

Stanley E. Henning

See also Animal and Imitative Systems in Chinese Martial Arts; Baguazhang (Pa Kua Ch'uan); Boxing, Chinese Shaolin Styles; Taijiquan (Tai Chi Ch'uan); Xingyiquan (Hsing I Ch'uan)

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Boxing, Chinese Shaolin Styles

Chinese boxing systems have commonly been understood in terms of dichotomies: hard versus soft, external versus internal, northern versus southern, Wudang versus Shaolin. Using these folk categories, the "Shaolin tradition" has been understood as covering those systems that are hard and external as distinct from soft and internal. The Shaolin arts may be further subdivided into northern and southern styles.

The distinction between northern and southern boxing reflects traditional beliefs in China that the martial systems that developed in the north (using the Chang River [also known as the Yangtze] as a point of demarcation) emphasize kicks and long-distance attacks, while southern systems rely on hand techniques and short-range combat. The source of both styles

of fighting was believed to be the Buddhist Shaolin Temple. Although these traditional assumptions have been questioned recently, the power of this tradition and the related tradition of a dichotomy between internal (Daoist) and external (Buddhist) arts is demonstrated by the adoption of a variation of the traditional categories of *Wudang* (internal, *taijiquan, baguazhang,* and *xingyiquan*) and *Shaolin* (external, all other styles) for the two major branches of their Chinese boxing schools by the Nationalist government–sponsored Central Martial Arts Institute in 1927. In the 1950s, following the Nationalists' lead, the Communists' Physical Culture and Sports Commission integrated traditional martial arts into their physical education programs and developed standardized practice and competitive routines for boxing labeled as *changquan* ("long boxing"), *nanquan* ("southern boxing"), and *taijiquan* (the only one of the internal systems so enfranchised). The distinction of northern (legs) versus southern (hands) that is used as a traditional designation between the "external" (or Shaolin) arts is actually derived from a very ancient aphorism that alludes to what have been regarded as the main practices of each specific method. These differences are attributed to geographic conditions that were believed to play a role in the development of both northern fist arts, or *beiquan shu,* and southern fist arts, or *nanquan shu.*

According to this traditional theory, the people who lived in the north occupied an environment that was physically and socially different from southern China. The area in which they lived was characterized by wide-open expanses. Land transportation required skilled horsemanship. Moreover, since the cultural centers of China from approximately 2200 B.C. were located in the north, the population had greater access to education than did inhabitants of southern China. To a degree at least, the quality of a man's education was to be seen in the quality of his calligraphy. These facts provide the raw material for the traditional theory of the north-south distinction.

The martial arts popularized in the north were called by many names, among them *changquan* (long fist) and Northern Shaolin. "Long fist" is a double entendre: The forms themselves were quite long, but more than that, the movements were elongated, with many acrobatic movements, particularly kicks, in them. These characteristics are believed to be due in part to the geographic area in which practitioners lived. The living conditions made their legs quite strong, and they capitalized on that through the development and use of all manner of punishing kicks. Combat on an open, stable surface encouraged the development of wide stances and high leaps and kicks. The desire to protect the hands also influenced the fighting styles. An injured hand impairs the ability to write well.

In contrast, the people south of the Chang River were relegated to very cramped living conditions. In this area of rice paddies, coastal shal-

A 74-year-old Buddhist monk practices boxing exercises at a Shaolin monastery near Zengzhou, Henan, China, 1981. (Lowell Georgia/ Corbis)

lows, and urbanized settings, many worked the waters in trade, commerce, and fishing. In fact, a portion of the inhabitants spent most of their lives on the boats that sailed the coasts and inland waterways. The primary demands for physical labor were placed on the muscle groups of the upper body. As another contrast, the distance from the cultural centers of the north meant in many cases that a southerner's education was gained at home, and the vast majority of them were functional illiterates who relied on professional readers to read official decrees and personal letters and to write for them when the need arose. The factors of relatively greater upper body strength and the decreased need for fine-motor skill utilizing finger dexterity led to a reliance on punching as opposed to kicking techniques.

The "short-hitting" styles of the south were marked by constricted, inclose movements, ones that could be employed in tight alleyways, on the decks of boats, and in other cramped quarters. The southern fighting styles also developed, for the most part, shorter forms, although a given southern system (e.g., *Hung Gar* [pinyin *hongjiaquan*] and *Choy Lay Fut* [pinyin *cailifoquan*]) could contain a greater number of forms in its curriculum than some northern systems.

One might also surmise that the restrictions placed upon people due to the restrictions of various articles of clothing would play a role in defensive techniques as well. The cold climate of the north and the clothing adapted to such an environment would no doubt hinder the use of hand techniques, but to a lesser extent the use of the legs. The south was more subtropical, and the clothing appropriate for that environment allowed the unencumbered development of the upper-body techniques suitable for the social conditions previously described. Various weapons also saw their use dictated by their geographic location. In the north one would have the luxury of being able to use a long pole arm, such as a spear or long sword, and

so those skills were more deeply researched and trained. In the south, where it was much more crowded and urbanized, the weapons that would find the most use were shorter. These included cleavers and similar chopping weapons, knives, short rods, and short swords.

The credit for the origin of both types of boxing is attributed to the Shaolin Temples and to necessity. Law enforcement during the formative period of Chinese boxing was often the province of important people with hired police forces and private standing armies. Commonly, villages were responsible for their own defenses against marauding bands of thieves, slavers, and other brigands who survived on what they could steal, whom they could sell off, and the services gained from those whom they could enslave. Other social services, particularly educational, were absent as well.

In this regard, similarities exist between European and Chinese feudal societies. In Europe during the Middle Ages, one of the only ways a person of low birth could gain an education was through the Roman Catholic Church. In medieval Europe, it was possible for a community to send the brightest of their progeny to one of the monasteries that dotted the landscape to learn Latin (the lingua franca of the era), mathematics, and rudimentary medical skills. After completing this education, the student returned home and used the knowledge to benefit the town from which he came. Also, a percentage of the monks who lived in the monasteries of that time were not merely men who had a calling from their God, but who were fugitives from the law, as well. In some cases, sanctuary from prosecution was their primary motivation. For example, those who had gained the disfavor of the nobility or had been in the ranks of a losing army might find a refuge by joining an order. Therefore, among the members of an order were former fighting men who had renounced their family ties and taken on different names. Records of thirteenth-century German monks practicing sword and buckler (small, round shield) combat as a martial sport, along with claims that knights were intimidated by the wrestling skills of medieval monks, demonstrate the availability and efficacy of fighting skills within monastery walls.

Similarly, in China Buddhist temples not only concerned themselves with the promulgation and study of Buddhism, but also served as sources of education in literacy, mathematics, and martial skills. The medical profession was also intertwined with the martial traditions. Soldiers had wounds that needed tending, training practices resulted in various injuries from blunt trauma and from weapons practice, and the monks had only themselves to rely on. Tradition maintains that the birth of acupuncture stemmed from soldiers who, upon receiving arrow wounds that were not fatal, found themselves cured or relieved of certain non-combat-related illnesses, pains, or other injuries.

Grand Master Rich Mooney demonstrates various defensive moves from Southern Shaolin Tiger Crane Fist, 2001. (Courtesy of Rich Mooney, Dragon Society International)

The temples were impromptu banks as well as storehouses for harvested grains. Because of this, the temples were also targets of brigands; therefore, they had to have a standing army of their own to defend themselves from outside attacks.

When novitiates entered monastic life, they not only gave up their allegiance to their natural family; they also gave up their life on the outside and their allegiance to secular rulers. Those who became monks out of desperation found a new life, and those who became monks because of outside necessity kept their heads firmly attached to their shoulders. Over a period of centuries they collected various techniques that had helped the former soldiers stay alive on the battlefield, and this accumulation of knowledge gave rise to introspective researching aimed at finding the best fighting methods. These methods were then codified, and this codification, in turn, gave rise to many systems of self-defense and martial science.

The monasteries in the West did not maintain the study of the arts of war in the same fashion as those in the East, although religious military orders such as the Knights Templar attest to the strong links between the martial and the religious, at least in the European medieval period. Some attribute the eventual neglect of the martial arts in European monastic tradition to the development of military technology, namely the development of firearms and artillery. Social factors were of course major factors, as well. In the East, however, warfare continued to be associated with the monastic life. In China, the most famous and well known of these temples came to be known as "Shaolin." Tradition maintains that there were actually five of these tem-

Grand Master Rich Mooney demonstrates various defensive moves from Southern Shaolin Tiger Crane Fist, 2001. (Courtesy of Rich Mooney, Dragon Society International)

ples over a period of many hundreds of years. One of these temples, located in Henan province, in northern China, has been restored.

According to tradition, in the Henan temple there was a cadre of religious monks and also a cadre of fighting monks. The sole duty of the fighting monks was to train and to ensure the safety of the temple in the event of attack. The wealth of martial arts skills became systematized, and various curricula were developed under the guidance of the warrior monks. Moreover, many of the religious monks also gained an interest in personal self-defense. When their duties took them outside the temple walls, they were easy targets because of a prohibition against carrying weapons. Therefore, they had to rely on the various skills that they could develop within the monastery. Tradition states that in time these monks became known for their fighting prowess, and also for the marks that were branded into their arms, the famed Dragon and Tiger of Shaolin.

The mere exposure of these marks to an attacker was reputed to end confrontations on the spot. It has been surmised that in the villages they visited, not only did they expound the path of the Buddha to those who had an interest, but they also instructed locals in boxing and the use of weapons.

Written history notes the prowess of the monks in an antipirate campaign in the sixteenth century, and the written record agrees with the legends of Shaolin staff techniques. Thus, it is correct to assume that the Shaolin Temple was a repository of fighting knowledge. It is incorrect,

however, to assume that the development of martial arts was a primary function of the Shaolin Temple, and that all fighting arts of China may be traced back to the Shaolin arts. In fact, at this time, the People's Republic of China recognizes only two forms as being authentic Shaolin fist methods: the *Xiao Hing Quan* (little red fist) and the *Da Hong Quan* (big red fist). In contemporary usage, the appellation "Shaolin" functions primarily to establish credibility for the lineage and therefore the efficacy of a given style.

Other arts that did not claim to originate in the temple were no less effective or devastating. In fact, other arts, especially the "internal arts," such as *xingyiquan, baguazhang, liu ho ba fa,* and *taijiquan,* are regarded as being diametrically opposed to the Shaolin arts. These arts make up the "internal" martial arts, while the arts of Shaolin are thought of as "external" martial disciplines. The internal methods primarily seek to cultivate the esoteric inner strength known as qi. The external methods have traditionally been seen as relying mostly on building up muscle and bone strength. On the other hand, the famous five animals of Shaolin—the Dragon, Tiger, Crane, Snake, and Leopard—were said to develop not only physical but mental attributes. The Dragon forms were practiced to develop an indomitable spirit, the Tiger to develop bone strength, the Crane to develop the tendons, or sinews, the Snake to develop the qi, and the Leopard to develop speed. The origins of both the internal and external styles are similarly the subject of traditional narrative, which is subject to distortion. In fact, Stanley Henning claims that both the origin legends (of the external styles in Shaolin and the internal arts at a site on Wudang Mountain) are derived from a single political allegory.

In time, and based upon the geographic location of the various temples, tradition maintains the styles were modified to suit their respective environments. As noted earlier, the stylists of the north became extremely skilled in kicking techniques, and those in the south devoted themselves to striking techniques. The major feature of northern styles of Chinese boxing is that the techniques avail themselves of greater acrobatic methods and a wider variety of kicking techniques. These types of movements can be found in styles such as *Mi Zhong Lo Han* (Lost Track Lohan [Buddhist disciple]), *Tanglangquan* (Praying Mantis Boxing), and *Bei Ying Jow Pai* (Northern Eagle Claw; pinyin *Bei Yingzhaoquan*). The major features of the southern methods are the lower stances and a greater emphasis on punching techniques and close-range methods, including *qinna* (grasp and seize) and *dianxue* (spot hitting), in Cantonese called *dim mak* (death touch). This emphasis can be seen in such arts as *Nan Shaolin Hu Hao Quan* (Southern Shaolin Tiger Crane Fist); *yongchun,* better known by the Cantonese term w*ing chun* (Eternal Spring); various *Hequan* (Crane Boxing) styles; and Choy Lay Fut Boxing (pinyin Cailifoquan). The Southern

Shaolin arts have quite a diversity of short-range weapons, but also train in long-pole weapons, though not to a greater extent.

The Northern Shaolin Temple is now a tourist attraction in Henan province, China. The Southern Shaolin Temple was located in what is now Putian County in the Fujian province, and went by the name Lingquanyuan Temple. The other temples that called themselves Shaolin were in Wudang, Guangdong, and Er Mei (also spelled Emei), each with its own unique brand and flavor of martial art culture and discipline. Yang Jwing-Ming and Jeffery Bolt in their traditionally based brief history of the Shaolin systems set the number at ten.

At certain times in the history of China, various emperors called upon the monks to defend the state against foreign incursion. One spectacular event is a well-chronicled one, in which a group of monks went to the aid of the Tang emperor Li Shimin (A.D. 600–649), also known as Emperor Taizong. Although the narratives of Li Shimin have been submitted to the distortions of oral tradition and popular vernacular literature (telling of intervention by celestial dragons, for example), the traditions surrounding his reign chronicle events in which thirteen monks helped to save his life. He tried to reward them with official court posts, probably in an effort to keep them under his surveillance and control. They decided to refuse the honor, but the emperor authorized them to build a force of warrior monks in case their services were needed again.

According to the legends of the Hong League (better known as the Triad Society) summarized by Fei-ling Davis in *Primitive Revolutionaries of China,* in the late seventeenth century (around 1674) the Shaolin monks of Fujian Monastery were called upon by the Qing emperor Kangxi (1664–1722) to defend against invading tribes of Eleuths. According to some sources, a former Ming patriot named Cheng Wan Tat led the monks. They were successful in their mission, and again they were offered high court postings, which they politely refused. This was a major mistake, for the emperor's ears were filled with the idea that such a group, so small yet so powerful, must pose a threat to national security. As a result, the emperor ordered the Shaolin Temples razed and all in them slaughtered.

Luckily efforts to exterminate the monks were unsuccessful. According to legend, five survived, which hardly seems a large enough number to have perpetuated the Shaolin arts, but this aspect of the story is far more credible than the magical yellow clouds, grass sandals turning into boats, and wooden swords sprouting from the ground that permitted the successful flight (Davis 1977, 62–64).

The vested interest of the anti-Qing/pro-Ming secret societies in Shaolin traditions becomes apparent in the narrative of the subsequent exploits of the Five Ancestors (as the fugitives came to be called). Many of the

monks went underground and formed patriotic societies determined to overthrow the unjust regime that had almost wiped them out. In support of this tradition, many commentators (e.g., Yang and Bolt) argue that the traditional Shaolin salute, the right fist covered by the left palm, originated as a secret society symbol. The Chinese character for the Ming dynasty is composed of the symbols for sun and moon, which together mean "bright." The positions of the hands in that salute formation fairly closely resemble that pictograph. By the use of that salute, people came to know each other as supporters of the same cause, to restore the Ming and overthrow the Qing. Many of the refugee monks went to work at a variety of occupations, such as opera, which always featured martial scenes. Many opera companies would ply the waters and travel in their trademark red boats.

In time, tradition maintains, these boats played two important roles in the history of the external Shaolin arts. They served as crucibles for blending the combat arts of north and south, and the plays that were acted out came to embody subtle messages for resistance members about meeting places and anti-Qing activities. The oral traditions of many external systems, which look to Shaolin as their point of origin, maintain a link between Shaolin anti-Qing sentiments, martial arts, and elements of popular culture. The Lion Dance, for example, is performed at auspicious events, such as the openings of new businesses, and New Year festivals. At the end of a Lion Dance the lion goes up a pole to catch a head of lettuce to eat. The expression used to describe this feat is "cai quing" (Cantonese "choi qing"), which literally means "Get the green." It also derides the Qing dynasty, since the term "qing" is a homonym for the word "green" but could also be taken to mean "Get the Qing dynasty." Lucky money in a red envelope was given to the lion dancers, and it may be surmised that these funds were used to support various rebel causes that were popular at the time.

The transmission of fighting arts also took place along trade routes that crisscrossed China, including the Silk Road, which led all the way to the outer reaches of the Roman Empire. There is no doubt that practitioners of both northern and southern styles, internal and external systems, met as members of caravan guards assigned to take loads of merchandise to their destinations. Exchanges of information for both armed and unarmed techniques ensued, for the length of one's life often came down to the combat skills developed in as many areas as possible. A good northern stylist learned to use fists as effectively as feet. A good southern stylist learned that one had to be an effective kicker as well as excelling at close-quarter conflict. The same held true for the use of weapons, and in this context all manner of them flourished, including maces, clubs, whips of leather and chain, darts, dirks, daggers, swords, and pole arms.

Time went on, but the Ming dynasty was never restored. However,

there continued to be an association between secret societies, radical religion, and the martial arts. The results of this materialized in the activities of the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" at the turn of the twentieth century, which culminated in the Boxer Rebellion (1900). In 1911, the Triads played a role in the overthrow of the Qing in the Republican Revolution. Afterwards, however, the once patriotic groups became less and less beneficent, and became more concerned with criminal activity, slavery, drug running, and other socially detrimental activities. Throughout the history of these groups, martial arts had had a greater ritual than practical significance in their activities. As with the boxing systems mentioned earlier, a Shaolin association served a need for validating and legitimizing and was not necessarily a genuine point of origin.

The Shaolin hard-fist styles played an influential role in the development of martial arts outside China as well. Trade and diplomacy allowed for the dissemination of the Shaolin external tradition throughout East and Southeast Asia. Okinawan and Japanese martial arts can serve as examples. After the Battle of Sekigahara (A.D. 1600), the Shimazu clan, despite opposition to shôgun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), was allowed to remain in charge of Satsuma on the island of Kyushu. Further, in 1609 the Shimazu were given the shogunate's permission to launch an invasion of Okinawa. Some have suggested that the invasion was allowed in order to dissipate Shimazu energies in directions other than the Tokugawa shogunate. Ruling the islands from their base on Satsuma and through the Ryûkyûan monarchy, the Shimazu forbade the practice of native martial arts. Also, most weapons were confiscated under a weapons edict, originally passed by Okinawan ruler Shô Shin (who was in power from 1477 to 1526), forbidding the wearing of the swords and the stockpiling of arms, and eventually banning the import of bladed weapons in 1699.

The Okinawans, however, had developed a long-term relationship with the Chinese, particularly with the Fujian province, and tradition holds that during this period some of their best fighters traveled to China to learn martial arts and thus build upon an exchange initiated in 1393 with the settlement of the "thirty-six families" who emigrated from China to Kuninda (Kume village) in the district of Naha. One art in particular, *Sukunai Hayashi Tomari Te* (Shaolin Small Pine Tomari [a village in Okinawa] Hand), manifests the influence of Chinese Crane styles. Contemporary systems maintain the Chinese influence. For example, *Uechi-ryû,* the *ryûha* (style) founded by Uechi Kanbun, was based on the Pangai Noon (pinyin banyingruan, hard-soft) of Zhou Zihe (Chu Chi Wo; Okinawan Shu Shi Wa), a Fujianese teacher suspected of having ties to the Ming secret societies that are alleged to have played a central role in the history of the external Shaolin styles.

Also, during the Ming dynasty, a monk by the name of Chen Yuanpin

(Gempin in Japanese) was sent to the court of the Japanese emperor, ostensibly to teach pottery. It was also surmised that the monk fled to Japan after arousing the ire of an official at the Chinese court. After a time, Chen befriended a few samurai who lived in the area where he was staying. He taught these three samurai "methods of catching a man." Those methods are also known as qinna (or ch'in na in the Wade-Giles method of romanization). Qinna means "to grasp and seize," and elements of the art of grasping and seizing are a facet of many Chinese martial arts. The methods Chen taught to these samurai were to later take on a life of their own and were collectively christened Kito-ryû, a form of jûjutsu.

Other similarities are also to be seen in Okinawan kenpô in the practice of methods called *kyûsho* and *tuite*. Kyûsho is essentially the striking of vital points, much in the same way as it is practiced as dianxue, better known by the Cantonese name dim mak. Tuite is virtually the same art as qinna. Qinna and dianxue are usually performed together. When applying a joint lock, one also attacks pressure points, with the goal of weakening an opponent's ability to fight, controlling movement through limiting the range of motion, and sapping the will to fight through inflicting pain in sensitive areas. Kyûsho and tuite methods were popularized in the 1990s through the efforts of men like Grand Masters Rick Moneymaker and Tom Muncy of the Dragon Society International. Therefore, although an art may utilize Japanese *gi* (uniforms) and Japanese terms, the history of the method may well reveal a Chinese connection.

The role of Shaolin Boxing was reoriented when the Communists came to power in 1949. The government of the People's Republic undertook many reforms. One area toward which reform was directed concerned plans for improving the health of the citizens. Famine, plagues, and war had sapped the vitality of many of the people who had survived from the first Japanese incursion in the 1930s to the time when Chiang Kai Shek (pinyin Jiang Jieshi) and thousands of others fled to Taiwan. A group of martial artists and government officials came upon the idea of popularizing the practice of taijiquan.

The goal was to create a healthy populace without encouraging sophisticated martial abilities. The relationships between the Triads, martial arts, and antigovernment activity remained in the memory of the bureaucrats as well. Mao Zedong's first writings were replete with exhortations to empower the mind and make savage the body, but efforts were made to make the practice of martial arts benefit the party in its quest for total domination of the people. Later, the Red Guard took this to heart during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution, from 1966 through 1976, when the practice of the ancient ways was forbidden as being antiquated and superstitious.

In order to accomplish the goals of a healthy populace and to create a

new orientation for martial arts suitable to the new Communist China, a two-faceted program came into being: a standardized form of taijiquan and the concept of *wushu*. Taiji was promoted as a few simple and standardized routines, the Yang twenty-four-section form, and the five-section form. All instruction was geared toward improving and maintaining health, and practical application was discouraged. *Wushu* originally meant "martial," or "military," arts, and as such this is the proper term for those systems designated kung fu in contemporary popular culture. In the postmodern sense of the Communist Party, however, the term designated acrobatic martial gymnastics.

This program gave the people what they wanted, but only in a form modified by the Communist Party. Many of the wushu forms seen today are replete with high leaping kicks and fast and furious punches. There are also flips, somersaults, and other acrobatic maneuvers best performed by the young. Weapons forms have been developed as well, but only using what are called thunder blades, very light and very thin blades that fold and bend and make a loud noise, but that are far easier to handle than real combat-quality weapons. Wushu has its merits as a sport and art form, but the current system is not a traditional combat art.

There was a push in the last few years of the 1990s to promote what is called *san da* (loose hit) or *san shou* (loose hand). These are martial sports reminiscent of kickboxing, which allow various throws, locks, and sweeping techniques. The bouts have been compared to the earlier *Lei Tai* form of contest in which combatants, sans protective gear, would fight on a raised platform to see who had the better skills. A contestant tossed off the platform would be declared the loser. The no-holds-barred spectacles popularized in North and South America, Europe, and Japan during the 1990s undoubtedly gave impetus to san shou.

The state-sanctioned forms of boxing developed within the People's Republic of China may have eclipsed the traditional fighting arts, but they did not eradicate them. Even outside the mainland, practice of the traditional external (and internal) arts survives with refugees who fled after the Communist victory of 1949 to Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, the United States, Canada, Europe, and particularly Taiwan. Many external arts, in fact, have enjoyed a renaissance in new settings. Yongchun (more commonly known as wing chun), for example, can easily be found in most big cities in Europe and America, due probably to popularization by the late Hong Kong film actor Bruce Lee. The motion pictures of Jackie Chan (trained in Hong Kong opera), wushu great Pan Qingfu, wushu-trained actor Jet Li, and others from the 1990s through the turn of the twenty-first century have continued to popularize hard-style boxing and perpetuate the legendary connection of the Shaolin Temple to these styles.

Richard M. Mooney

See also Animal and Imitative Systems in Chinese Martial Arts; Baguazhang (Pa Kua Ch'uan); Boxing, Chinese; External vs. Internal Chinese Martial Arts; Karate, Okinawan; Kung Fu/Gung Fu/Gongfu; Political Conflict and the Martial Arts; Taijiquan (Tai Chi Ch'uan); Xingyiquan (Hsing I Ch'uan); Yongchun/Wing Chun

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Boxing, European

Boxing is an ancient martial art combining hand strikes, controlled aggression, evasiveness, and bone-crushing force. The term *boxing* derives from the box shape of the closed hand, or fist, which in Latin is *pugnus* (hence the alternative terms *pugilism* and *fisticuffs*). *Pungent,* sharing the Indo-European root, describes the art rightly executed: "sharply painful, having a stiff or sharp point; marked by sharp incisive quality; caustic; being sharp

and to the point." *Pugnus* derives from the Greek *pugme,* meaning "fist." Though boxing is mentioned in the ancient Hindu epic the *Mahabharata,* the origins of the art traditionally have been traced to ancient Greece. Both Homer and Virgil poeticize the art in their epics, and designs on ancient Greek pottery feature boxers in action. In Greek mythology, the divine boxer Pollux (also called Polydeuces), twin of Castor (with whom he presided over public games such as the Olympics), was said to have sparred with Hercules.

Ancient Greek and Roman pugilists developed the art of using the fists to pummel their opponents while wearing leather thongs and binders, known as *himantes* and *sphairai,* wrapped around the hands and wrists. The Greeks also used the *amphotidus,* a protective helmet; Egyptian boxers are depicted wearing similar headgear. Originally used to protect the wrists and fragile bones in the hands, the leather thongs (also known as cesti) were twisted so as to inflict greater injury. By the fourth century B.C., the thongs were replaced with hardened leather gloves. The first famous Greek boxer, Theagenes of Thaos, champion of the 450 B.C. Olympics, is said to have won 1,406 battles with the cesti, killing most of his opponents. In Roman times, the cestus was studded with metal, and the art was reduced to a gladiatorial spectacle.

The art of boxing in combat disappeared with the advent of heavy armor. Upon the introduction of the firearm—and the resulting obsolescence of armor—the "noble science of self-defense" was reborn. James Figg, an eighteenth-century British cudgel-fighter, swordsman, and the first modern boxing champion, was the central figure in this renaissance. When he opened his boxing school in London in 1719, the art of boxing had been dormant for over a thousand years—since the fall of the Roman Empire. Figg taught young aristocrats the art of self-defense by applying the precepts of modern fencing—footwork, speed, and the straight lunge—to fisticuffs. Thus, Western fistfighters learned to throw straight punches, the basis of modern boxing, from fencers. To some extent boxing replaced the duel, allowing men of all social classes to defend themselves and their honor without severely maiming or killing each other.

Despite this connection with fencing, boxing encounters during this early modern era were largely unstructured and highly uncivilized. Boxers fought bare-knuckle (without gloves), and wrestling, choking, throwing, gouging, and purring (stomping on one's opponent with spiked boots) were commonplace. The art began to be refined when Figg's successor, Jack Broughton (the "Father of Boxing"), drafted the first set of rules in 1741 after killing an opponent in the ring. According to "Broughton's Rules," a square was established in the center of the fighting ring (a circular border of spectators) to which fighters were to return after a knockdown, which

marked the end of a "round." The down man was given thirty seconds to get back up; it was illegal to hit a down man, and wrestling below the waist was not allowed. Broughton also advocated the use of gloves in training. As an innovator of technique, he is known for "milling on the retreat," or blocking while moving back in order to draw an attacker into one's punches, compounding their force. By the end of the century Daniel Mendoza, a British-Portuguese Jew, refined the art by incorporating footwork, choreographed combinations, lateral movement, and fighting from a crouch. At 5 feet, 7 inches, and scarcely over 160 pounds, Mendoza's unique strategies enabled him to defeat much larger men and lay claim to the championship of England.

"Broughton's Rules" remained in effect until the Pugilists Protective Association, in an attempt to make boxing safer, issued the "London Prize Ring Rules" in 1838 after another death in the ring. Further revisions of these rules in 1853 and 1866 (by which time boxing was actively outlawed) banned choking and head butting, but still did not limit the number or length of rounds. In the interest of safety and fairness, weight classes were first introduced in the 1850s: heavy (over 156 pounds), middle (134–156 pounds), and light (under 134 pounds).

In 1866, a new set of rules was issued that completely revolutionized the art of boxing and that serves as the basis for the governance of the sport today. The "Queensbury Rules," named for the marquis of Queensbury, consisted of twelve clauses, prohibiting wrestling altogether and mandating a 24-square-foot ring, three-minute rounds with a one-minute rest period after each round, and the use of gloves. Subsequent revisions limited the number of rounds to twenty, set the minimum glove weight at six ounces, and introduced a scoring system of points.

The manifestation of the art of boxing in sport and spectacle has become a significant source of revenue and a nexus for social commentary. The martial art of boxing reaches its highest level in the professional athletes who perform in the prize ring. Boxing continues to be a primary self-defense technique employed by several military institutions and by law enforcement agencies such as the FBI. Boxing instruction remains widely disseminated at urban youth centers run by the Police Athletic League and YMCA. Bruce Lee's Jeet Kune Do and Israeli krav maga borrow heavily from boxing's arsenal. Boxing is also the striking art of choice of many martial artists, such as shootfighters (modern, professional no-holds-barred competitors) and grapplers, determined to augment their primary nonstriking skills.

The philosophy of boxing is simple: "Hit and don't get hit." Despite the simplicity of this premise, over the centuries the art has been developed to such a degree that it is often referred to as a science—"the sweet science." Boxing is both an art and a science, as boxers learn strategic moves

and techniques, undergo expert coaching and training (Broughton referred to his boxing lessons as "lectures"), practice in specialized facilities with special equipment, and follow a special diet. Boxing is often likened to a chess game because boxers think several steps ahead. Boxers employ feints and gambits, sometimes allowing themselves to be hit in order to deliver a knockout blow, as chess players sacrifice a piece in order to reach checkmate or gain a positional advantage.

Though physical conditioning is essential, the most important element of boxing is mental and psychological: the capacity to relax, think clearly, and control oneself during a fight. Boxers are aware that their fights are often under way before the occurrence of any physical contact, and they are studied in psychological warfare and body language. They attempt to gain advantages by forcing their opponents to break eye contact or by feigning fear. Many boxers train their faces to be blank while shadowboxing in the mirror so that they do not convey (or telegraph) their punches with their facial expression and eyes.

Initiate boxers spend as long as their first year learning to "work the floor" before engaging in their first sparring session. Learning to move—even to stand—properly as a boxer is learning to walk all over again. The boxer stands relaxed on his toes in a crouch, slightly bent forward at the waist, left side forward at an angle, hands held up to throw punches and protect the face, elbows close in to the ribs to protect the body. The chin is dropped to the chest so that the line of vision is directed out and slightly up from beneath the eyebrows with the shoulders rounded to protect the chin.

The boxer moves forward with small steps by pushing off the back leg, which he "sits" on. To move backward, he reverses the process. Boxers stand on their toes in order to move nimbly and maintain balance. Boxers are trained to move in a continual circle to the left (when facing a right-handed opponent) and to keep the left foot outside the opponent's right foot (so as to have more target area while giving up less). Boxers train for hours, moving from side to side and in circles, forward and back, learning to punch with leverage while moving in any direction. The boxer learns to use his body as a gravitational lever; the boxer's force comes from the ground. The boxer's feet are also his most important defensive tools, maneuvering him out of harm's way.

The boxer's hands are the projectiles, and the boxer's punches are the tools that launch them. Boxers land their punches with three knuckles simultaneously—those of the middle, ring, and little fingers. The knuckle of the ring finger—the middle of the three—is the "aiming" knuckle. The boxer's own nose is the "target finder" or "sight" through which the fists are fired. Punches in boxing are thrown from the shoulders. Power is derived not so much from the muscles as from the joints and ligaments.

If there is one punch that defines boxing, it is the jab, a straight punch thrown from the shoulder with a short step forward. This lunge makes it possible to fight from a distance beyond even the range of kicks. The jab snaps forward from a blocking position; upon striking, the fist snaps back in direct line, retracing its path. Beginners traditionally practice only the jab from four to six months before learning the other punches. This is intended to raise the level of the weaker side of the body to that of the stronger. Thus the jab is the boxer's first lesson in self-control, and the primary indicator or measuring device of skill level in the art. The jab is also an external measuring tool, in the sense that it has been called a range finder, or means of determining and establishing the distance between the boxer and the opponent. It is used to keep the opponent at bay, to spark combinations, and to set up the KO (knockout) punch (the classic instance of which is the "one-two punch," left jab, straight right).

The straight right is thrown from the chest with a forward step from the right leg, and counterclockwise rotation of the fist, with the full twisting force of the hips. The left hook, apocryphally said to be the last punch to be developed in boxing, has an aura of mystery. It is delivered from the side with a bent elbow, palm down. Boxers are often taught to end every combination with a left hook. In order to throw the uppercut, the boxer bends his knees and explodes from floor to ceiling, palm facing the puncher. The blow is designed to land under the chin, brow, nose, or ribs. The overhand right and roundhouse punches tend to be used more often in Western films, barrooms, back alleys, and hockey games than in boxing rings, because they travel in wide, long, swooping arcs and are thus easier for a trained boxer to see and avoid. When a boxer can "get off" these punches outside the opponent's line of vision, however, they are highly effective.

Since the boxer's goal is to "stop" his opponent, the vulnerable organs and bones are primary targets. When boxers aim for the solar plexus, liver, kidneys, and ribs, though the targets change, the punches do not; boxers simply bend at the knees and throw the jabs, hooks, straight rights, and uppercuts to the body. Straight rights and lefts to the body are also thrown with the elbow, hip, and fist moving together in a plane with the palm facing up.

The so-called illegal tactics of boxing are not only integral to the martial art, they have always been a part of the sport. In addition to low blows and holding and hitting, which are commonly practiced in the ring and occasionally penalized, many techniques other than hitting with the knuckles above the waist are used. Rabbit punches are short, chopping blows thumped to the back of an opponent's neck, usually while in a clinch. These punches are outlawed in the ring because the back of the neck, vertebrae, base of the brain, and the nerves located there are particularly vulnerable. Boxers routinely try to trip each other and throw each other to the ground.

Korean boxer Joe Teiken gets advice from his manager Frank Tabor during a fight in California, 1933. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

Wrestling, hip throws, armlocks (and arm-breaking submission holds), chokes, and to some extent biting are all part of the arsenal. Elbow and forearm blows are often used in combination. Gouging is also prevalent; the boxer simply extends his thumb while jabbing to catch the opponent's eye. The boxer's "third fist" is the head. The upper part of the cranium is used offensively to butt as well as defensively to break a punching opponent's hand or wrist. Boxers also attack with the fleshy part of the fist (knife-hand edge) and palm-heel strike. Though boxing is officially an empty-handed art, boxers have been known to load their gloves with anything from plaster of Paris to lead dust (recall the studded cestus), or to clench their fists around a solid object, such as a roll of quarters, making their punches much more damaging.

Boxing may be distinguished from many other martial arts by the

practicality and intensity with which training in the art is undertaken. Such training takes place outside the gym in the form of running and cross-training, and inside the gym in the form of sparring, floor work, and exercises.

Roadwork, or running, is essential for boxing. It develops mental toughness, aerobic and anaerobic capacity, and the lower body. Boxers typically run early in the morning before any other training. Even in the bare-knuckle era, boxers ran up to 150 miles a week.

Full-contact sparring is perhaps the element of boxing training that contributes most to its effectiveness as a martial art. Though boxers wear protective headgear and gloves with more padding while sparring, nothing more simulates the conditions and experiences of real combat. In sparring boxers learn what it is like to be hit—hard, repeatedly, and from unexpected angles—how to adjust and recover from it, how to feign injury and well-being. In sparring, boxers learn the unchangeable truths, or reflexes, of the human body when it is hit in different ways, and therefore, where the body will be after it is hit by a certain punch in a certain place. As hazardous as it sounds, sparring is a valuable process through which boxers learn what it feels like to be stunned and knocked down, and how to fight on with a bloody nose or swollen eye. In addition, as brutal as it may seem, sparring is the mechanism through which most boxers condition their bodies for punishment. This conditioning enables them to withstand greater punishment in real combat.

Shadowboxing is an element of boxing training comparable to the forms of Asian martial arts. In the ring or in front of a large mirror, the boxer visualizes his opponent and goes through all the motions of fighting, punching in combination, slipping and blocking punches, and moving forward, back, and from side to side.

Practitioners of various other martial arts who take the opportunity to spar with boxers often come away amazed at their ability to punch powerfully, rapidly, and continually. It makes sense when one takes into account the daily training regimen of up to thirty minutes (ten three-minute rounds) boxers spend hitting cylindrical sand-filled leather or canvas hanging bags weighing up to 150 pounds. With the exception of sparring, working the heavy bag most simulates the experience of punching another person, and it provides invaluable training in learning to put together skillful punches with maximum force.

Boxers jump rope to improve stamina and coordination. The speedbag (teardrop-shaped bag hung from a swivel) is used to develop hand-eye coordination, timing, arm strength, endurance, and rhythm. Trainers use punch pads, or punch mitts (padded mitts similar to a baseball catcher's mitt), to diagnose and correct slight errors in form in the way their boxers throw punches and combinations, and to instill conditioned responses.

Trainers often use such tools, together with repetition, to teach boxers to defend themselves, "see" openings, and throw punches without thinking. Such "automatic" punches are all the more dangerous, because they are seldom telegraphed.

Training partners take turns throwing the heavy leather medicine ball into each other's stomachs in order to psychologically prepare themselves for body blows while developing the arms, legs, endurance, hand-eye coordination, and leverage.

Exercises, or calisthenics, are usually done to conclude training for the day. Several varieties of sit-ups, crunches, and leg lifts strengthen the stomach muscles and abdomen. Pull-ups, push-ups, and dips develop the arms, back, latisimus dorsi, and chest. Some fighters also undergo light weight training and massage.

There has always been a certain amount of curiosity as to how boxers would fare against other martial artists in combat (and vice versa). This accounts for the public "mixed contests" that have been arranged from the beginning of the modern boxing era to the present. In 1897, in Carson City, Nevada, the heavyweight challenger (and later champion) Bob Fitzsimmons knocked out Ernest Roeber (wrestling) with one punch to the head. On December 31, 1908, in Paris, France, heavyweight boxer Sam McVey knocked out Tano Matsuda (jûjutsu) in ten seconds. On January 12, 1928, in Yokohama, Japan, Packey O'Gatty, a bantamweight boxer, knocked out Shimakado (jûjutsu) with one punch in less than four seconds. On September 11, 1952, in New Jersey, Marvin Mercer (wrestling) defeated Cuban heavyweight Omelio Agramonte in five rounds. On July 27, 1957, in Bangkok, Lao Letrit (Muay Thai) knocked out Filipino boxer Leo Espinosa in three rounds. Perhaps the most famous of these mixed matches occurred on June 25, 1976, in Tokyo, when heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali faced Antonio Inoki (wrestling). The result was a fifteen-round draw, and both men were seriously injured.

Loren Goodman

See also Europe; Masters of Defence; Pankration

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Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu

Brazilian jiu-jitsu is a grappling system that maintains both sport and combat forms. The art was derived from Japanese antecedents in twentieth-century Brazil.

Brazilian jiu-jitsu is virtually synonymous with the Gracie family, through whose lineage the system was passed and whose members modified the original Japanese art into its present state. Currently, however, instructors are not necessarily members of the Gracie family. Therefore, a distinction exists between Brazilian jiu-jitsu in general and Gracie Jiu-jitsu (a registered trademark).

The parent system of Brazilian jiu-jitsu is *Kôdôkan Jûdô,* and although Mitsuyo Maeda was not the first *jûdôka* (jûdô practitioner) in Brazil (this was a 1908 immigrant named Miura), he was certainly the first to be influential. Therefore some background on Maeda is required.

Maeda was born in Aomori Prefecture, Japan, in November 1878. At age 17 he moved to Tokyo where, on June 6, 1897, he joined Japan's most famous jûdô school, the Kôdôkan. There he was a direct student of Kôdôkan director Sakujiro Yokoyama, a man famous for his participation in challenge matches and fights.

By 1903 Maeda was graded fourth *dan* (fourth-degree black belt) in jûdô. Since the highest rank in those days was seventh dan, this suggests enormous talent. As a result, in 1904 he was invited to go to the United States with Tsunejiro Tomita, jûdô founder Kanô Jigorô's original student; the idea was for Tomita to explain the theory of jûdô while Maeda demonstrated its application. After arriving in the United States, however, Tomita was publicly challenged and defeated. This embarrassed Maeda, who went off on his own to become a professional wrestler, which in turn embarrassed the Kôdôkan.

From 1906 to 1908, Maeda wrestled in the United States, Britain, Belgium, and Spain, and it was in the latter country that he adopted his stage name of *Conde Koma*. The name was a pun: Read one way, it meant "Count of Combat," while read another it meant "Count of [Economic] Troubles."

From 1909 to 1913, Maeda wrestled in Mexico, Cuba, Costa Rica,

Rorion Gracie stands in front of the Gracie Jiu-jitsu Academy in Torrance, California, 2001. (Courtesy of Mike Lano, wrealano@aol.com)

and the Canal Zone, and he is said to have had only 2 defeats in over 2,000 matches. Unlike contemporary Brazilian jiu-jitsu stylists, who often attack with strikes and then follow up with groundwork, Maeda concentrated almost solely on chokes and joint locks. In other words, he did orthodox Japanese *ne-waza* (groundwork).

As a wrestler, Maeda was known for issuing challenges, including one to Jack Johnson, the reigning heavyweight boxing champion. Maeda's student Carlos Gracie followed this example by advertising in Brazilian news-

papers his willingness to take on all comers. In turn, Carlos's younger brother, Hélio, challenged Joe Louis, while decades later Hélio's son Royce challenged Mike Tyson. Of course nothing came of these challenges, as there simply was not enough money in such contests to interest the boxers.

Maeda's methods have been described as more rough-and-tumble than is normal in jûdô. However, some of this apparent roughness is owed to the venue—professional wrestling takes place in music halls, circus tents, and armories rather than high school gyms, and is performed for the amusement of a paying crowd rather than judged on points.

There are differences in the accounts of how Maeda met the Gracies. In the accounts generally given by the Gracie family, Carlos Gracie, one of five sons of Gastão Gracie, began his training with Maeda in 1914 (or 1915). Other sources maintain that in 1915 Maeda was a member of a Japanese wrestling troupe known as "the Four Kings" and that he did not start working for the Queirollo Brothers' American Circus until 1917. If so, then the circus was probably where he met the Gracie family, as in 1916 Gastão Gracie was reportedly managing an Italian boxer associated with the Queirollo circus. At any rate, during the mid to late 1910s Maeda began teaching the rudiments of jûdô to Carlos Gracie.

Around 1922 Maeda left the circus to begin promoting Japanese immigration into Brazil. Three years later Gracie opened a wrestling gym in Rio de Janeiro, and this latter event marks the official birth of the system known today as Gracie Jiu-jitsu.

After Gracie quit training with Maeda, the core art underwent a process of modification. Many articles state that Gracie Jiu-jitsu's emphasis on groundwork is due to Maeda and Carlos Gracie not having *tatami* (mats) on which to practice falls. However, inasmuch as Japanese aikidô and Scandinavian *Glima* practitioners sometimes practice falls on wooden floors, it is likely that Gracie Jiu-jitsu's emphasis on groundwork owes more to the innovations of Hélio Gracie than to any desire to avoid injury on the part of Carlos Gracie or Maeda.

As a boy Hélio Gracie was the youngest and least robust of five brothers. Because of this, he soon learned to rely on technique rather than strength, and legs rather than arms. As an adult, he became a fairground wrestler, and when faced with larger opponents, he found it useful to go to the ground, where his greater skill at ground submission fighting served him well. So when the Japanese professional wrestler Masahiko Kimura wrestled Hélio Gracie in October 1951, "What he [Kimura] saw reminded him of the earlier jûdô methods that were rough and tumble. Prewar [prior to World War II] jûdô had body locks, leg locks, unusual choking techniques that were discarded because they were not legal in contest jûdô, which had evolved slowly over the years" (Wang).

During the 1980s, Hélio Gracie's sons took the family art to California, and during the 1990s the victories of Rorion and Royce Gracie in pay-per-view Ultimate Fighting Championship™ (UFC) events made Gracie Jiu-jitsu famous. In 1994, the U.S. Army also introduced Gracie Jiu-jitsu into its Ranger training programs at Fort Benning, though here the idea was more to teach self-confidence than to improve individual lethality in combat.

Punches, kicks, and fighting from the standing position were added to the Brazilian jiu-jitsu curriculum during the 1990s. The reason was to keep its practitioners competitive during UFC matches. Nevertheless, the Gracies continued to emphasize maneuvering for opportunities in which to apply joint locks and chokes. The reason, they insisted, was that most one-on-one fights end up as grappling contests on the ground, and one might as well get there as quickly as possible.

Toward this end, particular attention is paid to the ground positions labeled the "mount" and the "guard." In the mounted position, the combatant straddles an opponent lying on his back, essentially sitting on the opponent's abdomen. The goal is to set up a choke or a joint lock or to deliver strikes. A variation is the "side mount," in which the practitioner is on top of an opponent, chest to chest at a 90-degree angle. Meanwhile, the "guard" refers to the opposite position, in which the opponent is attempting to get on top of the practitioner. The standard Brazilian jiu-jitsu guard places the opponent between one's legs, which encircle the attacker just above the hips. If the encircling legs' ankles are crossed, then it is a "closed guard"; if the legs are not crossed, then it is an "open guard." An alternative is the "half-guard," in which the defender uses the legs to trap one of the legs of the opponent attempting to mount.

Although Rorion Gracie maintains that one can learn the techniques of Brazilian jiu-jitsu after just forty lessons, learning to apply these techniques against uncooperative opponents in combative contexts requires years of practice. So, toward showing relative standing, Brazilian jiu-jitsu utilizes a ranking system similar to that of Kôdôkan Jûdô. Rank is designated by a colored belt wrapped and tied at the waist of the uniform (which is also similar to the loose cotton trousers and jacket of jûdô). Belt ranks for children run from white (for beginners) to yellow, orange, green, brown, and black and for adults, white, blue, purple, brown, and black. As in the dan system of contemporary Japanese martial arts, the black belt progresses through various grades of ascending numbers (i.e., first degree, second degree, etc.).

During the 1990s, various organizations arose both in Brazil and abroad espousing variations of the core teachings of Maeda as modified by Carlos and Hélio Gracie. Thus Gracie Jiu-jitsu has become a trademark used by various members of the Gracie family of Brazil whose schools are

autonomous, while other instructors, such as the Machado brothers (nephews and students of Carlos Gracie), refer to their systems as Brazilian, as distinct from Gracie, jiu-jitsu.

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See also Jûdô; Wrestling and Grappling: Japan

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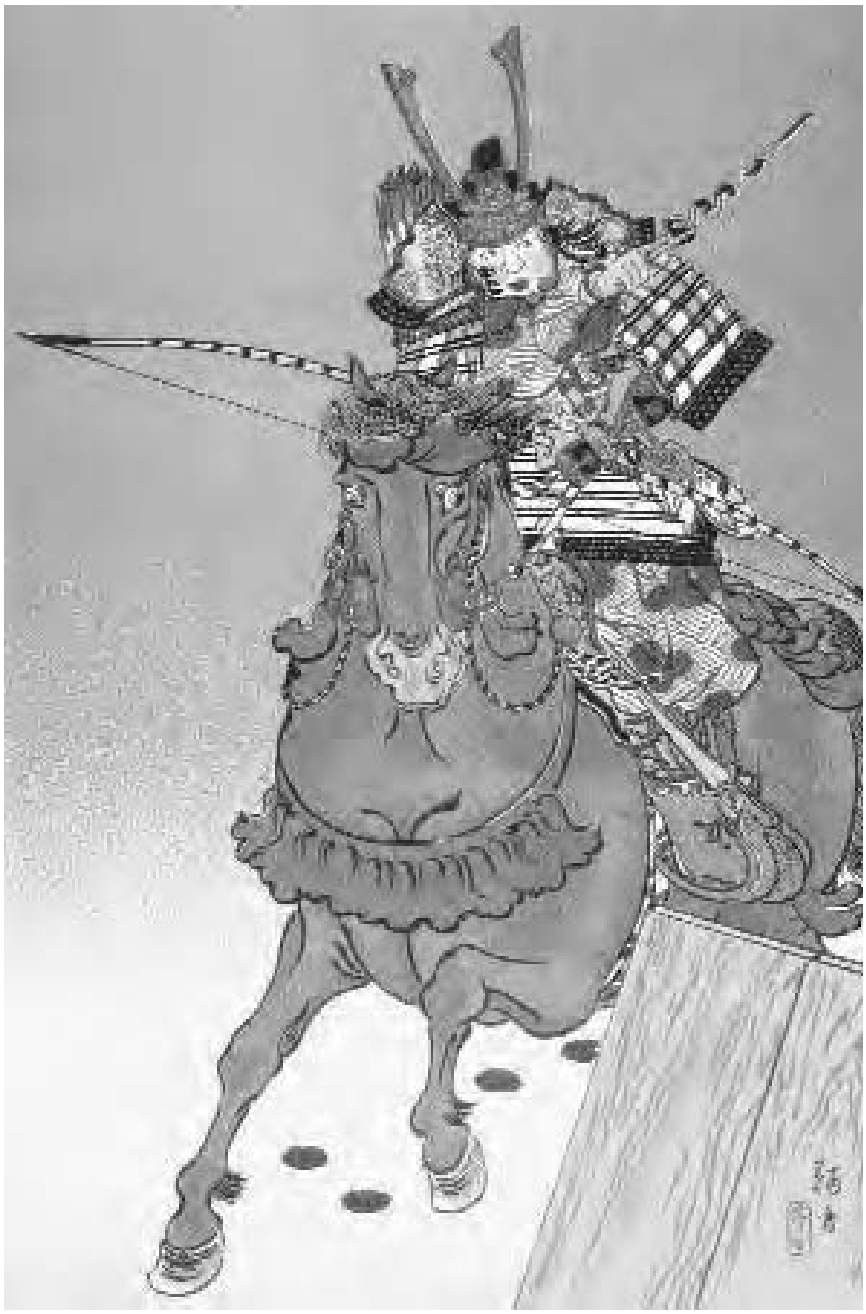
Budô, Bujutsu, and Bugei

Editorial note: Bracketed number codes in this entry refer to the list of ideograms that follows.

The meaning and usage of the terms *budô, bujutsu,* and *bugei* as appellations for the martial arts of Japan are subjects of considerable confusion and misinformation among practitioners and aficionados of these arts—Japanese as well as Western. Among modern authorities in Japan the terms have acquired a more or less conventional usage adopted mainly to facilitate discussion of the multiple goals and purposes of combative training: Bujutsu (warrior skills [1]) describes the various Japanese martial disciplines in their original function as arts of war; budô (the warrior's way [2]) denotes the process by which the study of bujutsu becomes a means to self-development and self-realization; and bugei (warrior arts [3]) is a catchall term for the traditional Japanese military sciences, embracing both bujutsu and budô.

It must be stressed, however, that such precise usage is modern—adopted for analytical purposes—not traditional. Projecting it backward into earlier times, as much literature on Japanese martial art does, is anachronous.



Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199) was the general who became shôgun in 1185 and was instrumental in founding the samurai system. (The Art Archive)

Western texts on Japanese fighting arts often assert that during the Tokugawa period (A.D. 1600–1868) martial art masters began replacing the suffix jutsu [4], meaning "art" or "skill," with dô [5], meaning "way" or "path," in the names of their disciplines, to distinguish the sublime from the purely technical applications and purposes of martial art. Thus *ken-jutsu,* "the art of swordsmanship," became kendô, "the way of the sword"; bujutsu, "the martial skills," became budô, "the martial way"; and so on. The historical record, however, does not support this conclusion. Some

Meiji-period (1868–1912) educators did differentiate -jutsu and -dô in precisely this fashion, but their forebears did not.

Historically the samurai employed a cornucopia of terms for their fighting arts, some still in common use today, others not (swordsmanship, for example, was called kenjutsu [6], kendô [7], *kenpô* [8], *hyôhô* [9], *tôjutsu* [10], *gekken* [11], *shigeki no jutsu* [12], and various other appellations, without distinction of form or content). The meaning and popularity of each term varied from age to age. Two of the oldest words for martial art are *bugei* and *hyôhô* (more commonly pronounced *heihô* in modern usage). Both are Chinese borrowings, and both appear in Japanese texts as far back as the turn of the eighth century. The early meanings of the two words overlapped to a substantial extent, but by the Tokugawa period, hyôhô had narrowed considerably, from a general term to one of several alternative names for swordsmanship. *Bugei,* in the meantime, had become a generic appellation for the fighting arts. Today, *heihô* simply means "strategy" in general usage, while scholars and practitioners of swordsmanship and related arts often apply it in more restricted fashion to designate the principles around which a particular school's approach to combat is constructed.

Budô and bujutsu came into fashion during the medieval and early modern periods. Budô, which appeared in print at least as early as the thirteenth century, seems to have been rather ambiguous in meaning until the Tokugawa period, when it sometimes carried special connotations. Nineteenth-century scholar and philosopher Aizawa Yasushi differentiated budô from bugei in the following manner: "The arts of the sword, spear, bow and saddle are the bugei; to know etiquette and honor, to preserve the way of the gentleman, to strive for frugality, and thus become a bulwark of the state, is budô" (Tominaga 1971, 1). For at least some Tokugawa-period writers, in other words, budô had far broader implications than it does today, designating what modern authors often anachronistically call bushidô [13]—that is, the code of conduct, rather than the military arts, of the warrior class. Nevertheless, pre-Meiji nomenclature for the martial disciplines betrayed no discernible systematization. The sources use *bujutsu* interchangeably with *bugei,* and use both in ways that clearly imply a construct with moral, spiritual, or social components, as well as technical ones.

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See also Japan; Koryû Bugei, Japan; Samurai; Swordsmanship, Japanese

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List of Ideograms

1	warrior skills	武術
2	the warrior's way	武道
3	warrior arts	武芸
4	jutsu	術
5	dô	道
6	kenjutsu	剣術
7	kendô	剣道
8	*kenpô*	剣法
9	*hyôhô*	兵法
10	*tôjutsu*	刀術
11	*gekiken*	撃剣
12	*shageki no jutsu*	刺撃の術
13	bushidô	武士道

C

Capoeira

Capoeira is a Brazilian martial art that relies primarily on striking techniques, although some grappling maneuvers, especially takedowns utilizing the legs in either tripping or scissoring motions, and weapon techniques complete the repertoire of the *capoeirista* (practitioner or "player" of capoeira). Various etymologies of the name *capoeira* are offered in the scholarly literature. The root *ca* or *caá* from Native Brazilian languages refers to forests or woods. This linguistic stem is often used to connect the origins of the term and the art to which it refers to African slave originators who, the oral traditions of the art maintain, escaped to or practiced in the bush from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Alternatively, the Portuguese words *capão* (cock) and *capoeira* (cage for cocks) have been used to link the word to a poultry market area in Rio de Janeiro where slaves held capoeira *rodas* (roda [wheel], the playing area formed by capoeiristas standing in a circle; also the contest or game played within such a circle) and to cockfighting. Neither these nor any of a multitude of other explanations for the origin of the term have been universally accepted.

The origins of capoeira are recorded only in the traditional legends of the art and invariably focus on African influence. Considerable debate exists among practitioners and historians as to whether capoeira is the New World development of an African martial art or a system originating in the New World with African influences ranging from terminology to the *berimbau,* the primary musical instrument used to provide accompaniment for the *jôgo* ("match" or "game"). There are even suggestions that some of the kicking techniques are derived from French *savate* via European seamen who manned the cargo vessels that docked in Brazilian ports.

Regardless of the genealogy, the legends invariably associate capoeira with the slave experience, which in Brazil lasted from the beginnings of the sixteenth century until 1888. The vehicle of dance that characterizes the practice of capoeira, oral traditions argue, allowed the practice of martial techniques but concealed their intent from the overseers. Blows struck with

Theatrical reproduction of the maculelé dance associated with capoeira. (Julie Lemberger/Corbis)

the feet and head-butts, some argue, could be delivered by men in chains. Moreover, many oral traditions claim that the practice of capoeira allowed those slaves who escaped and survived to establish communities in the bush to defend themselves from the groups of armed men who sought to apprehend and return them to captivity.

Written records alluding to the art date only to around the last century of the slave experience (beginning in 1770), and in them capoeira was identified, not with African Brazilians, but with a Portuguese bodyguard of the viceroy. Throughout the nineteenth century, references to capoeira identify it not with the rural settings of the folk histories but with urban centers such as Recife, Salvador, and Rio de Janeiro. The art was generally associated with the street, petty crime, and social disorder into the early decades of the twentieth century. Contemporary traditions echo this earlier disreputability. For example, it has been traditional to receive a nickname at one's *batizada* ("christening," or acceptance into the art). This harks back to the necessity of a street name among earlier capoeiristas. As one might expect with an art of the street, the traditional way to learn capoeira was by observing play, by playing, or by using it in street defense. Any instruction was extremely informal. Brazilian author Jorge Amado in his novel *Jubiabá* gives several accounts of capoeira as it existed on the streets of his native Bahia. These vignettes reflect both the unstructured way of ac-

quiring knowledge of capoeira and the vicious quality of its use as a street-fighting system. The customary label for this art, Capoeira Angola, pays homage to its legendary African origins.

In the late 1920s to early 1930s, however, a new way to study capoeira became available. During that period, Manoel dos Reis Machado—Mestre (Master) Bimba—opened his school and began attempts both to legitimize the art and to systematize its transmission. The difficulties he faced are suggested by the fact that it was not until 1937 that his school, Centro de Cultura Física e Capoeira Regional, was granted official state recognition. Mestre Bimba's system came to be known as Capoeira Regional (after his school's name) in order to distinguish it from the traditional style still played on the streets and taught by conservative mestres—Capoeira Angola. In contrast to the earlier trial-and-error learning acquired by entering the roda, Machado developed a structured curriculum in a training hall setting. He has been accused of appropriating elements of Asian arts, particularly karate and jûjutsu, into his style of capoeira. The best evidence suggests, however, that his system grew from traditional street capoeira with some influences from *batuque* (a rough game of kicking and tripping with obvious martial qualities) via his father. Nevertheless, the structure Machado set up is imbued with elements familiar to students of many Asian martial arts, such as formalized exercises containing series of basic movements (*sequencias*), uniforms consisting of white trousers and T-shirts, and colored belts indicating rank (*cordãos*). The cordão system is not uniform—different local clubs (*grupos*) use different colors to indicate rank or level of experience—nor has it been universally adopted—those organizations following the Angola tradition do not use belts, or white uniforms, at all.

Capoeira is said to be "played"; therefore, a match is labeled a jôgo (a game). The jôgo takes place in a ring called a roda (wheel) formed by participants waiting their turns to play. Roda is also the label used for an occasion for capoeira play, for example, "next Sunday's roda." The jôgo is played to the musical accompaniment of percussion instruments derived in the New World from African archetypes: the berimbau (a large musical bow utilizing a gourd resonator that is played by striking its metal bowstring with a stick), the *pandeiro* (tambourine), the *agogô* (a pair of clapperless bells struck with a metal stick), the *reco-reco* (a notched scraper), and the *atabaque* (conga drum). The berimbau is the primary instrument and is venerated by players. For example, its placement provides spatial orientation for play, in that its location is called *pé do berimbau* (foot of the berimbau), and players enter the roda after kneeling facing one another and performing a private ritual (e.g., making the sign of the cross) in front of the berimbau. Thus, the instrument creates a "sacred space" in the roda.

An acrobatic kick from a one-handed handstand, a signature move of capoeira, November 14, 1996. (Julie Lemberger/Corbis)

Songs involving a leader-and-response pattern are sung during play. The words of these songs embody, to take a few examples, comments on capoeira in general, insults directed toward various types of styles of play or types of players, and biographical allusions to famous capoeiristas. The sense of capoeira as a dance is established by this musical frame for the action and completed by the movements taking place within the roda. The basic stance of capoeira places one foot forward in a lunging move with the corresponding hand forward and the other hand back. There is, however, considerable variety in the execution of the stance (both between individual players and between the Regional and the Angola traditions), and stances rapidly shift, with feet alternating in time to the tempo of the musical accompaniment in a dancelike action called a *ginga*. The techniques of capoeira rely heavily on kicks, many of them embodied in spectacular cartwheels, somersaults, and handstands. Players move from aerial techniques to low squatting postures accompanied by sweeps or tripping moves. Evasion rather than blocking is used for defense. Head-butts and hand strikes (using the open hand) complete the unarmed arsenal of the capoeirista. Again, there is a distinction between Angola and Regional, with the former relying more on low kicks, sweeps, and trips, played to a slower rhythm.

As an armed fighting art, capoeira has incorporated techniques for the use of paired short sticks and bladed weapons (particularly straight razors, knives, and machetes). Even in those cases in which the art has moved from the streets to the training hall, training in weapons remains in the curriculum in forms such as *maculêlê,* which entails a rhythmic clash of short sticks while performing a dancelike action.

In the 1970s capoeira spread to the United States. Mestres Jelon Viera and Loremil Machado brought the art to New York in 1975, and by 1979 Bira Almeida began teaching in California. Other mestres from both major traditions followed suit—for example Mestre Cobra Mansa (Cinezio Feliciano Pecanha) of the International Capoeira Angola Foundation in Washington, D.C., who visited and eventually moved to the United States in the

early 1990s. By the late 1990s capoeira had developed an international following. The popularity of the art has been fostered by its inclusion in Hollywood films such as *The Quest, Mortal Kombat II,* and especially *Only the Strong,* with its capoeira mestre protagonist. Capoeira has even appeared recently in video game formats, played, for example, by the character of Eddie Gordo in "Tekken III."

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See also Africa and African America; Political Conflict and the Martial Arts

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Chi

See Ki/Qi

China

In early times, a number of terms were used to describe Chinese martial arts, which are now known as *wushu.* The term *jiangwu* (teach military matters) was a comprehensive concept comprising training in general and martial arts in particular. In the state of Zhou (475–221 B.C.), jiangwu took place during the winter, while farming occupied the other three seasons. The term *jiji* (attack, skilled striking) was used in reference to the troops of the state of Qi (a state that occupied much of the present province of Shandong between 480 and 221 B.C.). Some have claimed that this term refers to boxing, but it more likely refers to individual hand-to-hand combat, both bare-handed and with weapons. The *Han History Bibliographies* of ca. A.D. 90 (Gu 1987, 205) use the term *bing jiqiao* (military skills).

For at least the last seven centuries, the Chinese martial arts have been primarily called *wuyi,* which translates directly into "martial arts" in English, and reflects skills associated with the profession of arms in Chinese. An exception is the term *gongci zhi shu* (attack and stabbing skills), used to describe the martial arts practices prohibited under Mongol rule. During the Qing period (1644–1911), the term *quanbang* (boxing and staff) was also commonly used by the Manchu regime to describe popular Han Chinese martial arts practices (group practice outside the military, primarily among

the Han Chinese majority, as opposed to Manchu practices of wrestling and archery on horseback), especially those of heterodox religious groups and secret societies. In traditional Chinese society, martial arts practice was not so much spiritual as it was the equivalent of keeping firearms. These groups were often considered subversive by the authorities and, indeed, some were. For example, the Taipings, a quasi-Christian cult, grew into a major threat to the regime, occupying a large portion of southeast China between 1850 and 1863.

The term *wushu* as it is used today in the People's Republic of China is only rarely seen in ancient texts. This term also translates into "martial arts" in English. The term *wushu* had become commonplace early in the twentieth century (possibly following the Japanese use of *shu* or *jutsu,* as in *jûjutsu* [pliant skill]). Even the young Mao Zedong referred favorably to the Japanese practice of jûjutsu (*roushu* in Chinese), which he carefully noted had evolved from Chinese skills.

The Nationalist government (controlled by the Nationalist Party, known as the *Guomindang*) adopted the term *guoshu* (national arts) in 1927 to associate them with modern Chinese nationalism. As a result, the term *guoshuguan* (national arts hall) has carried over to the present in some overseas Chinese communities.

The term *kung fu* (*gongfu*) merely means "skill" or "effort" in Chinese. In the eighteenth century, a French Jesuit missionary in China used the term to describe Chinese yogalike exercises. It was accepted for English usage in the United States during the 1960s to describe Chinese self-defense practices seen outside Mainland China as being similar to karate. It was widely popularized by the *Kung Fu* television series in the 1970s and is now a household word around the world. However, this term evokes a fanciful, exaggerated association of the Chinese martial arts with Shaolin Monastery and Buddhism—a distorted image of these arts, whose origins go back much further than either Buddhism in China or Shaolin Monastery.

From early times, the martial arts emphasized weapons skills. The *Conversations of the States* (Conversations of Qi) mentions five edged weapons: broad sword, straight sword, spear, halberd, and arrow. The Rites of Zhou also lists five weapons: halberd, lance, pike, and long and short spears. The Book of Rites includes archery, charioteering, and wrestling in the seasonal martial training regimen. In the section on music, it further describes martial dances with shield and axe and choreographed halberd and spear movements—early examples of combining ritual with martial techniques into routines commonly known in modern karate parlance as kata. The ancient Chinese aristocracy doubled as priests. Religion and governance converged; therefore, there were rites to support military as well as peacetime activities.

A Daoist priest practicing martial exercises in a temple in Beijing, China, April 1995. (Peter Turnley/Corbis)

The entries on archery, straight sword, boxing, and even football (more like soccer, which required considerable agility as well as endurance) in the *Han History Bibliographies* reveal that manuals were written on important martial arts and related skills, although those extant date back no earlier than the Ming dynasty (ca. sixteenth century). Boxing was the basic skill that supplemented weapons, and certain boxing-related techniques were used on horseback as well as on foot, especially weapons-seizing techniques. For example, General Deng Zhan of Wei (ca. A.D. 220–226) was known for his skill with the "five weapons" and for his ability to take on armed opponents empty-handed. During a campaign in A.D. 582, Sui troops, outnumbered and their "five weapons" depleted, successfully fought off a Tujue (Turkic tribe) force with their bare fists, with such ferocity that "the bones in their hands were visible" (Wang 1960, 395, 4694). General Weichi Jingde of Tang (ca. A.D. 627–649) could ride into an opposing army, dodge the enemy's lance thrusts, seize an enemy lance, and use it against the attackers.

When the military examination system was established in 702, the martial arts emphasized for leaders were lance and spear from horseback, and archery from horseback and on foot. There was a test of strength, as well, that consisted of lifting a large city gate log bolt ten times (based on a story that Confucius had displayed great strength by lifting and placing just such a bolt) and carrying approximately five bushels of rice for a distance of twenty paces. Common soldiers were categorized based on their skills with archery, spear, halberd, pike, and sword, and their daring in hand-to-hand combat. A premium was placed on strength and endurance.

By the Song dynasty there was a saying: "There are thirty-six types of weapons, and the bow is the foremost; there are eighteen types of martial

Young children in Beijing going through basic martial arts training, November 1997. (Karen Su/Corbis)

arts, and the bow [archery] is the first." From this time on, exceptional martial artists were commonly described as "skilled in the eighteen martial arts." One can find essentially two versions of the eighteen weapons in various sources. The matchlock is included in the eighteen weapons listed in the early Ming novel *Water Margin* (also known as *All Men Are Brothers* and *Outlaws of the Marsh* in English). Later Ming versions drop the matchlock and include boxing at the end of the list, perhaps influenced by General Qi Jiguang's chapter on boxing, which is also the oldest extant illustrated Chinese boxing manual. The most common listing of the eighteen weapons includes the composite bow, crossbow, spear, broad sword, straight sword, pike, shield, arrow axe, broad axe, halberd, flail, iron rod or bar (a tapered, smooth or segmented, solid iron rod [also called "iron whip"] with a sword grip, often used in pairs), claw (metal talons attached to a cord thrown to seize and unhorse a rider), lance, trident, rake (similar to an agricultural tool), dart and cord, and boxing. This selection seems a bit arbitrary, and at least one Chinese author has noted that some of these weapons appear more suited for use in interclan feuding than in large-scale military combat. Thus, the phrase "eighteen martial arts" appears to reflect a convergence of military and popular forms. The "Song Period Essentials" from the *Military Classics* (Wujing Zongyao) (ca. 1044) includes illustrations of the variety of weapons used by the military.

Contemporary literature provides a peek at martial arts activities in and around the Southern Song capital, Hangzhou (1127–1279). The military forces scheduled training exercises every spring and autumn at designated locations, where, amid the crash of cymbals and beating of drums, they practiced combat formations and held archery competitions, polo matches, and numerous other martial arts demonstrations, such as spear and sword fighting.

Associations were organized among the citizenry by those interested in wrestling, archery, staff fighting, football, polo, and many nonmartial activities. Also, outdoor entertainment at certain locations in the city included wrestling matches (both men's and women's), martial arts demonstrations, acrobatics, and other physical displays.

Some of these activities (considered secular folk entertainment, not religious activities) could still be seen at the temple festivals (which were combination county fairs and swap meets) and other festive occasions well into the twentieth century.

Japanese swords were popular during the Ming, and both General Qi Jiguang's *New Book of Effective Discipline* (*Jixiao Xinshu*) (ca. 1561) and Mr. Cheng's *Three Kinds of Insightful Techniques* (*Chengshi Xinfa Sanzhong*) (ca. 1621) include illustrated Japanese sword routines to emulate. Japanese swords had begun to enter China during the Song period, when their fine quality was even described in a poem by the famed literary figure Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072). Records show that Japanese swords and poled weapons (*naginata,* weapons similar to the European halberd) were presented as tribute to a number of Ming-period rulers. Ming military leaders were able to observe firsthand the effectiveness of Japanese weapons and fighting techniques during the large-scale Japanese pirate activities in the Chinese coastal provinces during the mid-sixteenth century. The Chinese were suitably impressed, and the experience resulted in Chinese use of Japanese weapons as well as indigenous production of Japanese-style swords and the adoption of Japanese sword techniques.

By the Qing period (1644–1911), the *Comprehensive Study of Documents* (*Wenxian Tongkao*) reveals that, among the types of individual weapons officially produced for military use in 1756, special emphasis was placed on as many as nineteen varieties of broad swords and sixteen types of poled weapons categorized as spears—a bewildering mix facing military martial arts drill instructors.

When the Nationalist government–sponsored Central Martial Arts Institute was established in Nanjing in 1927, its founders were faced with the daunting task of attempting to satisfy the sensitivities of numerous martial arts factions within a single national program. They got off to a troublesome start by dividing the institute into Shaolin and Wudang

A crowd watches as a couple stages a martial arts demonstration on a sidewalk in Shanghai, October 1983. (KellyMooney Photography/Corbis)

branches. The Wudang branch included only instruction in taijiquan, xingyiquan, and baguazhang, while the Shaolin branch arbitrarily comprised all other martial arts styles. This arrangement was based on the popular belief that Chinese boxing consisted of an External or Shaolin School (Buddhist), which emphasized strength and speed, versus an Internal or Wudang School (Daoist), which emphasized use of an opponent's strength and speed against him. This simplistic view originated with a 1669 piece titled *Epitaph for Wang Zhengnan,* written by the Ming patriot and historian Huang Zongxi. At the time, however, it was probably meant as a veiled political jab at the foreign Manchu regime rather than as a serious discussion of boxing theory. In any case, division of the institute into these two branches resulted in infighting, so the branches were quietly phased out.

After 1949, traditional sports, including the martial arts, were placed under a government Physical Culture and Sports Commission. Martial arts for nationwide competition were standardized into three major categories of boxing (*changquan, nanquan,* and *taijiquan*), while weapons were limited to four basic types with standardized routines (broad sword, straight sword, staff, and spear). Changquan (long boxing) routines have combined techniques from the more acrobatic so-called northern styles of boxing, while nanquan, or "southern boxing," has combined the "short hitting" emphasis on arm movements prominent in most styles of boxing found in South China (especially in Fujian and Guangdong provinces).

Standardized taijiquan, including a shortened routine of twenty-four forms, was based on the widely practiced Yang style of taijiquan. Many of the traditional styles continued to be practiced individually, and more lib-

eral policies in recent years have resulted in the resurgence of some, such as the original Chen style of taijiquan.

Stanley E. Henning

See also Animal and Imitative Systems in Chinese Martial Arts; Baguazhang (Pa Kua Ch'uan); Boxing, Chinese; Boxing, Chinese Shaolin Styles; Kung Fu/Gung Fu/Gongfu; Medicine, Traditional Chinese; Religion and Spiritual Development: China; Taijiquan (Tai Chi Ch'uan); Women in the Martial Arts: China; Wrestling and Grappling: China; Written Texts: China; Xingyiquan (Hsing I Ch'uan); Yongchun (Wing Chun)

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Chivalry

The age of chivalry flourished between A.D. 1100 and the opening of the sixteenth century. It was a time when the mounted nobility of Western Europe lived out their lives in obedience to the code of chivalry, which charged each knight with the defense of the Church, his sovereign king, and the weak and the poor. He was to be just and brave and highly skilled in warfare. As a soldier of God, he must be sinless, pious, and charitable. In time a knight's duties would include the safeguarding of women, which brought an aura of romance to chivalry. By the time of the early crusades, knighthood and chivalry were inseparably bonded.

Chivalry sprang up almost simultaneously throughout Western Europe without an inspirational founder. It spread as a contagious dedication of the armed nobility to the Christian faith, to audacity on the field of battle, and to gallantry in the presence of noble ladies. The source of this phenomenon, with all of its pageantry and heroism, must be traced to evolving events of an earlier time.

When the western part of the Roman Empire collapsed in A.D. 476, German tribes that had menaced the empire's northern borders for centuries moved south to settle among the more numerous Romanized inhabitants. In those chaotic times, the new invaders were often quartered on both state lands and the holdings of private landowners. Of the several Germanic tribes that tramped across the tumbled bastions of Rome's old provinces, the Salian Franks were most closely related to the later development of medieval chivalry and knighthood.

Clovis, one of the earliest Frankish leaders, established in 481 a Germanic kingdom on the discarded civilization of Roman Gaul, where an evangelizing church had already impressed its influence. Clovis, for piously political reasons, became a Christian without learning to turn the other cheek. He first extended his rule over the Ripuarian Franks. Before his death in 511 he had, through treachery, murder, and brutal conquest, enforced his rule on surrounding Teutonic peoples—Alemanni, Burgundians, and Visigoths. His military campaigns, because they won converts for Christianity, went forward with the blessings of the Church.

Clovis's Frankish state was an unstable predecessor of Charlemagne's resplendent realm, which flourished three centuries later as the Carolingian Empire. Between the times of these two Frankish rulers, the embryo of medieval knighthood and chivalry began slowly to evolve. But there would have been neither knighthood nor chivalry had not the system of feudalism emerged from the Frankish historical experience.

A typical early German institution was the *Gefolgschaft,* or *comitatus* in its Latin form, in which a distinguished war leader gathered about him a select group of young men from his tribe to engage in warfare for glory and booty. We learn from the *Germania* of the Roman historian Tacitus that young German warriors, already invested with the shield and spear according to custom, swore a sacred oath that they would protect their chief in battle and try to emulate his bravest deeds but never exceed them, for it would have been a violation of their oath ever to outshine their veteran leader. This was as much a practical matter as one of loyalty: it was from the leader that the warriors would receive a share of the war booty, which might include a horse, weapons, and other gifts looted from the enemy as plunder. If their leader should die in battle and they returned home unscathed, or if they abandoned their weapons and fled the field, they became outcasts and faced a life of scorn. Some ended their shame by their own hand.

The strong bond that existed between a war chief and his loyal followers became a fixed element in the military structure of the Merovingian dynasty that began with Clovis and ended in the mid-eighth century. During this time, the military leaders and their young warriors became the lords and vassals of a feudal system in which the war booty of old became grants of conquered lands divided into fiefs, for which the endowed warrior pledged his loyalty and his military service.

To visualize this precursor of knighthood and chivalry, one should know that a medieval vassal was not a menial or serf, as modern usage sometimes implies. The word *vassal* is Celtic in origin and in time came to mean a loyal soldier or knight. Nor did the nobility, including lords and vassals, make up a substantial part of medieval society. The privileged class comprised no more than 10 percent of the entire population, often much

less. Within this very small assemblage of landed gentry rested the wealth, the political power, and the military strength of the domain, thus enabling the noble class to become an hereditary aristocracy. The numerous remainder of society was made up mostly of toiling peasants who tilled the soil they did not own and performed other servile duties that fell to their lot. Their relationship to the lord whose lands they worked was called manorialism and had little to do with the feudal hierarchy.

During the decentralization of political power that for centuries followed the fall of Rome, many displaced warriors sought domestic security in an inconstant age. Their hope was to find a propertied magnate willing to accept them as military vassals in return for land. The process created an integrated feudal hierarchy of lords and vassals that rested like a small pyramid upon the vast populace of peasants. At the apex of this martial consortium was the king, who held his realm from God. Below him were the royal vassals, such as viscount and barons, whose fiefs were generally expansive. These they parceled out among the higher-ranking members of the noble class, who then became vassals. They, in turn, were able to continue the practice of subinfeudation, going down the broadening levels of the pyramid to the bottom, where one would find a few humble knights holding modest fiefs, whose income was barely enough to support them and their families. When a lord sponsored every knight and every tract of feudal land became hereditary, European feudalism became complete, with the fief serving as the basic bond of lord/vassal dependency.

A collection of feudal estates, little more than a disparate cluster of landholdings, soon weakened the power of the king. Most fiefs had been created essentially for military purposes, and the men who received them had been trained for warfare and became the soldiers who controlled the military strength of the kingdom. If war threatened, the king was obliged to call upon his royal vassals to provide arms for the coming encounter. They, in turn, called upon their own vassals to answer the call to arms. Because there was so much intermittent fighting in the Middle Ages, warfare became an oppressive burden for the knightly class, and an agreement was reached that limited a knight's obligated military duties to forty days a year.

At the heart of the feudal fabric was the armored knight, whose ideal role in life was to uphold the code of chivalry to which he had dedicated himself. The term *chivalry,* defining the code of western knights, appears in Middle English as *chivalrie* and is related to the French *chevalier* (knight). In late Latin, we find the word *caballarius,* meaning horseman or cavalier. The medieval knight, therefore, was an armored horseman, bearing shield, sword, and lance, the weaponry of his day. Soon chivalry and cavalry become synonymous.

A medieval knight in full battle dress on horseback. Knights were bound to the code of chivalry, which charged each knight with the defense of the Church, his sovereign king, and the weak and the poor. (The Menil Collection)

A candidate for knighthood, after serving as a page, often began his apprenticeship at the age of 12 under a veteran knight, who instructed him in both military and worldly matters. When his term as squire was over, he followed his sponsor into battle as his bearer of arms; and when he was judged to be ready for knighthood he was dubbed by his sponsor, who tapped him on the shoulder with the flat of his sword. The initiation ceremony for knighthood varied in its formalities from place to place, but the code of chivalry was firmly fixed in its ethos, if not always in its fulfillment.

The earlier pagan practice in which elder warriors bestowed arms upon younger initiates, without benefit of prayer and benedictions, was sanctified when the Church took part in the ceremony, adding religious symbolism and solemnity. Eventually, the secular nobility and the clergy shared the investiture ceremony of knighthood.

At an earlier time, the knightly ceremony, when performed on the battlefield, was sudden and brief. A young arms-bearer, having distinguished himself in combat, might be recognized by an older knight, who would simply strike him with his fist or the flat of his sword and call out: "Sir knight!" It is not likely that many of the noble demands of chivalry were transmitted in such a nimble encounter, but they would be learned later.

The ceremony of knighthood was greatly changed by the end of the eleventh century. Now, the knight-to-be took a ritual bath to cleanse him of his sins. He then spent a night alone at the altar of his local church in quiet prayer, with his arms beside him. At dawn he went to mass, received communion, and listened to the celebrant affirming his obligations to knighthood and chivalry, the role of the knight being often likened to the role of a priest in a perilous society.

We learn of a more elaborate knightly ceremony from the writings of a thirteenth-century bishop, Guillaume Durand. He tells us in his *Pontifical* that the sword of the knightly candidate was placed on the altar by the officiating bishop, who called upon God to bless the weapon so that the wielder might defend churches, widows, and orphans against the cruelty of heretics and infidels. The initiate was admonished that he must be a good soldier, faithful and courageous; and with words from the Old Testament, he was reminded that the Lord God had formed his hands for battle and his fingers for war.

The bishop then girded the sword on the new knight, who unsheathed it, brandished it three times, and returned it to its scabbard. Finally, the bishop gave the knight a slight blow on the cheek and exhorted him to "awake from evil dreams and keep watch, faithful in Christ and praiseworthy of fame" (Barber 1995, 27).

The consecration of a warrior and his arms gave moral strength to chivalry and knighthood, as well as support for the feudal system in which they flourished. Chivalric behavior became an ideal of civilized fellowship among the privileged class, and although much easier to achieve in contemporary ballads than in real life, became a code of conduct that served society as a model of knightly aspiration.

During periods of peace, knights engaged their energies in the tournament, an armed sport that allowed them to flaunt their military skills and personal courage before an assembly of their peers. Contenders came from far and wide to the domain of some renowned prince, where many pavilions and platforms were raised around a mock battlefield. Here the challenging knights would rest their heraldic shields, affirming that they were of noble birth and pure character and truly sons of chivalry's elite. The encounter of two knights, called jousting or tilting, took place on horseback, with each knight trying to unhorse the other with lance and sword. Al-

though the weapons were blunted, the martial passion of the combatants led to some brutish duels. The tournament remained a display center for knightly courage and prowess until the Renaissance.

When warfare came to feudal Europe, whether from land disputes, breaches of contract, or other contentious causes, it was often a brief local affair. The ones who suffered most from these internecine clashes were the defenseless peasants and the Church, whose lands were often bound up in the network of feudal dependencies. It was the Church that tried to subdue the violence of an unruly society when it proclaimed the *Pax Dei* (Latin; Peace of God) in 989, and a half century later, the *Truga Dei* (Truce of God). The first banned warfare against the weak and so sought to save women, children, and priests from the brutalities of the age. The second, more ambitious, decree attempted to mark out whole religious seasons of the year when fighting would be prohibited. Neither decree was entirely successful, but each lessened to some degree the incessant warfare of the armed nobility.

Toward the end of the eleventh century, European knighthood was to receive a challenge from the Near East that would extend knighthood's conventions and its belligerency as far as the Holy Land and even beyond. The Seljuk Turks, a menacing military force arising out of Asia made up of warriors who embraced Islam fervently, overran the exposed eastern borders of the Byzantine Empire. The Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, appealed to Pope Urban II to send military aid for the Christian cause; the events that followed revealed the quixotic essence of medieval knighthood.

The pope, himself a man of France, gathered about him an assembly of Frankish leaders at Clermont in 1095. He first reminded them that they were of the Frankish race "chosen and loved by God" and that the deeds of their ancestors should inspire them to take the road to the Holy Land and wrest it from the accursed Turks who had mutilated their Christian brethren and desecrated the holy places. Urban, sorely mindful of the intermittent warfare that was despoiling Europe, severely reproached the gathering of French nobility: "You, girt about with the badge of knighthood, are arrogant . . . you rage against your brothers. You, the oppressors of children, plunderers of widows . . . vultures who sense battles from afar and rush to them eagerly. If you wish to be mindful of your souls, either lay down the girdle of such knighthood or advance boldly as a knight of Christ" (Krey 1921, 30).

The papal speech created a mild hysteria that aroused Western chivalry to advance upon Jerusalem as a great crusading army, shouting its battle cry: "God wills it!" Urban did not know that he had set into motion a prolonged war between the cross and the crescent that would continue well into the thirteenth century.

There were eight crusades between 1096 and 1270. Except for the rowdy mobs of ravaging peasants who were later massacred by the Turks, the First Crusade began in high spirits, with a righteous purpose and banners flying. The response to the call came mostly from the knighthood of France, which left an enduring French stamp on the movement. The crusading army fought its way through Asia Minor and Syria, taking Jerusalem from Muslim control in 1099 and setting up a Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Turkish attacks on the new Frankish protectorate, followed by the fall of Edessa in 1144, inspired a new crusade. The second effort achieved little against a revival of Muslim military aggression, but the capture of Jerusalem by the famed Saladin in 1187 quickened a new papal call. The Third Crusade attracted the support of the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick I, Philip II of France, and Richard I, called the Lion-Hearted, of England. Known as the King's Crusade, it did little more than capture a few cities along the Mediterranean coast. In the chronicles of chivalry, the romanticized King Richard must remain unhonored: Saladin released his Christian captives; Richard massacred 2,700 of his own prisoners of war.

The Fourth Crusade of 1204 debased the chivalric ideal of crusading knighthood. Its forces overwhelmed the Christian world of Byzantium, partitioned much of its territory, and impressed upon the land a Frankish imprisonment that, fortunately for the Greeks, did not last longer than 1261.

In 1212, the response to the religious call was answered by bands of adolescents from France and Germany. Called the Children's Crusade, it was not a crusade at all but a calamitous outpouring of innocent faith that displaced countless numbers of children from their homes and led many into the slave markets of the Levant. The Fifth Crusade accomplished nothing, and its successor, under Frederick II, managed to negotiate some treaties favorable to the Christian side.

The earlier high purpose of the crusading movement was regained during the last two fated crusades led by the sainted Louis IX of France. His first expedition was an assault on Damietta in Egypt, where he surpassed his knights in valor by leaping into the surf on landing and wading ashore with shield and lance. It was an act of daring that might have earned him an honored place in the heroic lines of the chansons de geste (French; songs of heroic deeds), but his effort was of no avail in Egypt. He tried to redeem himself in 1270, an enfeebled old warrior, but he failed again, giving up his life on an alien Tunisian shore.

In the fourteenth century, the crusading movement was briefly revived, and French chivalry was again represented at Nicopolis in 1396, when the king of Hungary led a campaign against the advancing Turks. Early battle successes were reversed when the French knights, spurning

wise counsel, attacked the Turkish front in a spirited charge but were massacred by a vengeful sultan, except for twenty-five of the wealthiest nobles, who were held for exorbitant ransoms. In 1444 the last medieval crusade, undertaken by knights from Poland and Hungary with the support of a Burgundian naval force, reached Varna on the shores of the Black Sea, where it was scattered in defeat.

Nevertheless, the spirit of the crusades endured through a unique blending of monasticism and chivalry in the military orders of the Templars and the Hospitallers. The first of these, taking their name from their quarters near the Temple of Solomon, were the Knights Templars. Like Western monks, they took the monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but they also pledged themselves to the code of chivalry and dedicated themselves to fighting in the defense of pilgrims. Eventually, their knightly zeal succumbed to ventures in trade and banking, which made the order enviably wealthy. In 1312, the French king Philip IV (called the Fair), in order to seize the Templars' riches, collaborated with Pope Clement V to destroy the order on grounds of sacrilege and Satanism.

The Hospitallers, whose full title was The Sovereign Military Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, also took the three monastic vows, but they carried out their chivalric duties in caring for sick pilgrims and crusaders. They fared better than the Templars. At the failure of the earlier crusades, the order went to the island of Rhodes where, in 1312, they received the confiscated property of the disbanded Templars. They came to be called the Knights of Rhodes, and with their naval force, they kept the eastern Mediterranean free of Muslim corsairs until, in 1522, they were driven out by the Ottoman Turks; they later found a home on Malta. In 1961, Pope John XXIII recognized the Knights of Malta as both a religious community and an order of chivalry.

The chivalric age also left many enduring monuments. During the crusading movement, the eastern Mediterranean coast became studded with defiant stone castles that French knights had built to safeguard the Holy Land against Islam. The massive walls and towers left on the Levant a lasting imprint of medieval France.

The age of chivalry was one of contrasts and contradictions. Jakob Burckhardt, the renowned scholar of the Italian Renaissance, visualized medieval consciousness as something that "lay half dreaming or half awake beneath a common veil . . . woven of faith, illusion, and childish prepossession, through which the world and history were seen clad in strange hues" (Burckhardt 1944, 81). His perception somewhat clarifies how the carnage of knightly battle could be so oddly tempered by the romantic respite of courtly love. Born of chivalric ideals, it evolved into a body of rules defining the proper conduct of noble lovers.

Most aristocratic marriages in the Middle Ages were made chiefly for the dowry of feudal lands the wife would bring to the union. Often a knight simply married a fief, and his wife came as an encumbrance. She entered into his life as a household helper and childbearer, rarely as a romantic lover. Medieval poets wrote that the true love of a knight must not be his wife, or even a damsel he might have wedded for love. Such marriages were incompatible with true chivalric love. A knight's chosen lady could be another noblewoman, married or not. When a knight had chosen his lover-to-be, he wrote her amorous letters and promised to prove his constant devotion by performing valorous deeds. Once they had given their hearts to each other, they pledged that their love would forever remain secret, and he swore that he would serve her for all his days, no matter what her commands might be. He was expected to compose songs and poems to extol her virtues, and it was fitting for him to sigh for his lady and suffer the pain of love's melancholy heartache.

Chivalry's demand that the suitor remain gallant in all things sometimes unfairly challenged a knight when his frivolous lady commanded him to perform extravagant feats to prove his love for her. According to the poets, Queen Guinevere, faithless wife of King Arthur, ordered Lancelot to undergo a round of ordeals before she surrendered to him in their adulterous love affair. Yet, the central theme of such unchaste love remained firm—a knight must perform heroic deeds for his lady.

The theme of chivalric love emerged in the poetry of the troubadours of southern France, who sang their voluptuous verses in the Provençal tongue. Then came the romantic minstrels of northern France, the trouvères, and the minnesingers of Germany, whose balladry carried on the same harmonious motif. The love theme that wanders through the tales of medieval knighthood and its chivalric code was enriched by the grande dame, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Married first to Louis VII of France, then to Henry II of England, she brought the songs of the troubadours into the royal court. Later, at Poitiers, she organized the first love court, where the code of courtly romance was woven into the military discipline of knightly chivalry and where an assembly of noblewoman settled quarrels between lovers and judged which gallant knight had loved the best. The proceedings of such courts were frivolous and artificial. Ideally, the knightly lover was expected to keep some distance from his lady, knowing that his love must remain hopeless. In truth, the lover's muted yearnings were not always unheard or unrewarded, and adultery often became an emotional release for many noblewomen hopelessly caught in a loveless marriage of convenience.

The rules for lovemaking among the nobility were set down in an irreverent manual by Andreas Capellanus, *De Arte Honeste Amandi* (Latin; On the Art of Loving Honestly). It became a guide for knightly romance

and elevated courtly love to a form of religion. Although that religion came into conflict with the Church's stand against adultery, it provided a clear mirror reflecting the romantic idealism of medieval nobility.

From the abundance of melodic poetry and heroic literature that served the cause of chivalry, there emerged several enduring narratives, such as *Lancelot,* by Chrétien de Troyes; Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan and Isolde; Le Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris; and the legends of the Holy Grail, the cup used by Jesus at the Last Supper and searched for devotedly by King Arthur's knights.

From the time of the Norman Conquest, French literature exerted a strong influence on English literary forms, and until the fourteenth century the French language replaced English in general composition. Jean Froissart, the itinerant historian from Valenciennes, became prominent among the literati of the fourteenth century. His major work, *Chronique de France, d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse et d'Espagne* (simply called the Chronicle), carries his account of the Hundred Years' War between France and England. Not a history in the modern sense, because Froissart was preoccupied with knightly deeds and "the fine feat of arms," it is rather a saga of chivalric display in the midst of battle.

The diverse documents of the later Middle Ages give us an ambivalent image of a chivalrous knight. One side shows us a young noble hero in bright armor, astride a magnificent white charger, lance poised, ready to defend his monarch, his ladylove, the Church, the poor and oppressed, and all good Christians who sought shelter under his protective shield.

The other side shows that knightly warfare was direct and savage. The crusader, heavily protected, first with chain mail, later with plate armor, was equipped with battle-ax and double-edged sword, forged in fire to slay the enemy swiftly. The Black Prince, Edward of England, who was prince of Wales during the Hundred Years' War, was, in spite of his violence in battle, compassionate to his war prisoners. In contrast, as was mentioned above, Richard the Lion-Hearted slaughtered his Muslim prisoners during the Third Crusade. As much as the code of chivalry was obeyed, it was also ignored. In any case, knightly comportment was reserved for the gentry. A knight extended his chivalrous courtesies only to a member of his class; and his ethereal devotion to his lady did not bridle his predatory advances toward women of the lower class.

The vast number of enthralled peasants who tilled the soil and reaped the crops on the feudal estates were part of another world, dominated by the small but powerful aristocracy. Revolts of the peasantry were inevitable. In 1358, the French peasants rose up in a jacquerie (peasants' revolt), demanding relief from their economic and judicial oppression; and in 1381, the Wat Tyler Rebellion, just across the English Channel, convulsed

England's gentry. In Luther's time, German peasants vented their rage against their noble masters. These risings were put down with vindictive slaughter, showing that the gentle knight of legend was also a ruthless killing machine.

And yet, chivalry as an exemplary way of life left rules of gentlemanly conduct for Europe's future society. After gunpowder made castles and armored knights obsolete, the ideals of chivalry were preserved in Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier,* which set standards of chivalric courtesy in the urban courts of Renaissance Italy, and the faded image of medieval knighthood emerged again in modern times as the Knights of the Golden Fleece, the Order of the Knights of the Garter, and the French Order of the Star. European monarchs continue to confer the title of chevalier or knight on distinguished public figures.

The ghost of the armored knight as a bloodied savage fighter lies with his bones under the sod of countless battlefields. As a virtuous warrior of ballad and song, he lives on in popular legend.

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See also Europe; Heralds; Knights; Orders of Knighthood, Religious; Orders of Knighthood, Secular; Religion and Spiritual Development: Ancient Mediterranean and Medieval West; Swordsmanship, European Medieval

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Combatives: Military and Police Martial Art Training

Combatives is the collective term used to describe military or paramilitary training in hand-to-hand fighting. For police, the emphasis is usually on restraining the opponent, while for armies the emphasis is usually on increasing soldiers' self-confidence and physical aggressiveness. During such training, the virtues of "national" martial arts frequently are extolled, often at the expense of actual tactical advantage.

Police and militaries also have displayed considerable interest in *nonlethal combatives*. This term refers to methods and techniques (manual, mechanical, or chemical) that are designed and used to physically control or restrain people but, unless used with deliberate malicious intent, are unlikely to cause crippling injury or death to healthy teens or adults. Most unarmed martial art techniques fall into this category.

Perhaps the first systematic attempt to use Asian martial art techniques by a modern military came in 1561, when the Ming general Qi Jiguang included moves from a Northern Shaolin sword form in his text called *Ji Xiao Xin Shu* (New Text of Practical Tactics). Shaolin Boxing also was mentioned, apparently because Qi believed that recruits handled their weapons more confidently if first taught to wrestle and box.

During the 1590s, peasant infantry of southern Japan's Satsuma clan were observed practicing firearm kata (forms), and in 1609 the Satsuma conquest of Okinawa owed much to the Japanese bringing 700 muskets and 30,000 bullets to what the Ryûkyûans, the native inhabitants of the island, expected to be a battle of arrows and pikes. Meanwhile in Europe the Republican Dutch began developing military musket drills. Mostly a form of industrial safety (accidental discharges pose a serious risk in closed ranks), the Dutch taught their methods using rote patterns like the Japanese kata (forms).

To counter the Dutch, the French and Spanish began developing bayonets. Firearms were slow to reload in those days, and not accurate much past fifty meters. So if one could close quickly enough, then one could be inside the enemy ranks before they could reload. Originally companies of pikemen made the charge, but with the development of socket bayonets in 1678, European infantrymen became musketeers.

Throughout the eighteenth century, European professional soldiers concentrated mostly on developing close-order drills designed to move troops en masse, and bayonet practice consisted of little more than troops sticking straw dummies. Following the Napoleonic Wars, however, interest developed in using sword and bayonet drills as a form of physical exercise.

The first such proposals came from amateurs. In 1817, for instance, the English fencing master Henry Angelo published a book that showed

cavalry fencing side by side on horseback; his inspirations included the Continental equestrian techniques performed at Philip Astley's London circus. Real cavalrymen were of course dismayed. "I, myself, as an ex-cavalryman who participated in cavalry charges during the First World War," sputtered Vladimir Littauer, "can assure you that the success of an attack does not depend on refinements of equitation but rather on the moment being rightly chosen" (Littauer 1991, 100–101).

Of more interest to military professionals was the program that Pehr Ling developed in Sweden. A graduate of Franz Nachtigal's academy, Ling believed that schoolchildren and soldiers needed to do exercises that made them respond quickly to their superiors. Furthermore, they needed to be graded in everything they did, and performances needed to show measurable improvement over time. Finally, physical training was something that both children and soldiers did for the nation, not for fun. So, with the support of the French general who was the Swedish crown prince, Ling established a Royal Central Institute of Gymnastics in Stockholm in 1813. Swedish military officers were required to attend this school, and in 1836 Ling, a noted fencer, published a manual on bayonet fencing for the Swedish Army.

For Ling, sticking the target with the point of the bayonet was especially important. If the opponent also has no bullets and the fighting is one-on-one, then his reasoning is sound, as thrusting provides the soldier with a better defensive posture and also protects the firearm's mechanism. However, in practice, the soldiers most likely to use bayonets were infantrymen suddenly ambushed by horsemen. Here, Richard Francis Burton explained in his 1853 *Complete System of Bayonet Exercise,* the bayonet was not used by one man working alone or even by a mass of men in a charge, but instead by four men working together in what was called a rallying square. Furthermore, the bayonet was not rammed deep, but instead used to slash. First, the victim was inconvenienced similarly either way, and more importantly, the slashing motion did not cause the bayonet to become stuck in the target. But this approach assumed that the bayonet was being used for combat rather than to teach aggressiveness, which was not always the case.

Of equal (and more enduring) interest to nineteenth-century military reformers were Ling's "Swedish gymnastics." Essentially modern calisthenics, Swedish gymnastics differed from German gymnastics mainly because they did not require bars, rings, and other equipment. Thus they were cheaper and easier to organize. Plus they had the advantage, at least to the Lutheran mind, that they were not much fun to do. Fun, after all, was the work of the devil. Hardship, on the other hand, built character.

Similar exercises became part of Swiss military training during the 1840s (a Swiss physical culturalist coined the word *calisthenics*) and British and German military training during the 1850s. The French followed suit

during the 1870s, as did the Japanese during the 1880s and the Americans during the 1890s. In all cases, the reforms coincided with the establishment of centralized training depots. Perhaps more than physical fitness, a key learning objective was conditioning recruits to respond instantly and appropriately to shouted commands.

Although nationalism played a part in choosing the exercises used (thus Germans and Japanese wrestled while Americans and British boxed), other arguments were also given. One was the nineteenth-century belief that physical training in boxing and similar sports built character, which in those days typically translated into reduced male sexual desire. (Sexually transmitted diseases were a serious problem in nineteenth-century militaries, causing 37 percent of hospital admissions in the British Army in India in 1888 [Hayton-Keeva 1987, 76–80].) Another was that such sports provided commanders with a tool with which they could demonstrate superiority over other commanders. And as always victories could be orchestrated for political purposes; as early as 1929 the Nazis staged a boxing tournament between French Algerians and German "Aryans" for the express purpose of inciting race hatred.

During the late nineteenth century, swords and bayonets fell into disfavor with most professional soldiers. The reason was that cavalrymen came to prefer revolvers and shotguns and infantry came to prefer breech-loaded firearms. Unfortunately, Japanese successes during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 convinced some politicians that the spirit of the bayonet was a key to victory. So when ammunition stocks fell low at the beginning of World War I, Allied conscripts were trained to attack with bayonets rather than shoot. Ammunition expenditure was reduced, but casualties were enormous.

As early as 1908 Colonel Sir Malcolm Fox of the British military gymnastics department claimed to see correlation between boxing and bayonet fighting, so throughout the 1910s the British, Canadians, and Americans recruited professional boxers as combatives instructors. Privately, the boxers were appalled, as most had enough experience in rough parts of town to know that anyone who brought a bayonet to a gunfight was going to end up dead. Still, the methods were easily taught to huge numbers of men, and the bayonets were effectively used by Allied military police to quell the British, French, and Italian mutinies of 1917.

For their part, the Germans and Austrians never devoted much effort to teaching bayonet fighting; as a German officer named Erwin Rommel put it, "The winner in a bayonet fight is he who has one more bullet in his magazine" (Rommel 1979, 59–60). Instead, at mass levels the focus was on squad and team development, while at the individual level the focus was on teaching picked sharpshooters to use cover, concealment, and bolt-action

Sven J. Jorgensen teaches Seattle police officers jûjutsu disarming tricks, November 23, 1927. (Seattle Post-Intelligencer Collection, Museum of History & Industry)

rifles mounted with telescopic sights. The pedagogy seems to have been sound, too, as, unlike the Allies, the German and Austrian armies did not suffer mutinies until the collapse of the Western Front in 1918.

Following the Armistice in 1918, training budgets shrank. Of course that didn't stop professionals from conducting quiet experiments during colonial and civil wars, and as early as the Spanish Civil War the Germans had begun replacing bayonets with light machine guns supported by tanks, artillery, and dive-bombers. In other words, they replaced banzai with blitzkrieg, a method that the U.S. Marines perfected against the Japanese in the Pacific and the Chinese in Korea.

In China, budgets were also slim. So in 1912, Feng Yuxiang, "the Christian general," ordered his officers and men to run obstacle courses, lift weights, do forced marches with packs, and practice *quanfa* (Chinese boxing). In 1917, a Communist student leader named Mao Zedong also encouraged his followers to practice *taijiquan*. But in both cases, this was because they viewed the boxing as a gymnastic that took little space and no special equipment rather than as a practical battlefield combative. (As recently as 1976, Red Army generals asked about the value of *quanfa* said, "Amidst heavy gunfire, who would want to enjoy the dance posture of swordplay?" [P'an 1976, 2].)

But outside military academies, fantasy ruled. Thus, during the 1920s

and 1930s, comic books and movies featured lantern-jawed heroes knocking out hordes of enemies using weapons no more powerful than a single right cross to the jaw. Heavyweight champion Jack Dempsey literally made a million dollars starring in a series of forgettable Hollywood films featuring exactly this technique.

Around the same time, police departments began providing officers with professional instruction. In New York City, Theodore Roosevelt authorized firearm instruction for police officers as early as 1895, and in Berlin, Erich Rahn began teaching *jûjutsu* to detectives in 1910. During the 1930s the Gestapo became interested in Japanese close-quarter methods; in 1938 a German policeman named Helmut Lehmann was sent to Japan specifically to learn jûdô, and upon his return to the Reich the following year, he was ranked fourth *dan* (fourth-degree black belt).

In Britain and Canada, policemen boxed or wrestled. (During the 1930s, a surprising number of Canadian amateur wrestling champions were police officers.) During the 1920s several London Metropolitan policemen also took jûdô instruction at the Budôkai, and in Vancouver, British Columbia, eleven Royal Canadian Mounted Police constables achieved *shôdan* (jûdô first-degree black belt ranking) by 1934.

In the United States, officer S. J. Jorgensen started a *jûjutsu* program for the Seattle Police Department in 1927. Police in Minnesota, Michigan, New Jersey, and California also started jûjutsu programs, and by 1940 such programs were nationwide. A British show wrestler named Leopold MacLaglan was often involved in establishing these programs, and the quality of instruction was not always the best.

J. Edgar Hoover's G-men had their own system of applied mayhem. The Bureau of Investigation's primary close-combat instructor was Major Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, U.S. Marine Corps, Retired. Biddle had done some boxing and fencing, and he enjoyed telling old ladies and little children Bible stories illustrated by homilies about how turning a bayonet-equipped rifle sideways would keep the bayonet from sticking to the opponent's ribs (McEvoy 1942, 538–539). During the late 1920s, Biddle taught some grip releases and disarming techniques to the Philadelphia police, and after Franklin Roosevelt made Biddle's cousin Francis the attorney general of the United States, the FBI hired him to teach close-combat techniques to agents. Since FBI training took place at a Marine base in Virginia, Biddle also got to show his tricks to Marine officers during summer encampments, and as a result the Marine Corps Association published Biddle's *Do or Die: Military Manual of Advanced Science in Individual Combat* in 1937. *Cold Steel,* a 1952 text written by a former student named John Styer, is an improved version of *Do or Die.*

The Soviet method of unarmed combat was called *sambo,* short for

samooborona bez oruzhiya (Russian; self-defense without weapons). Sambo started life as Kôdôkan Jûdô. From Sakhalin Island, 14-year-old Vasilij Sergevich Oshchepkov was sent to Tokyo in 1906. Admitted to the Kôdôkan in 1911, he earned his jûdô shôdan ranking in about six months and his second-degree grade in about two years. In 1914 he moved to Vladivostok, where he taught jûdô and did translations. In 1921 he went to work for the Red Army, and in 1929 he introduced jûdô to Moscow. In 1936 the Leningrad Sport Committee prohibited a competition between the Moscow and Leningrad teams; Oshchepkov complained, was arrested on a charge of being a Japanese spy, and subsequently died from what the Soviet police termed a "fit of angina." His students took the hint, and in November 1938 Anatolij Arcadievich Kharlampiev announced the invention of "Soviet freestyle wrestling," which coincidentally looked a lot like Russian-rules jûdô.

Following World War II, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin decided that the Soviets would compete in the Olympics. The Olympics already had international freestyle wrestling, so in 1946 Soviet freestyle wrestling was renamed *sambo*. (The acronym itself was the creation of Vladimir Spiridonov, but as he had been an officer in the Tsarist army, of course the Soviets downplayed his contributions, too.) Over time sambo and jûdô diverged, with the biggest difference perhaps being that sambo's philosophy emphasizes competition and self-defense rather than mutual benefit and welfare.

Colonies were not exempt from these nationalistic tendencies. For example, during the 1910s British policemen introduced boxing into Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa. The idea was partly to wean black Africans from fencing with sticks and Afrikaners from practicing big-bore rifle shooting, and mostly to have fun. The Rhodesian and South African whites were never happy about the black boxers, however. Put crudely, settlers feared that black boxers would get uppity, while district officers feared the development of pan-tribal networks of any kind, including the ones required to organize a boxing tournament. Therefore competitions were mostly all-white affairs.

Racist attitudes also applied in India. As the British extended their control into the Punjab during the 1840s and 1850s, British wrestlers began meeting Muslim and Sikh wrestlers. Wrote Richard Francis Burton, "Not a few natives in my Company had at first the advantage of me, and this induced a trial of Indian training" (Letter from Paul Nurse, August 28, 1996). As in Africa, Europeans were not happy about seeing white men lose, so the Indian government prohibited mixed-race matches in 1874. Deterring rajahs from wrestling with Europeans was harder, though. "My great-grandfather Shivaji Rao . . . was a keen wrestler who loved to call people off the streets to come into the old city palace to wrestle with him," Richard Shivaji Rao Holkar told Charles Allen during the 1980s. "In 1903

he beat up the British Resident. They said, 'This will never do, so out you go,' and he had to abdicate in favour of my grandfather Tukoji Rao III" (Allen and Dwivedi 1985, 248).

In 1910, the Bengali millionaire Sharat Kumar Mishra sent the Indian champions Great Gama, Ahmed Bux, Imam Bux, and Gulam Mohiuddin to Europe to prove that they could best Europeans, and after they did, the British Foreign Office prohibited them from having any further matches in London. And, following Japanese military successes in Burma in 1942, the British also prohibited all Indian professional wrestling, ostensibly to reduce the risk of factional violence between Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims.

U.S. servicemen introduced boxing into the Philippines as early as 1899, but Filipinos did not appear in the ring until around 1914. The reason for the American support was that the YMCA and the Knights of Columbus hoped that boxers would lead clean lives (the VD admissions rate in the Philippines for U.S. soldiers averaged around 17 percent [Sturdevant and Stolzfus 1992, 312–313]). Meanwhile the Filipinos wanted a gambling game with which to replace the banned cockfighting. Filipino collegiate athletes took up boxing after it was legalized in 1921, and this led to several medals during Far Eastern Championship Games. During the 1930s, the Filipino Constabulary also started encouraging members to practice freestyle wrestling. Here, however, the idea was less the improvement of skill in close-quarter battle than the desire to collect more medals during Far Eastern Championship Games.

A partial exception to this rule of nationalism being the driving force in the spread and development of twentieth-century military combatives appeared in China during the 1920s. In 1909, Shanghai police began receiving instruction in quanfa for the usual combination of nationalist and practical purposes. But by the 1920s the Shanghai police had come under the control of Europeans, and at the insistence of the British police captain William E. Fairbairn, officers began learning a combination of Japanese throws, British punches, Chinese kicks, Sikh wrestling, and American quick-draw pistol drills. The result was easy to teach, reasonably practical, and impressive in demonstration. During World War II the U.S., British, and Canadian governments hired Fairbairn, Dermot O'Neill, and other former Shanghai policemen to teach close-combat skills to commandos. Once again the demonstrations were impressive—and influential, too, as James Bond's superhuman skills in applied mayhem apparently date to a demonstration put on outside Ottawa in 1943.

But Fairbairn's pragmatism was an aberration, and during the late 1930s and early 1940s the establishment of Home Guard and Hitler Youth organizations created quite a market for jingoistic books. Examples include *Unarmed Combat* by Britain's James Hipkiss, *Combat without Weapons*

by Canada's E. Hartley Leather, and *How to Fight Tough* by America's Jack Dempsey and Frank G. Menke. Inuring readers to violence and dehumanizing the enemy were important leitmotifs in all these books. As for the methods shown, well, let's just say that they worked better on willing partners than armed SS Panzergrenadiers. For instance, consider the training in mayhem illustrated in *Life Magazine* on February 9, 1942, pages 70–75. Two of the men shown in the pictures are Frank Shibukawa and Robert Mestemaker. Private Shibukawa had learned his jûdô in Japan and was a prewar Pacific Northwest jûdô champion. Corporal Mestemaker, meanwhile, had started studying *jûjutsu* while in high school and had kept at it during the years he worked as a corrections officer at the Michigan state penitentiary. So both men entered the army already possessing a considerable base of knowledge. Furthermore, what they showed was not something taught everyone, but instead rehearsed tricks specially developed to impress Groucho Marx and other visiting dignitaries (Svinth, forthcoming) So too much should not be made of their expertise.

In Japan, sports, calisthenics, and military drill were widely used to prepare the adolescent male population for military service. This was not because the Japanese generals really expected soldiers to wrestle or box on the battlefield, but because they believed that such training instilled *Yamato damashii* (the Japanese spirit) into shopkeepers' sons. So, under pressure from Diet, in 1911 Japan's Ministry of Education decided to require schoolboys to learn *jûjutsu* and *shinai kyôgi* (flexible stick competition), as jûdô and *kendô* were known until 1926. The idea, said the ministry, was to ensure that male students should be trained to be soldiers with patriotic conformity, martial spirit, obedience, and toughness of mind and body. During the 1920s, Japanese high school girls also began to be required to study halberd fencing (*naginata-dô*). In 1945, the girls were told to drive their halberds into the groins of descending American paratroops, but of course the atomic bomb put an end to that plan.

Following Hiroshima and Nagasaki, most Americans believed that the bomb had rendered hand-to-hand combat obsolete. Therefore the U.S. military quickly abandoned all training in close-quarter battle, which is unfortunate, since the U.S. Navy's wartime V-5 program of hand-to-hand fighting was practical. Freedom fighters and terrorists, on the other hand, lapped it up. For example, Indonesian Muslims attributed nearly magical power to *silat,* Israelis developed *krav maga* for use by commandos, and the Koreans developed a version of karate called *taekwondo.* ("Through *Taekwondo,* the soldiers' moral armament is strengthened, gallantry to protect the weak enhanced, courage against injustice fostered, and patriotism firmly planted," boasted the Korean general Chae Myung Shin in 1969 [Letters to the Editor, *Black Belt,* May 1969, 4–5].)

And, with decolonization on the horizon, imperial masters began encouraging "native" soldiers to box and wrestle. In Uganda, for example, Idi Amin became a boxing champion in the King's African Rifles, while in Malaya, silat was taught to Malaysians opposing Chinese Communist insurgency.

The fear of Communism also inspired the Americans to rethink their attitudes toward combatives training. For example, labor unrest in Japan caused the Americans to reintroduce *kendô* and jûdô into Japanese police training programs as early as 1947, and in 1949 fear of Communist saboteurs encouraged General Curtis LeMay to introduce jûdô into U.S. Air Force physical fitness programs. The U.S. Air Force program also had a profound effect on the modern Japanese martial arts. Said future Japan Karate Association leader Nakayama Masatoshi: "The Americans simply were not satisfied with following blindly like the Japanese. So, under Master Funakoshi [Gichin]'s guidance, I began an intense study of kinetics, physiology, anatomy, and hygienics" (Singleton 1989, 83–84). Equally importantly, discharged servicemen returned home to open jûdô and karate schools, which in turn introduced Asian martial arts to Middle America.

During the Vietnam War, military psychologists decided that the best way to create killers was to replace time spent sticking bayonets into straw bales with time spent chanting phrases such as "Blood makes the grass grow; kill, kill." Although these methods reportedly increased firing rates (U.S. Army studies of debatable reliability report firing rates of 25 percent in 1944, 55 percent in 1951, and 90 percent in 1971), they also increased individual soldiers' risk of post-traumatic stress disorders such as alcoholism, drug abuse, and suicide (Grossman 1995, 35, 181, 249–261). The new methods didn't do much for accuracy, either—another Vietnam-era study found that while soldiers could put 300 rounds in the air per minute, at 50 meters they still only hit a paper target one time per minute (Davis 2000, 10).

So following Vietnam there was renewed interest, at least in the United States, in teaching hand-to-hand combatives to prospective combat infantry. The Marines experimented with various systems based on boxing and karate, while the army went New Age.

The base document for the army's program was a position paper called "First Earth Battalion," and among the latter document's recommendations was the suggestion that soldiers practice "battle tuning," which was described, in so many words, as a combination of yogic stretches, karate kata, paced primal rock, and Belgian waffles (Channon 1979). Although "battle tuning" was a bit esoteric for many old soldiers, in 1985 the army hired former Marines Jack Cirie and Richard Strozzi Heckler to provide a couple of dozen Special Forces soldiers with training in biofeedback, aikidô, and "mind-body psychology." After six months, the

soldiers were not aikidô masters but were on average 75 percent fitter than when they started (Heckler 1992, 1–2, 77, 91–92, 153, 263–264). Navy SEALs received an abbreviated version of this course in 1988, as did a company of U.S. Marines in 2000. Army Rangers, on the other hand, adopted Gracie Jiu-jitsu in 1994. In all cases, the idea was not to create great hand-to-hand fighters, but instead to instill the warrior ethos.

During the 1980s the United States decided to allocate significant resources to developing nonlethal technologies for use in what were euphemistically termed "operations other than war." Developments included chemical sprays, electronic stun guns, sticky foam, net guns, rope sprays, blinding lasers, and acoustic weapons. As suggested by the list, most of the new developments were technological rather than physical in nature. Police forces also began training officers in the use of pepper sprays. However, whether these changes were substantive or cosmetic remains to be seen, as by the mid-1990s the U.S. military had announced the initiation of research into robotic devices designed to replace human infantry altogether.

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D

Dojang

See Training Area

Dôjô

See Training Area

Dueling

A typical definition of the duel holds that it is a "combat between two persons, fought with deadly weapons by agreement, usually under formal conditions and in the presence of witnesses (seconds) on each side" or "any contest between two antagonists" (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*).

Discussions of dueling abound, but—except for Mr. Webster—precise definitions are missing. Characteristics of the duel, however, are in most discussions agreed upon:

1. Duelists fight with matched weapons, which are lethal
2. Duelists agree upon conditions, such as time, place, weapons, who should be present
3. Duelists are from the same social class
4. Motives range from preserving honor to revenge to the killing of a rival, with honor most frequently mentioned

Yet, a slight fuzziness remains as to what dueling is, making the classification of some encounters difficult. There is even fuzziness as to how *dueling* and *duelist* should be spelled. Webster gives the first spelling as a single *l,* the second as two *l*s. Webster's gives both *dueling* and *duelling,* both *duelist* and *duellist,* and considers both spellings equally acceptable.

The weapons used in duels are handheld personal weapons, the most common being bladed weapons (swords, sabers, rapiers, and knives) and firearms (generally single-shot pistols). Although the combatants may not intend to kill each other, the weapons used have that potential. Thus piano

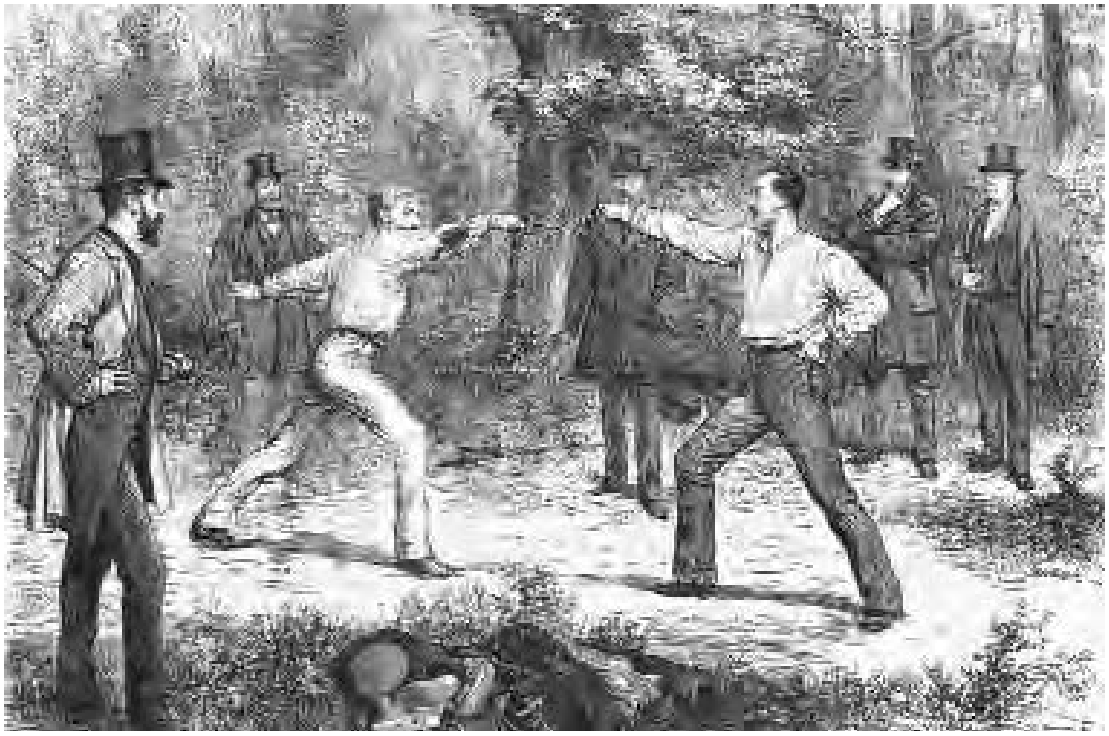
duels in late eighteenth-century Germany, or for that matter any musical contest, such as the Eskimo song duel, do not qualify as true duels. Differently equipped champions from different military forces, such as David and Goliath (First Book of Samuel, Old Testament), probably should also not be considered duelists, whereas similarly equipped Zulu warriors carrying shields and throwing spears who have stepped forward from their ranks to challenge each other can perhaps be considered duelists. It is harder, though, to decide whether military snipers with scoped rifles hunting each other in Vietnam or fighter pilots in that war or in earlier wars are duelists. Perhaps they should not be considered such because no rules are followed—ambushing whether in the jungle or from behind clouds being the primary tactic—rather than because of minor differences in weapons.

Duels are staged, not for the public, but before select witnesses, assistants (called in English seconds), and physicians. News of a duel, however, becomes public when word spreads of a wounding or fatality. Although duels are almost always between individuals, there is the possibility that they could be between teams. American popular literature and its movies abound with gunfights. Are these duels? When the Earp brothers met the Clanton and McLaury brothers for a gunfight at the OK Corral, was this a duel? Probably not, because witnesses and the other members of the typical duelist's entourage were not invited. Later, both Morgan and Virgil Earp were ambushed in separate encounters, with Morgan killed and Virgil crippled. Wyatt later killed the presumed assailants, probably in ambushes.

Although equal rank is not given as a defining attribute by Webster's, nearly all scholars who have studied the duel emphasize that duelists are from the same social class. If a lower-class person issues a challenge to an upper-class person, it is ignored and seen as presumptuous. The custom of dueling has died out in the English-speaking world, but when it was prevalent, it was considered bad form to challenge royalty, representatives of the Crown such as royal governors, and clergy. Indeed, it was treason to contemplate the death of the king or one of his family members. If the challenge came from a social equal, it might be hard to ignore. If the upper-class person chose not to ignore the lower-class person's challenge or insults, he might assault him with a cane or horsewhip.

The notion that gentlemen caned or horsewhipped men of lesser social status had symbolic significance. Any person hit with a cane or lashed with a whip was being told in a very rough and public way that he did not rank as high as his attacker; hence the importance of the choice of weapons by southern senator Preston Brooks for his merciless attack on New England senator Charles Sumner in Washington in 1856.

Sumner, in a speech, had used such words as "harlot," "pirate," "falsifier," "assassin," and "swindler" to describe elderly South Carolina sen-



A Code of Honor—A Duel in the Bois de Boulogne, Near Paris. *This illustration of a typical duel appeared in the January 8, 1875, edition of* Harper's Weekly *and clearly shows all the elements of a "duel." (Harper's Weekly)*

ator Andrew Pickens Butler. Preston Brooks, Butler's nephew, sought out Sumner and is reputed to have said: "Mr. Sumner, I have read your speech carefully, and with as much calmness as I could be expected to read such a speech. You have libeled my State, and slandered my relation, who is aged and absent, and I feel it to be my duty to punish you for it." The punishment followed, and Sumner was caned senseless (Williams 1980, 26).

General Andrew Jackson, future president of the United States, attempted in 1813 to horsewhip Thomas H. Benton, a future U.S. senator, but Benton reached for a pistol while Jackson dropped the whip and drew his own firearm. Benton's younger brother Jesse, who had the grudge against Jackson, was on the scene; he shot Jackson with a pistol loaded with a slug of lead and two bullets. Jackson's shoulder was shattered and his left arm pierced, but he refused amputation. Fifteen years later, when both Andrew and Thomas were U.S. senators, they became reconciled. During Jackson's presidency (1829–1837), Benton was a staunch supporter, and on Jackson's death in 1847 Benton eulogized him. Both Jackson and Benton killed men in duels.

Although motives for challenging and accepting a duel can vary, honor is most frequently mentioned. For members of an upper class, honor is directly linked to class membership. Dueling not only defines who is in

the upper class, but it also projects the message that the upper class is composed of honorable men. To decline challenges from members of one's own class can result in diminished class standing. For members of a lower class to decline to fight can also place them in physical jeopardy; they may become the targets of bullies who would steal from them, take girlfriends or mates, or injure them for sport. Upper-class members can call upon the police authority of the state to protect them. When unimportant people request protection, they are often ignored (unless perhaps they are spies or informers for the state).

A survey of armed combat among peoples without centralized political systems (i.e., those who live in bands and tribes) reveals numerous encounters that resemble dueling but fail to meet all four characteristics. Weapons are not matched, there are no agreed-upon conditions (or at least there is no evidence for such), or the social position of the combatants differs (social stratification is not found in bands, but may occur in tribes). Since motives can vary, the characteristic four cannot be used to rule out an armed combat that meets the other three characteristics. Sometimes, however, the criteria are met. Several examples of armed combat will be examined. The purpose of the survey is not to create a taxonomy but to reveal the conditions under which dueling arises. Several conclusions may be drawn from the following examples.

Although armed combat occurs among bands (usually hunters and gatherers), dueling, if it occurs at all, is rare. Among more politically complex social units known as tribes, dueling sometimes occurs. When it does, it is usually between combatants from different political communities, which are sometimes even culturally different. The survey indicates that dueling has its origin in the military, particularly within those societies that develop elite warriors. While nearly all societies have military organizations, by no means all warring societies produce elite warriors and a warrior tradition. Put another way, in political systems that are not centralized, every able-bodied male becomes a warrior, but in some societies some men become specialists in the use of weapons. If this occurs, there emerges a military elite with a warrior tradition. (Militaries that stress subordination of soldiers to the military organization do not develop an elite, even though the society may be highly militaristic.) These elites provide the first duelists. The duels take place, as noted above, between different political communities, rather than within a single political community. The combatants stand in front of their respective military organizations and represent them. This pattern is also found among peoples with centralized political systems (chiefdoms and states). At this level of sociopolitical complexity, duels between military personnel may occur within the political community. However, in some societies another factor—feuding—comes into play, which

strongly works against the development of internal dueling. Feuding societies do not have dueling. In societies without feuding, those no longer in the military and civilians imitating them may also engage in duels provided they are of the same social class, stratification being a characteristic of most centralized political systems. Middle and lower classes may imitate upper classes and/or adopt their own forms of dueling. Thus, dueling first arises in warfare and is then transferred to the civilian realm. The evidence suggests the following sequence of stages: (1) no duels, (2) duels between elite warriors from two political communities, (3) duels between military personnel within a political community, (4) duels between civilians within a political community.

For those societies at the first two stages, the following features are apparent. In nearly all uncentralized political systems every able-bodied man carries weapons for hunting—the spear, the bow and arrow, or the club. These weapons can also be used in warfare, assassinations, executions, self-defense, and dueling. A two-component warfare pattern consisting of ambushes and lines occurs in nearly all uncentralized political systems that engage in warfare. Ambushes combine surprise with a shoot-on-sight response, with better weapons than one's enemies if possible—no duel here. Line formations, however, may place opposing combatants a short distance from each other. Here is the place to start looking for duels. Paintings on rock walls provide the first evidence for armed encounters that could be duels. In Arnham Land, northern Australia, 10,000 years ago, Aborigines depicted warriors confronting each other with boomerangs, used as throwing and shock weapons, and barbed spears. Spears are shown plunged into fallen figures. Given the multiplicity of weapons both in flight and sometimes lodged in one figure, these scenes appear to illustrate line formations rather than duels. These native Australians, as well as !Kung Bushmen of South Africa, went armed most of the time. For egalitarian societies, James Woodburn has noted that "hunting weapons are lethal not just for game animals but also for people." He describes "the access which all males have to weapons among the !Kung [and other hunting and gathering peoples]. There are serious dangers in antagonizing someone. . . . [H]e could respond with violence. . . . Effective protection against ambush is impossible" (1982, 436). No duel here.

Tribes, the more developed of the two types of uncentralized political systems, provide examples of dueling. The line formations of the Dani of Highland New Guinea place enemy warriors in direct confrontation. The ethnographic movie *Dead Birds* by Robert Gardiner shows individual spear-throwers skirmishing. Although weapons are matched, this is not a duel. The confrontation arose during a battle, and there was no prearrangement for these warriors to meet. While the Zulu were still at the

tribal level of sociopolitical complexity (ca. 1800) they engaged in "dueling battles":

> When conflict arose between tribes, a day and a place were arranged for settling the dispute by combat. On that day the rival tribes marched to battle, the warriors drawing up in lines at a distance of about 100 yards apart. Behind the lines stood the remaining members of each tribe, who during the battle cheered their kinsmen on to greater effort. The warriors carried five-foot tall, oval shields and two or three light javelins. These rawhide shields, when hardened by dipping in water, could not be penetrated by the missiles. Chosen warriors, who would advance to within 50 yards of each other and shout insults, opened the combat by hurling their spears. Eventually more and more warriors would be drawn into the battle until one side ceased fighting and fled. (Otterbein 1994, 30)

The criteria for dueling seem to be met. Prearranged, challenges by individual warriors, matched weapons, same culture and social class. However, when more warriors join in and a general battle ensues, the duel is over. Zulu "dueling battles" just make it to Stage Two.

Plains Indians of North America provide a better example of dueling. These Native Americans belonged to military societies and were deeply concerned with honor and personal status. The following duel between a Mandan and a Cheyenne warrior recounted by Andrew Sanders tells it all:

> Formal single combats between noted warriors or between champions of groups are reported from warrior societies around the world. They are frequently reported for nineteenth-century Plains Indians. Sometimes they involved behavior comparable to the medieval European idea of chivalry, at least under the proper set of circumstances. A classic example is the American artist George Catlin's account of a duel between the noted Mandan leader Mato-Topé ("Four Bears") and a Cheyenne war chief. When a party of Mandans met a much larger Cheyenne war party, Mato-Topé made towards them and thrust his lance into the ground. He hung his sash (the insignia of his position in his military association) upon it as a sign that he would not retreat. The Cheyenne chief then challenged Mato-Topé to single combat by thrusting his ornate lance (the symbol of his office in his military association) into the ground next to that of Mato-Topé. The two men fought from horseback with guns until Mato-Topé's powder horn was destroyed. The Cheyenne threw away his gun so that they remained evenly matched. They fought with bow and arrow until Mato-Topé's horse was killed, when the Cheyenne voluntarily dismounted and they fought on foot. When the Cheyenne's quiver was empty both men discarded bow and shield and closed to fight with knives. Mato-Topé discovered that he had left his knife at home, and a desperate struggle ensued for the Cheyenne's weapon. Although wounded badly in the hand and several times in the body, Mato-Topé succeeded in wresting the Cheyenne's knife from him, killing him, and taking his scalp. Consequently, among his war honors Mato-Topé wore a red wooden knife in his hair to symbolize the deed, and the duel was one of the eleven war exploits painted on his buffalo robe. (1999, 777)

This pattern of an elite warrior stepping forward to take on a challenger is found in centralized political systems but gives way under pressure of intensifying warfare. The next example, from a chiefdom-level society, took place in northeastern North America between the Iroquois and their enemies the Algonquins. Prior to 1609, these Native Americans wore body armor, carried shields, and fought with bows and arrows. The opposing sides formed two lines in the open; war chiefs would advance in front of their lines and challenge each other. Samuel de Champlain, the French explorer, was with the Algonquins; he recounts his reaction to the encounter: "Our Indians put me ahead some twenty yards, and I marched on until I was within thirty yards of the enemy, who as soon as they caught sight of me halted and gazed at me and I at them. When I saw them make a move to draw their bows upon us, I took aim with my arquebus and shot straight at one of the three chiefs, and with this shot two fell to the ground and one of their companions was wounded who died thereof a little later. I had put four bullets into my arquebus" (Otterbein 1994, 5). Iroquois dueling came, thus, to an abrupt end. Iroquois and Huron campaigns and battles in the next forty years provide no examples of dueling.

Zulu "dueling battles" also ceased as warfare intensified. As the Zulu evolved into a chiefdom and then a state, a remarkable elite warrior, Shaka, devised a new weapon and new tactics in approximately 1810. He replaced his javelins with a short, broad-bladed stabbing spear, retained his shield, but discarded his sandals in order to gain greater mobility. By rushing upon his opponent he was able to use his shield to hook away his enemy's shield, thus exposing the warrior's left side to a spear thrust. Shaka also changed military tactics by arranging the soldiers in his command—a company of about 100 men—into a close-order, shield-to-shield formation with two "horns" designed to encircle the enemy. Shaka's killing of an enemy warrior with a new weapon and a new tactic brought an end to Zulu duels.

In the ancient Middle East (Middle Bronze Age, 2100 to 1570 B.C.), Semitic tribes of Palestine and Syria had individual combat "between two warrior-heroes, as representatives of two contending forces. Its outcome, under prearranged agreement between both sides, determined the issue between the two forces" (Yadin 1963, 72). Although Yadin refers to these contests as duels, the combatants were not equipped the same. In the example given, the Egyptian man who was living with the Semites had a bow and arrow and a sword; he practiced with both before the "duel." The enemy warrior had a shield, battle-ax, and javelins. The javelins missed, but the arrows found their mark, the neck. The Egyptian killed his opponent with his own battle-ax. Duels of this nature continued to be fought as the tribes developed into centralized political systems. In the most famous duel of all—approximately 3,000 years ago—the First Book of Samuel tells us that Goliath, a Philistine,

was equipped with a coat of mail, bronze helmet, bronze greaves to protect the legs, and a javelin. He was also accompanied by a shield bearer. David, later to become king of the Hebrews, armed with a sling, could "operate beyond the range of Goliath's weapons" (Yadin 1963, 265). Yadin insists that these contests are duels because they took "place in accordance with prior agreement of the two armies, both accepting the condition that their fate shall be decided by the outcome of the contest" (265). Yadin describes other duels where the soldiers are similarly equipped with swords (266–267). These are duels. Stage Two had been reached.

Duels between men of the same military organization, Stage Three, occur during more recent history in the West—that is, during the Middle Ages, and civilian duels, Stage Four, occur even more recently in Euro-American Dueling. Stage Three is not easily reached because a widespread practice, feuding, works against the development of dueling within polities. Approximately 50 percent of the world's peoples practice feuding (the practice of taking blood revenge following a homicide). In feuding societies honor focuses not upon the individual, as it does in dueling societies, but upon the kinship group. If someone is killed in a feuding society, his or her relatives seek revenge by killing the killer or a close relative of the killer, and three or more killings or acts of violence occur. In a feuding society, no one would dare to intentionally kill another in a duel. If a duel occurred in an area where feuding was an accepted practice, the resulting injuries and possible deaths would start a feud between the kinship groups of the participants. In other words, dueling neither develops in nor is accepted by feuding societies: Where feuds, no duels. Data from the British Isles support this conclusion. Feuding occurred over large areas of Scotland, and arranged battles between small groups of warriors (say thirty on a side) sometimes took place; dueling was rare in Scotland, and when it did occur it was likely to be in urban centers such as Edinburgh.

Stage Three dueling developed in Europe during the early Middle Ages, in areas where feuding had waned. Dueling within polities by elite military personnel is regarded by most scholars as a uniquely European custom, although they recognize that in feudal Japan samurai warriors behaved similarly. Monarchs at war, such as the Norman kings, banned feuding. (This is consistent with the cross-cultural finding of Otterbein and Otterbein that centralized political systems, if at war, do not have feuding even if patrilocal kinship groups are present.)

Several sources for the European duel have been proposed. Kevin McAleer suggests a Scandinavian origin: "The single combat for personal retribution had its beginnings as an ancient Germanic custom whose most ardent practitioners were pagan Scandinavians. They would stage their battles on lonely isles, the two nude combatants strapped together at the chest.

A knife would be pressed into each of their hands. A signal would be given—at which point they would stab each other like wild beasts. They would flail away until one of them either succumbed or begged for quarter" (1994, 13).

These "duels" are perhaps the origin of trial by combat or the judicial combat. The belief was that God would favor the just combatant and ensure his victory. Authorities would punish the loser, often hanging him. Judicial combats may have occurred as early as A.D. 500. Popes sanctioned them. Such trials largely disappeared by 1500. During the interval, the practice was "increasingly a prerogative of the upper classes, accustomed to the use of their weapons" (Kiernan 1988, 34).

Another possible source for the duel was the medieval tournament, which seems to have had its origin in small-scale battles between groups of rival knights. By the fourteenth century, the joust, or single combat, took the place of the melee, as the small-scale battle was called. Sometimes blunted weapons were used and sometimes they were not. Kiernan asserts that "all the diverse forms of single combat contributed to the 'duel of honour' that was coming to the front in the later Middle Ages, and was the direct ancestor of the modern duel. Like trial by combat or the joust, it required official sanction, and took place under regulation" (1988, 40).

Chivalry developed, and by the 1500s treatises on dueling were published. The duel in modern form became a privilege of the noble class. Stage Four was finally reached. For an individual, the ability to give and accept challenges defined him as not only a person of honor, but as a member of the aristocracy. As Europe became modern, the duel did not decline as might be expected, for the duel became attractive to members of the middle class who aspired to become members of the gentry. Outlawing of the duel by monarchs and governments did not prevent the duel's spread. The duel even spread to the lower classes, whose duels Pieter Spierenburg (1998) has referred to as "popular duels" in contrast to "elite duels." The practice even persisted into the twentieth century.

Perhaps because the duel persisted in Germany until World War II, creating a plethora of information, recent scholarly attention has focused on the German duel in the late nineteenth century. Three theories for its persistence have been offered: (1) Kiernan sees the duel, including the German duel, as a survival from a bygone era that was used by the aristocracy as a means of preserving their privileged position; (2) Ute Frevert argues that the German bourgeois adopted dueling as a means by which men could achieve and maintain honor by demonstrating personal bravery; (3) McAleer views the German duel as an attempt at recovery of an illusory past, a practice through which men of honor, by demonstrating courage, could link themselves to the ruling warrior class of the Middle Ages. The

theories are different, yet they have similarities, and together they shed light on the nature of the German duel.

Dueling was brought to the United States by European army officers, French, German, and English, during the American Revolution. Fundamental to the formal duel, an aristocratic practice, is the principle that duels are fought by gentlemen to preserve their honor. Dueling thus became established only in those regions of the United States that had established aristocracies that did not subscribe to pacifist values, namely the lowland South, from Virginia through the low country of South Carolina to New Orleans. Two theories have been offered to explain the duel in America. The first asserts that the rise and fall of dueling went hand in hand with the rise and fall of the southern slave-owning aristocracy. As Jack K. Williams puts it, "The formal duel fitted easily and well into this concept of aristocracy. The duel, as a means of settling disputes, could be restricted to use by the upper class. Dueling would demonstrate uncompromising courage, stability, calmness under stress" (1980, 74). Lee Kennett and James LaVeme Anderson, on the other hand, point out, "Its most dedicated practitioners were army and navy officers, by profession followers of a quasi-chivalrous code, and southerners, who embraced it most enthusiastically and clung to it longest. Like most European institutions, dueling suffered something of a sea change in its transfer to the New World. In the Old World it had been a badge of gentility; in America it became an affirmation of manhood. . . . Dueling was a manifestation of a developing society and so it was natural that men resorted to it rather than the legal means of securing a redress of grievance" (1975, 141, 144).

Yet the duel occurred primarily in areas where there were courts. "The duel traveled with low-country Southerners into the hill country and beyond, but frontiersmen and mountain people were disinclined to accept the trappings of written codes of procedure for their personal affrays!" (Williams 1980, 7). Several reasons seem quite apparent. The people of Appalachia were not aristocrats, many could barely read or write, and feuding as a means of maintaining family honor was well established. As argued above, if a duel occurs in an area where feuding is an accepted practice, the resulting injuries and possible deaths will start a feud; dueling can enter a region only if the cultural practices do not include feuding. Thus feuding and dueling do not occur in the same regions.

American dueling, unlike its European counterpart in the nineteenth century, was deadly. In Europe the goal of the duelist was to achieve honor by showing courage in the face of death. Winning by wounding or killing the opponent was unnecessary. On the other hand, many American duelists tried to kill their opponents. This difference was noted by Alexis de Tocqueville in 1831 in his *Democracy in America:* "In Europe, one hardly ever

fights a duel except in order to be able to say that one has done so; the offense is generally a sort of moral stain which one wants to wash away and which most often is washed away at little expense. In America one only fights to kill; one fights because one sees no hope of getting one's adversary condemned to death" (Hussey 1980, 8).

Dueling in the American South occurred from the time of the Revolution to the Civil War. Duels were frequent. Many of the duelists were prominent political figures, and the consequences were often fatal. Anyone doubting this statement should look at the first five denominations of U.S. paper money. One man whose head is shown died in a duel, while another killed a man in a duel: respectively, Alexander Hamilton and Andrew Jackson.

Political opponents Alexander Hamilton and Vice President Aaron Burr met on the dueling ground at Weehawken, New Jersey, on July 11, 1804, with their seconds. Hamilton's persistent libeling of Burr precipitated Burr's challenge. As the challenged party, Hamilton supplied the matched dueling pistols. The seconds measured the distance, ten full paces. The duelists loaded the pistols in each other's presence, after which the parties took their stations. On the command "Present," each raised his pistol and fired. Apparently, Burr fired first, with the ball hitting Hamilton in the right side; Hamilton swayed and the pistol fired, missing Burr. A surgeon friend of Hamilton attended to him. The surgeon's account says that Hamilton had not intended to fire, while Burr's second claimed Hamilton fired first. It was obvious to both Hamilton and the surgeon that he was fatally wounded.

Andrew Jackson's killing of Charles Dickinson in a duel in Logan County, Kentucky, on May 30, 1806, is less well known. The animosity between them grew out of a dispute about stakes in a horse race that did not take place. Jackson issued the challenge, which Dickinson eagerly accepted, although he did not have a set of dueling pistols. Yet Dickinson, a snapshooter who did not take deliberate aim, practiced en route to the dueling field. The agreed-upon distance was 24 feet. Jackson, a thin and ascetic man, dressed in large overgarments and twisted his body within his coat so that it was almost sidewise. Dickinson was a large, florid man. On the command to fire, Dickinson shot, and Jackson held his fire. Jackson was hit, his breastbone scored and several ribs fractured, but he stood his ground. Jackson's twist of body had saved his life. Jackson aimed and pulled the trigger, but the hammer stopped at half cock. He recocked it and took aim before firing. The bullet passed through Dickinson's body below the ribs. Dickinson took all day to bleed to death. Jackson was later criticized for recocking his pistol, something an honorable man would not have done. But each man wanted to kill the other.

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See also Gunfighters; Masters of Defence; Swordsmanship, European Medieval; Swordsmanship, European Renaissance; Swordsmanship, Japanese

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E

Escrima

See Philippines

Europe

The term *martial arts* today typically refers to high-level Asian fighting methods from China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and, to a lesser extent, Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, India, and Vietnam. This perspective is derived primarily from Western popular culture. The standard view holds that non-Asian contributions to the martial arts have been restricted to sport boxing, *savate,* Greco-Roman wrestling, and the modern fencing sports of foil, épée, and saber. Not only have substantial and highly sophisticated fighting systems, true martial arts, existed outside Asian contexts, but many survive and others are experiencing a renaissance. Like their Asian counterparts, Western martial arts offer their practitioners both self-defense and personal growth.

Proceeding from a concept of martial arts as formulated systems of fighting that teach the practitioners how to kill or injure an opponent while protecting themselves effectively, these combat systems may employ unarmed techniques or hand weapons (firearms excluded). The term *Western martial arts,* loosely used in this instance to encompass systems developing outside the greater Asian context, can refer to any martial art system that originated in Europe, the Americas, Russia, and even the Middle East or Central Asia. This entry will primarily focus on the martial arts of Europe, as its title suggests, but will also include arts from other areas that are usually ignored, although they are basically in the Western tradition. Sporting systems (such as boxing, wrestling, and modern fencing) that emphasize the use of safety equipment and intentionally limit the number and kind of techniques in order to be competitively scored are eliminated from consideration.

Although no claims can be made for an unbroken record, historical evidence suggests that Western martial arts have been in existence for at least 5,000 years. The first direct evidence of a high-level unarmed combat

system dates to the Egyptian Middle Kingdom (2040–1785 B.C.), where techniques of throws, kicks, punches, and joint locks can be found painted on the walls of the tombs of Beni-Hassan. This is the oldest recorded "text" of unarmed fighting techniques in existence. From the variety of physical maneuvers that are demonstrated, it can be inferred that a high-level system of self-defense and unarmed combat existed in Egypt by this time. In addition, Egyptians clearly had extensive training in armed combat. They developed two-handed spears that could be wielded as lances, created shields to protect their warriors in an age when armor was scarce and expensive, and developed a unique sword, the *khopesh,* that could be used to disarm opponents. It is not difficult, in retrospect, to see that military and martial prowess was one of the reasons that this great civilization was able to endure for thousands of years.

If one moves forward 2,500 years to the Greek peninsula, martial arts are clearly documented, not only through material artifacts such as painted ceramics, but also by firsthand written accounts of practitioners and observers of these arts. In unarmed combat, the Greeks had boxing, wrestling, and the great ancestor of the "Ultimate Fighting Championship": the *pankration* (all powers). Boxing during this era was not limited to blows with the closed fists, but also involved the use of the edge of the hand, kicks, elbows, and knees. Wrestling was not the "Greco-Roman" variant of today, but was divided roughly into three main categories. The first type involved groundwork wherein the participants had to get opponents into a joint lock or hold. In the second variant, the participants had to throw each other to the ground, much as in jûdô or Chinese wrestling. The third type was a combination of the two. In the pankration, the purpose was to get the opponent to admit defeat by any means possible. The only forbidden techniques were eye-gouging and biting. This meant that practitioners could use punches, kicks, wrestling holds, joint locks and choke holds, and throws in any combination required to insure victory.

The ancient Greeks were famously well trained in the military use of weapons as well. The Greek hoplite warrior received extensive instruction in spear and short sword as well as shield work. History provides us with the results of soldiers well trained in these arts both for single combat and close-order drill. When the Hellenized Macedonian youth Alexander the Great set out in the third century B.C. to conquer the world using improved tactics and soldiers well trained in pankration and the use of sword, shield, and long spear, he very nearly succeeded. Only a revolt from his own soldiers and his final illness prevented him from moving deeper into India and beyond. It would be reasonable to assume that Alexander and his forces, which brought Greek civilization in the areas of warfare, mathematics, architecture, sculpture, music, and cuisine through-

out the conquered territories of Asia, also would have spread their formidable martial culture.

Even more is known about the martial arts of the Roman Empire than about those of the Greeks. Indeed, it is from Latin that we even have our term *martial arts*—from the "arts of Mars," Roman god of war. From the disciplined training of the legionnaires to the brutal displays of professional gladiators, Romans displayed their martial prowess. In addition to adopting the skills and methods of the Greeks, they developed many of their own. Their use of logistics and applied engineering resulted in the most formidable war machine of the ancient world. Romans of all classes were also adept at knife fighting, both for personal safety and as a badge of honor. Intriguing hints of gladiator training with blunt or wooden weapons and of their battles between armed and unarmed opponents as well as the specialty of combat with animals suggest a complex repertoire of combat techniques. Speculation exists that some elements of such methods are reflected in the surviving manuals of medieval Italian Masters of Defence.

The decline of Roman civilization in the West and the rise of the feudal kingdoms of the Middle Ages did not halt the development of martial arts in Europe. In the period after the fall of the empire, powerful Germanic and Celtic warrior tribes prospered. These include many notorious for their martial spirits, such as the Gauls, Vandals, Goths, Picts, Angles, Jutes, Saxons, Franks, Lombards, Flems, Norse, Danes, Moors, and the Orthodox Christian warriors of the Byzantine Empire. The medieval warrior was a product of the cultural synthesis between the ordered might of the Roman war machine and the savage dynamism of Germano-Celtic tribes.

The feudal knight of the Middle Ages was to become the very embodiment of the highest martial skill in Western Europe. Medieval warrior cultures were highly trained in the use of a vast array of weaponry. They drilled in and innovated different combinations of arms and armor: assorted shields and bucklers, short-swords and great-swords, axes, maces, staffs, daggers, the longbow and crossbow, as well as flails and war-hammers designed to smash the metal armor of opponents, and an array of deadly bladed pole weapons that assisted in the downfall of the armored knight.

The formidable use of the shield, a highly versatile and effective weapon in its own right, reached its pinnacle in Western Europe. Shield design was in constant refinement. A multitude of specialized shield designs, for use on foot and in mounted combat as well as joust, siege, and single duel, were developed during the Middle Ages.

During the medieval period, masters-at-arms were known at virtually every large village and keep, and knights were duty-bound to study arms for defense of church and realm. In addition, European warriors were in a constant struggle to improve military technology. Leather armor was re-

An armored ninth-century Franconian warrior, assuming a defensive position with sword and shield. This figure is based on a chess piece from a set by Karl des Grossen. (Christel Gerstenberg/Corbis)

placed by mail (made of chain rings), which was eventually replaced by steel plate. Late medieval plate armor itself, although uncommon on most battlefields of the day, is famous for its defensive strength and ingenious design. All myths of lumbering, encumbered knights aside, what is seldom realized is plate's flexibility and balance as well as its superb craftsmanship and artistry. In fact, the armor used by warriors in the Middle Ages was developed to such quality that when NASA needed joint designs for its space suits, they actually studied European plate armor for hints.

Medieval knights and other warriors were also well trained in unarmed combat. Yet, there is also ample literary evidence that monks of the Middle Ages were deemed so adept at wrestling that knights were loath to contest them in any way other than armed. Unarmed techniques were included throughout the German *Kunst des Fechtens* (art of fighting), which included an array of bladed and staff weaponry along with unarmed skills. It taught the art of wrestling and ground fighting known as *Unterhalten* (holding down). The typical German *Fechtmeister* (fight-master) was well versed in close-quarters takedowns and grappling moves that made up what they called *Ringen am Schwert* (wrestling at the sword), as well as at disarming techniques called *Schwertnehmen* (sword taking). Practical yet sophisticated grappling techniques called collectively *Gioco Stretto* (usually translated as "body work") are described and illustrated in numerous Italian fighting manuals and are in many ways indistinguishable from those of certain Asian systems.

In the 1500s, Fabian von Auerswald produced a lengthy illustrated manual of self-defense that described throws, takedowns, joint locks, and numerous traditional holds of the German grappling and ground-fighting methods. In 1509, the *Collecteanea,* the first published work on wrestling, by the Spanish master-of-arms Pietro Monte, appeared. Monte also produced large volumes of material on the use of a wide range of weapons and on mounted fighting. He considered wrestling, however, to be the best foundation for all personal combat. His systematic curriculum of techniques and escapes was presented as a martial art, not as a sport, and he

emphasized physical conditioning and fitness. Monte's style advocated counterfighting. Rather than direct aggressive attacks, he taught to strike the openings made by the opponent's attack, and he advised a calculating and even temperament on the part of the fighter. He also stressed the importance of being able to fall safely and to recover one's position in combat. Clearly, Monte's martial arts invite comparisons to the Asian arts.

The illustrated techniques of Johanne Georg Paschen, which appeared in 1659, give an insight into a sophisticated system of unarmed defense in that the work shows a variety of techniques, including boxing jabs, finger thrusts to the face, slapping deflects, low line kicks, and numerous wrist- and armlocks. Similarly, Nicolaes Petter's *fechtbuch* (fighting manual) of 1674 even includes high kicks, body throws and flips, and submission holds, as well as assorted counters against knife-wielding opponents.

Similar unarmed combat systems can be found, among other contexts, in Welsh traditions and in the modern wrestling arts of *Glima* in Iceland, *Schwingen* in Switzerland, and *Yagli* in Turkey. Investigation into the multitude of unarmed styles and techniques from surviving European written sources is still in its infancy.

Obviously, then, the advent of the Renaissance only accelerated the experimentation and creation of Western fighting arts. Swordsmanship continued to develop into highly complex personal fighting systems. The development of compound-hilt sword guards led to extreme point control with thrusting swords, which gave great advantage to those trained in such techniques. With warfare transformed by the widespread introduction of gunpowder, the nature and practice of individual combat changed significantly. Civilian schools of fencing and fighting proliferated in these times, replacing the older orders of warriors. Civilian "Masters of Defence" in Italy, Spain, and elsewhere were sought after for instruction, and members of professional fighting guilds taught in England and the German states.

The art of sword and buckler (small hand-shield) was also a popular one throughout Western Europe at this time. It was once even practiced as a martial sport by thirteenth-century German monks. This pastime served to develop fitness as well as to provide self-defense skills. Sword and buckler practice was especially popular in northern Italy, also. Later, among commoners in Elizabethan England, it became something of a national sport. Similar to the sword and shield of the medieval battlefield, the sword and buckler was a versatile and effective combination for war as well as civilian brawling and personal duels. Its nonmilitary application eventually contributed to the development of an entirely new civilian sword form, the vicious rapier.

The slender, surprisingly vicious rapier was an urban weapon for personal self-defense rather than a military sword intended for battlefield use,

An old German woodcut illustrating various methods of the "art of fighting," Kunst des Fechtens, *which included an array of bladed and staff weaponry along with unarmed skills. (Courtesy of John Clements)*

and indeed, was one of the first truly civilian weapons developed in any society. It rose from a practical street-fighting tool to the instrument of a "gentleman's" martial art in Western and Central Europe from roughly 1500 to 1700. No equivalent to this unique weapon form and its sophisticated manner of use is found in Asian societies, and no better example of a distinctly Western martial art can be seen. The rapier is a thrusting weapon with considerable range and a linear style well suited to exceedingly quick and penetrating attacks from difficult angles. Dueling and urban violence spurred the development of numerous fencing schools and rapier fighting styles. The practitioners of rapier fencing were innovative martialists at a time when European society was experiencing radical transformations. By the late 1600s, this environment led to the creation of the fencing salons and *salles* ("halls") of the upper classes for instruction in dueling with the small-sword. The small-sword was an elegant tool for defending gentlemanly honor and reputation with deadly precision. An extremely fast and deceptive thrusting tool, it has distant sporting descendants in the modern Olympic foil and épée. Both rapier and small-sword fencing incorporated the use of the dagger and an array of unarmed fighting techniques. Each was far more martial than the sporting versions of today and far more precise than the amusing swashbuckling nonsense of contemporary films.

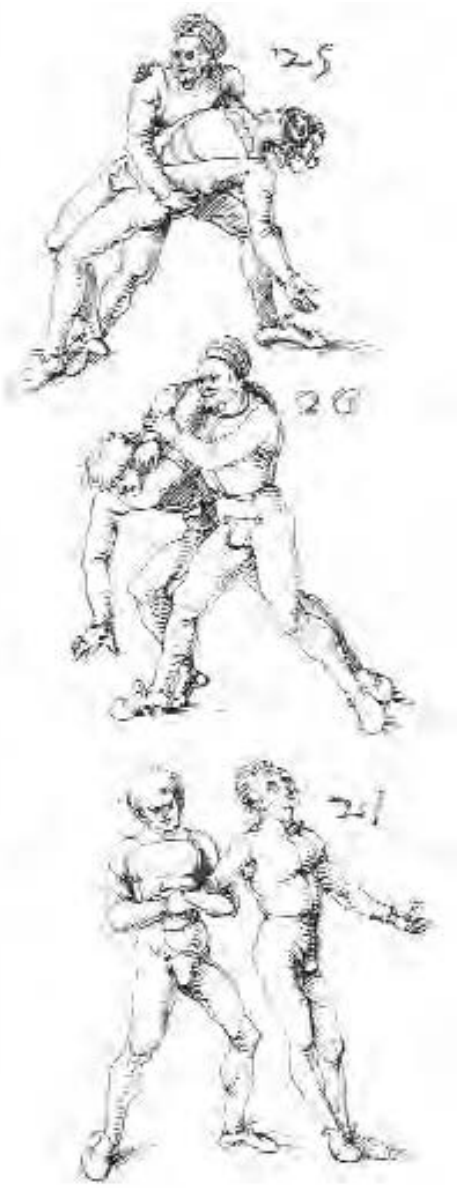
Russia was also a land where martial arts were in constant development. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, before the Mongol invasions, Russian warriors wore armor of high quality and wielded shields and long-swords in deadly combination. A Russian proverb confidently stated that a two-bladed sword from the *Rodina* (motherland) was more than a match for any one-bladed scimitar from the "pagans" (Muslims and Tartars). When Peter the Great assumed power in 1682, Russian peasants were so proficient at stickfighting that one of his first official acts was to put a stop to it. Peter was going to war against the Ottoman and Swedish empires, and he was going to need healthy troops for the army. In the stick-

fighting matches, a favorite village pastime, both combatants often were severely injured.

Russians also have a long history of indigenous wrestling traditions. Accounts from writers in the 1700s describe wrestling matches that lasted a great portion of the day, ending only when the victor had his opponent in a joint lock. We also know that as the Russian Empire expanded into Central Asia, the officers would write of native wrestling systems. Local wrestling champions from these conquered areas sometimes would be pitted against soldiers from the invading armies. Joint locks and choke holds were commonly mentioned as ways that such fights ended.

As they began the exploration and conquest of the globe, Western Europeans carried their martial systems with them. The Spanish, for example, maintained their own venerable method of fighting, *La Destreza* (literally, "dexterity," "skill," "ability," or "art"—more loosely used to mean "Philosophy of the Weapons" or "The Art and Science" of fighting). Spanish strategic military science and the personal skill of soldiers played a major role in the defeat of their opposing empires in the Americas and in the Philippines. It has been suggested in fact that the native fighting systems of these islands and Spanish techniques are blended in the modern Filipino martial arts.

Also during this time, new Western unarmed combat systems were being created and refined. Two examples that are still with us today are French *savate* and Brazilian *capoeira*. Since both systems developed as street combat styles rather than among the educated and literate classes, the origins of both are subjects of speculation and the oral traditions generated by such conjecture.



This "art of fighting" also included the art of wrestling and ground fighting known as Unterhalten *("holding down") and close-quarters takedowns and grappling moves, shown here in this Albrecht Düerer illustration. (Courtesy of John Clements)*

According to popular tradition, capoeira is a system of hand-to-hand combat developed by African slaves transplanted to work on the Portuguese plantations of Brazil. The style of fighting involves relatively little use of the hands for blocking or striking as compared to foot strikes, trips, and sweeps, and it often requires the practitioner to assume an inverted position through handstands and cartwheels. One of the most popular explanations for these unique characteristics is that with their hands chained, the African slaves took their native dances, which often involved the use of

handsprings, cartwheels, and handstands, and created a system of self-defense that could be performed when manacled. Following emancipation in the nineteenth century, capoeira became associated with the urban criminal. This association kept the art in the streets and underground until well into the twentieth century. Currently, the art is practiced in what is regarded as the more traditional Angola form and the Regional form that shows the influence of other (perhaps even Asian) arts. In either form, however, capoeira is a martial art that developed in the New World.

The origins of savate are equally controversial, but it is known that by the end of the seventeenth century, French sailors fought with their feet as well as their hands. Although savate is the best known, various related foot-fighting arts existed throughout Europe. Like capoeira, savate began as a system associated with the lower and criminal classes but eventually found a following in salles similar to those European salons devoted to swordsmanship. Savate, in fact, incorporates forms using canes, bladed weapons, and wrestling techniques. A sporting form of savate—*Boxe Française*—survives into the contemporary period, as well as a more self-defense-oriented version—*Danse de rue Savate* (loosely, "Dance of the Street Savate"). Modern savate (especially Boxe Française) incorporates many of the hand strikes of boxing along with the foot techniques of the original art. Among the practitioners of this outstanding fighting art were Alexandre Dumas and Jules Verne. Indeed, the character of Passepartout in Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days* is a savate expert who is called upon to save his employer.

Despite gaps in the historical record, it is apparent that for better than two millennia unarmed combat was developed, refined, and practiced by cultures as empires rose and fell. Armed combat shifted and changed with the advent of new and improved military technology. Clearly, fighting systems that required sophisticated training and practice have been in use in the "Western" regions of the globe as long as many Asian martial arts.

The development of firearms, however, led to an unprecedented technological revolution in Western military science that radically changed ideas of warfare and personal safety in that sector of the world. By the late 1600s, the firearm was the principal tool of personal and battlefield combat, and all practical armor was useless against it. The availability of pistols discouraged the use of rapiers or small-swords for personal defense or as dueling weapons. At the time of the American Civil War, repeating revolvers and rifles, Gatling guns, and cannons loaded with grapeshot ensured that attempts to use swords and cavalry charges against soldiers armed with such weapons would end as massacres.

In the twentieth century the West "discovered," and in many cases redefined, Asian martial arts and recovered many of their own fighting tra-

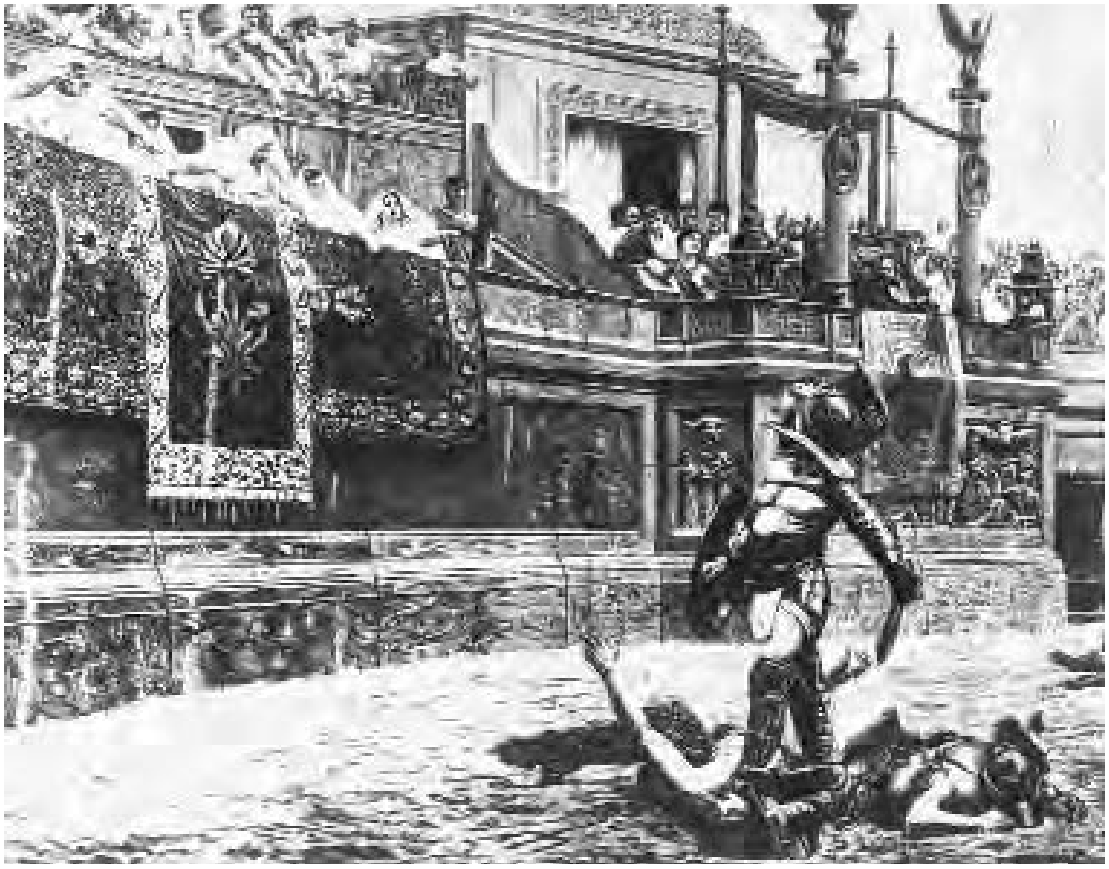


Illustration published in 1958 of a victorious gladiator standing over his defeated opponent as the crowd gives the thumbs down, indicating death, at the Colosseum in Rome. (Library of Congress)

ditions. For example, the contemporary Russian martial art of *sambo* (an acronym in Russian for "self-defense without weapons") draws on both European and Asian systems for its repertoire of techniques. Sambo was developed in the 1920s by Anatolij Kharlampiev, who spent years traveling around the former Soviet Union analyzing and observing the native fighting systems. He duly recorded and freely borrowed techniques from Greco-Roman and freestyle wrestling (from the Baltic States), Georgian jacket wrestling, *Khokh* (the traditional fighting system of Armenia), traditional Russian wrestling, Turkish wrestling systems from Azerbaijan and Central Asia, and Kôdôkan Jûdô. The result was a fighting system that was so effective that when it was first introduced by European *jûdôka* (Japanese; jûdô practitioners) in the early 1960s, the Soviets won every match. The Soviets also were the first to best the Japanese at their own sport of jûdô in the 1972 Munich Olympics. The Soviet competitors were sambo practitioners cross-trained in jûdô rules.

An example of the redefinition of Asian martial arts can be found in the 1990s craze of Brazilian jiu-jitsu. Although accounts of the creation of

the art vary, it is generally accepted that Hélio Gracie, the founder of Gracie Jiu-jitsu, studied briefly with a Japanese jûjutsu instructor and then began to formulate his own system. He was very successful; the Ultimate Fighting Championship, which has achieved worldwide fame, is a variation of the *Vale Tudo* (Portuguese; total combat) of Brazil where Gracie practitioners reign supreme. *Karateka* (Japanese; practitioners of karate) and other Asian martial artists have been far less successful.

A similar redefinition is found in the contemporary Israeli martial art of *krav maga* (Hebrew; contact combat), developed by Imi Lichtenfeld. It is the official fighting art of the Jewish State. Rather than relying on an Asian model, however, Lichtenfeld synthesized Western boxing and several styles of grappling to create a fighting art that is easy to learn and extremely effective.

These unarmed fighting arts demonstrate that Westerners are far from unlearned in hand-to-hand combat. Such traditions are part of Western history.

While it has been said that there are many universal principles common to all forms of fighting, it is misleading and simplistic to suggest that Eastern and Western systems are all fundamentally the same. There are significant technical and conceptual differences between Asian and European systems. If there were not, the military histories, the swords, and the arms and armor of each would not have been so different. Forcing too many similarities does a disservice to the qualities that make each unique.

As both military science and society in the West changed, most indigenous martial arts were relegated to the role of sports and obscure pastimes. Sport boxing, wrestling, and sport fencing are the very blunt and shallow tip of a deep history that, when explored and developed properly, provides a link to traditions that are as rich and complex as any to emerge from Asia.

Currently, however, efforts are under way to perpetuate and revive traditional martial arts of the Western world. For example, armed combat using the weapons of medieval and Renaissance Europe is being rediscovered by organizations whose members have drawn on the historical fighting texts of Masters of Defence for guidance. Today, as more and more students of historical European martial arts move away from mere sport, role-playing, and theatrics, a more realistic appreciation and representation of Western fighting skills and arms is emerging.

Gene Tausk
John Clements

See also Boxing, European; Dueling; Knights; Krav Maga; Masters of Defence; Pankration; Sambo; Savate; Stickfighting, Non-Asian; Swordsmanship, European Medieval; Swordsmanship, European Renaissance; Wrestling and Grappling: Europe

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External vs. Internal Chinese Martial Arts

In general, Chinese fighting arts have been classified as external or internal, hard or soft. This classification system depends on the source of the energy applied: In theory, an art may apply muscular and structural force (the external element) activated by forceful muscular contraction (the hard aspect), or it may depend on control of the circulation of an inner force called *qi* (*chi*) (the internal factor), which can be accumulated in the *dantian* (area

below the navel) by physical and spiritual exercise and can flow only through a relaxed body (the soft aspect).

An alternative approach to these categories focuses on the mechanics of the application of force. A soft art is one in which the martial artist yields in the face of an opposing force, either evading the force entirely or redirecting it without directly clashing. These systems may couch explanations in terms of "borrowing" force from an opponent (which involves applying force in the direction in which an opponent moves while evading the attack itself). The movements are rounded or even circular in such systems, and great emphasis is put on relaxed, or even relatively slow, motions involving the body working as a whole, rather than on using the limbs divorced from the trunk. These systems employ throws, joint locks, kicks, and punches. Evasion and redirection are favored over blocking.

Hard styles call for a confrontation of force by force, with the defending force generally applied at angles to the oncoming force. The movements are categorized as linear and applied with maximum power and speed. The limbs are said to operate independently from the rest of the body. These martial arts tend to favor strikes over locks and throws and blocking over evasion.

The principal soft martial arts are *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan), *xingyiquan* (hsing i ch'uan), and *baguazhang* (pa kua ch'uan). As well as being fighting systems, these arts are regarded as physically and spiritually therapeutic, due to the stimulation of qi. Many traditional explanations of the beneficial effects of these martial exercises rely on Daoist alchemy. In fact, the internal arts in general have been associated with the boxing of the Daoist Zhang Sanfeng (Chang Sang-feng) of Wudang (Wu Tang) Mountain.

The most popular hard styles are those that are believed to be derived from Shaolin Temple boxing systems. Therefore, these arts are associated with Buddhism. Damo (Ta Mo; Bodhidharma), who, according to tradition, brought the doctrines of the Chan (Zen) sect from India to the Songshan Temple of Henan province, is looked to as the progenitor of the Shaolin arts. Many of the fighting arts familiar both in China and internationally are based on these systems. They are regarded as more easily and quickly learned than the soft arts.

Philosophically, then, the soft or internal arts have been associated with Daoism, while the hard or external arts have traditionally been connected to the Chan Buddhism practiced at Shaolin Temples, especially the one in Henan. Attempts to connect the respective styles to wandering monks, Daoist hermits, or temples are traditional in the martial arts. All these etymologies reflect shared understandings of the arts by practitioners but, given the oral traditions on which they rely, may be heavily laden with mythologizing.

Not only the origins of the respective styles, but the veracity of this classification system itself have been questioned. The presence of softness, circularity, and even postures similar to those of taiji and the other "internal" soft styles has been noted for Shaolin styles. For example, the popular Southern Shaolin art of yongchun (wing chun) embodies relaxation, yielding, and clinging energy in its *chi shou* (chi sao; sticking hands) techniques, along with linear punches. By the same token, Chen-style taiji utilizes forceful stamping and explosive movement as well as rhythmic, whole-body motion. Xingyi is linear and forceful, its internal classification notwithstanding.

In this vein, Stanley Henning has presented compelling historical arguments that the distinction between internal and external is spurious. Tracing the first reference to an Internal School (Wudang Boxing) as distinct from an External School (Shaolin Boxing) to the Qing dynasty (1644–1912) and to historian and Ming supporter Huang Zongxi (1610–1695), Henning puts forth the hypothesis that the split developed as a misinterpretation of work that was intended as an anti-Manchu parable alluding to the fall of the Ming to the Manchu Qin dynasty. He goes on to note that the principles of both soft/internal and hard/external are apparent in Chinese fighting arts in general, regardless of the labels imposed under the soft-hard dichotomy. Both the political motivations of the initial division of the arts during the Qing dynasty and the artificiality of an internal-external split are transmitted orally within Chinese Boxing, although a variety of hypotheses coexist.

Nevertheless, the popular opinion holds that there is a meaningful distinction between the internal and external schools. Robert Smith, Chinese martial arts master and author of the first books in English on the arts of baguazhang, taijiquan, and xingyiquan, in a body of work spanning three decades, steadfastly maintains profound differences between the two categories on all levels. At least through the end of the twentieth century, the internal-external taxonomy prevails.

Thomas A. Green

See also Baguazhang (Pa Kua Ch'uan); Boxing, Chinese; Boxing, Chinese Shaolin Styles; Ki/Qi; Taijiquan (Tai Chi Ch'uan); Xingyiquan (Hsing I Ch'uan)

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F

Folklore in the Martial Arts

The martial arts, like all areas of human endeavor, have developed folklore (materials that are learned as an element of the common experience in a special interest group, which could be based on ethnicity, avocation, gender, among other factors) as an integral element of their core knowledge. In fact, by virtue of the secrecy and exclusively oral transmission inherent in most traditions, martial arts communities provide especially favorable conditions for the development of folklore. The most highly developed folk genres in the martial arts fall into three principal categories: myth, legend, and folk belief. The first two genres often focus on origins and include tales ranging from those concerning the origins of war and weapons in general to the origins of specific styles of martial arts. The third type tends to focus on the qualities of particular arts and, in general, articulates relationships between fighting systems and larger belief systems (e.g., religion, medicine).

Myths are narratives set in an environment predating the present state of the cosmos. The world and its features remain malleable. The present order and laws of cause and effect have not yet been set into motion. The actors in such narratives tend to be gods, demons, or semidivine ancestors. Myth characteristically concerns itself with basic principles (the ordering of the seasons, the creation of moral codes).

Legends, on the other hand, are set in the historical reality of the group, are populated by human (though often exceptional) characters, and focus on more mundane issues. In many cases, these narratives are based to some degree on historically verifiable individuals. Although the events described may be extraordinary, they never cross the line into actions that are implausible to group members.

Folk belief may be cast in narrative form, may exist as a succinct statement of belief, or may survive simply as allusions to elements of the common knowledge of the group (i.e., as traditional axioms). Finally, the label "folk" should not serve as a prejudicial comment on the validity of the material so

labeled. Such elements of expressive culture invariably reflect qualities of self-image and worldview, and thus merit attention.

These materials frequently exist apart from written media (although committing a narrative, for example, to print does not change the folk status of those versions of the tale that continue to circulate by oral or other traditional means). While orally transmitted narratives have the potential for maintaining thematic consistency, factual accuracy in the oral transmission of historical information over long periods of time is rare. Oral tradition tends to force events, figures, and actions into consistency with the worldview of the group and the group's conventional aesthetic formulas (seen, e.g., in plots, character types, or narrative episodes). Also, since the goal of these genres is rhetorical, not informative, history is manipulated or even constructed in an effort to legitimize the present order.

Moreover, in the martial arts information equates to a kind of power; the purveyor of information controls that power, and others will seek to benefit from it. Some martial arts myths seek to elicit patriotic sympathies or, at a minimum, to identify with familiar popular symbols. One should also keep in mind that some of these myths may be intentionally deceptive and may have a political agenda. Often, the possible motives behind the myths are more fascinating than the myths themselves.

Origin Narratives

Probably the earliest martial arts–related Chinese myth is the story of the origin of war and weapons. This narrative goes back to the legendary founder of Chinese culture, the Yellow Emperor, and one of his officials, Chi You, who rebelled against him. Chi You, China's ancient God of War, who is said to have invented weapons, is depicted as a semihuman creature with horns and jagged swordlike eyebrows. The story describes the suppression of Chi You's rebellion and the attaining of ultimate control over the means of force by the Yellow Emperor. Symbolically, it reflects the perpetual conflict between authority and its opponents.

Such mythic narratives substantiate the claims of smaller groups within larger cultures as well. The origin narrative orally perpetuated within *Shôrinjin-ryû Saitô Ninjitsu* is representative. Oppressed by raiders, a group of northern Japanese farmers sent a young man to find help. Reaching a sacred valley, he fasted and meditated for twenty-one days, until the Shôrinjin (the Immortal Man) appeared and granted him the art of "Ninjitsu Mastery, the 'Magical Art'" (Phelps 1996, 70). While returning home, he was swept up by *tengu* (Japanese; mountain demons) who took him to Dai Tengu (king of the Tengu), who bestowed upon him the art of double-spinning Tengu Swordsmanship. He then returned to his village to defeat their enemies by means of the system he had acquired, a

A nineteenth-century depiction of Minamoto no Yoshitsune, a famous and chivalrous warrior, being taught martial arts by the tengu *(mountain goblins) on Mount Kurama, outside Kyoto. (Asian Art & Archaeology, Inc./Corbis)*

system that has been passed down along the Saitô family line to the present (Phelps 1996).

Similar narratives of origin ascend the social strata. Although the previous narrative is preserved solely by means of oral tradition, historian Roy Ron notes similar mythic motifs in Japanese sword schools during the Tokugawa period. He observes that the historical documentation of a school's lineage, along with such information as "the founder's biography and some historical information relating to the style; often they included legends and myths of sacred secret transmission of knowledge from legendary warriors, supernatural beings, or from the divinities themselves to the founder's ancestors. Such divine connection provided the school with authority and 'proof' of superior skills in an increasingly competitive world of swordsmanship."

In contrast, legends occur in a more contemporary setting and are often more widely disseminated, as is the story of the Maiden of Yue, a legend that reveals the principles of Chinese martial arts, including yin-yang theory (complementary opposition). It is also part of a larger story of how Gou Jian, king of the state of Yue, sought to strengthen his state by employing the best assets available (including women in this case). As a result he overcame his old opponent, the king of Wu, and became the dominant hegemon at the close of the Spring and Autumn period (496–473 B.C.).

Legends Associated with Locales

Legends of the Shaolin Monastery represent this narrative category well, since the site literally swims in an ocean of greater and lesser myths and legends formed from a core of facts. The monastery is the home of Chinese Chan (Zen) Buddhism, which is said to have been introduced by the Indian monk Bodhidharma around A.D. 525. History further records that thirteen Shaolin monks helped Tang emperor Taizong (given name Li Shimin) overcome a key opponent in founding the Tang dynasty. In the mid-sixteenth century, a form of staff fighting was named for the monastery. Numerous references from this period also cite martial arts practices among the Shaolin monks, and the heroic exploits of some of the monks in campaigns against Japanese pirates during this period brought them lasting fame as the Shaolin Monk Soldiers. These basic shreds of fact provide the raw materials for constructing folk historical narrative.

In discussing the more prominent traditional narratives associated with Shaolin Monastery, it is instructive to address them in the chronological order of their appearance on the stage of history. The earliest of these is the story (recorded ca. 960) of the monk Seng Zhou (ca. 560) who, in his youth, is said to have prayed to a temple guardian figure to help him become strong enough to ward off his bullying fellow acolytes. The guardian

figure offers him meat to build his strength. Ironically, while the story is exaggerated, it may reveal something about the actual nature of monastic living during Buddhism's early years in China, including loose adherence to the vegetarian dietary codes prescribed for Buddhists. Another much later legend (oral and of unknown origin) claims Tang emperor Taizong issued a decree exempting Shaolin monks from the strict Buddhist vegetarian diet because of their assistance in capturing one of the emperor's opponents (a mix of fact and fiction).

There is only one narrative directly associated with an identifiable Shaolin martial art; this is the story (related on a stone tablet dated ca. 1517) of a kitchen worker who, the tale relates, is said to have transformed himself into a fierce guardian spirit called King Jinnaluo. According to this text, the worker in spirit form scared off a band of marauding Red Turban rebels with his fire-stoking staff and saved the monastery during the turbulence at the end of the Yuan dynasty (ca. 1368). Actually, the monastery is known to have been largely destroyed and to have been abandoned by the monks around this time. Therefore, the story seems to have served a dual purpose: to warn later generations of monks to take their security duties seriously and (possibly) to reinforce the martial image of the place in order to ward off would-be transgressors. In any case, in the mid-sixteenth century, a form of staff fighting was named for the monastery.

The next Shaolin narrative, which appears in *Epitaph for Wang Zhengnan,* written by the Ming patriot and historian Huang Zongxi in 1669, is wrapped up in the politics of foreign Manchu rule over China. According to this story, the boxing practiced in Shaolin Monastery became known as the External School, in contrast to the Internal School, after the Daoist Zhang Sanfeng (ca. 1125) invented the latter. Here, Internal School opposition to the External School appears to symbolize Chinese resistance to Manchu rule. In the twentieth century, proponents of Yang-style *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan) adopted Zhang Sanfeng as their patriarch, giving this legend new life.

Migratory Legends

According to at least one of the origin legends circulating in the taijiquan repertoire, one day Zhang Sanfeng witnessed a battle between a crane and a snake, and from the experience he created taiji. It is probably not coincidental that this origin narrative is associated with more than one martial art. For example, Wu Mei (Ng Mui), reputed in legends of the Triad society (originally an anti-Qing, pro-Ming secret society, discussed below) to be one of the Five Elders who escaped following the burning of the Shaolin Monastery by the Qing, was said to have created *yongchun* (wing chun) boxing after witnessing a battle between a snake and a crane, or in some

versions, a snake and a fox. From Sumatra comes the same tale of a fight between a snake and a bird, witnessed by a woman who was then inspired to create Indonesian *Silat*.

Folklorists label narratives of this sort migratory legends (believed by the folk, set in the historical past, frequently incorporating named legendary figures, yet attached to a variety of persons in different temporal and geographic settings). Among the three possible origins of the tale type—cross-cultural coincidence of events, cross-cultural creations of virtually identical fictions, and an original creation and subsequent borrowing—the latter is the most likely explanation.

The animal-modeling motif incorporated into the taiji, yongchun, and silat legends is common among the martial arts. This motif runs the gamut from specific incidents of copying the animal combat pattern, as described above, to the incorporation of general principles from long periods of observation to belief in possession by animal "spirits" in certain Southeast Asian martial arts.

Sometime after 1812, a legend arose with the spread of membership in the Heaven and Earth Society (also known as the Triads or Hong League), a secret society. Associating themselves with the heroic and patriotic image of the Ming-period Shaolin Monk Soldiers, Heaven and Earth Society branches began to trace their origins to a second Shaolin Monastery they claimed was located in Fujian province. According to the story, a group of Shaolin monks, said to have aided Emperor Kangxi to defeat a group of Mongols, became the object of court jealousies and were forced to flee south to Fujian. There, government forces supposedly located and attacked the monks' secret Southern Shaolin Monastery. Five monks escaped to become the Five Progenitors of the Heaven and Earth Society. Around 1893, a popular knights errant or martial arts novel, *Emperor Qianlong Visits the South* (also known as *Wannian Qing,* or Evergreen), further embellished and spread the story. Like such heterodox religious groups as the Eight Trigrams and White Lotus sects, and the Boxers of 1900, secret-society members practiced martial arts. The factors of their involvement in martial arts, the center of their activity being in southern China, and identification with the mythical Southern Shaolin Monastery resulted in a number of the styles they practiced being called Southern Shaolin styles.

The connection of sanctuaries, political resistance, and the clandestine practice of martial arts apparent in these nineteenth-century Chinese legends is a widespread traditional motif. The following two examples suggest its dissemination as well as suggesting that this dissemination is not due to the diffusion of an individual narrative. Korean tradition, Dakin Burdick reports, holds that attempts to ban martial arts practice by the conquering

Japanese led the practice of native arts (many of which were Chinese in origin) to move "to the Buddhist monasteries, a traditional place of refuge for out-of-favor warriors" (1997, 33). Similarly, in the African Brazilian martial culture of capoeira, the traditional oral history of the art ties it to the *quilombo* (Portuguese; runaway slave settlement) of Palmares. Under the protection of the legendary King Zumbi, capoeira was either created in the bush or retained from African unarmed combat forms (sources differ regarding the origin of the art). Preserved in the same place were major elements of the indigenous African religions, from which were synthesized modern Candomble (a syncretic blend of Roman Catholicism and African religions) and similar New World faiths. Thus, capoeira's legendary origins are associated with both ethnic conflict and religions of the disenfranchised in a manner reminiscent of the Shaolin traditions.

Traditional texts of this sort should be read as political rhetoric as much as—or perhaps more than—history. As James C. Scott argues, much folk culture amounts to "legitimation, or even celebration" of evasive and cunning forms of resistance (1985, 300). Trickster tales, tales of bandits, peasant heroes, and similar revolutionary items of expressive culture help create a climate of opinion.

Folk Hero Legends

One of the most recently invented and familiar of the Shaolin historical narratives is a story that claims that the Indian monk Bodhidharma, the supposed founder of Chinese Chan (Zen) Buddhism, introduced boxing into the monastery as a form of exercise around A.D. 525. This story first appeared in a popular novel, *The Travels of Lao T'san,* published as a series in a literary magazine in 1907. This story was quickly picked up by others and spread rapidly through publication in a popular contemporary boxing manual, *Secrets of Shaolin Boxing Methods,* and the first Chinese physical culture history published in 1919. As a result, it has enjoyed vast oral circulation and is one of the most "sacred" of the narratives shared within Chinese and Chinese-derived martial arts. That this story is clearly a twentieth-century invention is confirmed by writings going back at least 250 years earlier, which mention both Bodhidharma and martial arts but make no connection between the two.

Similarly, several styles of boxing are attributed to the Song-period patriot Yue Fei (1103–1142), who counseled armed opposition against, rather than appeasement of, encroaching Jin tribes and was murdered for his efforts. Yue Fei is known to have trained in archery and spear, two key weapons. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that he also studied boxing, considered the basic foundation for weapons skills other than archery, but we have no proof of this. Not until the Qing, about six centuries later, and

a time of opposition to foreign Manchu rule are boxing styles attributed to Yue Fei. The earliest reference is in a *xinyiquan* (now more commonly known as xingyiquan [hsing i ch'uan], form and mind boxing) manual dated 1751. The preface explains that Yue Fei developed *yiquan* (mind boxing) from his spear techniques. In fact, key xingyiquan forms do have an affinity to spear techniques, but this is not necessarily unusual, since boxing and weapons techniques were intimately related. Cheng Zongyou, in his *Elucidation of Shaolin Staff Methods* (ca. 1621), emphasizes this point by describing a number of interrelated boxing and weapons forms.

Local legends attempt to extend the legend to regional figures, thus providing a credible lineage for specific styles of xingyi. For example, narratives of the origin of the Hebei style (also known as the Shanxi-Hebei school) continue to circulate orally as well as in printed form. One narrative, the biography of Li Luoneng (Li Lao Nan), maintains that he originally brought xingyi back to Hebei. Subsequently, the Li Luoneng's xingyiquan was combined with *baguazhang* (pa kua ch'uan) to become the Hebei style. Kevin Menard observes that, within the Hebei system, two explanations of the synthesis exist. More probable is that "many masters of both systems lived in this province, and many became friends—especially bagua's Cheng Tinghua and xingyi's Li Cunyi. From these friendships, cross-training occurred, and the Hebei style developed." More dramatic yet less likely is the legend of an epic three-day battle between Dong Haichuan, who according to tradition founded baguazhang, and Li Luoneng's top student, Guo (Kuo) Yunshen. According to xingyi tradition the fight ended in a stalemate (Menard). Other versions (circulated primarily among bagua practitioners) end in a decisive victory by Dong on the third day. In either case, each was so impressed with the other's fighting skills that a pact of brotherhood was sworn between the two systems, which resulted in students of either art being required to learn the other.

During the Qing period, because of its potential anti-Manchu implications, the popular novel *Complete Biography of Yue Fei* was banned by Emperor Qianlong's (given name Hong Li) literary inquisition. When the Manchus came to power, they initially called their dynasty the Later Jin, after their ancestors, whom Yue Fei had opposed. Thus, here is another example of the relationship between martial arts practice, patriotism, and rebellion. However, it is not until after Qing rule collapsed in the early twentieth century that styles of boxing actually named after Yue Fei appear.

Another interesting possible allusion to Yue Fei can be found (ca. 1789) in the name of the enigmatic Wang Zongyue (potentially translated as "Wang who honors Yue"), to whom the famous *Taijiquan Theory* is attributed. Whether or not Wang Zongyue actually wrote this short treatise or whether Wang was the invention of Wu Yuxiang (1812–1880?), whose

brother supposedly discovered the treatise in a salt store, remains one of the fascinating uncertainties of modern martial arts history. Suffice it to note here that the term "taijiquan" is only found in the title of the treatise, while the treatise itself is essentially a concise, articulate summary of basic Chinese martial arts theory, not necessarily the preserve of a single style of Chinese boxing.

As noted above, the traditional history of yongchun maintains that this southern Chinese boxing system was invented by a Buddhist nun named Wu Mei (Ng Mui) who had escaped from the Shaolin Temple in Hunan (or in some versions, Fujian) province when it was razed in the eighteenth century after an attack by the dominant forces of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) that officially suppressed the martial arts, particularly among Ming (1368–1644) loyalists. After her escape and as the result of witnessing a fight between a fox (or snake, in some histories) and a crane, Wu Mei created a fighting system capable of defeating the existing martial arts practiced by the Manchu forces and Shaolin defectors. Moreover, owing to its simplicity, it could be learned in a relatively short period of time. The style was transmitted to Yan Yongchun, a young woman whom Wu Mei had protected from an unwanted suitor. The martial art took its name from its creator's student.

Traditional histories of yongchun (and of other systems that claim ties to it) portray a particularly close connection between yongchun practitioners and the traveling Chinese opera performers known as the "Red Junk" performers after the boats that served as both transportation and living quarters for the troupes. These troupes reportedly served as havens for Ming loyalists involved in the resistance against the Qing rulers and offered refuge to all manner of martial artists.

Incontrovertible historical evidence of the exploits of Bodhidharma, Yue Fei, and Wu Mei has been blurred, if not eradicated, by the passing centuries. Details from the biographies of such figures remain malleable and serve the ends of the groups that pass along their life histories. Recently, arguments have been presented, in fact, that suggest that Wu Mei and Yan Yongchun are fictions into whose biographies have been compressed the more mundane history of a martial art. Such may be the case for many of the folk heroes who predate the contemporary age. Even in the case of twentieth-century figures, traditional patterns emerge.

Japanese karate master Yamaguchi Gôgen exemplifies the contemporary martial arts folk hero—particularly within the karate community and especially among students of his own *Gôjû-ryû* system. Peter Urban, a leading United States Gôjû master, has compiled many of the orally circulated tales of Yamaguchi. Typical of these narratives is the tale of Yamaguchi's captivity in a Chinese prison camp in Manchuria. Urban recounts the oral

traditions describing the failure of the captors' attempts to subdue Yamaguchi's spirit via conventional means. As a result, he became an inspiration for his comrades and an embarrassment to his guards. Ultimately, Yamaguchi was thrust into a cage with a hungry tiger. According to Urban, not only did Yamaguchi survive by killing the tiger, he did so in twenty seconds. This story (like similar stories of matches between martial artists and formidable beasts) has been hotly debated. Whether truth or fiction, however, such narratives serve not only to deify individuals (usually founders), but to argue for the superhuman abilities that can be attained by diligent practice of the martial arts. Consequently, these fighting systems are often touted as powerful tools for the salvation of the politically oppressed.

Within the oral traditions of Brazilian capoeira, legends circulate that Zumbi, king of the *quilombo* (runaway slave colony) of Palmares, successfully led resistance against conquest of his quilombo and recapture of his people by virtue of his skills as a *capoeirista*. J. Lowell Lewis, in his study of the history and practice of the martial art, notes, however, that these narratives did not appear in the oral tradition until the twentieth century. Thus, while the martial art itself may not have figured in the military resistance by Brazil's ex-slaves, the contemporary legends argue for ethnic pride within the African Brazilian capoeira community.

Folk Belief

The most prominent boxing styles practiced in southern China appear to emphasize "short hitting"—namely, arm and hand movements as opposed to high kicks and more expansive leg movements. This characteristic, as opposed to the more acrobatic movements of standardized "long boxing," which was developed from a few of the more spectacular "northern" styles, has resulted in southern styles (called *nanquan*) being placed in a separate category for nationwide martial arts competitions. The apparent difference is reflected in the popular martial arts aphorism, "Southern fists and Northern legs." The fictionalizing, in this case, lies in the reasons given for the difference: different north-south geographical characteristics and different body types of northern versus southern Chinese. The main problem with this argument is that it fails to account for the full spectrum of northern styles or the fact that a number of the southern styles are known to have been introduced from the north. It also fails to take into account other historical factors, such as the possibility that southern styles evolved from "short-hitting" techniques introduced for military training by General Qi Jiguang and others during their antipirate campaigns in the south.

Other beliefs focus not on the mechanics of martial arts, but on the internal powers acquired through practice. Within the Indonesian martial

art of *pentjak silat* exists the magical tradition of *Kebatinan*. The esoteric techniques of the art, it is said, permit practitioners to kill at a distance by the use of magic and to render themselves invulnerable. In Java, it was believed that the supernormal powers conferred by silat (rather than world opinion and United Nations intervention) had forced the Dutch to abandon colonialism there in the aftermath of World War II. Lest it be believed that such traditional beliefs are disappearing under the impact of contemporary Southeast Asian society, however, James Scott reports that when an organization claiming thirty thousand members in Malaysia was banned, among the organization's offenses were teaching silat and encouraging un-Islamic supernatural practices by use of magical chants and trances.

The beliefs in invulnerability acquired by esoteric martial practice fostered by the Harmonious Fists (the Chinese "Boxers" of the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries) represent an immediate analogy to this Southeast Asian phenomenon, but belief in the magical invulnerability engendered by traditional martial arts is not limited to Asia. Brazilian capoeira, many of whose practitioners enhance their physical abilities by simultaneously practicing Candomble (an African-based religion syncretized in Brazil), maintains beliefs in the ability to develop supernormal powers. In addition to the creation of the *corpo fechado* (Portuguese; closed body) that is impervious to knives or bullets, oral tradition attests to the ability of some capoeiristas to transform into an animal or tree, or even to disappear at will.

Worth noting is the fact that not only are individual martial artists transformed into ethnic folk heroes in instances of political conflict, beliefs in the invulnerability developed by the practice of the martial arts are foregrounded in such contexts, as well. Capoeira, silat, and Chinese boxing have each been reputed to give oppressed people an advantage in colonial situations. Martial resistance and supernatural resistance are not invariably yoked, however. For example, in the late nineteenth century the Native American Ghost Dance led by the Paiute prophet Wovoka promised to cleanse the earth of the white man by ritual means, at least as it was practiced among the tribes of the Great Basin. A contemporary religiously fueled guerilla movement, God's Army, led by the twelve-year-old Htoo Brothers in Myanmar, manifests no martial arts component in the sense used here. Thus, utilizing magical beliefs embedded in martial arts is common in grassroots rebellions, but not inevitable.

On the other hand, folklore is an inevitable feature of the martial arts. Certainly, these traditions cannot be treated as, strictly speaking, historically or scientifically verifiable. Neither should they be discounted as nonsense, however. The sense they embody is an esoteric one of group identity, a metaphysical sense of the ways in which martial doctrines harmonize

with the prevailing belief systems of a culture, and a sense of worldview consistent with the contemporary needs of practitioners.

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See also Boxing, Chinese Shaolin Styles; Capoeira; Ninjutsu; Political Conflict and the Martial Arts; Silat

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Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice

Editorial note: Bracketed number code in this entry refers to the ideogram that follows.

This pedagogical device, best known by its Japanese name, *kata* ([1]; pronounced *hyung* in Korean, *xing* in Mandarin), represents the central methodology for teaching and learning the body of knowledge that constitutes a traditional school or system of martial art throughout much of East Asia. The standard English translation for kata is "form" or "forms," but while this may be linguistically accurate, it is uninformative at best and misleading at worst. The nature and function of kata training are better conveyed by the phrase "pattern practice."

Students engaged in pattern practice rehearse combinations of techniques and countertechniques, or sequences of such combinations, arranged by their teachers. In Chinese, Korean, and Okinawan boxing schools, such training often takes the form of solo exercises, while in both traditional and modern Japanese fighting arts students nearly always work in pairs, with one partner designated as the attacker or opponent, and the other employing the techniques the exercise is designed to teach.

In many modern martial art schools and systems, pattern practice is only one of several more or less coequal training methods, but in the older schools it was and continues to be the pivotal method of instruction. Many schools teach only through pattern practice. Others employ adjunct learning devices, such as sparring, but only to augment kata training, never to supplant it.

The preeminence of pattern practice in traditional martial art training often confuses or bemuses modern observers, who characterize it as a kind of ritualized combat, a form of shadowboxing, a type of moving meditation, or a brand of calisthenic drill. But while pattern practice embraces elements of all these things, its essence is captured by none of them. For kata is a highly complex teaching device with no exact analogy in modern sports pedagogy. Its enduring appeal is a product of its multiple functions.

On one level, a school's kata form a living catalog of its curriculum and a syllabus for instruction. Both the essence and the sum of a school's teachings—the postures, techniques, strategies, and philosophy that comprise it—are contained in its kata, and the sequence in which students are taught the kata is usually fixed by tradition and/or by the headmaster of

Women at an annual martial arts festival in Seattle, Washington, perform kata *(forms) in unison. (Bohemian Nomad Picture-makers/Corbis)*

the school. In this way pattern practice is a means to systematize and regularize training and to provide continuity within the art or school from generation to generation, even in the absence of written instruments for transmission. In application, the kata practiced by a given school can and do change from generation to generation—or even within the lifetime of an individual teacher—but they are normally considered to have been handed down intact by the founder or some other important figure in the school's heritage. Changes, when they occur, are viewed as being superficial, adjustments to the outward form of the kata; the key elements—the mar-

row—of the kata do not change. By definition, more fundamental changes (when they are made intentionally and acknowledged as such) connote the branching off of a new system or art.

But the real function of pattern practice goes far beyond this. The importance of this learning device in traditional East Asian martial—and other—art training stems from the belief that it is the most efficient vehicle for passing knowledge from teacher to student, an idea that in turn derives from broader Chinese educational models.

Learning through pattern practice is a direct outgrowth of Confucian pedagogy and its infatuation with ritual and ritualized action. This infatuation is predicated on the conviction that man fashions the conceptual frameworks he uses to order—and thereby comprehend—the chaos of raw experience through action and practice. One might describe, explain, or even defend one's perspectives by means of analysis and rational argument, but one cannot acquire them in this way. Ritual is stylized action, sequentially structured experience that leads those who follow it to wisdom and understanding. Therefore, it follows that those who seek knowledge and truth must be carefully guided through the right kind of experience if they are to achieve the right kind of understanding. For the early Confucians, whose principal interest was the proper ordering of the state and society, this need meant habituating themselves to the codes of what they saw as the perfect political organization, the early Zhou dynasty. For martial art students, it means ritualized duplication of the actions of past masters.

Confucian models—particularly Zhu Xi's concept of investigating the abstract through the concrete and the general through the particular, but also Wang Yangming's emphasis on the necessity of unifying knowledge and action—dominated most aspects of traditional education in China, Korea, and Japan, not just martial art training. In Japan, belief in the efficacy of this approach to learning was further reinforced by the Zen Buddhist tradition of *ishin-denshin* (mind-to-mind transmission), which stresses the importance of a student's own immediate experience over explicit verbal or written explanation, engaging the deeper layers of a student's mind and bypassing the intellect.

Thus, attaining mastery of the martial or other traditional arts came to be seen as an osmosis-like, suprarational process, in which the most important lessons cannot be conveyed by overt explanation. The underlying principles of the art, it was believed, can never be wholly extrapolated; they must be experienced directly—intuited from examples in which they are put into practice.

The role of the teacher in this educational model is to serve as exemplar and guide, not as lecturer or conveyor of information. Traditional martial art teachers lead students along the path to mastery of their arts,

they do not tutor them. Instruction is viewed as a gradual, developmental process in which teachers help students to internalize the key precepts of doctrine. The teacher presents the precepts and creates an environment in which the student can absorb and comprehend them, but understanding—mastery—of these precepts comes from within, the result of the student's own efforts. The overall process might be likened to teaching a child to ride a bicycle: Children do not innately know how to balance, pedal, and steer, nor will they be likely to discover how on their own. At the same time, no one can fully explain any of these skills either; one can only demonstrate them and help children practice them until they figure out for themselves which muscles are doing what at which times to make the actions possible.

Pattern practice in martial art also bears some resemblance to medieval (Western) methods of teaching painting and drawing, in which art students first spent years copying the works of old masters, learning to imitate them perfectly, before venturing on to original works of their own. Through this copying, they learned and absorbed the secrets and principles inherent in the masters' techniques, without consciously analyzing or extrapolating them. In like manner, kata are the "works" of a school's current and past masters, the living embodiment of the school's teachings. Through their practice, students make these teachings a part of themselves and later pass them on to students of their own.

Many contemporary students of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean martial art, particularly in the West, are highly critical of pattern practice, charging that it leads to stagnation, fossilization, and empty formalism. Pattern practice, they argue, cannot teach students how to read and respond to a real—and unpredictable—opponent. Nor can pattern practice alone develop the seriousness of purpose, the courage, decisiveness, aggressiveness, and forbearance vital to true mastery of combat. Such skills, it is argued, can be fostered only by contesting with an equally serious opponent, not by dancing through kata. Thus, in place of pattern practice many of these critics advocate a stronger emphasis on free sparring, often involving the use of protective gear to allow students to exchange blows with one another at full speed and power without injury.

Kata purists, on the other hand, retort that competitive sparring does not produce the same state of mind as real combat and is not, therefore, any more realistic a method of training than pattern practice. Sparring also inevitably requires rules and modifications of equipment that move trainees even further away from the conditions of duels and the battlefield. Moreover, sparring distracts students from the mastery of the kata and encourages them to develop their own moves and techniques before they have fully absorbed those of the system they are studying.

Moreover, they say, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that pattern practice is meant to be employed only as a tool for teaching and learning the principles that underlie the techniques that make up the kata. Once these principles have been absorbed, the tool is to be set aside. A student's training begins with pattern practice, but it is not supposed to end there. The eventual goal is for students to move beyond codified, technical applications to express the essential principles of the art in their own unique fashion, to transcend both the kata and the techniques from which they are composed, just as art students moved beyond imitation and copying to produce works of their own.

But while controversy concerning the relative merits of pattern practice, free sparring, and other training methods is often characterized as one of traditionalists versus reformers, it is actually anything but new. In Japan, for example, the conflict is in fact nearly 300 years old, and the "traditionalist" position only antedates the "reformist" one by a few decades.

The historical record indicates that pattern practice had become the principal means of transmission in Japanese martial art instruction by the late 1400s. It was not, however, the only way in which warriors of the period learned how to fight. Most samurai built on insights gleaned from pattern practice with experience in actual combat. This was, after all, the "Age of the Country at War," when participation in battles was both the goal and the motivation for martial training. But training conditions altered considerably in the seventeenth century. First, the era of warring domains came to an end, and Japan settled into a 250-year Pax Tokugawa. Second, the new Tokugawa shogunate placed severe restrictions on the freedom of samurai to travel outside their own domains. Third, the teaching of martial art began to emerge as a profession. And fourth, contests between practitioners from different schools came to be frowned upon by both the government and many of the schools themselves.

One result of these developments was a tendency for pattern practice to assume an enlarged role in the teaching and learning process. For new generations of first students and then teachers who had never known combat, kata became their only exposure to martial skills. In some schools, skill in pattern practice became an end in itself. Kata grew showier and more stylized, while trainees danced their way through them with little attempt to internalize anything but the outward form. By the late seventeenth century, self-styled experts on proper samurai behavior were already mourning the decline of martial training. In the early 1700s, several sword schools in what is now Tokyo began experimenting with equipment designed to permit free sparring at full or near-full speed and power, while at the same time maintaining a reasonable level of safety. This innovation touched off the debate that continues to this day.

In any event, one should probably not make too much of the quarrels surrounding pattern practice, for the disagreements are largely disputes of degree, not essence. For all the controversy, pattern practice remains a key component of traditional East Asian martial art. It is still seen as the core of transmission in the traditional schools, the fundamental means for teaching and learning that body of knowledge that constitutes the art.

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List of Ideograms

G

Gladiators

Although Rome deserves credit for developing much of what we know as Western society, many aspects of Roman life were brutal and harsh, even by contemporary standards. The great gladiatorial games, where participants, the gladiators (Latin; "sword men"), fought to the death in hand-to-hand combat, are the primary example of this brutality.

The origin of the games (called circuses in Rome) is unknown. The Romans themselves believed that the concept of fighting to the death for spectators came from the Etruscans, the rulers of Italy before the Romans, who would allow slaves to fight for their freedom once their master died. The first recorded instance of gladiatorial games was in the third century B.C. By A.D. 100, however, the great Colosseum had been constructed, and the well-known principle of "bread and circuses" to keep the masses happy was a core feature of Roman life. Many public holidays featured gladiatorial contests. At such events, sometimes thousands of gladiators were paired against one another in grisly duels.

Unlike the combat arts of the Roman military, which emphasized group fighting and mass combat, gladiator training emphasized individual combat and fighting for a spectator audience. This focus did not diminish the fighting skills of the gladiators, but did give them a different experience from that of a soldier. The gladiators were excellent fighters, and during some of the revolts against the Romans, most notably the Spartacan Revolt of 70 B.C., they proved themselves well against the famous Roman legions. Unlike the Roman soldier, who might never see combat, a gladiator was sure of either killing or being killed in the arena.

Gladiators were usually slaves, sentenced to the arena by their masters, although there are many instances of Roman citizens and even noblemen pursuing this dangerous profession. There was even female gladiatorial combat until it was outlawed around A.D. 200. Once a person was forced into (or chose) the gladiator's life, training began in a professional school. It is estimated that a gladiator training school existed, at one point,

in every province of the empire. Although gladiatorial games existed throughout the empire, the greatest, and by far the most prominent, were held at the Colosseum in Rome.

Roman sources, such as Livy and Cicero, report that the training standards for gladiators were high. These warriors were expected to become proficient in a variety of weapons as well as in unarmed combat. Gladiators were expected to be able to handle themselves well in an arena. Gladiator schools themselves often had intense rivalries with one another, and gladiators carried the reputation of a school with them whenever they stepped into an arena. Gladiators who fought poorly, besides being in danger of losing their lives, reflected badly on their schools. To make matters even more demanding for the fighters, wealthy Romans often placed high wagers on them. Those who fought poorly and lived often found that their reception on returning to their school was just as bloody as had been their time in the arena. Gladiators, therefore, had every incentive to learn how to fight well.

The swordplay learned by the gladiators was an exacting and advanced science. So intricate was the swordplay, for example, that a speech of the Roman educator Quintilian compared the speeches of council members with the fencing of gladiators: "The second stroke becomes the third, if the first be made to make the opponent thrust; or becomes the fourth, if there is a double feint, so that there are two bouts of parrying and riposte." This comparison suggests both the high level of swordsmanship that was expected of gladiators and the spectators' familiarity with the complexities of the art.

In the arena itself the real issue of life or death was decided. Upon entering, the gladiators faced the emperor and cried, "Ave Imperator! Morituri te salutant!" (Hail Emperor! Those who are about to die salute you!) The fight to the death then began. There existed many different types of gladiators, who were classed generally by two different criteria: the weapons used and the region of origin.

Probably the two most famous types of gladiators were the Thracian and the *retiarius* (net fighter). The Thracian carried a curved scimitar (*sica*) and a small square or round shield (*parma*), which looked and functioned a great deal like a buckler of later medieval and Renaissance times. The Romans used this name for a gladiator who carried these weapons because of a stereotype that Thracians used these weapons. The retiarius was armed with a harpoon or trident, a net, and a dagger, which was sometimes attached to the net. Many times these two types of gladiators faced each other in the arena.

The victor in these encounters was the gladiator who knew how best to use his own weapons effectively while cutting off the advantages of his

An incredible and fantastic display of massed gladiatorial combat, appearing in Hieronimy Mercurialis's Arte Gymnastica, *1573. (Courtesy of Gene Tausk)*

opponent. In these contests, armor played an important role, as well. The retiarius was the more lightly armored of the two, wearing only a leather or metal shoulder-piece on his left shoulder. The Thracian's upper body was protected by armor, either leather or studded leather, and greaves protected his legs; one arm was usually encased in chain armor. Luck was also a factor in these contests.

In such an encounter, one might assume that the retiarius had superior weaponry, while the Thracian had superior armor. However, such assumptions can be misleading, and certainly such a contest between two highly trained individuals would not be decided simply on these factors alone. There are some general observations that can be made about this type of combat.

First, the object of the Thracian fighter would be to get the trident or harpoon "off-line." This is to say that if the Thracian could get inside the effective range of the trident, he would be able to move in close enough to employ his sica. Then the Thracian would have the advantage in combat. The Thracian could not afford to stay in a position where the retiarius would have the advantage of reach.

To get the trident off-line, the Thracian would have a few advantages. First, his shield, although it was small and only offered a small portion of

protection, was light and mobile. He could move it easily to deflect the trident. Second, the armor of the Thracian meant that he could afford to take a less powerful strike from the trident and emerge with only a bruise. In such combat, it was far better to get a bruise and close with the enemy to deliver a fatal blow than to be held at bay and suffer trident thrusts. Finally, the Thracian also was well trained with his short scimitar and knew well the effective range of the weapon. It was unlikely that he would be caught miscalculating its effective range.

The retiarius had the following factors in his favor. One good thrust with the trident could pierce the Thracian's armor. Although the retiarius was trained in using the trident with one hand, he could if necessary wrap the net in his off-hand and wield the trident with two hands. In this case, the retiarius would be like a traditional spearman or pole-arm user, and unless the Thracian could step inside the trident he would be at a disadvantage, possibly a fatal one.

Yet there is another factor in this whole equation: The retiarius was also equipped with a net. Evidence suggests that the net was employed one of three ways. The first way was for the retiarius to drag the net in front of him, which would force the Thracian to remain at a distance, since the Thracian could not afford to close in and have his feet swept out from under him. This forced the Thracian to stay at an extreme reach disadvantage. The second method was to use the net as a distraction, throwing it at the Thracian in the hope of entangling him. It should be noted here that the retiarius was an expert in throwing the net as well, so his first object would be to throw it effectively enough so that it would indeed entangle the limbs of the Thracian. The third method was to use the net as the primary weapon. By this method, the retiarius would attempt to first use the net to entangle his opponent and then use the trident to finish him off, keeping the trident in a secondary position.

The laquearius (from the Latin word for lasso) was a subclass of the retiarius who, as the name suggests, fought with a lasso instead of a net. The same considerations would apply to this type of fight as well. The laquearius would attempt to use the lasso to entangle or distract the Thracian long enough to employ the trident. As before, the Thracian would have to get the trident off-line and avoid the entanglements of the lasso to close in quickly to a distance where his weapons would have the advantage. The only tactic that the laquearius would not be able to employ would be to drag the lasso on the ground in the hope of tripping up an opponent. Otherwise, the retiarius and laquearius would employ many of the same tactics.

Two other types of gladiators that were popular in the arenas were the Samnite and the *secutor.* The Samnite was supposedly modeled on the warrior of a people who were defeated in 312 B.C. by Rome's Capuan allies.

The Samnites were indeed a civilization on the Italian peninsula that was hostile to Rome; the Romans encountered them in the fourth century B.C. Whether the historical Samnites actually used the type of armament worn by the gladiator of that name or the Romans were stereotyping again is unknown. The Samnite had a large oblong *scutum* (shield) and was armored with a metal or boiled leather greave (*ocrea*) on his left leg. Often he had an ocrea on his right arm as well. The Samnite protected his head with a visored helmet (*galea*) and was armed with a *gladius* (short thrusting sword). The secutor was an offspring of the Samnite; his name literally means "pursuer." Secutors fought virtually naked; they had no armor and wore only an ocrea on the left leg and carried a scutum for protection. Their arms were often protected by leather bands at the elbows and wrists (*manicae*). The secutor was armed with a gladius as well, although sometimes he fought with a *pugio* (dagger) only.

Secutors and Samnites were matched against each other, as well as against the retiarius and Thracian. Fighting against each other, the secutor and Samnite would be evenly matched, although the extra protection given to the Samnite through his ocrea on the arm could prove decisive. The reason for the ocrea was to armor the sword arm to allow for protection when the sword arm was exposed, that is, when the fighter was striking with the sword. With fighters who were so evenly matched, the contest would become more a matter of individual strategy than strategy with different weapons. Their weapons, the short-swords, were used mainly for thrusting attacks, although they could make cutting attacks when necessary. The greatest advantage for these two gladiators would be the large shields that they carried; these would protect them well when fighting the Thracian or retiarius.

Through reconstructions of Western medieval and Renaissance martial arts, there is enough evidence to demonstrate that large shields are extremely effective in protecting the body. A trained fighter using a shield does not have to sacrifice mobility or dexterity while using such a large device. The Samnite and secutor would have the same mobility as the Thracian and retiarius. Because of the awkward shape of the scutum, however, it would be difficult to use the vertical edge as a striking tool, although this could be done. It would be easier to use the horizontal edge for such striking. However, the shields could easily be used for attacking directly with the flat. These large objects, when force and momentum are placed behind them, can be formidable striking weapons. The scuti could at least unbalance an opponent when used as a striking weapon; used against an unarmored part of the opponent, they could disable. It would be a mistake to characterize these unique devices merely as defensive aids; they could easily be used for offensive maneuvers when needed.

The question, of course, arises about the issue of combat between the Samnite or secutor and the Thracian or retiarius. Much of the same analysis applies. The retiarius has the advantage of reach with his trident and can throw the net for entanglement or attempt to trip his opponent. However, his lack of armor can prove fatal. The large shields of the Samnite and secutor would have provided a great deal more protection against the reach of the trident than the small shield of the Thracian. However, this in no way makes the Samnite or secutor a clear winner over the retiarius.

When either was matched against the Thracian, once again the large shields of the Samnite and secutor could prove to be of decisive advantage. However, the Thracian had extreme mobility and his sword-arm was well protected by the ocrea. The Thracian would have been able to maneuver his small shield well against the thrusting attacks from the gladius of the Samnite or secutor. The Thracian would have been able to maneuver around the shield of the Samnite or secutor to find a way to stop these opponents.

There is also the issue of unarmed combat. The Greeks developed advanced martial art systems in boxing, wrestling, and most notably, the *pankration* (a kind of all-in fighting where all techniques were legal). Other Mediterranean societies in the ancient world, such as the Cretans, had advanced systems of unarmed combat. Curiously enough, however, the Romans are not credited with developing unarmed combat systems of their own. Some of this bias is due to the fact that Roman society did not appreciate athletic events in the same way the Greeks did. Gladiatorial games were the rule, rather than the exception, to Roman taste, and the accompanying cruelties that went with such contests meant that it has been assumed that Romans never used unarmed combat as the Greeks did.

However, if evidence from (unfortunately scant) surviving mosaics is any indication, it is obvious that Roman gladiators were well versed in boxing and wrestling techniques. These techniques were used to advance the training of the gladiators in much the same way that jûjutsu was used to supplement the training of Japanese *bushi* (warriors) and wrestling techniques were used to supplement the training of knights and men-at-arms of the Middle Ages in Western Europe. The Romans did not view unarmed combat as a discipline in and of itself, but as a supplementary one, especially for gladiators, that was needed for survival in the arena. Unarmed combat techniques were intended to work with weapons. If a gladiator lost his weapons in the arena, which was always a possibility, he had to have some skill to at least try to survive. Also, when an opponent had closed in, fists, choking, and joint locking were often appropriate weapons.

Therefore, it is likely that Roman gladiators were also taught the skills of entering, seizing, trapping, disarming, and tripping their opponents. Such actions are well known to Asian martial arts and, as demonstrated in

the *fechtbuchs* (Dutch; fighting manual) of the European masters, to warriors of the Middle Ages and Renaissance as well. These skills were not practiced for "possible" use in the street; rather, they were taught as an expected method of combat.

Another point of "evidence" that is sometimes used to prove the Romans' supposed unfamiliarity with unarmed combat is the use of the cestus (a version of brass knuckles) by the gladiators. The argument goes that the Romans used the cestus because they did not take the time to study how to box correctly; the advantage went to the fighter who could land the first punch. Boxers armed with such a weapon would, of course, have a tremendous advantage over those who went bare-knuckled into the arena. However, this argument fails for two reasons. First, the cestus fighters had an even greater incentive to learn to fight correctly, since being hit with these early brass knuckles would have incapacitated most fighters immediately. Second, since often both parties were equipped with cesti, it was critical to know the possible moves of an opponent in order to know what to expect in the arena. Gladiator fights sometimes did consist of boxers squaring off against one another armed with cesti. There also were, in all likelihood, battles between cestus boxers and other weaponed gladiators. The boxer, with his arms protected by armor, would not be at as much of a disadvantage when matched against other weapons as one might expect.

In addition, the Romans were well aware of the details of human anatomy. This knowledge came, in part, from the Greeks and Egyptians, who were among the first physicians of the ancient world and who had centuries of experience in learning the parts of the human body, as well as the weaknesses. It is important to note here that the average life span of a Roman was longer than that of a Western European during the Middle Ages. This longevity was due, in no small part, to Roman medical knowledge. The Romans logically applied this knowledge to unarmed fighting. Learning how to break joints and bones at their weak points, punch and kick correctly, and choke off the air and blood supply to the brain was critical for gladiatorial combat.

Gladiators who entered the competitions as slaves but survived and fought well could often earn freedom. Gladiators who entered the profession willingly, survived, and fought well could become rich. Gladiators therefore did not take their training lightly, nor did they compartmentalize their training into unarmed and armed, sword, spear, or trident. For these warriors, all martial arts skills were a vital necessity for them to survive and prosper.

Because they created consummate fighters with a range of combat skills, gladiator training schools were also used to train bodyguards and those interested in self-protection skills. Also, gladiators who survived to earn freedom or retirement often found their fighting skills in demand.

Although providing martial training for use outside the arena was not the primary function of the *lanistae* (trainers of gladiators), it did serve as a secondary source of income. The techniques that worked so well in the bloody arenas were obviously also useful on the street.

Gladiatorial combat was an element of the paganism that ruled Roman society until the conversion of the emperor Constantine to Christianity in the fourth century. Rome was a polytheistic society, and the temples of the deities and demigods from dozens of nations all vied for attention in the capital city. Gladiatorial events were often part of pagan religious festivals. Also, despite the fact that Romans prided themselves on their society of law, the idea of the supremacy of the state, including the state-supported cults, was paramount. The individual, along with the value of individual life, was subordinated to the empire. For a person to die in front of adoring crowds was thought to be an honor, especially if the emperor, often thought to be a deity himself, was present in the arena.

After Constantine made Christianity the official state religion, the practice of paganism, in any form, was discouraged. The gladiatorial games, therefore, lost their official patronage. Also, the Judeo-Christian emphasis on the individual and the sanctity of life was at odds with the violence and casual disregard for humanity often found in the arena. As Christianity, with this ethos, spread throughout the empire, the spectacle of gladiatorial combat became a symbol less of bravery than of bloodlust. The Western Empire fell in A.D. 476, and while the Eastern (Byzantine) Empire lasted for a thousand more years, this date marked the end of the Roman world for what would later be known as Western Europe. The upheavals and barbarian incursions that accompanied the end of the Roman Empire sealed the end of the gladiators. Finally, the gladiators found themselves the victims of changing social conditions.

Gene Tausk

See also Europe; Pankration; Swordsmanship, European Medieval; Wrestling and Grappling: Europe

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Gongfu

See Kung Fu/Gung Fu/Gongfu

Gunfighters

Gunfighters, also known as gunslingers, shootists, pistoleers, or simply gunmen, were a fixture of the nineteenth-century American West. The term is applied generally to individuals who were celebrated for their proficiency with handguns and their willingness to use them in deadly confrontations. Because fights between men armed with "six-shooters" were common on the frontier, the gunfighter is often viewed as the prototypical westerner. Yet not all westerners used (or even carried) guns, and only a fraction used them to settle disagreements. The term is therefore best applied more narrowly to those who employed guns in a regular, professional capacity. This would exclude mere hotheads armed with pistols and would include lawmen, professional criminals, and quasi-legal figures like private-army "regulators" and bounty hunters.

The word *quasi-legal* suggests an important proviso. During the gunfighter's heyday—roughly the three decades following the Civil War—social order on the frontier was shaky at best. With centers of legal authority widely dispersed, a large vagrant population, and suspected crimes often punished by impromptu hangings, there was truth to the literary image of the Wild West. The cattle culture in particular precipitated violence, both on the range, where rustlers battled regulators, and at the railheads, where inebriated cowboys sometimes "shot up the town." In this milieu, a gunman's ability to keep order was often more respected than legal niceties; hence, some of the most famous gunfighters of western legend were ambiguous characters like the hired gun William (Billy the Kid) Bonney (1859–1881) and the gambling "civilizer" James Butler (Wild Bill) Hickock (1837–1876). The intermediary status of such historical characters is reflected in the movies' fascination with the "good bad man"—a central figure since the days of actor William S. Hart (1872–1946).

Hickock was the first gunfighter to attain legendary status, and his career illustrates the importance of a mythmaking machinery. Born James Butler Hickock in 1837, he acquired the nickname "Wild Bill" in the 1860s, after he allegedly made a lynch mob back down. After working as a Union Army scout, a wagon master, and a gambler, he rose to national prominence in 1867 on the strength of a *Harper's Magazine* story that depicted him as a superhuman "Scout of the Plains." Dime novel treatments fleshed out the formula, highlighting the shooting of this "Prince of Pistoleers." Although he served only two years as a frontier lawman, popular media made him a national icon, the swiftest and deadliest practitioner of his trade: Anecdotes about his, in Joseph Rosa's words, "almost hypnotic" marksmanship are firmly in the frontier "roarer" tradition (1969, 61–76). Later, thanks to Gary Cooper's portrayal in the 1937 film *The Plainsman,*

A late-nineteenth-century engraving of Billy the Kid, American outlaw, shooting down his foe, who had taken refuge behind a saloon bar. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Hickock acquired a mantle that he never wore in life, that of a defender of American civilization against gunrunning and savagery.

Because writers also romanticized other gunmen, the best known of these characters are not necessarily the deadliest, but those who caught the fancy of novelists and moviemakers. Bill O'Neal, who "rated" over 250 gunfighters based on the number of verified killings and the number of fights, ranked among the deadliest gunmen the celebrities Hickock, Billy the Kid, John Wesley Hardin, King Fisher, and Ben Thompson. But the most lethal of all shootists, "Deacon" Jim Miller, is obscure to the general public, while the famous trio of Wyatt Earp, Doc Holliday, and Bat Masterson long enjoyed reputations that, O'Neal notes, "greatly exceeded their accomplishments" (1979, 5). Earp's fame was made by a biography by Stuart Lake that pro-

vided the basis for John Ford's 1946 film *My Darling Clementine*. Holliday's fame soared largely on Earp's coattails, and Masterson, once he retired his guns, became his own best publicist. In his later career as a journalist, he wrote a series of sketches of "famous gunfighters" for *Human Life* magazine.

In addition to skewing individual reputations, the popular press and movies contributed heavily to the image of the gunfighter as a heroic loner who employs his skills in the defense of justice. The most famous fictional example, Shane, comes to the aid of embattled ranchers "out of the heart of the great glowing West" and, after killing his evil counterpart, disappears, like Cain, "alone and unfollowed . . . and no one knows where," Jack Schaefer writes (1983, 115). A similar mythic isolation defines other film gunfighters, including the heroes of *The Gunfighter* (1950), *Warlock* (1959), *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), and *The Shootist* (1976). While most actual gunfighters had more or less stable occupations—many in law enforcement—the Hollywood version is a more paradoxical figure, protecting helpless citizens with a lethal skill whose very possession brands him as a pariah. In one standard plotline the gunfighter is hired as a town tamer, then shunned by his respectable employers for doing his job. In another, the "good" gunslinger fights an evil twin who is the objectification of his own dark urges; this doubling is humorously parodied in *Cat Ballou* (1965), where the villain and the hero are both played by Lee Marvin.

The mechanics of the gunfighter's skill, including variable rules for carrying, drawing, and firing a gun, have been much debated, especially in response to the moviemakers' penchant for standardization. Among actual westerners, for example, some guns were worn with the butt end facing backward, some with the butt end facing forward to facilitate a reverse draw, others in shoulder holsters, and yet others tucked into waistbands or pockets. Yet virtually all Hollywood gunfighters wear side holsters with the butt ends of their guns facing backward. This has become the standard version of "fast draw" dress.

The fast draw itself (the nineteenth-century term was "quick draw") defines the normative gunfight, which the movies give the invariant etiquette of a formal duel. In the typical movie showdown, the hero, often forced to fight despite the apprehensions of his wife or sweetheart, faces down the villain in a western street. The villain draws his gun first, and when he does, the hero draws and kills him in a "fair fight"—sometimes by "fanning" the pistol's hammer for even greater speed. With the exception of the fanning trickery, all of the dramatic motifs of this convention were established in Owen Wister's 1902 novel *The Virginian,* successfully filmed by Victor Fleming in 1929.

As for the accuracy of this tableau, Texas gunman King Fisher is reputed to have said, "Fair play is a jewel, but I don't care for jewelry"

(quoted in Horan 1976, 4). Many of his compatriots seem to have agreed. Sheriff Pat Garrett shot Billy the Kid from the protection of a darkened room. Fisher himself died in a vaudeville theater scuffle. The "unerring" Hickok accidentally killed his own deputy. And the canonical gunfight at the OK Corral, according to one version, started when Morgan Earp, Wyatt's brother, ignored Billy Clanton's protestation "I don't want to fight" and shot the teenage rustler at point-blank range (O'Neal 1979). Alert to such unromantic facts, filmmakers in the 1960s turned increasingly to more realistic treatments, including the "spaghetti Westerns" of director Sergio Leone and the *Unforgiven* (1992), by his protégé Clint Eastwood, which makes a point of debunking the heroic tradition. Yet in popular memory the fair fight remains de rigueur.

With regard to the fast draw, too, convention rules, with movies ritualizing the instant of "getting the drop" on the bad guy. Wyatt Earp, recalling the value of mental deliberation, said he never knew "a really proficient gun-fighter who had anything but contempt for the gun-fanner, or the man who literally shot from the hip. . . . [They] stood small chance to live against a man who . . . took his time and pulled the trigger once" (Lake 1931, 39). Ben Thompson, the famous city marshal of Austin, Texas, agreed. "I always make it a rule to let the other fellow fire first," he said. "I know that he is pretty certain in his hurry, to miss. I never do" (quoted in Horan 1976, 142). But deliberation is not emphasized by fictional gunmen. A rare exception is the Anthony Mann film *The Tin Star* (1957), in which veteran gunfighter Morgan Hickman (Henry Fonda) counsels the novice sheriff (Anthony Perkins), "Draw fast but don't snap shoot. Take that split second."

Mythology also surrounds the idea that gunfighters kept tallies of their victims by carving notches in the handles of their guns—one notch for each man killed. In fact, although the practice was not unknown, it was far from routine. Outlaw Emmett Dalton recalled that braggarts and "fake bad men" sometimes notched their guns, but that the custom's alleged ubiquity was "a fiction writer's elaboration." Wyatt Earp reflected that no man "who amounted to anything" ever observed it (Hendricks 1950, 45).

Not that gunfighters or their followers were oblivious to the numbers. Indeed, a gunman's reputation was fatefully linked to the number of men he was thought to have slain, and tallies of a dozen or more were not uncommon. Billy the Kid's reputation was linked to the belief that he had killed twenty-one men—one for each year of his life—and similar beliefs swelled the legends of other gunmen. Although even Hardin, the most lethal of the celebrated bad men, probably had no more than eleven victims (O'Neal 1979, 5), popular culture has enshrined western gunmen as profligate "mankillers" (Masterson 1957, 25). The aging Jimmy Ringo in Henry King's *The Gunfighter* kills an even dozen before he himself is gunned down, while in

the Louis L'Amour novel *Heller with a Gun,* King Mabry is credited with fifteen—before he corrects the record by admitting to just eleven (1992, 19).

Mabry's tally, it should be noted, is "not counting Indians." L'Amour here alludes to a racial peculiarity that gunfighter legends often overlook. In the animosities evoked by the Mexican War, the Civil War, Reconstruction, and Indian removal, the phrases "not counting Indians," "not counting Negroes," and "not counting Mexicans" were common grotesque refrains in western tales. To the "rip-roarin', hell-raisin', fire-spittin' American bad man of probable Anglo-Saxon birth," nonwhites didn't count because "everybody shot them" (Hendricks 1950, 46, 92).

This racist disdain made the gunfighter less an anomaly than a paralegal extension of mainstream mores, and when the mores began to change, "socially conscious" western films reflected the shift. "Bad" gunmen, like the villain of *The Tin Star,* demanded the customary immunity for shooting Indians, while "good" gunmen, like the mercenary cavaliers of John Sturges's *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), could now defend a black man's right to a proper burial and admit a Mexican hothead as a member of their band.

Of all the legends built around the western gunfighter, none has been more resonant than the knight errant image, which sees the gunman as "a two-gun Galahad whose pistols are always at the service of those in trouble" (Rosa 1969, 4). The 1950s television series *Have Gun, Will Travel* featured a professional gunman called Paladin, and defense of the weak is a common attribute of the movies' "good bad man." Chivalry has also been applied to unlikely historical prototypes. Billy the Kid became a southwestern Robin Hood in Walter Noble Burns's *The Saga of Billy the Kid* (1926), a book that inspired countless "good Billy" westerns; a similar fate befell Frank and Jesse James. In Bob Dylan's song "The Ballad of John Wesley Harding," even Wes Hardin, who claimed his first victim at the age of fifteen, became "a friend to the poor" who was "never known to hurt an honest man." Ever since *The Virginian,* fictional gunmen have been similarly characterized, lending popularity to the notion that, next to quickness, the gunfighter's most valued quality was a sense of honor.

Questions of honor invite comparisons not only to European knights but also to Asian martial artists, and the parallel is not lost on students of the Western. It animates Terence Young's film *Red Sun* (1971), where a gunfighter comes to appreciate the importance of honor by watching a samurai bodyguard observe the code of bushidô (or budô). The 1970s television series *Kung Fu* pitted a wandering Shaolin monk against Wild West badmen, and one of the most successful of gunfighter vehicles, *The Magnificent Seven,* was a sagebrush remake of Akira Kurosawa's *Seven Samurai.*

The differences between East and West are, to be sure, profound. Despite jocular references to "triggernometry" and to "leather slapping as a

fine art" (Cunningham 1947), gunfighting was too chaotic and personal a practice to ever be considered a martial system. Gunfighters formed no schools, passed on no fighting "styles," and respected no lineages or training hierarchies. Nor, beyond the quick draw and a few "eye-training, finger flexing exercises" like the finger roll (Cunningham 1947, 424), did they perfect marksmanship; even the few print and film references to shooting lessons suggest only perfunctory admonitions: Shane's "Your holster's too low" (Schaefer 1983, 53) and Morgan Hickman's "Take that split second." In addition, gunfighter culture was, to borrow Ruth Benedict's famous distinction, as Dionysian as samurai culture was Apollonian. A high percentage of gunmen were gamblers, highwaymen, saloonkeepers, rowdies, or drifters.

Nonetheless, they observed a certain wild decorum, memorialized in the often cited Code of the West: Play fair, stand by your word, and don't run. Again the locus classicus is found in Wister's *The Virginian,* when the hero, explaining to his fiancée why he must face the villain, says that a man who refuses to defend his name is "a poor sort of jay" (Wister 1956, 343). The gunman's bravery, Bat Masterson suggested, was made up largely of "self-respect, egotism, and an apprehension of the opinion of others" (Masterson 1957, 54); the critic Robert Warshow put it pointedly when he observed that the westerner in general (and the gunfighter in particular) defends at bottom "the purity of his own image—in fact his honor" (1974, 153). The dying gunfighter of Don Siegel's elegiac *The Shootist,* John Wayne's last film, puts it eloquently: "I won't be wronged, I won't be insulted, and I won't be laid a hand on. I don't do these things to other people, and I require the same from them."

The gunfighter dramatizes the contradiction of a society that must hire professional killers to ensure tranquillity, a society where a gun called the Peacemaker was an instrument of progress. He resolves the contradiction with a personal style that is as much about deportment as it is about courage. Warshow again gets to the heart of the matter. He asks us to observe a child playing with toy guns: "What interests him is not . . . the fantasy of hurting others, but to work out how a man might look when he shoots or is shot. A hero is one who looks like a hero" (1974, 153). In this the mythic gunfighter, no less than the samurai, pays an ironic allegiance not only to fairness, but also to a public, theatrical behavior that popular culture enshrines as a mythical dramatization of the paradox of violence.

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See also Dueling

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Gung Fu

See Kung Fu/Gung Fu/Gongfu

H

Hankuk Haedong Kumdô

See Swordsmanship, Korean/Hankuk Haedong Kumdô

Hapkidô

Hapkidô (Way of Coordinated Power) is a Korean method of combat utilizing hand strikes, kicks, joint locks, throws, restraints, and chokes. In its most specific use the term *Hapkidô* identifies that art transmitted to Ji Han-Jae by Choi Yong-Shul. In a broader sense, the term *Hapkidô* has also come to identify Korean martial arts that incorporate both strikes and grappling according to the three guiding principles of Hapkidô, and derive from, or are heavily influenced by, the Japanese martial art *Daitô-ryû Aiki-jujitsu*. Into this category fall a wide range of organizations (*kwan*), including but not limited to *Mu Sul Kwan, Yon Mu Kwan, Hapki Yu Sool,* and *Jung Ki Kwan.* There are also various Hapkidô federations and associations, the most notable of which are the World Kidô Federation, the International Hapkidô Federation, and the Korean Hapkidô Association.

In its widest usage Hapkidô also may identify organizations and arts whose intent is a greater representation of the Korean martial tradition. These organizations' heritages may derive in some part from either the teachings of Choi Yong-Shul or his students. However, the biomechanics of these arts may be just as likely to reflect instead the strong Chinese and Buddhist heritage of Korean culture. This category may include the arts of *Kuk Sool Won, Han Mu Do, Hwarang-dô, Han Pul, Mu Yei* 24 *Ban,* as well as the martial training practices of the Sun Monasteries.

Modern Hapkidô is the product of more than 2,000 years of martial tradition. This heritage can be subdivided into five major cultural infusions and a myriad of lesser cultural influences.

The first of these major infusions are the ancient tribal techniques (*Sado Mu Sool*), which are thought to have incorporated those forms of combat best accomplished from horseback. These systems would have in-

cluded archery, lance, stone sword, and knife, as well as the brand of wrestling common across most of Central Asia. Practiced by the migrating tribes of the steppes of northeastern Asia, these martial skills formed the foundation for Korean martial tradition.

The second and third infusions to Hapkidô were the introduction of Buddhist and Confucian belief systems, respectively, to Korean culture, as well as the attendant martial and administrative traditions, from China during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The introduction of Buddhist beliefs is reflected in the establishment of various codes that were established to guide the warrior's efforts in meeting his responsibilities to his community and country. Buddhist tradition pressed an accomplished warrior to submit to a code based on patriotism (*Chung*), filial piety (*Hyo*), fraternity (*Shin*), justice (*Yong*), and benevolence (*Im*). In this way the role of Buddhist thought for the Korean warrior was not unlike that played by the Christian Church in Western Europe in the development of chivalry.

The Confucian system, for its part, advocated a reverence for governmental authority and supported this through a hierarchy of levels, examinations, and offices. Such a strict hierarchical system readily lent itself to affirming the rigid Korean class system, composed of the aristocracy, bureaucracy, farmers, and slaves, a system that emphasized the supremacy of the king.

In addition to their respective religious and administrative influences, Buddhism and Confucianism were venues for the introduction of a variety of cultural and martial traditions from China. Among these contributions were various weapons and martial skills, strategies, tactics, history, science, medicine, and literature. These two belief systems (especially via Buddhist influences on governmental policy) inculcated and supported central elements of Korean martial tradition, particularly at the local and individual levels. The rise of the Confucian ethic, however, ultimately led to the degradation of Korean martial systems through the code's minimization of militarism and the consequent relegation of militarism to internal and defensive roles. As a result, Korean military tradition may be characterized as an informal patchwork quilt of cultural influences whipstitched together by immediate need. These forces remained in effect up to the occupation by the Japanese in 1910.

Initially relatively bureaucratic, the Japanese occupation forces faced steadily growing resistance by the Korean people until the Japanese instituted harsh repressive measures in the 1930s that outlawed nearly all expression of Korean culture and demanded the adoption of Japanese cultural counterparts. Japanese nationals were brought to Korea to dominate the agricultural and industrial base of that country, and they brought with them such martial art traditions as *jûdô, jûjutsu, karate, aikidô, kendô* (fencing),

and *kyûdô* (Japanese Archery). Korean nationals were relocated to Japan to service the needs of Japanese industry, farming, and domestic service.

The fourth infusion to the Korean martial tradition that followed in the wake of Japanese occupation is best represented in the personal experiences of Choi Yong-Shul, whose teachings subsequently set the foundation for much of modern Hapkidô. At the age of 8, Choi was reportedly taken to Japan from Korea, later abandoned, and subsequently taken into the household of Takeda Sokaku, teacher of Daitô-ryû Aiki-jujitsu. Choi states that he remained in Takeda's employ for some thirty years, before being repatriated to Korea at the end of World War II. To date, no documentation has been found to support Choi's statements regarding either his residence with the Takeda family or his instruction in the art of Daitô-ryû. However, it remains clear that Choi, along with a very limited number of other Korean nationals such as Jang In Mok and General Choi Hong-Hi, returned to Korea to add the martial skills he had acquired in Japan to those arts of the Korean culture that had survived or those arts that had been introduced from Japan by the occupation.

In 1948 Choi began teaching his art, *Yu Sool,* to Suh Bok-sup, a *yudô* (jûdô) black belt and president of a brewery. The name Yu Sool (Korean; soft technique) itself suggests that the art's techniques included joint locks and throws. However, following an incident in 1954 in which Choi's student Suh used a side thrust kick in an altercation, the name was changed to Yu Kwon Sool (Korean; soft fist technique), indicating that the art utilized kicks and punches as well.

Ji Han-Jae began to train with Choi in 1953. Working with the head instructor of the school, Kim Moo-woong, Ji organized the kicking repertoire that came to be identified with Yu Kwon Sool. This introduction of various kicking techniques by Kim and Ji Han-Jae to the Yu Sool curriculum constitutes the fifth and latest infusion of techniques to Hapkidô. The sources for this kicking repertoire were the historic national pastimes of *t'aek'kyŏn* and *su bahk,* both kicking arts of long standing in the Korean culture. Similar indigenous influences have been suggested for the kicks incorporated into the martial sport of *taekwondo*.

On beginning his own school in 1957 as a third-degree black belt, Ji is credited with changing the name of the art to its present form, Hapkidô, from Hapki Yu Sool. In this way, Ji is thought to have emphasized Hapkidô as a *dô* (Japanese; way of living) rather than merely a *sool* (Korean; collection of techniques). In this way, whatever principles may be examined on a physical plane, such as motion, balance, leverage, timing, and focus, may also be regarded as principles existing on intellectual, emotional, and spiritual planes. The result is that the art of Hapkidô is as much a method of character development as a martial endeavor.

A preponderance of Hapkidô practitioners can trace their instruction back to Choi Yong-Shul, or to Choi through Ji. Among the most notable personalities who have trained with Choi directly, or with Choi through Ji, are Lee Joo Bang (*HwaRangDô*), Myung Jae-nam (International Hapkidô Federation), Myung Kwang-Shik (World Hapkidô Federation), and Bong-Soo Han (International Hapkidô Federation). These martial descendants from his line support Ji's reputation as the "father of modern Hapkidô." There are also large networks of contemporaries to Ji who have sought to introduce their own innovations to Hapkidô. These include Suh In Hyuk (*Kuk Sool Won*), Won Kwan-wha (*Moo Sool Kwan*), and Lim Hyun Su (*Jung Ki Kwan*).

If one compares Daitô-ryû, Hapkidô, and aikidô, another Daitô-ryû derivation, it is not surprising that one can identify a number of similarities. All three arts support practice in both unarmed and weapons techniques. Though curricula vary from organization to organization, all three arts hold to the position that techniques remain biomechanically the same whether a weapon is incorporated into the movements or not.

The weapons themselves continue to reflect a certain consistency in biomechanics, despite cultural variations. The Japanese iron fan or iron truncheon (*jutte*) is represented in Korean Hapkidô by the short stick, or *dan bong*. The Korean cane approximates the Japanese *jô* (stick). Sword, knife, and staff techniques are often comparable in either Japanese or Korean culture, though the Korean biomechanics more often attest to Chinese influence by using circular rather than linear motion. To a lesser degree, Hapkidô practitioners continue to incorporate rope or belt techniques, as well as the larger Chinese fans on occasion.

A second point of intersection among Daitô-ryû Aiki-jujitsu, Hapkidô, and aikidô is the fact that all apply the same three principles on the physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual planes. These are the Water Principle, Point and Circle Principle, and Economy of Energy Principle.

The Water Principle calls for adaptation to circumstances and a readiness to adjust an action or response with ease. Sometimes characterized as "tenacity" or "relentlessness" for the penetrating qualities of the liquid, the Water Principle is better represented by the manner in which water adapts to the shape of the container that holds it. In this way, the practitioner accepts whatever is given to work with and makes the most of it.

The Point and Circle Principle acknowledges that "all things are a cycle" and as such can be much easier to understand by means of cause and effect. A punch, thrown, does not remain extended, but is "recycled" to become perhaps a block, another strike, or a grab. The same can be said for a kick, or a throw, perhaps walking, eating—in fact any activity. Actions occur and are recycled to become other actions as thoughts recycle to

become other thoughts. In combat application, the interception and management of an attack is open to a greater number of options along the track of an arc rather than a straight line. An appreciation of the cyclical nature of events also allows for anticipation according to a variety of options and an execution of a particular option in a tangential rather than confrontational manner.

The Economy of Energy Principle encourages the practitioner to identify the most efficient way of accomplishing goals and admonishes the student to avoid "working harder than one's opponent." In this way, whatever one learns, one is under constant pressure to perform it more accurately, efficiently, and effectively. In this way a practitioner learns to "work smarter, not harder" in dealing with conflicts.

A final significant overlap among Daitô-ryû, Hapkidô, and aikidô is their reliance on a subtle hierarchy of sophistication that guides the practitioner to identify ever increasing levels of efficiency and effectiveness in the arts. For the Japanese arts, the first level of expertise is identified as *jû jitsu* (gentle technique), which is expressed as *yu sool* in the Korean tradition. Essentially an art based on strength, leverage, and speed, this level of expertise often includes a degree of forcing compliance by means of causing pain for the successful execution of the technique. Though the least sophisticated of the three levels, this skill level is perhaps the most widely exhibited among Hapkidô practitioners and contributes to its reputation as a no-nonsense form of self-defense.

The second level of sophistication is identified in the Daitô-ryû tradition as *aiki-jujitsu* (coordinated mind/spirit technique); this is *hapki yu sool* (coordination of power in soft technique) in the Korean tradition. Aikidô, for its part, speaks of "blending" with one's partner. All three phrases indicate the ability to use the nature of attackers' own physical structures against them. Disrupting an attacker's foundation, balance, direction, timing, or focus allows defenders to optimize their assets in confrontations with individuals of greater size or ability. Well known among aikidô and Daitô-ryû practitioners, this level is less well-known in the Hapkidô community, with the exception perhaps of practitioners in Korea itself.

The highest level of expertise is designated *aiki-jitsu* (spirit techniques) and is the subject of much debate within both the aikidô and Daitô-ryû Aiki-jujitsu community. This level of training allows the practitioner to exploit the biomechanical responses of the attacker's own body, such as conditioned responses and reflexes. In such cases the defender, then, is able not only to engage enemies, unbalance them, and use their strength against them, but to incorporate the intent behind their actions in defeating the attack as well.

The organization of a typical Hapkidô school reflects many of the accepted organizational practices common to most martial arts in both Ko-

rea and Japan. A director (*kwang jang nin*) attends to the managing affairs of the school, while an instructor (*sabunim*) oversees regular instruction. Nearly all Hapkidô organizations have adopted a hierarchy of ascending student (*guep*) ranks numbering ten through one and usually assigned a belt color indicative of rank. Individuals committed to continued study, following completion of the student ranks, are assigned a rank of one through seven indicating various levels of competence and designated by a black belt. Ranks eight, nine, and ten are essentially administrative positions. Consistent with the use of a Confucian educational model, criteria for advancement, testing policies, certification, and licensing vary greatly from organization to organization and are regularly a source of negotiation and discussion in the Hapkidô community regarding significance and relative merit.

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See also Aikidô; Korea; Taekwondo; T'aek'kyŏn

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"Hard" Chinese Martial Arts

See External vs. Internal Chinese Martial Arts

Heralds

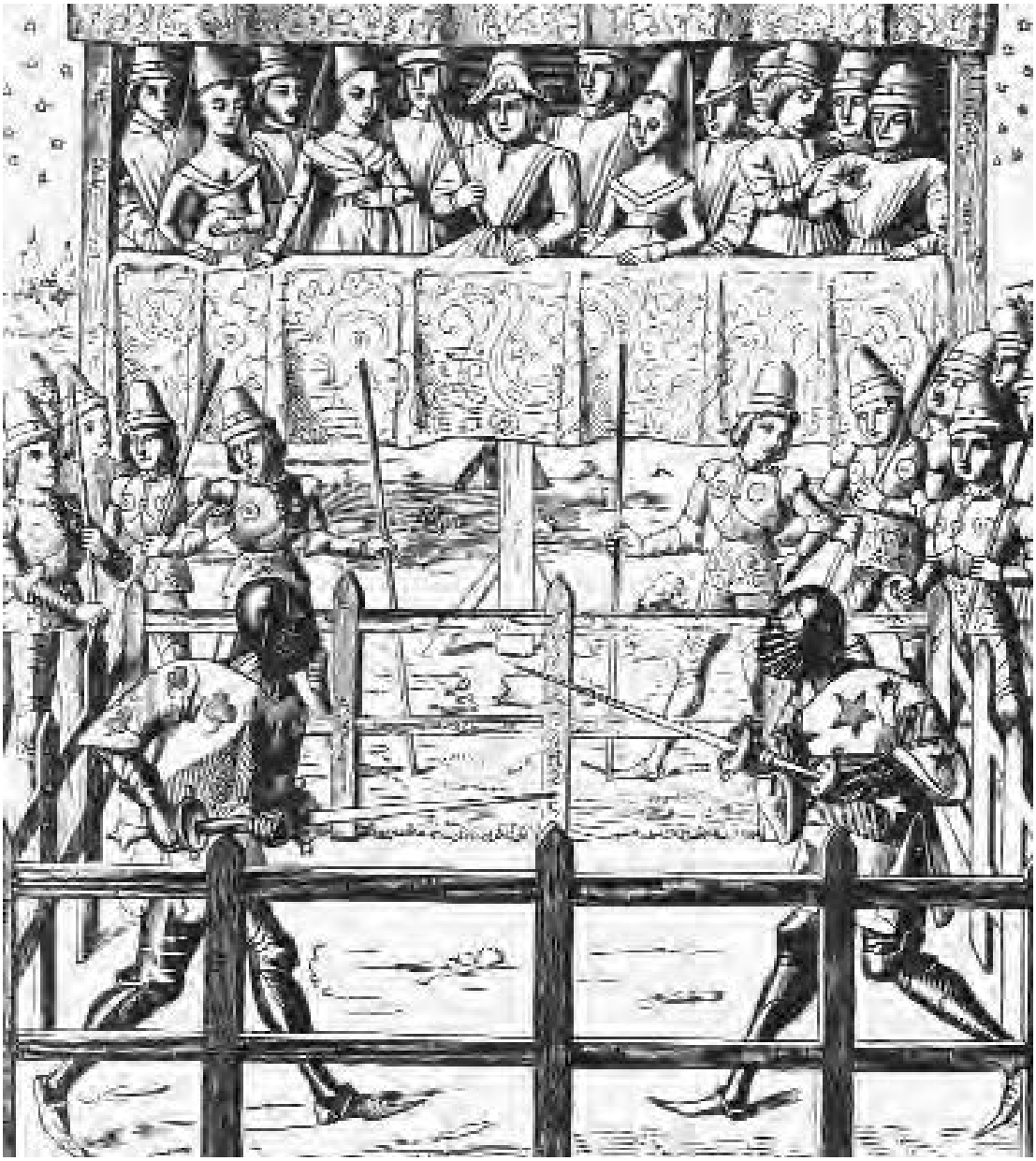
Like most other warrior orders known to history, the knightly nobility of Latin Christendom that flourished from the later twelfth to the early seventeenth centuries developed a distinctive ideology reflective of its peculiar nature and traditions, and largely embodied in the cycles of quasi-historical romances centered on the courts of Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne, or (most commonly) Arthur of Britain. Contemporaries usually referred to

this ideology by a word meaning "knightliness": in Old and Middle French, *chevalerie,* and in English, *chivalry.* Like some other comparable ideologies, chivalry came to be served by an order of ministers who grew up with it, became experts in all of its aspects, and converted it into a kind of secular religion in rivalry with the Catholic Christianity that was officially practiced by all of its votaries.

The most general name given to the ministers of chivalry was "herald," a title of unknown origin first attested in France ca. 1170 (in the form *heralt*) and soon adopted in most of the other languages of Latin Christendom. It was first applied to men who specialized in matters associated with the tournament, a type of knightly team sport invented in France ca. 1050, and slowly converted between about 1180 and 1220 from a wild and dangerous form of mock battle into a carefully regulated game that was set within festivities designed to celebrate and promote the new ideology of chivalry. In documents heralds were at first closely associated with minstrels, and *heraldie,* or heraldry (as their craft came to be called), may probably be seen as an offshoot of minstrelsy. During a tournament the heralds present (at first quite numerous) announced the combatants as they entered the field, heaped praise upon their past performances, and discussed their merits with fellow heralds and spectators while each combat was in progress. Like minstrels, they were at first hired for the occasion, and followed the tournament circuit along with the newly knighted "youths" and other, older knights who found they could make a profit from the sport. They were probably paid both by the organizers of the tournament and by the knights whose deeds they praised—often in the form of songs they composed, in the manner of minstrels.

By the early thirteenth century, the duties of heralds seem to have multiplied, and some, at least, had acquired a more steady form of employment in the households of the princes who alone could afford to hold the grandiose sort of tournament that had come to be fashionable. In any case princes had begun to use them as messengers in matters related to tournaments, and sent them forth with some regularity to proclaim tournaments at various courts, royal and baronial, throughout France, the Holy Roman Empire, and even the lands beyond these. Having delivered the challenge, they returned with the replies of those challenged, and accompanied their master to the place appointed for the combat. As tournaments were officially banned in England until 1194, it is unlikely that heralds were active there before that date. In fact there is no mention of heralds in English records before the accession of Edward I in 1272, but from at least that date, and probably from 1194, English heralds carried out the same range of functions as their Continental namesakes.

Heralds soon acquired several new areas of expertise. Their need to



A medieval trial by combat between two knights inside a fenced ring, ca. 1350. The victor would be deemed to have been vindicated by God. (Hulton Getty/Archive Photos)

be able to identify individual knights in tournaments gave them a special interest in the cognizances or "arms" whose use (on shields, pennons, and banners) was first adopted by princes in the 1130s and became general among ordinary knights in the period between ca. 1190 and ca. 1250. It is likely that heralds not only encouraged the use of such cognizances among those who took part in tournaments, but played an important role in designing them and in systematizing their use. In fact, there is reason to believe that "armory," as this aspect of heraldry came to be called, was

largely the creation of heralds, who certainly provided it with its technical terminology. They also kept its records. Possibly from as early as 1250, and certainly from 1275, some English heralds prepared books or rolls of arms, collected from various sources, to assist them in remembering the hundreds of distinct but often similar arms they encountered in their work, and this practice soon spread to France and from there to other kingdoms of northern Europe.

From ca. 1390 a growing number of heralds also wrote treatises on armory and the other aspects of heraldry, and from about 1450 these were aimed not only at apprentice heralds but at all members of the nobility and those who had hopes of working for them. From about 1480, heralds also began to invent new rules to govern the use of the various additional emblems of identity and insignia of rank, office, and honor that had come since about 1300 to be added to the shield of arms in the complex iconic sign eventually known as an "armorial achievement" in all its various forms: the "crest" of carved wood or boiled leather borne atop the helm in Germany from ca. 1250 and the rest of Latin Europe from ca. 1300–1330 as a supplementary symbol of personal identity, especially in tournaments; the headgear of dignity (crowns, coronets, miters, and so forth) that sometimes replaced the helm and its crest over the shield from about the same period; and the collars and other insignia of the Orders of the Garter, Golden Fleece, St. John of Jerusalem, and other knightly orders and aristocratic societies, both lay and religious, into which noblemen were admitted, which were displayed in conjunction with the shield of arms from ca. 1400.

After about 1480, the heralds also brought within their expertise (and growing jurisdiction) most of the livery emblems that emerged in rivalry to armory in the later fourteenth century, and formed part of a still broader set of what are now called paraheraldic emblems. Most important of these were the livery colors, livery badge, livery device, and motto, used from the 1360s to as late as the 1550s to mark the household servants, soldiers, and political clients and allies of kings, princes, and great barons, and displayed both on livery uniforms and a variety of livery flags, all of which had a primarily military function. The livery banderoles, guidons, and standards, divided into bands of the livery colors and strewn with livery badges and mottoes, all supplemented, in the various nonfeudal companies, the more traditional armorial pennoncelles, pennons, and banners that were still used to indicate the presence of the lord or his chief deputy.

As the existence of these various forms of flags indicates, armorial and paraheraldic emblems generally were closely associated with the role of the knight as warrior. This was true not only in the increasingly sanitized combats of the tournament and joust (which themselves frequently took on the outward form of a scene in a romance), but in the combats *à l'outrance* (to

the death) of real warfare (when armorial banners were alone displayed), and in certain *pas, emprinses,* or *imprese* (as enterprises of arms were variously called) undertaken by some eminent knights to demonstrate their prowess (in the manner of the knights-errant of the Arthurian romances). All three forms of combat were regarded as of value for establishing and defending reputations, and the various emblems displayed in them came to be seen as the embodiments of the (primarily military) honor not merely of the individual knight, but of his whole lineage. This notion was facilitated by the fact that, by about 1300, the basic form of each coat of arms and achievement was normally common to all members of a particular patrilineage descended from the first to adopt the arms, though each junior member had normally to add some sort of "difference," in keeping with rules developed by heralds. Thus, the interest of the herald in arms and the deeds and honor of individual knights led to an interest in the genealogies of all knightly houses and in their collective deeds and honor.

As admission to knightly status was by ca. 1250 generally (and by ca. 1300 universally) restricted to the descendants of knights, and the noble status even of the descendants of barons, princes, and kings was partially redefined so that nobility could be associated with the functional status of knight, the heralds came to be the principal keepers of the honor of the whole nobility, from emperors to simple gentlemen. A herald in the service of a prince might produce an armorially illustrated genealogy or even compose a chivalric biography of his lord, recording his deeds in the manner of the contemporary romances and inserting him into the quasi-historical mythology of chivalry. Heralds also came to play a leading role in the increasingly elaborate funerals of the greater members of the nobility and probably in the design of their increasingly elaborate tombs, both of which were marked by a display of all of the armorial emblems and insignia to which the deceased had any claim, including those of his immediate ancestors and those of his wife. The heralds' ceremonial functions—which continued unabated into the nineteenth century—naturally led to their playing a comparable role in other forms of procession, assembly, and ritual in which noblemen were arranged in order of rank and precedence, or displayed their arms on banners or other flags. These came to include coronations, investitures with dignities, and solemn knightings, as well as the array of an army preparing for battle.

In keeping with these more exalted forms of function, during the course of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries heralds were converted into regular officers of the households of kings, princes, and major barons, and from the 1330s officers of arms were increasingly entrusted with more weighty diplomatic and military duties than those concerned with tournaments. In consequence the body of heralds throughout Latin

Christendom gradually acquired the character of an international professional corps comparable to the clergy, with distinct ranks and jurisdictions. By 1276, England (for example) had been divided at the Trent River into two territories or "marches of arms," one to the north and one to the south, each presided over by a "king of heralds" (or from ca. 1380 "king of arms") in the direct service of the ruler. A similar sort of division was probably made in France and several adjacent countries in the same period. Within his march, each king of heralds was given the task of overseeing all matters that touched not only on tournaments and armorial bearings, but eventually on knighthood, chivalry, and nobility. Apprentice heralds were from about the same period given the title "pursuivant (of arms)," so that the old generic designation "herald (of arms)" became the special title of master heralds who were not yet kings, and the generic title for all three grades became "officer of arms."

From about 1330, officers of all three grades came to be given special styles at the time of their appointment, and certain of these became the titles of regular offices. On the continent the styles of kings were normally taken from the name of their march, which usually corresponded to a kingdom or principality (Sicily, Guelders, Anjou, Guienne, and so forth), while in England they initially represented the location of the march (Norroy King of Arms north of the Trent, Surroy or later Clarenceux King of Arms south of the Trent). The principal king of arms, however, came to bear a special title, taken in France from the war cry of the real king (Montjoie), in Scotland from the royal arms (Lyon), and in other countries increasingly from the monarchical order of knighthood to which they were also attached (Garter, Golden Fleece, and so on). The styles of the lesser officers were commonly derived from the name of one of their master's possessions (Windsor Herald), dignities (Hastings Pursuivant), or badges (Blanche Sanglier Pursuivant, Crescent Pursuivant), but might be fanciful in the manner of the contemporary romances (Bonespoir Herald, Bien Alaunt Pursuivant).

The formal jurisdictions of the royal officers remained only very loosely defined and organized before the early fifteenth century. In 1406, however, Charles VI of France increased the dignity of the heralds of his kingdom by incorporating them in a "college" under the presidency of Montjoie King of Arms, and in 1415 his rival, Henry V of England, achieved a similar effect by creating the new office of Garter Principal King of Arms of Englishmen, attached to the knightly Order of the Garter, which since 1349 had been the institutional embodiment of the ideals of chivalry in his kingdom. Henry also increased the authority of his officers of arms in 1417 when he gave them the right to visit a number of counties, determine which of their inhabitants had the right to use armorial bearings, and

record those that were legitimately borne. This gave rise by 1450 to the even more significant right to invent and grant new armorial achievements, both to individuals and to corporations, thus giving official recognition to the new nobility of the former.

The right to grant new armorial achievements was only rarely extended to heralds on the continent, where kings and princes retained the right to grant them only to those whom they themselves had formally ennobled. Nevertheless, heralds tended everywhere to remain at least the registrars of the knightly nobility, and their rolls of arms served to identify those whose ancestry and rank qualified them for participation in princely tournaments and other forms of activity restricted to the old military nobility. The French incorporation of the national corps of heralds into a college was imitated at later dates in some other countries, including England in 1484 (and again in 1555), while the English practice of attaching the chief herald of the realm to its monarchical order of knighthood was emulated in a number of other states, including Burgundy in 1430, peninsular Sicily in 1465, and France itself in 1469.

As a result of the military revolutions of the sixteenth century, the importance of the French and many other Continental heralds gradually declined after about 1520, and heraldry was everywhere removed from its practical relationship to warfare. Nevertheless, in most of the surviving European monarchies (and in Canada, where an heraldic authority was established in 1988), the royal heralds have continued to this day to preside over the design and use of the emblems of the armed forces, as well as those of the state in general, and still issue letters patent admitting people to a now essentially honorary membership in the old military nobility.

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See also Chivalry; Europe; Knights; Orders of Knighthood, Religious; Orders of Knighthood, Secular

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I

Iaidô

Iaidô is the Japanese martial art of drawing and cutting in the same motion, or "attacking from the scabbard." It dates from the mid-sixteenth century, when warriors began to wear the sword through the belt with the edge upward. Iaidô is practiced solo with real blades, in set routines called kata. Some iaidô styles also practice kata with a partner, using wooden swords or training blades with rebated edges. Some styles incorporate test cutting. Others, however, regard cutting as peripheral to the art. Iaidô is considered a method of self-development but is also practiced as a sport, with two competitors performing kata side by side, and a panel of judges declaring a winner.

The idea of cutting from the draw may have originated as early as the eleventh century, but modern iaidô dates to about 1600. Most styles trace their origin to Hayashizaki Jinsuke Shigenobu (ca. 1546–1621). His students and those who followed developed hundreds of different styles, dozens of which are still practiced. Today the two most popular are the Musô Jikiden Eishin-ryû and the Musô Shinden-ryû.

In the mid-twentieth century two major governing bodies for iaidô were formed: the All Japan Iaidô Federation, and the iaidô section of the All Japan Kendô Federation. Both organizations developed common sets of kata to allow students of different styles to practice and compete together. Although not overly common even in its country of origin, iaidô has followed the Japanese martial arts around the world.

The art has had many names over the years, but iaidô was accepted about 1930. The "I" comes from the word *ite* (presence of mind) and the "ai" alternate pronunciation of the word *awasu* (harmonize) in the phrase *kyû ni awasu* (flexible response in an emergency).

The art is a Japanese *budô* and as such is intended mainly as a method of self-development. The concentration and focus needed to perfect the movements of drawing and sheathing a sharp sword while watching an (imaginary) enemy have a beneficial effect on the mind. The art also de-

A photo of Nakamura Taizaburo taken at the Noma Dôjô, which appeared in his book Nippon-to Tameshigiri no Shinzui *(The Essence of Japanese Sword Test Cutting). (Courtesy of Nakamura Taizaburo)*

mands excellent posture and the ability to generate power from many positions. The art appeals to those who are looking for something deeper than a set of fighting skills. For many years iaidô was considered esoteric, and it was often assumed one had to be Japanese to fully understand it. In the past decades that thinking has changed, and iaidô is now practiced around the world. Apart from its exotic look, iaidô does not generally appeal to spectators, being restrained and quiet in its performance.

The main practice is done alone, and iaidô kata contain four parts, the draw and initial cut (*nuki tsuke*), the finishing cut(s) (*kiri tsuke*), cleaning the blade (*chiburi*), and replacing the blade in the scabbard (*notô*). The swordsman learns many patterns of movement for dealing with enemies, who may attack alone or in groups from various angles.

One of the simplest of the kata is as follows: From a kneeling position the sword is drawn from the left side and a horizontal cut is made from left to right while stepping forward. The sword is raised overhead and a two-handed downward cut is made. The blade is then circled to the right and

the imaginary blood is flicked off while standing up. The feet are switched while checking the opponent, and the blade placed back into the scabbard while kneeling.

Various styles of iaidô may practice with the long sword (over 60 centimeters [about 2 feet]), the short sword (30–60 centimeters [1–2 feet]), or the knife (under 30 centimeters [less than 1 foot]). Many styles also include partner practice in the form of stylized kata performed with wooden blades for safety.

No matter where or which style is practiced, iaidô remains rooted in Japan, in traditions that have been handed down for centuries. With the advent of film and video, scholars can see that the art does change over time, but as the natural consequence of physical skills that are passed from teacher to student, not from deliberate attempts to improve it.

Iaidô has grading systems administered by two governing bodies. The All Japan Kendô Federation (as well as the International Kendô Federation) bases its curriculum mainly on a common set of ten techniques, while the All Japan Iaidô Federation has a set of five. A test requires the swordsman to perform a number of techniques from these common sets. For the senior grades, techniques from an old style (*koryû*) must also be performed. A judging panel observes the performance and passes or fails the challenger. Both organizations use the *kyû-dan* system of ranking, with several student, or *kyû,* grades and ten senior, or *dan,* grades.

Some older styles of iaidô have never joined a major organization. They argue that an organization containing several styles and a common set of techniques will lead to a modification or dilution of the pure movements of the individual style, and that all styles will eventually come to look alike. In the case of the Kendô Federation, that argument is sometimes extended to speculation that the movements of kendô will eventually influence the movements of iaidô.

Iaidô competitions are becoming more common outside Japan. The usual format consists of two competitors performing several kata side by side, with a panel of judges deciding on the winner, who then moves on to the next round. The judging is done on a number of criteria and would be equivalent to that done in gymnastics or skating.

The major organizations hold a number of competitions each year, and the International Kendô Federation is considering a world championship for iaidô. The European Kendô Federation and its national bodies hold European and national championships. In North and South America, there are occasional meets but no organized competitive schedule as yet.

As in many martial arts, there is an ongoing discussion as to whether competition is a good thing in an activity that is supposed to improve the practitioner. Those in favor of competition will point out that all sports

benefit the players. Their opponents will suggest that the benefits of martial arts are quite different and that they are incompatible with the benefits derived from competition.

Kim Taylor

See also Japan; Kendô; Sword, Japanese; Swordsmanship, Japanese

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India

Martial arts have existed on the South Asian subcontinent since antiquity. Two traditions have shaped the history, development, culture, and practice of extant South Asian martial arts—the Tamil (Dravidian) tradition and the Sanskrit Dhanur Veda tradition. The early Tamil Sangam "heroic" poetry informs us that between the fourth century B.C. and A.D. 600 a warlike, martial spirit predominated across southern India. Each warrior received "regular military training" in target practice and horse riding, and specialized in use of one or more weapons, such as lance or spear (*vel*), sword (*val*) and shield (*kedaham*), and bow (*vil*) and arrow (Subramanian 1966, 143–144). The heroic warriors assumed that power (*ananku*) was not transcendent, but immanent, capricious, and potentially malevolent (Hart 1975, 26, 81). War was considered a sacrifice of honor, and memorial stones were erected to fallen heroic kings and warriors whose manifest power could be permanently worshipped by their community and ancestors (Hart 1975, 137; Kailasapathy 1968, 235)—a tradition witnessed today in the propitiation of local medieval martial heroes in the popular *teyyam* cult of northern Kerala.

The Sanskrit Dhanur Vedic tradition was one of eighteen traditional branches of knowledge. Although the name "Dhanur Veda" (science/knowledge of archery) reflects the fact that the bow and arrow were considered the supreme weapons, the tradition included all fighting arts from empty-hand grappling techniques to use of many weapons. Knowledge of the Dhanur Vedic tradition is recorded in the two great Indian epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana,* whose vivid scenes describe how princely heroes obtain and use their humanly or divinely acquired skills and powers to defeat their enemies. They train in martial techniques under the tutelage of great gurus like the Brahman master Drona, practice austerities and meditation giving one access to subtle powers, and may receive a gift or a boon of magical powers from a god. A variety of paradigms of martial practice and power are reflected in the epics, from the strong, brutish Bhima who depends on his physical strength to crush his foes with grappling techniques or his mighty mace, to the "unsurpassable" Arjuna who uses his subtle accomplishments in meditation to achieve superior powers to conquer his enemies with his bow and arrow.

The only extant Dhanur Vedic text—chapters 249 through 252 of the

Demonstration of the power of Kalarippayattu (a southern Indian martial art) to withstand weapon strike during a Kalari Payat practice in Kerala, India, 1966. This ancient art of warfare is now performed as a sport in the province. (Hutton Getty/Archive)

encyclopedic collection of knowledge and practices, the *Agni Purana*—is very late, dating from no earlier than the eighth century A.D. These four chapters appear to be an edited version of one or more earlier manuals briefly covering a vast range of techniques and instructions for the king who needs to prepare for war and have his soldiers well trained in arms. Like the purana as a whole, the Dhanur Veda chapters provide both sacred knowledge and profane knowledge, in this case on the subject of martial training and techniques. They catalogue the subject, stating that there are five training divisions (for warriors on chariots, elephants, and horseback;

for infantry; and for wrestling), and five types of weapons to be learned (those projected by machine [arrows or missiles], those thrown by hands [spears], those cast by hands yet retained [nooses], those permanently held in the hands [swords], and the hands themselves). Either a Brahman (the purest high caste, serving priestly functions) or Kshatriya (the second purest caste, serving as princes or warriors to maintain law and social order) should teach the martial arts because it is their birthright, while lower castes can be called upon to learn and take up arms when necessary. Beginning with the noblest of weapons, the bow and arrow, the text discusses the specifics of training and practice, including descriptions of the ten basic lower-body poses to be assumed when practicing bow and arrow. Once the basic positions are described, there is technical instruction in how to string, draw, raise, aim, and release the bow and arrow, as well as a catalogue of types of bows and arrows. More advanced techniques are also described with bow and arrow and other weapons.

Encompassing everything from nutrition to socialization, the martial arts in Southeast Asia always include a spiritual dimension. Accordingly, just as important as the technical descriptions is the major leitmotif of the text—the intimation that the ideal state of the martial practitioner is achieved through attaining mental accomplishment via meditation and use of a mind-focusing mantra. "Having learned all these ways, one who knows the system of karma-yoga [associated with this practice] should perform this way of doing things with his mind, eyes, and inner vision since one who knows [this] yoga will conquer even the god of death [Yama]." To "conquer the god of death" is to have "conquered" the "self," namely, to have overcome all physical, mental, and emotional obstacles in the way of cultivating a self-possessed presence in the face of potential death in combat (Dasgupta 1966).

Practice of a martial art was a traditional way of life. Informed by assumptions about the body, mind, health, exercise, and diet implicit in indigenous Ayurvedic and Siddha systems of medicine, rules of diet and behavior circumscribed training and shaped the personality, demeanor, behavior, and attitude of the long-term student so that he ideally applied his knowledge of potentially deadly techniques only when appropriate. Expertise demanded knowledge of the most vulnerable "death" spots (*marman* in Sanskrit) of the body (Zarrilli 1992) for attack, defense, or for administration of health-giving massage therapies. Consequently, martial masters were also traditional healers, usually physical therapists and bonesetters.

Historically each region of the subcontinent had its own particular martial techniques, more or less informed by the Dhanur Vedic and Sangam traditions. Among those traditions still extant are Tamil Nadu's *varma ati* (Tamil; striking the vital spots) and *silambam* (Tamil; staff fighting), Kerala's *kalarippayattu* (exercises practiced in a special earthen pit,

Relief carving on the headstone of an Indian warrior outside Meherangarh Fort in Jodhpur, India. (Jeremy Horner/ Corbis)

called a *kalari*), North India's *mushti* (wrestling) and *dandi* (staff fighting), and Karnataka's *malkambh* (wrestler's post). Among these, Kerala's kalarippayattu is the most complete extant South Asian martial tradition today.

Kalarippayattu is unique to the southwestern coastal region known today as Kerala State. Dating from at least the twelfth century and still practiced by numerous masters today, kalarippayattu combines elements of both the Sangam Tamil arts and the Dhanur Vedic system. Like their puranic and epic martial counterparts, the kalarippayattu martial practitioners traditionally sought to attain practical power(s) to be used in combat—powers attained through training and daily practice of the art's basic psychophysiological exercises and weapons work, mental powers attained through meditation or actualization in mantra as well as ritual practices, and overt physical strength and power. Sharing a set of assumptions about the body and body-mind relationship with yoga, practice began with "the body" and moved inward through the practice of daily exercises from the early age of seven. Kalarippayattu was traditionally practiced primarily by Nayars, Kerala's martial caste, as well as by a special subcaste among Kerala's Brahmans, the Yatra Brahmans; lower-caste practitioners known as *chekavar* drawn from among special families of Tiyyas (a relatively low-ranking caste); Muslims (especially Sufis in northern Kerala); and Christians. The art is practiced by both boys and girls for general health and well-being as well as the preparation of martial practitioners; the external body eventually should "flow like a river." The state of psychophysiological actualization was accomplished through practice of dietary and seasonal restraints, the receipt of a yearly full-body massage, development of the requisite personal devotional attitude, and practice of exercises. Kalarippayattu's body exercise sequences (*meippayattu*) link combinations of yoga asana-like poses (*vativu*), steps (*cuvat*), kicks (*kal etupp*), a variety of jumps and turns, and coordinated hand and arm movements performed in increasingly swift and difficult succession and combinations back and forth across the kalari floor. The poses usually number eight, and they are

named after dynamic animals such as the horse, peacock, serpent, lion, and the like. Students eventually take up weapons, beginning with the long staff (*kettukari*) and then advancing to the short stick (*ceruvadi*), curved elephant tusk–like *otta* (which introduces empty-hand combat), dagger, sword and shield, flexible sword, mace, and spear.

Closely related to kalarippayattu in the southern Kerala region known as Travancore, which borders the present-day Tamil Nadu State, is the martial art known variously as *adi murai* (the law of hitting), varma ati (hitting the vital spots), or *chinna adi* (Chinese hitting). Some general features of the Tamil martial arts clearly distinguish them from kalarippayattu—they were traditionally practiced in the open air or in unroofed enclosures by Nadars, Kallars, and Thevars. These are three relatively "low-ranking" castes of Travancore District. Nadar was used as a title granted to some families by the ancient Travancore kings. During the last few centuries, a number of Nadars in the southern part of Travancore converted to Christianity, and, given their historical practice of fighting arts, some claim to be from the traditional princely class (Kshatriya). These forms begin with empty-hand combat rather than preliminary exercises. Students learn five main methods of self-defense, including *kuttacuvat* and *ottacuvat* (sequences of offensive and defensive moves in combinations), *kaipor* (empty-hand combat), *kuruvatippayattu* (stickfighting), *netuvatippayattu* (short-staff combat), and *kattivela* (knife against empty hand).

Beginning in 1958 with the founding of the Kerala Kalarippayattu Association as part of the Kerala State Sports Council, the Tamil forms become known as "southern-style kalarippayattu" in contrast to kalarippayattu per se, which became known as "northern" kalarippayattu, since it was extant primarily in the central and northern Kerala regions. The association began with seventeen kalari, as the groups that practice the art are called, with the goals of "encouraging, promoting, controlling, and popularizing" kalarippayattu, holding annual district and state championships, setting standards for practice and construction of kalari, accreditation and affiliation of member kalari, and the like. Today well over 200 kalari are either officially affiliated with the association or remain unaffiliated.

Students of northern and southern kalarippayattu practice a variety of form training, either solo or in pairs (with weapons), at the yearly district and statewide competitions and are judged by a panel of masters. The panel awards certificates and trophies in individual aspects of the art, as well as choosing overall champions in each of the two styles.

Phillip B. Zarrilli

See also Kalarippayattu; Religion and Spiritual Development: India; Thang-Ta; Varma Ati; Wrestling and Grappling: India; Written Texts: India

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Internal Chinese Martial Arts

See External vs. Internal Chinese Martial Arts

J

Japan

The historical development and evolution of warfare in Japan are as old as Japanese civilization itself, over the centuries making warfare in Japan a distinct culture that significantly contributed to the shaping of Japanese society. The importance of martial traditions in Japan cannot be overstated, as warfare has always been an integral aspect of and deeply embedded in Japan's polity, society, and culture. Warfare was the practical method taken by powerful local magnates of ancient Japan to consolidate power, eventually leading to the emergence of a dominant lineage and the establishment of the imperial dynasty. Later, during the medieval period, warfare spread in many provinces, dividing Japan into autonomous domains, and in the early modern period it was used to unify Japan. Warfare also brought to an end seven hundred years of warrior dominance, toppling the Tokugawa *bakufu* (military government) and restoring military powers to the emperor. After Japan entered the modern period, the martial culture that had become so embedded in the Japanese mind contributed to the rise of militarism, which eventually developed into imperialism and military confrontations with other Asian nations and the West.

Centuries of warfare and warrior dominance also eventually produced well-systematized martial disciplines. In that respect, warfare in the form of cultivated martial traditions is still very much a part of Japanese culture, continuously influencing Japanese life. In this sense, warfare has never disappeared in present-day Japan; rather, it is contained within the larger context of Japan's cultural heritage.

Warfare and Geography

The development of Japan's martial culture and traditions is intricately intertwined with Japan's geographical setting and sociodemographic distribution. Being an island nation only a short distance from the Korean peninsula created a sense of isolation and at the same time allowed for continuous contacts with the continent. Indeed, the contact with Korea and

China since the ancient period has allowed the Japanese to borrow selected aspects of Chinese culture (including martial knowledge), which they successfully assimilated into their own native culture.

In addition to being an island nation, Japan has other geographical features that have had a strong influence. The geographic layout of the Japanese island of Honshu, which has always been the central island for Japanese society, produced a diversity of local subcultures, societies, and eventually, martial specializations. High mountains covering most of the island, with relatively few narrow passes crossing them, and many rivers flowing across open plains are the major reasons for this phenomenon. Isolated communities developed unique local dialects, cultural variations, food and craft specialties, and even distinct martial skills. For example, Takeda warriors in the *Kantô* area were highly skillful at mounted archery, while the Kuki family in western Japan was known for their naval capabilities. However, it is important to note a larger social division, that between courtiers and professional warriors, who were also separated geographically—courtiers in the western provinces and warriors in the eastern provinces.

Warriors who were located in and around the capital of Kyoto in western Japan and who served powerful court families acquired refined manners and courtly behavior. At the same time, warriors of imperial descent who were sent, beginning in the eighth century, to the eastern provinces to protect court interests there developed over the centuries a much more distinct warrior culture. They emphasized military prowess over refined courtly behavior and were much more pragmatic in their military training than were warriors in western Japan, eventually setting themselves up as a separate social group in the twelfth century with the establishment of a separate ruling apparatus for warriors commonly known as the bakufu. From that time on, the dual political ruling structure of court and bakufu set the direction in which warrior society was to evolve.

Perhaps the most noticeable effect of geographical separation as a factor in the occurrence of warfare and the development of martial traditions occurred during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when local *daimyo* (warlords) aspired to create independent domains and were primarily concerned with controlling land. Since domain borders were clearly marked by a distinct topography and strategic locations were of great importance, mountain ranges, valleys, and rivers were selected as natural strategic borders. In fact, some of the fiercest battles were fought in these places. In any case, warriors who founded martial traditions often did so in the service of one of these daimyo, and therefore were limited to teaching in a certain region.

Warfare, Politics, and Society

Warfare in Japanese history has been inextricably related to changing politics and society. Knowledge of warfare in Japan prior to the appearance of written records (eighth century A.D.) is limited to archaeological evidence and evidence from Chinese records. While archaeology indicates the existence of warfare and the types of armor and weapons used by the early Japanese warriors, it provides limited information on the social structure and on the conflicts that brought about military confrontations. For this kind of information we must look at records written by Chinese who visited the Japanese islands.

The *Weizhi* (History of the Kingdom of Wei, A.D. 297) mentions more than one hundred peaceful communities on the Japanese islands. At that time the country had a male ruler, but for seventy or eighty years there were widespread disturbances. Then the people selected a female ruler, known as queen Himiko (or Pimiko), who was a shaman. After her death, a male ruler was selected, but disturbances and assassinations ensued. Once again, a female ruler was selected. From this record it seems that warfare was localized and that local chieftains who controlled territories were engaged in warfare, but that there was one strong family whose chieftains were becoming more dominant than others were. Some hundred and fifty years later, the *Hou Hanshu* (The History of the Latter Han, 445) confirms the rise of such a dominant chieftain. It states that each community had a ruler, but there was a supreme ruler, called the "King of the Great Wa," who resided in Yamatai. The records mention Himiko again, stating that there was great instability and constant warfare before she was appointed as queen. Queen Himiko, then, is mentioned as the ruler who was able to extend her authority over other local rulers, thus reducing the frequency of warfare.

According to the *Songshu* (The History of the Liu Song Dynasty, 513), Emperor Yûryaku requested the Chinese court to recognize him by the title "Generalissimo Who Maintains Peace in the East Commanding with Battle-Ax All Military Affairs in the Six Countries of Wa, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Chin-han and Mok-han." In his letter of request Yûryaku writes: "From of old our forebears have clad themselves in armor and helmet and gone across the hills and waters, sparing no time for rest. In the east, they conquered fifty-five countries of hairy men; and in the west, they brought to their knees sixty-six countries of various barbarians. Crossing the sea to the north, they subjugated ninety-five countries" (Tsunoda, de Bary, and Keene 1958, 8). Similarly, in the *Xin Tangshu* (New History of the Tang Dynasty, ca. eleventh century, compiled from earlier records of the Tang dynasty, 618–906) there is a clue to the existence of some sort of fortifications constructed by erecting high walls made of timber (all translations of Chinese records are taken from Tsunoda, de Bary, and Keene 1958).

A samurai in full battle armor brandishes a katana *(longsword) in Japan, 1860. The armor is from a much earlier period. (Historical Picture Archive/Corbis)*

Until the sixth century, Japan experienced a process of state formation and power consolidation through frequent warfare among local powerful chieftains. In addition, it was during this period (Kofun, 250–600) that mounted archery first appeared, under Emperor Ôjin's reign (ca. late fourth to early fifth centuries). Since it was expensive to acquire a horse, related equipment, and weapons, the mounted warriors were probably members of the elite. These warriors were the forerunners of the later professional warriors who emerged in the provinces from among the hereditary provincial elite—especially in the Kantô area, where some of the strongest families and most skillful warriors have appeared. At any rate, it was in the Yamato

region (present-day Nara prefecture) where one dynasty was able to consolidate power, later claiming supreme rulership of the Japanese people and eventually establishing itself as the imperial family.

The imperial family founded its court with the support of a few powerful families, namely the Soga, in charge of finances; Mononobe, in charge of arms and warfare; and Nakatomi, in charge of religious affairs. However, the introduction of Buddhism (ca. 530) in Japan was followed by strong disputes concerning the acceptance of a system of belief that, the Soga argued, would pose a threat to the sanctity of the Japanese people and the imperial family. The court finally recognized Buddhism when Prince Shôtoku patronized the construction of a Buddhist temple, eventually leading to the popularization of Buddhism among elite court families. Prince Shôtoku's patronage of Buddhism, together with other reforms, set the stage for a series of political, land, and judicial reforms.

Rivalry at court among its elite families resulted in the rise to power of the Soga family at the expense of the Nakatomi and Mononobe. The Soga became influential in court matters to the degree of making decisions concerning imperial successions. Naturally, the other court families sought an opportunity to eliminate the Soga family. In 645, an imperial prince, Naka-no-ie, with the support of Nakatomi-no-Kamatari and others, rallied against the Soga family and was victorious. Following his success, Prince Naka-no-ie promulgated a series of reforms known as the Taika Reforms. He then became Emperor Tenji, while Nakatomi-no-Kamatari was given a new family name, Fujiwara. While Emperor Tenji's lineage ended rather quickly, the Fujiwara family became the most influential court family in the following centuries and survived in that position until the modern period. In any case, under the reign of Emperor Tenji, Japanese forces experienced a defeat on the Korean peninsula (Battle of Paekcheon River, 663); this affair prompted Tenji to adopt the Chinese model of state, which led to the promulgation of the Imi Codes (668).

Emperor Tenji's reign came to an abrupt end in the Jinshin War (672–673). The war was the result of a succession dispute between Tenji's son, who was named by Tenji as his successor, and Tenji's brother. Tenji's brother won the war and became Emperor Tenmu. Supported by Kantô warriors, Tenmu emphasized constructing a strong army to achieve a formidable position at court. His foot soldiers used crossbows, and his officers were mounted. He establishing a system of decentralized militia units (*gundan*) based on a conscription system. Each conscript had to provide himself with the necessities for war, including weapons and food. Naturally, such a system placed a heavy burden on impoverished peasants recruited as soldiers. Militarily, the gundan provided guards at court, participated in clashes, and helped settle disputes that took place in the capital.

Tenmu's conscript army eventually had to be restructured based on new guidelines provided by the Taihô Codes of 702.

The Taihô Codes defined government offices and a bureaucratic system based on the T'ang Chinese model. The codes provided legislation for military matters aiming at building an organized imperial army. The codes specified that the army was to be constructed based on a conscription system and that the fundamental unit of its organizational structure was the local militia. In addition to delineating the duties of the military in apprehending outlaws and fighting enemies of the court, and the obligations of its rank-and-file, it specified that soldiers were to practice martial skills (*bugei*). Unfortunately, neither the type of practice involved nor the method of warfare and weapons is clear. Nevertheless, the Taihô Codes clearly indicate a new era in warfare. Emperor Tenmu's military, strictly based on the Chinese model, proved to be impossible to support. However, the guidelines for the army as stipulated in the Taihô Codes made the earlier system more suitable for the Japanese. Yet, it took less than a century for court aristocrats to realize that they must abolish the conscription army in favor of a smaller army of professional warriors.

During the Nara period (711–794), the imperial army engaged in battles against Fujiwara no Hirotsugu (740), against whom it was victorious, and in the latter half of the Nara period the court attempted to assert control over the Emishi people in northern Honshu. A series of campaigns against the Emishi proved to be a total failure, since the Emishi were formidable warriors, making it impossible for the imperial army to subdue them. These repeated failures by an army of poorly trained and poorly motivated soldiers led by civilian courtiers (i.e., the Abe family) brought the final abolition in 792 of an army based on the Chinese model. Then, after Emperor Kanmu (737–806) moved the capital to Heian in 794, an army led by military aristocrats and well-trained soldiers under the leadership of Sakanoue-no-Tamuramaro, whom Kanmu selected as the first *sei-tai-shôgun* (barbarians-subduing generalissimo), resumed the campaign against the Emishi. Tamuramaro's successful campaigns not only strengthened the court and its economy, but also proved that military professionalism was far more beneficial in protecting court interests.

The growth of a professional class of warriors led by a military aristocracy was made possible by a process commonly known as imperial (or dynastic) shedding. As the size of court families grew significantly during the seventh to tenth centuries, they rid themselves of younger sons for whom there was no room at court by sending them out from the court, after providing them with a new family name. This process resulted in the formation of the two most important warrior families—Taira and Minamoto—from whom branched most of Japan's warrior families. The role

of the Taira and the Minamoto as viewed by the court was to protect the interests of the imperial and other court families in the countryside where they held lands. However, Taira and Minamoto warriors soon became the military arm of individual court families, namely the Fujiwara and the imperial families, who were competing for power at court. Changing rivalries and shifting alliances eventually led to military conflicts and to a change in the characteristics of warfare.

The tenth century marked a transition in the Japanese military, as reflected in the revolts of Taira no Masakado in the Kantô region and Sumitomo in western Japan between the years 935 and 940, during which time economic difficulties and unstable politics had weakened the court. Masakado, whose initial reason for armed uprising was his uncle's refusal to marry his daughter to Masakado, also targeted the court. Though Masakado directed his attacks at the court, his revolt was primarily for the purpose of establishing his lineage within the Taira clan. Thus, a new era in Japanese society and warfare began with the use of military actions to resolve intrafamilial rivalries. Masakado's tactics relied on existing Chinese-influenced methods of fighting, but his superior organization, technology, and strategy allowed him to defeat his rivals. Similarly, Sumitomo, a pirate leader in western Japan, heard of Masakado's revolt and used the opportunity of a weakened court to expand his activity to such an extent that the Kyoto court felt seriously threatened. Instead of fighting both rebels simultaneously, the court first targeted Sumitomo by offering him a high court rank in return for his allegiance. After Sumitomo accepted the offer, the court sent Taira and Fujiwara forces to seek and destroy Masakado and his allies. In 940 Masakado forces in eastern Japan were destroyed, and Sumitomo in western Japan became a member of the court. Nevertheless, both men left their mark on the evolution of warfare, making it more sophisticated and professionalized.

Four major military conflicts occurred between 1056 and 1160 involving Taira and Minamoto warriors. The first war, known as The Former Nine Years War (lasting from 1056 to 1062, it was in fact only six years long), took place between Minamoto-led forces and the Abe family in the Tôhoku region. The second war, known as The Latter Three Years War (lasting from 1083 to 1087, it was actually four years long), was between the same Minamoto warriors and the Kiyowara family from the same region, who in The Former Nine Years War had been allied with the Minamoto. The purpose of these wars was to restore control of their lands in the Tôhoku region. Remaining records related to the wars show that warfare in Japan was further progressing toward smaller groups of professional warrior bands. Siege warfare and mounted combat replaced large armies of foot soldiers who fought in rigid formations, and war technology shifted toward a more extensive use of the bow and arrow (*yumiya*).

The third war was more accurately a one-night armed conflict known as the Hôgen Conflict (1156), usually characterized as a factional dispute at court. The emperor and one Fujiwara faction, backed by factions of the Taira and Minamoto, fought the retired emperor and another faction of the Fujiwara, backed by yet other factions of the Taira and Minamoto families. The fourth war, the Heiji Conflict (1159–1160), was, like the Hôgen Conflict, a matter of political rivalries within the court. However, the main difference was that Taira and Minamoto were clearly fighting each other. By the end of the conflict, Minamoto no Yoshitomo had lost to Taira no Kiyomori, who then became a dominant figure with unprecedented influence at court. At any rate, the most striking features of these armed conflicts are the small forces, numbering only a few hundred, and the use of a single mounted warrior as the basic fighting unit. In addition, night attacks and setting fires have become effective tactics, given the smaller number of warriors participating in fighting. These characteristics remained common until the next great conflict between the Minamoto and the Taira.

Between 1180 and 1185 Japan experienced its first countrywide civil war, the Genpei War, between Minamoto supporters led by Minamoto no Yoritomo, and Taira supporters led by Taira no Kiyomori and his successors. The war erupted as a result of a succession dispute at court. A disgruntled Prince Mochihito, who was passed over for the title of emperor, issued a call to arms to Minamoto warriors to rise against the Taira, who supported and protected the court. Although the two competing forces are usually identified as Taira (also Heike) and Minamoto (also Genji), there were Taira warriors in the Minamoto camp and vice versa. For Minamoto no Yoritomo, the war against the Taira was for the sake of reviving his lineage of the Minamoto and establishing an independent coalition of warriors in the eastern provinces led by him and his descendants. For warriors supporting Yoritomo, more than anything else it was a war for benefits that came in the form of land rewards. The Genpei War, therefore, could be labeled as a political and economic war, of which the originally unplanned result was the formation of a distinct self-governed society of professional warriors. Leading this society of warriors was the bakufu, its shôgun (military general), and regents.

Although a new political institution, the Kamakura bakufu did not introduce any major innovations in methods of warfare, even when threatened by foreign invaders. Japan's refusal to become a tributary state to the Chinese court and the decapitation of Chinese messengers who came to convince the Japanese to submit to the Chinese court led to two massive invasions by Mongol forces in 1274 and 1281. The Japanese forces were able to defeat the Mongols, who, according to Chinese sources, ran short on arrows and lacked effective coordination. The well-known tales of divine

winds that blew the invading armada off the Japanese coast have taken much of the credit Japanese warriors deserve. Though Japanese warriors did not use any technological innovations in their defense of the landing site, consolidated war efforts contributed to their success. Nevertheless, despite the bakufu's military success, economic difficulties and social instability that followed the Mongol invasions contributed to the weakening of the Kamakura bakufu and its eventual downfall in 1333.

During the late Kamakura period, the court established a system of alternate imperial succession between two imperial lineages. In 1318 Godaigo became an emperor, but he later refused to relinquish the title to the successor from the main imperial line and as punishment was sent into exile. In 1333 Godaigo escaped from exile and returned to Kyoto to claim his right to the title of emperor. Two major warrior families became involved in this imperial dispute, Ashikaga and Nitta. Ashikaga Takauji was sent by the bakufu to counter Godaigo, who was supported by Nitta Yoshisada. Godaigo also recruited the renegade warrior Kusonoki Masashige and his band of warriors. During three years of confrontations between Godaigo and Ashikaga forces, the nature of warfare began to change. Kusonoki Masashige introduced unconventional warfare in defending or penetrating fortifications, while Ashikaga Takauji made an impressive tactical move when he combined land and sea forces to trap and destroy the Kusonoki forces. Eventually, in 1336, Godaigo was set in a newly established Southern Court, while the main imperial line was kept in what became the Northern Court. Similarly, Ashikaga Takauji used the Godaigo affair to topple the Kamakura bakufu and establish the Ashikaga shogunate.

The establishment of the Ashikaga shogunate in 1336 was the beginning of a new form of warrior rule, in which the lord-vassal/lord-vassal vertical structure replaced the direct rule of the Kamakura bakufu. The Ashikaga bakufu exercised direct control over its vassals, but did not control its vassals' retainers, thus relying on effective pyramidal distribution of authority from top to bottom. After the first three Ashikaga shôguns, the system eventually led to fragmentation of the warrior society and frequent disputes. After the death of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in 1408, local conflicts erupted countrywide. The shôgunal deputy office was established and was filled alternately by three powerful families, Hatakeyama, Hosokawa, and Shiba, who were collateral vassals of the Ashikaga. By 1460, Ashikaga Yoshimasa, not having a successor, chose to name his brother, a priest, as his successor. The brother agreed, but then Yoshimasa's wife gave birth to a son. This led to a succession dispute between Yoshimasa's brother, backed by the Hosokawa, and Yoshimasa's son who was supported by the Yamana. Soon, Hatakeyama and Shiba took sides and joined the dispute. The dispute erupted in 1467 in an intense war in Kyoto commonly known

as the Ônin War, and lasted until 1477, after which it spread to the provinces until the rise of dominant daimyo.

The gradual breakdown of central government and the rise of powerful warlords who controlled independent domains led to internal strife that climaxed in a period of intense warfare known as the Sengoku period (1477–1573). The period was characterized by the inability of the Ashikaga shogunate to assert control over daimyo who sought to establish their domains as independent states and who asserted direct control over individual villages. Between 1500 and 1568 new smaller domains were ruled effectively by local chieftains, called Sengoku daimyo, who were a new breed of territorial rulers. Some of them rose to power from the lower echelons, but the majority were local powerful warriors (*kokujin*). During that period there was an emphasis on true ability and much less emphasis on name or status; what concerned these daimyo most was the idea of *tôgoku kyôhei*—enrich the domain and strengthen the military. This principle prompted the daimyo to find various ways to improve their domain's economy by promoting trade and production. In addition, the Sengoku daimyo established a type of hierarchical relationship with their vassals, separating them into two groups, *fudai* and *tôzama*. The fudai were close to the daimyo and were expected to show more loyalty to him, while the tôzama vassals were less loyal to the daimyo and more concerned with practical benefits.

The primary concern for the Sengoku daimyo was control of land, which dictated both defensive and offensive strategies. To improve their military capability, many of the daimyo studied Sunzi's *Art of War* (Chinese book of military strategy) and frequently consulted the *Yijing* (*I Ching,* "The Book of Changes," a Confucian classic on divination). Their warriors, to whom the saying "call a warrior a dog, call a warrior a beast, but winning is his business" was directed, worked on improving their fencing skills, as well as their archery, among other weapons. In these chaotic times many vassals and warriors at various levels were primarily concerned with their own survival, rather than the well-being of their lord. More than in any other period in Japanese history, loyalty was a conditional situation, in which reciprocity dictated the nature of service and degree of loyalty.

Due to the unstable nature of the warriors' behavior, daimyo composed "house laws" (*kahô*) for their domains. An important aspect of the kahô was their emphasis on lawful behavior within the domain, as expressed in the *kenka ryô seibai* (mutual judgment of a quarrel). According to this principle, warriors who engaged in fighting had to be punished, regardless of who was the instigator or who was at fault. The Imagawa family's kahô even stated that the punishment would be death by execution. The Takeda house, though not specifying a punishment, proclaimed that whoever supported the fight, even without actually participating in it,

would be punished. The kenka ryô seibai was also a way for the daimyo to deal with the problems caused by their vassal's desire for revenge when wronged and a tool to better control them. The purpose of having strict laws within the domain was to allow the daimyo an uninterrupted control over his domain, and ultimately, increase his efficiency during wartime. The need to control one's domain by any means was a result of the unforgiving nature of Sengoku confrontations and the appearance of many war-minded ambitious daimyo, who waited for a moment of weakness in neighboring domains to launch an attack.

Among the fiercest warriors of the period were Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin, whose armies confronted each other in some of the most well-known battles of the Sengoku period. They met five times in Kawanakajima, Shinano province, without resolution. Another celebrated battle is that between Oda Nobunaga, the first to begin a successful unification of Japan, and the Imagawa army at Okehazama (1560)—a battle that is widely regarded as a classic surprise attack. But Nobunaga is probably most remembered for his victory over Takeda forces led by Takeda Katsuyori at the battle of Nagashino (1575). Nobunaga, with the support of Tokugawa Ieyasu, won the battle with three thousand gunners, who were organized in small teams to achieve effective continuous firepower.

One of the most important results of Sengoku warfare, which significantly contributed to the spread of martial traditions, was the appearance of castles and castle towns. This trend began when Oda Nobunaga built his Azuchi Castle in 1576, followed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Momoyama Castle, and later followed by other daimyo. In war, the castle was not intended to hold out to the end. When the attacking army reached *ni-no-maru* (second line of defense) the lord of the castle would typically commit *seppuku* (ritual suicide).

Toyotomi Hideyoshi succeeded Nobunaga, the second of the three unifiers, who became known as a master of siege warfare by coalition. His supreme military strategy was complemented by unusual diplomacy; defeated daimyo were given the opportunity to join Toyotomi's camp after swearing allegiance. In addition, his effective policies—*heinô bunri* (separation of warriors and farmers) and *katana-gari* (sword hunt)—contributed greatly to his success in unifying Japan. Toyotomi successfully implemented a policy of moving samurai from the countryside to castle towns where they could be closely monitored.

Following Toyotomi's death (1592), his leading generals were divided into two camps, the western camp of Toyotomi allies and the eastern camp of Tokugawa forces. In 1600 the two camps met in what is perhaps the most famous battle in Japanese history, the Battle of Sekigahara. Relying on a last-minute betrayal within the Toyotomi coalition, Tokugawa forces

led by Tokugawa Ieyasu won a decisive victory, and Toyotomi supporters retreated to Ôsaka Castle. The third of the three unifiers, Tokugawa Ieyasu, successfully ended a long period of warfare, and established his Tokugawa shogunate in Edo (present-day Tokyo). In 1614 Tokugawa Hidetada signed a peace treaty with Toyotomi Hideyori, according to which the moats and obstructions around Ôsaka Castle were to be removed. A year later, Tokugawa forces attacked Ôsaka Castle and set it on fire as Hideyori and his mother committed seppuku.

Under the Tokugawa regime Japan finally enjoyed a long period of internal peace that drastically changed the characteristics of the Japanese samurai. Samurai had been uprooted from the countryside, had lost their landed estates, and were placed in urban areas. It was during that time that the ideal image of the samurai based on Confucian thought was promoted, schools of martial discipline became popular, and the foundation of martial lineages by experienced able warriors became common. By the end of the Tokugawa shogunate there were hundreds of established martial lineages in the form of organized schools, some of which enjoyed official patronage by the bakufu and daimyo. Since the great social and political reforms of the Meiji Restoration (1868), some martial traditions have become extinct, others have been further divided into branches, and still other schools have made a successful transition to sport competition.

Weapons and Technology

The arsenal of the Japanese warrior included a wide variety of bladed weapons, bows, chain weapons, stick and staff, firearms, concealed weapons, tools, projectiles, explosives, poisons, and many specialized weapons for specific purposes. The appearance of these weapons coincided with technological developments such as the casting of iron and the use of wood-processing methods, while other weapons were developed as a result of contacts with foreign cultures. Other reasons for the appearance of certain weapons were social and political changes that resulted in the intensification of warfare, or political stability, which reduced warfare to police duties.

Perhaps the most well known among Japanese weapons is the curved single-edged sword (the main types of which include the tachi, the katana, the kodachi, and the wakizashi), which has always symbolized the soul and spirit of the Japanese warrior. It has been in use in warfare from the earliest Japanese civilization until the modern period. Iron-casting technology necessary for the production of swords was introduced to Japan from the continent in the Yayoi period, during which there was intensive social stratification and state formation. Knowledge of iron casting was crucial for those local chieftains competing for power, who at the same time sought to

improve their arsenal of weapons using that technology. Consequently, even more important than swords, Japanese smiths forged other bladed weapons such as the *yari* (spear), *naginata* (halberd), and *bisentô* (great halberd), which were far more effective as battlefield weapons. Furthermore, blades for pole-arms were easier to manufacture, since they did not require the same cumbersome process as making a sword blade, the blades were usually smaller in size (thus requiring less iron), and the fittings that accompanied the blade were reduced to bare wood with minimal reinforcement parts. They thus took a shorter time to produce and allowed for mass production. Picture scrolls from the Heian period, such as the Former Nine Years War Picture Scroll and the Latter Three Years War Picture Scroll, depict warriors wielding naginata or yari, but portray a considerably smaller number of sword-wielding warriors.

The technology for producing blades is said to have reached its highest level during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but since then not much has changed. In fact, contemporary sword makers proudly claim to have retained the knowledge of sword making that was used in the early medieval period. In that sense, blade making has become a matter of mastery of a technology that has been frozen in time. It is also perhaps one among very few unique examples of technology that has taken on a sacred, religious character, requiring the blade maker to follow a purification ritual that is meant to complement the mundane nature of technology in order to produce a superior blade. Nevertheless, some changes have occurred in the making of swords; during the sixteenth century when swords were in high demand for local use (due to internal countrywide strife) or for export to the continent, the number of blade makers grew while the quality dropped. The political stability and social changes that followed the end of a period of civil war in the early seventeenth century resulted in a significant reduction in the production of naginata and yari blades while promoting a new style of sword.

Somewhat similar to the development of blade technology was the production of bows as the primary weapon until the medieval period. It is impossible to examine bows that were produced prior to the Heian period simply because bamboo, the material used for making the bows, could not have survived the forces of nature. Yet, from sketches and drawings found in picture scrolls, as well as by examining bows from later periods, we can confirm that the design of the bow and the technology used for making it have changed very little if at all since they were first produced. In the Obusuma Saburô Picture Scroll from the Kamakura period, a depiction of warriors stringing a bow indicates that nothing much has changed since then in the manner of setting the bow and shooting arrows. Neither the relatively peaceful Kamakura period nor the chaotic Sengoku period had

much influence on the production of the common bow. It is also surprising that the Japanese did not borrow the more advanced technology for producing the Mongolian bow and that there is no evidence of extensive use of any other type of bow, including the Great Bow (Ôyumi) and the crossbow, after the ninth century. Using the same materials for making the long common bow, the Japanese also produced the half-size bow (*hankyû*) that was designed for close-range encounters or narrow areas, and was to be used by foot soldiers. The use of the hankyû was most common among those involved in covert warfare during the sixteenth century.

Equal in importance to bladed weapons and bows were the importation and later the production of firearms. The governor of Tanegashima, Tanegashima Tokitaka, who was quite fascinated by the new technology, bought the first two rifles from the Portuguese in 1543. Yet, full recognition of the battlefield advantages of firearms occurred only thirty-two years later when Oda Nobunaga used well-armed and trained units to win the battle of Nagashino. In fact, it was Nobunaga who established the first method of firing in battle, even before the Europeans. The introduction of firearm technology proved to be a decisive factor in the direction Japanese society and politics were to take. It was arguably an important contribution to the successful pacification of Japan by Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu, who, although they did not desert the use of swords, made extensive use of firearms. Unfortunately for the Japanese warriors, three centuries later when the American commodore Perry arrived with an armada of battleships, the Japanese found out that their firearms were outdated and were no match for modern guns and cannons. This inferiority, which they unsuccessfully attempted to overcome in a hurry, eventually created political turmoil and the downfall of the Tokugawa shogunate, bringing to an end seven hundred years of military dominance.

In addition to the weapons mentioned above, it is important to point out that the arsenal of weapons and tools included much more. Before the Tokugawa period, Japanese warriors developed special weapons with some sort of a blade to which an iron ball or ring was attached by a chain. Special battlefield tools were designed to break down doors, others to climb walls, and still others to cross water barriers. Individual warriors used hidden weapons of many sorts, such as hidden blades, spikes, and projectiles. Among the weapons that were used since the ancient period and that gained popularity during the Tokugawa period were those designed to subdue an opponent. These usually consisted of a long pole, at the end of which there was attached some kind of a device for grabbing an attacker's helmet, armor, or clothes. Other such poles were designed to pin down a violent opponent by locking the neck or limbs. Tokugawa policemen whose main duty was to catch criminals made extensive use of such weapons. In

fact, some of these weapons were converted to modern use and are currently part of standard equipment for riot police units.

Engaging in Battle

Engaging in battle has always been a distinct part of warfare in Japan. Historians identify two general types of engagements: predetermined battle and surprise attack. The predetermined battle theoretically included five stages, as follows: the setting of the time and place, exchange of envoys to declare each side's intention to engage in battle, exchange of humming arrows (*kaburaya*) to mark the beginning of battle, massive exchange of arrows between the armies while advancing toward each other, and close combat using swords and daggers while occasionally utilizing grappling techniques. However, most battles were probably conducted without formal exchanges. That is, the armies met on the battlefield and exchanged humming arrows as a marker to their own troops to begin shooting arrows. Then they closed distance until they engaged in close combat using bladed weapons. Military confrontations according to these stages continued even during the Sengoku period, with some variations resulting from changing attitudes and technology.

Surprise attacks, on the other hand, relied heavily on preliminary intelligence gathering concerning the exact location of the enemy's forces, number of warriors, terrain, and equipment. These attacks were commonly carried out at night or early dawn and were led by warriors who rushed to be first in battle, as such an initiative was highly regarded and well rewarded. Another characteristic of the surprise attack was the relatively small number of troops participating in it. Rarely were many troops involved in a surprise attack. Toyotomi Hideyoshi's midnight march, in which he led his army without letting them take a rest so that they could surprise their enemy, who expected to meet them in battle much later, is a good example of the surprise attack. Other confrontations, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, relied on siege tactics, but the two important stages of engaging at a distance followed by close combat seem to have otherwise been the common practice.

Traits of the Warrior

Having been professional warriors whose livelihood depended on performing duties in the service of a lord and having their status and income determined by how well they performed these duties, Japanese warriors developed a culture in which loyalty to one's lord and parents and bravery in battle were highly esteemed ideals. Those warriors who followed their lord's command without hesitation or were first to rush and engage in battle (*senjin*) with the enemy were highly praised and sometimes well rewarded.

Stories of loyal warriors were often recorded in the various war tales, from the very early tales during the Heian and medieval periods to much later accounts, among which are the most well known and celebrated, *Chushingura,* and literary works such as the sixteenth-century *Budô shoshinshu* (The Code of the Samurai) and the twentieth-century *Bushidô* (Way of the Warrior). Among earlier records, perhaps the best known is the story of Kusonoki Masashige's exemplary display of loyalty to Emperor Godaigo in the final scene of the Battle of Minatogawa. Having his forces reduced to just a few tens of men, Masashige withdrew with his brother Masasue to a house where they planned to commit *seppuku* (suicide). Their retainers lined up in front of them and after reciting a prayer they cut open their bellies (*hara kiri*). Then, Masashige asked his brother into which of the nine existences (i.e., the nine possible levels of rebirth, according to Buddhist teaching) he wished to be reborn. Masasue laughed and answered that he wished to be reborn into this same existence for seven more times so that he could fight the enemies of Emperor Godaigo. Masashige affirmed a similar wish after which they pointed their swords at each other and fell on the swords simultaneously. Some six hundred years later, the Japanese kamikaze fighters of World War II wrote down the same resolution on their headbands before going out on their last mission.

Such behavior embodies the ideal for a samurai, but many famous warriors fell far short of that ideal. Loyalty and disloyalty were often complementary. Minamoto no Yoritomo hunted down his younger half brother Yoshitsune, forcing him to commit seppuku. Takeda Shingen forced his father into exile so that he could become the head of the Takeda clan. Akechi Mitsuhide, one of Oda Nobunaga's most trusted generals, betrayed Nobunaga and assassinated him while Nobunaga was camping at a temple. Toyotomi presented his rush to take revenge as an act of supreme loyalty toward his lord. In practical terms, the general who avenged the death of Nobunaga could claim to be his successor by virtue of loyalty. Toyotomi knew that this reasoning was not good enough to secure his position, so immediately after killing Akechi Mitsuhide he appointed himself as the guardian of Nobunaga's son, who was a young child at the time. Again, he claimed this role on the pretext of supreme loyalty to Nobunaga, but its practical implications were that Toyotomi now secured his position.

Nevertheless, Toyotomi's reliance on his display of loyalty as a way to support his claim to replace Nobunaga shows that appreciation for loyalty indeed existed, even if only superficially. Indeed, when Toyotomi was on his deathbed he made his generals sign a blood oath to maintain peaceful succession after his death. Although they all showed loyalty to Toyotomi and signed the oath, shortly after his death they fought each other in the Battle of Sekigahara.

The periodic emphasis on the ideal character and behavior of a samurai, especially during the samurai decline in the Tokugawa period, indicates the need for reminding samurai who and what they ought to be. The ideal traits of the warrior, then, were emphasized as a measure of persuasion to encourage warriors to adhere to the "right" way. Yamaga Sokô (1622–1685), a thinker and a Confucian scholar, first took on the task of systematically codifying the proper "way and creed of the warrior" (shidô bukyô). Sokô was concerned with the degeneration of warrior society following a prolonged period of peace during which they were gradually becoming idle and abusing their hereditary status. Sokô argued that since warriors do not produce or trade in anything, they in fact live off the work of others. Therefore, according to Confucian thought, being a ruling elite places them as the moral exemplars for all social classes, and their role was to protect moral principles. Sokô viewed the role of the samurai as shifting from a purely military function to that of an intellectual military aristocracy whose role is to provide the people with a righteous government. The "way of the warrior" was to be achieved by learning the Confucian classics, and in addition, diligently practicing military disciplines. Of course, the latter was in sharp contrast to Confucian thought, but nevertheless the combination of "military" and "letters" (*bunbu*) set the basis for what is now known as bushidô.

Another way to view the role of the concept of ideal warrior traits is to place it in its political context. Historically, top retainers and close relatives were potentially the most dangerous adversaries. Since the thirteenth century, warrior houses had promulgated their own house laws (*kahô*) and house regulations (*kakun*) as a way to eliminate any such danger, but there never existed a unified system of thought until the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate. The shogunate emphasized samurai ideals because this code contributed to its own security and stable politics, reducing the probability of rising opposition. The bakufu made use of Confucian ideology and native beliefs to create a clear image of the ideal samurai, looking back at the age of the early samurai and romanticizing it to fit a certain desirable image, then using the image of early legendary warriors as a model. It is therefore important to emphasize that although samurai ideals had become part of the warrior heritage centuries earlier, the Tokugawa codification and promotion of these ideals was largely a method of securing loyalty and obedience to the bakufu, and on the other hand, dealing with economically exhausted and disgruntled samurai.

Sokô's thought no doubt contributed greatly to the increasing popularity of martial disciplines in the Tokugawa period. Training in these disciplines became a way for self-improvement for Tokugawa samurai. Yet, the most celebrated ideals of shidô, those of obligation and ultimate loyalty

to one's parents and lord, moral principles, and frugality, were more often ignored than followed. The case of the forty-seven warriors of Akô who took revenge for injustice incurred by their lord has always been a subject of disagreement. Were they truly loyal retainers? As such, they were supposed to act immediately and not wait two years before taking revenge. Also, how is one to explain that out of hundreds of retainers only a small fraction remained to carry out the act of justified revenge? Such questions, together with the increasing number of samurai giving up their status to become merchants, show that the way of the warrior often remained a matter of theory rather than practice.

High Culture

Letters and arts have always been part of warrior culture, though reserved mostly for warriors of higher status. Since the early ancient period when leading warriors were military aristocrats, the study of Chinese classics and poetry, as well as writing Japanese poetry, has been a way for warriors to maintain their aristocratic identity. Similarly, acquisition of valuable ceramics or patronage of craftsmen and artisans has been a warrior's way of expressing his refined manners and taste. Attention to high culture among elite warriors reached its apex twice during the medieval period, a time when, for the most part, warriors were more involved in warfare than they were to be later. The third Ashikaga shôgun, Yoshimitsu (1358–1408), under whose rule order prevailed in most of Japan, was an enthusiastic patron of the arts. His personal fondness for refined culture, which stood in contrast to his character as a warrior, is perhaps the central reason for the beginning of a period of flourishing arts and culture, commonly known as the Kitayama epoch, named after the place in which Yoshimitsu built a Zen temple, the Golden Pavilion.

The Kitayama epoch not only brought new life into existing aristocratic culture, but also gave birth to new art forms such as Nô drama (a form of theater based on dance, which developed from native and foreign influence, sarugaku, and dengaku kyôgen theater) and Kyôgen theater ("mad words," comical or farcical skits that were first interluded with Nô, but were later performed independently), after Yoshimitsu attended a Sarugaku performance ("monkey music," whose characteristics are unknown, but the name suggests monkeylike comical performance) by Kanami and Zeami and became a generous patron of the performing arts. In the latter part of the Kitayama epoch, during the rule of Yoshimitsu's grandson, Yoshimasa (1436–1490), there was a further development, with Yoshimasa's patronage of linked verse poetry, the tea ceremony, and monochrome painting.

After Yoshimasa relinquished the shôgunal post to his son in the midst

of the bloody Ônin War (1467–1477), he devoted himself to promotion and patronage of the arts more than Yoshimitsu had before him, thus bringing the arts to higher levels of achievement than ever before. He first constructed the Silver Pavilion at the outskirts of Kyoto in Higashiyama, from which the name Higashiyama epoch is derived. Cultural achievements during the Higashiyama epoch exceeded those of the Kitayama epoch, as it further brought together court and warrior cultures. Rigid rules in *waka* (court poetry adopted from China in the seventh and eighth centuries, which included long and short forms; the preferred short form was made of thirty-one syllables consisting of five lines of 5-7-5-7-7 syllables) were softened by a new approach, according to which one person was to link verses to those first expressed by another, resulting in a new form of poetry called *renga*. The increased popularity of renga, together with the Nô, Kyôgen, Sarugaku, and Dengaku ("field music," performance based on the style developed by peasants singing and performing in the fields), contributed to increased interaction not only among warriors, as well as among peasants and townsmen, but also between warriors and other social groups. In contrast, other forms of arts and culture, such as the tea ceremony, painting, and landscape gardening, remained elitist, reaching a larger audience only later in the Tokugawa period.

In the late medieval period, with the construction of Oda Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle and Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Momoyama Castle, there began a new era of cultural flourishing. The Azuchi and Momoyama Castles, from which the epoch's name (Momoyama) comes, marked the beginning of a new age of architectural design, which not only saw grandiose castles but also a greater number of warriors, namely the daimyo, involved in patronage and collection of art; the emerging castles and castle towns were the most suitable grounds for such cultural activity. Nobunaga's interest in foreign culture as presented to him by the Jesuits led to Japanese specialization in Western painting and production of *nanban* (southern barbarians) screens depicting foreigners in Japan. However, it was Toyotomi's personal preference for court culture and his lavish display of wealth that gave a new boost to Japanese art forms and theater. His golden tea room is perhaps the best example of his combined taste for the tea ceremony and grandeur, but his great tea ceremony in Kitano Shrine in 1587 also brought this culture of the elite to people of lower social status. For this grand tea ceremony Toyotomi invited courtiers, daimyo, warriors, townsmen, and peasants, and he displayed his collection of tea utensils for everybody to see. With Toyotomi setting such an example, daimyo all over the country became patrons and collectors of art as a way of presenting themselves as cultured men in addition to being powerful warriors. In fact, patronage and collection of art had become symbols of a daimyo's wealth and power.

Toyotomi's death and the eventual establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate ended a long period of warriors' patronage of the arts. Social changes that led to the economic decline of many warriors and to accumulation of wealth among townsmen and merchants produced new patterns of patronage. Warriors were now following the lower classes' tastes and interests, rather than their own.

Conclusion

Japanese martial disciplines and traditions developed and evolved within the larger context of Japanese society. Politics of the ruling elites, social changes, and cultural trends strongly influenced the birth of identifiable military schools in the medieval and early modern periods. Similarly, the contours and customs of what have become military traditions were often the result of religious influence, as well as influence from established cultural traditions such as the tea ceremony, or from prevailing modes of thought such as Confucianism. Just as these have evolved and changed their characteristics to accommodate changing preferences, so have the various martial traditions. Furthermore, a common characteristic that must be emphasized is the constant sense of rivalry among schools of similar discipline, whether schools of painting, tea ceremony, or military disciplines. Among schools of military disciplines, such rivalry has occasionally ended in violent encounters, but more often, especially in the modern period, has resulted in wars of words.

Consequently, the absence in the modern period of the cultural grounds in which martial disciplines flourished, the common view of martial disciplines as an anachronism in a world of modern warfare, and the international popularization of Japanese martial traditions have resulted in a profound misunderstanding of these traditions. Although many Japanese hold a misguided view of their own martial traditions, non-Japanese in particular, lacking knowledge of the language and history of Japan, and having been captured by a romantic view of an exotic culture, tend to misconstrue the true nature of Japan's long history of martial disciplines. Japan's military traditions remain a most important part of this nation's history and culture.

Roy Ron

See also Aikidô; Archery, Japanese; Budô, Bujutsu, and Bugei; Japanese Martial Arts, Chinese Influences on; Jûdô; Karate, Japanese; Kendô; Kenpô; Ki/Qi; Koryû Bugei, Japanese; Ninjutsu; Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan; Samurai; Sword, Japanese; Swordsmanship, Japanese; Warrior Monks, Japanese/Sôhei; Wrestling and Grappling: Japan; Written Texts: Japan

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Japanese Martial Arts, Chinese Influences on

It is no surprise that Japan's feudal society, with its samurai-dominated martial culture, spawned an abiding interest in martial arts. Although weapons techniques, primarily archery and swordsmanship, were the main traditional Japanese martial arts, today the first things that normally come to mind are *jûdô* and *karate*. These, however, are not traditional Japanese martial arts in the purest sense. In fact, Japanese bare-handed martial arts, including *sumô* (grappling), which had a combat variation, have all been influenced to some degree by Chinese martial arts.

The earliest Japanese historical reference to sumô traces its origins to 23 B.C., but the reference itself was recorded in the first Japanese history, *Nihon Shoki,* in 720, using the Chinese term *jueli*. Another entry in the same work, dated 682, uses the current term for sumô (*xiangpu* in Chinese). While the Japanese, like the other peoples on China's periphery, probably practiced an indigenous form of wrestling, they adopted Chinese terminology for it during China's Tang dynasty (618–960), the height of Japanese cultural contact with China. They also seem to have adopted some of the Chinese ceremonial trappings of the period, which they combined with their own customs and transmitted to the present. Like Chinese wrestling, sumô contained hand-to-hand combat techniques, which were emphasized for military use from the late Heian through the Kamakura periods (ca. 1156–1392).

Kagamisato (left) and Yoshibayama (right), Japanese sumô wrestlers during a match in Tokyo, 1952. In addition to native elements, sumô shows evidence of Chinese influence. (Library of Congress)

Establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate (1603) included strict control over weapons and the activities of the samurai class, but encouraged their continued cultivation of a "martial spirit." In this environment, *jûjutsu* and ultimately jûdô developed. Meanwhile, in China, Zheng Ruozeng's *Strategic Situation in Jiangnan* had been published (ca. 1568). In addition to discussing the strategic situation in China's coastal provinces and mid-sixteenth-century campaigns against Japanese marauders, it lists martial arts styles, including escape and seizing techniques (*pofa, jiefa, na*), among boxing styles of the period. Also, the *Complete Book of Miscellany* (1612 and 1746 editions) contains illustrations of some of these techniques with a hint of jûjutsu in them. At the same time, some Chinese migrated to Japan in the wake of the Manchu conquest in 1644. One of these, Chen

Yuanyun (1587–1671, usually pronounced Chin Gempin in Japanese), was a Renaissance man of sorts, who wrote some books, made pottery, and was apparently an interesting conversationalist. He resided for a while in a Buddhist temple in Edo (now Tokyo), where he was said to have been visited by three rônin (masterless samurai), Fukuno, Isogai, and Miura, and with whom he supposedly discussed boxing (*quanfa* in Chinese, *kenpô* in Japanese). According to the Kito-ryû Kenpô Stele (1779), located in the precincts of modern Tokyo's Atago Shrine, "instruction in kempô began with the expatriate, Chen Yuanyun." Tracing this association to the 1880s, one can find a connection to Kanô Jigorô, who is credited with founding modern jûdô.

While the actual degree of Chen Yuanyun's contribution is unknown, the reference to him on the Kitoryû Kenpô Stele gives some credence to the contention that at least some Japanese jûjutsu and jûdô techniques may have evolved from Ming-period Chinese bare-handed fighting methods, including boxing. Perhaps jûjutsu (pliant skills) evolved more from grappling, escape, and throwing techniques, which were not necessarily clearly distinguished from boxing at the time. Also, the Chinese skills may have been an ingredient added to indigenous Japanese *atemi* (striking) and combat sumô techniques. In any case, there remains a plausible argument for this Chinese contribution to Japanese martial arts.

The Chinese origins of karate are more certain. By the middle of the nineteenth century, and possibly earlier, Chinese boxing appears to have entered Okinawa from Fujian, China. After being modified by the Okinawans, possibly with some of their own indigenous techniques, it was further introduced to the main Japanese islands by Funakoshi Gichin in 1922, and was developed into the modern sport of *karatedô,* "way of the empty hand," or, thanks to Japanese adaptations of Chinese characters (*kara* meaning both "empty" and "Tang"), even "way of Tang hands" in reference to the Chinese dynasty that so strongly influenced Japanese culture. In fact, as further evidence of karate's Chinese origins, the Okinawans originally even used the so-called Chinese or *on* pronunciation for the term *Tang hands,* that is, *Tôde* (long "o") rather than karate.

In 1917, the young Mao Zedong claimed that jûjutsu was a vestige of Chinese culture that was helping the Japanese maintain a "martial spirit" through physical culture in a manner similar to what he termed "the civilized countries of the world, with Germany in the lead." Mao's claim was not without justification.

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See also Japan; Jûdô; Karate, Japanese; Karate, Okinawan; Kenpô; Okinawa; Wrestling and Grappling: China; Wrestling and Grappling: Japan

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Jeet Kune Do

Jeet Kune Do (the way of the intercepting fist) was founded by Bruce Lee in 1967. The most recognized martial artist in the world, Lee had an approach to martial arts that was simple, direct, and nonclassical, a sophisticated fighting style stripped to its essentials. However, his primary emphasis in Jeet Kune Do (JKD) was to urge all martial artists to avoid having bias in combat, and in reaching toward the level of art, to honestly express themselves. Although Lee named his art Jeet Kune Do in 1967, the process of liberation from classical arts had been occurring throughout Lee's evolution in the martial arts.

The name Bruce Lee is well known in the martial arts, since his theatrical films helped gain worldwide acceptance for the martial arts during the 1970s. Lee called his approach in martial arts Jeet Kune Do, which translates as "the way of the intercepting fist," but JKD meant much more to Lee than simply intercepting an opponent's attack. Furthermore, defining JKD simply as Bruce Lee's style of fighting is to completely lose its message. Lee once said, "Actually, I never wanted to give a name to the kind of Chinese Gung Fu that I have invented, but for convenience sake, I still call it Jeet Kune Do. However, I want to emphasize that there is no clear line of distinction between Jeet Kune Do and any other kind of Gung Fu

for I strongly object to formality, and to the idea of distinction of branches" (Little 1997a, 127). Bruce Lee was more interested in JKD's powerful liberating qualities, which allowed individuals to find their own path to excellence in the martial arts.

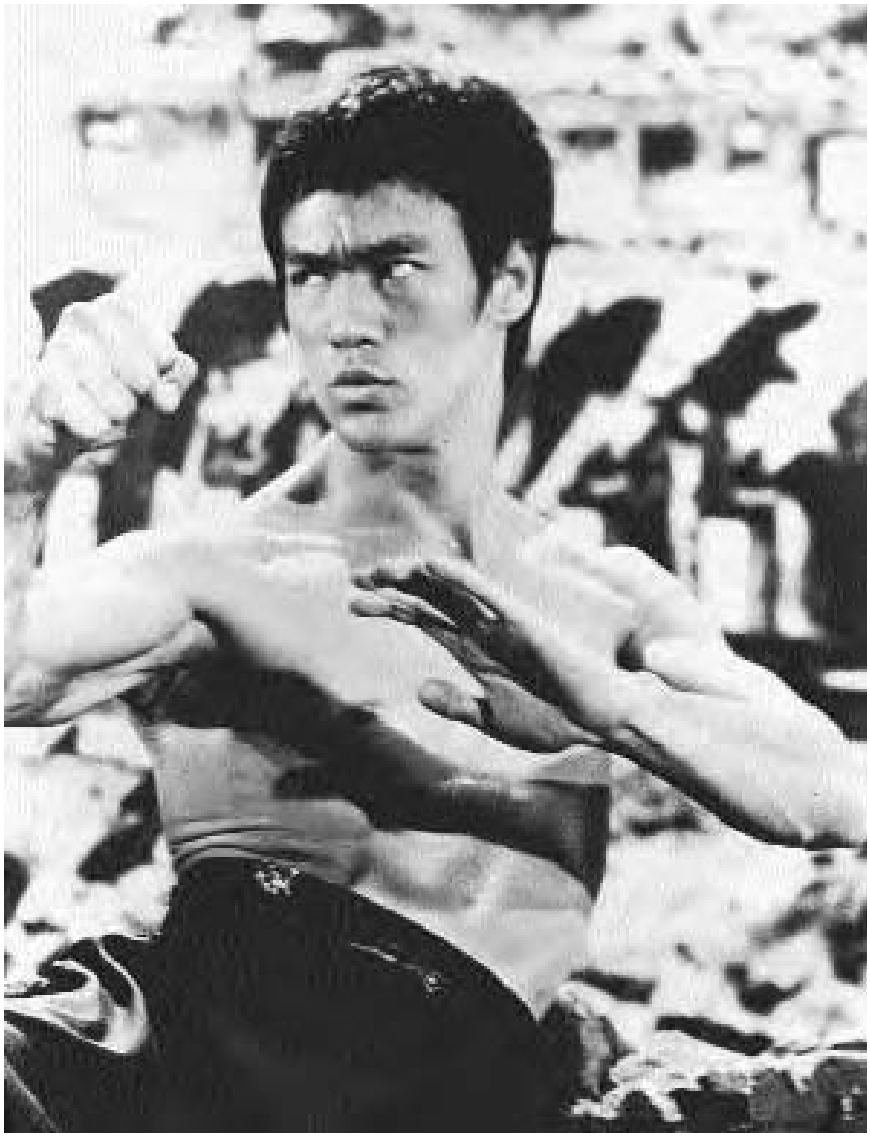
Origins and Evolution of Jeet Kune Do

Bruce Lee's personal history and dynamic personality provided the foundation for Jeet Kune Do. Lee began his formal martial arts training in Hong Kong as a teenager studying yongchun (wing chun) under the famous teacher Yip Man (Cantonese; Mandarin Ye Wen). However, Lee was already beginning to experiment with other forms of combat, such as Western boxing and other Chinese martial arts styles.

A turning point in the development of Jeet Kune Do occurred after Lee had moved to the United States and was involved in a challenge match with another Chinese martial artist. The challenge was to prevent Lee from teaching non-Chinese students, which was taboo during the early 1960s. Although Lee defeated his opponent, he was unhappy with how long the fight lasted and with how unusually winded he was afterwards. Up to that point, Lee had been content with improvising and expanding on his yongchun, but he realized that a strict adherence to it limited his performance. In addition, he saw that he needed to be in peak physical condition to fully actualize his potential. "This momentous event, then, was the impetus for the evolution of Jeet Kune Do and the birth of his new training regime" (Little 1998a, 12).

"By the time Lee came to Los Angeles, he had scrapped his modified Wing Chun and searched out the roots of combat, to find the universal principles and concepts fundamental to all styles and systems" (Wong and Cheung 1990, 9–10). In 1967, Bruce Lee named his approach Jeet Kune Do. However, Lee was perfectly clear in his article, "Liberate Yourself from Classical Karate," that he was not inventing a new style of martial arts with its own traditional moves, since styles were "merely parts dissected from a unitary whole" (1986, 65). He urged all practitioners to objectively seek the truth in combat when on their path to self-discovery. This article was controversial, since it advised martial artists to not uncritically accept prescribed formulas and to be free from the bondage of any style's doctrine, which he called "organized despair" (42).

On July 20, 1973, Bruce Lee passed away, leaving a huge legacy for the martial arts. Lee's films created a whole new genre, the martial arts action film. As a result, he became a cult figure like Elvis Presley, Marilyn Monroe, and James Dean. Furthermore, Lee's tremendous impact on the martial arts is still felt today. His personal writings have become best-sellers and have influenced many progressive martial artists and styles. In fact, many would



Actor, martial artist, and creator of Jeet Kune Do Bruce Lee (1940–1973), shown here during a fight sequence in the film Way of the Dragon. *(Hulton Archive)*

say that Bruce Lee is the "gold standard," the best role model for aspiring martial artists to emulate.

Stripped to Its Essentials

Although Bruce Lee hated to refer to Jeet Kune Do as a style or system, there was a distinct flavor or character to Lee's personal way of fighting. Lee stated, "It is basically a sophisticated fighting style stripped to its essentials" (Pollard 1986, 46). After carefully examining various forms of combat, Lee found that the simplest techniques were almost always the most effective. He also utilized direct lines of attack and offensive responses in his defense rather than wasting time and energy with passive blocking. Furthermore, Lee would not be limited by any style or system, so he re-

searched and experimented with other forms of combat. As a result, the techniques typically performed in JKD are simple, direct, and nonclassical.

The primary sources for Lee's art are from three disciplines: "I'm having a gung fu system drawn up—this system is a combination of chiefly Wing Chun, fencing and boxing" (Little 1998b, 60). On the other hand, Jeet Kune Do was not simply a combination of all three. Bruce Lee did not fight like a typical boxer, fencer, or yongchun (wing chun) fighter. He transcended these foundations and made the fusion naturally fit his way of fighting. Furthermore, there are only a few techniques in the basic JKD arsenal. Since a large number of techniques only serve to confuse and clog up the mind, the JKD man learns to fully utilize a small, functional arsenal by adapting it to any situation.

Scientific street fighting is a term Lee informally used to describe his art. By applying sciences like physics, kinesiology, and psychology (to name a few), he was able to develop his legendary fighting skill. Bruce Lee said that Jeet Kune Do was a devastating combination of speed, power, and broken rhythm. Although one understands why speed and power are important to combat, broken rhythm is not as obvious. Instead of always performing techniques fluidly, the seasoned fighter uses broken rhythm to throw off his opponent. (In the same way, clumsy and uncoordinated students may beat those with more experience because of the inherent unpredictability of their awkward rhythm.) Thus JKD is geared to prepare the student for all-out combat.

Realistic Training

Bruce Lee emphasized hard physical training in Jeet Kune Do. He was one of the first martial artists to utilize training from various physical disciplines (cross-training, if you will) to enhance his skill. Since he found boxing to be practical, Lee used a lot of the training from it. And he trained like a professional prizefighter, working out from four to eight hours a day. In addition, his regime was prototypical for many of the best athletes today: running, weight training, calisthenics, isometrics, flexibility, and so on. He was always willing to try something new to improve himself.

More importantly, Bruce Lee advocated heavy doses of realism in his training. Since he wanted his students to cultivate their strikes and kick for function, they would not pull their punches and kicks or strike into the air (as in kata training). Instead, Lee had them actually hitting targets (heavy bag, focus mitts, kicking shield) with full power and speed when practicing. Lee believed that if one pulled his punches in practice, that was the way one would punch for real.

To further increase realism in sparring, Lee advocated the use of safety equipment (gloves, headgear, shin pads, chest protector) so his students could go all-out. This approach was to prepare them to hit and be hit, so

that they would not be fazed in the heat of battle. Since combat is unpredictable, practicing with uncooperative opponents prepares the students physically, mentally, and emotionally. They soon discover their techniques will not always work without modifying or adapting them.

It is for this very reason that Bruce Lee did not advocate forms or kata training, which he used to call "idealistic dry land swimming," because one must get into the water to learn how to swim. Forms and kata were the primary means of training for many martial arts throughout the 1960s. Although they cultivate a fair degree of coordination and precision of movement, forms do not completely prepare one for live and changing opponents. In Lee's opinion, unrealistic stances and classical forms were too artificial and mechanical. For instance, forms hardly ever equip practitioners to deal with opponents of various sizes and/or talent levels. Lee argued, "There's no way a person is going to fight you in the street with a set pattern" (Uyehara 1986, 6). Furthermore, students who blindly follow their instructor develop a false sense of confidence that they can handle themselves in a fight. Bruce Lee was not to be bogged down by formalities or minor details because for him, "efficiency is anything that scores" (Lee 1975, 24). Elsewhere, he wrote, "When, in a split second, your life is threatened, do you say, 'Let me make sure my hand is on my hip, and my style is "the" style?' When your life is in danger do you argue about the method you will adhere to while saving yourself?" (Lee 1975, 22).

Philosophy of Jeet Kune Do

Jeet Kune Do meant much more to Bruce Lee than simply an efficient reality-based fighting art. Lee's philosophy toward martial arts and life, in general, was a fusion of Eastern and Western culture. While he studied philosophy at the University of Washington, Lee was exposed to a wide spectrum of philosophers such as Socrates, Plato, and Descartes, as well as to Daoism, Zen, and Krishnamurti. He also delved into the self-help books of the late 1960s and utilized self-affirmations. As a result, Lee's philosophy stressed the individual growth of a martial artist.

The symbol Lee used to represent his art was the yin-yang symbol, surrounded by two arrows, along with two phrases: "Using No Way as Way" and "Having No Limitation as Limitation." The yin-yang symbol surrounded by the two directional arrows represents the continuous dynamic interaction between opposites in the universe. When one is using no particular way (style or method), true adaptability can take place. One is to approach combat without any preconceived notions and respond to "what is," being like water. When one has no limitation one can transcend martial arts boundaries set by style or tradition. The JKD practitioner is given the freedom to research any source to reach full potential.

Bruce Lee said that Jeet Kune Do was the first Chinese nontraditional martial art. While he had respect for the traditional martial arts and past fighters, Lee challenged the status quo, believing that students often lose their own sense of self when rigidly adhering to tradition because that is the way it was done for hundreds of years. He writes, "If you follow the classical pattern, you are understanding the routine, the tradition, the shadow—you are not understanding yourself" (Lee 1975, 17). Furthermore, Lee felt that styles tend to restrict one to perform a certain way and therefore limit one's potential. While a style is a concluded, established, solidified entity, man is in a living, evolving, learning process. Lee said that "man, the living creature, the creating individual, is always more important than any established style or system" (Lee 1986, 64).

Lee put a miniature tombstone at the entrance of his school in Los Angeles Chinatown, inscribed with the message: "In memory of a once fluid man, crammed and distorted by the classical mess." This stone symbolized that the stifling traditions and formalities of the past, which have little or no relevance today, are contributing to the "death" of independent inquiry and the complete maturation of a martial artist. Lee argued, "How can one respond to the totality with partial, fragmentary pattern" (Lee 1975, 17).

Furthermore, Lee believed that one develops a totality of combat not by an accumulation of technique, but by simplification. True mastery is not daily increase, but daily decrease. Hacking away the nonessentials was the order of the day, so that students would respond naturally according to their own personal inclinations, without any artificial restrictions imposed on them. Lee felt that martial artists could function freely and totally if they were "beyond system" (Little 1997c, 329). By transcending styles and systems, they could approach combat objectively, without any biases, and respond fluidly to the particular situation at hand. "Unlike a 'classical' martial art, there is no series of rules or classifications of technique that constitute a distinct jeet kune do method of fighting. JKD is not a form of special conditioning with its own rigid philosophy. It looks at combat not from a single angle, but from all possible angles. While JKD utilizes all ways and means to serve its end, it is bound by none and is therefore free. In other words, JKD possesses everything but is in itself possessed by nothing" (Lee 1986, 66).

According to Lee, a true martial artist does not adapt to his opponent by adopting his opponent's style or techniques, but rather he adapts his own personal arsenal to "fit in" with his opponent to defeat him. He told his students to be like water, formless and shapeless, continually adapting to the opponent. Lee wrote, "Jeet Kune Do favors formlessness so that it can assume all forms and since Jeet Kune Do has no style, it can fit in with all styles" (Lee 1975, 12).

The main objective of martial arts, Lee discovered, is not necessarily learning how to fight better, but understanding yourself better so that you can express yourself. He argued, "To me, ultimately, martial arts means honestly expressing yourself" (Little 1999, 11). Lee wanted one to be self-sufficient, searching deep within one's self to find what works best for one. No longer need one be dependent on the teachings of various styles or teachers. By taking an honest assessment of one's strengths and weaknesses, one can improve one's skill as well as one's daily living. With this freedom to improve oneself in any way that one likes, one is able to honestly express one's self.

Jeet Kune Do: It's An Individual Experience

Since Lee is highly recognized for his martial arts, it would have been simple for his followers to blindly take his art as the ultimate truth. Because of his great success, martial artists are often encouraged to "be like Bruce." However, Lee said that if people were to differentiate JKD from other styles, then the name should be eliminated, since it serves only as a label. Bruce Lee felt that it was more important for martial artists to discover their own truths in combat, and subsequently discover themselves: "Remember that I seek neither your approval nor to influence you toward my way of thinking. I will be more than satisfied if you begin to investigate everything for yourself and cease to uncritically accept prescribed formulas that dictate 'this is this' or 'this is that'"(Lee 1986, 63).

Jun Fan Jeet Kune Do

Following Lee's death in 1973, his students began to pass on their knowledge in Jeet Kune Do in their own individual ways. Some operated commercial schools or taught seminars around the world, while others chose to teach a few students in the backyard. More importantly, the students taught their own interpretations of what Lee taught them. Typically, traditional martial arts teachers teach the same material or emphasize the same principles to all students, because styles are steeped in traditions and formalities. But the fluid nature of JKD, along with Lee's dynamic evolution in the martial arts, caused diverse and contrary viewpoints among Lee's students, since the individual is most important. While there were those who chose to teach Lee's art as it was taught to them, others chose to teach key principles and concepts Lee espoused, along with additional research into other martial arts in an attempt to further or advance the art. The first group was accused of turning Lee's art into a style, precisely what Lee was against. At the same time, the latter group was criticized for passing off an art as coming from Lee that bore little to no resemblance to Lee's movements and genius, thereby risking that Lee's martial arts contributions would be lost forever.

In 1996, Lee's widow, Linda Lee Cadwell, his daughter, Shannon Lee Keasler, and Lee's students and second-generation practitioners created the nonprofit Bruce Lee Educational Foundation to preserve and perpetuate his teachings. The organization was formed to maintain the integrity of Jeet Kune Do by giving a clear and accurate picture of Lee's evolution in the martial arts. In this way, the foundation would be able to distinguish the technical and philosophical knowledge studied and taught by Lee and act as a living repository for those seeking information on his body of work.

A greater challenge for the foundation is maintaining the accuracy in Bruce Lee's teachings while at the same time inspiring its followers to further their own personal growth. Indeed, Bruce Lee did not discourage those who found truths in combat contrary to his Jeet Kune Do, since he urged them to find their own paths. However, the problem arises when one is personally expressing himself, yet still calling it Jeet Kune Do, a term that is obviously linked to Bruce Lee. Linda Lee Cadwell responded to this issue: "The most fundamental principle of Bruce's art is that an individual should not be bound by a prescribed set of rules or techniques, and should be free to explore and expand—including expanding away from the core or root of Bruce's teachings. However, confusion arises when a martial artist deviates from the complete circle provided by Bruce's teachings and develops a personal way of martial art, but continues to call it 'Jeet Kune Do.' It is understandable that the definition of Jeet Kune Do can be taken to mean the concept of one's own freedom of expression, but once that step is taken, it needs to be labeled in a personal way, much as Bruce did when he created the name Jeet Kune Do to describe his way" (Cadwell and Kimura 1998, 2).

As a result, the foundation decided to establish the name *Jun Fan Jeet Kune Do*® to refer to Bruce Lee's body of work (art, philosophy, history, and so on). Lee Jun Fan was Bruce Lee's name in Chinese, and, in fact, he originally called his art Jun Fan Gung Fu before coming up with the term *Jeet Kune Do*. Hence, Jun Fan Jeet Kune Do identifies Bruce Lee's personal expression of Jeet Kune Do. This would distinguish the historical art Lee practiced during his life in addition to his inspirational message. Jun Fan Jeet Kune Do is the "launching pad" from which the individuals initiate their own exciting journey of self-discovery and self-expression.

Tommy Gong

See also Yongchun (Wing Chun)

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Jûdô

Jûdô is a martial art of Japanese origin, now practiced worldwide. A highly evolved grappling art, it focuses on jûjutsu-derived techniques chosen for their efficiency and safety in sporting competition. Jûdô athletic competitions reward effective throws and groundwork that result in control of the opponent through a hold-down, a sport-legal joint lock, or a choking technique that results in either submission or unconsciousness. An Olympic sport since 1964, jûdô is a modern derivation of jûjutsu as interpreted by founder Dr. Kanô Jigorô (1860–1938).

Kanô, one of the most remarkable figures in the modern history of the martial arts, chose the term *jûdô* (sometimes rendered *jiudo* in his time) quite deliberately. "Jûjutsu" he interpreted as "an art or practice (jutsu) of first giving way (jû) in order to attain final victory" (Kanô 1989, 200); he intended his jûdô to be not a contrast, but an expansion of this stratagem. "Jûdô means the way or principle (dô) of the same," he wrote (Kanô 1989, 200). He further explained that jûjutsu, as he experienced it prior to the founding of his school, was the specific application to personal combat of

the "all-pervading" jûdô principle (Kanô 1989, 200). Jûdô, then, as Kanô envisioned it, included the wide application of martial virtues outside a strictly combative context.

Kanô, an educator, favored the preservation of traditional jûjutsu partially through its development into a modern sport compatible with post-feudal Japanese society. Thus athletic competition in the Western sporting sense has been a distinguishing feature of jûdô since its inception, although the techniques that are legal and effective in jûdô matches actually comprise only part of the art's syllabus of instruction. Because of jûdô's comparatively recent development and the academic orientation of its founder, the art's history is very well documented.

The roots of jûdô are in the traditional jûjutsu *ryûha* (styles) of the late nineteenth century, particularly the Tenjin Shinyo-ryû and the Kito-ryû, which Kanô studied extensively, and in Yôshin-ryû, from which some of his senior students, including Yoshiaka Yamashita, were drawn. These schools of unarmed combat, while all referred to as jûjutsu, were distinct entities with separate courses of instruction on the feudal pattern. Tenjin Shinyo was particularly noted for its *atemi* (striking) techniques and its immobilizations and chokes; Kito-ryû, for projective throws, spiritual ideals, and strategy. Yôshin-ryû, attributed to an ancient doctor's application of resuscitation methods for combative purposes, took its name from the flexible (and thus enduring) willow tree, a manifestation of jû. The idea of selective yielding for tactical advantage was common to these schools of jûjutsu, though it varied in development and expression.

Kanô had acquired both a classical Japanese education and thorough instruction in the English language in his youth, but apparently his father (a Meiji reformer) did not encourage an early interest in the martial arts. Jigorô was 17 years old when he began his study of Tenjin Shinyo-ryû, but he threw himself relentlessly into his training and showed a remarkable facility for deriving and applying the essential principles behind techniques. He took every opportunity to expand his knowledge and prowess. In fact, he researched even Western wrestling at the Tokyo library, drawing from it an effective throwing technique later included in the jûdô syllabus as *kata guruma* (the shoulder wheel).

By 1882, it was clear that Kanô was a martial prodigy, and he had determined that his life's work lay in the martial arts. He founded his Kôdôkan (Institute for the Study of the Way) in that year and set about the imposing twofold task of preserving jûjutsu while adapting it to the changing times.

The new school soon attracted attention, both from students enthusiastic for the training and from skeptics wary of Kanô's new approaches to training. Perhaps the best of the former was Yoshiaka Yamashita, who

A photo of the women's section at the Kôdôkan dôjô, 1935. Kanô Jigorô is seated at the center and K. Fukuda is kneeling in the front row, third from the left. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

came from Yôshin-ryû and became Kanô's right-hand assistant. Certainly the most dramatic instance of the latter came with the "great tournament" of 1886, a jûjutsu competition in which Kanô's school (represented by Yamashita and some other highly skilled students) scored decisive victories over prominent and long-established jûjutsu styles.

After this tournament, Kôdôkan Jûdô enjoyed increasing levels of governmental support, and was eventually (in 1908) even made a required subject in Japanese schools. This was especially gratifying to Kanô, whose intended focus was on character development for the succeeding generations rather than simple martial prowess for a selected elite.

Even before the turn of the century, jûdô had also attracted attention overseas. Stories of the prowess of jûjutsu practitioners had circulated in the West since the opening of Japan in the mid-nineteenth century. Now a new form of this art had arisen, and it was not only shorn of the feudal secrecy that tended to shield jûjutsu from Western eyes, but was being developed and promoted by a fluent English speaker well versed in Western educational thought. Thus, jûdô was the first Oriental martial art to be truly accessible to the West, and it caused an immediate sensation upon reaching foreign shores.

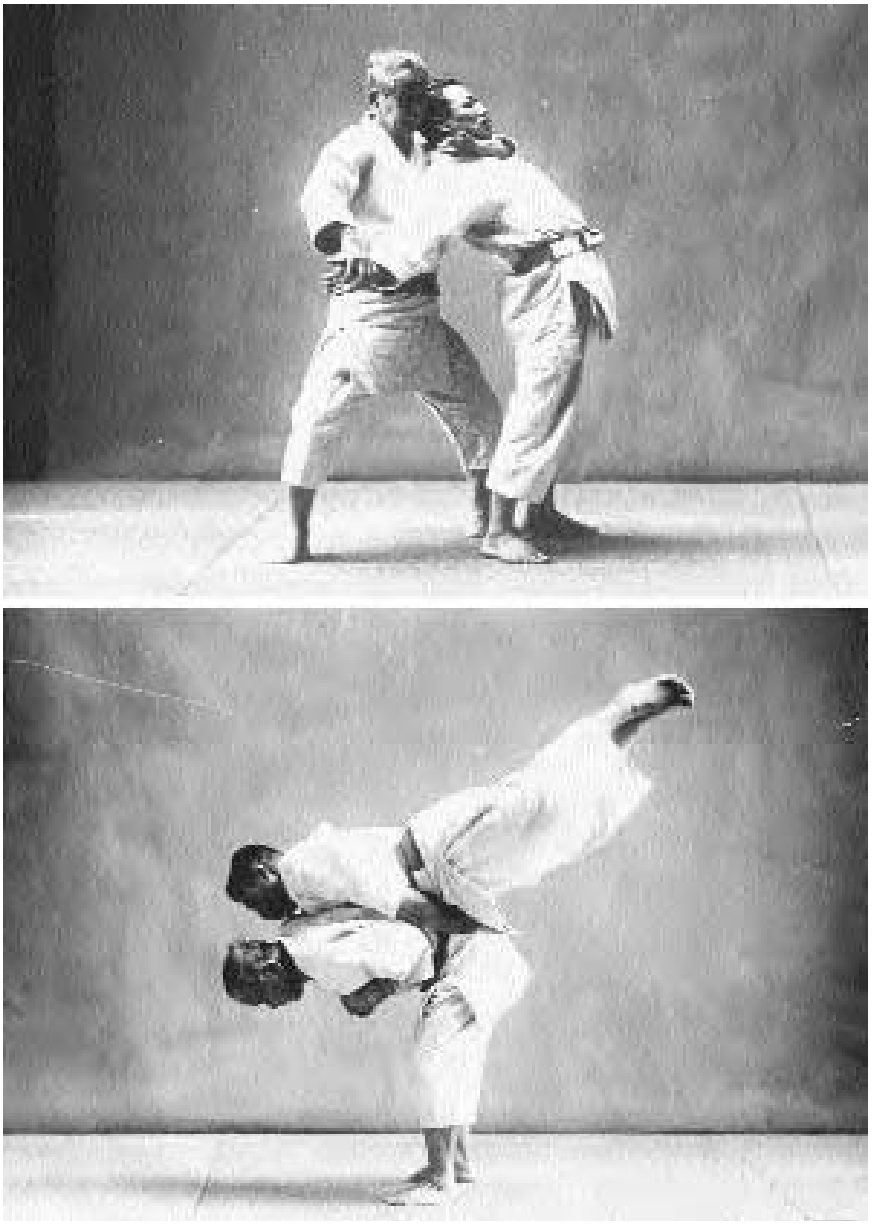
Naturally, it was immediately compared and contrasted with the unarmed combative sports most common in the West, boxing and wrestling, and early jûdô manuals in English devote much space to instructions on countering these methods. "Challenge matches" were not uncommon in the early days of Western jûdô, and since these matches were not overwhelmingly decided for or against any of the sports, speculation (informed or otherwise) on the relative merits of the methods was even more common. Matters were complicated further by a certain confusion about the distinction between jûdô and jûjutsu, with practitioners of either using both terms freely.

Yoshiaka Yamashita, still Kanô's senior student at the turn of the century, was one of jûdô's pioneers in the West. No less a personage than the American president Theodore Roosevelt (a lifelong enthusiast of combative sports) requested a jûdô instructor in 1904, and this prestigious duty fell to Yamashita, who was already touring the United States. Roosevelt was a good student and an influential voice in support of the new sport, and his studies (coinciding with much American and British sympathy for Japan in the Russo-Japanese War) helped ignite the first Oriental martial arts boom in the English-speaking world. For many years jûdô remained the dominant Oriental martial art outside the East and was in fact often incorrectly used as a catchall term for unfamiliar forms of Asian fighting.

Jûdô was uniquely suited to dissemination across cultures, and in Japan Kanô was pioneering the dissemination of jûdô in another direction as well. *Joshi jûdô* (women's jûdô) began with his acceptance of his first female student in 1883. Over the following years, a Women's Section of the Kôdôkan, with its own separate syllabus and eventually with women's sport competitions, developed. Kanô is said to have commented that the Women's Section preserved more of his intentions for jûdô, with its lesser emphasis on competition.

The growing emphasis on sport jûdô probably occasioned this comment. The evolution of mainstream jûdô has progressed steadily in the direction of competitive sport in the manner of Western wrestling, much to the chagrin of many instructors. An Olympic event since 1964, jûdô is often coached today simply as an athletic activity, without regard to Kanô's principles of strategy or character development or to martial arts applications outside the set of techniques useful in competition.

However, Kôdôkan Jûdô retains its traditional elements, including all seven divisions of technique. These include, of course, the throws, immobilizations, and chokes (*nage-waza, osae-waza,* and *shime-waza*), but also dislocations and strikes (*kansetsu-waza* and *ate-waza*), formal exercises (kata), and resuscitation methods (*kappô*). Jûdô ranking (indicated by the color of belt worn with the traditional *dôgi* [training uniform]) is depen-



Top: Thomas R. Goudy attempting an armlock, 1962. Bottom: Toyoshige Tomita demonstrating the seoi otoshi throw, 1962. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

dent on demonstrated proficiency in these areas as well as points scored in competition.

The belt color ranking system, which originated with jûdô, has been adopted by a great many martial systems and has occasioned much debate. The *dan/kyû* system, in which the more advanced or dan ranks are usually designated by a black belt and the lesser kyû grades by a variety of colors, is one of the most widely recognized features of Japanese and some other Asian martial arts, and it is often assumed to be of great antiquity. In reality, it represented another facet of Kanô's innovation and modernization, since it presented a format for standardizing the development of the *jûdôka*

(jûdô practitioner). Older systems more commonly awarded diplomas or certificates, and historically seldom established any formal hierarchies among students prior to graduation from training. Recognition of various intermediate ranks among students became more common during Japan's peaceful Tokugawa era, but retained a feudal flavor of esoteric initiation. Rank among students was not signified in any uniform, visible manner. The emphasis instead was on access to, and eventual mastery of, a school's "inner" or "secret" teachings (*okuden*). The highest award in this methodology was the *menkyo kaiden,* which certified that the bearer had attained mastery of the system. By contrast, the "black belt" of the dan/kyû system is usually taken to indicate a "serious student" or "beginning teacher" of a style; the lack of secrecy in the jûdô tradition, and in most modern derivations of martial arts, changes the meaning of initiation. Progress in the pursuit of jûdô can include rites of passage and formal recognition of proficiency, but tends to reflect the Meiji values of Kanô rather than the feudal orientation of its root arts. As the American jûdôka Bruce Tegner wrote in response to assorted Western folklore about the black belt, "The earliest black belt holders were not deadly killers; they were skilled sportsmen" (1973). Indeed, belt rank and sport competition were both highly controversial Kanô innovations that continue to lend themselves to a wide range of interpretations, criticisms, and uses and abuses to this day.

The freestyle practice of jûdô techniques takes two forms, *shiai* (contest) and *randori,* which is an unchoreographed but not formally competitive exchange of throws and counters. *Kuzushi,* or unbalancing, is fundamental to both practice forms, and is carried out in accord with the jûdô proverb "When pulled, push; when pushed, pull!" It is also a jûdô cliché, first widely noted in the early years of Western jûdô, that size and strength are relatively unimportant in the employment of the art; this probably derived largely from the success of relatively diminutive Japanese experts against larger but unschooled antagonists. Unfortunately, this proved illusory in the case of jûdô players of comparable skill who were greatly mismatched in size, and designated weight classes are thus a feature of modern sport jûdô.

Today, the International Jûdô Federation is the governing body of Olympic jûdô, while the Kôdôkan in Japan remains the world headquarters. A variety of national and international federations for jûdô study and practice exist worldwide, and instruction is relatively easy to come by. Jûdô players have also ventured into interstyle grappling events, and jûdô remains a strong influence on grapplers of other styles (especially those, such as the Russian *sambo,* that include the wear and use of a jacket).

As the first Asian martial art to gain a worldwide following, jûdô had important formative influences on many other styles. In particular, those

styles (such as the Israeli *krav maga*) that descend in part from military commando training, and sport grappling or "submission" styles, including Brazil's Gracie Jiu-jitsu, owe a considerable debt to jûdô. Worldwide, military and police trainers have seen the advantages of jûdô for unarmed hand-to-hand combat and have integrated it into their programs of instruction almost from the beginning of the twentieth century. Jûdô movements are not as inhibited by typical battle dress as are the techniques of many other martial arts, while the presentation of the art in a physical-education format has made it easier for military instructors to adopt (and adapt to their own ends) than the more esoteric curricula of other styles might have been. Wrestling or submission styles, meanwhile, profited both from direct instruction by jûdôka and by interaction with the new jûdô techniques and strategies they encountered. Kanô student Mitsuyo Maeda, one of the jûdôka assigned to bring the new art to the West in the first decade of the twentieth century, accepted both jûdô challenges and matches as a professional wrestler, and was the original instructor of the formidable Gracie family of Brazil (where Maeda was known as Conte Comte [also Conde Koma], the "Count of Combat"). Renowned wrestler George Hackenschmidt, meanwhile, declined to accept challenges from jûdôka (probably because, as world heavyweight champion, he had nothing to win and everything to lose in a bout with the much smaller Japanese who challenged him) but recommended training in jûdô, as well as Greco-Roman and freestyle wrestling, for any serious grappler. He saw the development of excellent balance, as well as the unique "idea" of the style (by which he probably meant the jû principle), as invaluable benefits of training.

Jûdô advocates commonly add that jûdô includes the benefits of most traditional Asian martial arts and adds to them those of a modern, competitive, full-contact (but safe) sport.

Dr. Kanô's jûdô continues to enjoy a prominent place among the world's martial arts, and while it may not always manifest his original ideals in practice, it remains the most successful fusion to date of Oriental martial art with Western principles of physical education.

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See also Japanese Martial Arts, Chinese Influences on; Wrestling and Grappling: Japan

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K

Kajukenbo

A pragmatic American martial art that was developed in Honolulu, Hawaii, between 1947 and 1949. The name of the art is an acronym from the names of the martial systems that served as its basis. KA refers to Korean karate (Tang Soo Do), KEN refers to Okinawan kenpô, JU refers to Japanese Kôdôkan Jûdô and Kodenkan Jûjutsu, and BO refers to Chinese boxing and European boxing. The Kajukenbo system of self-defense is an eclectic blend. The roots or various martial arts (including the ones cited above and others such as Filipino escrima) ground the trunk of the Kajukenbo family tree, but as the martial art continues to evolve, its heart remains kenpô.

Within the traditions of Kajukenbo the creators of the art are known as "the original Black Belt Society." They were Peter Y. Y. Choo, Joseph Holck, Frank F. Ordonez, Adriano D. Emperado, and George "Clarence" Chang. These men quit their day jobs and met secretly in abandoned buildings to develop the ultimate self-defense system over a two-year period. They aspired to combine their deep knowledge of Eastern and Western martial arts into one complete and unique system of self-defense. Afterwards, they tested their system against the reality of barroom brawls and fights on the streets of Honolulu. The traditional history of the system identifies their opponents as huge Samoans and big American sailors stationed on the island.

The components of the art, as catalogued by the acronym Kajukenbo, are the following. From karate were borrowed the high-line kicks and circular hand strikes of the Korean martial arts, techniques that are said to be derived from Northern Shaolin Boxing. These techniques were contributed to the system by Peter Y. Y. Choo, a professional (Western) boxer and a black belt in Tang Soo Dô-Moo Duk Kwan, one of eight major *kwan* (Korean; styles) that formed taekwondo, Korean karate, established in 1955. From jûdô/jûjutsu came the throwing and grappling techniques of the Japanese martial arts. These came to the art of Kajukenbo as the legacy of

Joseph Holck, a black belt in Kôdôkan Jûdô and *Danzan-ryû* (Kodenkan) *Jûjutsu.* Jûdô was created in Japan by Kanô Jigorô in 1882. Danzan-ryû Jûjutsu was founded by H. Seishiro Okazaki, a Japanese immigrant to Hawaii, in 1924. Frank F. Ordonez contributed elements of Sekeino Jûjutsu to the new system; the origin of this style of jûjutsu is obscure. Adriano D. Emperado added kenpô to the Kajukenbo arsenal. Kenpô, commonly translated as "law of the fist" because of its reliance on *atemi* (Japanese; striking techniques), is said to be of Chinese origin. Tradition holds that the twenty-eighth patriarch of Buddhism, Bodhidharma (Daruma in Japanese), brought *Shôrinji Kempô* (Japanese; Shaolin Boxing) from India to China in the early sixth century A.D. Kenpô was introduced to Japan (Okinawa) during the Kamakura period (1192–1333). Emperado had learned kenpô from William K. S. Chow (in the form of *Kara-hô Kenpô*) and James M. Mitose (in the form of *Koshô-ryû Kempô-Jujitsu,* known as "Old Pine Tree Style"). Mitose was the twenty-first consecutive bloodline kenpô master. Adriano left Chow's tutelage in 1946. Adriano's brother Joe and his sister DeChi also studied under Chow and were later to play important roles in the history of Kajukenbo. Adriano Emperado also contributed the European boxing he had learned from his natural father, Johnny "Bulldog" Emperado, and Filipino escrima (i.e., fencing), a martial art of the Philippine archipelago, which he had learned from his stepfather, Alfred Peralta. As has been noted, boxing came to Kajukenbo from a number of sources. Peter Choo was a welterweight champion and Marino Tiwanak—flyweight boxing champion of Hawaii, one of the first students of Kajukenbo, and first recipient of a black belt in the art—obviously brought a strong European boxing component to the art as did Adriano Emperado. The other boxing influence was Chinese boxing, the striking arts popularly labeled kung fu, contributed by George C. Chang.

The tradition of Kajukenbo is based upon Hawaiian culture, where family comes first. In keeping with this value, there is a modern Black Belt Society that meets annually on Father's Day to celebrate Adriano D. Emperado's birthday on June 15. This family reunion allows practitioners of Emperado's Method to gather for seminars, tournament competition, and a ritual luau (Hawaiian festival).

Kajukenbo practitioners wear black kimono as uniforms. The colors used symbolically by the system are black, red, and white. In 1965, a coat of arms was created, with a white clover as the central feature. This symbol refers to the Old Pine Tree Style of kenpô-jûjutsu. Adherents of the Kajukenbo Self-Defense Institute (KSDI) practice Emperado's Method, which is based on kenpô. According to Emperado, the sole purpose of Kajukenbo is self-defense. Nevertheless, Kajukenbo competitors can play exceptionally well in open tournaments against other martial arts styles, due to their abil-

ity to adapt themselves to any rules of engagement in the arena. For example, Kajukenbo practitioners compete in sport jûjutsu in their annual tournament, following the increased popularity of grappling arts during the 1990s.

Kajukenbo utilizes a dual rank system, blended from Japanese/Korean and Chinese grading systems. First, there is a belt ranking system proceeding from the lowest rank of white, progressing through purple, brown, black, and finally red. Some schools add an orange belt after the white belt and a green belt after the blue belt. Traditionally, five years are required to progress from white belt to black belt. Black belts are ranked from first through fifth degrees. At sixth through tenth degrees, red belts are worn. The founders hold tenth degree ranking and wear red and gold belts. The second set of categories is based on the Chinese model of ranking by means of kinship titles. The Cantonese term *sifu* (pinyin *shifu;* teacher, literally father) is the title awarded to holders of the fifth degree black belt, but this term traditionally refers to any instructor, regardless of rank, among Chinese systems. *Sigung* (pinyin *shigong;* teacher's teacher, literally grandfather) is the title awarded to the sixth and seventh degree ranks. They usually wear red and white belts in Japanese tradition. In the 1990s, the title of professor was awarded to certain eighth and ninth degrees. Only the five founders retain the title *sijo* (pinyin *shizu*). *Sibak* (pinyin *shibo*) is the title for a student, usually a black belt, who studies directly with a founder. Unlike many Chinese martial arts, Kajukenbo does not use the term for student, *toedai* (pinyin *tudi*), nor does it use the familial term for co-students, *sihing* (pinyin *shixiong*).

During the Korean War (1950–1953), four cofounders, Choo, Ordonez, Holck, and Chang, left Hawaii for military duty, leaving Emperado to teach Kajukenbo with his younger brother Joe and his sister DeChi. In 1965, the Emperado family incorporated as the Kajukenbo Self-Defense Institute (KSDI) in Honolulu. This organization became the vehicle for spreading Kajukenbo to the mainland. Kajukenbo was taught to military men in Hawaii, who afterward spread this uniquely American martial art all over the world.

Although kenpô continues to represent the trunk of the system, Kajukenbo ultimately produced three branches: *Tum Pai, ch'uan'fa,* and *Wun Hop Kuen Do*. Adriano D. Emperado developed Tum Pai in 1959 by adding *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan). Incidentally, there is an Emperado "Tai Chi," which is a formal exercise that implements the "alphabet" of self-defense patterns for Kajukenbo. Jon A. Loren now heads up Tum Pai. Emperado also developed ch'uan'fa in 1965. This so-called soft style, because it relies on parries rather than blocks, blended Northern and Southern Shaolin Boxing. Ch'uan'fa (pinyin quanfa) means "Fist Way" in Chi-

nese, and the Japanese word *kenpô* is translated as "fist law." Ch'uan'fa is now headed by Bill Owens. Albert J. Dacascos developed Won Hop Kuen Dô in 1969. This branch was inspired by Bruce Lee's Jeet Kune Do (pinyin Jie quandao), but has "long-fist" (i.e., long-range) techniques. Thus, Won Hop Kuen Dô appears heavily influenced by Northern Shaolin Boxing.

The techniques of Kajukenbo are a blend of many styles, encompassing multiple ranges of combat into a cohesive system. Anyone cross-trained in the styles, methods, and systems that comprise Kajukenbo could recognize root elements of original sources. The high-line long-range kicking comes from Tang Soo Do (pinyin Tang Shou dao). The throwing and grappling techniques come from jûdô and jûjutsu. Kenpô brings to Kajukenbo low-line kicking and hard-style striking. (In hard style, there is an emphasis on meeting force directly with an opposing force for offense and defense.) Shaolin Boxing adds soft-style parries, low kicks, and fluid strikes. Soft style means there is an emphasis on deflecting attacks with indirect counterattacks. European boxing adds "bob-and-weave" defense (lowering the level of the body and swaying) and efficient punching. Filipino escrima adds rhythmic striking and angular footwork that is designed to evade attackers and deliver indirect counterattacks, a principle that is also useful for managing multiple opponents.

Kajukenbo uses deep "horse riding" (i.e., straddle) stances, not only to strengthen the legs, but also to create a stable position from which to deliver pulverizing blows from above to a downed opponent. Another reason for the "horse" stance in Kajukenbo is to save wear and tear on the knees when using follow-up techniques against an opponent who is on the ground. For example, should a downed opponent grab a defender in the horse stance, there is the option to either spring away or drop to the knees in order to pin the opponent. Moreover, no padded floor mats are used in traditional practice, because no mats are available on the street. The horse stance brings one closer to earth, lowering the center of gravity and giving stability to uproot and off-balance attackers.

Trademark techniques of Kajukenbo are the "shadowless" kick, the double grab, the hammer fist, and the cross-cover. The shadowless kick is a low-line attack directed to the legs, groin, or abdomen. The kick is called shadowless because balance is not broken, and telegraphing, or showing preparation for the movement, is minimized. There is also a jump "switching kick" that is deceptive because of foot position replacement while in the air. The "double grab" refers to the cross-hand grab technique, which serves to open the formal movements of the art and, in practice, is designed as an attack and defense combination. The double grab with both hands crossed over hides the secret ripping and tearing movements, using the fin-

gers as claws, which were taken from a Hawaiian self-defense art called *Lua*. The hammer-fist technique uses the bottom of the fist as a striking surface. From combat experience, especially in no-holds-barred street fights, the founders learned that the knuckles could easily be broken by punching. The "chopping" hammer-fist strike saves bare knuckles from destruction while permitting powerful striking against a downed opponent.

The cross-cover refers to the technique developed after Joe Emperado died in a barroom brawl on May 30, 1958. An unidentified assailant stabbed Joe from the rear in the kidney just after he finished defeating an attacker in front of him. Kajukenbo started practicing the way of stepping away from a downed opponent called cross-cover at that time. The cross-cover technique was angular footwork designed specifically to prevent backstabbing. One exits from a single-opponent encounter at an angle, and so pans 180 degrees of vision to take in possible attackers, before crossing over and panning another 180 degrees of vision to assess what threat remains. This allows safe engagement against other opponents.

Describing its use in self-defense may capture the principles of Kajukenbo best. Practice incorporates methods for both single combat and combat against multiple opponents. The objective is to intercept an opponent's attack, such as a punch or kick, then trap the arm or leg with one hand and smash it with the other, causing immediate damage and pain to the attacker. The opponent is then taken down to the ground, usually by sweeping or throwing, where follow-up attacks with striking and locking techniques are used. These are systematic, intended to break joints and damage vital organs. Afterwards, the critical space or "turf" of the downed opponent is exited, usually by passing by the head to avoid getting tripped or grappled to the ground. The exit path facilitates further confrontation against other opponents. Against multiple opponents, the single combat techniques are applied for "overloaded" situational attacks, as for example when partway into a prearranged self-defense sequence another attacker joins the fray. These practice sequences are called *waza* (Japanese; tricks).

Kajukenbo has specialized training methods that are designed to work in reality fighting. For example, the method labeled "ad-libs" refers to thorough pounding and striking of a downed opponent. They are done in freestyle following a takedown. When one is swept or thrown to the ground, the tendency is to curl up into the fetal position. There are "can-opener" techniques designed to break an opponent's covering in order to strike vital areas. Low-line kicks to the spine and kidneys will cause an arched back, exposing liver, heart, and spleen to striking. Strikes to the knees will drop the legs, allowing groin strikes and step-over footwork. Kajukenbo is playing pool in the sense that one shot is designed to set up another until a practitioner can "run the table."

Kajukenbo techniques are battle-tested in actual combat or experiments. For example, Adriano D. Emperado got a job as a janitor in a funeral home to get access to the corpses. He is said to have hung bodies up and practiced joint breaking and striking techniques.

The philosophy of Kajukenbo, like its physical techniques, is derived from a variety of sources. The influences of family and Christianity are evident, as is the desire to maintain a symbolic tie to the Chinese heritage of the art. Practitioners characterize Kajukenbo as a family system. This goes beyond the hierarchy based on the family model, which is described above, to signify that there are powerful loyalties to the founders and among the practitioners, many of whom are related by blood and law. The founders of the art paid homage to their Christian faith in a prayer that was said before each practice session. The "Kajukenbo Prayer" paid homage to the "one true God," asked His blessings for the United States, which was identified as "a nation founded on Christian principles," and sought blessing for practitioners and their martial arts efforts.

Although Kajukenbo is a recent coinage composed of syllables from its parent arts, members of the system have used the rendering of these syllables in Chinese characters both as a means of maintaining ties to this element of their heritage and as a means of expressing the philosophy of the art. Following this translation, in Cantonese *ka* means "long life," *jû* means "happiness," *ken* means "fist," and *bo* means "way." The English translation is given as, "Through this fist way, one gains long life and happiness." A similar rendering of the Kajukenbo philosophy appears in the motto "To train strong, we will remain strong."

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See also Kenpô

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Kalarippayattu

Kalarippayattu (Malayalam; *kalari,* place of training; *payattu,* exercise) is a compound term first used in the twentieth century to identify the traditional martial art of Kerala State, southwestern coastal India. Dating from at least the twelfth century in the forms still practiced today, but with roots in both the Tamil and Dhanur Vedic martial traditions, kalarippayattu was practiced throughout the Malayalam-speaking southwestern coastal region of India (Kerala State and contiguous parts of Coorg District, Karnataka), where every village had its own kalari for the training of local fighters under the guidance of the *gurukkal* (honorific, respectful plural of *guru*) or *asan* (teacher). Martial masters also administer a variety of traditional Ayurvedic physical/massage therapies for muscular problems and conditions affecting the "wind humor," and set broken bones. According to oral and written tradition, the warrior-sage Parasurama, who was the founder of Kerala, is also credited with the founding of the first kalari and subsequent lineages of teaching families. Between the twelfth century and the beginning of British rule in 1792, the practice of kalarippayattu was especially associated with subgroups of Hindu Nayars whose duty it was to serve as soldiers and physical therapists at the behest of the village head, district ruler, or local raja, having vowed to serve him to death as part of his retinue. Along with Nayars, some Cattar (or Yatra) Brahmans, one subgroup of the Ilava caste given the special title of chekor, as well as some Christians and Sufi Muslims, learned, taught, and practiced the martial art. Among at least some Nayar and Ilava families, young girls also received preliminary training until the onset of menses. We know from the local "Northern Ballads" that at least a few women students of noted Nayar and Ilava masters continued to practice and achieved a high degree of expertise. Some Ilava practitioners served the special role of fighting duels (*ankam*) to the death to resolve disputes and schisms among higher-caste extended families.

There was an almost constant state of low-grade warfare among local rulers from the twelfth century onward. Warfare erupted for a variety of reasons, from caste differences to pure and simple aggression. One example of interstate warfare that exemplifies the ideal bond between Nayar martial artists and their rulers is the well-documented dispute between the Zamorin of Calicut and the raja of Valluvanadu over which was to serve as convener of the great Mamakam festival held every twelve years. This "great" festival celebrated the descent of the goddess Ganga into the Bharatappuzha River in Tirunavayi, in northern Malabar. Until the thirteenth century, when the dispute probably arose, the ruler of Valluvanadu possessed the right of inaugurating and conducting the festival. The Zamorin set out to usurp this

Satish Kumar (left) and Shri Ajit (right) perform a dagger fight in Bombay, December 27, 1997. The duo are in Bombay to promote Kalarippayattu, the ancient physical, cultural, and martial art of the state of Kerala in southern India. (AP Photo/Sherwin Crasto)

right. After a protracted conflict, the Zamorin wrested power by killing two Vellatri princes. The event created a permanent schism between the kingdoms. At each subsequent festival until its discontinuation in 1766 following the Mysorean invasion, some of the Valluvanadu fighters pledged to death in service to the royal house attended the Mamakam to avenge the honor of the fallen princes by fighting to the death against the Zamorin's massed forces.

So important was kalarippayattu in medieval Kerala that both its heroic demeanor and its practiced techniques were constantly on display, whether in actual combat, in duels, or in forms of cultural performance that included mock combats or displays of martial skills and dances and dance-dramas where the heroic was on display. Kalarippayattu directly influenced the techniques and content of numerous traditional forms of performance such as folk dances; ritual performances such as the *teyyam* of northern Kerala where deified heroes are worshipped; the now internationally known *kathakali* dance-drama, which enacts stories of India's epic heroes based on the *Mahabharata, Ramayana,* and *puranas;* and the Christian dance-drama form, *cavittu natakam,* which used martial techniques

for stage combat displaying the prowess of great Christian heroes like St. George and Charlemagne.

A number of today's masters trace their lineage of practice back generations to the era when a special title (*Panikkar* or *Kurup*) was given by the local ruler. K. Sankara Narayana Menon of Chavakkad was trained by his father, Vira Sree Mudavannattil Sankunni Panikkar of Tirur, who in turn was trained by his uncle, Mudavangattil Krishna Panikkar Asan, who learned under his uncle, and so on. As recorded in the family's palm-leaf manuscript, the Mundavannadu family was given the title *Anchaimakaimal* by the Vettattu raja in recognition of its exclusive responsibility for training those who fought on the Raja's behalf and its "responsibility for destroying evil forces" in the region. Similarly, Christian master Thomas T. Tuttothu Gurukkal traces his family tradition back to Thoma Panikkar, who held the rank of commander-in-chief (*commandandi*) for the Christian soldiers serving the Chmpakasserry raja until his fall in 1754.

Kalarippayattu declined under British rule, due to the introduction of firearms and the organization of police, armies, and government institutions along European institutional models, but survived under the tutelage of a few masters in scattered regions of Kerala, especially in the north. During the modern era kalarippayattu was first brought to general public attention during the 1920s in a wave of rediscovery of indigenous arts. In 1958, two years after the founding of a united, Malayalam-speaking Kerala State government, the first modern association, the Kerala Kalarippayat (*sic*) Association, was founded under the leadership of Govindankutty Nayar, with fifteen member kalari, as one of seventeen members of the Kerala States Sports Council. Despite increasing public awareness within the north Malabar region in particular, and in the state capital, kalarippayattu continued to be little known as a practical martial and healing art to the general public in Kerala and in India as late as the 1970s. Since then kalarippayattu has become known throughout Kerala, India, and more recently throughout the world.

Historically there were many different styles and lineages of kalarippayattu, including *Arappukai, Pillatanni, Vatten Tirippu,* and *Dronamballi Sampradayam*. A number of distinctive styles were suppressed or lost, especially during the nineteenth century in the south of Kerala, where a greater effort took place to suppress the authority of the Nayars and to centralize power along European institutional models. Although the Kerala Kalarippayat Association officially recognizes three styles of kalarippayattu according to the rough geographical area where each originated, that is, northern, central, and southern styles, what is called southern-style kalarippayattu today is also known as *varma ati* or *adi murai,* and it is best discussed separately, since its myth of origin and techniques of practice,

though clearly related to kalarippayattu, are different enough to warrant separate consideration. The remainder of this entry focuses primarily on northern style, with a brief description of central style.

The traditional practice of kalarippayattu is informed by key principles and assumptions about the body, consciousness, the body-mind relationship, health, and exercise drawn from Kerala's unique versions of yoga practice and philosophy, South Asian medicine (called *Ayurveda* [Sanskrit; science of life]), and religious mythology, practices, and histories. The Malayalam folk expression "The body becomes all eyes" encapsulates the ideal state of the practitioner, whose response to his environment should be like Brahma the thousand-eyed—able to see and respond intuitively, like an animal, to anything. To attain this ideal state of awareness, traditional masters emphasize that one must "possess complete knowledge of the body." This traditionally meant gaining knowledge of three different "bodies of practice": (1) the fluid body of humors and saps, associated with Ayurveda, in which there should be a healthful congruence of the body's humors through vigorous, seasonal exercise; (2) the body composed of bones, muscles, and the vulnerable vital junctures or spots (*marmmam*) of the body; and (3) the subtle, interior body, assumed in the practice of yoga, through which the internal "serpent power" (*kundalini sakti*) is awakened for use in martial practice and in giving healing therapies.

Training toward this ideal began traditionally at the age of 7 in specially constructed kalari, ideally dug out of the ground so that they are pits with a plaited coconut palm roof above. The kalari itself is considered a temple, and in Hindu kalari from seven to twenty-one deities are considered present, and worshipped on a daily basis, at least during the training season. After undergoing a ritual process of initiation into training and paying respects to the gurukkal, the student in the northern style of kalarippayattu begins by oiling the body and practicing a vigorous array of "body preparation" exercises, including poses, kicks, steps, jumps, and leg exercises performed in increasingly complex combinations back and forth across the kalari floor. Most important is mastery of basic poses, named after animals such as the elephant, horse, and lion, comparable to yoga postures (asanas), and steps that join one pose to another. Repetitious practice of these vigorous physical forms is understood to eventually render the external body flexible and "flowing like a river" as students literally "wash the floor of the kalari with their sweat."

In addition to the techniques described above, the central style includes distinctive techniques performed within floor drawings, known as *kalam,* traced with rice powder on the floor of the kalari. Special steps for attack and defense are learned within a five-circle pattern so that the student moves in triangles, or zigzags. In addition, some masters of central

style teach *cumattadi,* sequences of "steps and hits" based on particular animal poses and performed in four directions, instilling in the student the ability to respond to attacks from all directions.

Traditionally, preliminary training took place during the cool monsoon period (June-September), and also included undergoing a vigorous full-body massage given with the master's feet as he held onto ropes suspended from the ceiling of the kalari. As with the practice of yoga, special restrictions and observances traditionally circumscribed training, such as not sleeping during the day while in training, refraining from sexual intercourse during the days when one was receiving the intensive massage, not waking at night, and taking milk and ghee (clarified butter) in the diet. From the first day of training students are admonished to participate in the devotional life of the kalari, including paying respects to and ideally internalizing worship of the guardian deity of the kalari, usually a form of a goddess (Bhagavati, Bhadrakali) or Siva and Sakti, the primary god and goddess worshiped in Kerala, in combination.

The exercise, sweating, and oil massage are understood to stimulate all forms of the wind humor to course through the body. Long-term practice enhances the ability to endure fatigue by balancing the three humors, and it enables the practitioner to acquire the characteristic internal and external ease of movement and body fluidity. The accomplished practitioner's movements "flow," thereby clearing up the "channels" (*nadi*) of the internal subtle body.

Only when a student is physically, spiritually, and ethically ready is he supposed to be allowed to take up the first weapon in the training system. If the body and mind have been fully prepared, then the weapon becomes an extension of the body-mind. The student first learns wooden weapons (*kolttari)*—first long staff, later short stick, and then a curved stick known as an *otta*—through which empty-hand combat is taught. After several years of training, combat weapons are introduced, including dagger, spear, mace (*gada*), sword and shield, double-edged sword (*curika*) versus sword, spear versus sword and shield, and flexible sword (*urumi*). In the distant past, bow and arrow was also practiced, but this has been lost in the kalarippayattu tradition. All weapons teach attack and defense of the body's vital spots.

Empty-hand techniques are taught either through otta or through special "empty-hand" techniques (*verumkai*) taught as part of advanced training. For example, C. Mohammed Sherif teaches eighteen basic empty-hand attacks and twelve methods of blocking, which were traditionally part of at least some northern Kerala styles. Eventually, students also should begin to discover applications that are implicit or hidden in the regular daily body exercises. In some forms of empty-hand training, special attention is

given to application of techniques to striking or penetrating the vital spots (marmam) of the body—those junctures that are so vulnerable that an attack on them can in some cases lead to instant death. The earliest textual evidence of the concept of the vital spots dates from as early as the Rig Veda (ca. 1200 B.C.), in which the god Indra is recorded as defeating the demon Vrtra by attacking his vital spot with a *vajra* (thunderbolt). By the time that Susruta wrote the classic Sanskrit medical text in the second century A.D., 107 vital spots had been identified as an aid to surgical intervention. Over the years the notion of the vital spots has been central to martial and healing practices, since the master must learn the location of the vital spots to attack them, to provide the emergency procedure of a "counter-application" with his hands when an individual has been injured by having a vital spot penetrated, or to avoid them when giving therapeutic massages.

Martial practice, like meditation, is understood to tame and purify the external body (*sthula-sarira*), as it quiets and balances the body's three humors. Eventually the practitioner should begin to discover the internal/subtle body (*suksma sarira*) most often identified with Kundalini/tantric yoga. For martial practitioners this discovery is essential for embodying power (*sakti*) to be used in combat, or for healing through the massage therapies. Long-term training involves the development of single-point focus (*ekagrata*) and mental power (*manasakti*). A variety of meditation techniques have traditionally been practiced as part of the development of these subtler powers and abilities, so that martial artists could conquer themselves, that is, their fears, anxieties, and doubts, as well as gain access to specific and subtler forms of sakti for application.

These subtler aspects of practice include simple forms of *vratam*—simply sitting in an appropriately quiet place and focusing one's mind on a deity through repetition of the deity's name. A more advanced technique is to sit in the cat pose, facing the guardian deity of the kalari, and repeat the verbal commands for a particular body exercise sequence while maintaining long, deep, sustained breathing. Repetition of such exercises is understood to lead to *dharana*—a more concentrated and "higher" form of one-point concentration. Subtler and secretive practices include becoming accomplished in particular *mantras*. Ubiquitous to Hinduism from as early as the Vedas and to all aspects of kalarippayattu practice from ritual propitiation of the deities, to administering massage, and to weapons practice are repetition of mantras. Usually taking the form of a series of sacred words and/or syllables, which may or may not be translatable, these are considered "instruments of power . . . designed for a particular task, which will achieve a particular end when, and only when, . . . used in a particular manner" (Alper 1989, 6). Kalarippayattu masters in the past had a "tool

box" of such mantras, each of which had specific purposes: (1) mantras for worship of a specific deity; (2) personal mantras to develop the character of the student; (3) mantras associated with particular animal poses to gain superior power and actualization of that pose; (4) weapons or combat mantras used for a specific technique to give it additional power; (5) all-purpose mantras to gain access to higher powers of attack or defense; and (6) medical/healing mantras used when preparing a particular medicine or giving a particular treatment. These secrets are given only to the most advanced students, and many masters are loath to teach them today. When they are taught, a student is told never to reveal the mantras since to do so would "spoil the power of the mantras."

Although kalarippayattu has undergone a resurgence of interest during the 1980s and 1990s, its traditional practice can, when compared to more overt streetwise forms of karate and kung fu, seem anachronistic to young people wanting immediate results in order to practice a martial art that looks like what they see at the cinema.

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See also India; Religion and Spiritual Development: India; Varma Ati; Written Texts: India

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Kali

See Philippines

Karate, Japanese

Combative disciplines are generally reflective of the nature of the society from which they arose. Japanese culture has officially recognized *bujutsu* (martial ways) since A.D. 794, when the Butokuden (Martial Virtues Hall) was established in Kyoto by the emperor Kanmu for the purpose of promoting excellence in the martial arts. The Butokuden eventually became the premier training hall for the Dainippon Butokukai (Great Japan Martial Virtue Association), which was established by the Meiji emperor in 1895 for the preservation of *koryû bujutsu* (classical martial arts). The Dainippon Butokukai was charged with the task of recognizing, solidifying, promoting, and standardizing martial arts in Japan. It was through these processes that *karate-dô* (empty-hand way) became and was recognized as a *ryûha* (school of transmission) in 1933.

Japanese karate originated from a synthesis of civil and military combative disciplines. These disciplines included Okinawan *di* (Japanese *te,* hand), indigenous Japanese martial arts (*bu*), and Chinese *quanfa* (*ch'uan fa,* fist law; in Japanese, *kenpô*). Okinawan di uses striking, throwing, joint locking, and restraining methods similar to various styles of Japanese jûjutsu, and hints at an early sharing of martial knowledge between the cultures. Although *di* means "hand," weapons are also utilized. This sharing of martial culture is evident in the weapons used by di practitioners, which include the sword, spear, and glaive (*naginata*). Japanese jûjutsu was directly influenced by Chinese fighting methods (quanfa), as were the Okinawan fighting styles. The most influential of these arts on the development of Japanese karate was Okinawan di, called *Toudi* (Tang hand) in reference to its Chinese origins.

The Ryûkyû people were first recorded in A.D. 616, when the Yamato (Wo-Yayoi culture) of Kyûshû took thirty Okinawans to the court of Shôtoku Taishi at Nara. Some time later, representatives of the Yamato returned to Hyakuna on the Chinen Peninsula. Among the various cultural innovations that the Yamato brought with them to Okinawa were iron weapons and the martial combative disciplines needed to exploit their use. These combative disciplines probably contained the constituent elements of what eventually evolved into Okinawan di.

During the decentralization of the Heian period (794–1185), minor Japanese houses were displaced and forced to seek refuge in the Ryûkyû Islands. Reintroduction into the Japanese hierarchy was often facilitated by martial proficiency and *heihô* (tactics). The Ryûkyûs acted as a training

Kumite *(free sparring) during karate championships at the Seattle Center Arena, October 23, 1967. (Seattle Post-Intelligencer Collection, Museum of History & Industry)*

ground for these houses to enhance their military and political effectiveness. The combative systems practiced by these houses and their retainers were eagerly absorbed by the Okinawan military chieftains (*anji*), who had their own ambitions for social mobility and conquest.

The second-generation headmaster of *Jigen-ryû Kenjutsu,* Tôgô Bizen-no-Kami Shigekata (1602–1659), was ordered by Lord Shimazu to instruct the inhabitants of Kagoshima (Satsuma) in civil combative disciplines. These traditions were retained in the Jigen-ryû Bô Odori (Staff Dances), which incorporated techniques with the *jô* (stick), *ken* (sword), *rokushaku bô* (six-foot staff), *yari* (spear), *eiku* (oar), *kama* (sickle), *shakuhachi* (flute), and various other utensils. In 1609, the Shiazu clan of Satsuma invaded and conquered the kingdom of Okinawa. The Satsuma invaders enacted and enforced a weapons ban in the subjugated kingdom, which helped foster the practice of di. Some Okinawans were allowed to travel to Satsuma, where they studied the Jigen system.

Kanga Teruya, also known as Sakugawa Toudi, traveled to Satsuma and returned with rokushaku bô kata (forms), which were previously unknown in Okinawa. Matsumura Sôkon "Bushi" (Okinawan, Chikudun Pechin; warrior) (1809–1901) studied Toudi under Sakugawa and the Chinese military attaché, Iwah. Matsumura also traveled to Fujian, where he acquired some knowledge of the Chinese martial arts, and to Satsuma,

where he received his *menkyo* (teaching certification) in Jigen-ryû kenjutsu from Ijûin Yashichirô. Matsumura combined Toudi and Jigen-ryû into an eclectic combative style that eventually became known in Okinawa as *Shuri-di* (Shuri hand), so called because it was practiced in and around Shuri.

Matsumura's disciples included Ankô Itosu (Yasutsune) and Ankô Asato. As well as being superb *Karateka* (practitioners) and *sensei* (instructors) in their own right, Itosu and Asato were the primary instructors of Funakoshi Gichin, the single most influential figure in the development of Japanese karate.

In 1917, Funakoshi was invited as a representative of the Okinawa Prefecture to perform karate at the Butokuden in Kyoto. This was the first public demonstration of karate on the Japanese mainland. In March of 1921, Funakoshi demonstrated karate for the Crown Prince Seijô (Hirohito) in the Great Hall at Shuri Castle. In the spring of 1922, the Okinawan Department of Education requested that Funakoshi arrange an exhibition of karate for the Ministry of Education's First National Athletic Exhibition in Tokyo. After the exhibition, Funakoshi was persuaded to remain in Japan and disseminate his knowledge of the art of karate. This resulted in the publication of *Ryûkyû Kenpô: Karate,* in the fall of 1922, and a revision of the work, *Retan Gôshin Karate-jutsu* (Strengthening of Willpower and Self-Defense through Karate Techniques), in 1923.

In 1924, the karate clubs Keiô Gijuku Taiikukai Karatebu, Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku Karatebu, Daiichi Kôtô Gakkô Karatebu, Waseda Daigaku Gakuyûkai Karatebu, Nihon Daigaku Karate Kenkyûkai, Takushoku Daigaku Karatebu, Nihon Daigaku Ikka Karate Kenkyûkai, and Shôin Jôgakkô were established in the Tokyo area. In 1930, the Kansai Daigaku Karatebu, Kansai Daigaku Senmonbu, Ôsaka Kôtô Yakugaku Senmon Gakkô, and Ôsaka Kôtô Igaku Senmon Gakkô were established around Ôsaka.

The All Japan Martial Arts Demonstration was held in Tokyo on May 5, 1930, to celebrate Hirohito's succession to the throne. Shinzato Jinan attended the event as the representative of Okinawan *Naha-di* (Naha hand) master Miyagi Chôjun. In 1932, Miyagi Chôjun was invited to participate in the Sainen Budô Taikai in Tokyo and the Butokusai (Martial Arts Festival) in Kyoto. In 1935, a prospectus was submitted for the Karate Kenkyûkai (Karate Research Club) at Ritsumeikan Daigaku (University), with Miyagi as the honorary master instructor (meiyô shihan).

By 1936, many Okinawan instructors had migrated to Japan and were teaching karate. Among those instructors were Funakoshi Gichin, Mabuni Kenwa, Motobu Chôki, Sawada Masaru, Sakae Sanyû, Yabiku Môden, Miki Nisaburô, Kunishi Yasuhiro, Satô Shinji, Mutsu Mizuhô, Hi-

gashionna (Higaonna) Kamesuke, Ôtsuka Shinjun, Taira Shinken, Shiroma Koki, and Uechi Kanbun.

Karate on Okinawa was taught in an informal manner. Students were assigned *tokuigata* (individual forms) at the discretion of the instructor. No ranking system existed, so there were no established criteria for advancement. Students were either *sempai* (senior) or *kohai* (junior). No recognizable uniform (*gi*) was used. Karate was indiscriminately referred to as di, bu (martial arts), or Toudi. This individualism was alien to the Japanese concept of *wa* (harmony). Japanese martial arts were structured around the ryûha system propagated by the Dainippon Butokukai. A ryûha included an historical continuity, methodological transmission, and pedagogical style. Many Okinawan instructors realized that if karate were to be recognized as a true martial art, certain modifications would have to be made in the manner in which it was presented to the Japanese public.

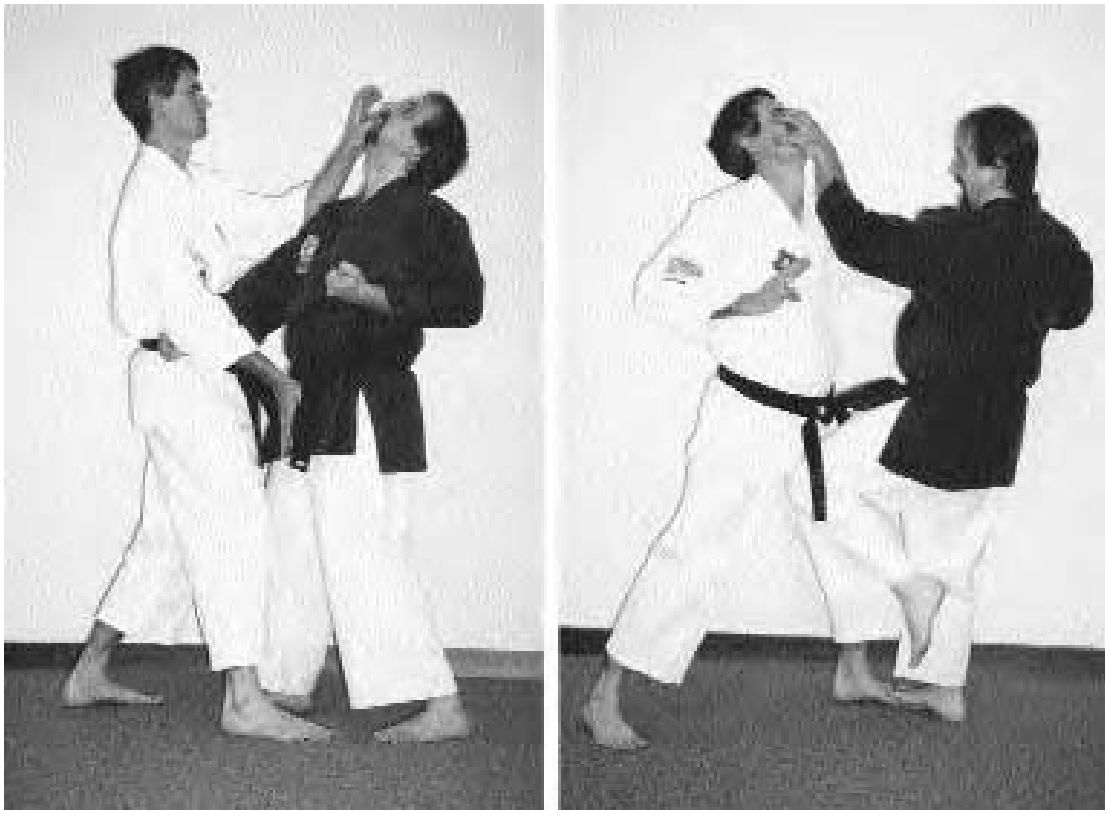
In the early 1920s, Funakoshi Gichin suggested to the karate research group at Keiô University that the kanji character representing "T'ang" be replaced with the character representing "empty" in Dainippon Kenpô Karate-dô (Great Japan Fist Method Empty Hand Way). Funakoshi also stressed the use of *-dô* (way) over *-jutsu* (technique) in an effort to conform to previously established *budô* (martial ways) such as *kyûdô* (archery), kendô, and jûdô. The practice of karate was greatly influenced by that of jûdô, a modified form of jûjutsu created by Kanô Jigorô. Kanô devised a ranking system based on *dan/kyû* grades. Kyû (literally, grade) are lower grades, which begin at tenth kyû and proceed to first kyû. First dan (literally, step or rank) follows first kyû and rankings progress from first dan to tenth dan. The tenth kyû is represented by a white belt, and the first dan is represented by a black belt. Karate adopted the jûdô rankings as well as the jûdôgi. With the recognition of rank within the Japanese karate community came an organized curriculum and a somewhat more objective evaluation of knowledge, skills, and abilities. Miyagi Chôjun was the first Okinawan master to submit the name of his system, *Gôjû-ryû* (hard-soft style) *Karate* (Tang hand) to the Dainippon Butokukai. The Butokukai officially recognized karate-dô (empty-hand way) as a ryûha in 1933.

Once the Japanese people accepted karate, the art began to be influenced by the needs of the people, and various innovations were developed that began to give karate a distinctively Japanese character. From the Shuri-di and Naha-di, which the Okinawans brought to Japan, four major styles of Japanese karate began to emerge. Funakoshi Gichin propagated *Shôtôkan,* Ôtsuka Hioronori created the *Wadô-ryû,* Mabuni Kenwa developed *Shitô-ryû,* and Yamaguchi Gôgen spread Gôjû-ryû.

The brand of Shuri-di that Funakoshi Gichin (1868–1957) taught became known as *Shôtôkan* (Shôtô Hall) *Karate* after Funakoshi's poetic

pseudonym, Shôtô (Pine Wave). Realizing that language is culture, Funakoshi Gichin gave the various Shuri-di kata new Japanese names. *Chinto* kata became *Gankaku* (Crane on a Rock), *Jitte* became *Jutte* (Ten Hands), *Kusanku* became *Kankû* (To Look at the Sky), *Naihanchi* became *Tekki* (Horse Riding), *Pinan* became *Heian* (Peaceful Mind), *Patsai* became *Bassai* (To Penetrate a Fortress), *Seisan* became *Hangetsu* (Crescent Moon), *Useishi* became *Gôjûshihô* (Fifty-four Steps), and *Wansu* became *Empi* (Flying Swallow). Funakoshi introduced the *Taikyoku* (Grand Ultimate) kata as beginning forms, and the *Ten no Kata* (Kata of the Universe) as a beginning *kumite* (sparring) form. As the names of these kata imply, however, the principles contained within them are subjects for continual study. Funakoshi Gichin's son, Funakoshi Yoshitaka (Gigô), made modifications in the basic techniques (*kihon*). The side kick (*yoko-geri*), back kick (*ushiro-geri*), and round kick (*mawashi-geri*) were added to the style; the kicking knee was raised; stances became lower; and thrusting with the hips was greatly emphasized. This innovative attitude reflected the views of Funakoshi Gichin, who believed that karate should evolve as human knowledge progressed. In 1949 the Nippon Karate Kyôkai (Japan Karate Association, JKA) was formed. Funakoshi Gichin was honorary chief instructor, Obata Isao was chairman, and Nakayama Masatoshi was the chief instructor. The JKA continues research into the art and science of karate, building upon the philosophy of its founder.

Ôtsuka Hironori (1892–1982) began his martial arts training in Ibaraki, Japan, where he studied *Shindô Yôshin-ryû jûjutsu* under Nakayama Shinzaburô, a style that incorporated various strikes and kicks as well as the conventional jûjutsu *nage-waza* (throws) and *ne-waza* (ground techniques). Ôtsuka received the *menkyo kaiden* (certificate of full proficiency) in the Shindô Yôshin-ryû in 1920, succeeding Nakayama and becoming the fourth headmaster of the ryûha. While attending Waseda University, Ôtsuka studied other forms of jûjutsu and kenpô. Ôtsuka met Funakoshi Gichin in 1922. Impressed by Ôtsuka's dedication to the martial arts and interest in karate, Funakoshi taught Ôtsuka his Shuri-di system. Combining the karate that he learned from Funakoshi and Mabuni Kenwa (of the Shitô-ryû) with various jûjutsu, Toda-ryû, and Yagyû Shinkage-ryû kenjutsu techniques and concepts, Ôtsuka broke away from the Shôtôkan in 1934 and formed a style that would eventually be known as *Wadô* (Way of Peace). Wadô was officially recognized as a ryûha by the Dainippon Butokukai in 1940 under the title Shinshû Wadô jûjutsu. Wadô-ryû uses nine basic kata: Pinan 1–5, Naihanchi, Kusanku, *Seishan* (Seisan), and Chinto. Ôtsuka also developed a series of *yakusoku kumite* (prearranged sparring sets) for further study. In 1972, Ôtsuka Hironori was awarded the title of *meijin* (Excellent Martial Artist of Tenth Dan) in



Left: Practitioners of Japanese karate utilize hard and fast infighting techniques in jiyû-kumite.
Right: Ippon kumite is practiced as a part of the basic curriculum of Japanese karate. (Courtesy of Ron Mottern)

Karate-dô by the Kokusai Budôin (International Martial Arts Federation). Ôtsuka Jirô, Hironori's second son, assumed the leadership of the Wadô-ryû after his father's death.

Mabuni Kenwa (1889–1952) studied Shuri-di under Ankô Itosu (Yasutsune). After studying Shuri-di for some time, Itosu suggested that Mabuni train at the same time with Higashionna (Higaonna) Kanryô in the Naha-di system. Mabuni trained with both Itosu and Higashionna until their deaths in 1915. Mabuni also studied martial arts with Arakaki Seisho and the White Crane instructor Gô Kenki (Okinawan; pinyin Wu Xiangui). In the 1920s, Mabuni traveled to Japan several times, where he participated in public demonstrations of karate. Mabuni taught for a time in Tokyo at the Ryôbukan of Konishi Yasuhiro, a ranking member of the Butokukai, and eventually moved his family to Ôsaka, where he established a dôjô (training hall) in 1929. In 1933, Mabuni's system was registered with the Dainippon Butokukai as Shitô-ryû. Shitô is a contraction of the names of Mabuni's primary karate instructors, Itosu and Higashionna. Rendered into the Chinese *on-yomi,* Itô-Higa is read as Shi-Tô. Mabuni Kenwa structured an official curriculum for the Shitô-ryû that included standardized

terminology for all punches, kicks, strikes, blocks, and training exercises. Mabuni organized and classified the kata taught within his style as either *Itosu-ke* (Itosu lineage) or *Higashionna-ke*. The Itosu-ke includes those kata of the general form and type taught within the Shuri system, while the Higashionna-ke includes those of the type taught within the Naha system. Mabuni also recognized twelve drills, which he classified as *kihon* (beginning) kata. Mabuni Kenzo, Mabuni Kenwa's third son, formed the *Seitô* (Pure) *Shitô-ryû* after his father's death and composed the Mabuni-ke from kata developed and modified from the curriculum developed by Mabuni Kenwa. The Mabuni-ke includes *Shinse, Shinpa,* and *Happôsho* from the Higashionna-ke; *Jûroku, Matsukaze, Aoyagi, Myôjô,* and *Shihôkoksôkun* from the Itosu-ke; *Kenki;* and *Kenshu*. The *Aoyagi* (Green Willow) kata was developed by Mabuni and Konishi Yasuhiro, with a contribution by Ueshiba Morihei, the founder of aikidô. The *Shinpa* (Mind Wave) kata was devised in 1925 by Mabuni and Konishi after visiting Uechi Kanbun, the founder of Uechi-ryû, in Wakayama.

Miyagi Chôjun visited Kyoto in 1928 at the invitation of the jûdô club of Kyoto Teikoku Daigaku (Kyoto Imperial University). He performed at the Butokusai in 1933 and again in 1935, assisted by Yogi Jitsuei. Miyagi visited Japan for intermittent periods between 1934 and 1938 and stayed with Yogi, who was a student at Ritsumeikan University. During this period, Yogi introduced Miyagi to Yamaguchi Yoshimi (Gôgen) (1909–1989), who had established a karate club at Ritsumeikan in 1930. After meeting Miyagi, Yamaguchi adopted the Gôjû style. In order to popularize karate, Yamaguchi created a form of *jiyû-kumite* (free sparring). Although many Okinawan Karateka had experimented with free sparring, jiyû-kumite was not used as a part of the basic karate curriculum prior to its introduction by Yamaguchi. With the addition of the competitive aspect fostered through the use of jiyû-kumite, the practice of karate began to attract adherents in Japan. In 1935, Yamaguchi formed the Karate Kenkyûkai at Ritsumeikan University to further propagate the Gôjû-ryû. Miyagi Chôjun was listed in the club's prospectus as *meiyô shihan* (honorary master teacher), with Yamaguchi and Yogi Jitsuei as *shihan-dai* (assistant instructors). In 1940, Yamaguchi formed The East Asia Martial Arts Mission to give demonstrations of karate throughout Japan.

Yamaguchi served as a military attaché in Manchuria during World War II and was captured by the Russians in 1945. He was released in 1947 and returned to Tokyo. Like many Japanese after the war, Yamaguchi was demoralized. At midnight on January 12, 1948, he went to the Tôgô shrine at Harajuku to commit *seppuku* (ritual suicide). While preparing himself to die, Yamaguchi had a mystical experience in which he perceived that he was supposed to live and that his purpose was to renew the spiritual life of

the Japanese people through the martial arts. True to this vision, Yamaguchi opened a dôjô in 1948 and went on to establish the All Japan Karate-dô Gôjû-kai in 1950, which was to become one of the largest and most powerful karate organizations in Japan. As his spiritual quest continued, Yamaguchi created the Gôjû-Shintô style, which combined Gôjû karate with Shintô and yoga. Yamaguchi's three sons, Gôsei, Gôshi, and Gôsen, as well as his daughter Gôkyoku, continued the teaching responsibilities of the Gôjû-kai after their father's death.

The Gôjû-kai uses the twelve basic kata of Gôjû (*Gekesai daiichi, Gekesai dain, Sanchin, Tenshô, Saifa, Seiyunchin* or *Seienchin, Seisan, Sanseiru, Shi Sho Chin, Seipa, Kururunfa,* and *Suparunpei*) along with the basic *Taikyoku* (grand ultimate) forms (*Taikyoku jôdan* [upper], *Taikyoku chûdan* [middle], and *Taikyoku gedan* [lower]) created by Funakoshi Gichin. Yamaguchi Gôgen modified Funakoshi's basic Taikyoku kata and created *Taikyoku mawashi-uke* and *Taikyoku kake-uke*.

It is evident from an examination of the major Japanese karate styles that their present state is due to an evolution, rather than a simple transmission, of martial ideas and methodologies. The history of karate in Japan is one of dynamic eclecticism. The "traditional" method is one of adaptation, innovation, and progression.

Ron Mottern

See also Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice; Japanese Martial Arts, Chinese Influences on; Karate, Okinawan; Kenpô

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Karate, Okinawan

The development of karate in Okinawa was influenced by civil and martial combative disciplines such as indigenous Okinawan *te* forms and exogenous Japanese and Chinese forms. Significant evolutionary pressures included the Satsuma invasion of Okinawa in A.D. 1609 and sustained cultural cross-pollination with Japan and China (especially Fuzhou, Fujian) throughout Ryûkyû history.

Perhaps the earliest external influences on indigenous Okinawan martial arts were the Japanese martial combative disciplines introduced into the Ryûkyûs by displaced aristocrats during the Heian period (A.D. 794–1185). Seeking refuge from the encroachment of dominant clans on the mainland, minor Japanese houses used the Ryûkyûs as a staging area for retaliatory campaigns. The martial systems brought to the islands by these exiled houses were eagerly absorbed by the Uchinachu (Okinawans).

In 1349 the military chieftain (*aji*) Satto became ruler of the Middle Kingdom of the Ryûkyûs (Chûzan) and entered into a subordinate relationship with China. This relationship continued to be fostered throughout Okinawan history until China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895).

During the reign of King Shô Shin (1477–1526), an edict was passed that forbade the carrying and stockpiling of weapons in Okinawa. The edict was generally disregarded, and weapons continued to be carried by the islanders of Ôshima and Yaeyama during the reign of King Shô Sei (1527–1555). It was not until the Japanese conquest of Okinawa by the Shimazu clan of Kagoshima (the Satsuma) in 1609 that a weapons ban was strictly enforced. With the capitulation of King Shô Nei and the establishment of Satsuma control, *te* (literally, "hand") began to flourish in Okinawa. That te (in Okinawan, *di*) existed prior to this is suggested in a story concerning the creation of the *hidari gomon* (the triple comma symbol, also called *tomoemon* or *tomoe*).

Jana Ueekata was a counselor to King Shô Nei who refused to submit to Satsuma control. Upon being sent to Kagoshima and sentenced to be boiled alive in a vat of oil, Jana requested that as a warrior of Okinawa he be allowed to practice te before his death. Given into the custody of two Satsuma executioners, Jana was released from his bonds and proceeded to

Sensei Ty Yocham of the Texas Okinawan Gôjû Kai Federation demonstrates bunkai from Seiyunchin Kata of the Gôjû-ryû. (Courtesy of Ron Mottern)

perform various te movements. When he was finished and the two executioners approached him to fulfill the death sentence, Jana grabbed them both and plunged into the vat of boiling oil. The bodies of the three men (in death resembling three linked commas) floated to the top of the vat and began to swirl in a counterclockwise direction.

The significant influence of exogenous Chinese combative disciplines on the development of Okinawan civil combative styles may be observed in the use and evolution of the term *karate*. The use of the term *karate* itself, however, indicates a distinction between the styles. In its original form, *tôte* (Japanese; in Okinawan, *toudi*) karate was written with the Chinese characters, indicating that the art had been significantly influenced by the fighting arts of Tang China. Toudi may be translated as "Tang hand." One of the earliest significant exponents of combative arts in Okinawa was Kanga Teruya, also known as Sakugawa Toudi. That Sakugawa studied Chinese forms is evidenced by the appellation Toudi (Tôte). If he had been known for his skill in indigenous forms, one would surmise that he would have been known as Sakugawa Te.

The kanji character for *tô* (Tang) may be pronounced *kara,* which happens to be the same sound as a different word, *kara,* which means "empty." In the early 1920s, Okinawan master Funakoshi Gichin sug-

gested to the karate research group at Keiô University that the character for "Tang" be replaced with that of "empty" in Dainippon Kenpô Karate-dô. The suggestion was vigorously resisted in Okinawa until 1936, when a meeting of karate exponents, sponsored by Ôta Chôfu of the Ryûkyû Shinpô (Ryûkyû Press), agreed that the character for kara should be written as "empty." The term *karate* was thus elevated to the metaphysical realm by embracing reference not only to unarmed combative applications, but to Buddhist and Daoist concepts of transcendent spirituality as well. In this capacity, kara refers to emptying the mind and releasing the body and spirit from all worldly attachment. The participants at this meeting included Miyagi Chôjun, Motobu Chôki, Hanashiro Chômo, and Kyan Chôtoku. Also present were Yabu Kentsû, Shiroma Shimpan, and Chibana Chôshin.

Chinese in Okinawa

In the twenty-fifth year of the Ming dynasty in China (1392), a group of Chinese arrived in Okinawa from Fuzhou and settled in the Kume village (Kuninda) district of Naha. Referred to as the Thirty-Six Families (the number thirty-six denotes a large rather than a specific number), these families taught a variety of Chinese arts to the Okinawans, including Chinese combative arts.

The settlement at the Kume village and the exchange that it fostered prospered through the years, allowing a steady influx of Chinese combative arts into Okinawan culture. It is reported in the *Ôshima Hikki* (the Ôshima Writings) that in the twelfth year of the Hôreki period (1762) the Chinese kenpô expert Kusanku arrived in Okinawa with a group of his students. Some oral traditions assert that Sakugawa Toudi was a pupil of Kusanku. Other Okinawan students included Sakiyama, Gushi, and Tomoyori, of Naha, who studied *Zhao Lingliu* (*Shôrei-ryû*) for some time with the Chinese military attaché Anson. Matsumura Sôkon of Shuri and Maesato and Kogusuku (Kojô) of Kume (Kuninda) studied Shaolin Boxing with the military attaché Iwah. Shimabukuro of Uemonden and Higa, Senaha, Gushi, Nagahama, Arakaki, Higashionna, and Kuwae, all of Kunenboya, studied Zhao Lingliu with the military attaché Wai Xinxian (Waishinzan). The teacher of Gusukuma (Shiroma), Kanagusuku, Matsumura, Oyadomari, Yamada, Nakazato, Yamazato, and Toguchi, all of Tomari, drifted ashore at Okinawa from Annan (a district of Fuzhou or the old name for Vietnam).

Okinawans Abroad

Although oral history relates that Sakugawa Toudi was a student of either Kusanku or his protégé, Yara Chatan, Sakugawa also studied various fight-

Sensei Ty Yocham demonstrates techniques from a White Crane style, which heavily influenced the development of Okinawan karate. (Courtesy of Ron Mottern)

ing styles in Fuzhou, Beijing, and Satsuma and is considered to be instrumental in the development of the combative arts practiced in and around Shuri, Okinawa. Sakugawa's most famous pupil was Matsumura Sôkon "Bushi" (Okinawan, Chikudun Pechin; warrior), who also studied in Fujian and Satsuma. An expert in Jigen-ryû kenjutsu (a sword style of the Satsuma), Matsumura synthesized the martial principles of Jigen-ryû with those of the Chinese combative arts he had learned to form the basis of Shuri-di (Shuri hand).

Higaonna Kanryô (in Japanese, Higashionna) traveled to Fuzhou around 1867 for the specific purpose of learning Chinese fighting arts in order to avenge the death of his father (Higashionna Kanyo). Kanryô lodged in the Ryûkyûkan (Ryûkû trading center) at the Uchinayaru boarding house until Tanmei Kanpû, the manager of the hostel, introduced him to Xie Zhongxiang (nicknamed Ryû Ryû Ko or Liu Liu Kou) Shifu (*shifu,* or *sensei,* is Japanese for "teacher"; in Okinawan, the word is *shinshi;* in Chinese, *laoshi*).

Xie Zhongxiang was a prominent instructor in the Fuzhou area who had studied martial arts at the Southern Shaolin Temple in Fujian. The style that Xie Zhongxiang taught is believed to be either a derivative of *Kingai-Noon* (pinyin *baihequan;* a form of White Crane) or Shi San Tai Bao. Higa-

shionna Kanryô, however, referred to the style only as *gô no kenpô jû no kenpô* (hard-fist method/soft-fist method).

Higashionna Kanryô stayed in China for fourteen years, eventually becoming the *uchi deshi* (Japanese; live-in disciple) of Xie Zhongxiang. Higashionna learned nine empty-hand kata, various weapons kata, and herbal medicine from Xie Zhongxiang. The kata that formed the basis of Xie Zhongxiang's system, which Higashionna brought back to Okinawa in 1881, were *Sanchin* (Fuzhou, *Sanchen;* Mandarin, *San Zhan*), *Saifa* (*Choy Po; Suipo*), *Seiyunchin* (also romanized as *seienchin; Chak in Chen; Zhi San Zhan*), *Shishochin* (*See Heang Chen; Si Xiang Zhan*), *Sepai* (*So Pak; Shi Ba*), *Kururunfa* (*Kew Liew Tong Po; Jiu Liu Dun Po*), *Seisan* (*Sake Sang; Shi San*), and *Suparinpei* or *Pichurin* (*So Pak Ling Pak; Yi Bai Ling Ba*). These nine kata formed the heart, the core curriculum, of Naha-di (Naha hand).

Uechi Kanbun traveled to Fuzhou in 1897 to avoid conscription in the Japanese army. While in China, Uechi studied various combative styles, including Tiger Boxing, which he learned from the Shaolin-trained Zhou Zihe (Japanese, Shu Shiwa). Uechi eventually open his own dôjô (training hall) in China, where he taught an eclectic combination of Tiger, Dragon, and Crane Styles that he referred to as *Pangai-Noon* (pinyin banyingruan; half-hard-half soft). Uechi Kanbun was forced to return to Okinawa in 1907, after one of his students killed a man in a fight. Uechi did not teach Pangai-Noon in Okinawa during this period.

In 1928, Uechi moved his family to Wakayama, Japan. While in Japan, Uechi Kanbun was convinced by Tomoyose Ryûyû to begin teaching his art to other Okinawan expatriates. Uechi returned to Ishima, Okinawa, in 1947 and taught publicly until his death in 1948. The Uechi system is built around three kata: Sanchin, Seisan, and Seiyunchin.

Okinawan Karate

From the eclectic styles disseminated by Matsumura Sôkon (1809–1901) and, later, Higashionna Kanryô (1853–1915) there began to emerge two main schools of karate in Okinawa: Shuri-di and Naha-di, each named for the respective area around which it was propagated. Although *Tomari-di* was originally recognized as a distinct system, the style was later absorbed by Shuri-di, especially as practiced by Itosu Yasutsune. Shuri-di was composed of a variety of forms represented by a core curriculum consisting of Chinto (in Japanese, *Gankaku*), *Jion, Jitte* (*Jute*), *Kusanku* (*Kankû*), *Naihanchi* (*Tekki*), *Pinan* (*Heian*), *Patsai* (*Bassai*), *Rohai* (*Meikyô*), *Seisan* (*Hangetsu*), *Useishi* (*Gôjûshihô*), and *Wansu* (*Empi*) kata. The kata *Rohai* and *Wansu* are forms that were incorporated into the Shuri system from Tomari-di. Naha-di consisted of the kata brought back to Okinawa by

Higashionna Kanryô. Apart from subtle differences influenced by the philosophical bent of the instructors who transmitted their individual styles, the major schools may be distinguished by their type of movement. Shuri-di uses natural stances that facilitate a light, quick type of movement. Naha-di uses the Sanchin (Three Battles) stance, which utilizes stepping in a crescent moon pattern and a heavier, slower type of movement. Sanchin, however, is not the only stance used in Naha-di, and practitioners may move both fast and slow, light and quick.

The schools are also differentiated by their kata. Shuri-di forms are a compilation of various individual physical techniques integrated into a complex form. Naha-di kata are composed of various Buddhist mudras (body forms), which function as *kamae* (Japanese; body positionings) within the kata. Sanchin *dachi* (Japanese; stance) places the practitioner in the *vajra* (in Sanskrit, diamond thunderbolt; in Japanese, *kongô*) mudra. Combined with various breathing patterns and mental exercises, these mudra are designed to be a synergistic system to stimulate *ki* (energy) flow throughout the body and bring the adept to spiritual enlightenment. This is one reason that kata *bunkai* (application) may vary between instructors. In Naha-di, the self-defense applications are gleaned from the mudra.

Although informally known as Shuri-di (Shôrin-ryû) and Naha-di (Shôrei-ryû), these styles were still considered to be toudi. The recognition of karate as an Okinawan art form occurred sometime between 1916, when as a representative of Okinawa, Funakoshi Gichin performed karate at the Butokuden ("Martial Virtues Hall") in Kyoto, and 1936, when the Okinawan masters met at the Ryûkyû Shinpô conference and agreed to change the characters from "China hand" to "empty hand." These two events respectively represented exoteric and esoteric recognition of karate as an Okinawan art.

Shuri-di

The development of Shuri-di after the death of Matsumura Sôkon was largely due to the efforts of his disciples Ankô Itosu (Yasutsune), Ankô Asato, Chibana Chôshin, and Kyan Chôtoku. Itosu created the five Pinan forms as standard teaching tools for the popularization of Shuri-di. He also made significant contributions to having karate introduced into the public school system in Okinawa. In 1901, Itosu introduced karate into the physical education program at the Shuri Jinjo Shôgakkô (Elementary School). His continued efforts on behalf of karate eventually led to its being established as a part of the physical education curriculum throughout the Okinawan school system.

Asato and Itosu were the primary instructors of Funakoshi Gichin, who popularized karate on the Japanese mainland and was largely respon-

sible for having karate recognized by the Dainippon Butokukai (Great Japan Martial Virtues Association) in 1933. Funakoshi Gichin practiced a form of Shuri-di that was later to become known as Shôtôkan Karate. Shôtô (Pine Wave) was the poetic pen name used by Funakoshi. Funakoshi trained many influential Karateka, including Egami Shigeru, who assumed the title of chief instructor of the Shôtôkan after Funakoshi's death in 1957; Nakayama Masatoshi, under whose leadership and guidance the Japan Karate Association developed in 1955; and Ôtsuka Hironori, who founded the Wadô-ryû in 1934.

Chibana Chôshin popularized Shuri-di as taught by Itosu on Okinawa and was the first to refer to the art as Shôrin-ryû (Japanese; Kobayashi-ryû). Chibana's student, Nakazato Sugurô, continued the Kobayashi style.

The influence of Kyan Chôtoku may be seen in the Shôrin-ryû karate of Shimabuku (also Shimabukuro) Eizô, who founded the Shobayashi-ryû. Shimabukuro also studied with Miyagi Chôjun, Motobu Chôki, and his elder brother, Shimabukuro Tatsuo, who was also a student of both Kyan Chôtuku and Miyagi Chôjun. Shimabukuro Tatsuo later combined the teachings of Kyan and Miyagi to form the Isshin-ryû. Shimabukuro Eizô preserved the traditional Shuri-di kata, and after Kyan's death he sought out Chibana Chôshin to correct any alterations in the Shobayashi forms. Nagamine Shôshin trained under Kyan and later formed the Matsubayashi-ryû. Nagamine also trained under Motobu Chôki and Arakaki Ankichi, who was Kyan's student and Nagamine's senior.

Sôken Hohan trained in Shuri-di under Matsumura Nabe, the grandson of Matsumura Sôkon, from whom he learned the White Crane form, Hakutsuru (pinyin baihequan). Sôken immigrated to Argentina in 1920, but returned to Okinawa in 1952 and began teaching Matsumura Orthodox Shôrin-ryû. Kise Fusei continues to teach the Matsumua Orthodox style.

Naha-di

Higashionna (Higaonna) Kanryô (1853–1915) was the living embodiment of Naha-di. Naha-di itself was composed of the philosophy and nine kata that Higashionna brought back from Fuzhou and taught at his home in Nishimura. Between 1905 and 1915, Higashionna taught in the Naha Kuritsu Shôgyô Kôtô Gakkô (Naha Commercial High School) at the invitation of the principal, Kabayama Junichi. Training at the high school consisted of warm-up exercises, *hojo undô* (Japanese; supplementary exercises), Sanchin kata, *kakie* (Japanese; pushing hands), and *yakusoku kumite* (Japanese; fixed sparring).

While his group at the high school was taught karate as a form of physical education, Higashionna's private lessons were designed to transmit the combative principles that he had learned from Xie Zhongxiang.

The training was demanding and severe. Higashionna taught only select students who demonstrated good character. Few of these students were able to persist in Higashionna's training. Higashionna taught warm-up exercises, hojo undô, kakie, yakusoku kumite, and *tokuigata* (Japanese; an individual's best kata). Although he learned weapons forms and herbal medicine in China, Higashionna did not teach these as a part of the Naha-di curriculum.

Higashionna influenced many great Karateka, including Miyagi Chôjun, the founder of Gôjû-ryû; Kyôda Jûhatsu, the founder of Tô On-ryû; and Mabuni Kenwa, who combined the teachings of Higashionna and Itosu Yasutsune to form Shitô-ryû. Higashionna passed the nine kata of Naha-di directly to Miyagi Chôjun.

Miyagi Chôjun (1888–1953) was introduced to Higashionna (Higaonna) Kanryô by Arakaki Ryûkô, a Tomari-di instructor who had gained considerable fame for beating the renowned fighter Motobu Chôki. Miyagi began training with Higashionna in 1902 and continued with Higashionna until the latter's death, after which Miyagi was designated as Higashionna's successor. Like all of Higashionna Kanryô's students, Miyagi was first taught the kata Sanchin. As his tokuigata, Miyagi was then assigned Suparumpei. Higashionna would eventually teach Miyagi the complete Shôrei system.

Miyagi's respect and careful attention to Higashionna in his later years were proverbial in Okinawa. Although Miyagi came from a wealthy family and Higashionna was very poor, Miyagi would prepare meals for his master and serve them on a *takaujin* (Japanese; special tray) in a manner befitting only the highest social class. These acts of loyalty and devotion became known on Okinawa as *Magusuku no takaujin* (the Tray of Miyagi).

Miyagi took two trips to China for the purpose of conducting research into the origins of Naha-di. He took his first trip to Fuzhou in 1915 with Nakamoto Eishô and the second sometime between 1920 and 1930 with the Chinese national Wu Xiangui (Gokenki), a White Crane stylist. Miyagi amassed considerable information during his first visit, and he reported that the art taught by Higashionna was developed in 1828. The remainder of Miyagi's information and artifacts were lost in the bombing of Okinawa during World War II. It was also during this visit to China that Miyagi observed the Chinese kata Rokkishu, which he later developed into the kata Tenshô. Miyagi also developed the *junbi undô* (Japanese; warm-up exercises) at this time.

The All Japan Martial Arts Demonstration was performed in Tokyo on May 5, 1930, to celebrate Crown Prince Hirohito's succession to the throne. Miyagi sent his top student, Shinzato Jinan, to represent him. After performing Sanchin and Seisan, Shinzato was asked the name of his style. At this time, the art had no name and was simply referred to as Naha-di. Shinzato

returned to Okinawa and reported the incident to Miyagi. After careful consideration, Miyagi named the style Gôjû (hard-soft), using as a reference a passage from the eight *Kenpô Haku* (Poems of the Fists) contained in the *Bubishi: Hô gôjû donto* (The Way is to breathe both hard and soft, a "master text" of Okinawan karate). In 1933, *karate-dô* (empty-hand way) was recognized as a *ryûha* (official martial art) and admitted into the Dainippon Butokukai. It was at that time that Miyagi submitted the name Gôjû-ryû Karate (Toudi, or Tôte) to be registered with the organization. Miyagi, however, never referred to the style as Gôjû, but rather as *bu* (martial arts) or te.

The Karate Kenkyûkai (Karate Research Club) was formed at Ritsumeikan Daigaku (University) in 1935. Miyagi Chôjun was listed as *meiyô shihan* (honorary master teacher), with Yogi Jitsuei and Yamaguchi "Gôgen" Yoshimi as shihan-dai (assistant instructors) in the prospectus for the club, submitted in 1936. Yamaguchi would eventually lead the Gôjû-ryû movement in Japan and form the Gôjû-kai. In his later years, Yamaguchi created the Gôjû-Shintô style.

Realizing a need to foster the spread of karate, Miyagi began to develop forms that could be used both for physical development and to transmit basic karate principles without requiring years of intensive study. Miyagi created the kata *Gekesai dai ichi* and *Gekesai dai ni* in 1940 to achieve this goal. Due to Miyagi's death in 1953, *Gekesai dai san* was unfinished until Toguchi Seikichi completed the form. After Miyagi's death, Yagi Meitoku formed the Meibukan, Miyazato Eiichi formed the Jundôkan, and Toguchi Seikichi formed the Shôreikan.

Miyagi Chôjun never awarded dan ranks. He believed that character was more important than rank, and that classification only led to division. The belt system was adopted in Japan, and later in Okinawa. Miyagi taught Sanchin kata and then assigned tokuigata. The twelve kata of the Gôjû-ryû (Gekesai dai ichi, Gekesai dai ni, Sanchin, Tenshô, Saifa, Seiyunchin, Seisan, Sanseiryû, Shisôchin, Seipai, Kururunfa, and Sûpaarinpei) were passed from Miyagi to Miyagi Anichi. Yagi, Miyazato, Toguchi, Kina, Higa, and the remainder of Miyagi's former students learned the entire repertoire of Gôjû kata from each other. Okinawan Gôjû-ryû Karate Bujutsu, under the leadership of Higashionna Morio, was officially recognized as a *Kobudô* (Ancient Martial Art) by the Nihon Kobudô Kyôkai (Japanese Ancient Martial Arts Association) in 1997.

Ron Mottern

See also Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice; Japanese Martial Arts, Chinese Influences on; Kenpô; Kobudô, Okinawan; Okinawa

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Kata

See Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice

Kendô

Kendô, the Japanese martial art of fencing, is a form of physical culture that developed from combat swordsmanship techniques of Japanese warriors. When these techniques lost practical value, they were still practiced for educational, health, spiritual, and sporting purposes and ultimately developed into modern kendô. There is a plethora of terms for swordsmanship: *tachihaki, tachihiuchi, heihô* (*hyôhô*), *kenjutsu,* and gekken among them. But since the mid-1920s, kendô has been used almost exclusively. There is also another modern martial art derived from traditional swordsmanship, *iaidô,* a noncombative form that involves both physical and mental discipline.

Premodern History

Japan's earliest chronicles, from the eighth century A.D., contain many references to use of the sword and other bladed weapons. Indeed, the sword was one of the three sacred treasures that the sun goddess Amaterasu gave to the grandson whom she sent down to rule over the Japanese islands. The techniques of forging swords came from the continent via the Korean peninsula, and the earliest swords of bronze date from the fourth century A.D. These early swords were double-edged broad swords like those common in China, and they were less useful as weapons than as symbols of authority for the powerful. Soon technology improved, and swords became effective weapons. It was not until the rise of the warrior class in the tenth century, however, that the peculiar curved sword commonly associated with the samurai—the *tachi*—came into wide usage. For most of the premodern era, Japanese warriors practiced comprehensive martial techniques, requiring familiarity with several weapons. Even then, the sword was an auxiliary weapon for most samurai, whose reputations were generally established through feats of prowess with the bow and arrow.

In the late Kamakura and Muromachi periods (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries), the techniques of producing superior swords reached the height of development, corresponding to the rise of the warrior class to a position of power. Especially after the two major encounters with the Mongol invading armies of the thirteenth century, warfare began to change in Japan; massed armies with large numbers of foot soldiers began to replace mounted warfare. The introduction of the gun in the mid-sixteenth century revolutionized warfare and heightened the tendency toward massed armies using bladed weapons. During the continuous battles of the so-called Warring States Era (1477–1573), many great swordsmen emerged to codify the techniques of use of the sword into specific schools (*ryûha*) of swordsmanship.

Thus by the late sixteenth century, somewhat later than equestrian skills, archery, and other forms of martial arts, swordsmanship began to be organized, codified, written down in formal fashion, and transmitted from teacher to pupil in the manner of other martial arts. The oldest schools were *Shintô-ryû, Kage-ryû,* and *Chûjô-ryû*. Ryûha proliferated to well over 700 during the subsequent Tokugawa period (1600–1867).

An important transition in martial arts, including swordsmanship, occurred in the Tokugawa era, when Japan entered a long period of peace and the demand for battlefield training for warriors declined dramatically. Among the factors affecting the learning, teaching, and practice of swordsmanship were peaceful conditions, rapid urbanization, widespread literacy, and the professionalization of arts such as swordsmanship. Samurai were less warriors than bureaucrats in the service of their lords or the Tokugawa *bakufu* (alone).

The system of comprehensive martial skills broke down, and lance, sword, archery, and other techniques became specialized into separate schools. Professional teachers emerged, passing along the techniques within families of instructors who dispensed certificates of mastery in return for compensation. With the spread of Confucian and Zen Buddhist learning, texts exploring the philosophical implications of techniques (*waza*) and mental awareness (*shin*) proliferated, and swordsmanship became an important ingredient of samurai training and discipline. A number of important texts explicating the techniques and spiritual discipline of swordsmanship were written from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, including such well-known works as Yagû Munenori's *Heihô kadensho,* Takuan's *Fudôchi shimmyôroku,* and Miyamoto Musashi's *Gorin no sho*.

Under peaceful conditions, swordsmanship was practiced mainly through the repetition of forms (kata) that often came far removed from battlefield practicality. Sword practice was closed and secretive, and matches between different schools were discouraged if not forbidden. Prac-

Teachers and future teachers of the Hokubei Butokukai, Japan, ca. 1936. In the back row are Yamamoto (1-dan), Nakamura Sensei (6-dan), and Hirano (5-dan). The front row includes Hara (2-dan), Muruyama (4-dan), Fujii Sensi (4-dan), and Imada (2-dan). Although partially blocked, the sign appears to read "dedication meeting." (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

tice was limited to the constant repetition of kata, whose numbers increased with the proliferation of new schools. The focus on kata came to be criticized as excessive reliance upon empty and beautiful forms, with little combat practicality. It was derided as "flowery swordsmanship."

Criticism of such practices finally resulted in the development of bamboo swords and body protection that allowed warriors to practice striking one another in simulated combat, called *shinai uchikomi keiko*. It marked the arrival of competitive fencing matches. Criticized by purists, this form of early fencing, which first arose in the mid-eighteenth century, became dominant by the end of the Tokugawa period. Training halls were developed in major urban centers as well as the domain schools of most lords. The practice of competitive fencing spread beyond the samurai to townsmen and farmers as well.

There was a noticeable upswing in the popularity of martial arts, especially swordsmanship, in the wake of foreign intrusions into Japanese territory in the mid-nineteenth century. Both local domain academies and the Tokugawa bakufu established martial arts training halls for their warriors. At its Kobusho (Institute for Martial Training), the bakufu appointed

only noted fencers from ryûha practicing combat fencing to train its vassals, ignoring its own shôgunal fencing instructors, who were purely focused upon kata training. When the Tokugawa regime was toppled in brief warfare in the mid-nineteenth century, most of the warrior leaders who led the revolt, as well as the major supporters of the regime, had studied swordsmanship by means of training in combat fencing. This experience was to determine the development of modern kendô.

Modern History

The men who overthrew the Tokugawa regime ushered in the Meiji Restoration, a period of rapid modernization. The samurai class was abolished, and along with it, the right to wear swords. Swordsmanship instructors lost their jobs, and interest declined precipitously as Japan sought modern weapons of warfare. Several institutions, however, kept swordsmanship alive and helped its transformation into kendô.

Sakikibara Kenkichi gathered skilled fencers and other martial artists into a performance company (*gekken kaisha*) that appeared around the country, offering competitive matches to curious audiences that helped to maintain interest, employ skilled swordsmen, and spread formerly secret knowledge among a broader populace. After witnessing success with swords and spears in the so-called Seinan War of the late 1870s, the Tokyo Metropolitan Police began to develop training methods in swordsmanship, break down differences between ryûha, establish regularized kata, and promote the popularity of kendô.

In 1895, when the Heian Shrine was built in Kyoto to commemorate the 1100th anniversary of the founding of the city, a martial arts hall (*Butokuden*) was established as well as an organization (the Dainippon Butokukai) to organize and promote training in the martial arts, including swordsmanship. The Butokukai held its first annual tournament in that same year, in a mood of martial fervor that accompanied the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, which quickly ended in a victory for Japan. The Butokukai was greatly responsible for the training of teachers, establishment of standards, and the further proliferation of interest in kendô.

The Japanese school system also helped to popularize kendô, although ironically it was slow to add kendô to its curriculum. The Meiji government consistently supported European-style physical education and routinely struck down proposals to allow jûdô and kendô into the curriculum. Nonetheless, kendô flourished as an extracurricular activity, and the government finally relented and allowed it to become a regular part of the physical education curriculum from 1911 on. Thereafter, the All Japan Student Kendô Federation greatly contributed to the spread of kendô. There were also various industrial and other organizations of kendô en-

thusiasts, and indeed it was even propagated in Japan's colonies, Taiwan, and Korea.

During World War II, kendô, along with all other forms of physical education, became little more than a vehicle to strengthen national defense and nurture the nationalistic spirit of Japanese schoolboys. Consequently, kendô was abolished during the Allied Occupation, along with other martial arts and the Dainippon Butokukai. Yet kendô made a strong comeback after the end of the Occupation, largely by emphasizing the sporting element, purging the remnants of nationalism associated with the imperial Japanese government, and stressing competition for all people: young and old, men and women. It was already reinstated in the school curriculum by 1953, and it was given a great boost in popularity after the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and the rise of interest in national sports. Today there are numerous organizations sponsoring kendô tournaments, organized around schools (both student and teacher groups), gender, geographical region, place of employment, and other factors, all operating under the umbrella of the Zen Nihon Kendô Remmei (All-Japan Kendô Federation).

Kendô has become an international sport. As Japanese martial arts became popular from the 1960s on, organizations like the Japan Foundation dispatched national coaches abroad, helping to raise both the level of awareness of and skill in kendô, especially outside former Japanese colonial territory. In 1965 the first international tournament was held in Taipei; and in 1967, at the hundredth anniversary of the Meiji Restoration, the All-Japan Kendô Federation invited athletes from ten countries to an international tournament. Again in 1970, at the Ôsaka Exposition, another international tournament was held, and the International Kendô Federation (IKF) was formed, with seventeen participating national bodies. IKF currently holds international competitions every three years in different places around the globe.

Ranking and Competition

In late medieval times swordsmanship instruction began to be systematized, so that instructors taught students in graded ranks; but in the modern period the Dainippon Butokukai created a ranking system in 1902 that has remained relatively consistent. Currently there are six *kyû* (literally, grade) ranks for beginners and ten *dan* (literally, rank) degrees for more advanced kendôists, ranked upwards from first degree to tenth. Degrees one through eight are awarded in examination, and the last two degrees are awarded by the respective head of the organization after nomination and appropriate examination. For those above fifth degree, there are three honorary degrees for instructors—*Renshi, Kyôshi,* and *Hanshi*—awarded on the basis not only of demonstrated skill, but also of

leadership, ability in judging character, and facilitation of the advancement of kendô.

Training in kendô involves first mastering basic movements, called *waza* (techniques): stances, footwork, cuts, thrusts, feints, and parries. These can then be practiced in basic forms, or kata. Then fencers can engage in freestyle practice (*keiko*). Competitive matches are referred to as *shiai keiko*.

Competition among fencers who have mastered the basic techniques involves fencers in prescribed gear—mask, chest, wrist, and groin/thigh protectors—and holding a bamboo sword, called *shinai,* which differs in length depending upon age. Junior high school fencers use shinai up to 112 centimeters in length and between 375 and 450 grams in weight; high school fencers use up to 115-centimeter shinai weighing between 450 and 500 grams; and adult fencers use shinai that are up to 118 centimeters in length and weigh more than 500 grams. The fencers wear *keikogi* (jackets) and *hakama* (pleated trousers), approximating the dress of Tokugawa samurai.

The fencers meet in rings measuring between 9 and 11 meters on a side, and they compete in matches decided by scoring two of three points. Within the five-minute time limit, the fencer who scores the first two points, or the only point, will be declared the winner. Ties result in a three-minute extension. There are usually a judge and two referees, each of whom uses a red and white flag to designate successful points. Points are scored by striking the opponent with prescribed cuts: cuts to the center of the head or oblique cuts to the temple accompanied by the call *"men!"* (head); cuts to either side of the body with the call of *"dô!"* (chest); and cuts to either wrist with the accompanying call *"kote!"* (wrist). A point can also be won with a thrust to the throat, with the call *"tsuki!"* (thrust). A fencer must deliver thirteen cuts with proper posture and spirit to be awarded a point. Normally, two officials are required to agree in order to award a point.

Kendô is thus largely a competitive sport today, but it retains an association with earlier swordsmanship in its concern for decorum, ritual, character development, and spirit.

G. Cameron Hurst III

See also Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice; Japan; Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan; Swordsmanship, Japanese

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Kenpô

A twentieth-century martial art based on the older kempô tradition of Okinawa and Japan. Kenpô is primarily an empty-hand, fist art. It is translated as "Law of the Fist" or "Fist Law." The modern kenpô systems use a variety of hand strikes known to martial artists as finger thrusts, claws, half fist, full fist (horizontal and vertical), hammer fist, *shuto* (Japanese; edge of the hand "chop"), and ridge hand/reverse hand sword, among others. Kenpôists also may use low-line kicks that are directed below the opponent's waist. The basic five kicks employed are labeled the front snap, the side thrust, the rear thrust, the roundhouse or wheel kick, and the front thrust kick. Some kenpô styles include other kicks such as the flying side kick, inside crescent utilizing the inner edge of the kicking foot, outside crescent with the outer edge of the foot, heel hook, and the spinning back kick. Strikes with the knees, forearms, wrists, and elbows are also found within some kenpô styles. It is quite common to find kenpô styles that are taught in conjunction with jûjutsu techniques, featuring joint locking, throws, takedowns, and submission chokes.

Early History

The exact origins of the art that gave rise to the systems that came to be identified as kenpô are shrouded by myths and legends. There is, however, sufficient circumstantial evidence of a long series of ministerial, cultural, religious, and commercial exchanges between China and Okinawa to support the contention that Chinese boxing had a major impact on the indigenous systems of Okinawa that emerged as karate in the nineteenth century.

The Chinese martial arts that the Okinawans developed into kenpô were collectively known by the Mandarin term *quanfa* (*ch'uan' fa*) or the Cantonese term *ken-fat*. This is romanized as *kenpô* (or, in the works of some authors, kempô) in Japanese, and means "way of the fist," or "fist law." It has been suggested that quanfa was first introduced to the Ryûkyû Islands during the sixth and seventh centuries by visiting Buddhist monks and seafaring traders. These arts were most likely from Fuzhou. In 1392, thirty-six (signifying "many" in the Okinawan worldview rather than a precise number) Chinese families from Fujian province moved to Kumemura,

Japanese men and women practicing Kenpô, ca. 1955. (Hulton Archive)

outside of Naha, Okinawa. It is believed that they brought with them the knowledge of several quanfa systems, which they taught on Okinawa. Two distinct styles of kenpô developed within Okinawa over the course of time: Jû-no-kenpô (soft style) and Gô-no-kenpô (hard style).

Modern Systems of Kenpô

Nippon Kempô and Goshidô Kempô are modern Japanese arts that combine Okinawan kenpô roots with jûjutsu and kendô (modern Japanese fencing). Both arts have blended techniques from the older Japanese arts to form new and effective modern self-defense systems. Blending weapons techniques with empty-hand arts is not a new idea in Japan. As Oscar Ratti and Adele Westbrook note, it is "possible to detect techniques clearly inspired by the use of swords, sticks, parriers and whirling blades" in several Japanese empty-hand arts such as jûjutsu, aikidô, aikijutsu, and kenpô (1973, 344). As Karl Friday demonstrates in his study of the *Kashima-Shinryû,* the traditional *ryûha* (Japanese; systems or schools) developed sciences of combat that provided frameworks for both their armed and unarmed disciplines. Other continuities are manifest in the modern karate hand weapons known as the *yawara* stick descendants of the Hindu *vajara*. The vajara, according to Ratti and Westbrook, was held within the fist; it con-

sisted of sharpened prongs at both ends that could be used "to inflict paralyzing damage on the opponent's vital organs in accordance with the techniques and strategic dictates of kenjutsu [martial use of the sword] and tessen-jutsu [martial use of an iron fan]" (324). Later, after World War I, Nakano Michiomi Sô Dôshin founded the *Nippon Shôrinji Kenpô* (NSK) system. The art blends an older form of Shaolin Boxing with jûjutsu and *Daitô-ryû aikijutsu*. The emphasis of NSK is on joint locks and throws that incapacitate the opponent but do not inflict serious bodily injury or death.

Older Okinawan masters maintain a tradition of the Chinese origin of kenpô. One such master is Motobu Chôki, who stated in 1926 that "Ryukyu Kenpô-Karate originally came from China. Sanchin, Go-jushi-ho, Seisan, Seyuchin [kata from various Ryukyu systems at the time of the publication of his book] have been used there for many centuries." Motobu wrote, "I am inclined to believe that this art was taught by Chinese men since there were many contacts made between Ryukyu and China from ancient days" (1926, 17). Despite Motobu's assertion of the historical importance of the traditional kata, however, one of Motubu's earliest Japanese students, Yamada Tatsuô, founded Nippon Kempô Karate, a system that stressed kumite ("sparring") over kata ("forms").

Contemporary Kenpô Karate

The kenpô variants are derivatives of the systems that were first taught in Hawaii by Dr. James M. Mitose and William Kwai Sun Chow, beginning in the late 1930s. Under the leadership of William K. S. Chow, the modern Hawaiian kenpô styles added more circular motions to the art than were taught under the *Koshô-ryû Kempô-Jujitsu* style of Dr. James Mitose. Professor Chow opened his first school in 1949 under the name of Kenpô Karate. This was the first time that the two words had been combined.

The modern era Hawaiian kempô/kenpô styles owe their existence to the Japanese and Okinawan based Koshô-ryû Kempô-Jujitsu system of Dr. James Mitose. The Okinawan connection is through his uncles, Motobu Chôyû and Motobu Chôki.

Dr. James Mitose (Kenpôsai Koshô) was born in pre-statehood Hawaii in 1916. At the age of 4, he was sent to Japan to be educated and trained in the family tradition that would eventually culminate in his being named the twenty-first headmaster of the Koshô-ryû Kempô System. It is most likely that he was educated and trained at a Buddhist temple on Mount Kinai, in a village called Izumi. According to Dr. Mitose, the Koshô-ryû Kempô-Jujitsu style was brought directly from the Shaolin Temple to Japan in the late 1500s by members of his clan. The art was modified by successive family masters until the new Koshô-ryû (Old Pine Tree Style) was developed. According to Thomas Barro Mitose, the current Koshô-ryû

Kempô grand master, the temple where his father studied was administered by the Koshôgi monks, and they combined jûjutsu with Shaolin Boxing to form the martial arts component of a much broader spiritual/philosophical system. Therefore, it is assumed that Dr. Mitose studied the Buddhist religion juxtaposed with his kempô training. It would also seem reasonable that he spent time with both of his uncles, Motobu Chôyû and Motobu Chôki. At least one author, John La Tourrette, believes that Dr. Mitose actually taught Motobu Chôki's "Shôrei Karate Kempô under the system banner of Koshô-ryû Kenpô Juijitsu" (1981, 29).

However, Dr. Mitose taught that Koshô-ryû Kempô was not a variation of Okinawan kenpô, "even though some of the kata of Koshô-ryû resemble, and in a few instances are duplicated in, certain karate styles" (Corcoran and Farkas 1983, 355). There is also a strong similarity between the techniques shown in Motobu Chôki's 1926 publication, *Ryukyu Kempô Karate-jutsu. Kumite* (Okinawan Kempô: Karate-jutsu. Sparring Techniques), and Dr. Mitose's 1953 publication, *What Is Self Defense?* (Kenpô Jui-jitsu). The major difference between the two books seems to be the strong emphasis placed on punching and low-line kicks in Motobu's book, while the Mitose text is very strong on the jujutsu escape defenses, weapon defenses, and techniques that could be applied by women and girls.

Dr. Mitose returned to Hawaii in 1936. In 1942, he organized the Official Self Defense Club and began to train both civilians and servicemen "regardless of their race, color, creed or religion" (Mitose 1953). Between 1942 and 1953, Dr. Mitose promoted six students to *shôdan* (first degree black belt) rank: Nakamura Jirô, Thomas Young, Edward Lowe, Paul Yamaguchi, Arthur Keawe, and William K. S. Chow. William Chow proved to be the most innovative and dynamic of the Mitose students.

It is believed that Chow had studied both boxing and judo before he became a student of Mitose. Some versions of his biography claim that Chow's father taught him kung fu techniques before he met Dr. Mitose, but this remains controversial.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that Chow did train with Dr. Mitose. Also established is the fact that a training partner under Dr. Mitose was Thomas Young, who had extensive knowledge of kung fu. Around 1946, Chow left the Koshô-ryû Kempô group to open his own school. At that time he changed the spelling of *kempô* to *kenpô* and added the term *karate* to his stylistic title. Chow reintroduced some of the circular movements of kung fu, or quanfa (ch'uan' fa), to his version of kenpô, elements that had been removed by the Mitose clan during the development of Koshô-ryû Kempô in Japan.

Over the course of his long teaching career, Professor Chow changed the name of his particular style several times, and the last name change was

to *Kara-hô Kenpô*. By substituting the label *kara-hô* for *karate*, he sought to emphasize his own Chinese heritage and acknowledge the Chinese roots of his system. Regardless of the name changes, his roster of black belt students is very impressive. A few of his better-known students are Adriano Emperado, Ralph Castro, Bobby Lowe, John Leone, Paul Pung, Ed Parker, and Sam Kuoha.

Currently, the modern spelling, kenpô, is indicative of a very vibrant, innovative set of martial arts subsystems that are rooted in the Koshô-ryû Kempô Jiujitsu Style of Dr. James Mitose. Professor William Chow's dynamic personality and persistent curiosity breathed new life into the kempô/kenpô arts. He was a major influence on the development of the Kajukenbo System, under Professor Adriano Emperado; the American Kenpô Karate System, founded by the late grand master Ed Parker; and the American Shaolin Kenpô System, headed by Grand Master Ralph Castro.

Beyond that direct and immediate influence, Professor Chow is a figure in the lineage for such diverse kenpô groups as Al and Jim Tracy's Tracy System of Kenpô. The Tracy group claims to have over a thousand club and school affiliates teaching their system of kenpô. In addition they offer a wide selection of training videos, audiotapes, and business-related materials for martial artists. A number of prominent kenpô stylists have trained with the Tracys: Joe Lewis, Jay T. Will, Al Dascascos, Steve "Nasty" Anderson, and Dennis Nackord.

The modern era of kenpô has given rise to a number of groups that have the common denominator of being offshoots of the Hawaiian kenpô roots first established by Dr. Mitose and Professor Chow. The following are just a few of them: CHA-3 (Central Hawaiian Authority #3, the housing project where Grand Master Marino Tiwanak first taught; later referred to by some as the Chinese Hawaiian Association) Kenpô, Hawaiian Kenpô Karate (founded by Grand Master Bill Ryusaki), Worldwide Kenpô Karate Association (Masters Joe Palanzo and Richard "Huk" Planas), United Kenpô Systems (Master Joe Hawkins), The Malone Kenpô Karate Association (Grand Master Ron Malone), the National Chinese Kenpô Association (Steve La Bounty and Gary Swan), John McSweeny's Kenpô Karate Association, and Chinese Kara-hô Kenpô Association headed by Grand Master Sam Kuoha, successor to Professor W. K. S. Chow.

Currently, kenpô is a dynamic martial art. A careful reading of the history of this art indicates that innovation and change are its hallmarks. The art appears to have developed in China and over time was transplanted to Okinawa, Japan, and pre-statehood Hawaii, a martial system as flexible and adaptable as the people who have embraced it.

C. Jerome Barber

See also Kajukenbo; Karate, Japanese; Karate, Okinawan

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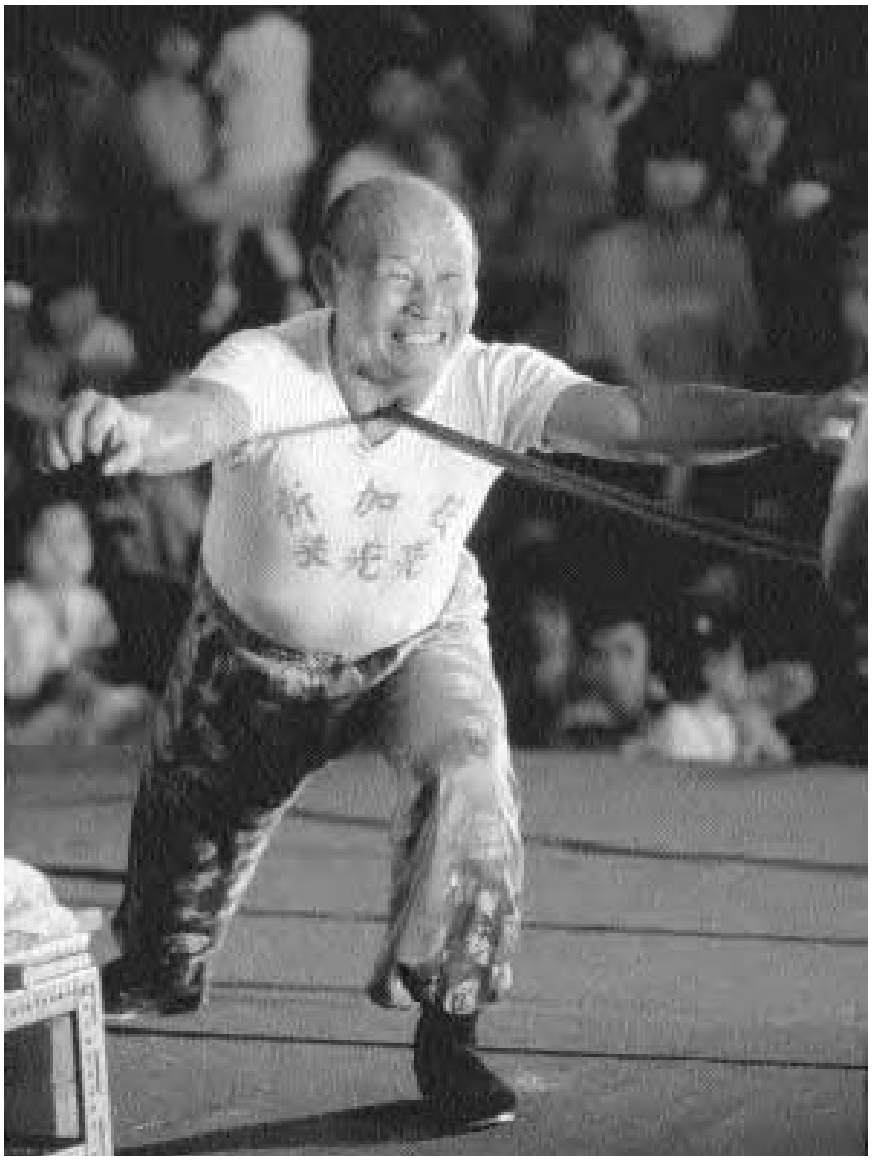
Ki/Qi

Ki is an essential psychobiological force, which may be cultivated by and utilized in the practice of the martial arts. Throughout history, the goals of martial artists have varied between victory in combat and self-cultivation and enlightenment. One of the major theoretical assumptions of the traditional martial arts in China and Japan is an animatistic concept of impersonal power known as *qi* (*ch'i*) in Chinese or *ki* in Japanese. Most often described as a bioelectric life force or psychophysical energy, qi is also commonly referred to as vital breath, subtle energy, and directed intention. Qi is thought to circulate through all living things, and even though it is



Qigong masters demonstrate the power of qi by bending swords or spears thrust into their throats. (Patrick Ward/Corbis)

often a vague concept, most traditional martial arts prescribe methods of cultivating and directing this subtle energy for higher-level students. The benefits are said to include longevity, good health, power to heal injuries, and power to injure opponents and to break objects.

According to traditional Sino-Japanese medical theory, qi not only permeates the universe, it also flows through the human body along paths or meridians. The flow of qi can be regulated through acupuncture, massage, or mental intent. Indeed, some researchers suggest that qi is both emotional and physiological.

Qi is particularly important in the Daoist-influenced Chinese internal martial arts, taijiquan (tai chi ch'uan), baguazhang (pa kua ch'uan), and xingyiquan (hsing i ch'uan) and in the Japanese arts most affected by aiki-

jujitsu. Martial artists learn to concentrate qi in the lower dantian (a spot in the lower abdomen about three inches below the navel) and sometimes use special breathing, relaxation, and visualizations to control and direct the qi throughout their bodies.

Martial arts applications of qi theory vary but basically range from use of *kiai* (Japanese; spirit yell, energy unification), in which the lower abdomen forcefully expels air with a shout such as *"Tô,"* to the development of ESP-like abilities, such as the ability to anticipate an opponent's attack. There are many other paranormal claims made, including the ability to sense danger before it happens, control the weather, and heal with qi.

Meditation using qi energy, such as *qigong* (exercise or effort focused on exercising qi) meditation, appears to have physiological effects on the body and brain. Shih Tzu Kuo notes that the deep relaxation that comes with meditation reduces stress, lowers blood pressure, lowers adrenaline and lactate, and reduces oxygen consumption.

Critics of the qi concept suggest that qi is not a separate force but is simply the correct utilization of breath, mental focus, body weight, timing, and physics. By synchronization of these factors one can achieve a synergistic effect without recourse to such mystical concepts as qi.

Qi is closely associated with breath but appears in several varieties in Daoist lore. *Jing Qi* is a yin (the passive or negative element of the two complementary forces of yin and yang in Chinese cosmology) form of qi closely associated with sexual energy. *Yuan Qi* is the original energy that one inherits with one's body and, according to some Daoists (Taoists), when Yuan Qi is finally dissipated, one dies. *Shen,* or heavenly qi, is associated with spiritual energy. Qi also can be seen as the bridge of energy that connects the physical body/essence to the spiritual body. Cultivation of qi is a vital part of many Asian meditative systems, and these systems have been very influential in the development of traditional martial arts.

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See also Aikidô; External vs. Internal Chinese Martial Arts; Medicine, Traditional Chinese; Meditation; Religion and Spiritual Development: China; Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan

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Knights

Knight and related words (whose underlying senses are "boy" and thence "male servant") have been used in English since shortly after the Norman Conquest of 1066 as the equivalents of the French *chevalier* and its cognates (e.g., Italian *cavaliere,* Castilian *caballero*). All of these words were derived from the Low Latin *caballarius* (horseman), which had been used since at least A.D. 800 in the empire of the Franks to designate a type of soldier introduced into the Frankish armies ca. 740: a heavy cavalryman, initially protected by a round wooden shield, conical iron helmet, and mail tunic or *brunia,* and armed with a long lance with an iron head and a long, straight, double-edged slashing sword called a *spatha* in Greek and Latin and a **swerdom* in Old Common Germanic. At what point in their history the Frankish caballarii deserve to be called by the modern English name "knight" is a matter of dispute among historians, but down to at least the later tenth century it is better to refer to them as "protoknights," since they still lacked some of the technical military characteristics of the classic knight and all of the social and ideological characteristics of classic knighthood. In most regions where caballarii existed, they did not begin to acquire these additional characteristics until around 1050, and it is only from that time that the term *knight* (whose Old English ancestor was coincidentally first applied to them in 1066) should be applied to them in any context.

The Frankish caballarii or protoknights had been modeled directly on the *klibanarioi* of the Byzantine Empire in southern Italy, who themselves were derived directly from the *cataphracti* of the later Roman armies, and indirectly from the heavy cavalry of the Parthians and ultimately of the Sarmatians of the third century B.C. The early caballarii resembled their Roman and Byzantine precursors in being nothing more than cavalry soldiers who were provided with the best available armor, arms, mounts, equipment, and training, and who fought in units whose principal purpose was to overwhelm and terrify their enemies through a combination of weight, momentum, and virtual invulnerability. The true knights of the period between 1050 and about 1550 continued to function in the same way, using a greatly improved version of the traditional shock tactics made possible by technical improvements in their equipment, and the core definition of the knight always included an ability to fight in this way. Given the nature of warfare in the period, protoknights and their successors were frequently obliged to fight dismounted, and became equally adept in the secondary role of heavy infantry. Nevertheless, although knights eventually adopted additional striking weapons—the mace, battle-ax, war-hammer, dagger, and club—they would continue to rely primarily on the lance and sword, and would never make regular use of projectile weapons like the bow,

crossbow, or harquebus. Thus, the essence of knightly warfare remained close combat in full armor, either on horse or on foot.

The knight also remained until the fifteenth century the most valued and privileged form of soldier on the field of battle, though much of the prestige the classic knight enjoyed was derived from the high social status knights had collectively achieved and the intimate relationship that had come to exist between the ideology of knighthood and that of nobility. Unlike the protoknights and their preclassic successors, who were for the most part men of humble birth and standing, the classic knight was always a nobleman and usually a territorial lord, and moreover formed part of a nobility whose greater members, from the emperor down to the most lowly baron, were invariably admitted to the order of knighthood when they reached legal adulthood. Furthermore, the ideology of chivalry, or "knightliness"—created only in the twelfth century—had come to be the dominant ideology of the nobility as a whole, and its code of conduct was universally recognized, if not always followed.

The history of knighthood (a term reserved for the status of knight, per se) is the history first of the perfection of its military character to the level of its classic characteristics, then of its social elevation to the condition of noble dignity and its simultaneous association with the ideology of chivalry, and then of the gradual demilitarization of that dignity to the point where it became purely honorific and served only to convey rank within the nobility. These periods correspond to quite different stages in the history of the status, which for clarity must be designated by different names, and discussed separately as six distinct phases that may be recognized in the history of the status: (1) protoknighthood (ca. 740–1000/1100), (2) preclassic knighthood (950/1100–1150/1200), (3) protoclassic knighthood (1150/1200–1250/1300), (4) high classic knighthood (1250/1300–1430/50), (5) late classic knighthood, (1430/50–1600/25), and (6) postclassic knighthood (1600/25–present). Each of these phases may be divided into two or three subphases, which may be designated earlier or early, middle, and later or late.

Protoknighthood (ca. 740–ca. 1000/1100)

During the earliest stage in the history of knighthood, the term normally used to designate these warriors in the sources (still exclusively in Latin) was *caballarius*, and the caballarii were still nothing more than elite heavy cavalrymen, with no distinctive social position or professional code. Throughout this phase the social condition of the protoknights remained humble, and the great majority seem to have been free but ignoble and landless dependents of the noble magnates, maintained in their households as military servants. Finally, throughout this phase protoknights remained

A medieval manuscript illumination depicting knights battling. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

confined geographically to what may be called Great Francia—the Frankish empire and its successor states—and after about 900 were only common in the northern half of one of those states, the Kingdom of West Francia or France.

From ca. 740 to ca. 840, the earliest caballarii were probably raised as part of the expanded and reorganized royal army of the new Arnulfing-Carolingian dynasty under its last mayor and first king, Pepin I. They were maintained first by the king, then by the regional governors, and finally by the greater noble magnates who held no such office, as personal *vassi* (vassals): free clients of a new type invented in the same period, who promised to serve their patron, or seignior, in return for his protection and support. The seignior provided his ordinary vassals not only with food and housing within his palace or villa-complex, but also with the armor, weapons, and horses that were the tools of their trade, and presumably with the training and practice they needed to be effective. Some particularly valued protoknights were eventually supported outside their seignior's household by a *beneficium* (benefice)—a fragment of the seignior's agricultural estate whose produce and peasant labor were assigned to each such protoknight while both the vassal and the seignior lived. Such grants, however, were probably rare on this level of the social hierarchy before the eleventh cen-

tury, when the benefice began to evolve into the different form of support contemporaries came to call by names derived from the Latinized Frankish word *feus,* "property," including the later Latin *feudum,* the Old French *fee* or *fié,* the Middle French *fief,* and the Middle English *fee.* The fief did not finally assume its classic form until nearly the end of the second phase in the history of knighthood, around 1150.

The second century of the protoknighthood phase, from ca. 840 to ca. 950/1000, saw the rapid rise of the caballarii to the position of being the only effective form of soldier at the disposal of the nobles of Great Francia and the shifting of the great majority from the royal armies to those of the regional and local governors: the dukes, marquises, and counts. The period was marked by the partition of Great Francia among the grandsons and great-grandsons of Charlemagne, by civil wars among the kings of the successor states and their officers the governors, and by the invasion of Great Francia, first by Vikings from the north and then by Magyars from the east. In these wars, the easily mobilized, highly mobile, and economically dependent caballarii come to form the main component of the armies of all of the Frankish leaders. After the final partitions of the empire in 888, they supported the efforts of the regional governors of the four successor states to convert themselves into hereditary princes only nominally dependent on royal authority. Indeed, from 850 to 1250, the strength of most rulers of Latin Christendom depended largely on the number of armored horsemen they had in their service, and in Latin the ordinary word for soldier, *miles,* was increasingly restricted to them.

Preclassic Knighthood (ca. 950/1100–1150/1200)

The second major phase in the history of knighthood was characterized by six developments: the perfecting of the knight's equipment and tactics; a great increase in the number of knights in Great Francia; the exportation of knighthood to most other parts of Latin Christendom; the conversion of the knightage (or body of knights) into an international military corps with distinctive customs (including a rite of initiation), code, and ethos; the conversion of the old ignoble knightage into a social stratum between the nobles and the peasants; and the emergence above that stratum of a new noble knightage that would eventually absorb the upper layers of the old one. These developments—which marked the transition from protoknighthood to classic knighthood—took place in three distinct subphases, whose dates varied significantly from one region to another. Throughout the phase a social gulf still continued to exist between the new noble knights and the ignoble professional knights, most of whom continued to be landless vassals maintained in noble households as servants or even as serfs, and others of whom now served as lordless mercenaries.

From the mid-tenth to the beginning of the twelfth centuries, the political sphere was dominated by the further devolution of political authority in the Romance language–speaking parts of Great Francia from the counts to the new class of castellans, by the vast expansion of Christendom through the conversion of all but two of the remaining pagan and barbarian peoples of Europe both to Christianity and to Christian civilization, and by the first steps in the direction of a policy of offensive warfare against the remaining enemies of Christendom: the Muslims of the south and east. The subphase of preclassic knighthood was characterized in the core regions of Great Francia (northern France and adjacent regions of Germany and Burgundy) by the perfecting of the classic equipment of the knight, a great increase in the number of knights, and the first steps toward the crystallization of the knightage as both an international professional corps and a distinct social category.

The classic profile of the knightly sword appeared ca. 950 with the elongation of the crosspiece on the hilt to either side of the blade—presumably to protect the hand. The main improvement made in knightly armor in this subphase was the replacement of the old round shield of the first phase by a much longer form in the shape of an elongated almond, with the point to the base. This form, apparently first used in Lombard Italy ca. 950, spread to most of France by ca. 1050, presumably because it provided better protection for the exposed left leg of the mounted knight. The other improvements of the subphase affected the equipment of the knight's horse and were probably more important. By 1050, knights generally seem to have adopted not only stirrups—known in Great Francia from ca. 740, but at first little used—but a better saddle (with a high pommel and cantle), a better bridle, and horseshoes for their horses. These, in combination with the new shield (and possibly an improved, longer lance), made possible the classic knightly tactic of charging with couched lance (i.e., with the lance tightly held under the right arm, so that the whole weight of the knight and horse were concentrated in its point). Nevertheless, this tactic seems to have been invented only in the following subphase.

The political developments associated with the rise of the castle-based dominions called castellanies between 990 and 1150 in most of Great Francia led to a rapid increase in the number of knights in the vassalic service of castellans, and the spread of the northern French type throughout the region and beyond it. In some regions, a combination of the degradation of the rights of peasants and a simultaneous increase in the economic and legal standing of the knights led to the emergence of the knightage as a distinct stratum of rural society, between the peasants (whose right to bear arms was restricted and whose access to the courts of supermanorial lords was denied) and their own noble seigniors. The positive development affecting the knights' position was the growth in the number of knights who were pro-

vided with support in the form of benefices or protofiefs in the form of manorial land with limited rights over peasant tenants. As a mark of their newly enhanced status, some knights (probably the newly landed ones) began to adopt *miles* (Latin; soldier/knight) as a social title in legal documents.

Nevertheless, the vast majority of knights everywhere remained landless, and continued to be supported either as vassals in lordly households or as mercenaries—an even more demeaning condition. The prestige of the knightage seems to have remained low, and clerics generally seem to have seen them as little better than hired thugs who would not hesitate to murder priests and rape nuns if the occasion presented itself. It is likely that a military code associated with knighthood had begun to emerge: a code demanding that the true knight display at all times the key virtues of courage, prowess (or a perfect command of the martial arts as they pertained to his status), and loyalty to his seignior (for whom he should be prepared to die if necessary). Gradually the code would also impose requirements as to how one should treat fellow knights on the field of battle and would establish rules governing such matters as ransom and the division of spoils. Throughout the preclassic phase, however, observance of this code was probably restricted to the knights who were vassals, as it was represented in Old French and related dialects by the word *vassalage,* in the sense of "vassalic virtue," rather than *chevalerie* (chivalry) in the sense of "knightly virtue."

The classic tactics of the knight were finally introduced and largely perfected in the middle subphase of this period (ca. 1050–ca. 1100), which culminated in the First Crusade and the conquest of Syria-Palestine by an army of knights from all over Latin Europe. This subphase also saw the adoption of the name and status of knight by growing numbers of noblemen in northern France and the conversion of an older rite of manhood into a rite of initiation into knighthood.

The massed charge with couched lance, unknown before 1050 and still not general in 1085 (when the Bayeux "Tapestry" was embroidered), was almost certainly introduced and generalized in this subphase. In addition, a new form of military sport was probably invented to give the caballarii practice in it: the mock battle fought between two very large teams of knights that came to be called the tournament. Both the tactic and the sport were probably in northern France shortly after 1050 and gradually became more accepted throughout the kingdom and neighboring regions (though the tournament was increasingly condemned by the Church authorities as a dangerous and destructive pastime).

Perhaps at least partly because the new tactic required them to practice more frequently in the company of their vassals, noble princes and castellans began in this subphase to equate their own military status of warrior (traditionally represented by words meaning "hero") with the sta-

tus of caballarius/miles. Between about 1070 and 1140, princes like the duke of Normandy adopted seals for authenticating documents in the manner of the royal chancery, and all of these seals bore an effigy of the owner on horseback in the armor characteristic of a knight. Lesser noblemen in both France and England (who still lacked seals) began instead to assume the title miles/chevaler after their name, in the same fashion as some of their ignoble brethren, and possibly to treat the established rite of *adobement,* or "dubbing"—in which young noblemen had traditionally been vested with the arms and armor of a noble warrior as a rite of initiation into adulthood—as being instead a rite of initiation into knighthood. As a result, by the end of the subphase (around 1100) two distinct types of knighthood had come into existence: the traditional, ignoble, professional type, for whose occupants it was the highest and most important of their statuses; and the new, noble type, for whose occupants it was still only a relatively minor status, overshadowed by those of noble, territorial lord, and seignior. Only the former, however, was generalized even in the more advanced regions of Latin Christendom.

The prestige of knighthood in general finally increased at the end of the subphase when the designation *miles Christi* (soldier/servant of Christ), which had traditionally been used in a metaphorical way to designate monks, was extended to the knights who formed the core of the Christian armies in the First Crusade (1095–1099). This proclamation by Pope Urban II not only converted those who participated into holy warriors, but removed the stigma traditionally attached in Christian doctrine to all soldiers, whose profession required them to perform acts that were inherently sinful, so that they were required to do a major penance whenever they killed, even in a just war. Now that the killing of the enemies of God was to be regarded as a meritorious act, which by implication made all justifiable killing acceptable, all honest knights could thenceforth hold their heads up among Christians. This development, along with others of the same period, encouraged knights to be considerably more pious than they had been, and eventually made both piety and loyalty to the Catholic faith into characteristics of the ideal knight.

The late subphase of this period (1100–1150/1200) saw the full emergence of noble knighthood. Nevertheless, the great majority of knights remained landless and ignoble, and the knightage as a whole was not yet united by a common "chivalrous" ideology or a common set of rites and insignia. Adobement (dubbing), though now universally regarded as an act of initiation into knighthood, remained restricted to the nobility. The classic elements of chivalry did begin to emerge in this subphase, but they remained separate from one another and not formally associated with knighthood as such. The princes of Great Francia and adjacent regions did

adopt those hereditary shield designs called (heraldic) arms that later became the chief insignia of noble status. These emblems did not descend to lower substrata of the nobility before the end of the phase and were not associated with knighthood. Thus, there continued to be two distinct knightages in this phase: the old ignoble knightage, some of whose members began to distinguish themselves and take on the characteristics of their noble lords, and the new noble knightage, whose members still regarded their knighthood as only one of their several statuses, and by no means the most important of them.

In the military sphere, this subphase was primarily marked by the generalization of the tactics developed in the previous phase and the simultaneous generalization of the tournament, which seems to have become a sport (comparable to the hunt) that maintained knightly skills between formal wars. In both the tournament and war, most knights now fought much more as members of disciplined units, whose members could charge, wheel, or retreat on command, but this discipline was probably fairly loose by modern standards. The new tactics seem to have proved themselves in the First Crusade, which made the use of knights increasingly attractive to kings and princes outside northern France and its cultural colonies. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that most warfare in the period consisted of long sieges and combats in terrain ill-suited to cavalry tactics; therefore, knights were obliged to be just as adept at the tactics of heavy infantry as they were at those of heavy cavalry.

Knights became common in Germany and known in the Latin Christian lands to the north and east of it. In these regions, knights remained essentially soldiers, and most of those in Germany were maintained in princely and episcopal households as servants and recruited from among those unfree servants called in Latin *ministeriales,* who were hereditarily attached to those households. In Spain, the militias of the cities organized companies of *caballeros villanos,* or "town knights," whose social status was higher than that of the ministeriales, but far from noble. Elsewhere, professional knights were freemen who lived mainly in rural settings, including in some cases their own manor houses. In fact, the number of enfeoffed (and therefore landed) knights rose steadily in this subphase, and a few of them were given fiefs in the form of a whole manor: a form of agricultural estate whose lordship was formerly held only by nobles. This allowed these knights to see themselves as territorial lords, encouraging them to adopt the fine manners and clothing previously peculiar to nobles.

It seems to have become customary for those whose fathers wished them to be trained as knights to be sent between the ages of 10 and 14 to the court of a lord of higher status, where they spent about seven years as apprentices, studying with a group of youths of roughly their own age. By

1120, the eldest sons of most noblemen of northern France and its colonies destined for a lay career were trained in this way and were dubbed to knighthood between the ages of about 16 (if they were the sons of princes) and 21. The same ceremony was adopted for the initiation of the heirs of the landed ignoble knights. The rite still involved the delivery of knightly equipment, including a horse, but it was now centered on the attachment of the sword belt (to which was attached the classical Latin term *cingulum militiae,* meaning "belt of military status") and of spurs to the heels, and concluded either with an embrace or with a blow with the flat of the officiant's sword blade to the candidate's neck: a blow called in both French and English the *collée,* from *col* (French; neck). This rite could be performed either on the eve of a battle in which the candidates were to fight or in the court of a castellan, prince, or king, where it took on the characteristics of a graduation ceremony. Civil dubbings probably tended to become ever more splendid throughout this phase, but truly elaborate rituals involving vigils and the like are not attested before the next phase. Apparently, dubbings were normally performed on a group of candidates, numbering from three or four to several hundred, who had either trained together or completed their training at roughly the same time. The officiant at dubbings was normally either the seignior of the candidate's father or the lord at whose court the candidate had been trained.

Since only the sons of landed knights were dubbed, a distinction arose among the ignoble knights generally between the landed *milites accincti* (Latin; belted knights) who had received the belt of knighthood and the unlanded *milites gregarii* (Latin; flock knights) who had not. *Miles* finally superseded *caballarius* as the title for the status in Latin, though *eques* (classical Latin; horseman) was occasionally used instead, and the abstract word *militia* came to represent the ideas best represented in English by the term *knighthood*. Vernacular equivalents appeared for the first time around 1100, including the Romance derivatives of *caballarius*, Germanic and Slavic derivatives of the Old Flemish *ridder* (rider), such as Old High German *rîter, ritter,* and Old English *ridder.* After 1066, the peculiarly English *cniht* ("boy," formerly applied to all male servants) was employed.

New titles also began to appear for apprentice knights, including the late Latin scutarius (shield-man) and its vernacular derivatives *scudiero, escudero, escuier,* and squire (which became the standard titles in Italian, Castilian, French, and English). *Armiger* (arms-bearer) became the standard title in Latin; *vaslettus* (little vassal) and its vernacular derivatives (such as *valet*) were preferred in certain regions of France; and *domicellus* (little lord) and its vernacular derivatives *damoisel, donzel,* and the like were preferred in lands of Occitan and Catalan speech. The first three families of titles, however, were also used for servants who assisted noble knights but had no

hope of being knighted themselves, and thus these titles remained socially ambiguous until the end of the protoclassic phase. In the dialects of Germany, the usual terms for the assistants of knights were cognates of *knabe* that meant "boy" and "male servant." Those who were training for knighthood, however, came to be distinguished by the titles *edelknabe* and *edelkneht,* meaning "noble youth." In some regions the title *junchêrre* (young lord) came to be preferred, and this ultimately prevailed as the equivalent of the English *squire*, in the sense of "undubbed noble landlord."

Other developments of the late preclassic subphase contributed to the elevation of knighthood. The new concept of the miles Christi promoted in the First Crusade was given an institutional embodiment in the first military religious orders, those of the Poor Knights of Christ of the Temple of Solomon and of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. In both orders, the dominant class of members came to be restricted to men who were at once knights and monks, thus combining the two forms of "solider of Christ" and creating a new model that would soon be imitated both in other orders and, on a more modest scale, by noble knights generally.

Protoclassic Knighthood (1150/1200–1250/1300)

In the protoclassic phase (1150–1300), the disparate developments of the previous subphase came together, and a new type of knighthood, derived from the preclassic noble type, but absorbing characteristics of the ignoble or professional type, emerged at the end. This development was accompanied and effectively made possible by (1) the social fusion of the preclassic lordly nobility with the upper strata of the preclassic ignoble knightage, which involved the assumption of the attributes of nobility by the richer ignoble (and in Germany servile) knights, just as the nobles had earlier assumed the attributes of knighthood; (2) the identification of the resultant classic nobility with the "order" or "estate" of fighters in the new functional paradigm that gradually came to dominate all social thought; (3) the attachment of the ethos, ideals, and mythologies developed separately by knightly warriors, noble rulers, courtly prelates, courtly poets, and crusader monks during the immediately preceding subphase to the status of knight as the embodiment of the noble identity and function (at once elite warrior, lord, courtier, officer of state, devout Catholic, and crusader), and to chevalerie in the sense of "knightliness" or "chivalry"; and (4) the gradual disappearance of the original ignoble professional knightage, whose landless members—the true heirs of the Frankish caballarii—were replaced by soldiers of comparable function but inferior title and social rank. Chevalerie and its equivalents (including *cnihthad* and *ritterschaft*) finally replaced the words equivalent to vassalage as the names for the qualities and ethos of a noble warrior. As noble landlords, knights were increasingly

expected to serve the state not only as warriors, but as officers of the civil administration. In the strictly military sphere, knights were affected by the first stages in a long process whereby their armor (and in consequence their arms) were transformed from the forms largely inherited from the Romans (and borrowed by them from the Germans and Celts) to new and more elaborate forms peculiar to Latin Christendom, and particularly associated with the classic stage of knighthood.

The majority of these developments occurred from 1150 to 1230 in the core regions of Greater Francia, especially in the decades after 1180—which corresponded in France to the reign of Philippe II "Augustus." The principal developments in armor in this period were the extension of mail over the arms, legs, hands, and feet, and the rapid evolution of the old conical helmet with a simple nasal into the cylindrical great helm that covered the whole head and neck. The latter was particularly useful in tournaments, which were finally accepted by the kings and greater princes of this period as useful and, in any case, too popular to ban effectively. They were gradually converted into festivals of chivalry so elaborate that only kings and great princes could afford to hold them. Rules developed to prevent the death of the combatants and the general destruction of the countryside, to make them true sports at which the best knights could win honors for their prowess, and to allow princes to demonstrate their own courage and martial skills, or at least their solidarity with and patronal support of the nobility culture.

The dubbing rite became the only accepted manner of making knights, attaining its classic form by 1225. Its civil form was now commonly preceded by a vigil in a church with the sword laid on an altar, by a ritual bath, and by the donning of a special habit symbolic of purity. The traditional acts were also accompanied on such occasions by priestly blessings, and the whole ritual was frequently performed in the sanctuary of a church, as if it were a form of ordination.

The development of this ritual had repercussions in the world of reality as well as that of high theory. First, the expenses it entailed effectively excluded from knighthood most of the sons of the ignoble, professional knights, who if they wished to follow the profession of arms were thenceforth obliged to serve at the inferior rank of *serviens,* or "sergeant," whose inferior status was designated in Latin by the word *serviens,* "servant," and in French by its derivative *serjeant,* "servant/sergeant." At the same time, the right to undergo the ritual was increasingly restricted to the sons of knights, noble or ignoble. This closed the knightage to upstarts from the rising but socially inferior bourgeoisie (whose members often surpassed the knights in wealth and sought to increase the rank of their sons or grandsons by marrying them to the daughters of knights). It also made the right to train for knighthood hereditary in much the same way that the right to

acquire dominions and fiefs had been made hereditary within the nobility—though knighthood itself could not be inherited. Indeed, as the expense of arms and armor increased steadily, knighthood was increasingly restricted to men who had inherited or been granted sufficient amounts of manorial land that they could afford to serve with the equipment, mounts, and military assistants deemed necessary for that increasingly exalted military status. Youths of knightly birth who could not afford these necessities were obliged to postpone dubbing until they had adequate income.

In the meantime, the landed ignoble knights who could afford to do so for themselves and their eldest sons had sought to elevate themselves fully into the nobility—whose poorest members were by this time poorer than the former. From about 1100, ignoble knights who were lords of manors adopted the attitudes and lifestyle of lesser nobles. Central to these were a disdain both for manual labor and trade and for those who gained their living from them; a high respect for distinguished ancestry, wealth, and honor; and a belief that honorableness should be claimed at all times by a conspicuous display of superior taste and wealth in housing, furnishings, clothing, and servants, paid for with sums up to or even beyond the limits of one's income.

From about 1180, landed knights had further assumed, to the extent feasible for them, the formal attributes of the classic lordly nobility—many of which were crystallizing in the same period. Since noble knights had long been in the habit of assuming after dubbing the title "knight" or its local equivalent, the formal assimilation of the landed ignoble knights to the nobility was complete, and "knight" was thereafter treated in social contexts as a grade of the noble hierarchy below that of baron, castellan, or the equivalent. At the same time, most noble and self-ennobling knights adopted (though more slowly and less thoroughly) the ideology and mythology that had come in the same period to be attached to nobility and more particularly to noble knighthood. The romances of the Arthurian cycle—created by the Champenois cleric Chrétien de Troyes between 1165 and 1190 from (1) Robert Wace's pseudohistorical material (including such details as the royal society of the Round Table), (2) the marvels of the Welsh and Breton myths, (3) the form of the classical romance or adventure/love story, and (4) the amorous ideology of *fin' amors* (courtly love) of the Provençal songs—laid out the complex new ideology for noble knights and provided models for knightly behavior in various situations. In addition, the romances of Arthur presented a new quasi-historical mythology whose characters and stories would by 1225 join the legends of the Old Testament; of Greek, Roman, and Germanic antiquity; and of the time of Charlemagne.

Although there was never complete agreement about the full set of attributes of the chivalrous lay knight, the following were highly desirable.

First, of course, were the military virtues of courage, prowess, and loyalty to one's lord (which the knight still needed in his basic capacity as a *pugnator* [Latin; fighter]), and with them the virtues of compassion and fair play toward other knights. The knight was also expected to be a good Catholic Christian, loyal to his faith and Church. In addition, however, as a member of a social estate of noble lords whose rights and duties derived from those of the king as head of the estate, the knight was expected to be an active defender of the faith and Church, and to participate in a crusade if the opportunity arose to do so. Finally, in the same capacity, the knight was expected to carry out on the local level the royal duty of defending the weakest members of society: widows, orphans, unprotected girls, and clerics. Given the social attitudes of the nobility to which all knights belonged, of course, this obligation was only recognized toward the widows, orphans, and unmarried daughters of fellow nobles, and was not extended to any member of the lower orders of society; it was no accident that *damsel* meant "young noblewoman."

As a member of the estate whose principal duties were to rule as well as to fight, the knight was also expected to assist in the administration of government. This duty often required even the landed knight to spend part of the year in his seignior's or prince's court, and made many knights into part-time courtiers. More ambitious knights were required to learn the rules governing proper behavior in this exalted environment, especially in relations with prelates and ladies. The earliest codes of courtliness had been composed by noble prelates resident in the court of the emperor Otto I in the later tenth century, and these seem to have served as models for the later codes governing the behavior of lay nobles in courts of every level of the lordly hierarchy. Their main concerns were with the avoidance of conflict and with pleasing the ruler and his wife with elegance and refinement of speech, behavior, and dress. The chivalric version of the code of courtliness incorporated all of these ideas, but added to them an idea derived from the love songs first composed by the *trobadors* of southern France and Burgundy ca. 1100: the idea that a true knight should have a special devotion to a single noble lady, usually of higher rank than the knight himself, and usually married. Sincere love for such a lady was supposed to inspire the knight to deeds of valor done principally to win her admiration, and possibly a return of the love. In practice, this element of the code seems to have been treated by most knights as a game having nothing to do with the realities of life in a society in which marriages were always arranged and the chastity of both wives and daughters was jealously guarded, but it continued to be played well into the fifteenth century.

The first tournaments in which the entertainments directly imitated events described in Arthurian romances are recorded from the 1220s, by

which time the tournament had probably become the principal locus for the new chivalric ideology and mythology. By that time, both the team-fought or melee tournament proper and the mounted duels called jousts that constituted an ever more important alternative to it had also come under the supervision of a new class of specialists called heralds, who had begun as tournament criers and advanced to become experts in the system of armorial or heraldic emblems all knights now set on their shields, flags, and seals.

A more austerely Christian ideal of chivalry (articulated in the later romances of the Arthurian Grail cycle) came to be embodied in the same period in the many new military religious orders. These orders, modeled more or less closely on those of the Templars and Hospitallers of St. John, were founded earlier to carry on the crusade against the enemies of Christ and his Church on every frontier of Latin Christendom, including southern Spain and the Baltic coast. The knights of these orders at first combined only the strictly military ideals of preclassic knighthood with the religious ideals of monasticism, and only in the fourteenth century began to identify with the courtly aspects of lay chivalric culture. On the other hand, those secular knights who were both ignoble and landless generally ignored both the religious and the courtly elements of the new code and adhered at most to the military ideals of the old preclassic vassalic knight.

In the later decades of the thirteenth century, the processes of the earlier subphase were completed and generalized in all parts of Latin Christendom save those on the eastern and northern borders, added since 950. The secular ideals of chivalry were finally set forth in a formal way near the beginning of the subphase in the first vernacular treatises on chivalry, the *Roman des Eles* (French; Romance of the Wings) and the *Livre de Chevalerie* (French; Book of Knighthood), and less formally in the first chivalric biography, the *Vie de Guillaume li Marechal* (French; Life of William the Marshal). What was to be the most influential of all treatises was composed toward the end of the subphase, in 1270: *El libre del orde de cavaleria* (Spanish; Book of the order of knighthood) by the Catalan knight, encyclopedist, and missionary Ramon Llull. A familiarity with the Arthurian legend, and the acceptance of the chivalric ideals presented in the legend and in similar contemporary treatises, also spread gradually among nobles of all ranks after 1225, and by the end of the phase was virtually universal, if only superficially adhered to.

At the beginning of this phase, most knights adopted the fully developed form of great helm that enclosed the whole head, and some form of this helmet was to be characteristic of knightly armor to about 1550. By the same time, knights had come to employ a somewhat smaller version of their traditional shield, with the rounded top cut off to produce the nearly triangular shape of the classic heraldic shield. This shield now bore the

knight's personal-lineal arms, and the latter might also be displayed in some fashion on his surcoat, which was now usually brightly colored rather than white. The arms were normally displayed on the knight's lance-flag and on the trappings of his horse, making him a much more splendid figure than ever before. The noble appearance of the knight was eventually topped off by the crest set atop the helm over a protective cloth later called a mantling or lambrequin, but crests were rare outside of Germany before the following phase.

This subphase also saw the first steps in the direction of the replacement of the traditional mail armor with an armor of curved plates. Around the beginning of the phase, continental knights began to wear a poncho-like "coat-of-plates" over their mail hauberk, and knights everywhere began to cover their thighs with quilted tubes and slightly later to protect their knees with small round plates called poleyns. These and other forms of reinforcement, made either of iron or of such materials as whalebone and boiled leather, no doubt contributed to a rise in the cost of knightly equipment, as did the introduction of armor for the horse around 1250.

This splendid new form of knighthood was highly valued by contemporary rulers and nobles, and admission to it came to be generally restricted (by 1250 and 1300) to the descendants of knights. In the same period, all surviving knights came to be accepted as noblemen, and legitimate descent in the male line from knights came in most regions to constitute the effective definition of nobility.

At the same time, the growing cost of the ceremony and the armor required for knighthood discouraged a growing proportion of the sons of knights from assuming knighthood themselves. Thus, by the end of the phase the great majority of lay noblemen remained undubbed for life and set after their names in place of a title equivalent to knight one equivalent to squire, a title indicative of a rank just below knight. The more fortunate among the professional squires of nonknightly birth were simultaneously incorporated into the new noble squirage thus created, which for a century constituted the lowest substratum of the nobility. Many squires continued to serve in the traditional fashion as heavy cavalrymen and seem to have been distinguished from knights in the line of battle primarily by the relative poverty and dearth of their equipment. They thus stood between the knights and the sergeants-at-arms in the military as well as in the social hierarchy.

A formal distinction simultaneously emerged among those nobles who did undertake knighthood: the distinction between a higher grade called knights banneret (in French, *chevalier banneret;* in German, *banerhêrre*), who were rich enough to lead a troop of lesser nobles under their square armorial banner as if they were barons, and a lower grade of simple knights bachelor (in French, *chevalier bachelier*), who were not rich enough to have

their own troop and fought under the banner of a banneret. Simple knights bachelor wore the same gold spurs as bannerets, but displayed their personal arms on their lances on a triangular pennon; squires came to be distinguished by silver spurs, and by the display of their arms on a smaller triangular flag called a pennoncelle. By 1300, a distinct chivalric hierarchy of three ranks emerged; a fourth ("gentleman," whose members were of noble birth but too poor to fight in a knightly fashion) was added around 1400. The greatest knights—the kings and princes whom the bannerets themselves served—effectively formed a higher rank of super-bannerets. Although all such men now conferred knighthood on all of their sons in particularly splendid ceremonies, they and their sons rarely used the knightly title themselves before the fifteenth century, when they employed it as members of distinct orders of knights.

High Classic Knighthood (1250/1300–1430/50)

As its name suggests, in the high classic phase of knighthood the status possessed all of its classic characteristics—including restriction to men of noble rank—and remained at the height of its cultural, if not its military, importance. A number of different forms of infantry weapon—the halberd, pike, and longbow—were introduced that proved capable of stopping the massed charge of armored knights, thus challenging their long-established dominance of the battlefield. Neither these weapons, however, nor the potentially more dangerous ones based on the gunpowder introduced into Latin society around 1330 were in wide enough use to be a real threat to knighthood until the next phase, beginning around 1430. High classic knights therefore continued to be thought of as elite mounted warriors, and knights continued throughout the period to fight as such, not only in tournaments or jousts but in battles, and to enjoy a distinctive pay scale in most armies. Finally, until the end of the phase it is likely that the traditional knighting ritual continued to be used on particularly formal occasions.

Knights themselves reacted to the threat of the new offensive weapons that grew steadily in this phase by adopting ever more effective forms of armor. Consequently, the high classic phase saw the complete transformation of the armor required for knighthood from the type in which the body was protected by iron mail and the head alone by a helmet of iron plates, to a harness of fully articulated steel plates covering head and body alike. This transformation, begun around 1225, was completed around 1410. The development of plate armor also required a series of modifications in the knightly sword, which from 950 to 1270 had retained the long, flat blade of its Viking predecessor (Oakeshott Type X), with parallel edges designed primarily for slashing (Oakeshott Types XI–XIII), but between that date and about 1290 was given a blade of an increasingly tapered outline

(Oakeshott Type XIV, 1275–1340) and finally a flattened-diamond section that made it more suitable for piercing mail exposed in the chinks in the plate (Oakeshott Types XV–XVIII, 1290–1500). (Type designations for European swords are based on the system developed by Ewan Oakeshott.) Daggers in the form of miniature swords also came into general use among knights in this period, as did such weapons as the mace, battle-ax, and warhammer, which could actually damage plate armor.

The sword remained the principal weapon of the knight, however, and this subphase saw the full emergence of the new profession of fencing master, who taught the art of swordsmanship to anyone who could pay his fees. This art remained distinct from the essentially civilian type that emerged in the sixteenth century (along with the light civilian sword called the rapier); the knight could strike any part of his opponent's anatomy, and parried blows with his shield rather than his sword or dagger. When fighting on foot, knights often abandoned their heavy war-shield for a small round type called a buckler, which could be held at arm's length by a central bar across the back.

The old idea of knighthood as a military profession was emphasized in this phase through the foundation of a growing number of knightly associations or societies, comparable to the guilds into which most other professions and trades were organized. Of these the most important were the curial orders, founded from 1325 onward by kings and effectively sovereign dukes throughout Latin Christendom. The phase also saw the steady rise of the parallel profession of the heralds, who became true officers with legal jurisdictions in many countries and were gradually converted into a sort of priesthood for the secular religion of chivalry. The chief herald of each kingdom or quasi-regnal state would eventually be attached to the monarchical order maintained by its ruler, thus cementing the intimate associations that had already grown up among knighthood, chivalry, nobility, and heraldry.

Long before this, heralds had begun the useful practice of compiling lists of the knights present at tournaments or on campaigns, or resident in particular districts, regions, or kingdoms, or even in Latin Christendom generally. Because the names in these lists were accompanied by either descriptions or representations of the knights' armorial bearings, they are called either armorials or rolls of arms. The first known armorial was compiled in England in 1255, but the others date from 1270 or later, and the practice of preparing them was to be characteristic of the high and late classic phases.

These lists and others compiled for military purposes demonstrate that in England the number of knights had dropped by 1270 from perhaps 5,000 to not more than 1,300, of whom perhaps 500 were fit to serve in battle at any one time. The numbers in larger countries such as France and

Germany were probably four or five times as great and never got much higher. The two ranks of knight and fighting squire—collectively known, from the following century at least, as *hommes d'armes* (French; men-at-arms)—were thenceforth to form a small elite at the core of an army in which various infantry arms became increasingly important.

In the early subphase (1270–1330), corresponding to the reigns of Edward I and Edward II in England, of the last "direct" Capetians in France, and of the first Habsburg kings of the Romans in the Holy Roman Empire, the principal developments were the following: (1) the decline in many countries (including England and France) of knight service based upon the traditional feudo-vassalic obligations, and its replacement by a new system of retaining by contract and the payment of a pension and a fixed wage during actual service; (2) the effective end of the Syrian Crusade, the retreat of the Syrian orders, and the eventual suppression of the original order of the Templars (in 1312); (3) the adoption of the first major elements of plate armor; (4) the general adoption in Latin Christendom of the heraldic crest set atop the helm (already generalized in German lands during the previous subphase); and (5) the transformation of the heralds from freelance tournament criers to "officers of arms" employed by kings and princes to oversee all matters related to the proper conduct of tournaments and battles and the identification of nobles.

The next subphase (1330–1380) saw a considerable elaboration of the organization and splendor of royal and princely courts and a major revival in those courts of the classical tournament. It began with the foundation of the first true monarchical order (the Castilian Order of the Band), and ended just before the foundation of the first such order of the second generation (the Neapolitan Order of the Ship, 1381). These orders were modeled directly or indirectly on the fictional societies of the Round Table and the Frank Palace of the Arthurian cycle of romances, and were founded to serve as embodiments of the values of chivalry as well as to promote loyalty to the throne of the founder. The emphasis placed by the princes of this period—especially Alfonso "the Implacable" of Castile, Pere "the Ceremonious" of Aragon, Edward III of England, Jehan "the Good" of France, and Amé "the Green Count" of Savoy—on both tournaments and orders suggests the importance they attributed to knighthood; corps of knights and squires continued throughout this phase to be major elements of all princely armies. Indeed, in some kingdoms (including England) the number of militarily active knights actually rose in the first half of this period. The traditional melee tournament saw its last flowering in most countries in the first half of this subphase. After about 1350, however, such tournaments were held only rarely, their place being taken by the more orderly (and less dangerous) joust.

By 1350, the process of adding ever increasing numbers of plates of ever increasing size to the older mail armor of the knight had reached its practical limits, and thenceforth every part of the body would be covered with some form of metal plate. The plates covering the torso were still covered with cloth, however, and the plates in general continued to be strapped on independently of one another until the end of the century. The traditional great helm was increasingly replaced in this phase by the basinet, a smaller open-faced helmet that was now provided with a hinged visor to protect the face when actually fighting. All of the later forms of knightly helmet were derived from the basinet.

New forms of military organization initiated in the 1270s finally gave rise in the 1360s to a completely new system of emblems, designed to mark the servants, soldiers, and clients of a lord, rather than the members of his lineage. This system (now called paraheraldic, since it was closely associated with heraldry but initially outside the control of the heralds) was centered on the livery color or colors, the livery badge, the motto, and the combined badge and motto now called a "livery device." All were associated primarily with the uniforms distributed by princes and barons as liveries to their household servants, retainers, and allies of various classes (most of whom were knights or squires), but they were also used on the various new forms of triangular military flag (including the standard and guidon) borne by appointed captains rather than (mainly hereditary) bannerets.

By 1380, knights had begun on occasion to incorporate the more important of these new emblems as flankers or supporters to the arms on their shield and helm that indicated what they or their ancestors had achieved. The armorial emblems actually subject to the heralds came at the same time to be subsumed in what are called the laws of arms, enforced by newly formed courts of chivalry, usually headed by constables and marshals (as in modern England), in which heralds acted like court clerks and attorneys. The first serious treatises on all aspects of heraldry and chivalry, including the laws of arms, also appeared in this subphase, the most important of which were Geoffrey de Charny's *Livre de Chevalerie* (French; Book of Chivalry) of 1352 and Honoré Bouvet's *Arbre des Battailles* (French; Tree of Battles) of 1387.

In the half century after 1380, the history of knighthood took its first downward turn, as princes and nobles adjusted to new forms of warfare in which the traditional shock tactics of men-at-arms became increasingly less effective. The defeats at the hands of infantry suffered by the French knights at Crécy in 1346, Poitiers in 1356, Nicopolis in 1396, and Agincourt in 1415, and by the Austrian knights at Sempach in 1386, cast doubt upon the efficacy of the knight as warrior. As a result, few if any true, neo-Arthurian monarchical orders were founded between 1381 and 1430, and most of the existing ones were allowed to decline or disappear through ne-

glect. Instead, many new forms of order and pseudo-order, only superficially resembling the older orders, were founded, both by kings and princes and by nobles of lesser rank.

The traditional tournament was virtually discontinued after 1380 and was replaced by the joust, in which knights fought what were effectively duels. A number of variants of the traditional joust—each designed to provide practice in a different form of knightly combat—emerged in this period, especially in Germany, in which regional societies dedicated to promoting the sport were founded. In France, by contrast, individual knights or small groups of knights began in this subphase to undertake chivalrous enterprises (called *emprinses d'armes*) based on those of the errant knights of the Round Table, and these might involve challenging to a joust all those who passed a certain spot or performing a set of *faits d'armes* (deeds of arms) by a specified day.

For some of the more formalized variants of the joust, the great helm was still employed, though in a modified form now described as "frog-faced." For serious military activities, however, the great helm was abandoned around 1380 in favor of a new type called the great basinet, which was equipped with a movable visor and a separate plate for the chin and neck, or bevor, which remained the dominant form of knightly helmet until the end of the phase. In addition, the classic war-shield was finally abandoned by most knights around 1380, and thereafter shields were employed almost exclusively in jousts. A new form of shield was adopted for this setting around 1380: the concave, cusped, quasi-rectangular type called the targe, which was used into the sixteenth century.

The emergence of the articulated harness of plate around 1410 led to a temporary abandonment of the heraldic surcoat as well as of the heraldic shield, and the heraldic arms of the knight were displayed to the end of the phase mainly on flags and horse trappings (though they continued to monopolize the designs of seals and became increasingly important in funerals and on tombs). The same subphase, however, saw an immense expansion and spread of the use of paraheraldic symbols of all types, especially as livery symbols, but also as marks of military units.

Finally, there is reason to believe that it was during this subphase that the knighting ritual was increasingly reduced from its traditional form, in which the central acts were the attachment of the sword belt and golden spurs of knighthood, to a much simpler one in which the sole act was the delivery by the officiant of the (previously described) collée. This abbreviated form may have been used when knighthood was conferred on the eve of a battle, and it was probably extended to civil settings on a temporary or emergency basis before it was generalized. The collée was commonly accompanied by a short exhortation by the officiant, who said, "I make you

knight in the name of God and St. George, to guard loyally faith and justice, to sustain just quarrels loyally with all your power, and to protect the church, widows, and orphans."

Late Classic Knighthood (1430/50–1600/25)

In the years following 1430, knighthood was finally detached from its traditional military role and converted into a mere dignity, whose sole purposes were to honor recipients and to bestow a minimal rank within the hierarchy of the nobility. The clearest signs of this change were the removal of the distinction in the pay scale traditionally maintained between knights and squires, the complete merger of the two ranks in military contexts into the single status of man-at-arms, and the gradual replacement of the knightly status of banneret with the new military office of captain. These changes were accompanied by the completion (by 1500) of the process by which the knighting ritual was reduced to the collée—renamed the accolade—and by a tendency in some countries for the eldest sons of knights to assume that title on attaining adulthood, without benefit of any form of dubbing. This did not happen in the British kingdoms, but it was widespread on the continent.

Nevertheless, throughout this phase all kings and princes, and probably the majority of barons, continued to seek knighthood for at least their eldest son at the age of majority, and other men of noble birth continued to undergo the traditional training and to fight as heavy cavalrymen wearing armor encasing their whole bodies. Rather than surrender the status of knight, indeed, the lesser nobles of some kingdoms began to treat it as a hereditary dignity that could be assumed at majority without any ceremony at all. Furthermore, the joust in its growing variety of forms remained the most important form of noble sport (though many of the type called the *pas d'armes* [French; passage of arms] were little more than allegorical plays), and different types of armor (often with interchangeable pieces) were created for each of its many forms. The armorers of this period—now concentrated in northern Italy (especially Milan) and Germany (especially Augsburg)—continued to produce armors of ever higher technical sophistication and finish, and even developed a series of different forms of helmet derived both from the great basinet (the sallet, barbut, armet, and close-helmet) and from the great helm (the barred and grilled helms) to suit different tastes and purposes. Finally, the code and mythology of chivalry remained powerful forces in many kingdoms to the end of the period. Thus, although their military role was steadily reduced through the rise of newer forms of both infantry and cavalry, the knights of this period retained most of their prestige. Knighthood remained an idealized status central to the contemporary definition of nobility until at least 1550.

From the beginning of this phase around 1430, the principal locus of traditional chivalric knighthood in most kingdoms was the monarchical or comparable princely curial order, and the principal model for all of the later orders was the Golden Fleece, founded by Duke Philippe "the Good" of Burgundy in 1430. The Burgundian dukes of the Valois line founded in 1363 had all been patrons of chivalry, and the enormous wealth and consequent prestige they acquired along with the various principalities of the Netherlands and the Rhineland that they added to their original dominion gave a considerable boost to the chivalric revival that followed the foundation of their elaborate order. The kings of France themselves felt obliged to found new orders of knighthood on the Burgundian model both in 1469 (the Order of St. Michael the Archangel) and again, when membership in that order had been too widely distributed, in 1578 (the Order of the Holy Spirit), and the grand duke of Tuscany founded the last of the religious orders of knighthood, that of St. Stephen, in 1561. Of the older religious orders, however, only that of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem (based from 1530 on the island of Malta) carried on the crusading tradition after about 1525. Most of the newer curial orders dissolved around that time as a result of the Reformation in Germany.

The chivalry of the late classic phase was not different in conception from that of the high classic phase, but the glorification of the knight that continued throughout this period (in some courts, at least) was essentially reactionary and had less and less to do with contemporary military reality. Latin princes and nobles of ancient lineages continued to believe that the knight represented the epitome of what a nobleman should be, whatever his lordly rank, and the ideology of chivalry continued to unify the noble estate in many kingdoms until relatively late in the sixteenth century. Older romances of chivalry continued to be printed and reprinted through much of the century, and the greatest Italian poems of that century, Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* of 1516 and Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* of 1575, were essentially chivalric. The last great chivalric romance to be composed in English was Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* of 1590–1596, dedicated to Elizabeth I. The sixteenth century was thus a sort of Indian summer for both knighthood and chivalry.

Postclassic Knighthood (1600/25–present)

The decline of the general belief in chivalry was first heralded in a major way in Miguel de Cervantes's novel *Don Quixote,* of 1605–1615, though the aging knight of that name is nevertheless portrayed as a noble and sympathetic exemplar of a worthy code that has merely ceased to command general respect. The seventeenth century was nevertheless marked not only by a clear decline in the popularity of romances and other chivalric works,

but by a continuous decline in the use of knightly methods of fighting, in the holding of tournaments at which those methods could be practiced and displayed, in the use of body armor, and in the practice of dubbing the eldest sons of barons and princes when they came of age. The last tournaments in Britain were held at the end of the reign of James I around 1625, but in some parts of Germany they continued to about 1715.

By about 1648, when the Thirty Years' War came to an end and the English Civil War was about to begin, knighthood had been detached entirely from its military roots, and had been converted into a purely honorific noble dignity. In most continental kingdoms, this dignity was assumed by the sons of knights at their majority, while in the British Isles it was conferred by the king alone as a form of honor granted in recognition of some special services rendered to him or the state. In the British kingdoms, the traditional status of knight bachelor has continued to be conferred by the simplified rite of dubbing to the present day, but in all continental kingdoms the rite was restricted by about 1600 to those who were admitted to one of the royal orders of knighthood. These orders remained few, small, and elite until 1693, when Louis XIV of France founded the first of the knightly orders designed to reward large numbers of military officers for their services: the Order of St. Louis. The eighteenth century saw the appearance of many more orders of both military and civil merit, and the nineteenth century saw the creation of at least one and often three or more such orders in virtually every country in the world. Today, these orders are the principal bearers of the traditions of knighthood, though it is only in the older monarchical orders like the Garter, the Thistle, and the Golden Fleece that the traditions of chivalry are maintained even in a vestigial form.

D'A. Jonathan D. Boulton

See also Chivalry; Europe; Heralds; Orders of Knighthood, Religious; Orders of Knighthood, Secular; Religion and Spiritual Development: Ancient Mediterranean and Medieval West; Swordsmanship, European Medieval

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Kobudô, Okinawan

The term *kobudô* (Japanese, as are all terms that follow unless indicated) translates as "old martial arts." It is generally used, however, to refer to weapons training. Kobudô may be incorporated into an empty-hand curriculum as supplementary instruction or taught as a separate discipline, without cross-training in empty-hand forms. Okinawan *di* (hand) uses empty-hand forms that correspond precisely with the weapons forms used in the system. Weapons may be divided into martial and civil combative categories.

Martial and Civil Classes

There are a number of weapons formally taught in Okinawan kobudô. The term includes the military combative disciplines that utilize the *ôyumi* (longbow); *koyumi* (short bow); *ishi-yumi* (crossbow); *katana* (single-edged curved sword: single- or double-handed); *ryôba katana* (double-edged straight sword); *tantô* or *kogatana* (knife or short sword); *tamanaji* or *yamakatana* (mountain sword: broad-bladed, single-edged sword); *naginata* (Japanese glaive); *bisentô* (Chinese glaive); and *yari* or *hoko* (spear), *hinawajû* (musket), and *kenjû* (flintlock pistol).

Civil combative weapons include the *puku* (hunting spear), *tuja* (fishing trident), *tinbe* (short spear or machete used with shield), *kama* (sickle), *kusarigama* (sickle and chain), *Rokushaku kama* (kama attached to 180 cm [6 *shaku*] staff), *kuwa* (hoe), *sai* (three-pronged truncheon), *manji no sai* (*sai* with swastika-like arrangement of wings), *nunti* (manji no sai attached to 7 shaku [212 cm] staff), *suruchin* (in Japanese, *manrikki*) (weight and chain), *gekiguan* (weight and chain attached to stick), *tekko* (knuckle dusters), *tecchu* (small rod projecting beyond both ends of hand and held on with swivel-type finger ring), *bô* (in Chinese, *kon* or *kun*) (staff, of various lengths), *jô* (stick), *take no bô* (bamboo cane), *gusan jô* (cross-sectioned stick), *tanbô* (short stick), eku or *kai* (oar), *nunchaku* (flail), *sanbon nunchaku* or *sansetsu kun* (three-section flail), *dajô* (rods joined by long length of rope), *uchi bô* (long-handled flail with rods of unequal length), *tonfa* (truncheon with handle affixed at right angle to shaft), *kasa* (umbrella), *ôgi* (fan), *kanzashi* (hairpin), *kiseru* (pipe), and various obscure weapons. The five primary weapons used in conjunction with karate are rokushakubô, sai, tonfa, kama, and nunchaku.

Various Forms

Some of the many kata (forms) that are extant on Okinawa include the bô kata *Sakugawa no kon* (Sakugawa staff, from its creator Sakugawa Toudi) and *Matsumura no kon* (from its creator Bushi Matsumura [*Bushi* here

Sai versus sword. (Courtesy of Ron Mottern)

means "warrior"]). Sakugawa passed his kobudô to his disciple Ginowan Donchi, who perfected the weapons forms given to him by his master. The essence of his art is contained in the *Ginowan no kon*. Other staff kata in Okinawan kobudô include the *Cho Un no kon, Shirotaru no kon, Yonegawa no kon, Chinen Shichanaka no kon, Sesoku no kon, Urasoe no kon, Sueyoshi no kon, Sueishi no kon, Arakaki no kon, Tôyama no kon,* and *Chatan Yara no kon*. Sai kata include *Taira no sai, Tsukenshitahaku no sai, Tawada no sai, Chatan Yara no sai, Hamahiga no sai,* and *Arakaki no sai, Yaka no sai, Kojo no sai,* and *Jigen no sai.* Tonfa kata include the *Hamahiga no tonfa* and *Chatan Yara no tonfa*. Nunchaku is represented by the *Taira no nunchaku*. Different forms exist in different kobudô lineages. The Matayoshi branch of kobudô, for example, may also include *Matayoshi bô, sai, kama, tonfa,* and *nunchaku* kata, as well as kata for sundry other weapons. Taira Shinken mastered a number of weapons and created kata for many of them, including the tekko. An exhaustive listing of the kobudô kata being used in Okinawa would be foolish to attempt and less than useful to produce. Individual artists invariably leave their own distinctive marks on their work. The history of any art is one of dynamic eclecticism and inspired innovation.

Japanese Influence on Okinawan Kobudô

The *kumi* dances of Okinawa are dances performed by two players who simulate sparring with various weapons. These dances may be of Japanese origin. The Nihon Budô Taikei (Martial History of Japan) notes that Satsuma farmers and peasants were taught self-defense by the Jigen-ryû headmaster Tôgô Bizen-no-Kami Shigekata (1602–1659) at the insistence of the Satsuma lord Shimazu Yoshihisa. The transmission of combative techniques was accomplished through the medium of the Jigen-ryû *Bô Odori* (Staff Dance). This dance included two-man sets that simulated combat for jô and katana, rokushaku bô, and yari, and separate techniques for eku, kama, *shakuhachi* (flute), and other implements. Although the original kumi dances of Okinawa may be derived from Japanese prototypes, new dances are periodically created and performed by contemporary kobudô practitioners. The distinguishing factor between kumi dances and weapons kata is that kumi dances are performed for entertainment, with little or no emphasis on the combative *bunkai* (application of techniques) contained in the forms. Movements are judged for aesthetic value, rather than for combat effectiveness.

This is not true of Okinawan *di* (in Japanese, *te*). Okinawan di movements resemble the movements of *onna odori* (ladies' dances), but the bunkai are transmitted with emphasis on combative applications. Okinawa di is composed of various open-hand forms, including *moto-ti* (original hand), *kihon-ti* (basic hand), *tori-ti* (grappling hand), *uragaeshi* (reversal), *ogami-ti* (prayer hand), *koneri-ti* (twist hand), *oshi-ti* (push hand), *kaeshi-ti* (return hand), *nuki-ti* (draw hand), and *nage-ti* (throw hand). The pinnacle of di technique and practice is *Anjikata no Mai no Ti* (Dancing Hand of the Lords). The empty-hand movements exhibit a circularity and flow that correspond to the movements used with di weaponry.

The primary weapons used in Okinawa di are katana, naginata, and yari. These weapons were also the primary martial implements used by Japanese samurai. It is possible that Okinawan di is indirectly derivative of Japanese forms. The Japanese presented the Ming court with katana, naginata, and yari during the fourteenth century. It is possible that the Okinawans were influenced by techniques and weapons from China, which were originally based on Japanese patterns.

It is also possible that the Okinawans received civil combative forms from Ryûkyûan samurai (in Okinawan, *pechin*) traveling to Satsuma after subjugation of the Ryûkyû kingdom by the Satsuma clan in 1609. This possibility is substantiated by the tradition that Okinawan *rokushaku bôjutsu* (staff technique) was unknown in the Ryûkyûs until after Sakugawa "Toudi" (in Japanese, Karate) and Koura Tsuken (1776–1882) returned with them after studying in Satsuma. Matsumura Sôkon "Bushi" (in Okinawan, Chikudun

Peichin; warrior) studied karate in Okinawa from the Chinese master Iwah and from Sakugawa Toudi. Matsumura later served as a security agent for the Okinawan royal house. During this period, he traveled to China and to Satsuma, where he studied the Jigen system and received his *menkyo* (teaching license) from Ijûin Yashichirô. Matsumura returned to Okinawa, where he combined his knowledge of karate with his knowledge of Jigen-ryû to create what would eventually become known as Shuri-di (Shuri Hand). Both Sakugawa and Matsumura transmitted various weapons kata into the Okinawan civil combative disciplines.

Sensei Ty Yocham of the Texas Okinawan Gôjû Kai Federation sidesteps a downward cut of the sword and delivers a strike with the eku (oar). (Courtesy of Ron Mottern)

Chinese Influence on Okinawan Kobudô

In 1372, the Ming emperor Wu Hong sent an envoy, Zai Yang, to the Okinawan kingdom of Chûzan for the purpose of establishing a tributary alliance with Okinawa. The Chûzan king, Satto, was cognizant of the advantages of being allied with the Ming and welcomed the opportunity of increasing trade with China, especially Fujian. In 1393, the Thirty-Six Families (the number thirty-six denotes a large rather than a specific number), a delegation of Chinese envoys, established a mission at Kume village, in the Kume district of Naha. The settlement at Kume was a point of exchange between the Okinawan and Chinese cultures. It was at Kume that weapons training was introduced by the Thirty-Six Families as part of the combative systems that they brought to Okinawa. The Okinawans absorbed the Chinese fighting arts into their own culture.

In the *Ôshima Hikki* (Ôshima Writings) it is reported that the Chinese *kenpô* (fist method) master Kusanku arrived in Okinawa with a group of his students in 1762. Kusanku exerted a considerable influence on the development of civil combative disciplines in the Ryûkyûs. *Kusanku kata* is one of the highest forms in Shôrin-ryû and Shôtôkan Karate. Kusanku's students included Sakugawa Toudi and Yara Chatan, both of whom made significant contributions to the study and practice of empty-hand forms and kobudô.

Ryûkyû kobudô was also influenced by Okinawans who traveled abroad, learning weapons techniques and then transmitting them through

various forms upon returning to Okinawa. Matayoshi Shinkô (1888–1947) studied bô, sai, kama, and eku under Gushikawa no Tigwa in Chatan, Okinawa. He also trained in tonfa and nunchaku under Moshigiwa Ire. Matayoshi then spent a total of thirteen years traveling throughout China. He researched several weapons disciplines in his travels, including *ba-jutsu* (mounted archery technique), *nagenawa-jutsu* (lariat technique), and *shuriken* (throwing spikes) techniques, which he learned from a gang of Manchurian bandits. Matayoshi acquired a knowledge of *nunti, tinbei,* and *suruchin* in Shanghai, as well as learning herbal medicine and a Shaolin Crane Style of boxing known as Kingai-noon (pinyin baihequan). In 1934, Matayoshi studied another Shaolin-based style in Fuzhou.

Matayoshi disseminated his knowledge of kobudô throughout Okinawa and Japan. He demonstrated kobudô in Tokyo in 1915, performing with the karate master Funakoshi Gichin. This was the first performance of Ryûkyûan kobudô on the Japanese mainland. Matayoshi also performed for the crown prince Hirohito at Shuri Castle in 1921. Shinkô's son Shinpô continued the Matayoshi tradition of kobudô until his death in 1997.

Okinawan Kobudô

Taira Shinken (1897–1970) began his study of combative forms in 1922 when he met Funakoshi Gichin in Japan. Taira trained with Funakoshi until 1929, when he expanded his studies to include Ryûkyû kobudô under Yabiku Môden (1882–1945), the leading authority on Okinawan weaponry in Japan.

Taira opened his first dôjô in Ikaho, Gunma Prefecture, in 1932, and was awarded Yabiku's personal *shihan menkyo* (Instructor's Certification) in 1933. In 1934, Taira began studying with Mabuni Kenwa, the founder of Shitô-ryû karate and a respected kobudô practitioner. Returning to Okinawa in 1940, Taira continued to research and teach kobudô. He established the Ryûkyû Kobudô Hozon Shinkô Kai in 1955 for the purpose of consolidating, preserving, and disseminating Ryûkyûan kobudô.

The movement was supported in both Okinawa and Japan by many respected karate and kobudô masters, including (in Japan) Mabuni Kenei (son of Mabuni Kenwa, Seitô Shitô-ryû), Sakagami Ryûshô (Itosu-ha), Kuniba Shiyogo (Motobu-ha), Hatashi Teruo (Hayashi-ha), and Kunishi Yasuhiro (Shindô Jinen-ryû). Supporters in Okinawa included Chibana Chôshin (Shôrin-ryû), Higa Yochoku (Shôrin-ryû), Shimabukuro Eizô (Shobayashi-ryû), Nakazato Sûgûrô (Kobayashi-ryû), Nagamine Shôshin (Matsubayashi-ryû), Sôken Hohan (Matsumura Seitô Shôrin-ryû), Nakamura Shigeru (Shôrin-ryû), Miyahira Katsuya (Naha Shôrin-ryû), Shimabukuro Tatsuo (Isshin-ryû), Higa Seiko (Gôjû-ryû), Yagi Meitoku (Gôjû-ryû), Miyazato Eiichi (Gôjû-ryû), Toguchi Seikichi (Gôjû-ryû), Fukuchi Seiko (Gôjû-ryû),

Chinen Masame (Yamane-ryû), Uechi Kanei (Uechi-ryû), and Kinjo Hiroshi (Shuri-di).

Taira amassed a considerable knowledge of Ryûkyûan forms, as well as creating several of his own kata. Taira created the *Kungo no kun* (Kungo staff) kata, two nunchaku kata, a sansetsukun (three-sectioned staff) kata, the *Maezato no tekko* ("Maezato knuckle duster") kata based on empty-hand forms he learned from Funakoshi, and the *Jigen no manjisai* (sai with wings shaped like a swastika) kata. Perhaps Taira's greatest achievement, apart from the preservation of a unique part of Okinawa's cultural heritage, was his creation of a standardized kobudô curriculum and pedagogy. Taira's senior disciple, Akamine Eisuke, assumed the leadership of the Ryûkyû Kobudô Hozon Shinkô Kai after his teacher's death.

The practice of Okinawan kobudô gained considerable attention and international prestige under the influence of Matayoshi Shinkô and Taira Shinken. Largely due to their efforts of preservation and popularization, the once obscure weapon arts of Okinawa's civil combative traditions have been firmly established as a living Ryûkyûan cultural legacy.

Ron Mottern

See also Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice; Karate, Japanese; Karate, Okinawan; Kenpô; Okinawa

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Korea

Korea is a peninsula situated between China and Japan, and its history has been influenced by both nations. For much of its early history, China was the single most important influence on Korea. Chinese or Korean immigrants settled Japan and eventually, in the nineteenth century, successfully challenged Chinese influence over the region. In the twentieth century, Japan formally annexed Korea and imposed Japanese language and culture

Winners of an archery contest in Korea stand together in the winners' circle, ca. 1900. (Corbis)

upon the Korean people. Freed by the Allies in 1945, Korea was soon divided by the conflict between Communism and capitalistic democracy. Despite their separation, both Koreas were highly nationalistic and worked to throw off the Japanese influence. These are the chief elements of Korean history necessary to understand the development of Korean martial arts.

The earliest evidence in Korea of systems of unarmed combat date from the Koguryo dynasty (A.D. 3–427). The kingdom of Koguryo actually stretched far north of the current Korean border, into much of modern Chinese Manchuria. Korean folk culture is still very much alive in Manchuria today. A number of Koguryo dynasty tombs in what is now Jilin province of the People's Republic of China are credited by the Koreans as belonging to ancient Korea. These tombs are the Sambo-chong, the Kakjo-chong, and the Muyong-chong. The style depicted in these tombs has been described by martial artists (depending upon the individual artist's style) as *taekwondo, Hapkidô, ssirŭm, t'aek'kyŏn, tangsudô,* or other Korean arts. Most of these claims are exaggerated. The murals show men with goatees, moustaches, and long hair in loincloths. They seem to be wrestling rather than striking, and as such the murals are best used as early antecedents of Ko-

rean ssirŭm and Japanese sumô. The claims of Korean nationalists regarding these tombs are also tenuous, since the style depicted in the tombs is very similar to that of other tombs of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), including those located deep within Han China itself. In many ways, the Koguryo kingdom was heavily influenced by the Chinese Han dynasty. Koguryo in fact served as the easternmost outpost of the Han dynasty, and remained an important Chinese outpost until A.D. 313.

During the Silla and Koryo dynasties, the largest ssirŭm competitions took place on the holiday of Paekchung or "Day of Servants" (the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month). The champion was named either *panmugum* (finalist) or *changgun* (general) and was rewarded with an ox as his prize. The *kisaeng* women (who were comparable to the Japanese geisha) sang and danced at the victory ceremony. Today, the largest competitions take place on the Tano Nol or youth festival (on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month). The winner is named *chonha changsa* (strongest man under heaven) and receives cash prizes rather than livestock.

Ancient Korea shows Chinese influence not only on its methods of grappling, but also upon its methods of striking. Chinese advisors not only taught their method of striking to the Koguryo army, but also later to the Silla army, the enemies of Koguryo. The Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–907) helped Silla to defeat Koguryo in 668, which established the Silla dynasty (668–935). It was during the Tang dynasty that Chinese striking arts achieved their greatest fame, thanks to the feats of the monks of the Shaolin Temple. The Koreans called the Chinese striking arts *subak* (striking hand; *Shoubo* in Mandarin), *kwonbop* (fist method; *quanfa* in Mandarin), or simply *tangsu* (Tang hand).

The Silla dynasty also produced a society of young men called the *hwarang* (flowering youth). The hwarang was intended to develop young leaders for the Silla kingdom, and it was predated by a similar but unsuccessful experiment with a group of young women known as the *wonhwa*. These hwarang played songs and music, and roamed over mountains and remote places seeking amusement. They lived according to a code of behavior set forth by the Buddhist monk Wongwang in his *Sesok Ogye* (Five Common Precepts), written about A.D. 602. The code called for loyalty to one's king, obedience to one's parents, honorable conduct toward one's friends, never retreating in battle, and only killing for a sensible reason. The most famous hwarang was General Kim Yushin (595–673), a master of the double-edged sword. Because of Kim and other heroes, hwarang became known as the "shining knights of the Silla dynasty," and are still regarded as heroes by modern Koreans.

More important than the military traditions that Korea adopted from China was the influence of the Confucian tradition. Koreans embraced Con-

fucianism so completely that Korea was in many ways more Confucian than was China itself. The only martial art that Confucius praised was archery, so it is not surprising that Korean archers are still famous for their skill. Martial arts in general were frowned upon, since Confucianism prized scholars more than warriors. Korean practice of the martial arts revived briefly during the Japanese invasions led by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) in 1592 and 1597, but once the Japanese were driven off, the practice of these arts again declined due to lack of attention at the royal court.

The Koreans continued to emulate Chinese military technique until the nineteenth century. The Korean military used the Chinese work *Jixiao Xinshu* (New Book for Effective Discipline) as their standard manual until the 1790s. Yi Dok-mu then produced his *Mu Yei Do Bo Tong Ji* (Illustrated Manual of Martial Arts), a Korean manual that drew from classical Chinese sources. The *Mu Yei Do Bo Tong Ji* included methods of unarmed combat called *kwonbop* and distinguished between the External School of the Sorim Temple (Shaolin Temple) and the Internal School of Chang Songkae (Zhang Sanfeng in Mandarin), the legendary founder of Chinese internal styles (*taijiquan*).

By the 1890s, there seemed to be only three native martial arts of any great importance. Ssirŭm was still popular, as was archery, and there was also the street art of t'aek'kyŏn, which seems to have appeared around the 1790s. In its modern form, t'aek'kyŏn is an art emphasizing circular kicking, leg sweeps, and leg trapping followed by a throw. T'aek'kyŏn was discouraged among the intelligentsia, as it was associated with thugs and criminals.

In the late nineteenth century, Japanese influence gradually supplanted Chinese in Korea. In 1894, pro-Japanese members of the Korean cabinet invited the Japanese army to enter Korea and put down a revolt. The Japanese put down the revolt but then refused to leave, which led to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. China came to the aid of Korea, one of its tributary states, but was defeated. The Japanese retained their grip on Korea. Japanese agents murdered Queen Min in 1896, and King Kojong fled the palace and was sheltered in the Russian legation for nearly a year. Russian influence in Korea was ended by the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), at which point the United States tacitly recognized Japanese control of Korea with the Taft-Katsura Memorandum (1905). The Japanese forced the Korean king to abdicate in 1907. A Korean assassinated Prince Hirobumi Ito of Japan in 1909, but in 1910 Japan officially annexed Korea.

Japan was determined to turn Korea into a Japanese colony. The Japanese established segregated Korean and Japanese public schools, with the Koreans receiving an inferior education. Thousands of Koreans were killed after making a Declaration of Independence in 1919, believing that American commitment to self-government would bring the United States to their side. It did not. Japanese control tightened over the years. The Japa-

Junior high school students compete in a taekwondo tournament in Seoul, Korea, 1986. (Michael S. Yamashita/Corbis)

nese language was taught in the schools rather than Korean, and many Koreans raised in that era never learned to read the Korean language. During World War II, the Japanese took over half a million Koreans to Japan as laborers, primarily in mining and in heavy industry, where American bombing was taking its toll. Sixty thousand of these forced laborers died in Japan during the war. Back home, the Japanese army forced Korean women to serve as "comfort women" (prostitutes) for the soldiers. The Japanese were in absolute control of Korea from 1910 to 1945.

Korean youth were forcibly indoctrinated with Japanese culture, including the Japanese martial arts. Jûdô (in Korean, *yudô)* was introduced through the Seoul YMCA in 1909. Both jûdô and kendô (*kumdô)* were taught in the Japanese-controlled schools. Ssirŭm competition continued in Korea until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, but was then outlawed. T'aek'kyŏn was outlawed for most of the occupation, although Song Dokki (1893–1987) and others continued to train in secret.

After the war, Korean martial arts consisted largely of Japanese styles, including yudô, *yusul* (jûjutsu), kumdô, kwonbop (kenpô), and tangsudô, or *kongsudô* (*karate-dô)*. Koreans who had served in the Japanese army or who had trained with the Japanese police retained a great deal of control in the country, often serving the same role that they had before the Japa-

nese withdrawal. Moreover, Korean students who had studied in Japanese universities often returned with knowledge of karate. Korea was devastated by war, by the occupation, and by its postwar division into Soviet and American spheres of influence.

The nation, of necessity, retained a military economy, fuelled by the conflict between North Korea and South Korea. The Korean military supported the martial arts not only as a method of unarmed combat, but also as a means of building morale. General Choi Hong-Hi in particular supported the development of a Korean form of karate, which he named taekwondo in 1955.

Korean martial arts were also supported by the Korean Yudô College (now Yong In University), founded in 1953. In 1957 it expanded to a four-year institution, and in 1958 it graduated its first yudô instructors. These professionally trained instructors were responsible for much of the later commercial success of Korean martial arts around the world.

Various *kwan* (schools) of karate were opened in Korea after 1945. These called their art either kongsudô (empty-hand way), tangsudô (Chinese hands way), or kwonbop (fist method, kenpô in Japanese). Early leaders included Lee Won-Kuk, Ro Pyong-Chik, Choi Hong-Hi, Chun Sang-Sup, Yun Pyung-In, and Hwang Ki. Most of these schools taught Japanese forms up through the 1960s.

A few Koreans stayed in Japan to teach, including Yung Geka, Cho Hyung-Ju, and Choi Yong-I. Choi Yong-I became the most famous of these, and he is best known by his Japanese name, Masutatsu Oyama. Oyama was perhaps the most famous Japanese *Karateka* (karate practitioner) of the twentieth century. He founded Kyokushinkai Karate, sometimes known as Oyama Karate, and became famous for fighting bulls with his bare hands.

After the Chinese Revolution of 1949, many Chinese fled to Korea. The best known of these instructors taught Praying Mantis kung fu, *changquan* (long fist), and *baguazhang*. They tended to teach only Chinese students until the 1960s. Eventually, changquan became the most popular of these systems.

Hapkidô developed in the 1950s and 1960s from Japanese jûjutsu. Choi Yong-Shul (1904–1986) trained in *Daitô-ryû Aikijutsu* in Japan before 1945. Following the war, Choi returned to Korea and taught a system composed of joint locking, striking, and throwing techniques to various students in Taegu City. Choi used a variety of names for his art, including Yusul (yielding art), *Yukwonsul* ("soft fist art"), *Kidô* ("energy way"), and finally *Hapkidô* (coordinated energy way). Choi taught at a school run by Suh Bok-Sup, an experienced practitioner of yudô. Among his first young students were Ji Han-Jae and Kim Mu Hyun (also spelled Kim Moo Woong). Suh, Kim, and Ji all eventually moved to Seoul.

Ji Han-Jae was greatly responsible for the spread of Hapkidô, both through his own efforts and through the students whom he introduced to the art, including Han Bong-Soo, Choi Seo-Oh, Myung Kwang-Shik, and Myung Jae-nam. Choi Seo-Oh brought Hapkidô to the United States in 1964, and Bong-Soo Han popularized the art by providing the choreography for the Billy Jack movies in the 1970s. Myung Kwang-Shik founded the World Hapkidô Federation and introduced the use of forms into Hapkidô. Myung Jae-nam linked his style of Hapkidô with Japanese aikidô and formed the International Hapkidô Federation in 1983. Ji also supported the spread of Hapkidô in his role as bodyguard for President Park. Ji used his influence to have the Korean Presidential Security Forces train in Hapkidô beginning in 1962, a practice they maintained through the 1990s. Ji also convinced the Dae Woo company to hire Hapkidô black belts as security consultants. Ji himself formed the Korea Hapkidô Association.

After the beginning of the Korean War, the Republic of Korea (ROK) became ever more nationalistic. There was increasing pressure to develop a Korean form of karate, rather than continue to practice in the Japanese way. A series of national associations formed and disbanded as the Koreans argued over the shape of the new national art. The Korea Kongsudô Association was founded in 1951, followed by the Korean Tangsudô Association in 1953. These eventually merged to form the Subakdo Association in 1959. The Subakdô Association was opposed by the Korea Taekwondo Association (KTA), also founded in 1959. Hwang Ki was the head of the Subakdô Association, while General Choi Hong-Hi was the head of the KTA. General Choi had the most political power and the KTA quickly grew in power.

General Choi's efforts ran into difficulties following the 1961 military coup d'état in the ROK. The coup ousted the Second Republic and placed General Park Chung Hee in control of Korea. President Park quickly moved to remove his political rivals from power. He appointed General Choi, who had supported the coup, as ambassador to Malaysia in 1962, and for three years General Choi was removed from Korean politics. While he was gone, the KTA changed its name to the Korea Taesudo Association. The KTA also became an affiliate of the Korean Amateur Sports Association (KASA) in 1962 and a member of the Korean Athletic Association in 1964. Many black belts joined the KTA after the government began to support the establishment of national standards. Hwang Ki of the Subakdo Association was the most obvious opponent of growing KTA consolidation, and the KTA often harassed Hwang and his supporters.

During his time in Malaysia, General Choi developed a new set of purely Korean forms to replace the Japanese forms still taught in taekwondo. Upon his return to Korea in 1965, he again took control of the

KTA and changed the name back to the Korea Taekwondo Association. In 1966, KASA began the development of a training center for international competition, hoping to emulate the success of the Tokyo Olympics of 1964. General Choi founded the International Taekwondo Federation (ITF) in 1966 with an eye to supporting the spread of taekwondo around the world.

Taekwondo continued to gain in importance in Korea in the 1970s. Construction of the Kukkiwon, the Seoul headquarters of taekwondo, began on November 19, 1971, and the building was inaugurated on November 30, 1972. On February 14, 1972, taekwondo became a part of the official curriculum of Korea's primary schools. It entered the middle school curricula on August 31 and on December 5, the National High School and Middle School Taekwondo Federation was established, followed by the National Collegiate Taekwondo Federation on December 28, 1972.

In 1971, due to increasing tension with President Park, General Choi began to make secret plans to leave Korea and move the ITF to Canada. The KTA did not want the headquarters of taekwondo to move outside of the ROK and severed ties with the ITF, forming a new international organization, the World Taekwondo Federation (WTF). Ironically, both General Choi and his old rival Hwang Ki left the Republic of Korea in 1974. Choi went to Canada to spread taekwondo, while Hwang went to the United States where he continued to teach tangsudô.

The WTF was officially founded during the first World Taekwondo Championships held at the Kukkiwon in 1973. The WTF continued to support international competition in taekwondo. In 1988, taekwondo became a demonstration sport at the Seoul Olympics, and in 2000, taekwondo became an official Olympic sport.

Choi Hong-Hi began teaching taekwondo in North Korea in the 1980s, and the ROK National Intelligence Service has therefore declared that the ITF "is nothing but an unauthorized organization" and that "it is a private organization operated under Northern support rather than a genuine sports organization and has been utilized as a means of expanding Northern influence overseas." The dispute between the ITF and WTF remains unresolved.

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See also Korean Martial Arts, Chinese Influences on; Swordsmanship, Korean/Hankuk Haedong Kumdô; T'aek'kyŏn; Taekwondo

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Korean Martial Arts, Chinese Influences on

The earliest archaeological evidence of Korean martial arts practices can be seen in a tomb in northeast China, an area under the Koguryo Kingdom (37 B.C.–A.D. 668), but colonized and under Chinese military control between 108 B.C. and A.D. 313. The wall murals at this site include one scene that depicts wrestling (*juedi* in Chinese and *kakjo* in Korean), and another with two men rushing at each other, which has been interpreted by some as depicting boxing (*shoubo* in Chinese and *subak* in Korean). Whether or not the latter scene actually depicts boxing as opposed to wrestling remains a matter of conjecture. In any case, the Chinese and other peoples bordering China all appear to have practiced wrestling.

The *Former Han History* (completed in A.D. 83), covering the period 206 B.C.–A.D. 24, reveals that, during this time, Chinese martial arts had already developed to a relatively high degree of sophistication, with a clear distinction made between wrestling and boxing practices. Although there are no adequate Korean references to the martial arts prior to the *Koryo History* (completed in 1451, and covering the period 918–1392), its citations provide evidence that the Koreans maintained a strict distinction between wrestling and boxing in the military, similar to the Chinese pattern, which they may have emulated as far back as the Koguryo period. This practice was continued at least into the fifteenth century, as confirmed in the *Veritable Records of the Yi Dynasty*.

During the end of the eighteenth century, King Jongjo displayed an interest in military affairs and commissioned a book on martial skills, which was completed by Yi Dok-Mu in 1790 under the title *Encyclopedia of Illustrated Martial Arts Manuals*. Yi Dok-Mu's *Encyclopedia* offers a fairly comprehensive view of traditional Korean and Chinese martial arts practices up to that time. It draws on research from numerous Chinese sources,

including Ming general Qi Jiguang's (1528–1587) *New Book of Effective Discipline* (ca. 1561), together with contemporary Korean practices, and includes illustrated routines, on foot and from horseback, for broadsword (a cross between cutlass and saber), flail, and a variety of poled weapons such as spear, trident, crescent halberd, and others. The chapter on boxing (*quanfa* in Chinese, *kwonbop* in Korean, *kenpô* in Japanese) is taken primarily from General Qi Jiguang's manual. Some Korean sources refer to this chapter as illustrating subak practice. It is possible that a combination of Chinese boxing and seizing techniques similar to those shown in Qi's manual influenced *t'aek'kyŏn,* a nineteenth-century Korean sport described as employing "flying foot" and grappling techniques.

Although the references to traditional Korean martial arts are scattered and there are large gaps in information for some periods, it is still possible to piece together a broad outline, which generally reflects Chinese influence. The Koreans appear to have modeled their military martial arts system on that prevailing as early as the Chinese Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) and to have retained the term *subak*, originally associated with that period, through the fifteenth century, long after the Chinese terminology had changed. The term for wrestling changed from *kakjo* to *kakryuk* (*jueli* in Chinese and *ssirŭm* in colloquial Korean) during the Yi period.

Modern Korean *taekwondo* appears to be based mainly on Japanese karate, which was, itself, based primarily on Chinese boxing modified in Okinawa and introduced to the Japanese martial arts community in the 1920s.

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See also Hapkidô; Korea; T'aek'kyŏn; Taekwondo

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Koryû Bugei, Japanese

The *koryû bugei* are the classical styles or systems through which the samurai acquired their military skills, as well as many of their key values and convictions. They are distinguished from the better-known and more widely practiced modern cognate arts of Japan, such as kendô and jûdô, by their origins, organizational structures, and senses of purpose.

To be classified as a koryû, a school must be able to trace its origins to at least the early nineteenth century. Most are in fact considerably older than this, and the traditional histories of some profess roots in the twelfth, tenth, or even the seventh century—although scholars generally view such claims as hyperbole.

Military training in Japan dates back to before the dawn of recorded history, and organized drill can be documented by the early eighth century, but the solidification of martial art into systems, or *ryûha,* was a development of the mid to late medieval period, a part of a broad trend toward the systemization of knowledge and teaching in various pursuits. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, virtuosos of poetry, the tea ceremony, flower arranging, music, Nô drama, and the like began to think of their approaches to their arts as packages of information that could be transmitted to students in organized patterns, and began to certify their students' mastery of the teachings by issuing written documents. Thus, samurai began to seek out warriors with reputations as expert fighters and appeal to them for instruction, even as such masters of combat began to codify their knowledge and experience and to methodize its study. During the Tokugawa period (1600–1868), bugei training became increasingly formalized and businesslike, with adepts opening commercial training halls and instructing students for fees, turning the teaching of martial art into a full-time profession.

The opening to the West and rapid modernization of Japan in the late nineteenth century brought dramatic changes to the role and status of the

koryû by virtually ending perceptions of practical military value in the arts of sword, spear, bow, glaive, and grappling. Participation in the classical bugei flagged rapidly as the new Meiji government closed many urban martial art academies and encouraged instead the development of a new military system based on European models. When public and government interest in traditional martial arts began to revive, from the 1890s onward, it was directed not to the koryû, but to new, synthesized forms of fencing and grappling promulgated as means of physical and moral education for the general public. By the 1930s, the study of these modern cognate arts had become compulsory in Japanese middle schools, where the emphasis was on developing aggression, speed, and a self-sacrificing "martial spirit" appropriate to the imperial armed forces. Consequently, the martial arts became closely identified with militarism, "feudalism," and the war effort, resulting, under the postwar Allied Occupation, in a ban on most forms of bugei training that lasted until 1952, when the Ministry of Education permitted the reintroduction of fencing to high schools, provided that it be taught as physical education and not as a martial art.

A great many koryû died out during the Meiji transformation or the upheavals of the postwar era. Nevertheless, many survived and several dozen thrive today. A few are even practiced overseas.

While modern enthusiasts tend to view the koryû as corporate entities existing across time, this perception is anachronistic. Until the very end of the medieval period, most ryûha had no institutional structure at all, and those that did derived it from familial or territorially based relationships between teachers and students. Medieval bugei masters often traveled about, instructing students as and where they found them. Some students followed their teachers from place to place; others trained under them for short periods while the teacher was in the area. In either case, during this era a ryûha had little practical existence beyond the man who taught it.

Bugei ryûha can often be clearly identified only in retrospect. Teacher-student relationships can be traced backward through time to establish the continuity of lineages, but few martial art adepts prior to modern times belonged exclusively to a single lineage, and few had only a single successor. Unlike many schools of tea ceremony, flower arranging, calligraphy, and other traditional Japanese arts, in the premodern era most bugei ryûha did not develop articulated organizational structures whereby senior disciples were licensed to open branch schools that remained under the authority of the ryûha headmaster. Instead, martial art teachers tended to practice total transmission, in which all students certified as having mastered the school's arts were given complete possession of them—effectively graduated from the school with full rights to propagate or modify what they had been taught as they saw fit. Such students normally left their masters to open

their own schools, teaching on their own authority; instructors retained no residual control over former students or students of students. It was common practice for such graduates to blend what they had learned with personal insights and/or with techniques and ideas gleaned from other teachers. Often, the former students changed the name of the style, in effect founding new ryûha in each generation. Consequently, lines of descent from famous warriors tend to fork and branch again and again, over time giving rise to many hundreds of ryûha.

During the Tokugawa period, the procedures surrounding martial art instruction and the master-disciple bond became much more formal and cabalistic, and the koryû assumed the shapes they have retained into modern times. One of the first steps toward institutionalization of martial art koryû was the issuing of diplomas and licenses to students. This practice began in the sixteenth century with certificates given to acknowledge "graduation" from an instructor's tutelage. The vocabulary used on and for these certificates varied from teacher to teacher, but the most common term for this level of achievement was *menkyo-kaiden*. *Kaiden*, which means "complete transmission," indicated that the student had learned all that the teacher had to offer. *Menkyo* means "license" or "permission," and signified authorization to use the name of the teacher's style in dealings with persons outside the school—such as in duels or when seeking employment.

Medieval bugei instructors seldom formally differentiated students by level prior to graduation; there was little need for such distinctions, inasmuch as the period of tutelage was usually brief—sometimes only a few months. But during the Tokugawa period, as instruction became more professionalized and more commercialized, apprenticeships became longer. Thus, more elaborate systems of intermediate ranks were introduced, providing students with tangible measures of their progress.

Today, a few koryû have adopted the standardized *dan-kyû* system of ranks and grades introduced by jûdô pioneer Kanô Jigorô in the late nineteenth century and embraced by most modern cognate martial arts. Prior to Kanô's innovation, however, each ryûha maintained its own system of ranks and its own terminology for them, and most koryû continue to use these systems today. This situation makes it difficult to compare the levels of students from different ryûha, inasmuch as even terms used in common sometimes represent completely different levels of achievement from school to school. Similarly, there is no simple formula for calculating equivalencies between koryû ranks and those of the dan-kyû system, which many koryû view as being based on fundamentally different premises from those of their own systems. Ranks within the koryû tend to certify not skills mastered or status achieved so much as initiation into new and deeper levels of training. Promotion in "rank," therefore, signifies the granting of permission for the

student to move on to the next level of training. The principal criteria for promotion are aptitude (including, but not limited to, skills and knowledge mastered) and moral fitness to be allowed to share in the teachings of the school at a higher and deeper level, and to be trusted with more of its secrets.

Koryû, in fact, tend to be far smaller, more closed, and more private organizations than those associated with the modern cognate martial arts. The membership of most numbers in the dozens or less. Many are, or were until a generation or two ago, restricted family traditions. Most are taught in only a single location, under the direct supervision of the headmaster and/or instructors (*shihan*) operating under him or her.

Traditionally, koryû teachers have been extremely careful about admitting students to instruction and have usually demanded long commitments and considerable control over students' behavior during their terms of apprenticeship. Many still follow elaborate procedures for screening new students, requiring letters of recommendation and even investigations into the backgrounds of applicants. Those who pass such screenings are initiated into their ryûha as though into a brotherhood or secret society. Some koryû hold entrance ceremonies ranging from the very simple to the very ornate. Most collect initiation gifts and fees. And nearly all require students to sign written pledges, or kishômon, in which they promise to abide by the school's rules and keep its secrets. In the past—and sometimes even today—these pledges were often sealed with the students' own blood, pressed onto the paper next to their signatures or ciphers.

What most definitively distinguishes koryû bugei from modern cognate martial arts, however, is not the age or the organizational structure of the schools, but the holistic and cabalistic manner in which they view the educational process. The essence of the koryû bugei experience is one of socialization to the ryûha, the complete subordination of the individual to the system—a course that promises that those who stay with it long enough will emerge, paradoxically, with a more fully developed sense of individualism. This idea derives from basic Confucian principles of education that predate their application to bugei training in Japan by centuries. The process centers on wholehearted devotion to the mastery of detail.

The koryû bugei are extraordinarily complex arts. At their most fundamental levels as methodologies of combat and war, they are largely collections of particulars, expressed in dozens of individual techniques and strategies, described in a profoundly unsystematized, sometimes opaque, and often overlapping argot of terms. Much of this apparent chaos is intentional, for—at least until modern times—martial art schools, as competitive organizations training warriors for deadly combat, deliberately sought to keep outsiders from grasping what they taught.

And yet each ryûha does have an essence, a conceptual core around

which the details of the school's arts revolve. This core becomes increasingly perceptible to initiates as they advance in their studies, particularly as they turn their attentions beyond the initiatory functions of the bugei as arts of war to their deeper purpose as arts of peace and self-realization. To adepts who have entered this realm, each one of their school's terms and concepts reveals multiple levels of meaning—mechanical, psychological, moral, and so forth—understood not as sequential steps, but as interpenetrating spheres of activity. As the koryû conceptualize it, the value and the benefits imparted by the practice of the bugei lie in the combination of all the various elements involved. Koryû see this combination as having a special meaning and existence over and above the sum of the parts. Thus koryû bugei is a means to broad personal development that exists only in whole form: Studying a koryû necessarily involves a willingness to embrace the whole package in a particularly defined way.

The arcane nature of the arts themselves, the lack of competitions and other sportive applications, the cabalistic atmosphere surrounding admission and the educational process, and the length and seriousness of the commitments expected from initiates limit the appeal of classical martial art for modern audiences in, as well as outside of, Japan. Moreover, the aversion of most headmasters to licensing branch instructors and academies severely restricts opportunities for training for those who might otherwise be attracted. Thus koryû bugei are, and will likely continue to be, a rather small part of the Japanese martial art world. Nonetheless, the koryû are, historically and conceptually, the core of this world, and remain a vital—and quintessential—part of it today.

Karl Friday

See also Budô, Bujutsu, and Bugei; Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice; Japan; Samurai; Swordsmanship, Japanese

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Krav Maga

Krav maga (Hebrew; contact combat) is an Israeli martial art that was developed in the 1940s for use by the Israeli military and intelligence services. The creator of the system was Imi Lichtenfeld, an immigrant to Israel from Bratislava, Slovak (formerly Czechoslovakia). Today it is the official fighting art of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and has gained popularity worldwide as an effective and devastating fighting method. It is a fighting art exclusively; sport variants do not exist. Krav maga has earned high marks from police forces and elite military units worldwide as a practical martial art that is easy to learn. Although a fairly recently developed martial art, its growth has been impressive and shows no sign of abating.

Imi Lichtenfeld was born in Budapest in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1910. The family later moved to Bratislava. His father, Samuel, had been a circus performer and taught Imi wrestling, physical fitness, and various martial art techniques he had learned from his years of travels. Samuel Lichtenfeld was also a chief inspector and self-defense instructor for the Bratislava police department. Imi developed into an athlete and won several wrestling, boxing, and gymnastics competitions throughout his youth.

In the 1930s, the political situation for Jews in Czechoslovakia began to turn grim. Germany had become a Nazi state characterized by rabid anti-Semitism as its ideological base. This anti-Semitism exploded onto the streets of Bratislava. Nazi sympathizers created gangs and political parties who began to harass and physically assault Jews on the streets. Imi often found himself in the middle of fights, and because of his background, gave self-defense lessons to fellow Jews.

Lichtenfeld soon found that there was a vast difference between the sport combat systems he had studied and actual street fighting. The Nazi and fascist gang members had no qualms about using knives and rocks as weapons or attacking the vital points of the human body, none of which was allowed in sporting events. Fortunately, Lichtenfeld was quick to adapt his knowledge to the new realities in order to defend himself successfully. These experiences, however, fixed in his mind the necessity of developing an actual combat system as opposed to relying for defense on sport fighting constrained by rules.

Imi left Bratislava and immigrated to Palestine (later Israel) in 1942. Palestine was at that time assigned by the League of Nations as a mandate to Great Britain. Immigration by Jews to Palestine was severely restricted, despite the Nazi death camps that were being used to kill European Jews. In addition, Jewish residents of Palestine were under attacks constantly from the Arabs in the region. To combat these attacks, the Jewish residents had formed the Hagana, the forerunner of the IDF. The Hagana's purpose

was to bring as many Jews as possible through the British blockade and to fight back Arab assaults.

Lichtenfeld joined the Hagana soon after his arrival and became a self-defense instructor for Hagana soldiers and special operations units. Weapons were scarce at this time for Jews, so hand-to-hand combat was a vital necessity. From his arrival until 1948, Lichtenfeld constantly worked on the theories and curriculum of what he eventually labeled krav maga. He developed his system according to three criteria: It had to be effective, it had to be simple enough to be learned by anyone with any type of body shape and size, and it had to be learned quickly.

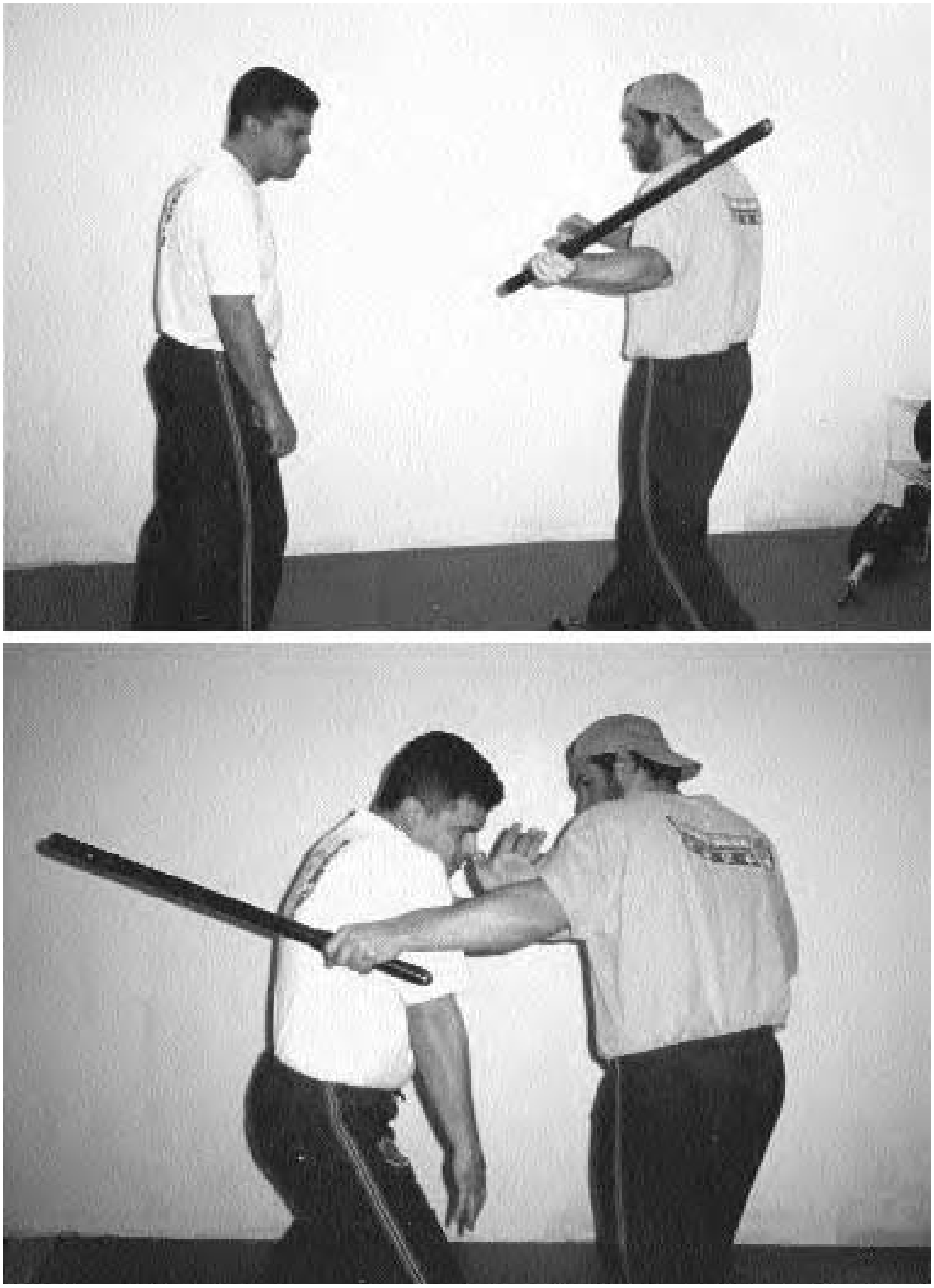
In 1947, Israel was declared an independent nation by the United Nations, a decision that quickly led to war between Israel and its surrounding Arab neighbors. Despite overwhelming odds, the Israelis won the conflict and established the independent State of Israel as a homeland for Jews.

World War II had left devastating psychological and physical scars on Jews. The Nazis had killed six million, one-third of the total number of Jews worldwide. Many of the survivors fled to Israel. The "lesson" of the Holocaust, as the destruction of European Jews came to be known, imprinted on Israelis the realization that the survival of Israel would depend on Jews alone. Even after the victory of 1948, Israel would have to remain in a state of high alert because of the hostility of its Arab neighbors. This readiness is reflected in the intensely combative nature of krav maga.

By the time the IDF was fully organized, Lichtenfeld had prepared the curriculum of krav maga. All Israeli soldiers were given basic training in the system. Israeli special operatives received advanced training. Often Israeli Mossad (Secret Service) agents were sent into regions where carrying a weapon was not practical. Krav maga was the only "weapon" that these operatives could use. In 1961, several of the Mossad agents who captured the infamous Nazi leader Adolph Eichmann in Argentina were krav maga experts.

Krav maga is, therefore, one of the most modern martial arts, and it is also one of the few that was developed directly for battlefield and urban combat. The constant state of warfare and terrorist attacks that have become a part of Israeli life have meant that any system of self-defense would have to be effective and realistic. Due to these extreme circumstances, Lichtenfeld had, in effect, a laboratory for the development of the art. Soldiers and practitioners in combat conditions who were forced to use the art for self-defense could report back to Lichtenfeld which techniques were effective. Lichtenfeld consequently modified techniques based on these actual experiences. As a result, krav maga is a proven warfare combat system.

Although the system was originally intended for the military, by the early 1960s Lichtenfeld was teaching krav maga to civilians. Because of in-



Krav Maga practitioners are taught to deal with attacks quickly and effectively, as the series of photographs on this and the following pages shows. (Courtesy of Gene Tausk)

terest from the general public, after retiring from the IDF, Lichtenfeld began to modify the art for civilian use. In 1978, the International Krav Maga Federation was founded to teach the art worldwide. Its headquarters are located in Netanya, Israel. Branches of the main school can be found all over Israel, and at the present time the art is being taught worldwide. It is most popular in Israel, Finland, Sweden, Brazil, the United States, and France. Although Imi Lichtenfeld died in 1998, the success and popularity of krav maga continues.

Krav maga is divided into two main systems. The first, Self-Defense Krav Maga, is a standardized basic course of self-defense that can be learned in as little as twenty hours' time. It teaches students how to defend themselves effectively against the most common attacks. Practitioners also learn to strike the weak points of the human body, to use basic holds and throws, and to recognize the danger signs of an attack.

The second system, Combat Krav Maga, is a combat martial art. It is mastered over a period of time, like other martial arts, and practitioners are graded according to a belt system. Belts begin with white (beginner) and proceed to black for advanced students. Combat Krav Maga practitioners are taught all phases of combat, including kicks, punches, throws and takedowns, grappling techniques, and weapons use.

Krav maga differs from most Asian martial arts in three respects. First, there are no kata or forms that practitioners must learn. Kata (Japanese; form, forms) are prearranged patterns of movement that teach practitioners the correct way to move and punch, block, kick, or execute a throw. Krav maga techniques are designed to be instinctive rather than learned. Second, krav maga has no ritual or ceremony attached to it. In Asian martial arts, a fighting match usually opens with a bow. By contrast, krav maga practitioners are expected to move directly into combat, with the assumption that the opponent is trying to kill the practitioner; no opening ceremonies are expected or practiced. Third, krav maga immediately attempts to psychologically prepare the practitioner for fighting. This training is intended to develop the fight-or-flight response that is innate in humans into either correctly fighting or seizing an opportunity to escape. Often, when a combat situation is initiated, an untrained individual will be

powerless for a few seconds while the psyche attempts to adjust to the situation. These few seconds can be enough to give an opponent time to kill or injure. Krav maga practitioners are taught to overcome this initial hesitation with action, whether it is action to fight or to escape.

The krav maga curriculum begins with learning to be aware of possible danger situations. Practitioners also are taught that it is important to be able to size up a situation before entering into peril. This part of the training reflects Lichtenfeld's initial experiences with fascist gangs in Europe and also addresses the contemporary situation in Israel, where sudden terrorist attacks are a constant threat. At this beginning stage, students are also taught the basics of human anatomy (specifically weak points of the human body), how to fall from various positions and land safely, how to make a fist and punch, and the basics of boxing.

As students progress, they are taught advanced boxing techniques and other empty-hand strikes, kicking techniques, and defenses against punches and kicks. Students are then taught how to break free of choke holds, neck locks, and holds against the legs, waist, and chest. Later, students are introduced to higher-level concepts of fighting, including more kicks, throws, and takedowns (attempts to destabilize the balance of an opponent and force him to the ground). At the highest levels of training, students are taught to recognize the threats that involve being attacked with a knife, gun, or even a submachine gun, and disarming techniques against these weapons. Krav maga practitioners are also expected to continue development of their sense of danger awareness.

At higher levels, students also can learn techniques that can aid in various professions. For example, there are techniques that are designed for police and other law enforcement officers, to help these professionals in subduing opponents without seriously injuring the opponent. Advanced techniques also exist for bodyguards and special operations soldiers.

Krav maga techniques are designed to be simple and direct. There are no high kicks used in the art; kicks are directed at waist level or below. Knee strikes, especially against the groin and inner thigh area, are especially used. Practitioners also use kicks against the legs, similar to those used in *Muay Thai* (Thai kickboxing), to unbalance an opponent. Punches are based on boxing moves and are intended for vital points or to place the mass of the body behind a blow to gain punching power. Open-hand techniques to the eyes, ears, throat, and solar plexus are used. Elbow techniques are used extensively. These techniques require little strength but have devastating results; an elbow strike to the face or floating ribs can easily disable an opponent.

Throwing techniques are not of the type usually seen in jûdô or *sambo* (a modern Russian martial art); they have more in common with freestyle

wrestling takedowns. The purpose is not to gain points, as in a sporting match, but to get the attacker in a weak position as quickly as possible. Practitioners are taught to restrain attackers through arm bars, which attempt to hyperextend the elbow joint unless the attacker submits, or by twisting the wrist joint until the attacker is in pain. At advanced levels, choke holds, which attempt to cut off the supply of air or blood to the brain, are taught. Choke holds are powerful techniques that enable a smaller person to endanger a larger one.

Krav maga is also unique in that students are taught to take advantage of material objects that may be at hand for aiding in a self-defense situation. One of the theories behind krav maga is that ordinary objects can be turned into weapons, if only for a few seconds, to provide a critical advantage to the person being attacked. Women who carry purses are taught to initially throw them at an attacker to off-balance him and provide a few additional seconds to escape or attack. Objects such as ordinary writing pens can be turned into weapons, and practitioners are taught how to use them as such.

In addition to the martial benefits of studying krav maga, students are introduced to an effective form of exercise. A krav maga workout exercises the body in every way, from intense stretching to aerobic and anaerobic conditioning. Even though the art can be studied by people of all ages, the serious participant will become more physically fit through the intense training that the art demands.

Krav maga is a martial art that is intended to be self-defense in its purest form. The art is not intended to change the individual to conform to the system, which is expected in many traditional Asian martial systems. Rather, the art conforms to the unique personality and body structure of the practitioner. Every human is physically different, and krav maga teachers realize this. The primary goal of practitioners is to become aware of how to defend themselves. This involves learning how to best use the situation to the advantage of the practitioner in accordance with the unique abilities of each individual. Krav maga is also expected to instill in its practitioners a sense of confidence, calmness, and mental readiness to respond to danger situations. The only criterion for inclusion in the art is usefulness to one's survival. Practitioners take the tools they are given through the art and adapt them to their own needs.

The effectiveness of the art can be seen in the growth of the demand for instructors. Krav maga is now the official martial art of many police departments and special operations units in the United States. In an ironic twist, it is also the martial art of choice for many special military units and antiterrorist teams in European countries, including France, Finland, Sweden, and Germany. The reasons cited for the popularity are the effectiveness of the art and the ease with which it can be learned by practitioners.

Krav maga has been called the "first unarmed combat system of the twentieth century." This is meant to convey the fact that it developed in this century with the understanding and awareness of modern combat. Firearms are the weapons of choice for twentieth-century warriors, and terrorism and sudden violence often define the battlefield of this century. Imi Lichtenfeld took this situation into account when he developed the art, and the current instructors use this understanding as the basis for further refinements of the system. Just as karate was developed for self-defense when weapons were banned for use by civilians on the island of Okinawa, and certain forms of jûjutsu were developed as auxiliary weapons when a Japanese warrior lost his weapons in battle, krav maga was developed as a way for modern warriors to defend themselves against the unpredictable nature of modern combat. It is not intended to reflect a cultural background or a way of life, but simply to be studied as a system of effective self-defense. In this respect, krav maga is also one of the most universally applicable martial systems. Although a recent arrival on the martial arts stage, krav maga has become a very popular style. As the demand rises for soldiers to fight in unconventional contexts, as well as for civilians to be able to cope with dangerous situations, the demand for krav maga will likely rise as well.

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Kung Fu/Gung Fu/Gongfu

Kung fu (often romanized as *gung fu* or *gongfu*) is a Cantonese phrase meaning, depending on context and the connotations an interpreter applies to the term, "hard work," "human effort," "exertion," or "skill"; especially in the context of the martial arts, *gong* carries the meaning of "inner power." In contemporary Western usage, *kung fu* has been used as a generic term for Chinese martial arts ranging from what have been labeled the "soft" or "internal" arts of *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan), *baguazhang* (*pa kua ch'uan*), and *xingyiquan* (*hsing i ch'uan*) to the so-called hard or external arts of Northern and Southern Shaolin. The term *kung fu* has been associated particularly with those martial systems that tradition claims are descended from the Shaolin Temple arts. In addition, the label *kung fu* tends to be more strongly associated, outside China at least, with the forms of Chinese martial arts that are presumed to emphasize striking over grappling techniques. According to some sources, the term originated as an admonition to practice diligently and was associated, in Hong Kong and Taiwan, with *wugong* (fighting skill).

David Carradine practicing the art of kung fu on a studio lot in Hollywood. (Hulton Archive)

The use and spread of the term *kung fu* have been attributed to the popularity of Hong Kong motion picture and television star Bruce Lee and the television series of the early 1970s, *Kung Fu,* starring David Carradine. *Kung fu* as a generic term for Chinese martial arts appeared at least three years before Lee's initial appearance on U.S. television in 1966, as the character "Kato" in *The Green Hornet* series, after the term was used by Ed Parker in his *Secrets of Chinese Karate*. In this volume, Parker gave what he called Chinese Karate the name *kung fu,* or *chuan* (pinyin *quan;* fist) *shu* (art). This latter phrase, despite a similarity of sound in its English rendering, is unrelated to the term *kung fu* and more closely connected with the term *quanfa* (*ch'uan' fa*), "fist way," which is fighting with the bare hand or empty hand. Another term for the Chinese martial arts, *Chinese boxing,* likely derives from translation of the term *quanfa*.

In the 1920s, the term adopted by the KMT (Kuomintang; pinyin Guomindang, or GMD), the National People's Party, for Chinese martial arts was *guoshu* (national art). With the establishment of the People's Republic of China in the 1950s, the Mandarin term *wushu* (war art/technique/method) was adopted for the fighting arts of China and has gained

Two young women demonstrate Chinese boxing (popularly known as kung fu) in a public square in San Francisco, February 9, 1979. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

general acceptance, particularly in academic circles. Nevertheless, *kung fu* continues to be used in Hong Kong and other areas outside mainland China, as well as internationally in the popular media.

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See also Animal and Imitative Systems in Chinese Martial Arts; Boxing, Chinese; Boxing, Chinese Shaolin Styles

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Kwoon

See Training Area

M

Masters of Defence

European fighting experts from the Middle Ages and Renaissance who taught the use of contemporary weapons of military combat and civilian street-fighting skills along with unarmed defense methods were known as Masters of Defence. A multitude of martial art styles were practiced from the Greek peninsula to Spain, the British Isles, Germany, Scandinavia, Russia, the Baltics, and Turkey. Recognizing that armed fighting and unarmed fighting were only different facets of personal combat, Masters of Defence taught an integrated art. The manuals that many of these masters compiled describe sophisticated techniques for the use of swords, shields, spears, staffs, and daggers, as well as discussing unarmed skills.

In 1617, Sir Joseph Swetnam wrote, "Then he is not worthy to be called a Master of Defence, which cannot defend himself at all weapons . . . and therefore greatly wronged are they which will call such a one a Fencer, for the difference between a Master of Defence and a Fencer, is as much as between a Musician and a Fiddler, or betwixt a Merchant and a Peddler" (Swetnam 1617). In 1599, English master George Silver wrote, "A swordsman should not be so interested in the destruction of his opponent that he disregards his own defence. A Master of Defence is he who can take to the field and know that he shall not come to any harm" (Silver 1599). Moreover, martial artists of the period recognized the differences between true masters and mere theatrical performers or commercial stunt fighters, whom the Germans called *leichmeistere* (dance-masters) and *klopffechter* (clown-fighters).

From the 1200s through the 1600s, Masters of Defence produced over a hundred detailed, often well-illustrated, technical manuals on their fighting methods. These manuscripts, produced by hand in the 1300s and 1400s or printed and published in the 1500s and 1600s, are invaluable resources on all but lost Western martial arts. These works, produced by professionals who fought and killed in battles and duels, present a portrait of European fighting skills that were systematic and highly dynamic. These experts developed and taught a craft that had been learned through life-

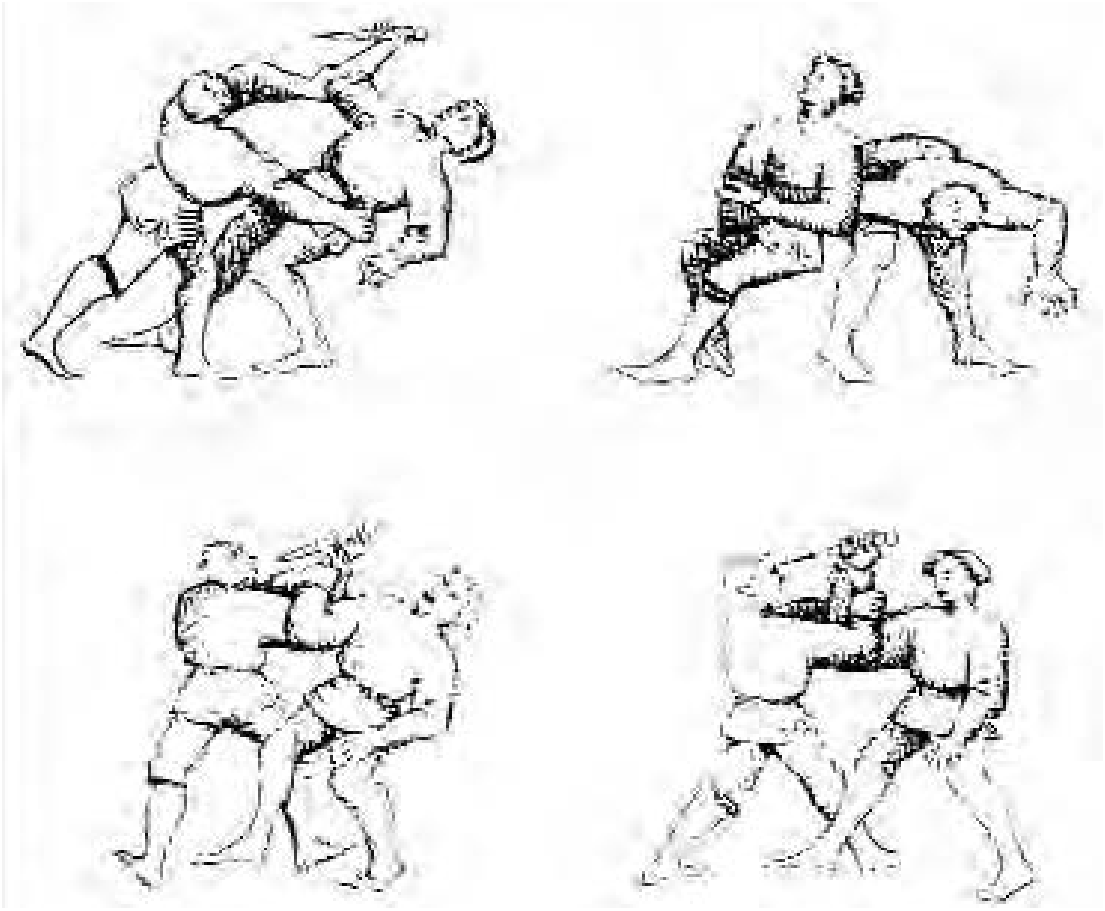
and-death encounters and cultivated over generations in contexts ranging from brutal medieval battlefields to Renaissance civilian street fights. During the period from the mid-1300s to the early 1500s, the Germans and Italians were particularly industrious in teaching fighting arts as well as in producing books on their techniques.

Skilled martial experts were never unfamiliar in the West. The Greeks were known to have their professional *hoplomashi* (weapon instructors), and among the Romans, senior veteran soldiers trained their juniors in the handling of weapons for combat. The later Roman gladiator schools too had their *lanistae* (fight coaches). The Germanic tribes as well as the Celts and Vikings were known to have their most skillful veterans placed in charge of teaching youth the ways of war. The Vikings recognized a number of specific war skills preserved by special teachers. Much later, by an order of the Spanish royal court, special categories of fencing masters, *Tenientes Examinadores de la destreza de las armes* (roughly, "individual's weapon ability examining lieutenants"), were organized in 1478. King Alfonso el Sabio (the Wise) of Castille himself wrote a textbook on warfare in 1260, and in the 1400s Duarte, king of Portugal, produced a manual on fighting skills.

Not until the Middle Ages in Europe, however, did true experts in the martial arts begin to teach in ways we would associate with martial mastery. Throughout the medieval period, because of the obligations of the feudal system, training in arms was a requirement for both the nobility and the common folk who were pressed into military service. It is reasonable to assume that much of the martial knowledge the common warriors learned was individually passed down from person to person within households, clans, or families. These were not skills just for use in the local village or remote forest paths, but were intended for the battlefield complexities encountered with whole armies at war.

Yet more formal mechanisms existed as well, since, despite being poorly armed, the common folk always had need to protect themselves and, if called upon, to defend the kingdom from invasion. Of course, training for war and tournament was an everyday fact of life for knights. For the chivalric warrior class there was always the ideal of the preudome (man of prowess) skilled in military arts. Prowess in arms was itself one of the fundamental tenets of chivalry.

German and English histories indicate clearly that professional masters and teachers of swordsmanship and weaponry existed at least from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. In France in the 1200s, there are references to royal privileges granted to a group of Paris masters. By the late Middle Ages, there were sword masters and fighting experts both teaching and fighting for pay, yet they themselves were typically commoners. Many of the instructors of various fencing guilds, especially in Italy



Defense and disarming moves as taught by the enormously influential Italian Master of Defence, Fiore dei Liberi. This illustration appeared in his Flos Duellatorium *(Flower of Battle), first published in 1410. (Courtesy of John Clements)*

and Germany, tutored the nobility in fighting. In Germany, there were long-lived *Fechtschulen* (fighting schools), a collection of guilds run by common citizens and soldiers. There were fighting guilds such as the Marxbrüder (Brotherhood of St. Mark), Luxbrueder (Company of St. Luke), and Federfechter, which specialized in many weapons, including two-handed swords and later rapiers. The English too had schools of defence that survived well into the Renaissance. They continued for some time, however, to teach the older medieval swords and weaponry. Also, there were clandestine teachers of arms and even traveling professional fighters who, for money, would act as stand-ins during trial by combat. In 1286, Edward II ordered fencing schools teaching *Eskirmer au Buckler* (Buckler Fighting) banned from the city of London—ostensibly to "control villainy" and "prevent criminal mischief" said to be associated with such activities. In 1310, one Master Roger, *Le Skirmisour* (The Fighter), was even charged with and found guilty of running a fencing school in London.

"Masters of fencing" are mentioned in Italy in the 1300s as offering advice and exercises for fighting. In the 1400s, there were well-established fencing academies in Milan, Venice, and Verona, and later Bologna; even earlier, a master swordsman by the name of Goffredo taught the youth of Civildale in 1259. There are also references in Italy during the 1400s to the "trial for status" of a master of *Ars Palistrinae* (Martial Arts). The Bolognese school in Italy existed since the early 1200s under instructors in the 1300s such as Master Rosolino, Master Francesco, and Master Nerio. In the 1400s, Master Filippo di Bartolomeo Dardi, an astrologer, mathematician, and professor at Bologna University, also kept a school there. An Italian fencing master from the late 1600s also stated that a "Corporation of Fencing Masters," headquartered in Madrid, existed in Spain from the Middle Ages. There are numerous references to *Esgrimidors* (fencing masters) in Portuguese civil documents from the late 1400s.

The people of the Germanic states were the most prolific writers among the European martial artists. German sword masters are first mentioned as early as 1259; Hans Liechtenauer (or Johannes Lichtenawer) is considered the grand *Fechtmeister* (fighting master) of the German schools of fighting and swordplay. A whole series of fencing manuals, or *Fechterbuecher* (fight books), are based on his work. One of the earliest was compiled in 1389 by Hanko Doebringer, a priest who at one time appears to have studied fighting under Liechtenauer. As was common practice at the time, it is written in rhymed verse. In order to conceal his teachings, he also utilized highly cryptic phrasing. Liechtenauer himself appears to have studied under several earlier unknown masters such as Lamprecht from Bohemia, Virgily from Krakow, and Liegnitzer in Silesia. His influential teachings, reflecting fighting methods developed over a century earlier, cover a variety of weapons from sword and shield to staff, plus a range of unarmed fighting techniques.

Other major German masters include Joerg Wilhalm, whose text of 1523 survives, as well as Hans Lebkommer, who in 1530 put his methods on paper in *Der Alten Fechter an fengliche Kunst* (The Original Art of the Ancient Fencers) and *Fechtmeister Kal* (Fight Master). Lebkommer's fechtbuch is actually the compilation of Christian Egenolph, and as with many of the others, it includes materials from earlier works such as those by Andre Pauerfeindts of 1516, and the student of Liechtenauer, Fechtmeister Sigmund Ringeck, of ca. 1440. Ringeck's material includes the use of the sword, the scimitar-like falchion, and other weapons. As with many later German masters, Ringeck interpreted Hans Liechtenauer's earlier verses and added them to his own method.

Hans Talhoffer is a more widely known major Master of Defence from the Middle Ages. His fechtbuch from 1443 was reprinted many times during the 1400s but now only exists in various editions from the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries. Talhoffer, likely a student of Liechtenauer, reveals an array of great-sword and two-handed sword techniques, sword and buckler moves, dagger fighting, seizures and disarms, grappling techniques, and the Austrian wrestling of Otto the Jew. His work also describes methods of fighting against pole-arms. Like the works of many other fechtmeisters, Talhoffer's manual includes fighting with swords both while unarmored and in full plate armor. Talhoffer also covers material relating to dueling, and, like other masters, he was concerned with the secrecy of his art.

There are more than a dozen other significant German masters whose works on fighting still survive. Many of their methods suggest influence from one another. Among the most notable are Paulus Kal, Master Peter von Danzig, Johannes Leckuechner, Peter Falkner, H. von Speyer, and Gregor Erhart.

In Italy, a particularly significant figure was the Italian Fiore dei Liberi, leading master of the Bolognese school of fighting, whose work remains a primary source for practice of the medieval Italian long-sword. Originally taught by German masters, dei Liberi studied swordsmanship for some fifty years. His illustrated text on fighting skills, the *Flos Duellatorum* (Latin; Flower of Battle) was first published in 1410. This pragmatic work was devoted primarily to the use of the long-sword and great-sword and offered a contrast to exclusively German systems. He covered assorted sword and staff weapons, dagger fighting, fighting in heavy armor, and mounted combat, as well as unarmed techniques. Dei Liberi's work influenced Italian masters, particularly during the later Renaissance.

Another important medieval Italian master was Fillipo Vadi of Padua. Little is known about Vadi except from his treatise on fighting, *De Arte Gladiatoria Dimicandi* (About the Gladiatorial Art of Fighting), written between 1480 and 1487. He was a master from the town of Pisa who served noblemen. His treatise is in two parts: One consists of text and the other mainly of illustrations. Vadi taught that fencing is a "science," not an art. His teaching offered a glimpse of the ethics of a master at the time and espoused the view that a master only needed to teach noblemen, since they have the role of protecting the weak. Like dei Liberi's, Vadi's text displays knowledge of a wide range of armed and unarmed fighting skills. The postures and guards he uses often have the same names as the guards of Fiore dei Liberi, but interestingly the positions and their names are not always identical to dei Liberi's. Obviously, many guard names circulated among various schools and masters with modifications in name and/or position.

From the fourteenth through the fifteenth centuries, medieval warfare underwent significant changes. The process of change intensified in the 1500s. The massed use of longbow and crossbow, the development of articulated plate armor, and the invention of weapons associated with fight-

ing both in it and against it profoundly changed individual combat. Moreover, social and technological forces severely affected the conditions under which combat took place. As a result, throughout the Renaissance, Masters of Defence began to more systematically study and analyze fighting in an effort to raise the art of combat to a higher degree of sophistication and effectiveness. Crucial changes came about with the convergence of, among other factors, the discarding of heavy armor (primarily due to the advent of firearms), the reduced role of the individual warrior on the battlefield, and the rise of an armed urban middle class.

In this environment, Renaissance Masters of Defence began to teach fencing and fighting both publicly and privately. Specialized civilian fighting guilds and Schools of Defence began to thrive. Masters such as Joachim Meyer, Jeronimo de Carranza, Henry de Sainct Didier, D. L. P. de Narvaez, Salvator Fabris, Joachim Koppen, Francesco Alfieri, Jacob Sutor, and others became highly regarded experts. They approached their craft seriously, earnestly, and scientifically. Martial arts masters, who traveled and tutored widely, arose both from the gentry and the lower classes. Italian and Spanish instructors of the new rapier ultimately became the most admired. The intellectual climate of the Renaissance influenced their profession, in that geometry, mathematics, and philosophy played major roles in their styles.

The history of European arms and armor is one of established continuity marked by sudden developments of forced innovation. Renaissance sword blades were generally lighter than medieval ones, and the thrust was used to a far greater extent during the Renaissance. The fundamentals that early Renaissance masters built upon were not entirely of their own invention, however. They called upon a long-established foundation from medieval fighting methods. Like much of the progress in Renaissance learning and scientific advance, their art was based on principles that had been established for centuries.

The Bolognese master Achille Marozzo, one of the most significant masters of his day, was one of the first to focus on the use of the thrust over the cut. He produced two manuals on fence, *Opera Nova* (1536) and *Il Duello* (1550). His countryman, Camillo Agrippa, was another to focus on the thrust over the cut, and in 1553 produced one of the earliest rapier manuals, "His Treatise on the Science of Arms with a Philosophical Dialogue," which received wide acclaim after being translated into English. These masters, among others of their day, revealed methods that reflected the transition by early Renaissance martial artists to civilian cut-and-thrust swordsmanship and the emerging emphasis on urban self-defense.

By the late 1500s the vicious new slender civilian thrusting sword, the rapier, became the favored dueling weapon. In 1595 Master Vincentio Saviolo wrote "His Practice in Two Books," one of the first true rapier manuals,

an influential treatise at the time, which retains its popularity. Saviolo was instrumental in bringing the art to England when he settled in London to teach his method. A fellow Italian master, Giacomo Di Grassi, had another major rapier manual, translated into English, under the title *His True Arte of Defence,* in 1594. Also, Salvator Fabris was a master from Bologna who in the late 1500s traveled in Germany, France, and Spain and synthesized the best of many other teachers. Their methods reflect important changes in the blades, techniques, and attitudes of Western Masters of Defence. Because firearms had rendered the traditional individual weapons of war less relevant on the battlefield, the focus of masters was now less on weapons of war and unarmed skills than on personal civilian dueling. Masters now became far less concerned with running schools for common warrior skills than with teaching the upper classes the newly popular art of defense. Of these later masters, Ridolfo Capo Ferro, author of *Gran Simulacro* (Great Representation/Description) of 1610, is considered the undisputed Italian grand master of the rapier and the father of modern fencing. He taught a linear style of fence and emphasized the superiority of the thrust over the cut in order to utilize the rapier's advantage of quick, deceptive reach.

Other notable Renaissance masters and their works include Vigianni's *Lo Schermo* (The Shield) of 1575, the Milanese master Lovino's *Traite d'Escrime* (Fencing Treatise) of 1580, Jacob Sutor's 1612 *Neues Kunstliches Fechtbuch* (New Artistic Fencing Book), and Nicoletto Giganti's 1606 *Scola overo Teatro* (School or Theater). There was also Sir William Hope, a military veteran who taught and between 1691 and 1714 wrote numerous books, including *The Scots Fencing-Master* (1687) and *The Complete Fencing-Master* (1692). Other contemporary works treat the use of the slender thrusting small-sword, sabers, cutlasses, spadroons, and assorted cavalry blades.

Germany produced important Renaissance masters, also. Paulus Mair, an official from the city of Augsburg, compiled three large manuals covering a great variety of swords and weaponry. Fechtmeister Joachim Meyer wrote his own teachings down in 1570, as did Jacob Sutor, who described his methods in 1612. In general, the Germans resisted adopting the rapier in favor of their traditional weaponry.

The English fighting guilds, like the German ones, resisted for some time the encroaching civilian system of the Hispano-Italian rapier in favor of their traditional militarily focused methods. During the 1500s, The Corporation of Maisters of the Noble Science of Defence, or the "London Company of Maisters," was an organized guild offering instruction in the traditional English forms of self-defense. Training was offered in the use of swords, staffs, pole-arms, and other weapons. It also included wrestling, pugilism, and grappling and disarming techniques. In keeping with the Re-

naissance spirit of the times, the English Masters of Defence rigorously studied their craft and openly plied their trade. Concentrated around London, the English guilds essentially followed in the centuries-old practices of the traditional medieval master-at-arms, but adapted these to the changed times.

Each public school or "Company" had special rules, regulations, and codes that were strictly upheld. No student could fight with another student or harm a master. No master could challenge another. No master could open a school within seven miles of another or without prior permission from an "Ancient Maister" (senior faculty). No student was to raise his weapon in anger or be a drunkard, a criminal, or a traitor. As well, no one could reveal the secret teachings of the school. Most of the rules were designed to preserve the school's status, prestige, and economic monopoly on the trade. Similar conditions existed in later eighteenth-century small-sword salons and among contemporary sport fencing halls.

The English fighting guilds, following the precedent of academic colleges of the age, developed a four-tiered hierarchy: scholar, free-scholar, provost, and master. Only four Ancient Maisters were allowed at any one school. New students were recruited, paid a tuition, and apprenticed. Fines and penalties were levied for violations of regulations and custom. Unlike his continental peers of the age, the essentially "blue-collar" English master-at-arms had to earn his title through rigorous public trial of his skill. The schools of defence held public tests of their students called Playing the Prize. When the time came to test their skill and advance to the next grade, students fought a series of test bouts with blunt weapons (usually with long-sword, backsword, staff, and sword and buckler) against a number of senior students.

Generally, the profession of private instructor of arms was denigrated in England, and early fencing schools acquired unsavory reputations as hangouts for ruffians and rogues. Nonetheless, prize playing was popular with the common folk. Although Henry VIII granted a charter to an English school of fencing in 1540, the guild's monopoly was not entirely official. By the end of the 1600s, Prize Playing declined, and the guilds faded or became mere sporting salons.

However, indigenous English fighting systems are described in various English manuals, such as the *Pallas Armata* (Latin; Pallas Athena Armed) of 1639, and those by gentleman masters such as Joseph Swetnam. Swetnam taught the use of the new rapier and dagger, along with the traditional English staff, backsword, long-sword, and short-sword. His teachings were presented in a fashion that allowed either military man or civilian gentleman to heed his advice. There is also the well-known grand master of the English tradition, George Silver (*Paradoxes of Defence,* 1598, and *Brief Instructions,* 1599). Silver and his brother, Toby, like many Masters of Defence of

the time, also taught wrestling, grappling, disarms, dagger fighting, and the use of two-handed swords, staffs, and pole-arms. Silver taught four "governors," or key principles: judgment, distance, time, and place. He argued that the new methods of defense were inferior to the existing English art.

The Renaissance masters systematized the study of fighting skills, particularly swordsmanship, into sophisticated, versatile, and highly effective martial arts, which culminated in the development of the ultimate street-fighting and dueling weapon, the quick and deadly thrusting rapier. The innovations in Renaissance fighting methods did not happen in a vacuum; they resulted from the needs of urban encounters and private quarrels as opposed to strict battlefield conditions.

Moreover, links between the brutal, practical fighting methods of the Middle Ages and the more sophisticated, elegant Renaissance fencing systems are evident. The English, for example, followed some of their old fighting traditions well into the 1800s, as did the Germans and Spanish. They did not discard or ignore, but rather used, adapted, and, in some cases, refined methods that had persisted for centuries. Differences in the two periods lie in the overall attitude toward the study of the craft and the specific techniques developed (e.g., civilian dueling and self-defense as opposed to war, tournament, and trial by combat). Although there was considerable innovation in the European martial arts of the Renaissance, there should be no doubt that such innovations were built upon the legacy of the medieval arts.

The various Masters of Defence were not always clear or complete in their ideas. Moreover, masters sometimes contradict one another. Overall, however, their works describe well-reasoned, effective fighting arts built upon the legacy of arms and armor and skills of their ancestors.

European warrior skills were for the most part the indigenous fighting arts of a wide range of heterogeneous peoples and not specifically limited to a warrior class. The familiar principles of timing, distance, technique, and perception, defined in various ways, have been identified and stressed by experts in countless martial arts and were clearly recognized by Western Masters of Defence. Yet there is more to the European martial arts than sheer technique. Although there is an unmistakable pragmatism concerned with sheer effectiveness, this is always balanced by a strong and clear humanistic philosophy and respect for law and one's fellow man—the very qualities so often associated with the modern idealized practice of Asian martial arts.

While it is easy today to find hundreds of books on the techniques of Asian fighting arts, it remains far more difficult to obtain similar information regarding the European traditions. Even though practitioners of historical Western arts cannot rely on traditional oral transmission from one practitioner to another, detailed technical manuals have been preserved. In

the classic Western approach to learning, modern practitioners can examine methods of the Masters of Defence from their own words and pictures.

The old schools of the Noble Science, as the martial art of fencing became known, relied on time-honored lessons of battlefield and street duel, but due to historical and social forces (e.g., introduction of firearms and industrialization) the traditional teachings of European masters fell out of common use. With each generation, fewer students arrived, and the old experts died off. As a fighting tradition in Europe, the Renaissance martial arts that had descended from those of medieval warriors became virtually extinct, and no direct lineage back to historical teachings or traditional instructors exists. Later centuries in Europe saw only limited and narrow application of swords and traditional arms, which survived to become martial sports. What survives today of the older teachings in the modern poised sport of fencing is only a shadow, which bears little resemblance to its Renaissance street-fighting predecessor and is far removed from its martial origins in the early Middle Ages. Although, unlike many Asian arts, no true schools survive, many enthusiasts are hard at work reconstructing European martial traditions. Through the efforts of modern practitioners studying the works of the masters and training with replica weapons, the heritage of the Masters of Defence is slowly being recovered.

John Clements

See also Chivalry; Europe; Knights; Swordsmanship, European Medieval; Swordsmanship, European Renaissance; Wrestling and Grappling: Europe

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Medicine, Traditional Chinese

Editorial note: Bracketed number codes in this entry refer to the list of ideograms that follows.

Most scholars agree that the origin of Chinese civilization occurred in the Yellow River Valley of central China over 5,000 years ago. Stone antecedents to modern metal acupuncture needles have been dated to as much as 20,000 years old. In modern times, vestiges of Chinese culture persist throughout and beyond China. As is natural for all living things, these have mutated and adapted to foreign environments.

Through cross-cultural comparison it is apparent that current Chinese culture retains a remarkable number of features from ancient times. Chinese culture has always maintained both a strong conservative function and a powerful evolutionary drive. This conservative function is responsible for the durability of ancient cultural traditions, and the innate cultural drive for progress has transformed these traditions into useful contemporary tools.

Two Chinese disciplines that have received the attention of the non-Chinese world as well as the renewed attention of modern China are traditional Chinese medicine and martial arts. In the popular view—as demonstrated in film, literature, and even the advertisements of martial arts schools—martial arts and medicine are linked together. In fact, there is a profound convergence of medicine and martial arts in traditional Chinese culture. Both share a common cultural and philosophical foundation. Both are elite traditions. And both contribute to the common social goal of maintaining and restoring the health of the culture.

Medicine

Medicine, or more generally healing, is a feature of all societies. The healing arts are society's intermediary between Nature and human beings. The way that a society views Nature will determine how it attempts to achieve health and balance. The most ancient records of Chinese medicine reveal that the

fundamental Chinese worldview remains intact after five millennia. This worldview is the force that has shaped the development of Chinese medicine.

Chinese medicine, like much of Chinese culture, is based upon the science of Daoism. Daoism (Taoism) is the cosmological basis of Chinese medicine. It is scientific in that it is based on observation, states regularities, and is both explanatory and predictive. Daoism provides functional descriptions of the relationships among phenomena. It recognizes the underlying compositional unity of all things (*wan wu* [1]), which have qualities and functions differentiated on a continuum, much as colors are differentiated on a spectrum. There is no absolute differentiation between "this" and "that." These notions are defined on the basis of both sensed qualities and function. This view provides for a mutual, organic association among all entities, even among those that are in opposition.

In both theory and application, the most important term in Daoism is *qi* [2]. Qi is both that which "glues" and that which is "glued." Qi simultaneously fulfills the dual roles of constituting and directing the stuff (or essence) of the universe. All manifestations of qi are described relative to their unique admixture of the basic contrasting pair: yin [3] and yang [4]. This pair is unitary. One could not exist without the other. The central theme of Daoism and thus Chinese medicine and the martial arts is that all things are conditions for the existence of all other things. Therefore, there is no ultimate creation or destruction, only change. In Chinese, this is described as change-transformation without impoverishment [5].

The *Yijing* (*I Ching*), or Book of Changes, states, "Unceasing life, call it 'change'" [6]. Life is a constant process of transformation, of which creation and extinction are secondary manifestations. Whereas these categories are value neutral—neither creation nor extinction is viewed as inherently good or evil—this process has a natural progression. It is this progressive order that is the focus of the Chinese physician's attention. The physician views the normal state of a system as one in which transition is simultaneously unimpeded and well regulated. Disease is identified in a system that does not meet these conditions, resulting in either systemic or regional surpluses or deficits of qi. Simply stated, order (*zheng* [7]) is "good." Disorder (*luan* [8]) is "bad."

The practice of Chinese medicine has two interrelated aspects. The first is diagnosis. *Zhenduan* (diagnosis [9]) is the accurate perception of reality: recognition of the actual admixture of yin and yang. The second aspect, therapy (*yi zhi* [10], literally, "to heal, to put into order"), is the response to that diagnosis. Therapy is the manipulation of yin and yang. The goal of this manipulation is to restore the life-promoting balance between these two vital forces. Both excess and deficiency result in a tendency toward extinction, which in turn is the cusp of creation.

The doctor must decide if a situation deserves restoration. This in-

Preparation of traditional herbal medicine. A man in a Hong Kong apothecary uses a large chopper to slice up root herbs, ca. 1950. The bottles on the shelves behind him contain the herbs in powdered form. (Hulton Archive)

volves a moral determination of goodness versus evil, or between health and disease. Therefore, all medical decisions are ultimately moral decisions. The physician decides if the situation is worthy or unworthy of restoration. He might decide to not act and allow natural forces to bring the situation to its conclusion. Alternatively, he might decide to actively promote a conclusion of the abnormal state, thereby promoting the creation of a new state.

Thus, action (*you wei* [11]) and nonaction (*wu wei* [12]) are the basic tools of the physician. Action has two types of applications: enhancement (*bu* [13]) and depletion (*xie* [14]). If an organ system is weak, it can be enhanced by various means. If an organ system is too strong, and its strength

saps the resources of its neighbors and injures the system, the physician depletes it. Of course, enhancement and depletion are also relative terms, since an organ that is overly strong relative to its neighbors can also be controlled by strengthening its neighbors. Thus the manipulation of yin and yang can be complex and subtle.

It is important to describe the native understanding of medicine as a concept. Confucius described the spectrum of possibilities inherent in the physician-patient relationship when he said, "Only [one who embodies] humanness has the ability to both love and detest a person" [15] (Sec. 4.3).

In other words, a patient's presentation may require a physician's response to occur anywhere along a continuum from total acceptance to total rejection. The function of the physician is to reject disorder and to affirm order. His response is dictated by the needs of the patient, not his personal preferences, which are rigorously suppressed through self-cultivation. Thus, it is stated in a medical primer, the *Dao de Jing (Tao-te Ching):*

> The sage has no constant heart.
> His heart is simply the heart of the people. [16] (Chap. 49)

The Tang dynasty physician Sun Simiao [17] wrote that there are three levels of physicians: high, middle, and low: "In ancient times, of those well-versed in the practice of medicine, the High Doctor cured society, the Median Doctor cured the man, the Low Doctor cured illness. Or one could say, the High Doctor looks at color, the Median Doctor listens to sound, the Low Doctor feels the pulse. Yet another way of expressing this would be to say, the High Doctor cures illnesses not yet begun (does not allow problems to arise), the Median Doctor cures those disorders which may develop into illnesses, the Low Doctor cures extant illnesses" [18] (Sun).

Martial Arts

What features make Chinese martial arts uniquely Chinese? There are ancient references to primitive predynastic martial activities. However, these do not reveal any uniquely Chinese characteristics. The principle of unity and the orderly progression of yin and yang, which are the central features of Chinese culture, are present in the earliest literary artifacts. But the development of these principles into a distinctly Chinese civilization occurred over thousands of years. The features that distinguish Chinese martial arts from the fighting traditions of other civilizations are most apparent in the millennia following the Zhou dynasty (1122–255 B.C.).

The key feature identifying Chinese martial arts is the use of *dao* [19] as the central reference. As the influence of Chinese culture spread across Asia, the philosophy of Daoism was integrated into other cultures, such as

those of Japan and Korea. These cultures adapted features of Daoist philosophy to their needs. Yet the invention of a generalized philosophy based on the principle of the dao and the generalized application of this principle, its associated worldview, and common linguistic references are uniquely Chinese.

The main issue facing all martial artists is when to use a lethal skill. A skilled fighter who randomly applies his skill soon becomes an enemy of all people and is marked for destruction. This negates the goal of *self*-defense. Thus, a martial artist must have some measure of what constitutes a threat against his being, or his extended being, as embodied by his family or social unit. This measure depends on the moral judgment of what is "right" or "wrong."

The moral compass of Chinese culture is the dao. It identifies the orderly transition of life. That which impedes the orderly transition of life is defined as "evil" (*nie* [20]). That which promotes this orderly transition is "good" (*shan* [21]). The Chinese martial artist is culturally authorized to apply his lethal skill against evil and to apply his life-enhancing skills in support of that which is good.

Since ancient times, China has been a huge and inconsistently governed territory. Remote states, cities, villages, and individuals have not universally received the benefits of the rule of law. Furthermore, this rule has frequently been imperfect. Thus, there has been an enduring need for self-defense. As indigenous self-defense skills entrained the potent Daoist philosophy, they evolved into characteristically Chinese martial art forms.

The durability of these forms is the result of transmission through a closed system. The same parafamilial, teaching father–following son, *shifu-tu'er* [22] relationship that was used to transmit medical knowledge also was used to guarantee the continuity of the martial discipline. Yet, martial skills required by organized groups differ from those needed for individual combat. Thus, there were parallel means of teaching the requisite skills, such as boxing schools and military training. But none of these matched the durability of the parafamilial tradition.

Although Chinese martial arts training involves both life-enhancing and life-destroying skills, it is considered to be an essentially destructive skill. Therefore, throughout Chinese civilization, the military arm of government, *wu* [23], has been subservient to the civil arm, *wen* [24]. The underlying rationale is that, ideally, the civil (or high medical) aspect of government establishes conditions that render the military aspect unnecessary. Confucius referred to this ideal in his essay on *Da Tong*. However, Chinese rulers were not naive about the realities of the human condition, and martial training was a persistent feature throughout all governments.

As in medicine, it is apparent that the application of martial skills can

occur at many levels. The pre–Qin dynasty general Sunzi (Sun Wu, probably fourth century B.C.) wrote, in *The Art of War,* that the highest strategy is "to bend the enemy without battle" [25] (Chap. 3). A middle strategy would be "a decisive victory a thousand leagues away" [26] ("Designs," Chap. 1). A low strategy would be victory on the home front or victorious fisticuffs.

The Daoist principle that unites medicine and martial arts is the intent (*yi* [27]) of life. All things have a drive to exist. This drive is not only present in the individual, but over time, through succeeding generations. Mengzi stated that, of the three major offenses against the family, the worst was "no posterity" [28] (Book 4, Chap. 26), no succeeding generations. Therefore, in Chinese culture, existence is understood to encompass both the individual and the familial line.

Thus, martial artists defend not only themselves as individuals but also their generational units, their families, and the social units that sustain their families, as well as the cultural environment that nourishes these social units. Martial artists function as an element of the social body's immune system. Their unique role is to eliminate violent threats to the health of the social system at whatever sphere of influence they operate.

Physicians are also responsible for the health of the society. Applying their knowledge of nature, they promote those features that are healthy and discourage those things that are unhealthy. The physician and the martial artist share a common social purpose. Since they both recognize the directive of the *dao,* they operate in tandem to create the conditions for health. Physicians affirm order. Martial artists use their unique skills to exorcise disorder. Yet, because martial operations are considered to be essentially destructive and depleting, they are ideally subservient to the direction of medicine.

In return for this service to medicine, the physician contributed to the development of the martial artist. In traditional Chinese medicine, there was an entire discipline of military medicine, *jun yi* [29]. As in modern times, military physicians traveled with their army and were versed in battlefield care as well as means of dealing with sanitation and nutritional problems. Furthermore, the most evolved features of Chinese martial arts are based on the utilization of Chinese medical physiology. These include nutrition, strength and endurance training, and breathing techniques.

Since martial arts training and applications are inherently dangerous, typically one of the earliest secrets passed to a disciple is the use of medicines for training injuries. These medicines, formulated by physicians, were passed down through the generations. Over the years, many martial artists have frequented markets, selling these preparations and performing simple therapies. This practice also contributed to the popular connection between medicine and martial arts. But these medicine salesmen and bonesetters were never mistaken for physicians. Nor did they represent themselves as such.

Disease, dissension, and strife are universal human conditions. Prehistoric artifacts reveal that combat is contemporaneous with the human species. The drive for preservation of self, family, and social community is very powerful. It is the basis for all martial methods. Just as healing traditions are common to all civilizations, so too combat traditions are found in all cultures.

There is a profound association between medicine and martial arts within Chinese civilization. Both disciplines are born of a common premise: the need to sustain the life and health of the individual, the social unit, and the culture. Each represents a relative aspect of this life-sustaining function. Medicine is relatively life-enhancing. Martial arts are relatively life-destroying. The convergence of these two techniques offers therapeutic options along the continuum of human existence.

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See also Boxing, Chinese; Ki/Qi; Religion and Spiritual Development: China

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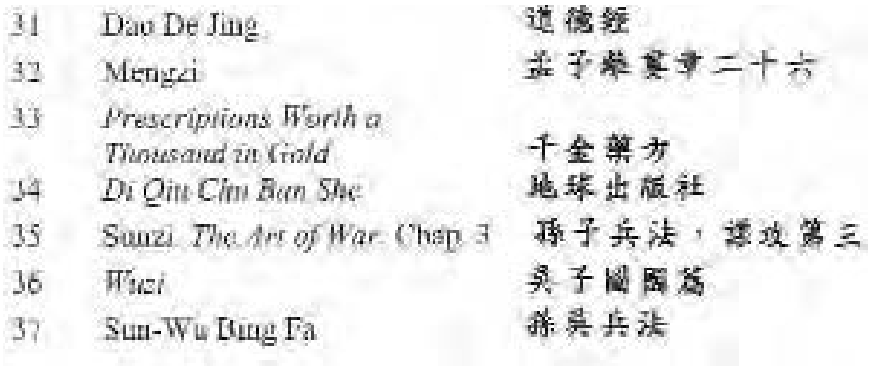
List of Ideograms

4	*yang*	陽
5	change-transformation	變化無窮
6	unceasing life	生生謂之易
7	*zheng*	正
8	*luan*	亂
9	*shenduan*	診斷
10	*yi zhi*	醫治
11	*you wei*	有爲
12	*wu wei*	無爲
13	*bu*	補
14	*xie*	瀉
15	Only one who embodies humanness...	唯仁者，能愛人能惡人
16	The sage has no constant heart...	聖人無常心，以百姓心爲心
17	Sun Si-miao	孫思邈
18	In ancient times...	古之善爲醫者，上醫醫國。 下醫醫病。 又曰，上醫聽聲。中醫察色 。下醫診脈。 又曰，上醫醫未病之病。中 醫醫將病之病。下醫醫已 病之病。
19	*dao*	道
20	*nie*	孽
21	*shan*	善
22	*shifu tu'er*	師父-徒兒
23	*wu*	武
24	*wen*	文
25	bend the enemy without battle	不戰而屈人之兵善之善者
26	a decisive victory a thousand leagues away	決戰千理
27	*yi*	意
28	no posterity	無後爲大
29	*jun yi*	軍醫
30	*Analects of Confucius*	論語



Meditation

Meditation is the general term for various techniques and practices designed to induce an altered state of consciousness, develop concentration and wisdom, and relieve stress and induce relaxation. On the simplest levels it is utilized to calm, cleanse, and relax the mind and body and to increase concentration and mental focus. On higher levels, it is practiced to produce a radical transformation of the character. Meditation is really mind/body training that is learned through discipline and practice. Meditation systems such as Zen and Daoist (Taoist) qigong may stimulate the autoimmune system, change brain waves from beta to alpha or theta, and lower heart and respiratory rate while increasing respiratory volume and decreasing muscular tension.

Dimitri Kostynick defines the martial arts as "practices of combat outside of organized warfare, utilized for self-actualization, augmented with noncombative practices and formulae from the materia medica" (1989). In this view, the martial arts are a nexus between the techniques of combat and psychophysical self-cultivation. The Asian martial arts grew up intertwined with Daoism (Taoism), Shintô, Buddhism, and other magico-religious traditions that emphasize meditation as a means of gaining some form of enlightenment. It is no surprise that the traditional martial arts include meditation as either an integral part of or an adjunct to training. The classic martial arts have a long history in Japan, China, and elsewhere of using meditative practices as instruments of "spiritual forging." Asian martial arts share a basically similar animatistic theory of energy (*ki* in Japanese; *qi* [*chi*] in Chinese) that is present in human beings and all living creatures. Ki is commonly taken to mean "vital breath," bioelectric life energy, "spirit," and "directed intention." Japanese aikidô and Chinese taijiquan (tai chi ch'uan) and qigong are based on the ki notion. Although ki is a rather vague concept, most traditional martial arts prescribe methods of cultivating and directing this subtle energy. Meditation, relaxation, visualization, and movement sets (or kata) are used to generate, store, and utilize ki. In general, the serious use of ki energy has been

A sculpture of Buddha in seated meditation at Borobudur Temple in Indonesia, built in the ninth century. (Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis)

the realm of the most advanced masters of the martial arts.

Meditative states can be induced through various postures incorporating breathing, movement, chanting, stress, and visualization. Deep abdominal breathing is a fundamental practice in many martial arts. Slow, smooth, deep, long abdominal breathing increases the volume of blood flow, calms the mind, and brings more oxygen into the body.

In China, Daoist meditation often plays an important role in the internal arts of taijiquan, baguazhang (pa kua ch'uan), and xingyiquan (hsing i ch'uan). Daoist meditation begins with an emphasis on breath control and posture and moves on to visualizations and direction of energy throughout the body. Three major kinds of energy are cultivated: qi (vital life energy), *qing* (sexual energy), and *shen* (spiritual energy). By calming the mind and eliminating our normal internal mental dialogue, meditation restores access to what the Daoists call original mind: a state of mind that is spontaneous and rejuvenating, more intuitive than the conscious mind. Daoist meditation allows access to the natural potential for fluid and appropriate responses to the situation at hand.

Buddhism gives two major approaches to meditation: concentration, or mindfulness, meditation; and insight meditation.

The most basic approach to mindfulness is awareness of breathing to the extent that breathing occupies one's full attention. Once concentration is developed, this power is then used in insight meditation to gain wisdom through observing the mind.

In Japan, the early martial arts (ca. A.D. 800–1200) were influenced by Daoism, Shintô, and Mikkyo (or esoteric) Buddhism. Shingon and Tendai are the two major schools of Mikkyo. Esoteric Buddhism utilizes visualizations, mudras, mandalas, and mantras to harmonize body, mind, and speech.

Zen arrived in Japan from China around A.D. 1200 and was often used by the samurai as an adjunct to their martial training. The Zen approach to any task is single-minded concentration. *Mushin* (*munen musô*)

is a state of mind that is cultivated in Zen and the Zen-influenced arts. In mushin, the mind is open to everything but not distracted by delusive thoughts—they come and go but the mind does not dwell upon them. The mind in a state of mushin is often likened to a mirror—reflecting everything. This is important in true combat, because if a warrior centers only on one opponent, another will cut him down. Mushin, in the West, is often mistaken for impersonal, amoral, automatic reactions. Speed is not necessarily spontaneity, and, in real combat, timing is more important than speed. Conditioned reflexes and fluid awareness are not the same. *Fudoshin* (which follows from the cultivation of mushin) means "immovable heart" or "spirit," which means that one understands what an opponent is going to do before the attack. When attacked, one is never surprised, the mind and nerves are calm, and what is appropriate to the situation is done. Even the feeling "This is the enemy" means that the mind is moving. "Empty mind" gives rise to *fudochi* (immovable wisdom).

Today in the United States, the majority of books, articles, and advertisements dealing with the martial arts at least pay lip service to the idea that some kind of "self-control" or "mental discipline" is a by-product of the training. Often Yellow Pages ads list meditation and spiritual growth as some of the benefits of training in a particular discipline. In fact, however, the majority of martial artists practice sport karate and spend little or no time in meditation. In many classes, meditation is defined as a few short seconds at the beginning of a class to relax and get the mind ready for the physical workout to follow. Most martial arts teachers do not have any formal meditative training. However, they often retain the short period of "meditation" because that was the way their teachers did it, or perhaps for marketing purposes, to lend a vague flavor of Eastern culture and mystery. Practicing the modern sport martial arts is no guarantee either of being able to fight effectively without rules or of spiritual accomplishment.

Ronald L. Holt

See also Baguazhang (Pa Kua Ch'uan); Ki/Qi; Medicine, Traditional Chinese; Religion and Spiritual Development: China; Religion and Spiritual Development: India; Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan; Taijiquan (Tai Chi Ch'uan); Written Texts: China; Written Texts: India; Written Texts: Japan; Xingyiquan (Hsing I Ch'uan)

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Middle East

The Middle East consists of Egypt and the Arab nations to the east of Israel, Turkey, and Iran; and of the North African countries of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, and the Sudan. Although the following comments are limited to these nations, the boundaries of the Middle East may be extended into other nations such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Cyprus as well. The rise of Islam and the domination of much of the area by the Arab Muslims beginning in the seventh century A.D. bound together the various groups of the region under the banner of Islam. Later, the Ottoman Empire in the thirteenth century further expanded and confirmed the Muslim character of the region under militant Islamic leadership.

Ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom (2040–1785 B.C.) offers the earliest convincing evidence of systematic martial arts development, not only in the Middle East, but in recorded history. Painted on the walls of the tombs of Beni Hassan are pairs engaged in grappling maneuvers (some of which are as sophisticated as any used in modern Olympic competition), boxing (including the use of protective equipment such as a forerunner of modern protective headgear), kicking, and stickfighting. The stickfighting techniques have been preserved into the present as *tahteeb* (a martial art system using sticks and swords). The system continues to be practiced in the religious schools of the Ikhwaan-al-Muslimeen (Muslim Brotherhood). The Bedouin continued until the modern era to utilize a staff in a combat art called *naboud*. Practice is reported to involve spinning, dancelike forms with the weapon. Similar whirling dances are associated with other martial practice in the region, as well as with the mystical sect of Islam called Sufism. In addition, the Egyptians developed two-handed spears that could be wielded as lances, shields, and specialized weapons such as the *khopesh,* a sword that could be used to disarm opponents.

At about the same time, the oldest surviving work of literature, the Mesopotamian epic of *Gilgamesh,* portrayed the semidivine protagonist as a wrestler. In this work, Gilgamesh employed his grappling skills to subdue the wild man, Enkidu, who then swore allegiance and became his ally in fu-

An Indian copy done in Persian style from an Islamic book depicts Rustan, a seventh-century Persian general, slaying White Deity. (Angelo Hornak/ Corbis)

ture battles. The central character is reputed to be based on an historical Sumerian king (ca. 2850 B.C.); therefore, it is interesting that Enkidu specifically accedes to Gilgamesh's right to rule. Thus, although the epic offers no detailed description of grappling in the second millennium B.C., it may reflect a principle of "war by champions" that prevailed in the area around this time.

Somewhat later (ca. 1000 B.C.), Semitic tribes could exercise the option of substituting single combat between champions in the place of massed battles. The most famous of these is likely to be the battle between David representing the Hebrews and Goliath of the Philistines, as described in the Bible (1 Samuel). Even closer to the Gilgamesh archetype is the story of Muhammad's wrestling match with the skeptical sheikh, Rukana ibn 'Abdu Yazid, as a demonstration of the power of his revelations from God. The Prophet succeeded in his opponent's conversion after scoring his second fall.

As previously noted, after the initial Arab Muslim conquests of the Middle East, the Ottoman Turks extended the boundaries of the Islamic world and consolidated to a large degree the identity of the Middle East, at least into the twentieth century. The *ghazis* were a prime force behind the Ottoman expansion. The Ghazi Brotherhoods are of particular relevance to martial history. Members of the Ghazi Brotherhood were roughly comparable to the European knights who were their contemporaries. They were bound by a code of virtue within a democratic organization, and in contrast to the European knight, whose worth eventually became bound to ancestry and rank, the brother was judged on the merits of his own character (e.g., valor, piety) rather than by his wealth or lineage. Brothers were most often followers of Sufism, the mystical sect of Islam that gave rise to the dervishes, whose whirling dances were mentioned above. This dervish influence may have been pervasive in the Ottoman training regimen, given the fact that vigorous dancing even extended to the military training of Janissaries (Christians who either had rejected their faith or had been branded as holding heretical beliefs, who served in the Turkish army) from the fourteenth century, continuing until their dissolution in the nineteenth century. To return to the ghazis, however, they were sworn to the militant expansion of Islam. With the spread of the faith came the dissemination of Turkish martial traditions. Among the most lasting of these traditions has been wrestling.

Turkey is a nation with a long history of wrestling excellence. Turkish tribes originated in Asia, probably somewhere between the Ural Mountains, the Caucasus, and the Caspian Sea. To the east were the Mongols; Turkish contact was primarily with the Huns and the Tatars. Apparently, however, they brought with them many wrestling techniques in their mi-

Alireza Dabir of Iran waves his country's flag after winning the gold medal for freestyle wrestling at the Sydney Olympics, October 1, 2000. (Reuters NewMedia Inc./Corbis)

grations westward, possibly influenced by *shuaijiao* (*shuai-chiao*) and other sources of Chinese and Mongolian wrestling. Turkey was overrun by the Persians in the sixth century B.C., remained under Persian domination until the invasion of Alexander (334 B.C.), and was a part of the Roman Empire (through the Byzantine period) until the eleventh-century invasions of the Seljuk Turks. Even today, in the former "Turkish" republics of the former Soviet Union, such as Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan, local wrestling traditions influenced by both classical European and Asian styles survive among the local populations and nomads. History provides various glimpses of Turkish wrestling, and gymnasiums for wrestlers (*tekke*) began to appear by the fifteenth century.

Today, Turkish wrestling, known as *Yagli-Gures,* is one of the nation's most popular sports, and there is evidence that this is a form related to Persian/Iranian *koshti.* Similarities abound. Wrestlers wear trousers only; they otherwise are naked and do not wear shoes. Turkish wrestling is unique in that the competitors, known as *pehlivans,* oil themselves down completely before a match. Note that the name *pehlivan* resembles the term for traditional Iranian wrestlers (*pahlavani*). The foregoing characteristics argue for a strong link between this system and Iranian systems, as do many of the techniques.

The oil obviously makes it much more difficult to grab an opponent, and competitors must rely on a great deal of skill to throw or take down a wrestler. Grabbing and holding onto the pants, known as a *kispet,* is allowed in Yagli. Both holds and throws are allowed in the sport; the match continues until one concedes defeat or a referee stops the match to ensure a wrestler's safety. The lack of a time limit can make for grueling competitions. In 1969, a national championship match lasted for fourteen and a half hours. The Turkish wrestling techniques are essentially those of modern freestyle. For example, techniques include the *sarma,* known in contemporary wrestling as a "grapevine" hold. The sport is now growing on the European continent, started by Turks who migrated from Turkey, but now including participants from other nationalities as well.

Iranian (formerly Persian) wrestling is a second major grappling tradition of the Middle East. Known for much of its history as Persia, Iran is an ancient nation, with civilizations in this region extending as far back as 2000 B.C. Certainly by the seventh century B.C., Persian civilization had reached one of the many high points of its power and was building itself into an empire that covered much of the Middle East and North Africa. Iranians themselves incorporated wrestling techniques into their warrior skills, and there are accounts of Greek wrestlers and *pankration* experts challenging these wrestlers as the two cultures met, and ultimately clashed with, each other. Martial arts academies developed as well, known as *Varzesh-e-Pahlavani.* From these sources, Iran developed its own unique system of wrestling, *koshti*. Koshti apparently had both combat and sport aspects, and koshti exponents were trained to use the system as an unarmed battlefield art when necessary. With the Islamic invasions of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., and with Islamic discouragement of practices that were considered pagan, koshti apparently fell into unpopularity.

Iranian wrestling systems apparently employed all the aspects of Greek wrestling. Although the systems seemed to lack any emphasis on striking, koshti exponents used throws, takedowns, and trips, as well as arm and leg locks and choke holds. Practitioners were expected to be able to disarm weaponed opponents when necessary as well. It is likely that in sport competitions, many of the more dangerous holds were not allowed. Practitioners would compete in trousers, naked from the waist up. In many respects, koshti, in all of its variants, may be compared to many Western systems of wrestling and to jûjutsu from Japan.

Centuries later, however, the Iranian Shah Ismail "the Great," after making himself shah, made the Shiite Twelver sect of Islam (believers in the twelve descendants of their spiritual leader Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law) the state religion in Azerbaijan and Iran. He was noted for the persecution of Sunnism and the suppression of non-Safawid Sufism. As a consequence,

the Safawid Brotherhood (a Sufi brotherhood whose sheiks claimed descent from Muhammad's son-in-law, Ali) maintained considerable military and political power. This fact may have led to Ismail's patronage of martial arts.

He was noted for his promotion of the *Zour Khaneh,* or *Zur Khane* (House of Strength). A contemporary description (written in 1962) notes that there was in the center of the mosquelike building an octagonal pit, 15 feet in diameter, lined in blue tile, but filled with earth. Beyond the pit lay weight-lifting apparatus, and on the wall hung a portrait of Ali. Training featured preliminary rhythmic calisthenics, followed immediately by whirling dances accompanied by bells, drums, gongs, and passages sung from the *Shahnama* (the great Persian epic the *Book of Kings*). This form of training bears clear connections to Sufi practices that incorporate both song and whirling dances into worship—as well as suggesting analogies to a vast cross-cultural range of martial dances/exercises. In addition to the more contemporary apparatus, traditional devices (dating back at least to Ismail's reign) are used in the Zour Khaneh. These exercise tools are essentially oversized weapons (for example, the *kadabeh,* an iron bow with a chain bowstring) that are brandished during the training dances. In addition to these conditioning exercises, the trainees at the Zour Khaneh practice koshti.

In the middle of the twentieth century, as Iran sought to enter the modern world, traditional Iranian arts such as koshti were replaced by modern wrestling systems such as the Olympic types of Greco-Roman and freestyle. With the Islamic Revolution in 1979, whose adherents view all pre-Islamic practices as pagan, any current prospects for development of koshti are not bright. Iranians have excelled at modern wrestling competitions, however, reflecting the long and distinguished history of wrestling that exists in this nation.

Finally, the Middle East has produced at least one contemporary combat system, as well: krav maga. Krav maga (Hebrew; contact combat) is an Israeli martial art that was developed in the 1940s for use by the Israeli military and intelligence services. The creator of the system was Imi Lichtenfeld, an immigrant to Israel from Bratislava, Slovak (formerly Czechoslovakia). Today it is the official fighting art of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and has gained popularity worldwide as an effective and devastating fighting method. It is a fighting art exclusively; sport variants do not exist. Krav maga techniques are designed to be simple and direct. High kicks are used sparingly in the art; kicks are directed at waist level or below. Knee strikes, especially against the groin and inner thigh area, are especially used. Practitioners also use kicks against the legs, similar to those used in Muay Thai (Thai kickboxing), to unbalance an opponent. Punches are based on boxing moves and are intended for vital points or to place the mass of the body behind a blow

to gain punching power. Open-hand techniques to the eyes, ears, throat, and solar plexus are used. Elbow techniques are used extensively.

These techniques require little strength but have devastating results; an elbow strike to the face or floating ribs can easily disable an opponent. Throwing techniques are not the type usually seen in jûdô or *sambo;* they have more in common with freestyle wrestling takedowns. Krav maga has been called the "first unarmed combat system of the twentieth century." This is meant to convey the fact that it developed in the twentieth century with the understanding and awareness of modern combat. Firearms were the weapons of choice for twentieth-century warriors, as they are for those of the twenty-first century, and terrorism and sudden violence often define the battlefield in the modern world.

The martial arts systems of the Middle East are a unique chapter in the fighting skills of the world. This area is the cradle of civilization, so it is no great surprise that many of the first fighting arts were practiced here as well. Since many trade routes existed through these regions, it is also not surprising that the techniques and styles from various civilizations can be seen. In this respect, perhaps the fighting arts of the Middle East are among the most eclectic in the world.

Gene Tausk

See also Africa and African America; Krav Maga; Pankration; Stickfighting, Non-Asian; Wrestling and Grappling: China; Wrestling and Grappling: Europe

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Mongolia

"The three manly games" of Mongolia are horse racing, archery, and wrestling. It is important to understand that all three of the heavenly games, as they are also called, are tied closely to the pastoral nomadic traditions of the Central Asian steppe. Today, these disciplines are still held in

reverence, but for the most part have been codified into martial sport, with much of the military application no longer practiced or obvious.

The culmination of the sporting year in Mongolia falls during the second week of July. The festival, known as *Naadam,* lasts one week, during which all three sports reach their annual competitive pinnacle.

Mongolian folk wrestling as a sport dates well back into antiquity and holds a position of unrivaled cultural importance. Today Mongolian wrestling is generally held outdoors on grass, with no time limits and no weight classes. Wrestling tournaments are held during most holidays.

The objective is to get the opponent to touch any part of his back, elbow, or knee to the ground. Each match is supervised by two men who act as both referees and "corner men." These men determine the winners and prompt the individual wrestlers to action when necessary. These individuals are arbitrarily appointed to each wrestler prior to each match. They also direct the action away from the spectators and other matches in progress. There is also a panel of judges who are solely spectators and not actively involved with the matches. They serve as the final word in disputes about takedowns and handle the logistics of the tournament.

Each wrestler has a rank, which is determined by the number of rounds successively won in each Naadam festival. (A round for an individual is made up of one match, with the winner moving to the next round and the loser being eliminated from the tournament. The winner then waits for the remainder of the matches to finish before the next round commences.) Rank can only be attained during the Naadam festival, and therefore it is not uncommon for a wrestler to wrestle his whole career without rank, though he may be successful in other tournaments throughout the year. The ranks (in order from lowest to highest) are unranked, bird, elephant, lion, and titan. The privilege of rank is that the highest-ranked wrestlers choose their opponents in each round. In addition, after each match, the lower-ranked wrestler passes under the right arm of the senior, win or lose.

Mongolian wrestling matches begin with each wrestler exhibiting a ritual dance of a great bird in flight. At the end of a match the victorious wrestler again engages in a more elaborate version of the dance. There are two popular opinions as to the type of bird being imitated. Some say the bird in question is a great falcon, while others say it is an imitation of the Garuda bird from Buddhist mythology. If the dance is done correctly, it is intended to exhibit the wrestler's power and technique, and also serves to loosen the muscles prior to the match. In Inner Mongolia the dance is one of an eagle running before it flies. While performing the dance, the wrestler is supposed to mentally focus on *Tengri* (sky) and *gazar* (earth)—sky, or heaven, for skill and blessing and earth for stability and strength.

The attire of each wrestler is the point of most divergence between the

Two Inner Mongolian wrestlers await the match. (Courtesy of Almaz Khan)

Mongolian and Inner Mongolian versions of this wrestling style. The Mongolians wear a traditional Mongolian cap (which is removed by the referees prior to each match), traditional Mongolian boots, and briefs and a short tight-fitting top, both made out of heavy cloth and silk, though today ripstop nylon often replaces the silk. The top has long sleeves and comes midway down the back. The front of the top is cut away, exposing the chest. A rope is attached to both sides of the top and is tied around the stomach. This keeps the top on the wrestler and is used as a grip point for the opponent.

Inner Mongolians wear a heavy leather top with metal studs, which is short-sleeved and exposes much less of the chest. In addition they wear long, baggy pants and a more ornate boot. They do not use the cap at all, but do have the addition of a necklace, called a *jangga,* for wrestlers of rank.

Legend says that the increased exposure of the chest and the switch to briefs in Mongolia were the result of the success of a female wrestler disguised as a man several hundred years ago.

In addition to the difference in dress, Inner Mongolian wrestling has several traditions and rules different from those practiced in Mongolia. The Inner Mongolian wrestler cannot grab an opponent's leg with his hands. In addition, any part of the body above the knee touching the ground signals a loss. Another major feature change is that in certain tournaments a circle is used as a ring boundary and a time limit is employed.

In both versions of the wrestling form, a variety of throws, trips, and lifts are employed to topple the opponent. In both versions, strangles and striking are illegal. The absence of groundwork in Mongolian wrestling is grounded (so to speak) in history. The Mongol military was entirely composed of cavalry units (except in the case of conscripts); therefore a soldier on the ground would likely be trampled by horses or killed by his opponent with a weapon. Though no longer explicitly practiced, wrestling on horseback was also a tradition that was found in Mongolia.

Two Outer Mongolian wrestlers in the middle of a tournament. (Courtesy of Aaron Fields)

Archery is a skill for which the Mongols of antiquity were famous. The Mongol empire at its zenith owed its success to the bow and the hoof. The image of Mongol soldiers astride their mounts raining waves of arrows down upon their enemies is recorded in many histories throughout the Eurasian continent.

No account of Mongolian archery is complete without first examining the construction of the bow (*num*). The steppe bow, which shares some design features with the Turkish bow and is sometimes called the Chinese bow, was the primary weapon of the nomad. The steppe bow is what is today called a recurve or a reflex bow. This means that both ends of the bow curve back forward away from the archer. This feature greatly increases the power of the bow. The bow is made from composite materials of different types of wood, bone, and sinew, and is held together by a protein-based glue. The handle is made from lacquered birch bark.

According to bow makers, each material adds specific qualities to the bows: "wood for range, horn for speed, sinew for penetration, glue for union, silk bindings for firmness, lacquer for guard against frost and dew." By the Han period, the nomads of Central Asia were employing bows of this design. The extremes in temperature found on the steppe would quickly warp other styles of bows, especially single-material bows.

The steppe bow was short, about 4 feet long, and had an extreme

range of up to 500 yards in battle. The mounted archer could get off between six and twelve shots per minute. In antiquity the pulls of the bows often exceeded 100 pounds, sometimes in the range of 110–120 pounds pull. One of the advantages of a recurve bow is that after the initial pull, the bow "works with the archer" and is easier to hold at full draw.

The manner in which the bow is drawn (or in this case pushed) is also unique, in that the bow is primarily pushed away from the string rather than the string being solely pulled away from the bow. This feature has a twofold purpose. Not only is the bow stronger and often more flexible than the string, but it is an advantage, biomechanically, to push rather than pull.

The "Mongolian grip" used on the string is also unique. This grip can be identified by how the thumb hooks the string and is placed between the middle and forefinger. Traditionally, the archer wore a metal, bone, or antler ring on the thumb. Once the Chinese adopted this style of bow, the thumb ring was also sometimes made out of jade in China. The ring had a square stud on the palm side of the ring, which helped the archer in getting and maintaining his/her grip on the bowstring. In addition, the thumb ring helped the archer maintain control over the string, which, when the bow is completely drawn, is at an acute angle.

Arrowheads were constructed primarily out of bone and horn. Even today in sporting archery, bone arrowheads with squared-off tips are the standard. Modern arrows today are approximately 75 centimeters in length. Most modern bows have pulls in the 50–70 pounds pull range.

In times past, archery was practiced both afoot and mounted. Today mounted archery is rarely practiced. Though there still exist several styles of archery within Mongolia, there has been a gradual shift toward a standardized version for competitive reasons.

During archery competitions, contestants fire from afoot at targets that are traditionally made from sheep gut and are individually approximately 8 centimeters by 8 centimeters. The distance from archer to target is between 35 meters and 75 meters, depending upon the style of archery.

Archers shoot twenty arrows at two separate target constructions. One construction is a wall of stacked targets approximately 50 centimeters high and 4 meters long. The second target is a square made up of thirty individual targets. Scorers relate how the archer is faring via style-specific singing. There is some divergence in targets, bows, and ranges depending upon the style of archery in question.

Traditionally, the central feature of Mongolian society was the horse. The horse was used in every facet of steppe life. Herding, hunting, and war all took place on horseback. This lifestyle allowed the nomads to constantly perfect the major skills that gave them the military success that carried them across the world. Nomads learned to ride as soon as they could

walk. Children were often placed on sheep to practice riding when they were still too small for horseback.

Horse racing in Mongolia is over natural terrain tracks that range in distance from 15 to 35 kilometers. The riders are children usually between 5 and 12 years of age. Today most races include the use of saddles, but sometimes riders, as they commonly did in the past, use modified saddles or no saddle at all.

Horse breeders pay close attention to and place equal emphasis on both mare and sire when making breeding decisions. Horses are not usually raced until about 2 years of age. As for the winners, both horse and rider are celebrated equally. Prizes are given for the first few finishers. Ceremonial songs are sung for the victorious horses. An interesting side note is that the last-place finisher also receives a ceremonial song of encouragement and promise for a strong showing next year.

Clearly, the traditional martial arts of Mongolia grew directly out of the methods of economic production dictated by life on the steppe. In essence, a Mongol was in constant preparation for war, as the horse and bow were tools of daily survival as well as war. Today we find the remnants of these methods in competitive archery and horse racing. Wrestling also is a traditional Mongolian pastime, which continues today in popularity and has widespread participation. Overall, Mongolian martial arts have become national sports as the combative uses have decreased over time. Nevertheless, today the passion among the people for their sports is still strong, and their sports elicit memories of the traditional lifestyle, which is still held in high regard.

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See also China; Wrestling and Grappling: China

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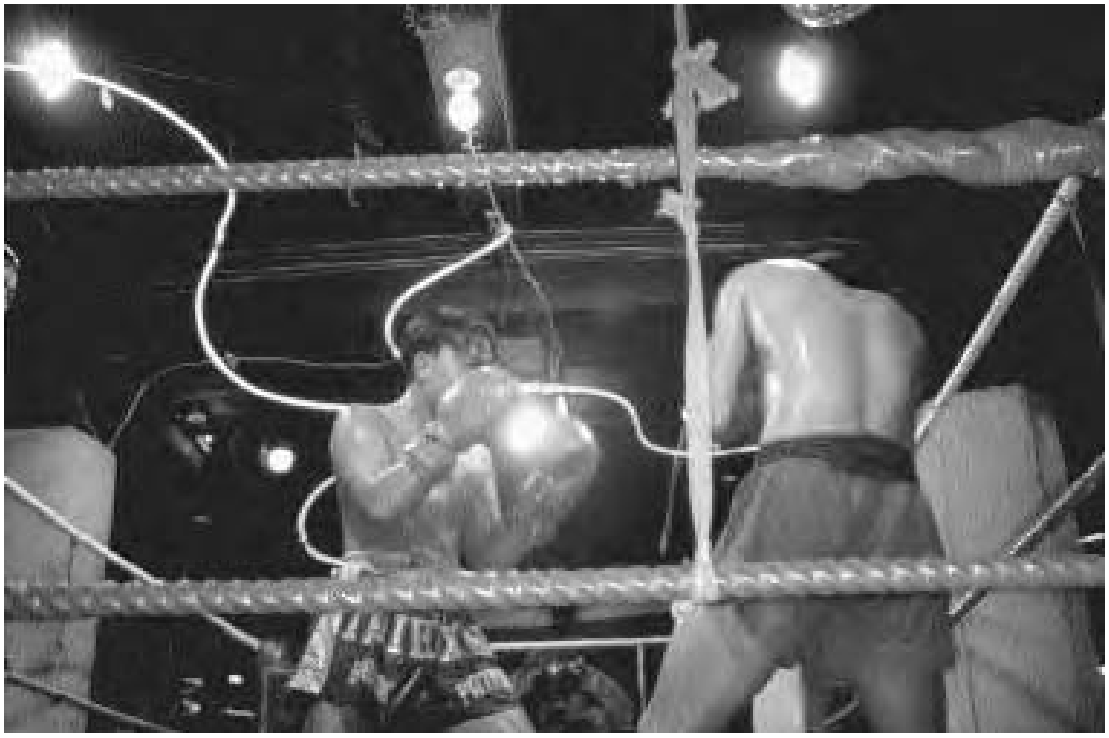
Muay Thai

Muay Thai (Thai Boxing) is a style of kickboxing that comes from Thailand (land of the free), formerly known as Siam. Thai Boxing is one of several Siamese (Thai) martial arts, such as *Krabi-krabong, Lerdrit, Chuparsp, Thaiplum, Kemier,* and *Thaiyuth*. Krabi-krabong is sword and staff fighting using prearranged sets. Lerdrit (pronounced lerd-lit) is an empty-hand battlefield art. Chuparsp (weaponry) includes the pike, knife, stick, sword, shield, and flexible weapons. Thaiplum (grappling) emphasizes pressure point and blood vessel strikes. Kemier is a ninjutsu-like stealth and survival art taught only to head monks at temples. Thaiyuth ("Thai skills") includes Muay Thai, Krabi-krabong, and close-quarter combat techniques. Known as "the science of eight weapons," Muay Thai is a striking art for ring fighting that uses the fists, elbows, knees, and feet.

Muay Thai has developed over several centuries in Southeast Asia. Precise information on the origin of Muay Thai remains unavailable, partly because the Burmese purportedly burned all Siamese records in A.D. 1767. According to one story, in A.D. 1560 the Siamese "black" prince Naresuen fought the Burmese crown prince and defeated him in single combat with Muay Thai. This martial display persuaded Burmese king Bayinnaung not to attack Thailand. Others trace the origins of Muay Thai to a contest held in 1774. In the Burmese city of Rangoon (after the ancient Thai capital of Ayuthya fell in 1767), Lord Mangra the Burmese king called for a seven-day Buddhist festival. A Thai Boxer named Nai Khanom Tom defeated more than nine Burmese fighters one after another before Lord Mangra, thereby earning his admiration.

In modern Thailand, matches are held every day in Bangkok at the Lumphini Stadium and the Ratchadamnoen Stadium. Fights last five rounds of three minutes each with two-minute rest periods in between. There is a center referee who issues a ten count for knockdowns. Three knockdowns in a single round can end the match. Two judges score the fight on points, unless there is a knockout or the referee stops the contest, in which case the match ends.

Fighters enter the ring wearing robes. Trainers wear vests. In bouts, the fighters wear trunks, hand wraps, gloves, mouthpieces, and groin protectors. Elastic and cotton anklets are optional equipment. In contemporary bouts, the international boxing gloves that are used for European box-



Combatants in a Muay Thai match in Bangkok, Thailand. (Earl & Nazima Kowall/Corbis)

ing are standard protection. Under traditional rules, boxers bound their hands with cotton cloth, dipped them in glue, and sprinkled them with ground glass. Glue and glass were abandoned earlier, but cotton bindings, rather than gloves, were used until 1929.

Blows with fists, elbows, and knees and kicks are all delivered with tremendous force in the ring. The Muay Thai strikes, especially the trademark low-line roundhouse, or hook, kicks, are extremely powerful. During the opening round of a match, players may trade low roundhouse kicks to each other's legs to prove who is the better-conditioned fighter. Kicks to the legs are debilitating, limiting a fighter's mobility. Spectators then start their betting after the first round. Contemporary Muay Thai has been accused of having a seedy side because betting is said to dehumanize the martial spirit of the fighters. Some promoters, in fact, consider their fighters to be subhuman and call them animals.

Fight music (*si muay*) is an essential and inspiring part of every match. Songs (*sarama*) are played by a four-piece orchestra consisting of a Javanese clarinet (*pi Java*), drums (*klong kaek, kong*), and cymbals (*shing*). It is believed that the music of wind instruments is particularly inspiring to the fighters. Dance music accompanies the practice of other Thai martial arts, also.

As it does not use the ranking systems of popular Japanese and Korean martial arts, with Muay Thai it is said that "the belt is in the ring"

(Praditbatuga 2000). A fighter demonstrates level of expertise through combat. Like other Asian martial arts, Muay Thai has a spiritual side that is rooted in Buddhism. For example, there is a ceremony called "paying homage to the teacher." This ceremony includes a prefight ritual dance (*ram muay, wai kruh*) in which the fighter hexes his enemy with magic. Also, fighters wear magical charms, such as the *mongkon* (headband) and *praciat* (armband), before and during the bout. In the mid- to late 1960s, after the 1964 Olympics, Muay Thai gained popularity in Japan. *Karatekas* (Japanese; practitioners of karate) blended techniques into an international kickboxing style. Japanese fighters, however, have not adhered to the traditions and rituals associated with the art as practiced in Thailand. The techniques, however, still work without the rituals. The practice of Muay Thai has spread throughout Europe and to the Western Hemisphere as well.

Muay Thai practitioners train in professional boxing camps, such as the Lanna Boxing Camp (*Kiat Busaba*) in Chiang Mai. Trainers hold practice every day and fighters compete at least monthly. Boxers by tradition carry the name of their camp into the ring. A boxer's training regimen includes stretching; calisthenics; weight lifting; rope skipping; running; swimming; shadowboxing; equipment drills with focus mitts, kicking pads, and heavy bags; and sparring. Many strikes are not permitted during sparring in order to ensure the fighters' safety by limiting potential injury. Training sessions may last for about two hours, but are held throughout each day. Therapeutic massage with boxing liniment is included in the training regimen. Diet is key; proper nutrition is essential for stamina.

Training routines may vary, but generally stretching and limbering exercises are included in the ritual dance (ram muay or wai kruh). The hissing sound of exhaling air is heard during movements as fighters practice their breath control. They target vital points when learning striking techniques. A special type of heavy bag, called a "banana bag," which is longer and heavier than a punching bag, is used for kicking. Other training equipment includes a speed bag of the type used by boxers, bag gloves, double-end bag, jump rope, timer, focus mitts, kicking pads, sparring gloves, headgear, and medicine ball. Fighters condition their shins to withstand the impact of their opponents' kicks by striking them with sticks or by kicking banana trees. To improve their focus and control, fighters practice kicking at a lemon hanging from a rope or string.

There is only one stance, or posture, in Muay Thai. For a right-handed fighter, the left leg leads and the right leg follows. Hands are held high. Closed and gloved fists protect the head with the elbows held inward, arms protecting the body. The fighter's body is turned slightly sideways, with the head held slightly forward. The shuffle step is used to move forward and backward. The fighter's front foot moves first going forward,

while the rear foot moves first going backward. In moving sideways or laterally, the fighter's left foot moves first when going to the left, and the right foot moves first when going to the right.

Punching includes the basic five moves used in Western boxing: jab, cross, hook (*mat tong*), uppercut (*mat aat*), and overhead. Another type of punch is the swing, which is a long-range hook. *Savate* uses a similar punch, because of a similar need to close the gap from kicking range. A difference between Muay Thai and international boxing can be seen in the way Muay Thai boxers hold up their guard. Because the Thai boxer must counter kicks, knees, and elbows with punches, the guard position tends to keep the hands farther away from the body.

Elbows are delivered in many ways: horizontally, downward, upward, spinning, and driving. The horizontal elbow whips the point of the elbow across the target, usually the side of the head, like a hook. The downward elbow technique first raises the point backward and then drops it downward, using the body weight while moving forward with the hand held low. A variation on the downward elbow technique is done with jumping, in which the elbow point is dropped down from above with the hand held high. Upward elbows are usually delivered like the uppercut punching techniques. Spinning elbows are horizontal elbows with body turns. Driving elbows come straight in like the boxing jab.

Knee attacks are dangerous techniques in Muay Thai and are often fatal. The knee strikes are delivered in three basic ways: straight, round, and jumping. Usually either the straight knee or the round knee is used. The straight knee is used to close distance in close-quarter fighting, while the round knee is delivered from the clinch, usually for an attack to the ribs and kidneys. The jumping knee may be used against an opponent trapped in a corner. This is a flamboyant technique employed to impress the audience.

Kicking techniques include, in order of preference, the roundhouse kick, front kick, and spinning kick. The round kick is directed at low, middle, and high targets. The low kicks are full-force and committed. They differ in execution from other martial arts like Boxe Française Savate or Kyukushinkai Karate. There is a front kick, which is usually used as a "stop hit" or pushing-away technique to halt the opponent's forward progress. The spin kick is a reverse whipping kick. This technique is seldom used in ring fighting. Similar to the high round kick, the spinning kick is prudently saved for the bout's final blow. There is no side kick in the traditional Muay Thai repertoire, but Japanese kickboxers who have converted from karate use this technique effectively.

Muay Thai camps may differ in the strategies they emphasize. For example, the method emphasized in the Prapaisilp-Kitipitayangkul Camp in St. Louis, Missouri, by *Arjan* (Teacher) Supat Prapaisilp and *Kruh* (Trainer)

Ron Smith emphasizes kicking an opponent's legs. These techniques are called cut kicks, because by using them you can cut out the legs from under the opponent. Cut kicks are sweeping, low-line leg attacks or round kicks with the shins against either the inside or outside thighs of an opponent. These kicks can be countered by using footwork to evade the attacks, by lifting the leg out of harm's way, or by toughening the legs to permit them to resist the blows of the other fighter. The use of this array of kicks to the legs helps Muay Thai techniques negate most of what other striking arts (e.g., taekwondo, European boxing, and karate) offer to the combative martial artist.

Moreover, Muay Thai competitors have demonstrated success using Western rules as well. For example, Khaosai Wanghompu (who fought professionally as "Galaxy" Khaosai) was the longest-reigning World Boxing Association (WBA) bantamweight champion in history, with a record of fifty wins and one loss and nineteen title defenses. He was elected to the Boxing Hall of Fame in 1999. In addition, when his twin brother, Khaokor, later won the WBA bantamweight title, they became the first twin brothers to ever win World Boxing titles. In 1995, Saman Sorjaturong won the WBA and International Boxing Federation (IBF) flyweight titles, and with his brother Chana's subsequent win they became the second twin Muay Thai–trained fighters to win international titles in Western boxing. Finally, top-ranked no-holds-barred (NHB) fighters, especially Brazilian Marco Ruas, in the final years of the twentieth century utilized a blend of Muay Thai and Brazilian jiu-jitsu (and other grappling systems) to achieve success in mixed martial arts competitions.

Ronald Harris

See also Southeast Asia

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N

Ninjutsu

Ninjutsu is the Japanese martial art of espionage, called in English the "techniques of stealth" or the "arts of invisibility." Practitioners were trained to sneak into enemy territory to learn and report on troops, arms, provisions, and fortifications. The techniques developed further to include active attempts to alter the course of battles, such as arson, assassination, intercepting and/or destroying arms and supplies, and the like. Practitioners were commonly known as *ninja,* but there were numerous alternative terms: *shinobi* (spy), *onmitsu* (secret agent), *rappa* (wild wave), *suppa* (transparent wave), *toppa* (attacking wave), *kasa* (grass), *monomi* (seer of things), and *nokizaru* (monkey under the eaves).

Although earlier Japanese chronicles suggest ninjalike activities, ninjutsu developed primarily during the Sengoku period (late fifteenth to sixteenth centuries) when warfare was endemic. Ninjutsu became organized into schools (*ryûha*) and its techniques systematized. According to Fujita Seiko, there were seventy-one different ryûha, but the three most well known were the Iga-ryû, Kôga-ryû, and Kishû-ryû, others being derivative of these.

In Tokugawa times (1600–1867), during two centuries of peace, ninjutsu lost most of its practical value, although some ninja were employed by the Tokugawa *bakufu* for surveillance and police purposes. The practice of ninjutsu was transformed into one form of martial arts. Due to the secrecy associated with their activities, ninja were often perceived as mysterious and elusive. During the Tokugawa period, after they had virtually passed from the scene, ninja were being portrayed as supermen in drama, art, and literature. Their reputed ability to disappear at will, or leap over walls, or sneak undetected into a castle captured the imagination of people.

That image remains strong today. Ninja were already popular in the era before World War II, in fiction and in the films of such directors as Makino Shôzô. Then, during the 1960s, the Daiei Series of *Shinobi no mono* (Ninja; Band of Assassins) films, starring Ichikawa Raizô, ignited a

ninja boom that spread widely overseas as part of a larger international fascination with martial arts. Consequently, ninjutsu has been incorporated widely into action novels and films set in locations worldwide and has even lost its Japanese character, as American kids and even cartoon character turtles have been cast as ninja. The ninja has become a thoroughly romanticized and orientalized figure in contemporary global culture.

Early History of Ninjutsu

Ninjutsu ryûha texts maintain legends about its origins, but scholars consider them to be highly inaccurate. It seems probable that techniques of spying and scouting, gathering information for purposes of waging war, were introduced in the seventh and eighth centuries—most likely in organized form through the Chinese military classic by Sunzi (ca. 300–237 B.C.), *The Art of War.* Prince Shôtoku is said to have been the first to employ someone as a shinobi in the defeat of the Mononobe in 587. Others suggest that *yamabushi* (mountain ascetics) who were practitioners of *shugendô*—a syncretic form of Shintô-Buddhist belief focusing on the worship of mountains—may be the progenitors of later ninjutsu. In general, early accounts of ninja activities are unsubstantiated.

As the scale of battles increased and war bands became better organized in medieval times, the need for spies and unconventional tactics became critical. In the early fourteenth century, for example, Kusunoki Masashige is said to have relied on ninjalike activities. He reputedly employed Iga ninja to steal into Kyoto to discern the military situation. Moreover, in defense of his fortress, Masashige placed lifelike dolls on the battlements to make his troops appear more numerous. His skills in guerilla warfare led later schools of ninjutsu to claim connection with Masashige.

After the Ônin War (1467–1477) and the spread of warfare throughout Japan, various daimyo (regional warlords) began to employ ninja as spies on a regular basis to assist them in expanding their domains. Although ninjutsu ultimately spread from the capital region to central and eastern Japan, local village samurai families in Iga and Kôga (plains areas surrounded by mountains on the border of Iga and Ômi provinces) primarily developed the techniques. By the late fifteenth century there were reputedly fifty-three Kôga and two Iga ninja houses, the leading families being the Hattori and two of that house's offshoots, the Fujibayashi and Momochi.

Among the daimyo who employed ninja for their skills in espionage were Takeda Shingen, Uesugi Kenshin, and Hôjô Ujiyasu. In the Battle of Magari in Ômi province in 1487, Rokaku Takayori sent ninja into the camp of the besieging Ashikaga bakufu army, where they set fire to the headquarters and forced the withdrawal of Ashikaga troops. It was through such deeds that the reputation of ninja spread among the daimyo

A nineteenth-century Japanese woodcut depicting a samurai initiated in ninjutsu, the martial art of invisibility, Ninja Museum, Ueno, Japan. The initiates are also known as ninja. (Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY)

of Japan. With the destruction of the Iga and Kôga territories by Oda Nobunaga in 1581, many of the local warriors fled to daimyo in eastern Japan, thus further spreading the knowledge of ninjutsu.

The daimyo most closely connected with the use of ninja was Tokugawa Ieyasu, first shôgun of the Tokugawa bakufu established in 1603. The connection dated back two generations, to the time when his grandfather, Matsudaira Kiyoyasu, employed several hundred Iga ninja under Hattori Hanzô Yasunaga. When Akechi Mitsuhide's troops assassinated Oda

Nobunaga in Kyoto in 1582, Ieyasu avoided attack himself and escaped from Sakai back to his home territory of Mikawa with the assistance of Hattori Hanzô Masanari and a group of ninja. When he became shôgun, Ieyasu called Hanzô to Edo, and employed him to lead Iga and Kôga ninja to spy on potential enemies of the bakufu. Ninja assisted the Tokugawa at the major engagements of Sekigahara, the sieges of Ôsaka Castle, and the Shimabara Rebellion. Later, Iga and Kôga ninja were incorporated formally into police and surveillance organizations of the regime.

Texts and Sources

Information about ninjutsu can be gleaned from a number of extant scrolls and other texts from the Tokugawa period. Fujita Seiko identified thirty-one texts transmitting ninjutsu teachings. One of the first was the *Ninpiden* (Legends of Ninja Secrets), a collection of documents and techniques compiled by Hattori Kiyonobu in 1655. The most important extant text is the *Bansen shûkai* (Ten Thousand Rivers Flow into the Sea) of Fujibayashi Yasutake, who completed it in 1675, after twelve years of work. Another important text is the *Shôninki* (Record of True Ninjutsu) of Fujibayashi Masatake (1681).

Ninjutsu texts appeared somewhat later than those describing the techniques of other martial arts, breaking with a past tradition of secret oral transmission from master to disciple. Martial arts ryûha sprang up throughout Japan, heads of houses possessing knowledge became professional instructors, and samurai were attracted to various schools to learn martial arts as part of the bakufu's emphasis upon the cultivation of Confucian culture, which stresses a balance between martial and civil arts. Scrolls recounting the history of the school, with appropriate connection with various gods and historical figures, and presenting the techniques of the tradition, became an important part of the teaching and ritual components of the various schools, including ninjutsu.

Techniques and Weapons

Since ninja were first and foremost spies, completing one's missions and returning to report were of the essence. Ninjutsu can thus be seen as the art of escape, and techniques were designed to ensure survival. "In ninjutsu there are both overt and covert techniques. The former refer to techniques utilized when one does not disguise his appearance and uses strategy and ingenuity to penetrate enemy territory, while the latter refers to stealing into the enemy camp using techniques of concealment, so as not to be seen by others" (*Bansen shûkai* 1982, 481). Ninja were taught how to disguise themselves to pass unnoticed and were trained in multiple forms of fleeing, based on knowledge of animal behavior. Night provided an excellent cover

for ninja actions. For night work, ninja wore black clothing and a hood to avoid detection; but in the daylight, they normally wore brown clothing with reversible gray on the inside, which blended in with natural surroundings. Naturally, they were often in disguise, as an itinerant priest, a merchant, or the like.

Ninjutsu taught familiarity with natural elements as a means of concealing one's presence: using the shade of trees or rocks to hide; carrying out operations at night; employing the confusion created by storms, fog, or fires to sneak into a castle or house. Festivals, brawls, and other occasions where crowds gathered could be utilized for similar purposes.

Ninja might pass a guard post by posing as comrades, calling out false commands, or shouting "Fire." Familiarity with the details of the enemy territory, including knowledge of the local dialect, was also considered invaluable. Naturally, not all contingencies could be covered, so above all, ninja were expected to be inventive and not be limited by their training. "Since secret techniques for necessary penetration (of the enemy's camp) are but temporary and expedient forms of deception, you need not always follow old ninja techniques. Neither need you discard them" (*Bansen shûkai* 1982, 481)

Ninja developed a bewildering variety of tools to assist them in accomplishing their missions, including the "six utensils" normally carried by ninja: sedge hat, rope, slate pencil, medicine, *tenugui* (a form of small towel), and *tsuketake* (for lighting fires). For longer missions, a ninja would carry drink and dried food. For certain tasks, there were specialized tools of various kinds, divided in the *Bansen shûkai* into climbing tools, water utensils (various means of crossing ponds and moats, or hiding in them), opening tools for entering residences, and fire and explosive devices—smoke bombs, fire arrows, and gunpowder for rifles and cannon. The *Bansen shûkai* warns ninja not to be overloaded with equipment, but to discern what is necessary for the mission and take only those tools. "Thus a successful ninja is one who uses but one tool for multiple tasks" (*Bansen shûkai* 1982, 535).

In order to carry out missions of spying, assassination, and ambush, and even in order to fight in regular battle or defend himself against attack, the ninja had to be well trained in martial skills and at the height of physical and mental discipline. This required mastery of most of the major weapons systems and martial skills of the day: sword, lance, bow and arrow (ninja, however, used short bows), grappling, staff, gunnery, and horsemanship. There were other weapons more likely to be employed by ninja than by other warriors, such as throwing missiles (*shuriken*), which ranged from simple short knives to three-, four-, six- or even eight-pointed "stars." Ninja practiced swimming, running to cover long distances with-

out fatigue, breath control, and various ways of walking to avoid sound and, thus, detection. They also had to be skilled at climbing, employing various tools to assist them, such as rope ladders and metal claws that attached to the hands. Working often at night, they trained to increase their ability to see in the dark and hear especially well.

Ninjutsu scholars note forms of chanting, magic spells, incantations, and mudras (hand gestures) in order to focus one's mental power and receive divine protection. These techniques presumably derived from similar esoteric Buddhist practices of *yamabushi* (mountain warriors), *shugendô* practitioners whose purpose was to attain Buddhahood through such ascetic discipline. Though secondary sources often stress these magical aspects of ninjutsu, major texts are silent regarding them.

Yet clearly, severe spiritual training was necessary to accomplish difficult missions. Thus, the first two sections of *Bansen shûkai* stress spiritual or mental preparation. "A correct mind [*seishin*] is the source of all things and all actions. Now, since ninjutsu involves using ingenuity and stratagems to climb over fences and walls, or to use [various ninja tools] to break in, it is quite like the techniques of thieves. If someone not revering the Way of Heaven should acquire [ninjutsu] skills and carry out evil acts, then my writing this book would be tantamount to revealing the techniques of robbery. Thus I place greatest importance on a correct mind" (*Bansen shûkai* 1982, 438).

Yasutake devotes two sections to developing a correct mind. Rather than providing prescriptions for spiritual training such as techniques of meditation or the use of mudras, he instead quotes from classical Chinese texts espousing that the ninja practice Confucian virtues of loyalty, benevolence, justice, and truth. Yasutake considers the most essential ingredient of the correct mind for a ninja to be the ability to rise above concerns for life and death, which he notes is as hard for a man to comprehend as it is for a bird to speak. He explains the workings of the universe in terms of the interaction of yin and yang and the five elements, in order for students to understand that life and death are intimately related and thus death is natural: "Life is man's yang, and death is his yin," as he puts it (*Bansen shûkai* 1982, 459).

The practice of ninjutsu has been revived since World War II and taught openly in several places in Japan. It has also been exported abroad, with the result that there are centers of training in so-called ninjutsu in many places throughout the world. Several years ago, on a Japanese *What's My Line,* a young American stumped the panel, who could not discern that his occupation was ninja. As the martial arts have become internationalized, cross-fertilization has taken place, with the result that schools teaching ninjutsu often incorporate standard techniques from karate, kung fu,

and other martial arts into their repertoire. Ninjutsu continues to fascinate audiences worldwide, and modern warfare still allows considerable room for employment of commando forces, so the fascination with mastery of ninja skills of espionage provides a welcome marketing device for teachers. Yet there are no ninja today, only practitioners of some of the techniques and students of the tradition. Achievement of some rank within a school teaching ninjutsu cannot make one a ninja, any more than learning techniques with the sword can qualify one as a samurai.

G. Cameron Hurst III

See also Japan; Meditation

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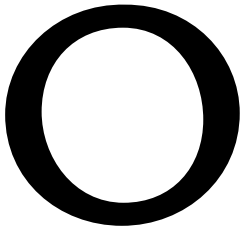

Okinawa

Okinawa means a "rope in the offing" (Japanese), and is the general name given to a chain of approximately 140 islands and reefs, situated south of Japan and north of Taiwan in the East China Sea. The islands are divided into three separate geographical regions, known as the Northern, Central, and Southern Ryûkyûs. Okinawa itself is the largest island in the chain and is located in the Central Ryûkyû region. The Southern Ryûkyûs are separated from the Central and Northern Ryûkyûs by a large expanse of open sea. Miyako Island, at the northernmost part of the southern region, is some 282 kilometers away from Okinawa Island, in the central region.

This oceanic divide and the Black Current, which runs from below the Philippines in the south and sweeps northward past Japan, effectively separated the Ryûkyûs into two cultural units, one formed by the northern and central regions and the other formed by the islands in the south. The Sakishima Islands in the south are believed to have been inhabited as early as 6000 B.C., but their culture appears to have been uninfluenced by their northern neighbors for roughly 7,000 years. Japanese and Chinese artifacts from the region date only to A.D. 1000. Habitation of the Northern and Central Ryûkyûs occurred some 30,000 years ago and was undertaken by the *Yamashita dôkutsujin* (Yamashita cavemen), who crossed the land bridges that then existed between the Ryûkyûs and Japan.

The Okinawan Shell Mound Era lasted from 2000 B.C. to A.D. 616, when the Yamato (Wa people of the Yayoi culture) of Kyûshû, the southernmost island of Japan, sent thirty Ryûkyû islanders to the court at Nara (Japan), ostensibly to learn about the advanced culture of Prince Shôtoku Taishi. The Yayoi culture had been acquainted with the use of iron and bronze tools and weapons since their social formation, about 300 B.C. And while there does exist some evidence that the Northern Ryûkyû islanders of Yakushima had knowledge of martial weaponry in A.D. 608, when some 1,000 were captured and enslaved by Sui Chinese explorers seeking the

Land of Happy Immortals, the Central Ryûkyûs remained effectively demilitarized until expansion by the Yamato after 616.

Shortly after 616, the Kami jidai (Age of the Gods) was established in the Central Ryûkyûs with the arrival of a group of Yamato on Seifa Utaki on the Chinen Peninsula. The exact nature of the Yamato mission is unknown, but it is obvious that they had planned an extended occupation. The Yamato from Nara brought with them a rice-based agricultural system, as well as iron implements to both farm and defend themselves. Folk history declares that it was on Seifa Utaki that the first rice was planted in the Ryûkyûs by the *kami* (gods) Shinerikyo and Amamikyo, who had descended from Heaven. That Heaven was probably Nara is evidenced in the Yamato chronicles by Shôtoku Taishi's appellation as Tennô (Ruler of Heaven). Amamikyo was impregnated by a divine wind and gave birth to two boys and a girl, who defined the Ryûkyûan social hierarchy into rulers (first son), priestesses (daughter), and farmers (second son), and began the Kami jidai. The sister or daughter of the king at Shuri, on Okinawa, served as the chief *noro* priestess (the chief priestess was called "kikoe-ôgimi") for the royal family until Shô Tai's abdication to the Japanese in 1879. Together with the divine gifts of iron tools and weapons came the quasi–Zen Buddhist teachings promulgated by the pious Shôtoku during his reign. Both the weapons and the religiosity influence Ryûkyûan martial arts to this day. And it is most probable that the martial art known as *te* was brought to Okinawa at this time.

Although *te* literally means "hand," the art has always been intimately associated with the use of weapons, so much so that the advanced empty-hand forms precisely correspond to applications with weapons. The primary weapons of te are the sword (*katana*), spear (*yari*), and halberd (*naginata*), which were also the principal weapons of the Japanese *bushi* (warrior). Te footwork and *taijutsu* (techniques for maneuvering the body) also suggest a Japanese origin of the art.

The belief that the Ryûkyûan martial arts were divinely influenced and intimately associated with royalty, itself of divine origin and establishment, is evidenced in the oral history of the art of te. The first mention of te occurs after the Satsuma invasion and subjugation of Okinawa in 1609. The Satsuma domain was based in Kagoshima, that is, Satsuma. They launched their invasion and subsequent conquest of the Ryûkyûs from their home in southern Kyûshû. King Shô Nei sent Jana Ueekata (Japanese; counselor) to negotiate the occupation treaty with the Japanese. Appalled by the terms set forth in the document and the general treatment of the Okinawans, Jana refused to ratify the agreement and was subsequently exiled to Kagoshima, home of the Satsuma, where he was sentenced to be boiled alive in oil. On the day of his execution, Jana requested that as a

Sensei Ty Yocham of the Texas Okinawan Gôjû Kai Federation deflects an upward cut of the sword with the eku (boat oar). (Courtesy of Ron Mottern)

bushi of the Ryûkyûs, he be allowed to practice te before his death. His request was granted, and he was released from his bonds, whereupon Jana performed a series of te exercises. When he had completed his forms, two executioners approached him to fulfill the death sentence, but before they could bind him, Jana grabbed the guards and plunged into the vat of boiling oil. The bodies of the men floated to the top of the vat and, resembling three linked commas, began to swirl in a counterclockwise direction. The linked comma symbol is known as the *hidari gomon* (outside karate systems, this symbol is commonly labeled *tomoemon* or *tomoe*), and it was adopted as the crest of the Ryûkyû royal family out of admiration for Jana Ueekata's act of loyalty to the king and devotion to Okinawa.

The close relationship between Ryûkyû royalty and the art of te is also evidenced in the position of the Motobu Udun government as te instructors of the royal court. The Motobu Udun lineage traces its roots to Prince Shô Koshin, sixth son to King Shô Shitsu, who ruled under the Satsuma from 1648 until 1668. Eleven successive generations of the Motobu Udun inherited the art of te and passed that knowledge on to the Ryûkyû royal line. Motobu Chôyû, who died in 1926, was the last in the Motobu Udun line and te instructor of the Marquis Shô Ten. It is also interesting to note that the epitome of te is contained in the Anji Kata no Me (Dance

Form of the Lords), thus furthering the association between the nobility (*anji*) and te.

The consideration that the divine progenitors of Ryûkyûan genesis myths were probably Japanese missionaries who came from the court of Shôtoku Taishi at Nara about A.D. 616, together with the association between te and successive generations of Ryûkyûan royalty and the fact that the principal weaponry of te was also the principal weaponry of the Japanese bushi, lends support to the idea that te itself is of Japanese origin.

The Japanese arts also influenced the development of karate on Okinawa. Karate should not be confused with te. The original name for karate was *Toudi*, or *Tôte* (Tang hand), denoting its roots in the Chinese martial arts. The name was later changed to *karate*, meaning "empty hand." Kanga Teruya, also known as Sakugawa Toudi (Tang Hand), studied combative forms in Satsuma, which he combined with forms he learned in Fuzhou and Beijing. Sakugawa's student, Matsumura Sôkon (1809–1901), traveled to Fuzhou and also to Kagoshima, where he studied the art of *Jigen-ryû Kenjutsu,* the sword style of the Satsuma samurai. On his return to Okinawa, Matsumura combined this knowledge of Jigen-ryû with the Chinese-based systems he learned in Fuzhou and Okinawa to form the basis of Shuri-di (*see* Karate, Okinawan).

Chinese martial arts (*wuyi*) entered Ryûkyû culture through interaction with Chinese immigrants who settled in Okinawa, and through Okinawans who traveled abroad. The Thirty-Six Families who settled at Kume Village in Kuninda, Naha, in 1392 undoubtedly brought combative disciplines with them. And in 1762, the Chinese *kenpô* expert, Kusanku, arrived in Okinawa with several of his students and began to disseminate his art.

Fuzhou, in the province of Fujian, was a major trading port between Okinawa and China. Fuzhou was also the home of many renowned Chinese martial artists, several of whom were reported to have studied at the famed Southern Shaolin Temple, and many young *Uchinachu* (Japanese; Okinawans) traveled to Fuzhou to study the martial arts. Sakugawa Toudi and Matsumura Sôkon studied in Fuzhou. Higashionna (Higaonna) Kanryô (1853–1915) studied *go no kenpô jû no kenpô* (hard-fist method/soft-fist method) in Fuzhou with the Chinese master Xie Zhongxiang, as did Nakaima Norisato. Higashionna returned to Okinawa and laid the foundation for Naha-di and, subsequently, the Gôjû-ryû (*see* Karate, Okinawan). Nakaima founded the Ryûei-ryû. Uechi Kanbun (1877–1948) also studied in Fuzhou. He learned the art of Pangai-Noon (also PanYing Jen, banyingruan, or Pan Ying Gut), which later became known in Okinawa as Uechi-ryû, from Zhou Zihe (Japanese, Shu Shi Wa). The Kojô family was one of the original Thirty-Six Families who came from Fuzhou and settled in the Kume village. The family continues to be a prominent martial arts

source in Okinawa. The family operated its own dôjô in Fuzhou, where many young Uchinachu trained while in China. Until the 1970s, the Kojô family retained their close association with mainland China.

In 1936, Miyagi Chôjun, the founder of the Gôjû-ryû, presented an outline of karate in which he observed that the age of secrecy in karate had ended, and he predicted the internationalization of the art. The effects of World War II saw Miyagi proved correct. Okinawa underwent a change from the age of Japan to the age of America. And with this change came many changes for the martial arts community, both in Okinawa and Japan. Allied servicemen began to train in and disseminate karate throughout Europe, America, and the world. With a ready market, many unqualified, and some simply bogus, instructors began to teach various "styles" of karate to an eager public. The effects of these charlatans are still felt throughout the martial arts community. The traditional Okinawan concept of the *genkoki* (village training hall), where the deepest secrets of the art were studied and passed on solely for the continuation of the system, was virtually abandoned and lost. And although the postwar commercialization greatly contributed to this effect, the trend began with the public teaching of karate. Well-meaning instructors who felt that karate had much to offer the public attempted to disseminate karate for the benefit of the masses, rather than for the perpetuation of the classical system that was the cause from which those benefits sprang. Many new styles came into existence that utilized the forms of the old styles but were devoid of the spirit that made them worthwhile treasures. Rather than act in a synergistic system, mental and spiritual training took a backseat to the physical perpetuation of empty technique. In some cases, Okinawan karate kata were usurped by other styles, which claimed the forms originated with them. The advent of presenting kata and training methods on videotape, and more recently the Internet, has further diluted the essence of the art but has furthered the spread of karate's popularity.

Ron Mottern

See also Karate, Okinawan; Kobudô, Okinawan

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Orders of Knighthood, Religious

Despite many legends indicating a greater antiquity, the first religious orders of knighthood (or military religious orders) were created in the aftermath of the First Crusade, which culminated in the Latin Christian conquest of Jerusalem and the whole Levantine coast in 1099. The earliest orders, indeed, were all founded and based in the city of Jerusalem itself, which became the capital of the new kingdom of that name.

The first body of men to which the term *military religious order* may justly be applied was formed around 1120 of a small group of lay knights led by Hugues de Payens, a nobleman from Champagne in France who was apparently related both to the ruler of that principality and to the future St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. Hugues and his followers took the usual monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but with the permission of the patriarch of Jerusalem, undertook the unusual task of defending the pilgrims then flocking to the newly reconquered Holy City. The king of Jerusalem, Baudouin II, gave the monk-knights a residence in his own palace, the former al-Aksa Mosque, and as the Crusaders mistook this building for the Temple of Solomon, they soon came to be known as the "Knights of the Temple" or "Templars." By 1129 they had taken on the additional duty of contributing to the defense of the Holy Land itself and lacked only a distinctive rule to make them a true military religious order.

There is no reason to suppose (as some historians have since 1818) that the first Christian order of knighthood was inspired by the similar Islamic institution of the *ribat,* but an understanding of its origins does require an examination of the contemporary state both of knighthood and of monasticism. As knights, the Templars belonged to an international category of professional warriors whose profession had traditionally suffered in the context of Christian society by the absolute moral prohibition of homicide imposed by the leaders of the Church. This prohibition had been effectively mitigated in the context of just wars since at least the eighth century, however, and had just been modified still further by the terms of the papal proclamation of the crusade in 1095: a proclamation that implicitly made homicide not only licit but actually praiseworthy if committed by a man bound by the vows and living the quasi-religious life of a crusader, in the context of a consecrated war against the enemies of Christ and his Church. This new doctrine, expounded and elaborated by various authorities in the first decades of the twelfth century, who were seeking to give knighthood in general a moral dimension it had previously lacked, allowed knightly crusaders to claim for themselves in a literal sense the old title *miles Christi* (Latin; soldier of Christ), long claimed in a purely metaphorical sense by the monks. Coincidentally, knightly status had also just begun to be seen by members of the old lordly nobility as the contemporary em-

A meeting of a branch of the Knights Templar with the grand master seated in the center. The order, founded in 1118, was originally formed to protect pilgrims on their journey to the Holy Land. (Hulton Archive)

bodiment of their own traditional military ideal, and therefore to be conferred by a special ritual called *adobement* (French; dubbing) on the eldest sons of nobles when they attained their majority. The prestige of knighthood was thus on the rise in both clerical and noble circles, and this would lead before the end of the century to the formulation of a complex new code of behavior for the nobility as a whole associated with knighthood and actually called "knightliness" or "chivalry." Nevertheless, in 1120 knights in general were still much less highly regarded than monks and clerics, and the small body of knights founded in Jerusalem to defend pilgrims initially lacked both the organization and the legitimacy conferred on contemporary monastic and clerical bodies by their constitutions, or "rules" of life.

The number and variety of monastic and quasi-monastic rules grew steadily in the early twelfth century, however, as different groups of men and women sought different ways to lead an ideal Christian life and founded new religious "orders," whose houses followed the same rule and increasingly submitted to a single central government as well. The most influential of the new orders of the latter type throughout the twelfth century was certainly that based in the Abbey of Cîteaux in northern Burgundy (founded in 1098), and in its four eldest daughter houses of La Ferté (1113), Pontigny (1114), Clairvaux (1115), and Morimond (1115). The Cistercians (as their members are called) were militant Benedictine monks

who restored serious manual labor and apostolic simplicity to the monastic life, and introduced for the first time the incorporation of "lay brothers," who were not required to take full monastic vows, but nevertheless lived within the monastery and carried out many useful tasks for the salvation of their souls. Not surprisingly, the Cistercian rule and ethos—and possibly even their plain white habit—served as models for many of the military orders.

Among the other rules established in this period, the one that had the most influence on those of the military orders was the semimonastic rule actually written about 1100, but attributed to St. Augustine of Hippo, designed to provide a holy and communal life suitable for people who (unlike monks and nuns) had to perform some function in the secular world. It was adopted independently in the same period by numerous bodies of previously secular priests attached to collegiate churches such as cathedrals (who came to be known as "Augustinian Canons" or simply "Canons Regular"), and also by the attendants of many "hospitals," which were not merely institutions for the sick, but hostels for pilgrims and other travelers. Some hospitallers (as their attendants were called) were also priests, but the majority were either clerics in minor orders or simple laymen, so the Augustinian Rule, like that of the Cistercians, was capable of organizing people of different conditions in the same community.

Given the prestige of monastic status and monastic rules in the twelfth century, it was almost inevitable that the body of knights who undertook to protect the pilgrims to Jerusalem in 1118 should seek a form of monastic rule tailored to their own peculiar religious function. Given the fact that their leader was a Champenois nobleman, it follows that he should seek this rule from the nobly born Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux in Champagne, who was in any case the effective leader of the Cistercians from 1115 to his death in 1153 and the most influential spiritual leader in Latin Christendom in the second quarter of the twelfth century. Bernard probably helped to compose the new rule the knights received from the Council of Troyes in 1129 (a rule that bore a general resemblance to that of his own order). He certainly wrote for them the tract "In Praise of the New Knighthood" (*De laude novae militiae*), which justified the foundation of a religious order dedicated to military activities that only a short time earlier would have been unthinkable for monks. The new order took the formal name the "Order of the Poor Knights of Christ of the Temple of Solomon," or the "Knights of Christ" for short, but its members continued to be called Templars. The idea of a religious order made up largely of men who were at once monks and knights immediately struck a chord in the hearts of many contemporaries, from the pope on down. The new order was soon showered with privileges and properties scattered all over Latin Europe, making

it one of the largest and most widespread religious orders (and one of the richest international corporations) of its time. It was also given a number of key fortresses in the lands of the crusader states of the Levant and soon became, with its rival the Order of the Hospital, a key element of the defensive system of those states as a whole.

The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem grew to be a military order in a completely different way. It began as a body of hospitallers under the Augustinian Rule, attached to a hospital in Jerusalem founded by merchants from Amalfi in Italy at some time after 1060. This hospital had initially been placed under the patronage of St. John the Almoner, patron saint of hospitallers, and subordinated to two Benedictine abbeys, one for men and one for women, founded at the same time. Its services impressed the crusaders who conquered Jerusalem in the First Crusade, and it was erected into a separate (though still very minor) order in 1103, and soon rededicated to the much greater saint, John the Baptist. Under the government of its first master, the Blessed Gerard (who died in 1120), other privileges and donations quickly followed, and the young order developed along the same general lines as that of the Temple after 1130, with properties and minor houses scattered throughout Latin Christendom. The order's first nobly born master, Raymond du Puy, composed the earliest rule of the order, probably between 1145 and 1153. The rule incorporated not only the primitive unwritten customs of the order, but certain elements of both the Augustinian and (to a lesser extent) Benedictine Rules and certain elements in common with (but not necessarily borrowed from) the Rule of the Temple. Nevertheless, this rule made no mention of the knights who in the meantime had certainly come to form, with the lay hospitallers and their priestly chaplains, one of the distinct classes into which the membership of the order was divided.

How the Order of the Hospital came to include knights has indeed remained something of a mystery. Recent arguments, however, contend, on the basis of the small amount of evidence that has survived, that the order began to take in knights as brethren almost immediately after the election of Raymond du Puy to the mastership in 1123, that their admission was probably the result of a desire on the part of Raymond to recruit from the same pool as the Templars (not yet organized as an order), and that these knights from the start carried out military duties similar to those undertaken by the Templars. Certainly the order had been given major castles to defend by the time the statutes were written (Bethgibelin in 1136; Krak de Chevaliers, Bochee, Lacu, and Felicium in 1144), and soon rivaled the Templars in the number and importance of their military possessions in the Holy Land. Nevertheless, in contrast to that of their rivals of the Temple, the role of the knights in the Order of the Hospital was for a long time con-

trary to the statutes and actively opposed by the higher authorities of the Church, and they did not achieve a position of numerical preponderance within the order until after the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187. Furthermore, they were not formally distinguished from the other lay brethren until the adoption in 1204 through 1206 (under the mastership of Prince Afonso de Portugal) of the Statutes of Margat, which gave the newly recognized class of brother knights the dominant place in the order's government. Thus, while the Order of the Hospital of St. John may have been the first monastic order to include a body of professed knights, it did not become a primarily military order until about the time of the Third Crusade and did not become an officially military order until between 1204 and 1206—almost a century after it became an independent order.

By 1150 at the latest, it is clear that both the Temple and the Hospital of St. John were important international orders and that they included significant numbers of men (at first mainly knights) dedicated to an essentially military way of life. Also, these men were full members of the respective orders, bound by the same vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience to their superiors as their nonmilitary brethren and members of other orders following a monastic or "religious" life. In addition, they were either wholly (in the case of the former) or partly (in the case of the latter) dedicated to the war against the enemies of Christ and his Church in the Holy Land. They thus presented two distinct models for other men with similar ideals who wished to contribute to the crusade, either in the Holy Land itself or on other frontiers of Christendom where Muslims or pagans could be seen either as threatening Christians or as occupying lands that could be subjected to Christian rule and evangelization.

Four additional military orders were actually founded in the Holy Land before the end of the century, to incorporate groups of knights who for one reason or another did not fit comfortably in any of the established orders. The rather obscure Order of the Hospital of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem had its origins in a hospital for lepers, served by Augustinian Canons. It is first mentioned in 1142, and it probably acquired its first knights—all of whom were themselves infected with leprosy—from the two older orders. It may, therefore, have played some part in the Second Crusade (organized by Bernard of Clairvaux himself, and fought from 1146 to 1148), but the first references to its participation in warfare date from the 1240s, so it may not have been militarized much before that.

The other two orders were apparently established (or rather converted into military orders) to serve different linguistic communities—the first three orders being dominated by Francophones—and were both based in the city of Acre, to which the king of Jerusalem had been forced to withdraw after the (permanent) loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187. That of

the Teutonic Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary was founded as a hospital for German pilgrims by German crusaders during the Third Crusade in 1191, and was militarized by about 1198, while that of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acre was founded as a hospital for English pilgrims by English crusaders about 1191 and was militarized only in 1227 or 1228. Despite their origins (and continuing minor vocation) as hospitallers, the Teutonic Knights adopted a rule based quite closely on that of the Templars.

By the time the Third Crusade had begun in 1188, however, several military orders had already been founded to support the Iberian Reconquista (the irredentist war against the Moors of southern Iberia that had been in progress since shortly after the original conquest in 711–718 and had been declared to be a crusade by Pope Eugenius III in 1147). The Order of Calatrava was founded by the Cistercian Abbot of Fitero in 1158, just to the south of the Castilian frontier, and quickly acquired lands and houses in southern Castile and Aragon. A second order was founded ca. 1166 at Evora in Portugal under the name the Order of St. Benedict of Evora, but it was soon affiliated with Calatrava, became its Portuguese branch, and after moving its seat to Avis called itself the Order of Avis. The Order of St. Julian of Pereiro was similarly founded as an independent order in Leon by 1176, but it affiliated with Calatrava, became its Leonese branch, and took new names from its successive seats at Trujillo (in 1188) and Alcántara (in 1218). All three of these orders remained affiliated with the Cistercian Order and were treated as direct or indirect dependencies of the Cistercian Abbey of Morimond. The Order of St. James (or Santiago) of Compostela in Galicia, by contrast, was created by the archbishop of that pilgrimage city in 1170 by imposing a semimonastic rule on the older military confraternity called the Fratres de Caceres, based far to the south. Its knights were actually permitted to marry. Its Portuguese branch, called the Order of São Thiago or Sant' Iago, became independent in 1290.

The three branches of the Cistercian Order of Alcántara and the two branches of the peculiar Order of Santiago were the most important indigenous orders in Iberia, but several other orders were founded in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries that ultimately proved less successful. The Order of Mountjoy (in Spanish, Montegaudio) was established in Leon ca. 1173 by Rodrigo, former count of Sarria and a former knight of Santiago who wanted a stricter way of life; it started with another name, but after it had been given some properties in the crusader states, it took that of the hill from which pilgrims first saw Jerusalem. It does not seem to have taken part in the Levantine crusade, however, and after several further changes of seat and name (including those of Trafac and Monfragüe) and several partial amalgamations with other orders (including the Temple), what remained of the order was suppressed in 1221, and its members and posses-

sions annexed to Calatrava. The Order of St. George of Alfama (San Jorge de Alfama) was founded by King Pere II of Aragon in 1201, probably to provide a safer alternative to the Templars, who were already too strong in his kingdom, and it survived for several centuries as a purely Aragonese order. A tenth order—the Order of Our Lady of Mercy (Nuestra Señora de Merced)—was added in 1233, but its members, called Mercedarians, were more concerned with ransoming captives than with fighting the Moors, and it was definitively demilitarized in 1317. An eleventh, St. Mary of Spain (Santa María de España), was founded by Alfonso X of Castile after 1253, but it had a short life, as it was annexed to Santiago to compensate the latter for a terrible defeat it suffered in 1280.

As both the Temple and the Hospital of St. John had extensive holdings in Iberia, that peninsula was thenceforth to have the highest concentration of military orders of any region in Latin Christendom. All of these orders played an active role in the reconquest of Spain from the Moors, and so successful were they that by 1253 the only remaining Moorish state in Iberia was the diminutive Emirate (or later Kingdom) of Granada in the mountains of the far south, which survived with essentially the same boundaries down to 1492. The role of the orders for the next century or so was therefore reduced largely to defending the Christian realms against counteroffensives from the Moors of North Africa.

In the years between the Third and Fourth Crusades to the Holy Land (1192–1204), a third front in the ongoing crusade had been opened on the frontier between the Christian Germans and the still pagan Balts—the Prussians, Lithuanians, and Latvians—and their neighbors the Finnic Estonians, stretched out along the shores of the Baltic Sea. The crusade against the Balts was first undertaken in the far north by the new German order officially called the Knighthood of Christ of Livonia, but more commonly known as the Order of the Brethren of the Sword. A missionary German bishop founded this order for that purpose in 1202. By 1230 it had succeeded in conquering most of what was called Livonia, corresponding to what is now southern Estonia and most of Latvia. In or shortly before 1228 (when it received its papal confirmation), a Polish bishop founded the Order of Dobrzyn on the same model to conquer the pagan Prussians at the western end of the region, but this order had a much more limited success. In the meantime, however, Duke Konrad of Mazovia had offered to the Teutonic Order the district of Culmerland if they sent a force to fight the Prussians, and the emperor Frederick II had in 1226 confirmed this offer and promised to make the high master of the Teutonic Knights, Hermann von Salza, and his successors princes of the empire in respect of any lands their order might conquer in Prussia. The Teutonic Order was still based in Acre, but it had already been given a territory to defend in eastern Hungary

in 1211 and had just been expelled from that kingdom in 1225 for creating a state within a state. The dispossessed knights began almost immediately to take possession of their newly granted lands, and in 1235 and 1237 they respectively absorbed the weaker Order of Dobrzyn and amalgamated with the more powerful Order of the Swordbrethren.

In 1240 the Teutonic Order moved its seat from Acre to Prussia, most of which it conquered by 1283. The knights quickly made themselves the collective lords of this peculiar order-state, which by 1309—when they established their headquarters in the great Castle of Marienburg—was slightly larger than England and included all of the lands now incorporated in northern Poland (centered on Danzig, Polish Gdansk), Russian Kaliningrad (the Königsberg of the knights), Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The high master, under the purely theoretical suzerainty of the pope, ruled all of these lands (divided between Prussia and Livonia). Although its reason for existence ceased to be in 1386, when the last pagan grand prince of Lithuania, Jogaila, married the heiress to the crown of Poland and converted to Catholic Christianity, the order-state survived intact into the 1460s, when the ruler of Poland-Lithuania seized control of both eastern and western Prussia and divided the domain into two parts. What remained of Prussia became a fief of the Polish crown, and it passed out of the order's control in 1525, when the reigning high master, Albrecht von Hohenzollern, decided to become a Protestant and rule it as a duke. Livonia continued under the control of the (newly independent) Brethren of the Sword until 1561, when their high master decided to do the same and became a Polish vassal as duke of Courland.

Long before these developments in the far north, the original crusade against the Muslims in the Holy Land had suffered a series of setbacks. It finally failed entirely in 1291, when the remaining Christian strongholds, centered on the cities of Acre and Tripoli, were retaken by the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, the successor of Saladin. This forced the military orders that had remained there to fall back to Cyprus, regroup, and decide what to do next—under considerable pressure from such men as the indefatigable preacher Ramon Llull and a whole succession of popes to amalgamate in a single great order. This idea was fiercely resisted, however, and all but the Templars withdrew from Cyprus as soon as they could find somewhere else to settle. The Knights of St. Thomas moved their headquarters to England, and the Lazarites to France, while the Hospitallers of St. John merely moved slightly westward in 1310 to the island of Rhodes. There they soon established an order-state, comparable in nature (if not in extent) to that of the Teutonic Knights, and continued an active war against the Muslims by sea. They were commonly called the Knights of Rhodes from 1310 to 1527, when they finally lost that island and its dependencies to the Otto-

man sultan. In 1530 they were granted Malta in its place, and as the Knights of Malta carried on the original crusade until Napoleon Bonaparte finally dispossessed them in 1798.

The two orders that had retired to Europe, by contrast, ceased to play any active role in the crusade, and the Temple, after some years of interfering in the politics of Cyprus, was officially suppressed by a papal decree of 1312, responding to charges from King Philippe IV of France that the knights had engaged in impious and blasphemous activities. Philippe had in fact had these charges fabricated because he feared the presence in his kingdom of a powerful military order without a clear external goal and coveted their estates and income. In fact the pope gave their estates throughout Latin Christendom to the Hospitallers, who still needed (and deserved) their income. The decision to suppress the Templars had, however, been received coldly in both Portugal and Aragon, where a fear of attack from Muslim North Africa remained quite serious down to about 1350. In each of those kingdoms, therefore, the local province of the Temple was erected by the king into an independent order: the Order of the Knights of Christ in the former (established in 1317), and the Order of Our Lady of Montesa in the latter (founded in 1319).

All of the surviving Iberian orders continued to exist for some centuries after 1319, and all played an active part in the defense of the peninsula led by Alfonso XI of Castile from 1325 to his death in 1350. So successful was this campaign, however, that the orders thenceforth had few opportunities to fight the Moors and devoted most of their energies to their traditional pastime of quarreling both within and among themselves and interfering in secular politics. In the later fourteenth century their members, like the members of most other religious orders, became increasingly worldly in outlook and behavior, and the monastic discipline under which they were supposed to live rested ever more lightly on their shoulders. This led the Iberian kings to seek new ways to control the orders based in their domains. Before the conquest of Granada in 1492, the principal device the kings employed for this purpose was securing the election of one of their sons or brothers as master, but once the Reconquest had been completed they controlled the orders by annexing the masterships to their own crowns: at first in fact, and finally, through a papal bull of 1523, in law. Since all of the Iberian kingdoms except Portugal had been joined in a personal union since 1416, this meant that the indigenous orders were thenceforth annexed either to the crown of Spain (Calatrava, Alcántara, Santiago, Alfama, Montesa) or to that of Portugal (Avis, Christ, São Thiago).

A few other military orders were founded at much later dates, especially to fight the new crusade that had to be mounted against the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans from 1359. The most important, of these at least, was

the Knightly Order of St. George, founded by the emperor Frederick III in 1469 and maintained at least to the death of his son the emperor Maximilian in 1519. Perhaps the most peculiar was the Order of St. Maurice, founded in 1434 by Amé VIII, duke of Savoy, and maintained until his election as antipope under the name Felix V in 1439, for it was made up of knights who lived in the fashion of Carthusian hermits rather than as crusaders. It was "revived" by Duke Emmanuel Philibert in 1572 in order to serve as a basis for the annexation of the long-useless Order of St. Lazarus to the throne of Savoy. The French branch of the latter order resisted the papal act of consolidation, but it was eventually annexed in 1608 to the new French Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, similarly founded for the purpose in the previous year. Various minor orders had already been annexed to the Order of the Hospital, which for a time in the sixteenth century was the only order still actively engaged in the crusade, but a new Order of St. Stephen was founded in 1561 by the first grand duke of Tuscany, Cosimo de' Medici, to carry on a similar form of naval warfare in the western Mediterranean. Orders based in countries that accepted the Reformation, including the English Order of St. Thomas, were simply suppressed.

The religious orders of knighthood all differed from one another in a variety of minor ways, and were all jealous of their identity, ethos, and traditions. Nevertheless, most of them had a great deal in common. All but the smallest and least successful were organized as multihouse monastic orders on the general model of the Cistercians, and all but the two Iberian Orders of St. James had fully monastic rules that were based, directly or indirectly, upon either the Rule of St. Benedict or the so-called Rule of St. Augustine. Over the years, the original rule of most of the orders came to be supplemented by a growing number of statutes and customs, both written and unwritten, and by the later thirteenth century the statutes, broadly conceived, were hundreds of very specific ordinances, regulating almost every aspect of their organization, communal life, and corporate activities.

Like many other comparable bodies in the period, the military orders also came to have several distinct classes of membership, often as well as one or more classes of people merely associated with the order. By 1200 the dominant class in every order had come to be made up of "brother knights," who were already drawn largely from the noble order and the landed upper stratum of the knightly order of society, and after 1250 were drawn entirely from the new knightly nobility that had resulted from the fusion of those social categories. The number of brother knights varied widely from order to order, and fluctuated wildly, depending on casualties, within those that bore the brunt of battles, but the greater orders, such as the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights, normally included sev-

eral hundred professed knights, and the lesser orders like St. Lazarus and St. Thomas probably never included more than a few dozen. In addition to the brother knights, most orders included a second class of military brethren, called "brother sergeants" by the Templars and their imitators and "brother sergeants-at-arms" by the Hospitallers and their imitators. They were drawn from the families of landless knights (before ca. 1250) and mere freemen, and served in much the same manner as the knights.

All orders also included a certain (relatively small) number of men in holy orders called "brother chaplains," who performed the numerous services deemed necessary for the spiritual health of the order and its members, and a larger class of servants of humble birth (called "brothers-of-work" by the Templars and "brother sergeants-of-office" by the Hospitallers), who performed all of the other necessary tasks at the order's various houses, including the hospitals that several orders always maintained. The brethren of this class were often heavily supplemented with men merely hired for the purpose, but the members of the other classes were made up entirely of "professed" brethren, who took solemn vows and lived in community under the strict monastic rule of their order, either in the convent or in one of the numerous daughter houses that served either as military outposts or as sources of revenue and recruitment.

A number of orders, including both the Templars and Hospitallers, also maintained associated lay confraternities, whose members (*confratres,* or "fellow-brethren") were admitted to all of the order's spiritual privileges in return for certain donations (whence the later title "donats") and vows of protection. The confratres who were also knights might even join in the campaigns of the order for a season or two, and in the later fourteenth century the Teutonic Knights in particular made a practice of inviting knights from all over Latin Christendom to join them during their annual campaigning season. Many of these knights—like the one in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* who had participated in all the important battles fought by the order against the heathen—probably became confratres of the order.

Like those of monastic orders generally, the professed brethren of most military orders were distinguished from the beginning by a peculiar habit (mode of dress) suggestive of their religious status. The nature of the habit evolved gradually over time. By the end of the thirteenth century the more formal version normally included a long mantle opening down the front like a clerical cope, and as most monks wore nothing like it, the mantle became and has since remained the most distinctive mark of membership in a military order. In some orders, indeed (and possibly in all), new members were solemnly invested with the mantle during the induction ceremonies into the order. The mantles and habits of most orders were made of undyed or white wool, like the habits of the Cistercians, but the Hospi-

tallers of St. John wore a habit and mantle of black, like many Augustinian orders of canons, and a military surcoat of red.

The mantle was normally charged on the left breast with the cross that distinguished all crusaders, but these crosses tended to be made of cloth of a more or less distinctive color (e.g., red among the Templars) and of an increasingly distinctive shape. The classic shapes were not generally achieved before the later fourteenth or even the fifteenth century, however, and the eight-pointed crosses of the Hospitallers of St. John were rarely rectilinear before their transfer from Rhodes to Malta in 1530. The rectilinear "Maltese" version of their white cross was soon adopted by the Knights of St. Lazarus (in green) and the Knights of St. Stephen (in red), and after 1693 became the normal form for the cross assigned to newer orders of lay knights, but nothing like it was used by any other order before 1530, and its common modern assignment to the Templars is without foundation. In fact, the red cross of the Templars seems to have been either quite plain, like that of their Portuguese continuators the Knights of Christ, or slightly splayed at the ends, like the black cross of their northern brethren the Teutonic Knights, later adopted (with its white field included as edging) as the cross of the German armed forces.

As was usual in monastic orders, the supreme government of every military order was vested in a single chief officer, but that officer was not called by the usual title of *abbas* (Latin; abbot), but by the distinctive (and often military) title of *magister* (master), modified in the Temple and Teutonic Order (and in the late fifteenth century in that of the Hospital) by the adjective *magnus* (grand) (represented in German by *hoch* [high]). The master, or grand master, was elected for life from among the brother knights of the order by a complex process that varied from one order to another, but increasingly tended to involve only those knights who held some administrative office in the order. Once elected, the master was charged with the general administration of the order, which usually included the appointment and supervision of all subordinate officials; the reception of candidates for admission as brothers, or confratres; the maintenance of discipline among the members of the various classes; and the oversight of the order's finances. He also led the forces of the order on campaign, and both convoked and presided over the meetings of the order's officers, normally referred to as *Capitula Generalia* (Chapters General). In the early days of most orders, the master lived in community with the ordinary knights of the order, but as the orders became richer and their houses more and more dispersed, their masters (like bishops generally and the abbots of many orders) tended to live apart and to adopt a lifestyle similar to that of the great barons or secular princes with whom they spent much of their time.

In the day-to-day business of the order, the master governed with the assistance of the great officers of the order, who resided with him in the order's convent and were charged with the oversight of the various administrative departments into which the central government was divided. These departments and their heads represented a mixture of those found in all religious houses and those maintained by secular kings and princes. In the Order of the Hospital of St. John, for example—the most widespread and best documented of the orders—the officers in question included the prior of St. John and the "conventual bailiffs." At first these were only five in number, but in 1301 it was decided that each bailiff should be given, in addition to his duties in the convent, the government of one of the seven *langues* (tongues) into which the regional administration of the order had just been organized. This required raising the admiral and the *turcopolier* (the officer who commanded the auxiliary forces) to the rank of bailiff and produced the following set of officers (in descending order of precedence): the grand commander (finances, tongue of Provence), the marshal (military matters, tongue of Auvergne), the hospitaller (medical services, tongue of France), the drapier or (from 1539) conservator (clothing and material supplies, tongue of Aragon), the admiral (navy, tongue of Italy), and the turcopolier (auxiliary forces, tongue of England). To these were added in 1428 the office of grand bailiff (fortifications, tongue of Germany) and in 1462 that of chancellor (chancery, foreign affairs, tongue of Castile and Portugal).

The master carried out the ordinary business of most orders with the assistance of the great officers' equivalent to the conventual bailiffs of St. John and their staffs. At regular intervals, however (about once a year in the great orders of the Levant, and at the three great feasts of Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas in the Spanish Order of Calatrava), the master was obliged to convene a meeting of the full Chapter General, which in addition to the order's great officers normally included many of the administrators of the order's outlying possessions. The normal purpose of such meetings was to consider the general situation of the order, to debate any major changes in policy or strategy, to hear and judge accusations of dereliction of duty and deviation from the Rule made against any of its members, and to assign punishments to those found guilty. The members of most orders were also obliged to submit any disputes that had arisen among themselves to the binding arbitration of the Chapter General.

Regional and local administration varied in detail from order to order, but once again the Hospital of St. John may reasonably serve as an example, especially if contrasted to the usages of the Temple. The seven or eight tongues of the hospital, governed by the conventual bailiffs (only four of whom were required to be in residence at the convent at any one time), had as their immediate dependencies from one to seven regional priories, or in

some places grand priories, including two or more priories; the government of these was entrusted to appointive officers called priors and grand priors respectively. In exceptional cases units of this level bore the title "castellany" or "(grand) bailiwick," and their governors were called "castellan" or "(grand) bailiff." The tongue of Aragon, for example, included the priories of Aragon, Navarre, and Catalonia, while that of Germany included the priories of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary and the grand bailiwick of Brandenburg. The Templars, by contrast (whose chief officer bore the title grand master), preferred to call their regional governors masters rather than priors.

These regional units, in their turn, consisted of about a dozen to about sixty local units, called "commanderies" in the Hospital and "preceptories" in the Temple, governed by commanders or preceptors. These units had originally been much smaller and more numerous, but were generally consolidated to the point where they were roughly the size of a manor, and could justify having a brother knight assigned to their administration. The majority of Hospital commanderies came in fact to be reserved to knights, but a few were reserved to brother chaplains and brother sergeants.

As most of the higher administrative positions in the order were also restricted to members of the order's knightly class, there came to be in effect five distinct grades of brother knight under the master: those of (1) ordinary brother knight, (2) commander, (3) prior (or castellan or bailiff), (4) grand prior, and (5) conventual bailiff. The conventual bailiffs came to be distinguished symbolically by a larger than normal version of the order's cross, and thus they came to be known—at first informally but eventually in a formal way—as "bailiffs of the grand cross" or simply "grand crosses." All of these grades, of course, reflected real differences of authority within the order, and though honorable, were never merely honorific. Within the grade of (ordinary) brother knight, however, a purely honorific distinction began to emerge in the fourteenth century between those whose noble ancestry was sufficient to qualify them for membership according to the current rules of their own langue, so that they could be described as "knights of justice," and those who required some sort of dispensation or act of grace to be admitted under those rules, who formed the inferior category of "knights of grace." Other orders developed similar hierarchies or grades and a similar obsession with the purity and antiquity of their members' nobility.

Finally, most orders possessed a large number of buildings, including those of the principal convent, of other lesser convents, and of the seats of provincial and local administrators. Although the oldest orders were at first based in buildings within the city walls of Jerusalem or Acre, these orders later emulated all of the other orders in setting their principal convent

within the walls of a major castle. Most of the provincial convents were similarly housed, and indeed all of the castles manned by the orders had to function as convents for the professed brethren assigned to their defense. The seats of priories and comparable regional units were also housed for the most part in castles belonging to the order, but the commanderies—which might have only one professed brother—were typically housed in smaller and less fortified establishments resembling those of a manor house. Within the castles that served as their convents, at least, the brethren usually provided themselves with the set of buildings associated with the monastic life: a church, in which the daily office was maintained by the clerical brethren and any others available; a kitchen, refectory, and dormitory for eating and sleeping; a chapter house for meetings; stables for their horses; various outbuildings for storing equipment, grain, wine, and other things necessary to their lives and activities; and buildings for housing and feeding auxiliaries. The master and conventual officers in the seat and the priors in their seats usually maintained separate housing for themselves and honored guests that bore more resemblance to the dwellings of princes than to those of monks.

The military missions of the religious order varied significantly both from theater to theater and from period to period. In the Levant, their task was mainly defensive, except during a more general crusade, and this was also true in Iberia after 1250 and in the Baltic after 1309. Between 1158 and 1250, however, the Iberian orders' primary task was retaking lost Christian territory, whereas between 1202 and 1309, the Baltic orders were mainly involved in conquering the lands of pagan peoples whom they were perfectly prepared to slaughter if they did not convert. The very different physical and climatic environments of the three theaters also necessitated different strategies and tactics, so it is difficult to generalize about these matters.

In the leading orders, the brother knights and brother sergeants-at-arms constituted the principal fighting force, and although the former were provided with better equipment and more horses than the latter, both groups were trained to fight primarily as heavy cavalry or (when the occasion required it) heavy infantry. In this they resembled the knights and squires of secular companies, but there is no evidence that nobly born recruits to any order had to postpone dubbing to knighthood beyond their attainment of the age of majority, as was increasingly true in the secular world. The religious knights did not differ from their secular equivalents in arms, armor, or tactics, but the hosts of the military orders were much larger and better disciplined than those led by any secular prince or baron, and had more esprit de corps. Indeed, in the Levant the Muslims looked upon them as their most dedicated and therefore dangerous enemies, and Saladin systematically killed any of them who fell into his hands. Their dis-

cipline was enforced by written regulations, by the formal vow of obedience they took on joining, by the harsh punishments meted out to those who deviated, and by their custom of living, exercising, and fighting as part of a stable community. The number of fighting brethren maintained by each order varied considerably, but at their height in the thirteenth century each of the three great orders in the Levant could field about three hundred, of whom about a third were knights. Nine hundred might not seem like a very high number, but it was half again as great as that of the whole feudal levy of the kingdom. When one bears in mind the fact that other types of fighting men always supplemented the warrior brethren more or less closely tied to the order, it becomes clear that the orders were vitally important for the defense of the Holy Land.

The nature of the supplementary forces also varied. In some orders, the brother sergeants-of-office could be called upon to take up arms in emergencies, but they were not expected to fight very well and were not under the same discipline. Most of the major orders also permitted knights, squires, and probably sergeants to join them for a season or a year, and to live under their rule without taking vows of permanent membership. The Teutonic Order had a theoretical right to command all those who joined the ongoing Baltic crusade, and the leading orders also acquired numerous estates held for them by vassals whom they could compel to serve the order without acquiring any formal association with it. Finally, most orders relied to some extent on mercenaries, some of whom presumably served in capacities other than heavy cavalry. In the Levant they were commonly referred to as *turcopoles,* but what precisely that term implied militarily is unclear. The principal military duties of the orders consisted of manning castles and using them as bases for both defensive and offensive operations against enemies, serving in the field either on their own or as major units in a royal or princely host, and later (from 1299) maintaining and fighting from fleets of galleys dedicated to protecting Christian shipping and harrying the Muslims whenever and in whatever ways were feasible.

The more or less sharp decline in the fortunes of all of the orders other than the Hospital after 1291, and even more after 1350, was due to a number of distinct factors. Of these the most important were the success or failure of their original enterprise, a destructive rivalry among the orders, and the decline of the monastic ideals they represented in the eyes of the population at large. Certainly the problem was not initially an inherent defect in their nature or organization, for on all three frontiers of Latin Christendom the orders had demonstrated again and again the value of a disciplined body of carefully trained knights who trained and practiced their skills as a unit, were maintained in constant readiness, and fought under the familiar and unquestioned authority of a single commander who could require

their service whenever he needed it and for as long as he needed it, without considerations of remuneration. In all of these respects, the military orders compared very favorably to the motley bodies of often recalcitrant, ill-trained, and unruly vassals (all of whom had first to be summoned and then to be paid) who made up a large part of the forces available to most contemporary princes before the middle of the fifteenth century.

Either complete success or total failure had reduced most of the orders to the condition of uselessness by the end of the fourteenth century, however, and it was inevitable that kings would begin to look upon them as sources of income and favors to noble clients rather than as military aid. The decline in the value nobles placed on monastic ideals further led to a drastic decline in monastic discipline among the brother knights of most orders and a widespread abandonment of the communal life that was finally recognized by changes in the rules. The complete reorganization of national armies effected in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries removed even the potential utility of most of the surviving orders as military units, and all but the two naval orders were quickly reduced to a condition not essentially different from that of the secular monarchical orders many princes had founded since 1325.

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See also Chivalry; Europe; Knights; Orders of Knighthood, Secular; Religion and Spiritual Development: Ancient Mediterranean and Medieval West

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Orders of Knighthood, Secular

Order (of knighthood) has been loosely applied since the later fourteenth century to all forms of military, knightly, or more generally noble body bearing some resemblance (often of the most superficial kind) to the military religious orders, or religious orders of knighthood, founded from about 1130 onward to serve as the corps d'elite of the armies of the various regional crusades. The latter were made up of men who were bound by the religious or monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Al-

though they normally included men from all three of the orders of society (clerics, lay nobles, and simples), by the end of the twelfth century they were all dominated by that class of their lay members who were also knights and who by about 1250 (when knighthood was restricted to men of knightly or noble birth) were nobles as well. Secular bodies of soldiers similarly dominated by knights were founded at about the same time as the earliest religious orders, but seem to have been unknown outside Spain and northern Italy before about 1325, and flourished primarily between that date and about 1525.

Although all such bodies are now commonly called "orders," most did not use that title, and many were not even bodies corporate. Therefore, the more accurate name is "secular military associations." Most were effectively restricted to laymen, and were thus "lay military associations," but others included a dependent class of secular priests as well. All such bodies may also be sorted into nonnoble, seminoble, and strictly noble types, according to the dominant class of lay members, and each of these into various subtypes. The term *order* is reserved for certain of the more elaborate noble subtypes, by which the title was actually used. The qualification "of knighthood" is reserved for the small minority that actually restricted their principal class of membership to dubbed knights.

Unlike the religious orders on which they were partly modeled, the secular associations were extremely diverse because they drew upon a variety of models other than the religious or monastic order of knighthood both for their forms and attributes and for their goals and activities. The most important of these additional models were the fictional orders or military brotherhoods of both the Arthurian and (later) the Greek tradition (especially the companies of the Round Table, the Grail-Keepers, the Frank Palace, and the Argonauts); the professional guild or confraternity; the military brotherhood formed to share the prizes and losses of war; the military and political league established with growing frequency by the princes and barons of many regions of France, Germany, and Italy to counter political pressures felt by their members and promote collective advancement; and finally the bodies of retainers or clients who were increasingly maintained by kings and princes from the later fourteenth century onward to secure the loyalty and service of the more prominent members of their own nobility and of the lesser princes and barons of their region. Most of these emerged only during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and therefore could not have influenced the earliest form of the religious orders.

Any particular association might include the characteristics of two or more of these six models, but there was actually no single characteristic or set of characteristics that can be attributed to all of them. Given this diversity, it is impossible to generalize about the secular associations in any

A medieval woodcut depicting King Arthur and his valiant Knights of the Round Table, who served as a model for secular orders. (Bettmann/Corbis)

meaningful way without sorting them into types sharing at least limited sets of characteristics. This can most readily be done on the basis of a series of dichotomies that ran in different directions through their ranks.

One of the most important distinctions is between the associations that were endowed with statutes and a corporate organization, which can be called societies, and those that lacked them, called groups. Simple groups, whose members usually wore some sort of common badge, and in some cases undertook a vow of loyalty either to a prince or to one another, did not act together in a corporate way. A few of them—including those that represented true orders that had ceased to function (e.g., the Castilian Order of the Band after 1350 and the Breton Order of the Ermine after 1399)—were regarded as highly honorable, and referred to by the title "order," but these must be distinguished from true orders (which were all societies) by the term *pseudo-order*. The pseudo-orders fell into three classes: ceremonial pseudo-orders, whose members were knighted in a special cer-

emony (principally the Knights of the Bath of England and those of St. Mark of Venice); peregrine pseudo-orders, whose members were knighted at a place of pilgrimage (principally the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, of St. Catherine of Mount Sinai, and of the Golden Spur of the Lateran Palace); and cliental pseudo-orders, whose members were bound by ties of clientship to the prince who admitted them (notably the Order of the Broom-Pod of Charles VI of France and the Order of the Porcupine of his brother Duke Louis of Orléans and his heirs).

All other secular military and noble associations—the great majority—were true societies endowed with some sort of corporate constitution. The earliest known were founded in the twelfth century, before knighthood had come to be bound to nobility, and probably took the constitutional form of the lay devotional confraternity. Certainly that was the most common form taken by the later societies whose statutes are known to us, but not all such societies took a fully or even a partly confraternal form. As the non-confraternal societies conformed to no single alternative model, all military and noble societies may usefully be classified as either confraternal or non-confraternal in their organization.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, confraternities—still numerous in some parts of the Catholic world—were in effect lay equivalents to religious orders, and included among them the various "third orders" attached to the greater religious orders of the age, including the Hospitallers of St. John. Confraternities (usually bearing a title equivalent to the Latin *societas* [society, company] or *fraternitas* [fraternity, brotherhood]) were so common throughout Latin Christendom from the late twelfth to the eighteenth centuries that it is thought that by the late fourteenth century almost every adult belonged to at least one. Societies of this sort were used to organize people of all ranks and orders of society to carry out any of a variety of social functions, from providing insurance for funerals, supporting widows and orphans, and ransoming of captives to regulating the standards of a craft, profession, or trade. The most important of them were the merchant guilds that from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries dominated both the economic and the political life of the majority of towns in much of Latin Christendom. However, the category included thousands of lesser guilds, including many made up of archers, crossbowmen, and other types of soldiers attached to a particular city or princely household.

Despite their varied purposes, however, such societies shared a common set of seven basic characteristics. These included a set of written statutes formally adopted by the founding members and modified from time to time by some process of amendment; dedication to a patron saint associated with the principal activity of the society or the place in which it was based; the establishment of a chapel dedicated to the saint and staffed

with one or more priests paid to say masses for the benefit of the members, living and dead; and the holding of an annual general meeting (commonly called the "chapter general") at or near that chapel, beginning or centered on the feast day of the patron saint and normally including a solemn mass and banquet in his or her honor, and often a vespers and memorial mass for deceased members. In addition, during the course of the meeting there was often a session devoted to the praise and criticism of the behavior of members relative to the goals and standards of the society. The statutes of such societies normally imposed a number of obligations on their members, most of which were related to the particular purpose of the society, but some of which were fraternal in nature, requiring mutual support or aid. Finally, the statutes of confraternities of all kinds normally entrusted the running of the society to one or more officers, who in the great majority of cases were subject to annual election by the members of the dominant class. The confraternal societies of knights and nobles, like those of ignoble soldiers of various types, seem generally to have adhered quite closely to this general model, though the most important subclasses modified the usual provisions for governance in a number of ways.

Confraternal societies were normally intended to be perpetual associations, but this was not true of a number of the non-confraternal military societies founded at this time. Military and noble societies may therefore be divided into perpetual and temporary subclasses. The former subclass included almost all of the fully confraternal societies and most of the non-confraternal ones founded to perform comparable political and military functions. The temporary subclass, by contrast, was made up of societies that were founded either to cement alliances among a number of lords or princes during some sort of political crisis or military campaign, or to serve as the vehicle for the collective achievement of some chivalrous enterprise.

The former set of temporary bodies (which had either an open-ended or fixed time limit, usually of between one and twenty years) were "fraternal societies," as they were based on the institution of fraternity or brotherhood-in-arms. By the fourteenth century, brotherhoods of two or more members were commonly created among knights and men-at-arms by vows of mutual support throughout a campaign and of the equal partition of the spoils (and possibly the losses) of war. The fraternal military societies were essentially institutionalized networks of this sort that borrowed various features from contemporary confraternities to give them a corporate character. They seem to have originated in the Holy Roman Empire around 1350, and to have flourished in the kingdoms of Burgundy, Germany, and France between that time and about 1430. In the Francophone kingdoms, the best known are the Company of the Black Swan, founded in 1350 by Count Amé VI of Savoy, two other princes, and eleven knights; the Corps

and Order of the Young Male Falcon, founded between 1377 and 1385 by the viscount of Thouars and seventeen minor barons in Poitou; the Order of the Golden Apple, founded in 1394 by fourteen knights and squires in Auvergne; and the Alliance and Company of the Hound, founded in 1416 for a period of five years by forty-four knights and squires of the Barrois. In Germany, where they were particularly numerous, the earliest known is the Company of the Pale Horse of the Lower Rhineland (1349). Its successors included the Company of the Star of Brunswick (1372), the Company of the Old Love (ca. 1375–ca. 1378) in Hesse, the Company with the Lion (1379) in Wetterau and Swabia generally, the Company of the Fool (1381) in Cleves, and the Company of the Sickle (1391) in southern Saxony and Franconia. Most of these were founded for precise periods of two to twelve years, though the last was to endure for as long as its founding members still lived. Like societies with a fully confraternal form of constitution, they were intended to serve as military-political leagues promoting the interests of their members and had no higher goals.

The latter set of temporary bodies (which usually had a fixed limit for their existence of between one and five years) should be called votal societies, as they were based on a vow (*votum* in Latin) undertaken by their members to achieve a set of feats of arms comparable to those of the knights of the Arthurian romances. Contemporaries commonly knew them by a name meaning "enterprise" (*emprinse, impresa*) and transmitted that name both to profoundly different types of knightly societies and to the badge or figural sign that represented the undertaking. Such societies appeared around 1390 (when new forms of tactics were emerging that required practice of the type actually provided by these societies) and seem to have flourished only for a few decades after that date, primarily in France. Their number included the Enterprise of the White Lady with Green Shield, undertaken in 1399 for a period of five years by the heroic marshal of France, Jehan le Meingre de Boucicaut, and twelve other knights; the Enterprise of the Prisoner's Iron, undertaken in 1415 for two years by Jehan, duke of Bourbon, and sixteen other knights; and the Enterprise of the Dragon, undertaken at about the same time, probably by Jehan de Grailly, count of Foix, and "a certain number of ladies, damsels, knights, and squires."

The line of cleavage separating the perpetual and the limited-term societies within the non-confraternal category coincided with another line that ran across both the confraternal and non-confraternal categories: that between societies that were endowed with a democratic or oligarchic constitution (the normal types in confraternities) and those that were endowed with constitutions of a monarchical nature, which attached the presidential office on a permanent and hereditary basis to the throne or, in one case, the

dynasty of the founder. These latter usually gave the president a leading, if not dominant, role in their activities. Monarchical societies were invariably founded by a king or an effectively sovereign prince and were intended above all to promote and reward loyalty to him. They were therefore instruments of the state, rather than mere private societies of nobles or soldiers like all of the others. The first known society of this type (the Castilian Order of the Band) was founded only in 1330, but most of the more important societies founded after that date were of the same type, so it is useful to sort all military and noble societies into monarchical and non-monarchical categories. In practice, the great majority of monarchical orders were also confraternal in nature, but at least two were not, and the two non-confraternal monarchical societies (the Castilian Order of the Band and the Hungarian Company of the Dragon) constituted the balance of the category of non-confraternal societies, after the temporary fraternal and votal types.

All of the remaining societies were therefore both confraternal and perpetual, and many of them were also monarchical. Societies that were not monarchical fell into two general categories: those founded by a prince but not annexed to his throne and those not founded by a prince. The former societies may be termed princely noble confraternities. Though not actually governed by their prince, they were always closely associated with his court or dynasty, and may be placed in a broader category of courtly or curial bodies. This category also includes all of the monarchical societies and most of the noble groups as well. Thus, the dichotomy curial/noncurial cuts across most of the other categories established.

The curial societies labeled princely noble confraternities were either sportive or political in their goals and activities. The former were dedicated largely to organizing tournaments, and they differed from the noncurial societies founded for the same ends only in enjoying princely patronage. The political curial societies (including the political princely confraternities and all of the monarchical societies), by contrast, were the only lay bodies that even approached the religious orders of knighthood in the extent of their endowment and organization and the high level of their goals. The generic designation "order" is restricted to them.

The only confraternal noble societies that did not fit into any of these classes were what may be called the normal noble confraternities, which were not in any way associated with a royal or princely court. Like their princely, curial analogues, these also fell into sportive and political-military subtypes, which were designed to fulfill many of the same purposes, but served the interests of regional nobilities rather than those of kings and princes. The middle of the fourteenth century to the second half of the fifteenth seems to have been their heyday. In Germany, the sportive subtypes

took it upon themselves to promote the fellow feeling and exclusiveness of members of the old knightly nobility by insisting upon ever more stringent genealogical and practical qualifications for membership and by promoting the ideal of tournament-worthiness as the best indicator of noble status. They were also associated with the steadily growing variety of forms of combat that were included in tournaments in the fifteenth century and persisted well into the sixteenth. Those of the political-military type differed only in the details of their constitutions from the fraternal and curial societies founded to serve the same ends. Among the most important were the Company of the Buckle, founded in Franconia ca. 1392, and the Company of St. George's Shield, founded in Swabia in 1406. All served to organize and bind together members of the middle to lower nobility of an extensive region, most of whom were probably already related to one another by blood or marriage, and therefore had similar sets of rivals and enemies.

There were also many nonnoble military confraternities, typically made up of ignoble soldiers of some particular type, such as crossbowmen, archers, halberdiers, or bombardiers. The soldiers in these confraternities were always professionals, and the confraternities were for them what the guilds were for members of other trades and professions—including the armorers, who made armor and weapons forged of metal; the bowyers, who made bows; and the fletchers, who made arrows. At the end of the period under consideration, two strictly military but seminoble confraternities, the Confraternity of St. George (1493) and the Distinguished and Laudable Company of St. George (1503), were founded by the emperor Frederick III and his son the emperor Maximilian I as lay auxiliaries to a new religious order established by the former to defend Latin Europe from the Turks: the Knightly Order of St. George (1469).

In fact, by the later fourteenth century, confraternities dedicated to appropriate patron saints probably united the members of virtually every group associated with warfare. The guilds of knights and soldiers, normally organized on a local basis, were usually dedicated to a saint who had been a soldier and could be seen as a knight; the most important were St. George of Lydda, St. Maurice of the Theban Legion, and St. Michael the archangel, captain of the hosts of Heaven. Guilds of bowyers and fletchers, by contrast, were commonly dedicated to St. Sebastian, who had been martyred by being shot through with arrows.

A handful of societies did not fit into any of the categories just described, being in effect hybrids of the older religious order with the lay confraternity of knights. These may be described as semireligious orders of knighthood, since they were made up of a body of monks and a body of knights who, though living in community with the monks, remained laymen and were even permitted to marry. There seem to be only two examples of

this type: the Castilian Order of Santiago, founded in 1170 on the general model of the Order of the Temple, and the Bavarian Company of the Cloister of Ettal, founded by the emperor Ludwig IV in the 1330s and apparently dissolved shortly after his death in 1347. The latter, however, probably served as an inspiration for the more conventional princely-confraternal order of the Grail-Templars.

The curial orders were the most important military and noble societies restricted to laymen in the history of Latin Christendom, the only ones to survive the Reformation, and the only ones to exist in any numbers today.

The first society of the curial class as a whole to be founded was a princely confraternal order, the Hungarian Society of St. George, established in 1325 by King Károly I. It was given most of the features typical of the contemporary confraternity and lacked only a formal presidential office to make it a true monarchical order as well. As it was the first order designed to bind lay knights or nobles to a royal or princely patron and put chivalry into the service of the state, it cannot be surprising that the Society of St. George was endowed with a number of features peculiar to it, in addition to the lack of a monarchical presidency. Several other orders of this type were founded by or under the influence of princes, the most notable of which were the Order of St. Catherine in the Dauphiny of Viennois (1330/40), the Company of St. George of the Grail-Templars in the Duchy of Austria (1337), the Order of the Hound in the Duchy of Bar (1422), the Company of Our Lady (of the Swan) in the Electoral Marquisate of Brandenburg (in its earliest form, 1440), and the Order of the Crescent in the Duchy of Anjou (1448). The last, in particular, differed from the existing monarchical orders outside Germany exclusively in lacking a monarchical presidency.

Although they too were confraternities, the earliest true monarchical orders drew their inspiration from the religious orders of knights and the lay orders depicted in the Arthurian cycle of romances. Indeed, only because the form of the religious order was inappropriate for their purposes and the fictional orders lacked any clearly described statutes, the founders of the earliest orders adopted the confraternal structures familiar to them from their own time and easily adaptable to their purposes. In fact, the inventor of the fully realized monarchical order, Alfonso XI of Castile and Leon, took from the confraternal model little more than the idea of an annual meeting, and his Order of the Band, proclaimed in 1330, was essentially a wholly lay equivalent of the military religious orders in which his kingdom abounded.

Edward III of England, who founded the second such order, may well have intended to follow Alfonso's example in his initial plan to revive the Round Table Company announced in 1344 on the return of his cousin Henry "of Grosmont," count of Lancaster, from a long sojourn at the

Castilian court. Before he could complete that project, however, he was distracted by the need to prosecute his claim to the French throne in the campaign that ended with the triumph of English arms at Crécy and Calais. In the meantime, he had almost certainly learned of the plans of his rival, Jehan, duke of Normandy (son of King Philippe VI), to found what was meant to be a confraternity of two hundred knights dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. George. The latter project, possibly modeled on the princely confraternal Order of St. Catherine recently founded in the Dauphiny of Viennois, served as the principal model for all of the later foundations. On his return to England, Edward founded, in place of the new Round Table that was to have been established there with three hundred knights, a more modest confraternity of twenty-six knights supporting twenty-six priests and (in theory) twenty-six poor veteran knights, dedicated to St. George alone—the traditional patron of English arms. Although its formal name, the Order of St. George, was taken in the traditional confraternal fashion from that of its patron saint, its secondary name, the Order, Society, or Company of the Garter, was taken from its badge, which probably represented the belt of knighthood and was probably inspired by the badge of the Order of the Band. Two years later Jehan of Normandy, having succeeded his father as King Jehan II of France, finally established his own projected confraternity. This took essentially the same form as its English rival, but was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin alone under the new title Our Lady of the Noble House. Like the Castilian and English orders, however, its name in ordinary usage, the Company of the Star, was taken from its badge. In the following year, Loysi (or Lodovico), king consort of peninsular Sicily or Naples, founded another order even more closely modeled on that of his French cousin, the Company (or Order) of the Holy Spirit of Right Desire, commonly called from its badge the Order of the Knot.

Thus, by 1352 the full confraternal model had become the norm for monarchical orders, although the identification of the order with its badge rather than its patron or its seat prevailed. By the same date, the monarchical order itself had become an adjunct of the courts of the leading monarchs of Latin Christendom, though it remained exceptional among royal courts in general, and unknown in Germanophone lands. The practice of maintaining such an order was adopted in the royal court of Cyprus in 1359 (when Pierre I made the Order of the Sword he had founded earlier a royal order) and in that of the Aragonese domain at some time between 1370 and 1380 (when Pere "the Ceremonious" founded the rather obscure but apparently deviant Enterprise of St. George).

In the meantime, however, the practice had spread to the court of several princes of less than regal rank. Amé VI de Savoie, count of Savoy and

duke of Chablais and Aosta in 1364, founded the Order of the Collar, under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary. By the end of the year 1381, when the Order of the Ship (dedicated to the Holy Trinity) was founded by King Carlo III in Naples to replace the defunct Company of the Knot, five more princes had founded orders that were probably monarchical: Duke Louis II of Bourbon, the Order of the Golden Shield (1367); Duke Louis I of Anjou, the Order of the True Cross (1365/75); Enguerrand VII of Coucy, count of Soissons and titular duke of Austria, the Order of the Crown (1379); Duke Albrecht III "with the Tress" of Austria, the Order of the Tress around 1380; and (probably) Duke Wilhelm I of Austria, the Order of the Salamander around 1380.

Of the fourteen orders founded by 1381, however, the great majority were maintained for less than two decades, and only two or three of them were still maintained in their original condition by 1410: the Garter and the Collar and possibly the Salamander (which may have lasted to 1463). Furthermore, between 1381 and 1430, the foundation of fully realized neo-Arthurian orders ceased completely, and only two orders that were certainly monarchical are known to have been founded: the Order of the Jar of the Salutation or of the Stole and Jar in 1403 by Ferran, duke of Peñafiel and future king of Aragon and Sicily (from 1412), and the Company of the Dragon in 1408 by Sigismund or Zsigmond von Luxemburg, king of Hungary and future king of Germany (1416) and Bohemia (1419) and Roman emperor (1453). The former remained a vestigial society down to 1458, when it was given new statutes by King Alfons "the Magnanimous" and lasted to 1516. The latter was at first no more than a military-political league, but was converted into a monarchical order for Sigismund's several kingdoms under new statutes of 1433 and seems to have survived in that condition to 1490.

A second wave of foundations of true monarchical orders of knighthood seems to have been set off by the creation and lavish endowment of the Order of the Golden Fleece by Philippe "the Good," duke of Burgundy, in 1430. Its statutes were based primarily on those of the Garter, but borrowed freely from those of the two other monarchical and knightly orders still surviving at the time of its foundation: those of the Collar and of the Stole and Jar. The foundation of a truly grand order by a prince of ducal rank whose lands lay mainly within the Holy Roman Empire seems to have encouraged other imperial princes to create monarchical orders of their own.

What appears to have been a monarchical order had been founded in virtually every imperial principality of the rank of duchy or electorate by 1468. Nevertheless, these orders bore only a general resemblance to the Order of the Golden Fleece. None of them was limited to knights, and only four of them (the orders of the Eagle, the Towel, St. George and St.

William, and St. George of the Pelican) were even limited to men. The remainder were open noble societies admitting women as well as men, more concerned with the promotion of Catholic piety and loyalty than of chivalry among their members. Although most were provided with at least a chapel, none was given a hall—presumably because only two of them (St. George of the Pelican and St. Hubert) held annual meetings on their patronal feast (or at any other time), and neither seems to have provided a banquet on that occasion. Like their predecessors of the fourteenth century, most of the German orders were maintained for only one or two generations; only one survived the first outburst of the Reformation in Germany between 1517 and 1525, and the last of them—a branch of the Brandenburgish Order—dissolved in 1539.

In the meantime, two more kings had founded orders that were probably (in the first case) or certainly (in the second case) of the monarchical type: Christian I von Oldenburg, king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, seems to have established the Confraternity of the Virgin Mary (or Order of the Elephant) at his Swedish coronation in 1457, but it seems to have been modeled on the German orders and was little more than an ordinary confraternity of nobles attached to the Danish court. By contrast, when King Ferrante of peninsular Sicily founded the Order of the Ermine (dedicated to the archangel St. Michael) as the third such order in his kingdom in 1465, he took the Garter and the Golden Fleece as his models, while King Louis XI of France lifted most of the statutes of the Order of St. Michael, which he founded in 1469, directly from those of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Of these three, only the last survived past 1523, and thus joined the English Order of the Garter, the Savoyard Order of the Collar (renamed the *Ordre de l'Annonciade* [Annunciated One] after its patroness the Virgin Mary in 1518), and the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece as one of the four early monarchical orders destined to survive into the modern era. By 1520, reforms in the Order of the Collar in 1518 and in the Order of the Garter itself in 1519 had given all four orders similar constitutions based on those of the Garter and the Golden Fleece.

The founders of the monarchical orders drew upon all of the institutional models used by the founders of lay military associations generally, but drew most heavily on the confraternity, the religious order, the contractual retinue, and the fictional company. Inevitably, the characteristics of each of these types had to be modified to combine them effectively. Among the characteristics of the confraternity that underwent some modification in the monarchical orders of this period were the maintenance of a chapel and a chantry priest and the maintenance of some sort of hall to serve as the headquarters, meeting place, and banqueting room for the members on feast days. Most confraternities could afford nothing more than a small

side-chapel or chantry in the local parish church and a single priest to officiate there on their behalf, and merely rented a hall for their annual festivities. The greater guilds, by contrast, and especially those of the merchants, often established a major chapel in a major church marked with memorials to their presidents and other leading members, and built their own hall on a grand scale, often facing on the principal square of their town or city. The religious orders of knighthood provided themselves with similar facilities at their convent or seat on an even grander scale. The Arthurian tradition, for its part, placed a great emphasis on knightly fellowships gathering in a hall of the royal palace at a great round table, around which were set the names and heraldic arms of their current members.

The founders of the monarchical orders drew upon these three traditions with varying degrees of emphasis, but the great majority outside Germany declared their intention to establish for their order at least one major church and at least one major hall with attendant buildings, both to be set close together in a rural palace belonging to the founder and situated within about a day's ride of the capital city of his principal dominion. In addition, they declared that they would staff the principal church of the order with a whole college of priests, commonly equal in number to the knights, whose professional lives were to be devoted entirely to the service of the lay members of the order, living and dead. Thus, the requirements of the confraternal form were to be realized in the buildings and clerical membership of the monarchical orders on a grandiose scale not otherwise approached or even imagined except in the religious orders. Furthermore, most founders of monarchical orders declared that at least the shield of arms, and often the crested helmet and banner of the current companions, would be set up in their functional or their standard iconic form, either in the hall (in the fashion of the Arthurian knights) or, more commonly (following the example of the Order of the Garter), over their stalls in the chapel choir, where the companions were assigned seats in the collegiate churches.

In effect, the companions of most orders were treated as lay canons, and in a number of orders (including all four of those that survived) they were paired with clerical canons attached to the order who might sit in the stalls of the choir just below their own. During the religious services that formed an important part of their annual convocation, the companions sat in their stalls wearing their mantles and presented an appearance not very different from that of the monk-knights of the religious orders during one of the regular services in which they were bound to participate. Either during their lifetime or after their death, the companions also were required to make an heraldic memorial to themselves to set in their stall, rather the way the leading members of the greater confraternities set their names or arms on the walls or in the windows of the humbler chapels attached to their so-

cieties. One order—that of the Ship—actually promised to provide full-scale tombs for all of its companions.

The direct influence of the religious orders on the monarchical orders was more diffuse. Although by 1312, when the Order of the Temple was suppressed, the crusading movement had seen its best days, the Teutonic Knights still campaigned annually against the heathen Lithuanians, and the Knights of the Hospital of St. John still carried on an active war against the Muslims from their new base in Rhodes. In addition, many princes and nobles continued to dream of reconquering the Holy Land or driving the Turks back into inner Asia. This dream was reflected in the statutes of a number of the monarchical orders of the period. For example, the Order of the Sword, founded by Pierre I of Cyprus in 1359, had been intended to secure a force from Europe to retake the lost kingdoms of Jerusalem and Armenia, while Pierre's erstwhile chancellor, Philippe de Mézières, attempted to create a new form of order to accomplish the same end, the Order of the Passion of Our Lord. It was modeled more directly on the surviving religious orders, but was to be made up of laymen and led jointly by the kings of England and France. Among the other fourteenth-century foundations, the Orders of the Star of France, of the Knot and the Ship of peninsular Sicily, and of St. George of Aragon all included statutes that paid lip service to the crusading ideal. Although the Crusade of Nicopolis (which ended in disaster in 1396) was the last major campaign of its type actually launched, the goal of leading a crusade died slowly. Among the fifteenth-century orders, those of the Dragon of Hungary, the Golden Fleece of the Burgundian domain, the Ermine of Sicily, and St. Michael of France were all endowed with statutes concerned with crusading activities, though none of them can be taken too seriously. None of the orders other than the Sword was ever involved in anything like a real crusade against the enemies of Christendom.

More important borrowings from the religious orders of knighthood in the period before 1520 included the formal title "order" increasingly adopted by the monarchical orders and universal by the end of the period, the assignment of the title "brother knight" to those otherwise known as "companions" in most orders, and the assignment to the members of many of the orders of a mantle opening down the front like a cope and charged on the left breast with a badge. The mantle had been a distinctive mark of knightly status in a military order since the twelfth century, and its eventual adoption by all of the orders that survived to 1520 was the clearest sign that the founders or sovereigns of these orders identified with the traditions of the crusading orders before 1578.

Before the latter date, however, the founder of only one monarchical order (that of St. George of Aragon) chose to emulate both the form and the material of the badges worn by the religious knights: a cross of a dis-

tinctive color and increasingly distinctive shape made of textile and applied as a plaque to the left breast of the mantle, and later to the surcoat as well. Two other orders dedicated to St. George (the Hungarian confraternal Order of St. George and the Order of the Garter) used a textile shield of the arms of their patron as a badge, though in neither case the primary one.

The other founders all adopted badges of markedly different forms and materials. Some of these badges resembled the badges common among pilgrims, confraternities, and bodies of retainers in taking the form of a jewel worn as a brooch or suspended from a simple chain about the neck, while others took the more distinctive form of a band or belt worn wrapped around some part of the body, including the neck (the Collar). Still others resembled the badge of the Collar in being worn around the neck but took the very distinct form of a linked collar with or without a pendant jewel in the fashion of most of the pseudo-orders from the 1390s. The type of insignia that ultimately prevailed was the collar made up of links in the form of distinct badges or symbols and having a pendant jewel that was either the principal badge of the order or a symbol or effigy of the order's patron saint, or both. The latter type of insignia was finally combined with the eight-pointed cross of the Order of St. John in the badge of the Holy Spirit of France in 1578, and that served as the model for all badges from 1693.

The most important models for the monarchical orders after the devotional confraternities, however, were the fictional companies of knights described in the Arthurian cycle of romances: principally the Round Table Company of King Arthur himself; the Company of the Frank Palace (*Franc Palais*) of his pre-Christian ancestor, Perceforest; and the company of knights established by Joseph of Arimathea to guard the Holy Grail. To these were later added (by the Valois dukes of Burgundy) the mythical company of the Argonauts who accompanied Jason on his quest for the Golden Fleece of Colchis, and (by Louis XI of France) the company of loyal angels who fought with the Archangel Michael to drive Lucifer and his rebel angels from Heaven.

Of these, the company of the Round Table was surely the most important, especially as the two other Arthurian companies were merely literary doublets of it. Indeed, like Charlemagne himself and Godefroi de Bouillon, hero of the First Crusade and baron of the Holy Sepulchre, only Arthur was regarded throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as one of the three Christian members of that glorious company of preeminent heroes referred to as the Nine Worthies (*Neuf Preux* in French). Although only Edward III of England (who claimed to be Arthur's heir, and identified his castle of Windsor with the legendary Camelot) explicitly evoked the Round Table when he proclaimed his intention of establishing a knightly

order in 1344, there can be little doubt that the king from whom he certainly borrowed the idea (Alfonso XI of Castile) thought of his Order of the Band as a neo-Arthurian society that would convert him into a new Arthur surrounded by the best knights in the world. As all of the later orders were inspired either directly or indirectly by the Order of the Garter that Edward actually founded and all included Arthurian elements of one sort or another, the whole set of monarchical orders can be described as neo-Arthurian in character. In the orders most thoroughly modeled on the Band and the Garter (i.e., most of those outside Germany and Scandinavia), this meant not only that the members of the order were expected to practice the highest ideals of chivalry, but that the order itself was presented as an embodiment of those ideals. This made both patronage of and membership in such orders highly honorable, for just as it identified the prince-president with Arthur as a patron of chivalry, so it identified the companions of the order with the knights of the Round Table as paragons of chivalry.

The extent to which the founders of monarchical orders borrowed the other distinctive characteristics of the Round Table Society reported in the romances varied considerably. Alfonso of Castile was unique in requiring the knights of his order to challenge anyone they found wearing what looked like the band of the order to armed combat and to send back to the royal court any who acquitted themselves well in such a conflict. Alfonso was also more explicit than any later founder in insisting that the knights of his order live up to the highest standards of *curialitas* (Latin; courtliness) or *courtoisie* (French; source of English *courtesy*) and abjure the vices common to noblemen. Most later founders promoted the courtliness ideally associated by 1330 with knightliness in the same ways they promoted the military virtues of prowess, courage, and loyalty: by asking not only for annual reports of the sort that Arthurian knights commonly delivered on returning to the royal court after accomplishing some quest, but annual sessions of mutual criticism of the sort more common in professional confraternities. In three orders, however (the Company of the Star, the Company of the Knot, and its successor the Order of the Ship), the statutes actually provided a further reward for meritorious conduct in the form of a seat at a special table of honor (resembling the Round Table) at the annual banquet, and the last two of those added a series of honorific alterations to the badge of the order that in effect replaced the sorts of promotion in formal rank practiced in most modern multigrade orders of merit.

Another aspect of the fictional model that was borrowed by the great majority of the founders of monarchical orders was a fixed number of knights. Religious orders and confraternities sought to have as many members as possible. An unlimited (or at least large) number was also indicated

by two of the main objects of many founders: to bind the leaders of the nobility of their domain to themselves and their dynasty and to establish unity, harmony, and peace among them. Nevertheless, the essential characteristic of the fictional societies of the Round Table and Frank Palace was selectivity, and this implied a limitation. The limits suggested in the romances were actually fairly high—between 50 and 300 knights. A number of founders initially sought to achieve similar or larger memberships.

These figures proved impossible to achieve, and while we have no precise numbers for most orders, it is unlikely that the number of companions in any order ever surpassed 100 before the middle of the sixteenth century. Aside from the difficulty of finding several hundred knights worthy both of the honor and of the trust involved in admission to such an order, providing chapels and halls large enough for meetings would have been difficult. No doubt recognizing these problems, most founders chose to set much lower limits on the size of the membership in each of the order's classes. Edward III of England once again led the way by setting the limit at 26, the number that could sit in the uppermost stalls of the choir of his chapel in Windsor Castle. Thereafter, the number of companions in most later orders (beginning with the Order of the Collar of Savoy in 1364) would be closely comparable to this: between a low of 15 (the Collar of Savoy) and a high of 36 (St. Michael of France).

Although most orders were made up largely of knights politically subject to their president, like the fictional orders on which they were partly modeled, virtually all included a number of distinguished foreign knights. In theory, all of the companions in the more thoroughly neo-Arthurian orders were chosen primarily or exclusively on the basis of the knightly qualities, and differences in lordly rank among them were either ignored or made the basis of differential burdens in the matter of paying for purgatorial masses. In practice, however, the desire to use the order as an instrument to secure the loyalty and reward the services of barons and princes gave rise to a marked tendency to prefer knights of high lordly rank. By the end of the period the majority of the companions of the greater orders (the Garter and the Golden Fleece) were men of high birth and lordly rank, including a number of foreign princes and even kings. The membership of the latter in the orders was largely passive, but it served to increase considerably the prestige of the order, to the point where foreign kings felt honored by "election" to the order. (The statutes of most orders set forth a process by which the existing companions were to elect new members when places became vacant by death, resignation, or expulsion; in practice, the prince-president of every order was usually able to secure the election of anyone he wished.)

As these developments suggest, in addition to being the institutional embodiments of the ideals of chivalry within their prince-president's do-

minion or domain, the monarchical orders and indeed the curial orders more generally were also the embodiments of the ideals of nobility within the same territories. To serve both ideals, many founders or later presidents of such societies attached to them the office of the chief herald of their lands: a role still played by Garter, Principal King of Arms of the English, to this day. In principle these ideals always included distinguished military service, and if the surviving orders have never admitted the most decorated soldiers from the ranks, they have usually included the most distinguished generals and admirals of their presidents' lands, along with the most distinguished prime ministers, princes, and peers.

D'A. Jonathan D. Boulton

See also Chivalry; Europe; Knights; Orders of Knighthood, Religious

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Pa Kua Ch'uan

See Baguazhang (Pa Kua Ch'uan)

Pacific Islands

The South Pacific islands (Hawaii, Samoa, New Zealand, Guam, and Tahiti) were inhabited, before the arrival of Europeans and the decimation of much of the native population, by peoples who were united by a common group of languages, the Polynesian languages. Examples of these languages include Hawaiian, Samoan, Maori, and Tahitian. The technology level of the Pacific islanders was not advanced, never progressing beyond late Paleolithic technology. The islanders did not have the use of metals or metalsmithing techniques. As a result, when one discusses martial arts among these peoples, unarmed combat techniques and fighting with wooden weapons become paramount, and there did exist several unique weapons native only to these islands.

The peoples of the Pacific islands were the world's first long-distance navigators. Beginning from their homes in Asia, these peoples spread, by outrigger canoe, to islands throughout the South Pacific, including Easter Island (Rapa Nui), the most remote place on earth. By the 1500s, these islands were completely colonized by the Polynesians. Although navigation and commerce broke down between these islands for reasons that are still unknown, the very act of reaching these farthest outposts of land indicates the bravery of these peoples, which, to no great surprise, was often reflected in their fighting arts.

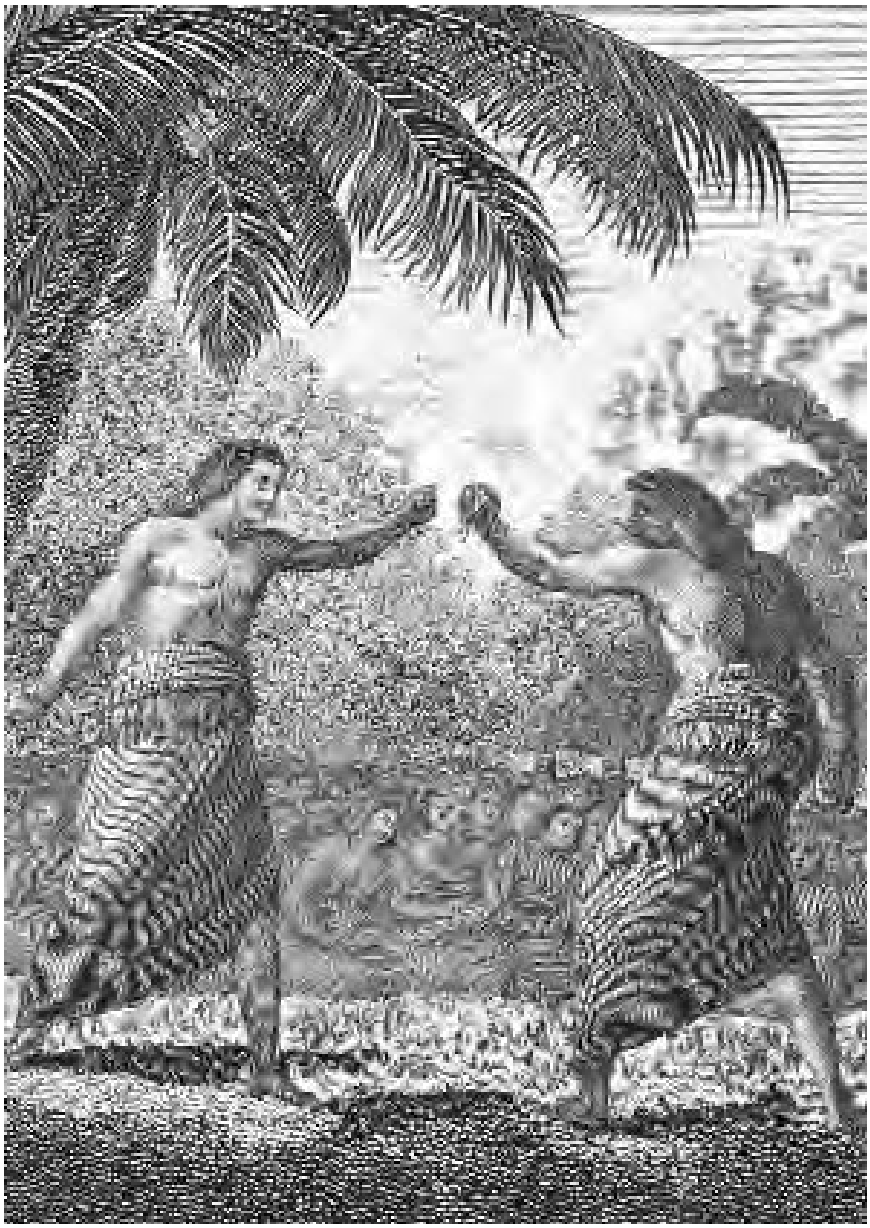
The oral traditions of these islands tell of a long history of warriors accomplished in martial arts. The reasons for the necessity to know how to fight are many, but it can be surmised that given the scarce resources and population pressures of a limited physical area, such as these islands, the competition for these resources must have been fierce. It is therefore not surprising that different tribes or clans of peoples would have had to know how

to fight well to survive during times when population pressures would have led to brutal warfare. These oral histories probably reflect the fighting skills of those exceptional warriors who were able to prevail in such a climate.

An example of the scarce resources and demand for warriors is documented through the colonization of Easter Island and the eventual ruin of the society established there. After the island was colonized by Polynesians, the inhabitants channeled their energies into building great representations of their gods after warfare became too destructive. Unfortunately, the sublimated behavior of building these figures used up most of the natural resources of the island. The islanders entered a new phase of their existence when it was apparent that no new figures could be constructed. They developed a ritual event. Once a year a contest was held to see who could swim the shark-infested seas to one of the smaller islands and return with a bird's egg. The winner then helped select the chief. Even this eventually placed a strain on the resources of the island, and by the time Easter Island was "discovered" by the Europeans, the Rapa Nui culture was once again on the road to intra-island warfare due to population pressures and lack of technology. Warriors in this culture were revered as individuals who could help a group survive during these bloody times. Unfortunately, little is known about the actual fighting arts of the Pacific islanders. The colonization of the islands by the Europeans was marked by events that not only decimated the populations of these islands, but in so doing destroyed their cultures. So complete was this destruction that today, long after the European colonization of the Hawaiian islands, fewer than 10 percent of native Hawaiians can speak their own language.

The Europeans who contacted and later settled these islands also brought with them diseases, such as smallpox, for which the native populations had no immunity. Just as destructive to the natives, the invaders also brought with them a zeal to convert the "heathens" to the "correct" paths of Western religious traditions. These factors, combined with the awe many native peoples felt for the overwhelming technical superiority of the Europeans, led to the loss of many native art forms. Without a doubt, martial art traditions must be included in this list.

The native arsenal relied heavily on the wood and stone that were found on the islands. Most Pacific islands were young in terms of geological age (Hawaii still contains more active volcanoes than any other American state), so a wide variety of stones were readily available for use in the construction of knives, daggers, and spear points. The variety of hard woods available on the islands also led to the creation of superior fighting staves and sticks. It is not surprising, therefore, that the use of the knife, spear, and staff weapons became critical for the armed martial arts of these islands.



A late-nineteenth-century engraving by J.W. Warren of a bare-knuckle boxing match between Hapae islanders. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Two staff weapons deserve special mention due to their uniqueness and lethality. The Maori, the aboriginal peoples of New Zealand, developed a special type of massive war club. With a length of about 1.5 meters and a weight of approximately 5 kilograms, this curved, two-handed club was powerful enough to shatter the largest bones in a human body. Maori warriors were able to close against the British invaders and use the weapon to good effect. Another type of club, used by the Samoans, was the *tewha-tewha,* a long stick (1.5 meters) with a wooden haft at its end. This axlike device was also a fierce weapon in a premetal technology.

Even in this Neolithic world, an extensive range of unique weapons

was developed for self-defense by these ingenious peoples. For example, lacking metal to construct swords, the Pacific islanders nevertheless developed the *tebutje*. These "swords" were made from long clubs inlaid with shark's teeth. The teeth constituted excellent cutting edges against an opponent. The fighting arts for these weapons have since become extinct, but this leaves intriguing room to speculate on how they were used and how effective the tebutje was in combat.

The combat systems of Polynesia were centered on these and similar weapons. They also included a great deal of hand-to-hand combat. What few oral histories remain from these islands tell of warriors trained in striking with both the hands and feet and in wrestling, and possessing an impressive knowledge of human anatomy. The struggles and warfare between the islanders would have necessitated such a development in martial arts.

Perhaps the most well-documented martial arts from these islands are from Hawaii. They were among the last to be settled by the European colonizers, and to a great extent, the Hawaiians were able to keep their independence until 1893, longer than most other South Sea island nations. The islands themselves were united only in the early 1800s by King Kamehameha I. Until this time, warfare between the Hawaiians was common, which led to the development and practice of both armed and unarmed combat. Unfortunately, once again because of the destruction of native Hawaiian culture, even descriptions of these martial arts are scarce.

One of the best-known examples of Hawaiian martial arts is the unarmed combat art of *Lua,* which is close to extinction today. The word translates as "the art of bone-breaking." It might be compared to the art of *koppo* in traditional Japanese martial arts. Due to the lack of written historical records among the Hawaiians, a preliterate people, there is no accurate way of dating just how long this fighting system existed.

Lua was a hand-to-hand system of combat that emphasized the use of a knowledge of anatomy to strike the weak points of the human body. Expert practitioners were expected to have the ability to injure or even kill an opponent with such strikes. The techniques that were practiced included the arts of dislocating the fingers and toes, striking to nerve cavities, and hitting and kicking muscles in such a way as to inflict paralysis. Lua was intended as a self-defense art; in its purest form it was not to be considered a sport. Demonstrations of Lua to the general public were forbidden, as it was an art for warriors only.

Among the arts encompassed by Lua were the specific art of bone-breaking, also known as *hakihaki,* kicking (*peku*), wrestling (*hakoko*), and combat with the bare hands (*kui*). Hawaiian warriors were expected to become proficient in all aspects of the art. In addition to these martial skills,

Lua practitioners were taught the art of massage (*lomilomi*) and a Hawaiian game of strategy known as *konane*. In this respect, it can be surmised that the education of a Hawaiian warrior was similar in many ways to the education of Japanese *bushi* (warriors) and European knights, who were expected to master both the martial arts of self-defense and the civilian arts of refinement.

Lua systems included a form of ritualized combat that is common in other martial arts as well. Ritualized combat, known as kata in Japanese systems and *hyung* in Korean systems, consists of forms of prearranged movement that teach the practitioner how to punch, kick, throw, and move effectively. These forms existed in European combat systems as well; the Greeks used to practice a type of war dance to train their warriors for combat. These forms are practiced individually or in groups, and the practitioner uses them to develop, among other skills, timing, balance, and technique. The Hawaiian version of this was called the hula. Although this word today conjures up a Hawaiian dance for tourists, evidence indicates that the word also has the older meaning of "war dance." Indeed, tourists to Hawaii can see Lua movements demonstrated in hula dances during the shows displayed for travelers.

The importance of the hula was critical for developing Lua skills. Warriors were expected to practice the hula daily, not only as a form of exercise but also for developing individual and group martial abilities. There existed both single hula and hula for multiple persons, where groups of warriors would practice the same movements together. This helped to create groups of warriors who could fight together, even if they did not always use the same movements simultaneously.

The practice of Lua was not always confined to the battlefield. There are some accounts that suggest that Lua practitioners would sometimes test their skills on unwary travelers who attended a celebration unaware of the danger that faced them. When the visitor was completely relaxed by the surroundings, the Lua practitioners would strike.

Using their knowledge of human anatomy, the Lua practitioners would dislocate joints and break the bones of the victim. This was done to test the practitioner's knowledge of his skills, apparently in the belief that these arts had to be put to an actual test to demonstrate the practitioner's ability. Some victims were resuscitated and allowed to go, but others were left to die after the Lua practitioner was through. On the Hawaiian islands, as on many of the other Pacific islands, the ability to protect oneself was held in high regard, and the need to perfect this ability was paramount, sometimes even more important than the lives of strangers.

In addition to the unarmed combat systems listed above, Hawaiians were taught weapons skills. Weapons that were available to the native

Hawaiians included one-handed spears (*ihe*), a dagger made from wood (*pahoa*), a short club (*newa*), a two-handed club (*la-au-palau*), the sling (*maa*), and a cord that was used for strangulation (*kaane*). Lua could therefore be considered a complete martial arts system, covering both weaponry and unarmed combat.

There also existed sportive forms of Hawaiian martial arts that were presented before crowds of onlookers, unlike Lua. Hawaiian-style boxing, known as *mokomoko* (from the verb *moko,* "to fight with the fists"), was practiced and demonstrated during religious festivals. From descriptions of the art, mokomoko was apparently a form of bare-fist fighting where the closed fist was used as the exclusive offensive weapon. This Hawaiian boxing differed profoundly from Western styles.

From accounts given by eyewitnesses, the participants were not allowed to block their opponents' punches with anything other than their own closed fist. This type of deflection is not used in Western or Asian martial arts. In addition, mokomoko combatants would evade their opponents' blows by either retreating or moving the body out of the way. All blows were aimed for the face, and the person who was the first to fall to the ground was the loser. It was a contest that was designed to test the abilities of the contestants to persevere despite extreme consequences.

It is also important to note that these boxing matches occurred during the season of Makahiki, the Hawaiian New Year. The Hawaiian pantheon contained a multitude of deities, and during this time of the year the god Makahiki was worshipped. Therefore, these Hawaiian sporting events may be considered analogous to other combinations of ritual with sport, such as the Olympic games of the ancient Greeks, who organized those games to honor Zeus, the father of the gods who dwelt on Mount Olympus.

Reports of the outcome of mokomoko contests state that the combat was brutal and the competitors could expect no mercy. Those who did fall to the ground after being defeated were screamed at by the spectators, shouting the phrase, "Eat chicken shit!" Western observers noted that even the winners of matches would have bloody and broken noses, bruises around the eye sockets, and bloody lips. It was not uncommon for teeth to be lost. Participants who excelled in the sport would probably have hands that had become callused and hardened from the repeated blows they inflicted and had inflicted on them. The danger of developing arthritis in the hands, of course, also proportionally increased.

Hawaiians practiced other types of martial disciplines as well. An example is the art of wrestling, hakoko, mentioned earlier. The exact parameters of this wrestling style, or styles, are unknown. From the few remaining descriptions of the art, it seems to have been a sportive as well as combative form of wresting. For the sport variant, the opponent would sig-

nal defeat and the match would end. Since this form of wrestling was also displayed during the Makahiki ceremonies, it is also a form of sacred wrestling (wrestling for religious purposes). In any case, the descriptions of the art also state that injuries were common, just as in boxing. Competitors expected danger.

Other martial disciplines that apparently were practiced by the ancient Hawaiians included the art of arrow cutting. This art, known as *yadomajutsu* in Japan, was a series of techniques that taught the practitioner to deflect arrows, spears, and javelins that were targeted at his person. Skilled practitioners of this art could face multiple projectiles and have the ability to dodge and deflect them without injury.

One of the best practitioners of this art was the greatest king in Hawaiian history: King Kamehameha I. As indicated earlier, this individual was responsible for the unification of the islands, which occurred just prior to European colonization. Hawaiian oral legends tell of Kamehameha dodging twelve spears thrown simultaneously at him. Even if this is an exaggeration, it signifies the importance of this skill in Hawaiian warrior society.

The survival of Polynesian martial arts following the arrival of Europeans was, as noted, very difficult. Firearms took away a great deal of the necessity for hand-to-hand combat, and disease and cultural genocide took its toll. There presently exist some modern forms of Polynesian unarmed combat, most notably the system of *lima-lama,* which is translated as "hands of wisdom." The direct origin of this art is unknown. Most, if not all, of the weapons systems that marked Polynesian armed combat have disappeared.

Polynesian martial arts encompassed the arts of self-defense, but were used for sport and religious purposes also. In this respect, they formed a complete martial arts system that was practiced by peoples over a large area of the globe. The lack of metal did not hamper the development of these arts. Rather, the arts grew around the materials that were available. In this respect, like many martial arts, the Polynesian arts were representative of a particular time and culture, which allowed them to flourish and develop.

The martial arts of the South Pacific islanders have, unfortunately, been lost to history. A shadow of them can still be seen in the traditional dances performed for tourists, but these only reflect dimly what was once a proud and unique history. The rediscovery of various forms of martial arts is currently under way; therefore, the possibilities of a rebirth of Polynesian arts cannot be discounted. In this respect, perhaps the future of Polynesian martial arts will be brighter than their recent past.

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See also Boxing, European; Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice; Jûdô; Wrestling and Grappling: Europe; Wrestling and Grappling: Japan

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Pankration

Pankration (Greek; all powers), a Greek martial art utilizing both striking and grappling, was created almost 3,000 years ago. It was practiced primarily as a sport, but found applications in combat, both on the battlefield and for self-defense. Pankration was designed to be the ultimate test of a person's physical, intellectual, and spiritual capabilities. Pankration is one of the oldest confirmed martial arts practiced by human beings. The art had an extensive influence on Western martial arts, and possibly on Asian arts as well.

Pankration was an all-out form of fighting. The competitors were allowed to do anything except biting and eye-gouging. The Spartans, however, allowed even these techniques in their local athletic festivals. Punches and open-hand strikes with the hands, kicks, all types of throws and takedowns, joint locks and choke holds—all of these techniques were legal in a pankration bout. The goal of the pankration match was to get the opponent to signal defeat. Failing this, it was expected that one opponent would be knocked out or choked to unconsciousness.

The origin of pankration is the subject of speculation. The Egyptians developed high-level fighting arts, as evidenced by pictures of these fighting techniques displayed in the tombs of Beni-Hassan (Middle Kingdom period). One theory suggests that Egyptian traders brought these techniques to the Greeks, who eventually adopted them for their own use. Another theory speculates that pankration developed out of primitive, instinctual fighting for survival and eventually was systematized as a martial art. The Greeks themselves believed that the hero Theseus, who used pankration to defeat the Minotaur in the labyrinth, had created the art. The historical record, however, begins after approximately 1000 B.C. when the Greek city-states established athletic festivals whose events included pankration.

In 648 B.C., at the Thirty-third Olympic Games, pankration was ac-

cepted as an official sport. It quickly became one of the most popular events, so much so that pankration was later added to the boys' Olympic Games. Practitioners of the art (pankrationists) received the highest honors and accolades from adoring crowds. Winners of the pankration became instant celebrities and were assured of income for the rest of their lives. Those few who won repeatedly at the games achieved legendary fame in the sports-obsessed Greek world and were sometimes even worshipped as semidivine beings.

Pankration enjoyed continued popularity throughout the Greek city-states. Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates all enjoyed the art. Plato, in fact, was a practitioner, but warned that this style of fighting did not teach its practitioners to "keep to their feet," possibly a reference to the fact that most pankration matches were decided by grappling on the ground. Alexander the Great, a Hellenized Macedonian, was also a pankration expert. Alexander took many pankrationists with him when he set out to conquer the globe, including Dioxipus of Rhodes, one of the most formidable pankrationists in history. In addition, many of his troops were trained in the art. It has been argued that, during Alexander's Indian campaign, pankration techniques were disseminated to the population of southern Asia. If this is the case, then these techniques might have influenced Asian martial arts. This theory remains a source of debate among scholars of fighting arts.

Pankration matches began with the two competitors stepping into the arena or onto a platform. There were no rings or barriers. Falling off the platform meant that the match would resume again; running away from the combat area was a sign of cowardice, which resulted in a loss. A referee armed with a switch supervised the match. If he observed an illegal maneuver, he employed the switch to break the competitors apart. In addition, it is speculated that the referee would employ the switch if the action between competitors lagged.

There were no weight classes in the art; it is not surprising, therefore, that pankration became the domain of heavyweight contenders who could use their superior size to their advantage. Competitors fought naked without any body or hand protection. Pankration matches had no time limit. The only way to end a match was to signal surrender by raising a hand or by being rendered unconscious through a choke hold or blow. The matches sometimes ended in death. With joint locks also allowed in competition, disfigurement and loss of limbs were also dangers.

Pankration had two basic forms: *kato* (literally, down) pankration and *ano* (up) pankration. Ano pankration was a less severe form of the art, in which the pankrationists had to remain standing. Ano pankration was essentially a form of kickboxing, in which blows from both the hands and

feet were permitted. All types of hand strikes were permitted, not just those with the closed fist, and a pankrationist was allowed to hold his opponent and hit him with the other hand. Strikes to the groin and elbow and knee strikes were also permitted. When one competitor fell to the ground, the match ended. Ano pankration was usually restricted to training or to preliminary bouts before a kato pankration match.

Kato pankration was the all-out form of fighting that has come to be associated with pankration. Practitioners began the match standing, but as the fight progressed, falling to the ground and grappling techniques were used. The fight was not over until surrender, knockout, or death. It has been suggested that the great majority of kato pankration matches ended up being decided on the ground through grappling techniques. All the techniques from ano pankration were legal in kato pankration.

Pankration techniques were numerous and varied. Techniques were divided into four basic categories: arm techniques, leg techniques, throws and takedowns, and grappling. Arm techniques included all types of punches with the hands and elbows. Boxing techniques, the jab, cross, uppercut, and hook, were most likely the primary weapons. Elbow strikes were also used, which meant that hook punches were probably a secondary weapon when the elbow could not be employed. Open-hand strikes were also permitted; there is artwork on surviving Greek vases dating from 500 B.C. that clearly demonstrates chopping blows.

Leg techniques were kicks and knee strikes. At close range, a pankrationist grabbed his opponent and attempted to apply knee strikes in rapid succession in much the same way as a modern Thai boxer. It is unlikely that high kicks were used; most of the artwork demonstrates pankrationists employing rising kicks to the stomach, striking with the ball of the foot. Pankrationists also likely employed powerful kicks against the legs of opponents in attempts to either sweep the feet or strike the upper portion of the leg with enough force to cause the limb to collapse. Once again, a modern application of this technique is found in Thai boxing. When an opponent was doubled over or on the floor, pankrationists would then likely attempt kicks to the head. Because of pankration's extensive use of kicks, pankration is one of the first documented complete fighting systems used by humans.

Throws and takedowns were numerous and varied. Pankrationists were free to employ the takedowns that are commonly seen in modern wrestling systems, in which practitioners attempt to seize one or both of the opponent's legs and unbalance the opponent. However, pankrationists also employed throws that are seen in modern jûdô or jûjutsu, in which the practitioner attempts to either throw the opponent over the shoulder or hip to the ground or sweep the leg out from under the opponent by use of the feet.

Holds used in pankration were those designed to force an opponent to submit. For this reason, the most popular holds employed were choke holds and joint locks. Choke holds are attempts to cut off either the blood supply or the air supply, or both, from the torso to the head. This is achieved usually by blocking the windpipe or the carotid artery and vagus nerve.

Joint locks attempt to hyperextend a joint of the body beyond its normal range of motion. Thus, a successfully applied joint lock can break an arm, leg, wrist, or ankle. The elbow lock was probably the most popular. Interestingly, leg holds were also used, which gives an indication of the many techniques that were available to the pankrationists. Leg holds have traditionally not been popular in most wrestling systems around the world, but because of the very nature of pankration combat, this skill was an essential one for pankrationists to master. This gives an indication of the versatility and demands of this art.

One of the unique aspects of the art was the fact that pankrationists were able to employ unusual holds against the fingers or toes of opponents, even breaking them when necessary. There were even standing grappling holds that were employed by pankrationists, in which one practitioner would literally climb on top of another, while the opponent was still standing, and attempt to get the opponent into a choke hold or use body mass to force him to the ground. These unusual techniques are rarely found in other combat systems.

The Greeks were very familiar with human anatomy. Surviving statues and artwork clearly demonstrate the attention to detail of the artists and the realism of the figures. It is likely that this knowledge was applied to pankration. Knowledge of human anatomy, especially the weak points of the body, was essential for pankrationists of any level to survive in competition.

It is likely that there were different schools, or academies, of pankration located throughout the Greek world. These schools are believed to have specialized in certain techniques. Although pankrationists were expected to master all four aspects of pankration fighting, certain schools emphasized one aspect of fighting over others. The instructors for these academies were likely to be former pankration champions who retired into teaching. Those instructors who were former Olympians were highly sought out and were well paid for their instruction.

Training in pankration was accomplished through innovative techniques, some of which were not replicated for thousands of years. Pankrationists trained in special gymnasiums known as *korykeions*. Students learned striking techniques by hitting bags stuffed with sand suspended from the ceiling. Kicking techniques were practiced by striking heavier bags suspended about 2 feet off the floor. These were intended to make the stu-

dent hit correctly, as striking improperly would be painful. These striking bags were known as *korykos*.

Students were taught wrestling techniques in sequence, that is, to master each move in a progressive order. Ultimately, students could learn the combinations of different techniques. Wrestling techniques were divided into separate categories. Thus, a pankrationist might first learn how to throw and take down the opponent in such a way that a hold could be applied. Later, ground-fighting techniques as a separate category would be introduced. Finally, all aspects of wrestling were practiced in conjunction.

When these basics were learned, the students combined both striking and wrestling in kato pankration matches. Schools held competitions to determine which students would have the honor of being sent to the games. Once again, with the enormous pressures for victory, only the best would have an opportunity to compete.

The Greek pankration schools employed masseuses to help the athletes recover from matches. It is likely that doctors also were employed, as well as dietitians and different types of coaches. In a way, the pankration schools would have been much like the gladiator schools of the Roman Empire, where a mini-industry of professions shared their experiences and expertise to help students learn how to win in their chosen art.

Competition among the city-states during the Olympic and other games was fierce. Competitors represented not only themselves, but also their particular city during a festival, and winning brought glory not only to the individual, but also to the city. Likewise, a losing competitor reflected poorly on his city. For these reasons, among others, athletes in these competitions were highly motivated to win, sometimes at all costs. Pankrationists often risked death or mutilation rather than acknowledge defeat, in order to avoid shaming their city by a poor performance. This helped to make pankration an event in which fatalities could be expected.

Pankration was thought useful by the ancient Greeks for two main reasons. First, it taught the practitioners about the art of war. Warfare was a constant threat in the Greek world (ca. 700 to 146 B.C.), and males were expected to be able to fight against external threats. Second, and more important, pankration helped its practitioners to develop *arete* (excellence). Greek males were expected to display this quality in all areas of their lives, and especially in combat. The possibility of dying in combat to protect a person's city or friends was very real. A person who displayed arete would have no hesitation in making a personal sacrifice to protect his friends or city.

Although pankration was expected to develop arete in its practitioners, the Greek world's obsession with sports led to much cheating and game fixing in various events. It is almost certain that this kind of behavior affected pankration as well. Although practitioners were expected to swear

to compete fairly and honestly, the enormous pressure for victory would have led to instances of cheating. Authors from the period, such as Xenophanes, regularly decried the loss of pure athletic competition and the evils of professionalism in the local and Olympic games, indicating the magnitude of the problem.

It is unknown if pankration was taught exclusively as a sport or also taught as a means of self-defense in and of itself. Pankration experts obviously were sought out as bodyguards and instructors, just as was the case with retired gladiators during the Roman Empire. Evidence suggests that the emphasis would most likely have been on sport development. Roman sources sometimes did mention, however, the effectiveness of "Greek boxing" as a method of self-defense; whether they were talking about pankration or Greek boxing proper is unknown. However, by the time of the Greek incorporation into the Roman Empire, the emphasis would have been on learning proper striking techniques so that the lethal cestus (a spiked metal glove) could be employed. This alone might indicate a loss of interest in grappling techniques for self-defense, suggesting that boxing proper was probably employed.

The Romans conquered much of Greece in 146 B.C. The athletic skill and combat spirit displayed by pankrationists were less appreciated by the Romans than the slaughter of the gladiatorial games in the Colosseum. Pankration was relegated to secondary status. Therefore, pankration gradually began to disappear from the mainstream of Greek and Roman life. With the fall of the Western Roman Empire, pankration continued to be practiced within the Eastern (Byzantine) Empire, but never achieved the same level of popularity as it had among the ancient Greeks.

The Olympic Games were banned in the fourth century A.D. as pagan rituals, and pankration was relegated to local athletic festivals. Soon, the chaotic circumstances following the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the constant struggle for survival by the Byzantine Empire against external threats, and the prohibition by the Church of any form of paganism discouraged the practice and transmission of the art. By the tenth century, pankration had, for all practical purposes, died out under the impact of social events of the times. Medieval Christianity suppressed events associated with the pagan world as well as prohibiting the study of the human body, critical for unarmed fighting systems. In addition, the nature of warfare in the Middle Ages, specifically the development of vastly superior armor and the counterdevelopment of innovative weapon systems to counteract the defensive abilities of armor, placed a much greater emphasis on weapons training. With the decline and eventual extinction of pankration, the Western world lost its preeminent unarmed martial art. Historical conditions in Europe did not allow for a revival.

With the explosion of popularity of martial arts in the 1960s and 1970s in America and Europe, pankration began a rebirth. Modern systems of pankration have been developed and are gaining popularity. In addition, the development and spectacular popularity of no-holds-barred fighting, also known as "ultimate fighting," has created a demand for fighters remarkably similar to the pankrationists of antiquity. Ultimate fighters are allowed to punch, kick, and grapple, and many contests are decided through a choke hold or joint lock. The vast number of techniques and the innovative manner in which they are used resemble in many ways Greek pankration. Modern differences, such as the use of protective equipment and uniforms (notably jûdô or jûjutsu uniforms), are often the only distinctions between ultimate fighting and ancient pankration.

Although pankration can be considered a "lost" martial art, it survives into the present day through re-creation. Just how much modern no-holds-barred events resemble the ancient art can never be established, but the spirit of total fighting with minimal rules certainly brings the ideals of pankration into the contemporary world.

Pankration is one of the pivotal events in the history of combat systems. It was developed to teach males the art of war and to develop an individual's virtue and bravery. It led to the development of innovative and creative fighting methods that profoundly influenced the ancient world. Indeed, that individuals such as Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates were familiar with the art is a signal of the importance of this combat system in the Greek world. The contributions of the ancient Greeks to human society were incalculably important. Pankration is yet another example of the outstanding gifts the Greeks bestowed on the world. Although lost to history, ancient pankration was one of the critical steps in martial arts development and stands as an important milestone in the history of combat systems.

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See also Europe; Gladiators; Performing Arts; Wrestling and Grappling: Europe

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Pattern Practice

See Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice

Pentjak Silat

See Silat

Performing Arts

Combat systems and specific martial arts techniques have had a profound and lasting impact on the development of cultural performances throughout human history. From decentralized tribal cultures to politically centralized states, specific techniques of the hunt or fight have been transformed into cultural performances, enacted either by warriors themselves or by performers who have incorporated or modified such techniques to fit a culturally specific, yet evolving, aesthetic and performance style. The specific forms of cultural performance centered on martial systems may be best thought of as stretching along a continuum from actual to virtual combat.

Classical Greece offers one example of the wide range of combat or martially related cultural performances along this continuum. Actual combat in ancient Greece was common, but in addition there were other important forms of cultural performance in which the use of fighting techniques was central—the game-contests, and preparations or training for warfare. Both were characteristically violent.

Sociologist Norbert Elias has ably illustrated that unlike today's rather tame modern versions of the original Olympic Games, the early Greek game-contests were regarded "as an exercise for war and war as an exercise for these contests" (1972, 100). Further toward the virtual end of the continuum, many of the same martial techniques served as the basis for two important forms of performance—the *Pyrrhic* and *Anapale*. These two forms illustrate the symbiotic relationship that has always existed between martial training, dance, and performance. The Pyrrhic was part of the training of boys in Sparta from the age of 5. Similar to the dramatic contests, where the chorus was trained at the expense of the *choregus* (citizen-patron) and performed as part of the festival of Dionysus, Phyrric competitions were held at the Panathenaea Festival. Plato was ready to include the Pyrrhic in his ideal state and provided a vivid description of this martially based performance, which mimetically transformed actual offensive and defensive maneuvers into a graceful and athletic dance. For Plato the Pyrrhic imitated the modes of avoiding blows and missiles, "by dropping or giving way or springing aside, or rising up or falling down; also the opposite postures which are those of action as, for example, the imitation of archery and the hurling of javelins, and of all sorts of blows. And, when

An opera singer in full costume waves two swords during a Beijing Opera performance of The Monkey King *at the Dzung He Theater in Beijing, 1981. (Dean Conger/Corbis)*

the imitation is of brave bodies and souls, the action is direct and muscular, giving for the most part a straight movement of the limbs of the body" (*Laws* 7.815A). While the Pyrrhic was in essence a performance that also served as a preparation for armed combat, the Anapale, practiced at the *gymnopaedia* (literally, naked boy; a sports festival) in Sparta, was a dance performed by naked young boys "moving gracefully to the music of flute and lyre, [which] displayed posture, and movements used in wrestling and boxing" (Lawler 1964, 108).

Whether on the battlefield, the game field, or in the dancing place in mimetically transformed versions, both armed and unarmed martial techniques were a highly visible and important part of classical Greek culture and social life. Each specific display or cultural performance context embodied a shared "display ethos" founded on commonly held assumptions regarding important attributes of the heroic warriors who practiced such techniques and who were prepared to die in battle. Elias discusses how both game-contests and fighting in classical Greece "centered on the ostentatious display of the warrior virtues which gained for a man the highest praise and honor among other members of his own group and for his group. It was glorious to vanquish enemies or opponents but it was hardly less glorious to be vanquished" (Lawler 1964, 100).

The heroic display ethos of a culture or subculture is that collective set of behaviors, expected actions, and principles or codes of conduct that ideally guide and are displayed by a hero, and are the subject of many traditional ballads or epics where seemingly superhuman heroes display bravery, courage, and valor in the face of death. As Elias points out, for the Greeks, Hector was as glorious in defeat as his conqueror, Achilles, since he too fought as one must to be a hero, with all one's "might until one was maimed, wounded, or killed and could fight no longer. . . . What was inglorious and shameful was to surrender victory without a sufficient show of bravery and endurance" (1972, 100). The game-contests and dances provided opportunities for the performative display of the heroic ethos that was a legacy of the Homeric epics.

The heroic display ethos of a culture, the oral and/or written mythologies and histories of martial exploits, and the specific martial techniques per se collectively constitute a network of three symbiotically interrelated phenomena, which combine to constitute a variety of genres of cultural performance ranging from aesthetic, virtual displays choreographed in highly stylized dance or dramatic forms (such as the Anapale), to game-contests or mock combats arranged as part of a public festival (such as the original Olympic contests), to duels or combats (the later gladiatorial combats/contests of the Roman Empire), to external warfare itself. Public displays of power or arms, socially and legally sanctioned arenas where tests of strength or duels occur, and mock combats or exhibitions of martial skills have always served as discrete and important types of cultural performance in which martial techniques have played an important role. Through such public performances a particular (sub) culture's warrior-hero ethos itself is displayed to a wide public through use of actual techniques.

In the West there are many examples of historically significant heroic literatures that embody a particular period's display ethos; however, few examples of performance forms exist in the modern West that are based on martial forms or that embody the heroic or display ethos of a former era. The forms that do exist in the West are often examples of what Schechner has called "restored behavior," today's Renaissance Fairs, for example, which employ actors dressed in period costumes reconstructing jousting matches in which knights stage mock combats for the hands of fair ladies of court, or stage combat techniques historically reconstructing the precise use of historically accurate weaponry as part of a staged drama.

Unlike the West, in Asia and other parts of the world we find many cases of living martial traditions whose techniques have formed the core of many cultural performances that display the culture's heroic ethos as well as bring to life its mythic, epic, or historical heroic literatures. Such performances include ritual and folk, as well as "classical," genres. Indeed, it

can be impossible to distinguish in some cases where a martial art ends and a performing art begins, as with the *randai* and *silek* of the Minangkabau of Sumatra, or Brazilian *capoeira*. In both these cases, so integral have the martial art and performance elements become to each other that training takes place through performance, and performance through the martial arts training.

In many other cases martial arts techniques have been subsumed within, and gradually transformed into, virtuosic training and/or performance systems. One of the most obvious historical connections is that between the traditional Chinese theater (Beijing Opera), which evolved its *wu-kung* (literally, martial effort) techniques employing both hand-to-hand fighting and manipulation of halberds, lances, and swords. Seen today in the spectacular acrobatic feats and mass stylized combat displays of the Beijing stage, the process of transformation through which wu-kung stage combat and choreography developed is as yet unexplored and undocumented, if not lost in the maze of individual schools of Chinese martial traditions.

Similarly, the popular Kabuki theater of Japan developed its *Tachi-mawari* or stylized fight-scene techniques associated with portrayal of samurai. In Kabuki the *tateshi* (fight specialist) was the acting company's stage-fight specialist, responsible for combining various acrobatic moves, *mie* poses used for highly emotional dramatic effect, and specific fighting techniques brought from the martial arts into Kabuki's exciting, fast-paced battle scenes. Even the more reserved and restrained Nô drama of Japan, the predecessor of Kabuki, was influenced by the martial arts and ways. For example, the *Kita Noh* tradition (one of the five main schools of acting) was born from the samurai class. Some of today's contemporary Kita school actors compare the concentration and mental state of the Nô performer to those of the martial artist. In some plays, such as the demon play, *Funa Benkei,* the staging of the demon's attack is taken from the use of sword and halberd (*naginata*).

A third example of the close relationship between martial arts and performance is that found in India. As early as the writing of the encyclopedia of dramaturgy, *Natyasastra* (between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200), the link between martial techniques, performer training, and stage combat had been made. The performer is enjoined to prepared himself for the stage by taking "exercise on the floor as well as high up in the air, and should have beforehand one's body massaged with the [sesame] oil or with barley gruel. The floor is the proper place [literally, "mother"] for exercise. Hence one should resort to the floor, and stretching oneself over it one should take exercise" (Ghosh 1956). The neophyte receives instructions to follow dietary restrictions as part of the training. The text also records the types of movement to be used for onstage "release of weapons" and use of sword

A Cossack soldier performs a dance with knives for Russian General Alexander Komaroff. A group of musicians provide accompaniment for the dancer, 1885. (Corbis)

and shield, as well as other weapons in the stage combat arsenal used to enact scenes drawn from India's great epics, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. The early Indian connection between martial and performing arts is witnessed in the legacy of extant martial and performance genres today throughout the subcontinent, from Orissa's now refined dance genre, *Seraikella chhau,* which originated in martial exercises before it became a masked-dance/drama, to the *kathakali* dance-drama of Kerala, whose entire training, massage system, and stage combat are derived directly from its martial precursor, *kalarippayattu*.

In addition to the symbiotic relationship between traditional Asian martial and performing arts, over the past twenty years contemporary performers both in Asia and the West have begun to make use of martial arts in training performers and as part of the development of a contemporary movement vocabulary. Among contemporary Western theater practitioners and actor trainers, A. C. Scott, Herbert Blau, and Rachel Rosenthal were some of the pioneers during the 1960s, all making use of taijiquan (tai chi ch'uan)—Scott in training performers at the Asian/Experimental Theatre Program at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, Blau and Rosenthal in training members of their performance ensembles. Following their examples in using taijiquan, but also making use of the Indian martial art kalarippayattu, as well as yoga, in the 1970s Phillip Zarrilli began to develop a

now internationally known system of training performers using the principles of techniques of Asian martial and meditation arts as a foundation for the psychophysiological process of the performer (see Zarrilli 1993, 1995).

One example of the actual use of a martial art in contemporary theater performance is that of Yoshi and Company. In the 1970s Yoshi Oida, an internationally known actor with Peter Brook's company in Paris, created a complete performance piece, *Ame-Tsuchi,* based on kendô. Yoshi used the rituals of combat and full contact exchanges as a theatrical vehicle for transmission of the symbolic meaning behind the Japanese origin myth that served as the text for the performance.

Of the many examples from Asia per se, during the 1980s in India a number of dancers, choreographers, and theater directors began to make use of martial arts in training their companies or for choreography. Among some of the most important have been theater directors Kavalam Narayana Panikkar of Kerala, who used kalarippayattu in training his company, Sopanam, and Rattan Theyyam in Manipur, who made use of thang-ta. Among Indian choreographers, Chandralekha of Madras and Daksha Seth of Thiruvananthapuram have both drawn extensively on kalarippayattu in training their companies and creating their contemporary choreographies.

Phillip Zarrilli

See also Africa and African America; Capoeira; Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice; Japan; Kalarippayattu; Mongolia; Thang-Ta

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Philippines

The title *Filipino martial arts* (FMA) refers to several styles, methods, and systems of self-defense that include armed and unarmed combat. Mostly, FMA are just "Filipino fencing," because they include personal armed combative techniques that emphasize weaponry skills over skills in empty hands. Unarmed combat is practiced in FMA, but is traditionally studied after weaponry training. This training sequence sets FMA apart from other martial arts, especially Asian, that initiate with empty hands.

Filipino armed combat is known variously as *arnis, eskrima* (fencing; Spanish, escrima), and *kali. Arnis* derives from the Spanish word *arnes,* meaning "armor." Arnis, or "harness," no doubt also refers to the battle harness worn by Filipino soldiers under Spanish command. *Arnis-de-mano,* or "harness of hand," denotes the deft hand movements made by Filipino grooms working for Spanish officers. Lightning-quick hand movements were alleged to be native martial arts techniques in disguise. Forbidden by the Spanish to practice indigenous martial arts, defiant Filipinos purportedly retained their fighting skills in secret by hiding them inside dance forms called *Santikan, Sayaw,* and *Moro-Moro*. An alternative thesis proposes that FMA is classical fencing that evolved with incipient nationalism. Hence, FMA is the modern expression of fencing evolution.

Other etymologies have been suggested for the names of the various Filipino arts. The Spanish term *esgrima* (skirmish) has entered the Pilipino language. Kali, according to some accounts, might be named after the Hindu goddess of destruction. Internationally recognized FMA master Dan Inosanto contends that Kali is the conjunction of the first syllables of two words from the Philippine Visayan language—*kamot,* meaning "hand," and *lihok,* meaning "motion." Thus, *Kali* means "hand motion." An examination of the Pilipino language indicates otherwise. In the Hiligaynon dialect of the Western Visayas, the term *kali* means "to dig," as with a shovel (*pala*). A shovel is a spade and the word for sword is *espada*. Kali probably derives from the Visayan word *kalis,* meaning "sword," which was written in a shipboard chronicle of Magellan's voyage in A.D. 1534.

Unarmed combat is *mano-mano* (Spanish; hand-to-hand), but is also *kuntao* and *silat*. To describe the plethora of FMA styles, methods, and systems is arduous; some—Doce Pares, Lacoste, Modern Arnis, and Pekiti Tirsia—are publicized through seminars and are associated with particular instructors such as Ciriaco C. Canete, Dan Inosanto, Remy A. Presas, and Leo T. Gaje Jr., who spread the FMA in Australia, Canada, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States.

Geographically situated at the crossroads of Southeast Asia, the Philippines are located near the equator above Borneo and below Taiwan. With a population estimated at 60 million, the Philippines are larger in area than Great Britain, but smaller than Japan. Those unfamiliar with the 7,107 islands and three major regions of the Philippine Archipelago, Luzon (north), Visayas (central), and Mindanao (south), may be confused by the eighty-seven different dialects of Pilipino (Tagalong), the national language. English is the language of business and education, and Spanish is spoken to a lesser extent.

Foreign languages are remnants of immigration to and colonization of the Philippine islands, which influenced native Filipino martial arts. It is of-

Warrior tribesmen of the Philippines with swords and woven shields, ca. 1900. (Hulton Archive)

ten said that Filipinos have Malay ancestry, Chinese culture, Spanish religion, and American education. Mestizos are racially mixed Filipinos with Chinese, Spanish, and American bloodlines. The varied cultural milieu facilitated the blending of FMA. Filipino martial arts are a blend of at least Indonesian, Malaysian, Chinese, Spanish, American, and Japanese origins.

Filipino martial culture has both tradition and history. The tradition

is oral and the history is written. The culture was alternately destroyed and created by foreign colonization. Martial fiestas offer keys to understanding Filipino martial culture. For example, the mythical meeting of the ten *datus* (chiefs) of Borneo with the *Negritos* of Panay is celebrated annually at the Ati-Atihan in Kalibo, Aklan. Similarly, the defeat of Captain Ferdinand Magellan by Datu Lapu-Lapu of Mactan Island is celebrated at the Sinulog in Cebu. This is in conjunction with the Santo Niño Fiesta, which marks the introduction of the Catholic faith to the Philippines.

Theory posits that in a prehistoric period, aboriginal Negritos (Aetas), a pygmy race, crossed over a land bridge from mainland Asia to become the first settlers of the Philippine islands. Next, waves of immigrants from the area called Malaysia colonized the islands, around 200 B.C. Anthropological evidence shows that the prehistoric people of Southeast Asia all belonged to a single population. They were later divided into cultural groups (i.e., Filipinos, Malaysians, and Indonesians) in accordance with territorial boundaries established by their European (i.e., Spanish, British, and Dutch) colonizers.

In the ninth century A.D., trade relations began with China. Colonies were established in the Philippines during the Song dynasty (A.D. 960–1127). Kuntao, an FMA with empty-hand movements similar to taijiquan, has been traced to Kuntung province. Chinese rivalry with the Hindus and Javanese continued into the Ming period (A.D. 1402–1424). Ancient civilizations—the Sri Vishayan and Majapahit—are prominent in Filipino history. Hindu influence includes the Tantra: a form of yoga that includes sexual magic and celebrates the feminine force. Tantric influence could explain the prominent role of women in Filipino society. *Visaya* means "slave" to the Moros, Muslims who dominate the southern region of the Philippine Archipelago, and refers to people of the central region whom the Moros frequently captured or killed. The Majapahit Empire was formed in Java around the twelfth century in the area of modern Indonesia. This ancient Islamic empire included Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Cambodia, Madagascar, and the Philippines. The martial arts from these countries, such as Muay Thai, bersilat, and pentjak silat, have techniques, such as silat, that are similar to FMA.

Islam came to Mindanao in the south around A.D. 1380, spreading to the Visayas and Luzon. These Muslim Malays ventured north from Borneo (Kalimantan) led by the ten datus (chieftains), the most important of whom was Datu Puti. Datu Puti, "the Great White Chief," traveled from Borneo to Panay, from Panay to Luzon, and from Luzon back to Borneo, after helping the datus to settle other islands. In A.D. 1433, Datu Kalantiyaw, third chief of Panay and descendent of Datu Sumakwel from Borneo, issued or codified civil and social orders called the Kalantiyaw for guiding

his people. Although its authenticity is questionable, the eighteen commandments of the Kalantiyaw code may be one of the few written records surviving from pre-Spanish times.

Western history of the Philippines begins with Captain Ferdinand Magellan landing on the island of Cebu in the central Visayas on April 15, 1521. The conquistador was circumnavigating the globe and claiming lands for the Spanish Crown. The name *Philippines* comes from the Spanish version of "Philip's Pines," the name Magellan gave the islands as he claimed them for King Philip II. In the Battle of Mactan, near Cebu, Captain Magellan was killed while retreating in the surf from an attack by native forces led by Datu Lapu-Lapu. The Spanish colonial period brought Catholic religion to the Philippine islands and helped to unify them into a single nation. Independence from Spain was declared on June 12, 1898. The Filipino revolution for independence was led by secret societies, such as the Katipunan. Most Katipunan members were Freemasons following pre-Spanish traditions and were known to practice both Filipino Martial Arts and Spanish swordsmanship. After the Spanish-American War, the United States got Puerto Rico and the Philippines as booty.

The U.S. forces fought a guerilla war against the Moros in Mindanao to claim the islands. Fierce resistance from local Muslim tribes caused the United States military to recall the .38 caliber revolver and issue .45 caliber revolvers to increase stopping power. Moros tied tourniquets on their limbs to prevent blood loss and charged into the American trenches. The nickname "leatherneck" refers to the United States Marines' wearing leather gorgets around their necks to stop the Moros from cutting their throats.

Japanese imperial armed forces invaded the Philippines and occupied the islands from 1942 to 1945. An ideological battle was fought for the soul of the Filipino people, who were reminded by the Japanese that despite their history under Spain and America, they were oriental, not occidental. The Japanese encountered fierce guerilla resistance in the islands from Filipino nationalists and their American allies. Following General Douglas MacArthur's historic return landing in Leyte, the Philippines headed for self-determination. There is an indelible mark on the Filipino psyche from the Japanese occupation during World War II. Some of the two-handed stickfighting styles, such as *Dos Manos* in Doce Pares Eskrima, were developed to encounter Japanese swords. After the American commonwealth ended in 1946, the Philippines developed like other former Spanish colonies as an agricultural society.

Nowadays, Filipino martial arts include many types of skills, but not all styles include the entire range of them. Inosanto classifies Filipino skills into twelve categories: (1) single stick, sword, or ax; (2) double stick, sword, or ax; (3) single stick, sword, or ax and dagger or shield; (4) dou-

ble knife; (5) single knife and empty hands; (6) empty hands; (7) short stick; (8) flexible weapons; (9) throwing weapons; (10) projectile weapons like archery and blowgun; (11) distance weapons like spear and staff; and (12) double-handed long stick or healing arts.

The single stick (*solo baston, garote, olisi*) category includes the ax and sword—when used singly. A single cane refers to a wooden weapon about 1 inch in diameter and ranging from 22 to 44 inches in length. Sticks are used to practice and are often made of rattan for safety. Rattan is a nodded porous climbing palm tree with a tough skin. Some FMA techniques are executed with either sticks or swords, but most techniques are oriented to sticks, rather than blades. Practitioners seldom play with either blunted or sharpened edged weapons, with the exception of aluminum sword blanks and steel training knives.

A misconception on the part of some practitioners is that rattan is a suitable wood for self-defense applications. However, rattan sticks are merely used for safe practice; they lack the density needed for combat. Oral tradition holds that Datu Lapu-Lapu killed Captain Magellan with a rattan stick in single combat! This is absurd. Hardwood weapons made of *bahi* (palm) or *kamagong* (ebony) are favored in fighting.

The *vara* was a Spanish unit of measurement about 31 to 33 inches in length. The vara was also a wooden implement used for wrapping bolts of cloth and so would be convenient to wield, say, in a marketplace. Thus, the vara is plausibly the fighting stick length used by escrimadores during the Spanish period. The vara is the length of weapon used by the Original Doce Pares system.

The stick is held in either the long-range (*largo*) or close-range (*corto*) grip. In the long-range grip, the hand is pursed with the hand held as if wielding a screwdriver, while in the close-range grip the hand is clenched with the hand held as if wielding a hammer. These two grips provide reach and strength, respectively. A variation on the close-range grip is the reverse grip (an "ice-pick" grip), which is used for infighting. This grip, however, is more likely to be used in knife fighting, being impractical for swords.

Stick length varies according to personal style and with practitioner morphology. An example illustrates both category one and category twelve (single long stick) of the Inosanto weapons typology. The late Angel Cabales, of *Serrada* (closed; Spanish, *cerrada*) *Eskrima,* who was 4 feet 11 inches tall and weighed 100 pounds, used a 22-inch stick to close with his opponents. In contrast, Romeo C. Mamar Sr. of *Tapado,* who is about 5 feet, 7 inches tall and weighs 160 pounds, likes a 44-inch stick to strike his opponents from a long distance. A stylistic difference is that while the Serrada practitioner uses one hand to strike, the Tapado practitioner uses two hands to wield the primary weapon.

Also in the first category are the ax (*wasay*), club (*batuta*), and sword (*kalis*), when such weapons are used by themselves. Filipino swords come in many shapes and sizes, especially down south in Moroland. Moro weapons include the kris, *barong,* and *kampilan*. Krises have three or more (odd-numbered) flaming waves in the blade (labeled the flamberge blade type) and their double edge is designed for thrusting. The Filipino kris is larger, wider, and heavier than the Indonesian kris. The barong is a shorter, leaf-shaped, single-edged sword for chopping and thrusting, without a hilt. The kampilan is a longer chopping sword with a blunted point, which may be swung with one, but usually two, hands. Visayan swords include the *talibong* and *ginonting*. The talibong is hilted with a crossguard and is single edged, made by stock removal along one side of the blade. Unlike the forged swords characteristic of Mindanao, stock removal is used to shape bar stock steel to fashion weapons in the central and northern regions. The ginonting has a blunted point with no crossguard and is more like a utility knife. Farming tools, such as the bolo or machete, are prevalent.

The second category is double stick (*doble baston, sinawali*) and refers to two canes or swords of equal length. The philosophy that prevails in this category of weapons is that "two swords are better than one, when you know how to use them both in conjunction." *Sawali* means "to weave," while sinawali refers to the striking patterns that are made by two coordinated weapons. Thus, the label sinawali is more specific than doble baston in general, because of patterns employed.

Category three is called sword and dagger (*espada y daga*). Techniques in this category recognize the natural hand dominance in human physiology. If an opponent is holding one weapon, then it will probably be held in the dominant hand. If an enemy is holding two weapons, then either the lighter or the smaller weapon will be held in the submissive hand, and the heavier or longer weapon will be held in the dominant hand. This is not true for the sword and shield, but the principle of warding with the awkward or submissive hand still holds.

The shield (Pilipino; *kalasag*) is used in combination with either the sword or the spear (see category eleven). The principle remains the same as with appropriate-handed weapons wielded. Fighters wore armor during the time of Magellan, but armor is seldom used for contemporary FMA practice. Beginning with the Spanish colonial period, European martial arts, notably the Spanish (De La Destreza) geometric theory of fencing, was blended with native fighting. For example, the concept of angular attack influenced Filipino karate. Filipino espada y daga might have evolved from Spanish sword-and-dagger techniques, not the rapier and dagger. The European fencing schools include the French, Italian, Spanish, and German. *Rikarte Eskrima* has attack and counterattack methods for each European

fencing school. Since General Ricarte campaigned in the Filipino revolution against Spain, these foreign methods may be a result of the revolutionary experience. Moreover, some FMA styles have European roots. Mariano Navarro founded the Black Eagle Eskrima Club of Cebu in the Visayas. Navarro's Portuguese father taught swordsmanship. An *arnisidor* (practitioner of arnis) from Bacolod, Federico Serfino Jr., was the national fencing champion, representing the Philippines in the 1964 Olympic Games. Serfino learned arnis from his father, but learned about European fencing at the Indonesian embassy in Manila.

The fourth, or double knife, category is a progression from double stick and stick and dagger, because the theory of their usage is the same for gripping two weapons. The way in which the knives are held, gripped in the hands with palms facing down, is connected with *suntukin,* the Filipino boxing style. There are two basic ways to hold the knife: with the point upward in a hammer grip and with the point downward in an ice-pick grip. The "up and down" knife grips are known as *dusak* and *pakal* in the Visayan language. An important principle in knife fighting is "equalization." The student is taught to carry two or more knives in case an attacker has a bigger knife. For example, Pekiti Tirsia practitioners carry three knives at all times. In double knife fighting, there is a dominant and a recessive side of the body that come into play. One strategy is to hold a single-bladed slashing weapon in the dominant hand and hold a double-bladed thrusting weapon in the submissive hand. The dominant hand leads the body into combat, while the submissive hand destroys the enemy after the closure.

Category five is single knife utilizing empty hands, but this category also includes dagger versus dagger (daga y daga). Important principles taught in this category are the following. A single-edged knife is better for cutting than a double-edged knife, because the wider blade cleaves flesh. A double-edged dagger has the advantage of penetration, because the knife is usually more narrow and pointed. Still, the slimmer dagger makes it more susceptible to breakage than the wider-bellied knife. Different styles favor various knife shapes and grips. In *Lapu-Lapu,* the practitioners preferred to use ordinary tools as weapons, like the *songut,* or sickle (for cutting sugar cane), and the *bita,* used for making shoes. Both knives can be found on streets and in alleys.

In category five, certain FMA evolved into long-knife or bolo styles from sword techniques. Thus, Philippine Army general Faustino Ablin originally developed his *Derobio Eskrima* for cavalry sabers. After this FMA went to Hawaii with the late Braulio Pedoy, saber techniques were practiced with stick, knife, and bolo. An emphasis was placed on locking and disarming for close-quarter combat, but such techniques were not suitable while mounted.

While the sixth category, empty hands, is certainly not undeveloped, battlefield commanders considered training in hand-to-hand combat less pragmatic than weapons training. It is notable that the experiences of Filipino guerrilla fighters in World War II infused realism into the modern Filipino martial arts. The late Felimon "Momoy" Canete of Doce Pares Eskrima devised many-bladed striking techniques based on his experiences in jungle patrols fighting against Japanese soldiers. For him, the stick represented a blade. The unarmed methods of Filipino combat (mano-mano) include kicking (*sikaran* or *sipa*), boxing (*suntukin*), trapping (*gapos*), grappling (*buno, dumog*), and disarming (*disarma*). Sikaran is similar to *taekwondo* (Korean), with emphasis on high-line kicking. Sipa is a children's kicking game like hacky-sack (a game in which a small footbag is kicked between players without being allowed to touch the ground). Dan Inosanto calls kicking *pananjakman. Suntukin* is "to box." Inosanto calls punching *Panantukan*. Trapping (gapos) refers to immobilization or hacking, but may include strikes such as thrusting and palming. Grappling includes sweeps, throws, and locks. Locking the joints is called *tranka* or *kunsi.* Pinching, biting, gouging, and tearing are elements of close-range combat. Native grappling methods are called *buno* in Luzon and *dumog* in the Visayas. Traditionally, local disputes were settled and justice dispensed through trial by ordeal. *Bultong* was a "trial by ordeal" FMA in which adversaries wrestled until the victor proved the other party guilty. The Filipino term *agaw* means "disarming," but the Spanish term is *disarma*. Disarma refers to using weapons and/or empty hands to neutralize armed opponents by taking away weapons. For example, the Lapu-Lapu Arnis Affecianados practiced a unique method of disarming by using reverse principles. They used reverse psychology like jûdô (Japanese) in which they pushed when the attacker pulled.

The short stick in category seven is a pocket weapon, such as a roll of coins, that can be held in the hand and used for striking. This category includes closed knives like the *balisong*. The balisong, or butterfly knife, is a three-piece, gravity-operated (not automatic) folding knife. The *kubotan* (hand-sized cylinder with a key ring attached) is a similar Japanese weapon.

The flexible weapons (*ligas armas*) in category eight include the flail (*panlugas, tayak tobok*), whip (*latiko, kaburata*), chain (*cadena*), and stingray tail (*ikog-pagi*). Like the Okinawan/Japanese *nunchaku,* the flail is a farm tool (rice thresher). Flails are portable, concealable, and quick to strike their targets, but difficult to control. Rikarte Eskrima prefers short whips, approximately 6 feet long. Panandata Arnis uses a 52- or 60-inch horsewhip. Filemon Canete made 12-foot-long rope whips by hand and wove spells into them. This is considered to be Christian white magic. Al-

though it stings and is useful for punishing restrained persons, the whip is not adequate for combat. Heavier and more flexible than the whip, the chain (la cadena) requires the right timing for adequate striking. The stingray tail is usually about a yard long or more. After sun drying, the stingray tail gets hard and leathery and has sharp spiky edges that tear. The stingray tail is considered suitable for crowd control.

The projectile weapons (*inihagis ng armas*) in category nine cover slingshot (*tirador*), throwing knives (*kutsilyong panghagis*), darts (*palasong*), blowgun (*buguhan*), archery (*pana*), and firearms (*putok*). The Filipino martial arts do have prescribed ways to use these weapons. For example, in Doce Pares Eskrima, single-edged knives are thrown by the blade, while double-edged knives are thrown by the handle.

Category ten includes not only the bow and arrow, but also firearms for modern times. Archery is the martial art of the Negritos, but those reclusive tribes stay in the mountains. In cities, firearms are more suitable, especially in civil wars. The restrictive Philippine laws on gun ownership can be circumvented by ingenuity. Hence, revolvers are handmade by "blacksmiths" to chamber 5.56 mm NATO bullets that Filipino soldiers carry in M16 Armalites. Ammunition is not available for pistols and revolvers (except .38 caliber), so soldiers are bribed with cigarettes for carbine bullets.

The distance weapons (*agwat armas*) in category eleven include spear (*bangkaw*) and staff (*tungkod, sibat*) fighting techniques. *Bangkaw* means the pointed mast of an outrigger boat (*bangka*). The masts of the longboats are used as spears after landing. In the pre-Spanish period, Malay villages called *barangays* were settled by longboat people.

In category twelve, Dos Manos (Spanish; two hands) refers to two-handed stick and sword methods. *Tapado* is a long-stick fighting method using a 44-inch stick. In San Miguel Eskrima, a 50-inch stick simulates samurai swords or Spanish sabers. Also, two-handed techniques can be executed with a *panabas* (also *lantip* or *tabas*), which is a farm tool with a short blade and a long handle for cutting sugarcane. The *kampilan* is a single-edged long sword from Mindanao that is suitable for Dos Manos moves. Single-edged Kampilans differ from the medieval European longswords (the hand-and-a-half Bastard swords), which are double-edged.

Not many styles, methods, or systems cover these twelve categories. Some have only a few, and others focus on alternative techniques, emphasizing other skills. For example, the skill category can instead include healing arts and metaphysics. Healing arts and metaphysics are a "higher understanding" of the Filipino martial traditions. Healing arts are linked to the FMA, but are not integrated with training methods as they are in the Chinese martial arts. The former include massage or chiropractic (*hilot, kiropraktika*), herbalism, and faith healing. Hence, Rosita M. Lim is a

curer (*seruhana, arbolaryo*) and chiropractor (*manughilot*), but not an FMA practitioner. She uses massage, exorcism, and incense to heal people, but her skill is "gingering." Gingering uses prayers to transfer evil spirits into a ginger root, which is discarded with the trapped spiritual essence. The metaphysics (*lubos*) include *anting-anting* (amulet, charm), *kalaki, orasyon* (prayers), and *palabras* (words). In the metaphysics associated with Filipino martial arts in the Philippines, overt Catholic religiosity is layered onto a substratum of *Huna* magic. Huna (secret) is a Polynesian practice, says Max Freedom Long (1965). Kalaki, meaning "abilities," is associated with practitioners of the native martial arts. Eskrimadores are known as mystics, faith healers, and sorcerers, using mesmerism and visualization (*larawan*). Thus, the potent anting-anting can be made from the kneecaps of deceased persons. Grave robbers dig up such "treasures," which then are made into a belt or necklace. Warriors prepare themselves for victory or death before combat using orasyon, with palabras (spells) and incantations worked against sworn enemies.

Otherwise, most Filipinos are resigned to fate, which is tempered only by Providence. The fatalistic attitude of Filipinos comes from their God concept. You will often hear the phrase "Bahala Na" (leave it to God). Resignation to fate or determinism is deeply ingrained in Filipino martial culture. Westerners remark with frustration when encountering Bahala Na, but it helps people survive in a difficult world. Filipino fatalism shows its most negative side when people "run amok," killing everyone in their path in a frenzy of rage, called jurimentado. This extreme reaction is understood by a society in which repressed feelings are harbored daily.

Certain concepts are central to all Filipino martial arts. The striking concept, spatial concept, and sectoring concept are a few. The strikes are angles of attack; space is the geometry of the fight zone, and sectoring is division of the problem set into a finite solution. The geometric theory of angles of attack was probably derived from Spanish fencing. *Abisidario* refers to the *abekada,* or ABCs, of learning how to fight. Usually, there are twelve basic attacking techniques and striking angles with five (i.e., *cinco teros*) in common among all FMA. Included are slashes, thrusts, and butts. Slashes are strikes with the side of a stick or with the edge of a blade. Thrusts use the pointed tip, while butts use the blunted end. Weapons and empty hands are used alone or in combination, depending on the range. There are three ranges: largo (long), *media* (medium), and corto (short). Media is often ignored; few fighters stay in the hot spot. Slashes are delivered from long range (*layaw*), while butts are delivered from close range (*dikit*). Besides the alphabeto (the ABCs of fighting), there is numerado.

Practitioners can reach the counter-for-counter stage of training after they develop basic (alphabet) techniques, using numerado—to play by the

numbers. To play by numbers means to work counters and recounters against attacks in an ordered sequence of play. Few exceed this stage, because they lack a safe way to spar. Techniques that seem combat valid in training drills are invalidated with full contact. To prepare for full contact, fluid movement is developed in flow drills. The art is not played well without flowing. The Hiligaynon dialect has a word for the opposite of flow; players may be described as *pugoso*—meaning "pushing too hard, too stiff, not relaxed, or unnatural." Fluid movements are found in those fighters in the higher levels of training.

The FMA ranking structure has students, fighters, and teachers (i.e., instructors, masters, and grand masters). Traditional Filipino society was divided into nobles, freemen, and serfs. Nobles wore red, while the lower classes wore black or blue clothing. The color worn by students is blue (*asul*), associating them with the lower classes. Fighters can wear black (*itim*) and teachers wear red (*pula*). Novices are called *likas,* or natural, because they have no preconceptions. The intermediate students are called *likha,* or creation, because they have learned fundamentals. The advanced students are called *lakas,* or strength, because their skills are well developed. A fighter is an expert student on the way to becoming a teacher. Some teachers have never fought, not even in contests or among friends, and lack the quintessential stage of martial development. The name for a teacher in Filipino is *guro,* from *guru* (Sanskrit; teacher).

An instructor may be either an apprentice, assistant, junior, or senior instructor. Master instructors may be called Maestro in Spanish nomenclature. Some groups use Datu (chieftain), while others use *Lakan* (lord) to refer to an FMA master. The grand master is simply the grandfather of the school. Traditionally, one must reach age 50 to be acclaimed as a grand master. Founders of Filipino martial arts are rare.

The purpose of contests in the Filipino martial arts is to simulate the conditions of actual combat in order to learn to overcome the fear of loss. The learning process is facilitated through contests in the arena rather than an actual life-or-death experience. Combat is usually risky, and learning experiences can end prematurely. Dueling, particularly the death match, is FMA tradition, but was outlawed in 1982. Before this time, however, champions often fought many duels: Romeo ("Nono") Mamar of Bago City was undefeated after one hundred duels from 1960 to 1982. With cash betting as an incentive to public spectacle, duels were often bloody affairs; at their worst, human cockfights. Organized competitions have been held in the Philippines since 1949. Sanctioning organizations, such as the National Arnis Association of the Philippines (NARAPHIL) and World Eskrima, Kali Arnis Federation (WEKAF), sponsor national and international stickfighting events, and do not permit the bloody spectacles of the past.

Besides reasons of civilian self-defense and cultural preservation, Filipino martial arts are used for police and military training, especially for defending against edged weapons. Because FMA are a blend of moves, other martial artists can readily adopt them. For instance, the FMA now provide a vehicle for expressing the late Bruce Lee's Jeet Kune Do (JKD), as Lee's system contains the JKD concepts. Eskrima is the "secret recipe" for angling and fluidity in Kajukenbo. Likewise, FMA can be expected to absorb what is useful from other martial arts that its practitioners encounter.

Ronald A. Harris

See also Silat; Southeast Asia

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Political Conflict and the Martial Arts

In social conflict, martial arts emerge not only as direct confrontations, but particularly in politically stratified situations (e.g., in colonial contexts) oppressed groups commonly employ martial arts to confront oppressors symbolically. In such cases martial arts have been utilized to support sociopolitical action pursued by subordinated groups. Such strategies draw on both indigenous combative traditions and newly synthesized systems as focal points for resistance. Examples of the former are provided by the Chinese Boxer Rebellion (1900), the fugitive slave resistance of the Brazilian *macambos* (nineteenth century), Okinawan opposition to Japanese Satsuma domination (seventeenth–nineteenth centuries), and Indonesian resistance to Dutch colonization (eighteenth–twentieth centuries). The latter strategy emerges in modern taekwondo and Vovinam-Viet Vo Dao.

The martial traditions in the first category share common elements: indigenous origins that promote ethnic pride, a belief in the superiority of their techniques to competing systems (particularly those of the dominant group), notions of elitism within an oppressed ethnic group, the belief in the ability to magically generate power that confers invulnerability and invincibility, and a body of oral tradition that substantiates claims as to origins and efficacy. The catalyst for their symbolic deployment in cultural conflict comes with the perception of a politically dominated status.

Responses to sociocultural disorganization that culminate in movements to regenerate traumatized populations and synthesize new worldviews have been labeled by Anthony F. C. Wallace as cultural revitalization movements. The revitalization response may be triggered by various forms of stress; however, in the cases considered here the stress is political (e.g., military invasion, economic hegemony). While such movements are, essentially, politically motivated, their trappings are most often spiritual/religious. Frantz Fanon notes that when a people want to regain a sense of self-worth they return to ancient religions and creation myths in order to validate cultural or political resistance. Martial arts practitioners often claim that their esoteric martial traditions have their origins in the remote legendary, or even mythic, past. This feature of martial arts lends itself to revitalization strategies. Finding solutions for current pressures in terms of past events provides a point of cohesion for oppressed people.

Moreover, in the majority of cases of cultural revitalization (whether they seek a return to a past "golden age" or a new world order) there is the implementation of a special ethnic or religious identity (often as a means of directly confronting stereotypes imposed by dominant groups) for purposes of unification. These ethnic and religious identities engender feelings of elitism among the subordinated group and create a debased image of the dom-

A painting of a burning station and derailed train on the Manchurian railway, with Chinese Nationalists celebrating their action during the Boxer Rebellion, ca. 1900. (Hulton Archive)

inant group, thus establishing the basis (and justification) for ethnic warfare. In the martial traditions under consideration, it is common for practitioners to argue for the superiority of their tradition over systems maintained among oppressors.

Colonial situations provide a vast array of case studies on the role of martial arts in revitalization. The reasons for the correspondence between colonialism and revitalization are obvious. There is a dominant-dominated relationship between two groups who differ in terms of culture, ethnic identification, and political loyalties. In addition, there are feelings of relative deprivation on the part of the dominated group and a conviction that a prevailing religious, social, or political system has failed them. Thus, an alternative that can confront the current dilemma must emerge to prevent collapse of the dominated culture.

Despite the spiritual orientation of many of these movements, there remains a potential for conflict with the dominant group. For example, the Ghost Dance movement that swept the western United States from 1888 to 1890 as espoused by the Paiute messiah Wovoka—despite prophecies foretelling the eradication of the whites—was pacifistic in orientation. Wovoka urged his followers to cooperate and enter into no conflicts with whites. As the religion spread from the Basin Cultures of Nevada to the Northern Plains Cultures, the rhetoric became increasingly militant, and the power that would bring about renewal was increasingly drawn upon for protection in warfare through the creation of "Ghost Dance Shirts" that would

turn aside knives and bullets in battle. These "Ghost Shirts" were based on a traditional Plains model, the war shirt, which, like the ghost shirt, was painted with magical symbols designed to protect the wearer.

Anthropologist James C. Scott's observations regarding magic in millenarian movements are illuminating. He considers a belief in invulnerability engendered by magical means to be a standard feature of most millenarian movements. In the case of millenarian movements, both the oppressors and the power that supports their regime are to be negated by supernatural intervention. In one form or another, many indigenous martial arts claim to invest practitioners with supernormal powers, including resistance to injury or even invulnerability. Therefore, in certain cases not only is there a general divine mantle of protection created through the use of ritual practice or talismans, but also the resistance incorporates indigenous esoteric martial systems into its arsenal. Unlike the doctrines accompanying the movement that may be new revelations, esoteric militarism turns a traditional fighting art—with all its traditional powers—to new goals.

Perhaps the most widely known example of the use of esoteric martial arts in resisting political domination is found in the Boxer Rebellion. Rising during the Chinese Qing monarchy, the Boxers responded to attempts to colonize China from without and to modernize the nation from within at the close of the nineteenth century. In about 1898, members of a secret society of martial artists called Yi He Tuan (Righteous Harmonious Fist) arose against modernization and foreign influence. The Yi He Tuan (or I Ho) Boxers claimed that their rites rendered them impervious to bullets. With the invulnerability promised by their esoteric tradition and the blessings of Empress Dowager Ci Xi, they began a campaign of terrorism by attacking Christian missionaries, destroying symbols of foreign influence (e.g., telegraph lines), and ultimately storming the Legation Quarter in Beijing in June of 1900. Susan Naquin, in her analysis of the White Lotus sects of nineteenth-century China, reports similar claims of invulnerability to various weapons in these and related sects that combined esotericism with boxing.

Similarly, during the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia, esoteric indigenous martial traditions played a role. According to contemporary sources, in Java the secrets of the system of Southeast Asian combat called *pentjak* or *pencak silat* have been guarded largely because of the role played by groups of silat adepts in the fight for independence from the Dutch in the wake of World War II. At least some of these secrets entail the ways of developing *tenaga dalam,* a form of mystical energy utilized in various styles of silat. Like the power of the Ghost Shirt and that engendered by the Boxers' exercises, tenaga dalam is said to turn aside bullets. According to some sources, the origins of silat should be traced to the variety of Islamic mysticism called Sufism. Clearly, the extraordinary powers be-

A photo of the Ghost Dance of the Arapaho Indians, who believed the ritual would make them invincible, ca. 1900. (Corbis)

lieved to follow in the wake of Sufi enlightenment would prove an asset to the practice of silat. Although the connections between pentjak silat and Sufism are based primarily on oral traditions at this point, the esoteric martial system appears to have originated in a milieu that saw the rise of a religious tradition that had as at least one of its goals the generation of mystical power. Especially in the light of other esoteric martial traditions, the subsequent incorporation of magical elements of silat into the final struggle against Dutch colonialism (1945–1949) was predictable. Moreover, the fact that some Javanese claim the Dutch were ousted because of the magical superiority of silat over European technological warfare suggests that the martial tradition as a whole, as distinct from any individual technical aspects of it, bolstered ethnic and national pride. Accordingly, we see not merely a connection to a colonial rebellion, but to incipient Indonesian nationalism as well.

From neighboring Malaysia, James Scott reports compelling evidence of a bond between millenarianism and esoteric martial traditions when the eruption of Malaysian urban race riots in 1969 brought attention to the Red Sash Society (Pertubohan Selendang Merah), whose membership included not only politicians and religious figures but silat masters as well. The ties between ethnicity, nationalism, religion, and martial esotericism are clear in the Red Sash Society's dedication to defending the race and religion and its relationship to UMNO (United Malay Nationalists' Organi-

zation) politicians. Similarly, ten years later, the 30,000-member organization Nasrul Haq (NH) was singled out not only for its suspect political connections, but because of claims that members of NH posed a threat to the prevailing social order not only by teaching silat and allowing female participation, but also by practicing magical chants and engaging in trances. Both practices suggest a connection to martial esotericism. For Malaysia as a whole, the record demonstrates the reappearance of millennial and ecstatic Islamic cults during virtually every episode of historical crisis. It is likely that research would reveal crucial ways in which religion, silat, and nationalism are intertwined in these movements.

Okinawan martial arts oral tradition depicts similar ethnic and cultural struggles, supported in similar ways by the esoteric indigenous art of *di,* or *te* (hand). Like all folk histories, these narratives are sometimes at odds with the written record. Nevertheless, the historical traditions of te trace its development as an underground art to the conquest of the Ryûkyû Islands by the Shimazu clan of Satsuma in southern Japan (Kyûshû Island) in 1609. At this time, the private possession of weapons, banned by Okinawan king Sho Shin's edict of the late fifteenth century, came to be more stringently enforced by the Shimazu, as did prohibitions on the practice of the arts of war. Oral tradition maintains that Ryûkyûans (Okinawans) continued to practice martial arts at odd hours and in secret locations to avoid detection, and that for over three hundred years te was practiced secretly and transmitted orally or by means of privately transcribed "secret texts." After the Satsuma conquest and until the Meiji Restoration (1868), Okinawans were systematically oppressed. Oral narratives among practitioners of te consistently embody the theme of turning adversity to strength via martial esotericism, a theme that is consistent with the situations described above. In addition, these traditions maintain that the practice of te leads to the development of *ki* (Japanese) or *qi* (Chinese; *chi*)—a form of intrinsic energy said to ward off blows and increase the practitioner's strength to supernormal levels. Te, according to oral tradition, was used against the Japanese in a guerilla fashion reminiscent of the strategies described for Indonesia.

Brazilian *capoeira* constitutes a final example of a connection between esoteric martial arts, a dominated group, and ethnic conflict. In attempting to determine the origins of the martial art, J. Lowell Lewis cites a range of oral traditions tying the development of capoeira to the African Brazilian slave population; some commentators, in fact, posit an African origin for the fighting techniques and some of the terminology employed. The early record (pre-1920) is sketchy and heavily dependent on folk history, but the relevance of capoeira to the current issue is obvious. Oral tradition connects capoeira with the fugitive slave "kingdom" of Palmares in the region of Pernambuco, Brazil. The successful resistance movement by the Pal-

mareans was attributed to the skills of "King" Zumbi, reputedly a capoeira master. Even as the art exists in the twentieth century among the urban underclasses, there is a strong identification with the slave experience—even down to the typical attire of some modern *capoeiristas,* which is said to be patterned on the dress of slaves during the colonial period. The esotericism noted for the other arts emerges in the dedication of some capoeiristas to specific *orixás* (divinities) of the African Brazilian syncretic religion Candomble who aid and even possess the fighter from time to time. A contemporary master, Mestre Nô, speaks of a mystic leap he takes, describing it as an attitude similar to the "no-mind" state of Asian Zen-based martial traditions. A further, linguistic, connection is provided by the synonym for capoeirista, *mandigueiro* (sorcerer). Not surprisingly, capoeira tradition claims that invulnerability, labeled *corpo fechado* (closed body), may be ritually attained by practitioners. The practice of the art continues to have nationalistic significance and especially, in the style called Capoeira Angola, serves as a source of ethnic pride and a link to African heritage. Lewis notes the power of this martial art as a means of both real and symbolic empowerment for economic and political underclasses.

Martial arts connect to political conflict in a less mystical but equally crucial way as well. In colonial situations in twentieth-century Asia, martial arts have been utilized by threatened cultures, not only according to the Indonesian and Malaysian patterns discussed above, but as vehicles for modern nationalism. The cases of Korean taekwondo and Vietnamese Vovinam-Viet Vo Dao are representative.

Taekwondo is a Korean martial art synthesized in the latter half of the twentieth century from native styles (primarily t'aek'kyŏn and subak, which had survived a Japanese occupation of almost fifty years) and elements of both Chinese and Japanese combat arts. In 1945, the end of Japanese occupation served as the catalyst for Korean nationalism, which was signaled in part by the opening of the Chung Do Kwan ("School," from the Chinese *guan*) for instruction in Korean martial arts. The formation of the Korean Armed Forces (1945) and the ensuing Korean Conflict (1950) further fueled the fires of nationalism and, not incidentally, provided the rationale for the study of martial skills. While no existing kwan (or kwon) had attained dominance, t'aek'kyŏn was introduced into some military training programs as early as 1946. In 1952, a half-hour martial arts demonstration attended by South Korean president Syngmann Rhee led to the official recognition of the Korean arts by means of Rhee's order for all Korean troops to be trained in these arts. Although t'aek'kyŏn was formally introduced into Korean military training by the end of the war (1953), the unification of various kwan into what eventually became modern taekwondo did not occur until 1955. Tradition maintains that the name

taekwondo was agreed upon because of its resemblance to the more traditional art of t'aek'kyŏn, which makes the nationalistic qualities of the art obvious.

Vovinam (later renamed Viet Vo Dao) is a Vietnamese martial arts system founded by Nguyen Loc (1912–1960) in the late 1930s. The system was developed with both the practical intent of providing, after a short period of study, an efficient means of self-defense, and establishing a focus for national identity for the Vietnamese people. Founder Nguyen saw martial arts as a vehicle for freeing Vietnam, under French rule from 1859 to 1954, from outside domination. Thus, the traditional history maintains that at the age of 26 he added elements of Chinese and Japanese systems to his knowledge of indigenous Vietnamese arts to create an early version of Vovinam by at least 1938. Therefore, Vovinam, like taekwondo, is a modern eclectic system created, at least in part, as a nationalistic response to political conflict. At this time, the impulse to overthrow foreign domination gained impetus across Vietnam. In 1940, Nguyen and his disciples were invited to Hanoi to demonstrate Vovinam publicly, which led to an invitation to teach the art at Hanoi Ecole Normal (Hanoi University of Education). Slogans such as "Vietnamese practice Vietnamese martial arts" and "Not a Vovinam disciple, not a Vietnamese patriot" attest to the fact that the system succeeded in promoting nationalism. In 1940 and 1941, in this nationalistic climate and on the heels of a Japanese invasion, Communist-led revolts erupted in the south as Tay tribesmen rebelled in the north. At the end of this period, Ho Chi Minh founded the nationalistic Vietminh to oppose both Japanese and French colonialism. At this time, Vovinam training focused on endurance, speed, and strength with a course of study designed to last about three months; the system also maintained a political orientation beyond simple physical improvement. Therefore, the art was suppressed by both the French and the Japanese. By the time an agreement was signed by France and the Vietminh that provided for the temporary partition of Vietnam at about the 17th parallel, with North Vietnam under control of the Communist Vietminh and South Vietnam under Nationalist control (1954), Nguyen Loc had immigrated to South Vietnam, opening a Vovinam school in Saigon and others subsequently. Following the fall of Saigon, teachers immigrated to Europe and the Americas. Vovinam currently exists as Vovinam-Viet Vo Dao, a contemporary martial art without overt political focus.

Whether deployed as magic used to esoterically defeat an enemy or utilized as a focus for nationalism, the symbolic functions of the martial arts in political conflict seem to be a cross-cultural strategy. This facet of combatives deserves further study.

Thomas A. Green

See also Africa and African America; Capoeira; China; Folklore in the Martial Arts; Korea; Okinawa; Silat; Southeast Asia; Taekwondo; Vovinam Viet Vo Dao; Yongchun (Wing Chun)

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Q

Qi

See Ki/Qi

Martial Arts of the World

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An Encyclopedia

Volume Two: R–Z

Edited by Thomas A. Green

ABC CLIO
Santa Barbara, California Denver, Colorado Oxford, England

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Martial arts of the world: an encyclopedia / [edited] by Thomas A. Green.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1-57607-150-2 (hardcover: alk. paper); 1-57607-556-7 (ebook)
1. Martial arts—Encyclopedias. I. Green, Thomas A., 1944–

GV1101.M29 2001
796.8'03—dc21 2001002823

06 05 04 03 02 01 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is also available on the World Wide Web as an e-book. Visit abc-clio.com for details.

ABC-CLIO, Inc.
130 Cremona Drive, P.O. Box 1911
Santa Barbara, California 93116-1911

This book is printed on acid-free paper ♾.

Manufactured in the United States of America

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A Note on Romanization

In 1979, the People's Republic of China (PRC) decided to employ the pinyin system of romanization for foreign publications. The pinyin system is now recognized internationally. As a result, the pinyin system is the preferred method in the present volume. Prior to this decision by the PRC, the Wade-Giles system had gained wide international acceptance. Certain terms, therefore, may appear under spellings unfamiliar to the reader. For example, Wade-Giles *Hsing I Ch'uan* or *Hsing I Chuan* appears as pinyin *Xingyiquan,* and *Wing Chun* is romanized as *Yongchun.* Pinyin spellings will be used in most cases. Old spellings, often unsystematic, are given in parentheses, for example *Li Cunyi* (*Li Tsun-I*). For those terms that are well established in another spelling, pinyin is noted in parentheses for consistency; for example, *Pangai Noon* (pinyin *banyingruan*). For Chinese names and terms that are not associated with the PRC, we have chosen to follow locally preferred romanizations.

R

Rank

The word *rank* in this context refers to a system of hierarchies in martial arts based on various criteria such as physical fitness, mastery of curriculum, success in competition, length of time of study, and contributions to the system.

Traditions differ as to the reasons for awarding rank and the ways in which rank is bestowed. Although in contemporary martial arts rank is commonly associated with the belt systems of the Asian arts, the practice of ranking practitioners of martial arts is not uniquely Asian. In 1540, Henry VIII of England granted letters of patent that formally enfranchised the English Masters of Defence (who previously had plied their trade without benefit of licensing) and at least tacitly gave the royal stamp of approval to a four-tiered hierarchy based on the model of the medieval university: scholar, free scholar, provost, and master. The Masters of Defence then fixed requirements for testing for rank, length of time required for apprenticeship at each rank, and other criteria deemed necessary for formally establishing the hierarchy.

Until the twentieth century, many Asian martial arts recognized only two tiers of rank: master and student. Occasionally, the designation of senior student could be extended as well. This system continues in some arts. The traditional systems of China (e.g., taijiquan [tai chi ch'uan], baguazhang [pa kua ch'uan]) have not formalized ranking further than this. The many conservative *bugei* (Japanese; warrior arts)—those arts designated by the suffix *jutsu* (skills), such as *kenjutsu*—of Japan have maintained the traditional means of ranking members (generally unique to the individual system) of each *ryûha* (style) into the contemporary period.

Kanô Jigorô, in establishing jûdô in the late nineteenth century, developed for students of his art a ranking system by means of the awarding of colored belts worn with practice uniforms. This tradition had a profound impact on the martial arts world, first via adoption of the system by the *budô* (martial ways) of Japan and then internationally, as both indige-

Taekwondo students wear colored belts to indicate their rank within the system, Darjeeling, India. (Earl & Nazima Kowali/ Corbis)

nous fighting systems and eclectic martial arts of other cultures followed suit. In Kanô's system and others based on it (e.g., karate, taekwondo), distinctions are made between lower levels (kyû [class] in Japanese systems—e.g., *nikyû,* meaning "second class"), who wear colored belts (e.g., green, brown) to signify rank, and upper levels (dan [grade]—e.g., shôdan, meaning "first grade"), who wear black belts. In the kyûs there is considerable variation in belt color from system to system, as well as varying interpretations of the symbolic meanings of the various belt colors. In the Japanese model and systems derived from it, progress is denoted by descending order through the classes (signified by white or colored belts). Therefore, *sankyû* (third class) is lower in rank than nikyû (second class), for example. The grades (signified by a black belt) denote rank through ascending order from shôdan (first grade) to nidan (second grade) and so forth. It is common to promote through the first ranks of the black belt level on the basis of proficiency in the art; fifth grade is often regarded as the apex for promotion on technical skills. Thereafter, however, promotions in grade are based on contributions to the art. Commonly, the highest grades of an art are bestowed on a teacher by students in recognition of self-mastery, creation or development of the system, or similar unique contributions.

Most contemporary styles that have followed the Japanese lead in indicating rank by color do so by means of the method put forth by Kanô, by the color of a flat cloth belt worn looped around the waist on the outside of the practitioner's jacket. There are exceptions, however. In the Regional system of Brazilian capoeira developed by Manoel dos Reis Machado in the 1930s, rank is displayed by the *cordão* (cord), a rope made of braided cords. The cordão is worn through the belt loops on the uniform. In contemporary French *savate,* rank is indicated by a colored band or patch worn on the gloves used for sparring.

The latter decades of the twentieth century saw the increasing adoption of systems derived from Kanô's method, not only in Japanese budô,

but also by non-Asian systems and contemporary eclectic systems such as capoeira, savate, American Freestyle karate, and Russian sambo. Many martial arts systems remain, however, that have not converted from traditional student-teacher organizational frameworks.

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See also Jûdô; Koryû Bugei, Japanese

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Religion and Spiritual Development: Ancient Mediterranean and Medieval West

In every Western society from ancient Greece until the present, soldiers' needs have entailed the incorporation of ceremonies and rites designed to seek the aid of higher powers on behalf of individual soldiers and, in some cases, the army as a whole. Soldiers in the Western tradition of warfare have always found it necessary to trust in something greater than themselves or even than their armies or nations in order to summon the courage necessary to risk their lives in combat. In the modern world, every Western nation has a chaplain corps whose primary responsibilities include preparing soldiers for the stresses of battle because military planners clearly understand the adage, "There are no atheists in foxholes."

The Ancient World

Religious piety among soldiers was such a well-accepted norm of behavior in classical Greece that the authors of military manuals took it into account when discussing prebattle preparations. Onasander argued in his *Strategikos* that "soldiers are far more courageous when they believe they are facing dangers with the will of the Gods" (*Aeneas* . . . 1923, 309). Many Greek field commanders took this advice to heart when leading their troops into battle. The Spartans routinely brought herds of goats with them on campaign so that sacrifices could be offered not only as a preparation

for every battle, but whenever a major military decision had to be made. Similar sacrifices were performed by most of the other Greek city-states. In his *Anabasis,* Xenophon noted that before the Ten Thousand forced a crossing over the Centrites River, sacrifices were held under a hail of enemy fire. Similarly, Alexander the Great held back from assaulting the fortified city of Gaza until he had received favorable results from animal sacrifices performed by the priests serving with his army.

We are even better informed about the religious rites and ceremonies performed by and for Roman soldiers in the field. Roman soldiers swore sacred oaths to the gods and to the emperors upon entering service and renewed these oaths according to a regular daily and yearly schedule. They participated in the cultic life of the official army religion by attending sacrifices at camp altars. The soldiers also participated in a yearly liturgical cycle, which corresponded to the rites celebrated by the colleges of priests at Rome. The unit standards and eagles that led the army into battle were imbued with sacred power (*numen*) from which Roman soldiers drew strength and courage. In addition, the Roman State held public religious celebrations intended to secure the support of the gods for Roman military victory.

One of the most important symbols of the Roman army at prayer was the legionary eagle. Religious practice in the army inculcated the belief among Roman soldiers that their military standards were imbued with sacred power. Officers stressed that this power was transmitted to soldiers who venerated their eagles and other unit symbols, including the cavalry banners and cohort standards. Official military practice reinforced the reverence that the men felt for their eagles by utilizing them as a focus of religious rituals. The standards were kept in sacred shrines at the center of military camps. Military regulations also demanded severe punishments for soldiers who were responsible for the loss of unit standards and even required the removal from service of units that lost their eagles. The importance of the eagles for the morale of the Roman soldiers is neatly characterized by Tacitus in an account of a Roman campaign against the Germans during the reign of Tiberius. Germanicus, the Roman commander, was holding his troops tightly in check because he faced a numerically superior force. But when he saw a flight of eight eagles pass overhead he ordered his men to follow the great birds into battle because they were the protection gods of the legions.

Late Antiquity

As the Roman rulers following Constantine pursued policies that transformed the empire into a Christian state, the religious practices of the Roman army also evolved to take on Christian forms. Christian emperors understood that religion had played a crucial role in maintaining both

military discipline as well as morale among the troops. Therefore, the new Christian leadership of the state and army found it necessary to keep the essential forms of the older military religious practices, while changing the content to meet the demands of Christian doctrine. Thus the imperial government modified the traditional oath of military service so that it would be understood as a Christian oath. Vegetius's military manual, the *Epitoma Rei Militaris* (Epitome of Military Matters), composed in the late fourth century, recorded the basic elements of the oath of service that had been in use during the Roman Republic and had remained virtually unchanged up through the fourth century. Soldiers swore to be faithful to the emperor, never to desert from military service, and not to refuse to die for the good of the Roman State. However, Vegetius's Christianized text included an additional clause in which soldiers swore to carry out their duties by God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit.

A knight of the crusades in chain mail kneels in homage, his helmet being held above his head by another, ca. 1275. (Hulton Archive)

In addition to adapting the pagan traditions of Roman army religion to fit within the new Christian paradigm, Constantine and his successors also maintained the tradition of mobilizing public religious celebrations on behalf of the soldiers in the field. Whereas pagan emperors held games and dedicated new temples in order to gain the favor of the gods for their military undertakings, Christian emperors invoked divine aid through Christian rituals. Churches all over the empire were required to say prayers on behalf of the emperor and his army while they were in the field. On one occasion, during the campaign of his general Priscus against the Avars in 593, Emperor Maurice went to Hagia Sophia and personally led the prayers to God.

Military planners and officers of the Christian Roman army also recognized that battle standards had an important role to play as a focus of unit reverence and pride for soldiers. The old battle standards and legionary eagles were tainted by their association with the pagan gods. However, Christians had a perfect substitute in the symbol seen by Constantine at the Milvian Bridge—the Christian cross. Over the course of the fourth

century the cross was introduced wholesale into military usage and was applied to shields and flags. The Roman army also introduced large marching crosses to act as standards for soldiers while they served on campaign. The utilization of the cross as a military standard and marker was meant to identify the Roman army with its new god and the Romans as Christian soldiers—a tradition that was to have a long history in the West.

One further development in the Christianization of the Roman army was the introduction of priests to serve as chaplains for the soldiers. In the old pagan army, officers and centurions had undertaken most of the religious leadership. But the Christian religion demanded that only those with special sacred qualifications presume to serve the holy mysteries and tend the spiritual needs of the men. However, the Roman army of the fourth and fifth centuries was composed of a heterogeneous mix of Nicene Christians, Arian Christians, and various kinds of pagans. In order to accommodate the religious needs of soldiers from these various faith traditions, the army allowed a certain degree of religious freedom to its troops. Prosper of Aquitaine reports in his chronicle that during a campaign against the Visigoths in 439, Litorius, the Roman commander, allowed the Hunnic cavalry under his command to perform their own sacred rites, including using auguries and summoning spirits. In other cases, Nicene bishops were forced to allow Arian troops serving as garrisons in their cities to support Arian clergy. Bishop Ambrose of Milan, for one, complained to Emperor Gratian that he had no control over the Arian bishops serving among the Gothic troops in his city.

Early Middle Ages

As they did with so many other aspects of Roman military organization, the rulers of the Romano-German successor states adopted Christian religious practices. The first surviving statement of Carolingian governmental policy treating the recruitment and service of priests and bishops to serve as military chaplains was issued in 742. The Carolingian government ordered that every unit commander in the army was to have on his staff a priest capable of hearing confessions and assigning penances. In addition, the command staff of the army was to include one or two bishops with their attendant priests who were to form the leadership cadre for the provision of pastoral care. The duties of the bishops included celebrating public masses and bringing sacred relics into the field.

The soldiers in Charlemagne's field armies relied very heavily upon government efforts to secure the support of God for their military campaigns. In addition to the personal preparations of each soldier, which frequently consisted of confession and communion, the army as a whole benefited from a systematic program of public prayers, fasts, almsgiving, and

religious processions. These public displays of religious behavior carried out by the soldiers themselves and by the civilians remaining at home were designed to gain God's favor for Carolingian arms. Thus Charlemagne wrote to Fastrada, his wife, noting the matrix of religious rites and ceremonies in which his soldiers and priests had participated, including singing psalms, fasting, and singing litanies. He then told Fastrada to mobilize similar prayers and other ceremonies among the leading magnates of the kingdom.

Carolingian military traditions, including religious traditions, were continued in both the eastern and western successor states of the Frankish imperium. During the prelude to the famous battle on the Lech River between King Otto the Great of Germany and Hungarian invaders in 955, the latter laid siege to the city of Augsburg. While preparing his men for the fighting, Bishop Oudalric of Augsburg established an entire program of religious rites and ceremonies that were designed both to bolster the morale of the individual soldiers and to obtain God's support for the defense of the city. To this end the bishop organized processions of nuns around the inner walls of the city. These religious women carried crosses and prayed to God and the Virgin Mary to bring safety and victory to the defenders. Oudalric also celebrated a public mass and ensured that each of his soldiers received the Eucharist. He then preached to his men, assuring them that God was on their side. A very similar program of religious ceremonies was organized for William the Conqueror's army in 1066 before the battle at Hastings. William of Malmesbury reported in his *Deeds of the Kings of the English* that the Norman soldiers spent the entire night before the fight confessing their sins. In the morning, the men went to mass and then received the host. While the soldiers were securing their own personal salvation, William's priests prayed to God on behalf of the army as a whole. They spent the entire night in vigils singing psalms and chanting litanies. Then during the battle itself the priests continued to pray for victory.

The Crusades

Much like their fellow soldiers fighting in profane wars, soldiers serving in crusading armies against the Church's enemies in the Holy Land, Spain, southern France, and Prussia required a panoply of religious rites and ceremonies to maintain their morale and military cohesion. From the very early stages of planning for the great armed pilgrimage to the East, Pope Urban II and his advisors were concerned about the pastoral arrangements for the army. The soldiers required priests to hear their confessions, assign penances, celebrate mass, intercede with God on their behalf through prayers and public religious rites, bless their weapons and battle flags, and carry holy relics along the line of march and into combat. These were the standard elements of Western military religion before Pope Urban preached

the mobilization of an expedition to liberate Jerusalem, and they continued to play a fundamental role in the religious experience of crusaders during the entire first century of crusading warfare.

Fulcher of Chartres recorded in his *Jerusalem History* that during the battle of Dorylaeum (June 30, 1097) the crusaders were convinced that they would all die during the fighting against the superior Muslim force. They crowded around the priests, including Bishop Adhemar of le Puy, the papal legate, in order to confess their sins and prepare themselves for death. Similarly, at the battle of Antioch, priests dressed in their white vestments moved among the crusaders and comforted them. They poured out prayers on behalf of the soldiers while singing psalms and openly weeping before the Lord. In the aftermath of the battle, the crusade commanders, including Bohemond, Count Raymond of Toulouse, and Duke Geoffrey of Lotharingia, wrote a letter to Pope Urban in which they explained their victory as a vindication of their trust in God and their actions as good Christians. In particular, they emphasized that the army did not go into battle until every soldier had confessed his sins.

The religious behavior of the soldier during the First Crusade is reflected in the exceptionally popular epic poem, *The Song of Roland*. In both the Latin and vernacular traditions of this famous story, the poets consistently emphasized the prebattle religious preparations made by soldiers about to fight the Muslims in Spain. Roland is depicted confessing his sins and receiving communion. The narrator commented that Roland acted in this manner because it was customary for soldiers to fortify their souls before going into battle. After preparing himself with the sacred rites of confession and communion, Roland with the other soldiers sang psalms and prayed to the cross so that God would give them victory in battle and accept them into heaven if they died in the field.

One major benefit that accrued to crusading soldiers and which was not available to their contemporaries fighting in profane wars was the indulgence. Popes offered indulgences, or remissions of sins, to those soldiers who volunteered to fight against the enemies of the Church. In its more limited sense the indulgence was meant to serve as an alternative to penances that a soldier already deserved for sins he had previously committed. However, from the very outset of the crusading movement soldiers believed that the indulgence freed one from both purgatory and hell and that it further served as a kind of direct pass to heaven if one died in battle. A large corpus of canon law was developed to treat the various ramifications of indulgences in relation to the Christian economy of salvation, much of which debunked the more generous popular beliefs about the power of indulgences. Nevertheless, throughout the Middle Ages most soldiers and their families believed that indulgences were a guarantee of salvation.

In 1215, Pope Innocent III summoned the largest religious council held up to that point in the Western world for the purpose of reforming the Church and organizing a crusade to save the Holy Land—a crusade that was launched in 1218. As a result of Pope Innocent's efforts, the papal government imposed norms of behavior on the crusading movement, including such areas as finance, military organization, and religious care for soldiers. In addition, Pope Innocent III and his successors began to launch "political crusades" against their Christian opponents in Europe. The combination of these two factors led to a breakdown in the distinctions between crusading and profane warfare.

The most obvious example of this breakdown was the granting of indulgences to soldiers who participated in wars that by contemporary standards had all the attributes of profane conflicts. During the late 1220s and early 1230s the bishops of Utrecht consistently utilized the promise of remission of sins as a tool for recruiting soldiers to serve in a war of aggression against their neighbors. Their recruits were very eager to accept promises of heavenly reward and guarantees of salvation in return for fighting against the temporal enemies of Utrecht. The author of the *Deeds of the Bishops of Utrecht* recorded that Frisian troops received their indulgences from Bishop Willibrand of Utrecht with great reverence and devotion for their spiritual father.

A further consequence of the deterioration of the boundaries between holy and profane warfare was the effort by secular rulers to have their military campaigns declared to be crusades. Papal crusades against Christian princes, including Emperor Frederick II, helped to eliminate the former standards that had constrained the targets of crusade campaigns. Now Christian princes could appeal to the pope and obtain moral justification for their campaigns, which not only permitted extensive taxation of the Church but also offered a significant bundle of religious benefits to their soldiers. Count Charles of Anjou, the brother of King Louis IX of France, used this system to exact enormous concessions from both the pope and the French Church in support of his campaign against the papacy's traditional Staufen enemies in southern Italy. Count Charles refused to go to war unless Pope Urban IV declared his campaign to be a crusade, with all of the spiritual benefits that accrued to such an undertaking. His men received full indulgences for their services. In addition, the pope issued order to both the Dominican and Franciscan orders that they were to send brothers to serve as chaplains for the French troops.

The High Middle Ages

While the papal government's efforts to control the crusading movement helped to dissolve the boundaries between holy and profane warfare, the

desire of Christian princes to maintain their power vis-à-vis the popes led to a virtual nationalization of the Church in a wide spectrum of European polities. The kings of France and England frequently used their increased power over their respective national churches to mobilize an extensive array of religious rites and ceremonies on behalf of troops in the field. These ceremonies included public masses, liturgical processions, almsgiving, and special prayers. During the series of wars that he fought against Scotland in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, King Edward I of England ordered that every parish priest in the kingdom preach to his congregation about the justness of this war and then lead the parishioners in public processions in support of the troops. Edward also ordered the archbishop of York to offer indulgences to every layman or -woman who would participate in liturgical rites and pray on behalf of the army in the field. Furthermore, the English king authorized the service of parish priests as chaplains in his army for the purpose of celebrating the sacraments in the field and in garrisons throughout Britain as well as in Edward's continental holdings.

The English royal government also launched a successful effort to free the chapels in royal fortresses and the priests serving in them from the oversight of both local bishops and papal authorities. This freedom permitted English kings to appoint the most suitable candidates to serve as garrison chaplains, rather than being forced to accept priests belonging to the networks of episcopal or papal patronage.

King Philip IV of France, King Edward's leading competitor for leadership in Europe, also pursued religious policies that allowed him to mobilize clergy all over his kingdom in support of the French army. Philip issued frequent edicts ordering his bishops to hold special religious services on behalf of troops in the field and requiring that special litanies be celebrated in royal abbeys for the same purpose. Philip also commissioned an entire series of sermons to be preached across the kingdom in which French military actions in Flanders were compared to the Maccabean holy wars against their Hellenic oppressors.

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See also Chivalry; Knights; Orders of Knighthood, Religious; Orders of Knighthood, Secular

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Religion and Spiritual Development: China

Chinese historical records and other writings over the centuries reveal that the martial arts were practiced among all elements of society, including religious groups. However, there is little evidence that there was any significant religious influence over the martial arts or that they were a product of religious experience. On the contrary, they were the product of a clan society intent on protecting group interests and of the existence of widespread warfare among contending states during China's formative period.

Nevertheless, there seems to be a strong current in modern martial arts circles, especially outside China, to associate the martial arts with religion, mainly Zen (in Japanese; *Chan* in Chinese) Buddhism, religious as opposed to philosophical Daoism (Taoism), and various heterodox groups such as the White Lotus and Eight Trigrams sects. That individuals from all these groups practiced the martial arts is undeniable. That some individuals in all these groups may have tried to integrate these arts into their belief systems is almost certain.

However, that these arts are inseparable from a religious or spiritual context is simply unfounded. On the other hand, martial arts concepts are clearly based on a Daoist philosophical worldview, and this includes psychological as well as physical aspects. This worldview predated the establishment of popular religious Daoism and strongly influenced later Confucian and Buddhist, especially Chan (Zen), thought. It appears that many individuals have mistaken this worldview as necessarily being religious or spiritual. Because of the omnipresence of Daoist thought in Chinese culture and society, the psychophysiological nature of martial arts practices, and the dearth of serious, factual writing on the subject, it is perhaps understandable that misunderstandings have arisen in modern times concerning the nature and origins of the martial arts and their place in society. Added to these factors is the disproportionate amount of attention paid to the role of Shaolin Monastery and, by association, the perceived connection between Chan (or Zen) Buddhism and the martial arts.

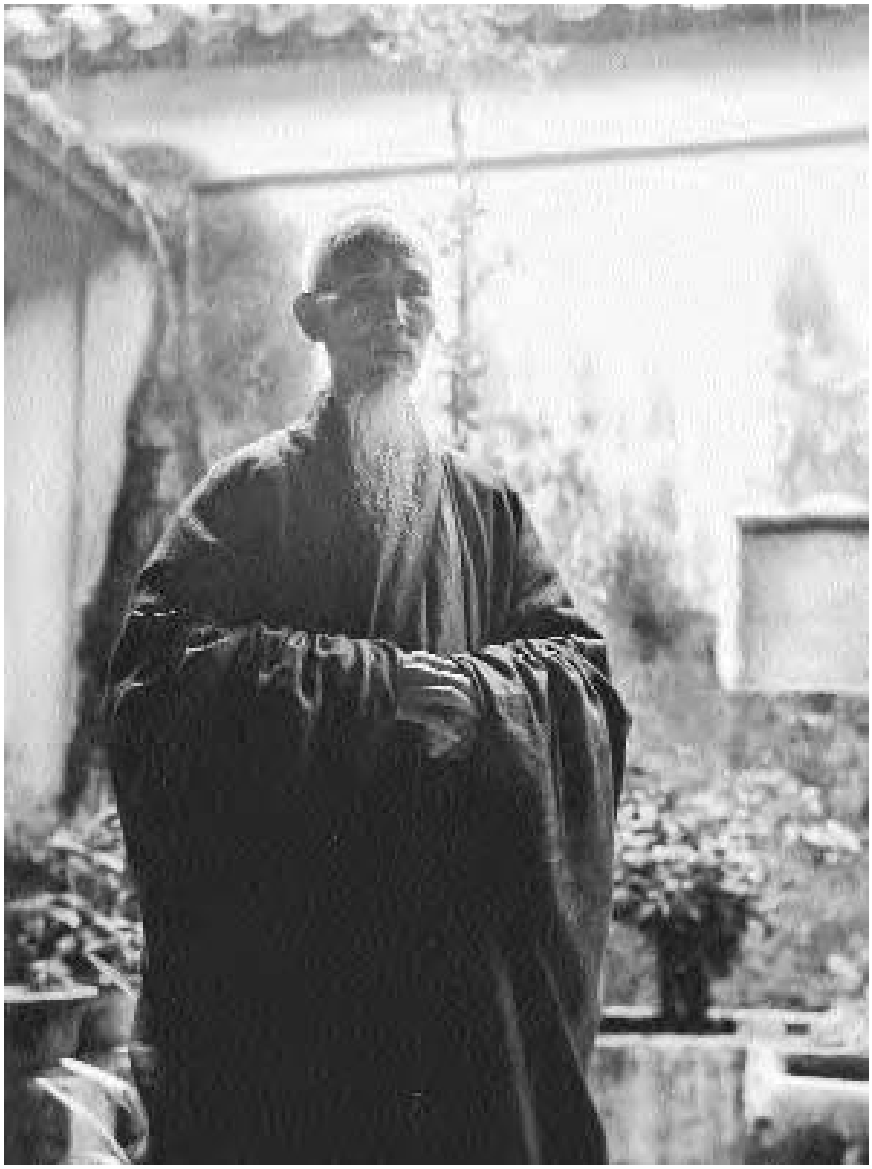
The martial arts probably more often entered monasteries and temples from the population at large rather than vice versa. The residents of Buddhist monasteries and Daoist temples and the followers of heterodox religious groups practiced martial arts to protect themselves. Along with forms of *qigong* (cultivation of *qi* [*chi;* vital energy]), the martial arts also served as a form of mental and physical cultivation for those so inclined.

The population in Buddhist monasteries and Daoist temples comprised a mix of regular residents and transients, some of whom were individuals seeking to escape the law. For instance, one Ming period official describes Shaolin monastery as a hideout for rebels, including White Lotus sect members seeking to escape the authorities during times of unrest. Two of the main characters in the early Ming period popular novel, *Outlaws of the Marsh* (also known as *Water Margin* or *All Men Are Brothers*), known for their martial prowess, are in this category. One, Lu Zhisheng, a carousing "monk," enters a monastery to escape punishment for killing an official. The other, Wu Song, disguises himself as a wandering monk to avoid detection.

The Martial Arts and Buddhism

Buddhism's earliest adherents in China were the rich and aristocratic (including a significant number of high-level military patrons) and, under the Northern Wei dynasty (A.D. 386–534), it was adopted as the state religion, with an organized church and bureaucratic structure, and, as such, it was beholden to the state. Monasteries had large landholdings and, like secular owners of landed estates, organized to protect their wealth with manpower from within their ranks. These men came from the local citizenry, some of whom may have been in the military or have learned the martial arts in some other way.

Young acolytes also let off steam with wrestling and acrobatics. For instance, an apocryphal story of one Shaolin monk, Zhou Chan, who lived during the Northern Qi period (A.D. 550–577), relates how his compatriots bullied him at first because of his frail appearance. According to the story, he ran into one of the halls, bolted the doors shut, threw himself at the feet of a guardian image, and prayed for six days that he be given the ability to defend himself. On the sixth day, the guardian image appeared with a large bowl full of tendons and told Zhou Chan to eat them if he desired strength. He reluctantly ate them (good Buddhists are supposed to be vegetarians) and returned to his compatriots, who began as before to harass him. They were surprised, however, when they felt the incredible strength of his arms. He then ran several hundred paces along the wall of the large hall, leapt so high his head reached the ceiling beams, lifted unbelievably heavy loads, and put on a display of strength and agility that even frightened inanimate objects into moving.



A Chinese Daoist monk, ca. 1955. (Hulton Archive)

The exercise value of martial arts practice as part of daily routine was recognized and described by the monk Dao Xuan (A.D. 596–667), in his *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*. His description, however, is not of monks but of a devout Buddhist Indian prince, of warrior caste, who practiced after dinner.

The monasteries were powerful institutions—sometimes considered dangerously so. In a persecution in A.D. 446, Emperor Taiwu is reported to have personally led a raid on monasteries in and around Changan (now Xian), which uncovered various activities such as moonshine production, weapons caches, and even prostitution. Emperor Xiaowu (532–534) is recorded as having a contingent of Buddhist monks fight for him during his retreat as the dynasty collapsed.

Shaolin Monastery, established in A.D. 495 by the Indian monk known in Chinese as Ba To, was just one of many monasteries at the time, but its location, historical circumstances, and possibly the disciplined yet individualistic nature of the Zen (Chan) Buddhism that was introduced there resulted in its subsequent fame as a center for martial arts. Built at the foot of Mount Song in today's Henan province, it was close to China's social, political, and geomantic center at that time. As early as 140–87 B.C., Mount Song was known as the central among China's five sacred mountains, and it has been a popular destination for pilgrims over the centuries.

Shaolin Monastery's singularly strong association with fighting arts can be readily understood in terms of its exposed location between the ancient capitals of Loyang and Kaifeng, which made it extremely vulnerable to the ebb and flow of war and social upheaval, requiring the monks to maintain a self-defense capability.

As a group, the fighting monks of Shaolin Monastery first appear in the midst of the confusion surrounding the collapse of the Sui dynasty and the rise of Tang (A.D. 605–618). Two incidents (both recorded on a stele dated 728) laid the foundation for the fighting fame of the Shaolin monks. In the first incident, the monks managed to repulse an attack by marauding bandits, but the monastery buildings suffered considerable damage in the process. In the second, and most famous incident, the first Tang emperor's son, Prince Qin (Li Shimin or Emperor Taizong, who ruled between 627–649) requested the heads of the monastery to provide manpower and join with other local forces to fight Wang Shichong, who had established himself in the area in opposition to Tang rule. With Wang based near the monastery and probably eyeing it for its strategic location, the monks readily joined forces against him, helped capture his nephew, and assisted in his defeat. As a result, the monastery was issued an imperial letter of commendation and a large millstone, and ceded land comprising the Baigu Estate. Thirteen of the monks were commended by name, one of whom, Tanzong, was designated general-in-chief. Research has revealed that the primary motive for erecting the stele that records this information was to protect monastery property gains resulting from this incident. And, indeed, with imperial favor, Shaolin Monastery retained its properties while other monasteries in the area were divested of much of theirs. The monks were recognized for military merit. As for the actual martial arts skills of the thirteen monks, the record fails to provide any specifics. Later writers have assumed such skills, some even venturing so far as to refer to them as the Thirteen Staff Fighting Monks of Shaolin Monastery. The monks' main contribution was more likely in providing the leadership necessary to direct local forces. Martial arts skills were actually fairly widespread in the villages and throughout the countryside, from whence they entered the monasteries.

For nearly 900 years following the deeds of the thirteen monks, there is not a single reference to martial arts practice in Shaolin Monastery. Not that martial arts were not practiced there, just that, if they were, they were likely nothing out of the ordinary—at most a security force from the monastic ranks. During the same period, there are sparsely scattered references to individual monks, not necessarily from Shaolin Monastery, who were involved in military activities. Two of these appear during the Song period when China was invaded by Jurched tribes, who founded the Jin dynasty (1122–1234). One, Zhen Bao, on orders from Emperor Qin Zong (1126), formed an army and fought to the death defending the monasteries on Mount Wutai in Shanxi. Another, Wan An, is recorded as having said, "In time of peril I perform as a general, when peace is restored I become a monk again." In both these cases, one can see that the leadership role, as with the incident involving the thirteen monks of Shaolin Monastery, was of primary importance. Monks might provide disciplined leadership when needed in perilous times. In addition, the larger monasteries such as Shaolin and those on Mount Wutai were, more often than not, the objects of imperial patronage, and one of their roles would have been to pray for national peace and prosperity, and to support political authority.

The high tide of Shaolin Monastery's martial arts fame came in the mid-sixteenth century at a time of serious disruption in China's coastal provinces as a result of large-scale Japanese pirate operations. Two hundred years earlier, in 1368, the monastery had suffered a major catastrophe when over half of its buildings were burnt to the ground and its residents were temporarily scattered to neighboring provinces in the wake of the Red Turban uprising against Mongol rule. This traumatic experience apparently inspired the returning monks to take their security duties and martial arts practice more seriously from then on. In 1517, well after the monastery was restored, a stone tablet was erected that ignored the story of the monastery's destruction. It claimed that the monastery had actually been spared because a monk with kitchen duties had miraculously transformed himself into a fearful giant with a fire poker for his staff, who ran out and scared off the Red Turbans. Regardless of the mythical aspects of this story, which may have been designed to remind the monks of their responsibilities as well as warn away transgressors, the monks actually had become known for their staff-fighting prowess, and a form of staff fighting was named after the monastery.

Observations by visitors to the monastery during the sixteenth century reveal that popular forms of boxing, such as Monkey Boxing, were also practiced by some of the monks, but none of these forms were named after the monastery. Cheng Zongyou, who claimed to have spent a decade studying staff fighting there, tells us that some of the residents were concentrat-

ing on boxing to try to bring it up to the standards of the famed Shaolin Staff. In any case, during the mid-Ming, the monks had built up their reputation as martial artists, and they responded to a call for volunteers to fight Japanese pirates on the coast. Their everlasting fame as Shaolin Monk Soldiers resulted from their participation in a campaign in the vicinity of Shanghai, where a monk named Yue Kong led a group of thirty monks armed with iron staves. They were instrumental in the ultimate victory against the pirates, but sacrificed themselves to a man in the process.

Ironically, most of Shaolin Monastery and Zen Buddhism's actual association or lack of association with the martial arts has been obscured by early nineteenth-century secret society activity and subsequent embellishments in popular novels such as *Emperor Qian Long Visits the South* (by an unknown author) and Liu E's *Travels of Lao-ts'an.* The Heaven and Earth Society (also known as the Triads or Hong League) associated themselves with the monastery's patriotic fame as a recruiting gimmick. Concocting a story to suit their needs, however, the society members traced their origins to a fictitious Shaolin Monastery said to have been located in Fujian province, where the society had its beginnings in the 1760s. Around 1907, Liu E, in his short but powerful critique of social conditions in late Qing China, refers to Chinese boxing originating with Bodhidharma, the legendary patriarch of Chinese Chan (Zen) Buddhism, who is said to have spent nine years meditating facing a rock in the hills above Shaolin Monastery. Finally, on the eve of the Revolution of 1911, the contents of a probable secret society *hongquan* (Hong fist) boxing manual, *Secrets of Shaolin Boxing Methods,* were published in Shanghai. This manual, more than any other single publication, became a major source for much of the misinformation concerning the association of Chinese boxing with Shaolin Monastery and Buddhism.

The Martial Arts and Popular Religious Daoism

While the Chinese martial arts are based on the philosophical Daoist worldview, there is little evidence to show a serious connection to popular religious Daoism, except in that some martial artists must certainly have incorporated Daoist internal cultivation or qigong-type physical regimens into their martial arts practices. However, these regimens were not the unique preserve of Daoists, or any particular religious group for that matter. The Daoist intellectual and onetime military official, Ge Hong (290–370), practiced martial arts in his younger days and concentrated on Daoist hygiene methods in his later years. He did not treat the martial arts as Daoist activities. During the Tang dynasty, one old Buddhist monk in his eighties named Yuan Jing from a monastery in the vicinity of Shaolin Monastery (but not necessarily a Shaolin monk as has often been assumed) involved himself in a rebellion.

He had apparently conditioned his body to the point that attempts by his captors to break his neck failed, so he cursed them and challenged them to break his legs. Failing this as well, they hacked him to death. The famous artist Zheng Banqiao (1693–1765) records a similar case where a friend of his learned the secret of "practicing qi and directing the spirit" from a Shaolin monk (Wu and Liu 1982, 376). Zheng claimed his friend practiced for several years to the point where his whole body became hard as steel and, wherever he focused his qi, neither knife nor ax could wound him. At the extreme superstitious end of the spectrum were the practices of some of the Boxers in the uprising of 1900, who went into trances and mumbled incantations believed to turn them into eight-day martial arts wonders and immunize them from the effects of weapons.

The earliest and single most important document to hint at a martial arts association with popular Daoism is Ming patriot Huang Zongxi's *Epitaph for Wang Zhengnan* (1669). Huang claimed that Shaolin was famous for its boxing, which emphasized attacking an opponent, but that there was also an Internal School that stressed restraint to counter movement. According to Huang, this school's patriarch was a Daoist hygiene practitioner from Mount Wudang named Zhang Sanfeng. In the political context of the times, the opposing boxing schools in the epitaph can be viewed as symbolizing Han Chinese (indigenous Daoism represented by Zhang Sanfeng and Mount Wudang) opposition to Manchu (foreign Buddhism represented by Shaolin Monastery) rule. In other words, the epitaph is actually a political statement, not a serious discourse on religion or opposing boxing schools. At the beginning of the twentieth century some boxing teachers attempted to categorize *taijiquan* (*tai chi ch'uan*), *xingyiquan* (*hsing i ch'uan*), and *baguazhang* (*pa kua ch'uan*) as Internal School styles and to identify taijiquan with Zhang Sanfeng and Daoism. Around the same time, and persisting to the present day, a number of newer martial arts forms have come to be identified with Mount Wudang and Daoism.

Conclusion

As can be seen from the foregoing narrative, the connection between the Chinese martial arts and religion is artificial at best. Individuals from all walks of life and all beliefs, including China's Muslims and other minorities, practiced martial arts of one form or another for individual and collective defense—but the martial arts were primarily secular, not religious, activities. Attribution of a religious mystique to the Chinese martial arts is, for the most part, a very recent phenomenon based on misunderstandings of the past, but reflecting needs of the present.

Stanley E. Henning

See also Boxing, Chinese; Boxing, Chinese Shaolin Styles; China; Medicine, Traditional Chinese; Meditation; Written Texts: China

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Religion and Spiritual Development: India

In comparison to China and Japan, as well as Thailand and other regions of Southeast Asia, India does not often come to mind as a country with a strong martial arts tradition. Indeed, Indian civilization is most often associated with elaborate ritual codes, abstract metaphysical speculation, and, at least

in modern times, the principle of nonviolence. Even though the so-called classical scheme of social classification known as *varna* clearly defined the role of warrior princes in relation to other occupational groups and the two preeminent epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana,* are replete with military exploits and martial heroes, Indian civilization has come to be associated with the values of Brahmanic Hinduism and colored by the values of orthodox ritual religiosity on the one hand and contemplative, otherworldly speculation on the other. In both public conception and much of the academic literature, these attributes are conceived of as decidedly noncombative and, very often, abstracted from the body rather than linked to it.

Nevertheless there is a strong tradition of martial arts in South Asia, as D. C. Muzumdar brought out in his *Encyclopedia of Indian Physical Culture,* published in 1950, and this tradition is not nearly as dissociated from the so-called mainstream of spiritualism and philosophical thought as popular perception would have it. In practice, the martial arts in India are clearly marginalized, and their popularity is sharply limited, but in theory various forms of martial art are closely linked to important medical, ritual, and meditational forms of practice. Moreover, it is somewhat problematic to think of the martial arts in India as a discrete entity upon which an equally discrete entity—spirituality and religion—has a direct effect. When, as in South Asia, the distinction between mind and body is not applicable, other categorical binary distinctions also tend to lose their meaning. As a result, what might be classified as religion shades into metaphysics, which, in turn, shades into physical fitness. Thus, in a sense, devotionalism, meditation, and the martial arts are, perhaps, best seen as part of the same basic complex rather than as interdependent variables.

The concept of shakti (Hindi; power/energy) or its various analogs, such as *pran* (vital breath), is of central importance to this complex. Most broadly, shakti as a metaphysical concept denotes the active, or animating, feminine aspect of creation. It also means cosmic energy or, simply, the supernatural power associated with divine beings and spiritual forces. Shakti is regarded as a kind of power that pervades the universe, but that does not always manifest itself as such. To the extent that human beings are microcosmic, they are thought to embody shakti, and this shakti can be made manifest in various ways under various circumstances.

Most often one is said to manifest shakti when one so closely identifies with a deity that one embodies that deity's power. Moreover, the performance of austerities, such as fasts and other forms of renunciation, as well as various forms of ritualized sacrifice, produces shakti. Thus, shakti is thought of as something that can be developed through practice, and this, in particular, is what links it to the performance of various martial arts. Most significantly, shakti is at once supernatural and therefore meta-

An Indian miniature of the defeat of a devil by a prince on horseback and a warrior, Ragmala Bikaner school, 1765. (The Art Archive/Marco Polo Gallery Paris/Dagli Orti)

physical and physical and physiological. The brightness of one's eyes as well as the tone of one's skin is said to be a manifestation of shakti, as is the ability to levitate, on the one hand, or lift an opponent into the air, on the other. In other words, shakti means many different things, which makes it possible to translate across various domains of experience, and the martial arts can be thought of as a critical, if often overlooked, point at which this translation is most clearly worked out.

Whereas shakti can be derived from devotional and ascetic practices, it is perhaps most closely linked, and clearly embodied, through the prac-

tice of *brahmacharya* (celibacy; the complete control of one's senses). In this way, shakti is directly linked to sexual activity, and the physiology of masculine sexuality in particular. Essentially, shakti becomes manifest when a person is able to renounce sexual desire and embody the energy manifest in semen. As Swami Sivananda of the Divine Life Society, one of the most highly regarded spiritual leaders of the twentieth century, puts it: "The more a person conserves his semen, the greater will be his stature and vitality. His energy, ardor, intellect, competence, capacity for work, wisdom, success and godliness will begin to manifest themselves, and he will be able to profit from long life. . . . To tell the truth, semen is elixir" (1984, 10–11). Semen itself is thought of as the distilled, condensed essence of the body, as the body, nourished by food, goes through a series of biochemical metabolic transformations whereby waste products are purged and each successive metamorphosis is a more pure, refined form of the previous one. In fact, semen is thought of as the purest and most powerful of body fluids, derived from the juice of food, blood, flesh, fat, bone, and marrow; it imparts an aura of *ojas* (bright, radiant energy) to the body, and ojas is, in essence, the elemental, particulate form of cosmic shakti.

Although the physiology of this transformation is what matters in the context of martial arts training and self-development, the embodied process of metamorphosis is congruent with cosmological mythology and astrology. The underlying model within this cosmology is the flow of liquids and the dynamic interplay of dry solar heat and cool, moist, lunar fluids. The waxing and waning of the moon are conceived of as the drying up and death of the lunar king, but then his subsequent cyclical rejuvenation. Rejuvenation is regarded as a process by which cool, moist, lunar "semen" is replenished. Significantly, this cosmology defines the potential energy of contained semen, and the embodiment of semen, in terms of the negative consequences of its outward flow. In an important way the high value placed on semen/shakti in the Indian martial arts is defined in terms of the danger associated with indiscriminate sensual arousal, and one can note, in the anxious rhetoric of contemporary religious teachers, the underlying mythic symbolism of heat, waning energy, and the violent destructiveness of sex.

Sivananda characterizes this condition in the following way: "Because the youth of today are destroying their semen, they are courting the worst disaster and are daily being condemned to hell. . . . How many of these unfortunate people lie shaking on their cots like the grievously ill? Some are suffering from heat. . . . There is no trust of God in their hearts, only lust. . . . [W]hat future do such people have? They only glow with the light of fireflies, and neither humility nor glory are found in their flickering hypocrisy" (1984, 41).

In terms of formalized religious practice, celibacy is institutionalized in the life stage of brahmacharya, in the sense of chaste discipleship. In this sense a *brahmachari* is not simply celibate, although certainly and primarily that, but also a novice scholar who submits himself to the absolute authority of a guru (adept master). As the first stage of the ideal life course, brahmacharya is roughly congruent with the age through which most children attend school, with marriage when a young man is in his early to mid-twenties. In the idealized scheme, a brahmachari is a high-caste Brahman boy who must learn by rote the Vedic scriptures and all of the formal ritual protocol associated with those scriptures. The concept of chastity is relevant here insofar as a boy who is able to control his desire is not distracted, better able to learn—in the sense that he has a greater capacity for memory—and also in appropriately good physical health, both strong and pure. Although brahmacharya as a life stage is associated with ritual and Vedic learning, it also has much wider pedagogical salience as a model for all forms of instruction, both explicitly spiritual, as when a person submits to the devotional teaching of a holy man, as well as more secular, as when a person learns a craft, a musical instrument, or a martial art from an accomplished teacher. It is significant that these "secular" forms of the master-disciple relationship are only secular in terms of content. The mode of instruction and the attitude of complete submission to authority and total identification with the guru that are incumbent on the disciple stem directly from the idealized Vedic model. Celibacy factors into this attitude because of the extent to which a disciple must be able to focus his whole being on the act of learning and literally embody the knowledge his guru imparts.

Hindu scriptures are replete with references to the link between sex, fertility, and mastery of power, both supernatural and natural—and the link is complex. In many instances, it is also inherently ambiguous, insofar as sex—understood as an analog for divine creation—is the source of great power, but also—understood as an instinctual, bestial, subhuman drive—is regarded as an act through which all power can be lost if it is not carefully controlled. In any case, the deity who is celibacy incarnate, most clearly manifests shakti, iconographically embodies the physiology of ojas, and translates all of this explicitly into the domain of martial arts is Lord Hanuman, hero of the epic *Ramayana*. Although he is most closely associated with wrestling and is known for having performed feats of incredible strength, in fact the nature of Hanuman's power is more complex. To begin with, Hanuman is a monkey, or the son of a nymph and a monkey, and is thought to possess the nascent attributes of his simian lineage. This is made clear in many of the myths and folktales associated with him that, in essence, depict him "monkeying around." In one notable instance, as an infant, he flew off intent on eating the sun, manifest as the chariot of the god

Indra, thinking the golden orb was a succulent orange. Indira threw his spear and knocked Hanuman unconscious to the ground. At this, Vayu, god of the Wind and surrogate father of the young monkey, withheld his power and threatened to suffocate the world unless his son's life was saved. At this moment, the whole pantheon of gods rallied to Hanuman's side and bestowed on him their respective supreme powers. As a result of this, Hanuman is immortal and invincible. He also has the ability to change form and change size. He—again betraying the subhuman attributes of his lineage—is not conscious of these powers until he is made so by a suprahuman deity, in particular his lord and master, Sri Ram.

Lord Hanuman is one of the most popular deities in the Hindu pantheon, in part because he is a deity whose primary spiritual attribute is his own devotion to Lord Ram. In other words, Hanuman provides human supplicants with a clear divine model for their own devotional practices, and, significantly, it is from these devotional practices that Hanuman is wise beyond the wisest and an expert in the use of all weapons, among many other things. From the act of sensory withdrawal and complete emotional transference, Hanuman derives his phenomenal strength, skill, and wisdom. For the vast majority of supplicants, devotionalism is an end in itself. And, given the metaphorical link between celibacy and fertility, newly married women often pray to Hanuman to bless them with the birth of a son. However, Hanuman is most clearly recognized as the patron deity of *akharas* (gymnasiums), and in this context he is an explicit link between the domain of spiritual, cosmic shakti, celibacy and the embodiment of shakti, and the performance of martial arts. A shrine dedicated to Lord Hanuman is found in almost all gymnasiums, and in addition to performing rituals of propitiation and offering prayers to him, men who engage in martial arts training attribute their skill and strength to the extent of their ability to embody celibacy and thereby become in their relationship to Hanuman as Hanuman is to Lord Ram.

Celibacy is an integral feature of the martial arts in India, and in addition to being closely linked to Hanuman, it is an important aspect of two other forms of practice that together constitute one of the central coordinates around which Hindu doctrine has been constructed: *sannyas* (world renunciation) and yoga (the union of the individual self with the cosmic soul). Technically, a *sannyasi* is a person who has moved through each of the first three stages of the ideal life course—celibate discipleship, ritual-performing family man, and forest-dwelling monk—and has gone in search of *moksha* (final liberation from the cycle of rebirth). As a sannyasi, a person must have no possessions, no family, no home, and no desire for worldly things. After performing the rites to his own funeral—thereby symbolically dying—he secludes himself to perform *tapas* (austerities), and

from these austerities is thought to develop phenomenal powers before achieving final liberation. Significantly, the powers that a sannyasi comes to possess through the performance of austerities are embodied, even though the final realization of liberation entails a complete dissolution of the body. In popular imagination, sannyasis can tell the future, read minds, and perform other miracles. Often the act of performing intense austerities is said to generate tremendous heat, referred to commonly as *tapas*. The heat of tapas is closely linked both conceptually as well as in a theory of physiology associated with the retention of semen. In many respects, therefore, the sannyasi is an ascetic analog of the divine ape, Hanuman, and practitioners of the martial arts in India draw on both models to define the nature and extent of their own strength and skill.

Interestingly, recent scholarship has shown that sannyasis were, in all likelihood, themselves practitioners of various martial arts. Although past scholarship has tended to emphasize the asocial, ascetic, and purely cognitive features of sannyas, it is clear that at various times in the history of South Asia, groups of sannyasis (known tellingly as *akharas*, a term that can mean either "gymnasium" or "ascetic order, celibacy, and yoga") have used their power to develop specific fighting skills. These so-called fighting ascetics were retained by merchants, landlords, and regional potentates to defend or extend their various interests. In some instances sannyasis of this kind amassed significant amounts of wealth and exercised considerable political power. A recent permutation of this practice is manifest in present-day Ayodhya, a prominent religious city in north India, where the heads of various akharas have tremendous political clout, as well as in the articulation of aggressive, chauvinistic, communal Hinduism, wherein the powerful sannyasi is seen as the heroic embodiment of idealized Hindu masculinity.

In contrast to East Asia, where the ascetic practices associated with Daoism produced the archetypal martial arts, there is very little known about how the fighting ascetics of India refined their skill. However, it is clear that yoga as a form of rigorous self-discipline is an integral part of ascetic practice, and that yoga makes reference to a theory of subtle physiology that translates very well into the language and practice of martial arts, even though in recent history it has come to be regarded, by most practitioners, as the antithesis of these arts. Although yoga is often thought of as being cerebral, supremely metaphysical, and concerned with such ephemeral concepts as the transmigration of the soul and the dissolution of consciousness, many of the basic or preliminary steps in yoga entail clearly defined codes of conduct, comprehensive ethical standards, and detailed prescriptions for personal "moral hygiene," as well as the more commonly known methods of asanas (physical postures) and *pranayama* (breathing exercises). These preliminary steps of yoga are designed to build up a prac-

titioner's overall strength such that he or she is able to withstand the force of transcendental consciousness.

Pranayama is of particular importance. In yogic physiology, a person is said to be composed of a series of body-sheaths, which range across the spectrum from the gross anatomy of elemental metamorphosis at one extreme to the subtle, astral aura of the soul at the other. Pran (vital breath) is said to pervade all of these sheaths, and there is a close relationship, both metaphorical and metonymical, between air as breath and the vital, subtle breath of pran. Not only are they alike figuratively, but one has come to stand for the other. Pran, as cognate with and as related to shakti, is thought to be the very energy of life, and yogic breathing exercises are conceived of as the means by which one can purify, concentrate, and channel this energy. In this regard, a theory of pranic flow through the *nadis* (subtle channels or meridians of the body) explains how cosmic energy is microcosmically embodied within the individual body.

Most closely associated with the esoteric, self-consciously mystical teachings of Tantrism, nadi physiology is integral to yoga in general. Although subtle and thereby imperceptible to the gross senses, nadis pervade the body in much the same way as do veins, arteries, and capillaries, on the one hand, and nerves on the other. Of the hundreds of thousands of nadis, three are of primary importance in yoga, the axial *sushumna,* which runs up the center of the trunk from anus to crown, and the *ida* and *pingla,* which both start from the anus and intersect the sushumna at key points as they crisscross from left to right and right to left respectively. These key points are referred to as chakra centers, which, among many other things, reflect the energy of pran as the disarticulated pran flowing through all three conduits comes together. The ultimate goal of pranayama is to cleanse the channels, purify pran, and then channel it exclusively through the sushumna nadi such that it penetrates consciousness and yokes—or harnesses as yogic imagery would have it (even though yoke and yoga have a common etymology)—the individual soul to the cosmic spirit of the universe.

In this regard asanas are, technically, "seats" rather than postures, and are designed to anchor, or root, the body in space, thus explicitly facilitating the practice of "yoking." The classical *padamasana* (lotus seat) as well as similar cross-legged seated positions such as *sukhasana* and *siddhasana* are particularly important, insofar as they enable a person to sit motionless for many hours and also stabilize the subtle body. Thus, before a person engages in the four "higher" stages of yogic meditation, he or she must master these "empowering" ways of sitting. However, apart from these "seats-in-fact," the relative importance to yoga as a whole of the more "vigorous" stretching, bending, and flexing asanas is unclear, since many of the classical, authoritative works on the subject, such as the Yoga

Sutra of Patanjali, give scant mention to the subject of this kind of yoga. However, there is no doubt that asanas have become a highly developed form of physical self development, and this development can be traced back to the medieval period of South Asian history and the structured asceticism of the Kanpatha Sect of sannyasis. Although these ascetics were concerned with the embodiment of power, it is difficult to imagine that asanas were, in and of themselves, a form of martial art, given that they do not entail movement as such. However, there is the intriguing possibility that yogic asanas, linked together through a series of connective movements, might have constituted a more active style of martial self-development along the lines of taijiquan (tai chi ch'uan) (cf. Sjoman 1996). Regardless, it is clear that in contemporary practice, asanas are conceived of as a form of physical fitness training for both the subtle and gross bodies, with primary attention given to the locus points at which these bodies tend to affect one another most directly: the internal organ/chakra nexus, the spine/sushumna axes, and, to a lesser extent, the joint/nerve/nadi/tendon complex.

In essence yoga is a method for achieving *siddha* (perfection) in the whole body-mind complex. Although perfection is meant to lead to a state of complete nothingness, a person who comes close to perfection is able to perform supernatural feats. In the canonical literature of Hinduism, as well as in more popular folk genres, yogis often figure as characters who use their power to perform miracles or, as is often the case when they are disturbed from deep meditation, to curse and otherwise punish those who are less than perfect. Thus, in a very concrete sense, the power associated with yoga is regarded as having an outward orientation and is not only directed inward toward the self and away from others or society at large. Although the power of a yogi can often be destructive, in either a defensive or offensive mode, an adept yogi can embody near perfection, such that the aura of his personality has a positive effect on those with whom he comes in contact. Although this "personality" is not physiological per se, nor is it "martial" in any meaningful sense, the way in which a yogi's embodied consciousness—his spirituality or the subtle aura of his religious persona—can factor into problematic social relationships should be understood as an extension of the logic behind more explicitly martial arts.

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See also India; Kalarippayattu; Meditation; Thang-ta; Varma Ati; Wrestling and Grappling: India; Written Texts: India

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Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan

Editorial note: Bracketed number codes in this entry refer to the list of ideograms that follows.

Japanese martial arts developed within a multifaceted ethos that aligned human activities with the ultimate forces or principles ruling the cosmos. Warriors drew upon their understanding of these cosmic forces as they disciplined their bodies to acquire or apply physical skills, psychological vigor, and special abilities. Modern authors frequently address aspects of Japanese cosmos and ethos under the Western rubrics of religion and spiritual development. Even in Western contexts, however, the terms *religion* and *spiritual* lack consistent and generally accepted definitions. It should not be surprising, therefore, that their application to Japanese contexts is frequently problematic. Nowhere are problems more abundant than in accounts of Japanese martial arts and religion. It is widely reported, for example, that Japanese martial arts constitute paths of spiritual development based on Zen Buddhism [1], the goal of which is to attain a state of no-mind (*mushin* [2]), characterized by spontaneous action and reaction without regrets. Such accounts not only romanticize the relationship between martial arts and religion, but greatly exaggerate the relative importance of Zen Buddhism and present a distorted image of the nature and aims of Zen training. The following presents an alternative account, one that is more comprehensive and that situates the religious aspects of Japanese martial arts within their historical context.

The simplistic myth of "Zen and the martial arts" has been so uncritically accepted and repeated so often, however, that it cannot be ignored or dismissed out of hand. Indeed it is difficult to gain a more balanced view of this topic without first attempting to understand the origins of this Zen motif and the reasons for its enduring appeal both in the West and in Japan. For this purpose, it is necessary to briefly review the development of scholarly discourses on the nature of religions, on Japanese religiosity, and on the religious nature of European sports and Japanese martial arts. All of these discourses emerged at the same time during a period of recent history when Western powers exerted colonial control over much of Asia and viewed contemporary Asians and their cultures with contempt. Japanese faced this challenge by actively importing Western intellectual methodologies and by fashioning new images of themselves to export to the West. Within this geopolitical context academic theories of religion and descriptions of the religious aspects of Japanese martial arts have never been value-free or impartial. Their development has been shaped by contemporaneous intellectual currents and has served to advance changing ideological agendas. Once these agendas have been assessed, we can turn our at-

A story from the famous series Biyu Suikoden *(Handsome Heroes of the Water Margin) of the warrior Takagi Umanosuke undergoing a trial of courage by spending the night in a haunted ancient temple, 1866. (Asian Art & Archeology, Inc./Corbis)*

tention to the relationships among martial arts, religion, and spiritual development in premodern Japan.

Modern Theories of Religion and Martial Arts

Jonathan Z. Smith provocatively notes that religion "is a category imposed from the outside on some aspect of native culture" (1998, 269). Nowhere is this fact as well documented as in Japan, where a traditional Japanese word for religion did not exist. The concept of religion was forced on Japan during the 1860s by diplomats who employed the theretofore rare Chinese Buddhist technical term *shûkyô* [3] (roughly, "seminal doctrines") in treaties written to guarantee freedom of religion (*shûkyô wo jiyû* [4]) for newly arrived foreign Christians. Significantly, this occurred just as the term *religion* was beginning to lose its exclusively Christian connotations in the West. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, European universities inaugurated the academic study of religions (in German, *Religionswissenschaft*) to create a new framework independent from Christian theology for the analysis of common elements of evolution in myths, in propitiation of gods and ghosts, in social rituals, in taboos and norms of behavior, in sect organizations, and in psychological aspects of those elements. The founding generation of scholars approached this new field of research from a wide range of academic perspectives, but on the whole they shared several common beliefs: in scientific progress, in the universality of religion, in the common origin of religion, and in the evolution of religion through various stages beginning with the primitive and concluding, depending on the orientation of the scholar, either with Christianity or with secular science.

Belief in the universality of religion forced secular scholars to attempt to draw a distinction between the specific historical features of any particular religion and the general essence shared by all religions, which they then attempted to define. By the beginning of the twentieth century, scholars had postulated more than fifty competing definitions of religion, each one more or less useful in accordance with a given focus of study, theory of origin, or evolutionary scheme. As secular academic approaches asserted ever greater authority over explanations of the objective aspects of religion (e.g., historical accounts of scriptures, anthropological explanations of rituals, sociological theories of sectarianism), theologians and religious thinkers increasingly began to define the essential essence of religion in psychological terms as belief or experience—subjective realms lying beyond the reach of secular empirical critique. This conceptual separation of inner psychological essence from the external forms of religious life (e.g., ritual, dogma, institutions, history) laid the foundation for the popularization in the West of romanticized notions of Zen.

Japan also redefined itself during the latter half of the nineteenth cen-

tury. In 1868 a new regime, known as the Meiji [5], overthrew the 300-year old Tokugawa [6] military government (called the *bakufu* [7]), opened Japan to the West, and began the rapid modernization and transformation of all aspects of society, especially religion and martial arts. Meiji leaders initiated a cultural revolution in which they attempted to destroy Japan's religious traditions and to create a new state cult, eventually known as Shintô [8], to take its place. They commanded obedience by identifying their government with a divine emperor who claimed descent from the ancient gods who supposedly had created Japan. To more closely link the gods to Japan, Meiji leaders ordered their dissociation from Buddhism. In other words, all worship halls for gods were stripped of their Buddhist names, art, and symbols and given new native identities. This policy caused the destruction of tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of Buddhist temples and the loss of immeasurable quantities of Buddhist artifacts. In 1872, Buddhist monks were forced to register on the census as ordinary subjects with secular names and encouraged to eat meat and raise families. No one knows how many Buddhist monks and nuns were laicized immediately following 1868, but their numbers fell from a nationwide total of 82,000 in 1872 (the year of Japan's first modern census) to 21,000 in 1876.

Next, the Meiji government began to strip the newly independent Shintô institutions of their ties to popular (i.e., nongovernmental) religious practices. Beginning in 1873 a wide variety of folk religious traditions were officially banned. Shintô shrines came to be defined as civic centers at which all citizens were required to participate in state-sanctioned rituals. When Western nations demanded freedom of religion, Meiji leaders exploited that concept's lack of definition. They maintained the fiction that State Shintô was not a religion (i.e., not individual faith) but merely a social expression of patriotism, and in 1882 they forbade Shintô celebrants at government-supported shrines to discuss doctrine or officiate at private religious functions such as funerals. To more easily control Shintô activities, in 1906 the government initiated a nationwide program of shrine "mergers," a euphemism for the destruction of shrines that were too small for direct government supervision. In Mie Prefecture, for example, the total number of smaller shrines was reduced from 8,763 to 519. Nationwide more than 52 percent of Shintô shrines were destroyed, thereby depriving rural villagers of local worship halls.

The vast dismantling of Buddhist temples, laicization of Buddhist monks and nuns, and destruction of Shintô shrines had immediate and far-reaching consequences. First, they rapidly accelerated the forces of secularization that accompanied Japan's industrialization. Common people were led by the government to reject previous religious practices as corrupt, feudal, and superstitious. Second, because it left ordinary people alienated

from firsthand knowledge of their own religious traditions, it encouraged their acceptance of new abstract interpretations of Japanese religiosity. Meiji leaders filled this spiritual vacuum with the vaguely mystical State Shintô ideology of emperor worship and ultranationalism. Buddhist intellectuals, many of whom were educated in European thought, sought to create a New Buddhism (*shin bukkyô* [9]) free from previous institutional ties, which would be scientific, cosmopolitan, socially useful, and loyal to the throne. They actively appropriated contemporary European intellectual trends and presented them to Western and to Japanese audiences alike as the pure essence of Japanese spirituality. Significantly, many intellectuals found this pure spirituality expressed best not in the traditional religious rituals that seemed too superstitious for modern sensibilities, but rather in the worldly skills of poetry, painting, tea ceremony, and martial arts.

In the early 1900s, martial arts became identified not just with new interpretations of Japanese spirituality, but specifically with the mystical aspects of militarism and emperor worship. The government promoted the transformation of martial arts into a particular type of "spiritual education" (*seishin kyôiku;* see below) and incorporated them into the national school curriculum to inculcate in schoolchildren (i.e., future soldiers) a religious willingness to sacrifice themselves for the state and to die for the emperor. Before martial arts could be transformed into so-called spiritual education, however, Japanese had to develop new forms of martial art education based on recently developed European notions of sport.

Modern sports emerged during the nineteenth century, when Europeans united physical training with nationalism and games with imperialism. The Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815) and their large conscript armies had vividly demonstrated the importance of a physically fit citizenry for modern warfare and for the exercise of national power. In response to this need there developed two competing and, in the minds of many, mutually incompatible methods of providing general citizens with physical vitality: continental gymnastics and English sports. The ardent German nationalist Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852) advocated gymnastics (*turnen*) to unify the Germanic races (*volk*) and to develop soldiers stronger than those of France. Adolf Spiess (1810–1858) and other German educators developed Jahn's turnen into a system of group exercises closely resembling military drill, which demanded physical discipline, strict obedience, and precision teamwork. Competitive games (i.e., sports) were denounced for harming moral development (defined as sacrifice for the nation) and for encouraging pride and egoism. This German model was emulated elsewhere on the continent, most notably in Denmark, Sweden, and Czechoslovakia. Militaristic gymnastic societies and their nationalistic ideology were vindicated by Prussian victory over France in the war of 1870–1871,

and they became an integral part of the German empire produced by that victory.

In contrast to the intense nationalism and militarism featured in continental gymnastics, British leaders emphasized acquisition of an individualistic games ethic that they called sportsmanship. While Germans rejected competition as morally corrupting, the British believed that effort to surpass previous performances possesses morally uplifting qualities when tempered by adherence to ideals of fair play and mutual respect. Games, especially cricket, were elevated to the status of moral discipline, and successful competition according to the rules of the game was identified with certain Victorian conceptions of manliness: seriousness, rectitude, courage, honesty, leadership, individual initiative, and self-reliance, tempered by altruism and a sense of duty. Although the Duke of Wellington (Arthur Wellesley, 1769–1852) probably never said that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, most Britons nonetheless believed that their empire had been won through the superior spiritual qualities and moral character inculcated by public school sports. Colonial administrators promoted English games to instill British values and loyalty to the crown. So great was the British transformation of games that historians generally credit England with the invention of the modern concept of sport and its diffusion throughout the world.

In 1892, a French educator named Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937) advocated the creation of a modern Olympiad as a means of combining the team discipline and nationalistic sentiments of continental gymnastics with the individual ethical qualities of English sports. Coubertin believed that the moral discipline of English sports gave England a hidden source of military power. He was especially influenced by the doctrines of "Muscular Christianity" (i.e., teaching Christian ethics through physical contests) as epitomized in the novel *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) by Thomas Hughes (1822–1896). Based on these ideals, Coubertin argued that sports and the ethical values of sports constituted a modern, secular religion that should supplant the old-fashioned theistic creeds of Europe. He carefully selected religious symbolism to imbue Olympic ceremonies with a sense of spirituality: flags, processions, eternal flames, oaths, hymns, and so forth. Coubertin wrote: "For me sport is a religion with church, dogma, ritual" (Guttmann 1992, 3). Coubertin's explicit emphasis on the spiritual and religious qualities of competition helped him overcome the skepticism of continental leaders who saw games as incompatible with the altruistic ideals of their own gymnastic drills. In the face of this skepticism, Coubertin's first Olympiad in 1896 was a small affair with teams from only eleven European countries plus a few contestants from the United States and Chile.

Notwithstanding its shaky start, the Olympic movement quickly

spread throughout the world. It reached Japan in 1909 when Kanô Jigorô [10] was selected to become the first Asian member of the International Olympic Committee. Kanô Jigorô (1860–1938) was the ideal conduit for introducing to Japan the Olympic creed of athletics mixed with ethics and spiritualism. Kanô had initiated the academic study of physical education in Japan when in 1899 he established a department of physical education at Tokyo Teacher's College (*kôtô shihan gakkô* [11]), an institution he headed for twenty-seven years, from 1893 to 1920. He also founded the Japanese Amateur Athletic Association and served as its president from 1911 to 1920. Kanô's most famous achievement, though, is his Kôdôkan [12] school of jûjutsu [13] (unarmed combat), from which modern jûdô developed. From his student days Kanô had studied the German-style gymnastics drills introduced to Japan in 1878 by the American George A. Leland (1850–1924) as well as the new educational theories advocated by the Swiss reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), and he used ideas from both to adapt jûjutsu training to the needs of youth education. He presented jûjutsu in the rational terms of Western thought while emphasizing its ties to Japanese tradition and culture. Kôdôkan grew in popularity in large part because it incorporated the new European sports ethic: innovation and rigorous empiricism, systematic training methods, repetitive drills to develop fundamental skills, high standards of safety and hygiene, public lectures and published textbooks, competitive contests with clear rules and fair judging, tournaments with spectators, all presented as means of ethical and spiritual development.

As early as 1889, Kanô had addressed the Japanese Education Association on the educational value of teaching jûjutsu as part of the public school curriculum. He argued that his methods presented pupils with a balanced approach to physical education, competitive matches, and mental cultivation. This initial attempt to introduce martial arts to the public schools failed. After examining many different styles of jûjutsu and swordsmanship (*gekken* or *gekiken* [14]) in 1890, the Ministry of Education ruled that martial arts were physically, spiritually, and pedagogically inappropriate for schools. This sweeping denunciation is important because it documents how methods of martial art instruction at that time differed dramatically from Kanô's ideals and from modern educational standards. Instead of martial arts, the Ministry of Education devised a physical education curriculum based on military calisthenics (*heishiki taisô* [15]). The Ministry stated that these gymnastic exercises would promote physical health, obedience, and spiritual fortitude. As many Japanese scholars have noted, the idea that this kind of physical training could promote spiritual values reflected Christian pedagogical theory (*see* Endô 1994, 51). The next generation of martial art instructors were schooled in this approach.

Eventually, they would adopt textbooks and training methods developed by educators at Tokyo Teacher's College in the department of physical education that had been founded by Kanô Jigorô.

When the Ministry of Education finally adopted jûjutsu and gekken as part of the standard school curriculum in 1911, Japan's political situation had changed dramatically. Military victories against China in 1894–1895 and against Russia in 1905 not only demonstrated Japan's ability to challenge European nations but also gave Japan control over neighboring territories. Nonetheless, Japan's industrial capacity could not supply armaments in the quantities required by its military ambitions. Faced with this insurmountable economic inferiority, Japanese army leaders decided to rely on fighting spirit (*kôgeki seishin* [16]) to defeat the material superiority of Western forces. Beginning in 1905 the development of a program of spiritual education (*seishin kyôiku* [17]) became a top priority. In 1907 the army identified martial arts as one of its basic methods for training the spirit. Thereafter, it became increasingly common for Japanese intellectuals to contrast Japanese spirituality with Western materialism and to link martial arts to spiritual development. In this context, however, the term *spirit* (seishin) denoted "willpower" as in the well-known phrase "indomitable spirit" (*seishin ittô* [18]) coined by the Chinese Confucian scholar Zhu Xi [19] (a.k.a. Chu Hsi, Japanese Shushi, 1130–1200). Malcolm Kennedy, a British soldier assigned to a Japanese army unit from 1917 to 1920, correctly captured the true sense of spiritual education when he explained it as "training of the martial spirit." He notes that it was designed to foster aggression on battlefields abroad and to dispel "dangerous thoughts" (e.g., bolshevism or antidynastic sentiments) at home (54–55, 311, 337).

Public school education played an indispensable role in preparing students for military training. In 1907, therefore, the same year that the army linked martial arts to spiritual education, Japan's legislative Diet passed a law requiring the Ministry of Education to develop jûjutsu and gekken curriculums. This law explicitly identified martial art instruction with *bushidô* [20] (warrior ways), and the law's sponsors argued that bushidô was more important than ever because everyone in the country must become a soldier (*zenkoku kaihei* [21]).

Significantly, Japanese Christians originally had popularized the concept of bushidô. They had justified their own conversion to Christianity by describing it as the modern way to uphold traditional Tokugawa-period Confucian values, which they referred to as bushidô. The first book ever published with the word *bushidô* in its title, for example, was *Kirisutokyô to bushidô* [22] (Christianity and Bushidô, 1894) by Uemura Masahisa [23] (1858–1925), a professor of theology at Meiji Gakuin Academy. In this work, Uemura argued that modern Japanese should rely on Christian-

ity just as warriors (*bushi* [24]) of earlier times had relied on Confucianism. He lamented what he saw as the decline of public morality and cited the Bible and European history to show how Christianity not only endorses heroic deeds but also ennobles them. Uemura's theme of Christian and Confucian compatibility reappeared in *Bushidô: The Soul of Japan* (1900) by Nitobe Inazô [25] (1862–1933), a Quaker. Writing in English for a Western audience, however, Nitobe's goals differed from those of Uemura. Nitobe sought to introduce the newly victorious Japan to the court of world opinion as a civilized nation with a sound system of moral education compatible with but not dependent on Christianity. He asserted that just as "fair play" is the basis on which England's greatness is built, "bushido does not stand on a lesser pedestal" (Hanai 1994, 8–9). Although Nitobe concluded his book by asserting that bushidô is dying and needs to be revived by Christianity, it was his inspirational and idealized account of traditional virtues that most impressed readers. His work was an instant bestseller in New York and London. Soon it was translated into German, French, Polish, Norwegian, Hungarian, Russian, Rumanian, Chinese, and finally (in 1909) into Japanese.

Ironically, whereas Uemura and Nitobe had conceived of bushidô as a bridge linking Japan to Christianity and to the games ethic of fair play, once the term *bushidô* entered the popular vocabulary it tended to be defined in ethnocentric terms as a unique and unchanging ethos that opposed Christian teachings and distinguished Japanese martial arts from European sports. Nowhere was this ethnocentric vision of bushidô emphasized more strongly than at the Dainippon Butokukai [26] (Greater Japan Martial Virtue Association), a quasi-governmental institution founded in 1895 to unify various martial arts under the control of a single national organization. The Butokukai appeared just when Europeans and Americans also were establishing nationalistic athletic associations, and it shared many characteristics with those counterparts. From its very inception the Butokukai's publications touted martial arts as the best method of inculcating traditional national values (i.e., bushidô) in a modern citizenry. In 1906 the Butokukai defined bushidô as the Japanese spirit (*wakon* or *yamatodamashii* [27]) expressed as service to the emperor, strict obedience to authority, and a willingness to regard the sacrifice of one's own life as lightly as a feather. It asserted that modern citizens (*kokumin* [28]) must follow a "citizen way" (*kokumindô* [29]) based on the bushidô of old (Hayashi).

As seen in the above example, the suffix dô of "bushidô" soon acquired specific connotations of duty to the emperor (i.e., imperial way, *kôdô* [30]), an ideal that grew stronger as Japanese society became ever more militaristic. Because martial arts constituted the prime method for instilling this ideology, they too became ever more frequently called "some-

thing-dô." In 1914 the superintendent-general of police, Nishikubo Hiromichi [31], published a series of articles in which he argued that Japanese martial arts must be called *budô* [32] (martial ways) instead of the more common term *bujutsu* [33] (martial techniques) to clearly show that they teach service to the emperor, not technical skills. In 1919 Nishikubo became head of the martial art academy (*senmon gakkô* [34]) affiliated with the Dainippon Butokukai and changed its name from "Bujutsu Academy" to "Budô Academy." Thereafter, Butokukai publications replaced the terms *bujutsu* (martial arts), *gekken* or *kenjutsu* [35] (swordsmanship), *jûjutsu* (unarmed combat), and *kyûjutsu* [36] (archery) with *budô, kendô* [37], *jûdô* [38], and *kyûdô* [39] respectively. Although the Butokukai immediately recommended that the Ministry of Education do likewise, it took seven years until 1926 before the names *kendô* and *jûdô* replaced *gekken* and *jûjutsu* in school curriculums. This deliberate change in names signaled that ideological indoctrination had become the central focus of these classes. Similar "dô" nomenclature eventually was applied to all athletic activities regardless of national origin, so that Western-style horsemanship became *kidô* [40] or *badô* [41], bayonet techniques became *jûkendô* [42], and gunnery became *shagekidô* [43]. By the late 1930s, recreational sports had become *supootsu-dô* [44], the highest expression of which was one's ability to sacrifice oneself (*sutemi* [45]) and "die crazy" (*shikyô* [46]) for the emperor.

Official attitudes toward sports (i.e., the games ethic) were strongly influenced by German physical education theory, which valued gymnastic drills for their ability to mold group identity and rejected competition as a morally corrupt form of individualism. The goal of this molding process lay in creating new men. Therefore, the ideological content and psychological import of the training were more important than mastering physical skills (*see* Irie 1986, 122–128; Abe, Kiyohara, and Nakajima 1990). To reinforce this point the Dainippon Butokukai referred to competitive matches as "martial art performances" (*enbu* [47]) and adopted rules that recognized contestants more for displaying proper warriorlike aggression and self-abandon than for winning techniques. Among students, however, the popularity of martial arts derived primarily from the thrill of winning. These contradictory orientations were highlighted in 1922 when the College Kendô League organized a national championship tournament. The Butokukai argued against recognizing a champion on the grounds that kendô must not be regarded as a technical skill (jutsu [48], i.e., a means of competition). In response the students composed a petition in which they argued that spiritual training in kendô is similar to the sportsmanship ideal taught in competitive games. Eventually the Butokukai relented and a few years later even staged its own national championship.

To counter the influence of the British games ethic, officials continually devised new ways to more closely identify martial arts with symbols of imperial ideology, especially the religious symbols of State Shintô. In the 1920s, police began inspecting martial art training halls to ensure that they were equipped with Shintô altars (*kamidana* [49]) enshrining officially designated Shintô deities. In 1931 the roof over the ring for professional sumô wrestling matches was redesigned to resemble Shintô architecture. In 1936 the Ministry of Education issued an order requiring Shintô altars in all public school martial art training halls. New rules of martial art etiquette appeared that required students to begin and to end each workout by paying obeisance to the altars. By the 1930s, martial art training halls had commonly become known as dôjô [50], a word that previously had denoted religious chapels. Finally, many Tokugawa-period martial art treatises (including formerly secret texts such as *Gorin no sho* [51], 1643; *Ittôsai sensei kenpô sho* [52], 1664; and *Kenpô Seikun sensei sôden* [53], 1686) were published in popular editions (e.g., Hayakawa et al. 1915). Esoteric vocabulary that originally referred to specific physical techniques was borrowed from these texts and given new generic psychological interpretations to explain the correct mental attitude during practice. These religious symbols and psychological vocabulary helped to disguise the newness of the new elements and gave the entire ideological enterprise an aura of antiquity in a manner similar to what Eric Hobsbawm has termed "the reinvention of tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

During this same period when martial arts were acquiring religious connotations, Japanese Zen Buddhism was introduced to the West as a secularized "pure experience" that, while not itself dependent on religious rituals or dogmas, nonetheless underlies all religious feeling and all aspects of Japanese culture. Most of all, Zen was identified with bushidô and with Japanese intrepidity in the face of death. D. T. Suzuki [54] (1870–1966), the person most responsible for promoting this psychological interpretation of Zen, was not a Zen priest but a university-trained intellectual who spent eleven years from 1897 to 1908 in the United States studying the "Science of Religion" advocated by a German émigré named Paul Carus (1852–1919). Writing in English for a Western audience, Suzuki developed a new interpretation of Zen that combined the notion of pure experience first discussed by William James (1842–1910) with the irrational intuition and feeling that the German theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) had identified as the essence of religion. Suzuki's numerous writings illustrate these Western ideas by recounting episodes in the hagiographies of Chinese and Japanese Zen monks and, in so doing, present Zen simultaneously as being a universal human experience and, paradoxically, as Japan's unique cultural heritage (*see* Sharf 1995; James 1912; Schleiermacher 1988, 102).

Although Suzuki frequently quoted from Zen hagiographies, he argued that Zen is not the exclusive property of the Zen school, Zen temples, or Zen monks. Rather, Zen is to be found in the Japanese spirit as expressed in secular arts and in bushidô. Suzuki's very first essay on Zen in 1906 asserted: "The Lebensanschauung [outlook on life] of Bushido is no more nor less than that of Zen" (quoted in Sharf 1995, 121). In 1938 Suzuki wrote an entire book on Zen, bushidô, and Japanese culture based on lectures given in the United States and England during 1936. During the intervening year, 1937, the Japanese Imperial Army invaded China and committed the atrocities known as the Rape of Nanking. Reflecting the zeitgeist of those years, Suzuki portrayed Zen in antinomian terms, as "a religion of will power" that advocates action unencumbered by ethics (Suzuki 1938, 37, 64; see also Suzuki 1959, 63, 84; Victoria 1997, 106–112). This book, revised as *Zen and Japanese Culture* in 1959 and in print ever since, has become the classic argument for the identity of Zen and martial arts. Although Suzuki had no firsthand knowledge of martial arts, he freely interpreted passages from Tokugawa-period martial art treatises as expressions of Zen mysticism. His translations are full of fanciful embellishments. For example, he explains *shuriken* [55, a.k.a. 56], a term that simply means "to perceive the enemy's technique" (*tenouchi wo miru* [57]), as "the secret sword" that appears when "the Unconscious dormant at the root of all existence is awakened" (Suzuki 1959, 163). This kind of mistranslation, in which a physical skill becomes a psychological experience, rendered the notion of Zen and the martial arts at once exotic and tantalizingly familiar to Western audiences.

Suzuki's interpretations were repeated by Eugen Herrigel (1884–1955), a German professor who taught philosophy in Japan from 1923 to 1929. While in Japan he studied archery under the guidance of an eccentric mystic named Awa Kenzô [58] (1880–1939). Herrigel continued to practice archery after returning to Germany, and in 1936 he wrote an essay to explain its principles in which he acknowledges that he took up archery because of his interest in Zen and mysticism. Significantly, though, this first account did not equate archery with Zen. Herrigel's views changed once he read Suzuki's 1938 account of Zen and bushidô. In 1948 Herrigel wrote a new book (translated into English as *Zen in the Art of Archery,* 1953) in which, in addition to extensive quotations from Suzuki, Herrigel described Awa's teachings as a Zen practice that has remained the same for centuries. Nothing could be further from the truth. In 1920 Awa had founded a new religion called Daishakyôdô [59] (literally, "way of the great doctrine of shooting"). In his book Herrigel refers to Awa's religion as the "Great Doctrine" and identifies it with Zen. Awa did not. Awa had no training in Zen and did not approve of Zen practice. Neither Awa nor

Herrigel spoke each other's language. Writing from memory almost twenty years after he left Japan, Herrigel placed subtle metaphysical arguments first voiced by Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742–1799) in Awa's mouth. Moreover, subsequent testimony from Herrigel's interpreter shows that the mystical episodes related in the book either occurred when there was no interpreter present or were misunderstandings based on faulty translations. Regardless of these problems, Herrigel's account has been uncritically accepted not only in Europe and the United States but also in Japan (where it was translated in 1956) as an accurate description of traditional Zen teaching methods.

During the 1950s, Japanese teachers of martial art readily embraced the "Zen" label because it served to rehabilitate their public image, which had been thoroughly discredited by Japan's defeat and its occupation by the Allied Powers. In November 1945 all forms of martial arts were banned. Even the word *budô* (martial ways), with its imperialistic connotations, became taboo for almost ten years. In 1947 school curriculums in "physical training" (*tairen* [60]) were officially renamed "physical education" (*taiiku* [61]) to signal that henceforth they would emphasize democratic ideals, individualism, and sports instead of militaristic discipline. Once the Korean War began in 1950, however, occupation policy reversed course. Leftists were purged from official positions, and Japan became a silent partner in the Cold War. This policy shift permitted the revival of martial arts, provided that they assumed the characteristics of Western sports. In 1953, for example, when the Ministry of Education allowed high schools to teach kendô (officially renamed "bamboo-stick competition," *shinai kyôgi* [62]) the Ministry stipulated that "it must not be taught as budô, but as a physical education sport (kyôiku supootsu [63]) in exactly the same way as any other physical education sport" (quoted in Nakabayashi 1994, 128). In this environment, some martial art instructors defended their authoritarian teaching methods by identifying them as Zen instead of as a legacy of fascism. This Zen aura enhanced their charismatic power and permitted them to evaluate students on the basis of arbitrary criteria not tied directly to physical performance.

After the 1950s it became commonplace to define the -dô suffix of martial art names (e.g., budô, kendô, jûdô) as denoting Zen-like "ways" of spiritual development. This trend found its most rigid expression in the publications of an American martial artist named Donn F. Draeger (1922–1982), whose numerous books and essays comprise the first comprehensive survey in English of the entire range of Japanese martial arts. In these works, Draeger classified this subject into four distinct categories of classical (*ko* [64]) or modern (*shin* [65]) forms of arts (-jutsu [66]) or ways (-dô [67]). Reflecting the postwar sensibilities of his teachers in Japan,

Draeger declared that these activities cannot be correctly understood in terms of the ultranationalistic militaristic training of the 1930s and 1940s. He asserted that martial arts whose name end with the suffix *-jutsu* (e.g., jûjutsu, kenjutsu) are combative systems for self-protection, while those whose names end with the suffix *-dô* (e.g., jûdô, kendô) are spiritual systems for self-perfection (Draeger 1973–1974, vol. 2: 19). The former primarily emphasize combat, followed by discipline and, lastly, morals, while the latter are chiefly concerned with morals, followed by discipline and aesthetic form (Draeger 1973–1974, vol. 1: 36). In spite of their rigid reductionism, these definitions have been widely adopted by martial art enthusiasts outside of Japan and even by some within Japan. Indeed, in 1987 the Japanese Budô Association (Nihon Budô Kyôgikai [68]) promulgated a Budô Charter (kenshô [69]) that defines martial arts in a teleological manner reminiscent of Draeger as a unique cultural tradition that has "progressed from techniques to ways" (*jutsu kara dô ni hatten shita* [70]).

Regardless of how widely disseminated this kind of lexicographical distinction between -jutsu and -dô has become, it must be emphasized that there simply is no historical evidence for it. Martial art names ending in the *-dô* suffix have a long linguistic history. For example, the first documented appearance of the words *budô, kendô,* and *jûdô* occurred about 1200, 1630, and 1760 respectively (*see* Nakamura 1994, 13; Tominaga 1972, 19; Oimatsu 1982, 209). Until the 1910s, these terms were used interchangeably with a wide variety of other names, some ending in the *-jutsu* suffix and some not, with no generally agreed-upon difference in denotation or religious connotations. It was not until the 1920s and 1930s that martial art names became standardized in public discourse as "something-dô," and they did so precisely because of their association with the militaristic ideology that Draeger excludes from consideration. Draeger's definitions ignore the fact that one of the goals of this ideological discourse was to disguise its coercive agenda by presenting budô primarily as a spiritual endeavor, distinct from either pure combat techniques or recreational sports. In this respect, these definitions not only depart from linguistic evidence but also obfuscate crucial developments in Japanese martial art history. If or how any martial arts constituted "spiritual systems for self-perfection" prior to the advent of government-sponsored programs of nationalistic spiritual education is the issue that must now be considered.

Religion and Martial Arts before 1868

Prior to 1868 the kind of nationwide uniformity achieved by the Ministry of Education and Dainippon Butokukai was impossible. No governmental, religious, or other authorities ever possessed sufficient power to impose standardized definitions, concepts, or practices on the entire population of

Japan. Variation by region and social class was the rule. One cannot even say with certainty when martial arts began. Some recent scholars suggest that codified systems of martial art were not developed until the seventeenth century, when Tokugawa peace and social regulation prompted the appearance of a class of professional instructors. It is more widely assumed that systematic martial training developed throughout the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries, as warrior families (*buke* [71]) fought one another for governmental authority, and attained maturity during the following two centuries of Tokugawa peace. Over these centuries, however, warrior families changed so much that they cannot be identified by any consistent criteria. Moreover, warrior families (however defined) never monopolized military arts. The centuries of unrest preceding Tokugawa rule saw organized fighting units among other social strata, such as shrine militia (*jinin* [72]), monastic legions (a.k.a. warrior monks, *sôhei* [73]), criminal gangs (*akutô* [74]), naval raiders (a.k.a. pirates, *wakô* [75]), and peasant rebels (*ikki* [76]). Even after clergy and peasants were disarmed, Tokugawa-period regulations could not confine martial arts just to officially designated samurai [77] (i.e., senior members of each domain's military government). Martial arts proliferated among warriors who lacked samurai status (e.g., *ashigara* [78], *kachi* [79]), townsmen (*chônin* [80]), rural warriors (*gôshi* [81]), and in many cases among peasants. Naturally, between different populations the goals, techniques, and training methods of martial curriculums would not have been the same.

The religious scene was no less varied. A few developments selected almost at random can illustrate this point. Exclusive (Ikkô [82]) Pure Land Buddhism grew from an outlawed heretical sect in the thirteenth century into Japan's largest denomination, possessing armed forces capable of ruling several provinces in the sixteenth century. In 1571 Mt. Hiei [83], the nation's most powerful Buddhist center, lost its domination over religious discourse when Oda Nobunaga [84] (1534–1582) set it ablaze and killed tens of thousands of Mt. Hiei's priests, soldiers, craftsmen, women, and children. Next, Oda defeated the Ikkô forces. In the 1590s, Christianity boasted of 300,000 converts, including major warlords (e.g., Ôtomo [85], Ômura [86], Arima [87]) whose armies fought under the sign of the cross, but rigorous persecution eliminated it within a century. In the early 1600s, the first Tokugawa ruler (shôgun [88]), Ieyasu [89] (1542–1616), was deified as the Great Avatar Shining over the East (Tôshô Dai Gongen [90]), a title signifying that he had become the divine Buddhist protector of Japan. Subsequent regulation of religious activities prompted the most rapid proliferation of Buddhist temples in Japan's history. Ironically, this Buddhist expansion prompted growing anti-Buddhist sentiments among Confucian and Nativist (*kokugaku* [91]) scholars. New publications of Buddhist scriptures, for example,

fostered the development of textual criticism, which enabled the Confucian Tominaga Nakamoto [92] (1715–1746) to deny their veracity.

Given such wide diversity of combatants and religious developments over such a long span of time, it is impossible to explain interactions between religion and martial arts in terms of any single simplistic formula. Neither the familiar trope of "Zen and/in the martial arts" nor the teleological determinism of "progressing from techniques to ways" can possibly do justice to the variety of practices employed before 1868 to associate martial training with cosmic forces and principles. The complexity of the data is compounded by the fact that few scholars have researched either Japanese religious practices or the vast literature describing premodern martial arts. At this preliminary stage, tentative order can be imposed on this vast topic by surveying it in terms of the three dominant religious patterns of premodern Japan: familial religion of tutelary ancestors, alliances, and control over land; exoteric-esoteric Buddhist systems of resemblances and ritual mastery; and Chinese notions of cosmological and social order. These three systems of meaning usually reinforced one another, but in some circumstances they could just as easily stand in conflict. Even their conflicts, however, never approached the degree of mutually exclusive intolerance historically associated with monotheistic religions. Instead of monotheism, Japanese in those days recognized a hierarchical cosmology populated by deities of local, regional, national, international, and universal significance, each type of which concerned only those spiritual matters appropriate to their station.

Warriors relied on ancestral spirits and local tutelary deities to reinforce their familial bonds, to intensify their military alliances, and to cement their control over lands and over the peasants who worked those lands. Individual warrior families publicly proclaimed their control over estate lands by establishing a religious shrine for the worship of their clan ancestor (*ujigami* [93]) or local tutelary deity who would assume the same functions. Each male member of the household established permanent links to the family's tutelary spirits through special coming-of-age ceremonies at their shrine. Obligations to contribute resources for and to participate in the annual cycle of shrine rites forced otherwise estranged branches of the family to cooperate with one another. Lower-ranked warriors who became vassals also were obligated to participate in these ceremonies as a public confirmation of their alliance. The relative positions and assigned roles among participants in these ceremonies clearly revealed each family's status, and thereby constituted a mutual recognition of each one's respective hierarchical rank. Before battles the entire warrior band invoked the protection of their leader's tutelary spirits. During peacetime, warriors invoked their tutelary spirits to threaten local peasants with divine punishment if they failed

to deliver the labor and taxes demanded of them. In this way, local gods symbolized the authority that rulers exercised over people and land.

After the late thirteenth century, it became common for rural warriors to augment their clan shrines by establishing clan-centered Buddhist temples (*ujidera* [94]), especially ones associated with Pure Land or Zen. Pure Land teachings were especially popular among warriors because they promised that even killers could escape the torments of hell and attain deliverance to the Buddha's Pure Land. The main appeal of Zen priests lay in their ability to perform Chinese-style funeral rites and elaborate memorial services that enhanced the earthly prestige of deceased warrior rulers and their descendants. These different forms of Buddhism did not necessarily preclude one another. A single family could, for example, sponsor many types of religious institutions simultaneously: an esoteric temple to pray for military success, a Pure Land temple for the salvation of soldiers killed in battle, a Confucian hall to teach duty and loyalty to their living vassals, and a Zen temple for the aggrandizement of their clan ancestors. Regardless of their denominational affiliation, however, Buddhist temples functioned like clan shrines as religious reinforcements for social and political status. In many cases, for example, the abbot of the main temple would be a blood relation of the leader of the local warrior band that sponsored the temple. The abbot's disciples consisted primarily of kinsmen of the vassals who comprised the warrior band, and these disciples would serve as head priests at affiliated branch temples sponsored by those vassal families. In this way familial, military, and ecclesiastical hierarchies merged or mirrored one another. Peasants found themselves subjected to social domination justified by unified religious and military authority. The deification of Tokugawa Ieyasu served this same purpose for Japan as a whole.

Martial arts were taught by one generation to the next within real or fictional familial lineages (ryûha [95]). These martial art lineages, like warrior families in general, also worshiped ancestral spirits and tutelary deities. Anyone who wished to learn martial curricula was required to sign a pledge (*kishômon* [96]) requesting membership in one of these lineages. Such pledges usually concluded by stating that any violations of the lineage's rules would invite divine punishment by their tutelary deities. Members of the lineage observed ancestor rites and participated in religious ceremonies at clan temples and shrines just as if they were related by blood. Group devotion was symbolized by the donation of votive plaques (*hônô kaku* [97]) to local shrines or temples. These plaques typically proclaimed the historical ties of that particular martial lineage to a religious institution, listed the names of all the lineage members, and requested divine assistance. Donation of a plaque was accompanied by monetary gifts and performance of religious ceremonies, including ritual performance of martial arts. Par-

ticipation in public ceremonies not only reinforced hierarchical distinctions within the lineage, but also constituted public notice of a martial lineage's assertion of authority within that locality. Anyone who attempted to introduce a rival martial art lineage in that same area would risk retaliation by the established lineage as well as religious sanctions. Acceptance of a martial art plaque by a temple or shrine, therefore, sanctified that lineage's local hegemony.

Tutelary deities and their institutions functioned as local agents for the Japanese form of East Asian Buddhism usually known—using the designation popularized by Kuroda Toshio [98] (1926–1993)—as exoteric-esoteric (*kenmitsu* [99]) systems. In premodern Japan almost all Buddhist lineages (e.g., Hossô [100], Nichiren [101], Sanron [102], Shingon [103], Shugendô [104], Tendai [105], Zen [106]), as well as priestly lineages now considered non-Buddhist (e.g., Shintô), taught to greater or lesser degrees variations of these exoteric-esoteric systems. This form of Buddhism integrated exoteric doctrines, especially impermanence (*mujô* [107]) and no-self (*muga* [108]) as taught in the Agama scriptures and emptiness (*kû* [109]) and consciousness-only (*yuishiki* [110]) as taught in the Mahayana scriptures, with esoteric tantric rituals as taught in Vajrayana scriptures to produce all-encompassing systems of metaphysical resemblances. These resemblances were illustrated by means of cosmogonic diagrams (mandalas) that depict how the single undifferentiated realm of the Buddha's bliss, knowledge, and power unfolds to appear as infinitely diverse yet illusory realms within which ignorant beings suffer. All the objects, sounds, and movements depicted in these mandala diagrams can be manipulated ritually to transform one level of reality into the other. In particular, mandalas were projected outward to become the physical landscape of Japan, especially the mountains and precincts of temple-shrine (*jisha* [111]) organizations, and were absorbed inward to become the individual bodies of practitioners. In this way local gods became temporal manifestations (*gongen* [112]) of universal Buddhas, and all the places and practices of daily life became ciphers of cosmic meaning.

Knowledge of the secret significance of these ciphers allowed priests to define, literally, the terms of public discourse and thereby to control all aspects of cultural production, from religious rituals to government ceremonies, from poetry to military strategies. Enterprises gained respectability through their associations with prominent religious institutions that inscribed them with the secret signs of Buddhas and gods (*butsujin* [113]). The basis of all social positions, employment, and products would be traced back to divine origins. All activities, even killing, were justified through association with divine models. The tools of all trades were visualized as mandalas that mapped the locations and links between Buddhas

and gods and all creatures. Success in worldly endeavors was attributed to one's mastery of these resemblances. The complexity of these systems, with their infinite accumulation of hidden resemblances, could be mastered only through ritual performances, which lent them coherence and consistency. The Buddhist doctrines of emptiness and consciousness-only provided these rituals with an internal logic that admitted no distinction between mind and body nor any differences between the ritual enactment of correspondences and actual relationships among objects of the real world. Therefore, it was commonly asserted that mastery of any one system of ritual resemblances revealed the core principles of every other system, since they all consisted of the same process of merging the individual's mind with the universal Buddha realm.

These kinds of exoteric-esoteric associations are ubiquitous in the oldest surviving martial art initiation documents (*densho* [114]). Some documents assert divine origins for martial arts by linking them to bodhisattvas of India, to sage kings of China, and to the founding gods of Japan (e.g., Ômori 1991, 15). Or they describe how secret martial techniques were first revealed by the Buddhas and gods in dreams at famous temples and shrines (Tominaga 1972, 62; Ishioka 1981, 25–29). Many documents contain simplified instructions for esoteric Buddhist rituals, such as magical spells written in Sanskrit script that supposedly offer protection from enemies or diagrams that show how swords and other weapons correspond to mandalas populated by Buddhas, gods, and sacred animals (Ômori 1991, 260–267; Kuroki 1967). Tantric rituals to invoke the protection of Buddhist deities, such as Acalanâtha (Fudô [115]) or Marîci (Marishiten [116]), were especially popular among medieval fighting men. Because most warriors were illiterate prior to the seventeenth century, they relied on Buddhist priests (the most literate members of society) to compose these early martial art documents. Priests not only listed the Buddhist names of warrior religious rites, but also used Buddhist vocabulary as names of fighting techniques that lacked any relationship to Buddhist doctrines or practices. The martial techniques themselves consisted primarily of prearranged patterns (kata [117]) of stances, attacks, and parries that students imitated in choreographed exercises. As with Buddhist tantric ritual performances, the internalization of these patterns through constant repetition gave coherence to the curriculum's apparent complexity.

Assertions of divine origins and use of religious terminology imbued martial arts with a mystical authority that helped to ensure their survival, even after many of their fighting techniques became anachronistic. Students of these traditions in subsequent centuries began their training by signing written pledges (*kishômon*) to keep secret the esoteric lore they would learn. In many lineages, students who completed their training received

martial art diplomas at pseudoreligious rituals modeled after tantric initiations: The student would perform ascetic practices (*shôjin* [118]) for a set number of days, after which a chapel (*dôjô*) would be decorated, a special altar erected, and Buddhist deities such as Acalanâtha or Marîci invited; the student would present ritual offerings of weapons to the deities and give a specified number of gold coins to his teacher as a token of thanks. Sanctified in this manner, martial art lore became closely guarded secrets, knowledge of which conferred social status. Many martial art documents equated this lore with knowledge of the "one mind" (*isshin* [119]) underlying the infinite Buddha realms. Thus, it was widely proclaimed that success in battle depended as much on religious devotions and ritual performances as on fighting skills.

Chinese notions of cosmological and social order became widely incorporated into martial arts during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Establishment of the Tokugawa military government (*bakufu*) in 1603 ushered in an age of peace and stability that witnessed the spread of literacy and the development of a new class of professional martial art instructors. These professional martial artists for the first time in Japanese history composed systematic martial treatises (of which more than fifteen thousand separate titles still survive) and published many of them for an audience of avid readers. The authors of these treatises drew on systems of Chinese learning concerning cosmology, military theory, Daoist (Taoist) alchemy, and Confucianism to endow traditional kata with a veneer of literary and metaphysical sophistication.

Daoist alchemical practices were widespread because many of them already had been absorbed by established Buddhist systems of resemblances. Chief among these was the Nine-Word Spell (*kuji* [120]) for warding off evil spirits and enemy soldiers. The earliest Chinese version, as described in the *Baopu zi* [121] (*Pao-p'u tzu,* in Japanese *Hôbokushi;* a fourth-century alchemy manual), involves drawing a cross four times in the air in front of one's chest while chanting nine words, each one of which corresponds to a Daoist deity. Japanese versions taught in Buddhist, Shintô, and martial art lineages accompany each word with a tantric hand sign (mudra) corresponding to one of nine Buddhas. The Steps of Yu (*uho* [122]), another Daoist ritual from the *Baopu zi,* invokes the protection of Pole Star (*hokushin* [123]) Master of Destinies by means of dance steps that align the body with the Ursa Minor constellation (e.g., Sasamori 1965, 329–331; Ômori 1991, 267–269). These steps have been incorporated into many of the sword dances (*kenbu* [124]) still performed at Shintô shrines. Daoist rituals such as the Nine-Word Spell and Steps of Yu supposedly concealed the practitioner from his enemies and rendered him safe from their weapons.

Aside from magical spells, the alchemical practice most widely found in Japanese martial arts is embryonic breathing (*taisoku* [125]). Daoist texts associate breath with a cosmogonic material life force known as *qi* [126] (*chi,* Japanese *ki*) and teach special breathing methods as a means of cultivating the youthful vigor and longevity derived from this force. Martial art treatises teach that mastery of this material force enables one to control and defeat opponents without relying on physical strength. Hakuin Ekaku [127] (1685–1768), an influential Zen monk, helped popularize embryonic breathing by publishing a description of it in his *Yasen kanna* [128] (Evening Chat on a Boat, 1757; translated by Shaw and Schiffer 1956). In this work, Hakuin describes how he relied on Daoist inner contemplation (*naikan* [129]) to congeal the ocean of qi within the lower field of cinnabar (*tanden* [130]; i.e., lower abdomen) and thereby restore his own health after he had become ill as a result of excessive periods of Buddhist sitting Zen (*zazen* [131]) meditation. Hakuin said that he learned these techniques in 1710 from a perfected Daoist (*shinjin* [132]) named Hakuyû [133] who was then between 180 and 240 years old. The fact that Hakuin and his disciples gave firsthand instruction in these breathing methods to many swordsmen is often cited by historians as a link between Zen and martial arts (e.g., Ishioka 1981, 180–181). One must not overlook, however, the clear distinction in Hakuin's writings between Buddhist forms of Zen meditation and Daoist techniques of breath control.

Hakuin's methods of breath control came to form a core curriculum within the Nakanishi [134] lineage of the *Ittô-ryû* [135] style of fencing. Swordsmen in this lineage labeled instruction in embryonic breathing the *Tenshin* (Heavenly True) transmission. Tenshin [136] (in Chinese, Tianzhen) is the name of a Daoist deity who, according to the *Baopu zi,* first discovered the technique for prolonging life by circulating breath among the three fields of cinnabar and who then revealed these secrets to the Yellow Emperor. A fencer in this lineage, Shirai Tôru Yoshinori [137] (1783–1843), wrote perhaps the most detailed account of how embryonic breathing is applied to martial arts in his *Heihô michi shirube* [138] (Guide to the Way of Fencing; see Watanabe 1979, 162–167). Shirai defined Tenshin as the original material force (qi) of the Great Ultimate and as the source of divine cinnabar (*shintan* [139]; i.e., the elixir of immortality). Shirai asserted that his mastery of Tenshin enabled him to project qi out the tip of his sword blade like a flaming aura. His instructions for duplicating this feat, however, are so cryptic and laden with Daoist alchemical vocabulary that they are impossible to understand without direct guidance by a teacher.

While Daoist breathing techniques remain popular to this day, the single greatest Chinese influence on Japanese martial arts undoubtedly was exerted by Confucianism. During the Tokugawa period the study of Con-

fucian texts spread beyond the confines of the court nobility and of the Buddhist monasteries into hundreds of newly established domain schools and private academies. Confucian scholars adhered to a wide variety of academic approaches: ancient learning that emphasized the original Confucian classics, neo-Confucianism that emphasized later Chinese and Korean commentaries, as well as approaches that linked Confucian teachings to Japanese shrine rituals (i.e., Shintô) or to the study of Japanese history, to name only a few. In spite of academic variations, all these approaches shared a reliance on Confucian texts as authoritative guides to the ideal social norms taught by the sages of antiquity. These sagely norms were said to reflect the order, regularity, and harmonious integration of the universe itself, as revealed by the Book of Changes (*Yijing, I Ching* [140]; Japanese Ekikyô). Like nature, human society should attain a stable continuity of harmonious integration based on a hierarchy of high and low, strong and weak, within which everyone interacts according to proper etiquette and ritual. Achievement of this ideal society begins with benevolent rulers (*jinsei* [141]) who teach the people to rectify their own heart-minds (*shin,* or, in Japanese, *kokoro* [142]) by properly fulfilling the individual social roles appropriate to their own position within the hierarchy. In turn, individuals must investigate (*kyû*) the principles (*ri*) of their roles (i.e., *kyûri* [143]) and perform them with serious-minded (*kei* [144], "reverent") diligence.

Many Confucian scholars during the Tokugawa period were men of samurai status who also wrote about military affairs and about the proper role of military rulers (*shidô* [145]; i.e., *bushidô*) during an age of peace. Yamaga Sokô [146] (1632–1685), for example, combined lectures on military science with moral exhortations, arguing that samurai should practice self-discipline so that their rule would serve all members of society. In this way Confucian teachings not only justified military rule, but also helped to humanize the battle-hardened warriors of medieval Japan and transform them into the military bureaucrats required by Tokugawa peace. With no more wars to fight, people born into warrior families found that their assigned social roles lacked any meaningful purpose. Contemporary accounts commonly chastise them for being lazy, corrupt, and bereft of any higher ideals. Government leaders repeatedly sought to improve morale among warrior households by encouraging them to pursue Confucian learning and martial arts. As a result, many types of martial art training, which normally consist of paired student-teacher workouts before other students, gradually became reinterpreted as practical exercises in the investigation of Confucian principles and serious-minded performance. Within larger urban centers, especially, martial art academies functioned more like finishing schools, where instructors lectured on proper moral values and ceremonial decorum.

Over time, the Confucian ideals proclaimed by and for military rulers found an audience among powerful merchants, wealthy landowners (*chônin*), village administrators, prosperous peasants, and other commoners who aspired to higher status. Yasumaru Yoshio [147] has analyzed how moral virtues (such as serious-mindedness, diligence, thrift, humility, submission to authority, and uprightness) emerged during the Tokugawa period as a new form of public discourse and hardened into a "conventional morality" (*tsûzoku dôtoku* [148]) that exerted rigid control over all aspects of everyday life. This morality was extremely idealistic, insofar as it posited limitless possibilities for human development. Mind, or rather the moral qualities of mind, were seen as the source of all forms of success, whether measured in terms of social status, material wealth, or martial art prowess. This same moral discourse, however, justified and rendered invisible to criticism the most atrocious social inequities and contradictions. It reassured the wealthy and powerful of their moral superiority, while teaching the poor and oppressed that their misery resulted from their own moral shortcomings. Since it placed mind above the external world, malcontents were told that they should find happiness not by rebelling against that world but by reforming their own minds.

Seen within this background of conventional morality, it is not surprising that Tokugawa-period martial art treatises devote numerous pages to mind and proper mental attitudes. The example most familiar to modern readers (both in Japan and abroad) is the treatise usually titled *Fudôchi shinmyôroku* [149] (Marvelous Power of Immovable Wisdom; reprint in Hayakawa et al. 1915) attributed to the Zen monk Takuan Sôhô [150] (1573–1643). Nominally written in the form of a personal letter to Yagyû Munenori [151] (1571–1646), who served as fencing instructor to the Tokugawa family, Takuan's essay uses examples from fencing to illustrate basic Buddhist teachings and Zen sayings. He does not discuss the techniques or vocabulary of fencing, but rather emphasizes that a Buddhist approach to mental training improves not just one's fencing but especially one's ability to serve a lord. Significantly, Takuan rejected both the Daoist practice of concentrating the mind in the lower abdomen (lower field of cinnabar) and the Confucian practice of serious-mindedness (*kei,* "reverence"), which he likened to keeping a cat on a leash. Instead of constraining the mind through these practices, Takuan advocated cultivating a strong sense of imperturbability, which he described as a type of immovable wisdom that allows the mind to move freely without calculation. Takuan termed this mental freedom "not minding" (*mushin* [152]) and compared it to a well-trained cat that behaves even when released from its leash. Although "not minding" is sometimes misunderstood as a type of amoral automatic response, for Takuan imperturbability implied a firm moral sense that cannot be swayed by fear, intimidation, or temptation.

In spite of the enduring popularity of Takuan's essay, his advocacy of a Zen approach to mental training represented a minority opinion amidst the predominantly Confucian inclinations of Tokugawa-period martial treatises. Confucian critics commonly asserted that martial artists could learn nothing useful from Zen monks. Issai Chozan [153] (1659–1741), for example, argued in his *Tengu geijutsuron* [154] (Performance Theory of the Mountain Demons, 1727; reprinted in Hayakawa et al. 1915) that Zen teachings are impractical because Zen monks are unconcerned with society: They "abandon the proper relations between lords and ministers, ignore the rites, music, punishments, and politics taught by the sages, and wish to discard life and seek death" (Hayakawa et al.,1915, 320). Moreover, monks lack military training. Buddhist awakening alone, Issai maintained, cannot substitute for correct technique and suitable drill. For Issai and other Confucian instructors, mental training in martial arts consists of devotion to proper social relations, elimination of selfish private inclinations, acquiring a clear sense of right and wrong, and discipleship under a Confucian military instructor. Otherwise, the freedom of not minding (mushin) will be nothing more than a kind of arrogant vacuity (*gankû* [155], "foolishness").

Many Confucian instructors advocated quiet sitting (*seiza* [156]) rather than Buddhist forms of sitting Zen (zazen) meditation as a simplified method of mental cultivation. Quiet sitting differed from Zen meditation insofar as it eliminated all distinctive aspects of Buddhist ritual, such as sitting in the lotus posture, burning incense, observing fixed periods of time, and so forth (e.g., *Tengu geijutsuron* in Hayakawa et al. 1915, 337). The lack of these features allowed its advocates to portray quiet sitting as more compatible with secular life and less removed from worldly affairs. Noting that both Confucian instructors and Zen monks advocated forms of meditation and discussed the same conventional morality in similar terms, some scholars have referred to Tokugawa-period Confucian teachings as a kind of "popular Zen" for laypeople (e.g., Sawada). The ultimate result of these Confucian teachings, however, was not the popularization of Zen practice but a decline in Buddhist piety as their practitioners came to rely less on the worship of Buddhist divinities.

Adherence both to religious practices and to abstract metaphysics declined throughout the late eighteenth and, especially, nineteenth centuries, due to the widespread adoption of competitive forms of martial training and to foreign threats. Significantly, competition developed first in rural areas outside of the urban mainstream. The spread of martial art training among peasants and other commoners has not been well studied, partially from lack of scholarly interest but mainly because peasants did not write scholastic martial art treatises. Nonetheless it is clear that many rural households maintained or developed family traditions of martial art training and that as rural society became more stratified, they began to practice them openly as

a means of acquiring status. Lacking scholarly pretensions, rural martial artists emphasized mastery of technique and physical prowess, which they tested in competitive matches. In the early 1800s, when rural-trained fencers finally appeared in Edo (modern Tokyo), they easily defeated men of samurai status who had been trained in Confucian theory (or Zen), ceremonial decorum, and prearranged pattern exercises (kata). Thereafter established martial art lineages that had emphasized theory or mental training became subjects of ridicule, while new lineages that taught competition (*uchikomi keiko* [157]) flourished. The abandonment of theory accelerated with the ever more frequent arrival of foreign ships. Suddenly practical application (*jitsuyô* [158]) became more important than mental training or moral development. The Tokugawa government gave its stamp of approval to this change when it decreed that competition alone would be taught at Kôbusho [159], the military training school it established in 1856.

Kubota Seion [160] (1791–1866), one of the directors of the Kôbusho, amply illustrates late Tokugawa attitudes toward religious influences on martial arts. Kubota authored more than a hundred treatises on all aspects of military strategy and martial arts. He edited and wrote the preface for *Bukyô zensho* [161] (Complete Works on Military Education, five volumes) published by the Kôbusho in 1860. He is credited with having trained more than three thousand samurai soldiers. More than any other writer, he can be seen as representing the prevailing military views of government officials. According to Kubota, any martial art instructor who said that the founder of his lineage was initiated into religious secrets, or had learned his skills through an inspirational dream, or had been taught by mountain demons (*tengu* [162]), or had mastered his art through Zen training was simply a liar preying on the religious sentiments of gullible students.

Of course, conventional morality and its religious framework was too much a part of martial arts (and of everyday life) to be so easily abandoned. Many martial artists persisted in religious practices and mental training. Of these traditionalists, none became better known than Yamaoka Tesshû [163] (1836–1888). Yamaoka gained fame for his heroism during the brief civil war of 1868 that overthrew the Tokugawa regime and for his political role in the new Meiji government, first as a councilor and later as one of the emperor's chamberlains. A natural athlete, in 1856 Yamaoka became an assistant fencing instructor at the Kôbusho. His approach to martial training changed completely, however, when in 1863 he lost a match to Asari Yoshiaki [164], the head of the same Nakanishi lineage of fencing mentioned above. Yamaoka became Asari's student, and at Asari's urging undertook an intense regimen of meditation practice under the guidance of several prominent Zen teachers. Yamaoka continued his training for the next seventeen years until, in 1880, he attained certification both in Zen and in the Nakanishi lineage. By that

time, most educated people already had abandoned traditional martial arts as old-fashioned. Four years earlier, in 1876, wearing swords in public had been made illegal. Fencing had lost all practical purpose. Yamaoka, however, was not deterred. He renamed his lineage the No-Sword Style (*Mutô-ryû* [165]) and announced that he would teach fencing not for the purpose of dueling but for training the mind. His students, he asserted, would learn how to defeat opponents not with swords but with their minds.

Yamaoka died within a few years of announcing his new approach, before it could become fully established. Although many posthumously published texts purport to convey his teachings, they are filled with contradictions and incongruities. We know more speculation than fact about his methods or the extent to which they were based on Nakanishi traditions of embryonic breathing. Nonetheless, it is clear that his own Zen training occurred with monks at Buddhist temples. Zen practice was an external supplement to his fencing, not something intrinsic within it. Yamaoka's political prominence, the novelty of his methods, and his anachronistic effort to turn back the tide of history and revive the mental training of earlier Tokugawa times, however, ensured that upon his death he immediately became known as the quintessential Zen swordsman. In 1897, when the chancellor of the Japanese consulate in London, England, gave a lecture on "The Influence of Shintô and Buddhism in Japan," for example, he concluded by discussing Yamaoka's No-Sword Style (Yamashita). The chancellor argued that Yamaoka's swordsmanship was a real-life example of Takuan's Zen teachings, which in turn perfectly illustrated the findings advanced by Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) in his *Principles of Psychology* (1855). In this way, Yamaoka was more than just a traditionalist who sought to cling to older styles of swordsmanship during a new age in which people no longer wore swords. He also served as a forerunner for the introduction of the now familiar motif of the psychological unity of Zen and the martial arts to the English-speaking world.

William M. Bodiford

See also Aikidô; Budô, Bujutsu, and Bugei; Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice; Kendô; Koryû Bugei, Japanese; Swordsmanship, Japanese; Warrior Monks, Japanese/Sôhei; Written Texts: Japan

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List of Ideograms

1	Zen Buddhism	禅仏教
2	*mushin*	無心
3	*shûkyô*	宗教
4	*shûkyô wo yyû*	宗教を言う
5	Meiji	明治
6	Tokugawa	徳川
7	*bukufu*	幕府

8	Shintō	神道
9	*shin bukkyō*	新佛教
10	Kanō Jigorō	嘉納治五郎
11	*kōtō shihan gakkō*	高等師範學校
12	Kōdōkan	講道館
13	jūjutsu	柔術
14	*geiken* or *gekiken*	撃剣
15	*heishiki taisō*	兵式体操
16	*kōgeki seishin*	攻撃精神
17	*seishin kyōiku*	精神教育
18	*seichin itsū*	精神一到
19	Zhu Xi	朱熹
20	*bushidō*	武士道
21	*zenkoku kaihei*	全国皆兵
22	*Kirisutokyō to bushidō*	キリスト教ト武士道
23	Uemura Masahisa	植村正久
24	*bushi*	武士
25	Nitobe Inazō	新渡戸稲造
26	Dainippon Butokukai	大日本武徳會
27	*wakon* or *yamato-damashii*	和魂
28	*kokuzoku*	國賊
29	*kokuminshi*	國民性
30	*kōdō*	皇道
31	Nishikubo Hironichi	西久保弘道
32	*budō*	武道
33	*bujutsu*	武術
34	*senmon gakkō*	専門学校
35	*kenjutsu*	剣術
36	*kyūjutsu*	弓術
37	kendō	剣道
38	jūdō	柔道
39	*kyūdō*	弓道
40	*kidō*	騎道
41	*badō*	馬道
42	*jūkendō*	銃剣道
43	*shageki-dō*	射撃道
44	*supōtsu-dō*	スポーツ道
45	*supōmanshi*	体育
46	*shukyō*	宗教
47	*enbu*	演武

48	*jutsu*	術
49	*kamudana*	神棚
50	dōjō	道場
51	*Gorin no sho*	五輪書
52	*Ittōsai sensei kenpō sho*	一刀斎先生剣法書
53	*Kenpō Sethun sensei sōdan*	剣法雪心先生相談
54	D. T. Suzuki	鈴木大拙
55	*shuriken*	撒剣
56	*shuriken*	手裏剣
57	*tenouchi wo miru*	手の裏を見る
58	Awa Kenzō	阿波研造
59	Daishakyōdō	大射教道
60	*tairen*	体練
61	*taiiku*	体育
62	*shinai kyōgi*	竹刀競技
63	kyōiku supootsu	教育スポーツ
64	*ko*	古
65	*shin*	新
66	-jutsu	術
67	-dō	道
68	Nihon Budō Kyōgikai	日本武道協議会
69	kenshō	剣聖
70	*jutsu kara dō ni hatten shita*	術から道に発展した
71	*buke*	武家
72	*jinin*	神人
73	*sōhei*	僧兵
74	*akutō*	悪党
75	*wakō*	倭冦
76	*ikki*	一揆
77	samurai	侍
78	*ashigaru*	足軽
79	*kuchi*	差口
80	*chōnin*	町人
81	*gōshi*	豪士
82	Ikkō	一向
83	Mt. Hiei	比叡山
84	Oda Nobunaga	織田信長
85	Ōtomo	大友
86	Ōmura	大村
87	Arima	有馬

88	shōgun	将軍
89	Ieyasu	家康
90	Tōshō Dai Gongen	東照大権現
91	*kokugaku*	国学
92	Tomonaga Nakamoto	富永仲基
93	*ujigami*	氏神
94	*ujidera*	氏寺
95	ryūha	流派
96	*kishōmon*	起請文
97	*hōnō hōkō*	奉納相撲
98	Kuroda Toshio	黒田俊雄
99	*kenmitsu*	顕密
100	Hossō	法相
101	Nichiren	日蓮
102	Sauron	三論
103	Shingon	真言
104	Shugendō	修験道
105	Tendai	天台
106	Zen	禅
107	*mujō*	無常
108	*muga*	無我
109	*kū*	空
110	*ushiki*	有為
111	*jisha*	寺社
112	*gongyō*	勤行
113	*butsujin*	仏神
114	*denjusho*	伝書
115	Fudō	不動
116	Marishiten	摩利支天
117	kuji	空
118	*shōjin*	精進
119	*isshin*	一心
120	*kiji*	小字
121	*Ruanpu xi*	阮朴子
122	*uho*	武歩
123	*hokushin*	北辰
124	*kenbu*	剣舞
125	*tansoku*	胎息
126	*qi*	気
127	Hakuin Ekaku	白隠慧鶴

128	*Yasen kanna*	夜船閑話
129	*naikan*	内観
130	*tanden*	丹田
131	*zazen*	坐禅
132	*shinjin*	信人
133	Hakuyū	白隠
134	Nakanishi	中西派
135	*Itō-ryū*	一刀流
136	Tenshin	天真
137	Shirai Tōru Yoshimori	白井亨義盛
138	*Heihō michi shirube*	兵法未到比留倍
139	*shinten*	神丹
140	*I Ching*	易経
141	*jinsei*	仁政
142	*kokoro*	心
143	*kyūri*	究理
144	*kei*	敬
145	*shūdō*	士道
146	Yamaga Sokō	山鹿素行
147	Yasunaru Yoshio	安成良夫
148	*tsūzoku dōtoku*	通俗道徳
149	*Fudōchi shinmyōroku*	不動智神妙録
150	Takuan Sōhō	沢庵宗彭
151	Yagyū Munenori	柳生宗矩
152	*mushin*	無心
153	Issai Chozan	佚斎樗山
154	*Tengu geijutsuron*	天狗芸術論
155	*gunkei*	郡卿
156	*seiza*	静坐
157	*uchikomi keiko*	打込み稽古
158	*jissenrō*	実践
159	Kōbusho	講武所
160	Kubota Seion	久田清音
161	*Bukyō zenshu*	武教全書
162	*ningu*	人形
163	Yamaoka Tesshū	山岡鉄舟
164	Asari Yoshiaki	浅利義明
165	*Muto-ryū*	無刀流

S

Sambo

Sambo is an acronym (in Russian) for "Self-Defense without Weapons" (***Sam****o borona* ***b****ez* ***o****ruzhija* or ***Sam****ozashchitija* ***b****ez* ***o****ruzhija*).

Sambo is a Russian martial art that was created by Anatolij A. Kharlampiev, Viktor A. Spiridonov, and Vasilij S. Oshchepkov in the 1930s in the former Soviet Union. It is a fighting style that relies primarily on throws, grappling techniques, and arm and leg locks. In many respects, it is similar to jûdô, freestyle wrestling, and Greco-Roman wrestling. Sambo is a synthesis of traditional wrestling styles and fighting systems practiced by the peoples of the former Soviet Union, as well as Kôdôkan Jûdô. Today, sambo exists as military sambo, sport sambo, and self-defense techniques. It is practiced worldwide as a sport and combat system and is used extensively by Russian police units and armed forces.

Sambo was developed to create both an unarmed combat system for the Soviet military and police units and a sport system for Soviet citizens. Following the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the newly formed Communist government of the Soviet Union attempted to consolidate various cultural elements of the peoples of the USSR into a monolithic cultural entity. The Communist dogma of the period focused on different classes of peoples, rather than nationalities, and one of the stated purposes of the Bolsheviks was the elimination of classes. This was emphasized in the Soviet government's objective of creating a new "Soviet Man" from the more than 300 diverse nationalities living in the vast country. This led to efforts to create "Soviet" music, literature, art, architecture, theater, and sport.

The creation of sambo was an attempt to create a true "Soviet" fighting art consistent with the government's objectives of creating one "Soviet" culture from the disparate native cultures of the USSR. To promote this objective, the fighting styles of various cultures were studied, observed, and categorized, sometimes in a scientific manner, sometimes in a haphazard way. Anatolij Kharlampiev, who was recognized during Soviet times as the "father of sambo," spearheaded some of these efforts. There is controversy

today over which of the three individuals, Kharlampiev, Spiridonov, or Oshchepkov, was most responsible for the actual formation of the art. Given the bloody nature of the Soviet regime during the 1930s, it is unlikely that there is a simple or direct answer to this question.

In part because of the chaotic situation in the post-Revolutionary Soviet Union, combined with the horrific human toll of World War II, the actual history of sambo is a contentious issue in the newly democratized Russian Federation. There are supporters of Kharlampiev, Oshchepkov, and Spiridonov, each advocating their own "founder's" position. Further, there exist different branches of the art, each often contending with the others as to sambo's actual foundations. As with many martial arts, even recent ones, the actual development and history may always be a cause for speculation.

Sambo is recognized as a syncretic martial art that borrowed techniques from several styles. The founders of the art were versed in different fighting systems, and attempts were made to integrate them together. From the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, which had extensive ties to Western Europe, Greco-Roman wrestling and freestyle wrestling were observed and studied. From Greco-Roman wrestling, several powerful throws were incorporated into sambo, most notably those using the hips. Leg techniques were added from freestyle wrestling. In the Caucasus Republic of Georgia, traditional jacket wrestling was studied. Jacket wrestling involves the competitors wearing a tight-fitting jacket, which can be grasped to throw a person. The jacket is supposed to represent clothing and thus help develop a person's ability to defend oneself in a street situation. This practice may have influenced the sambo uniform and taught sambo practitioners how to use the clothing of an opponent for techniques. Ossetian grappling arts were also studied. Ossetia is another region of the Caucasus where wrestling is intensely practiced for both sport and self-defense.

Other arts that may have been incorporated into sambo included the Turkish wrestling practiced in Azerbaijan. Azeri/Turkish wrestling resembles the Icelandic sport of *Glima* in many respects, most notably the pants that are worn by the competitors, which can be grasped for throws (in Glima, the pants are represented by a belt). This practice may have led to the idea of grasping the belt in sambo for use in throwing the opponent. *Khokh,* the national Armenian wrestling system, was probably also studied. In addition, native Russian techniques were also incorporated into this system, including arm and leg locks.

Armlocks are attempts to hyperextend the elbow joint beyond its capacity. If this is done, the opponent's arm is broken. Leg locks are similar in that they attempt to hyperextend the knee joint or twist the opponent's ankle into a break. This can break the leg. These combat techniques may have

A crowd intently watches a wrestling match in Tatarstan, Russia. (Gregor Schmid/Corbis)

developed as a result of the harsh winter environment of Russia, where people dress in several layers of clothes. Often, arms and legs are the only areas that can be attacked because of this heavy clothing; chokes are impractical because of the protection around the neck. Many Russians also claim that arm and leg locks are easier to apply and more effective than chokes.

In addition to these European and Central Asian arts, Russia has a significant East Asian population. This population practices various Chinese and Mongolian wrestling systems, including *shuaijiao* (*shuai-chiao*), and it is likely that techniques from these systems were also included. Kôdôkan Jûdô, as taught by Vasilij Oshchepkov, was also blended into the system. It is likely that the choke holds taught to military sambo practitioners came from this system.

In addition to these grappling arts, striking arts were added to the military sambo curriculum. Both Spiridonov and Oshchepkov were familiar with the basics of Japanese *atemi-waza* (vital point technique), in which practitioners are taught to strike at the weak points of the human body. In addition, boxing techniques from English boxing were added. French *savate* was practiced in the Russian Empire before the Revolution of 1917, and it is likely that some of the kicks from this art were incorporated into sambo as well. Although striking is not permitted in sport sambo, it is used in military sambo and self-defense techniques.

The development of sambo was an attempt to create a native fighting system for the new nation. Although it did not supplant the native styles from which it emerged, sambo did provide a unified system of grappling that enabled all citizens of the USSR to have a common ground on which to compete. In addition, military sambo and self-defense techniques gave the military and police forces a tool that they could use in their respective professions.

The creators of sambo were successful in creating an effective martial art that was able to cut across the ethnic barriers that affected all levels of Soviet life. Today, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and emergence of the Russian Federation, sambo is recognized as a Russian art that was developed during Soviet times.

Russians have a long and distinguished wrestling tradition, and sambo is an outgrowth of this dedication. Its development was a way for Soviet authorities to have both a true "native" sport as well as an effective means of self-defense. Sambo was promoted during the Soviet period as the "official" self-defense art of the USSR, and for a time was the only martial art that could be practiced legally, with the exception of jûdô. This suppression was due to the paranoid fears of the Soviet government that Asian martial arts would expose Soviet citizens to Asian religions and philosophies in an officially atheist state. In addition, there was concern that the youth of the nation would study unsupervised unarmed combat and become a menace to the society. Although jûdô was considered a non-Soviet martial art, its practice was allowed because jûdô was an Olympic event and the Soviet government was hungry for medals. With the fall of the USSR, martial arts of all styles were once again allowed into the Russian Federation. At the present time, martial arts of all styles are freely practiced in the Federation and the now independent former republics, but sambo still is very popular and continues to be practiced in all areas of these nations. Although jûdô was considered a non-Soviet martial art, its practice was allowed because jûdô was an Olympic event and the Soviet government was hungry for medals. With the fall of the USSR, martial arts of all styles were once again allowed into the Russian Federation. At the present time, martial arts of all styles are freely practiced in the Federation and the now-independent former republics, but sambo still is very popular and continues to be practiced in all areas of these nations in three forms: military sambo, self-defense sambo, and sport sambo.

Military sambo is the branch of the art that was taught to select army units and agents of the former KGB and GRU. The notorious KGB (Komititet Gosudarstvenoj Bezopasnosti; Committee for State Security) was the Soviet secret police responsible for both foreign espionage and internal repression of Soviet citizens. The GRU (Gosudarstvenije Razvedivatelnije

Upravlenije; State Intelligence Agency) was the military secret police responsible for military espionage and intelligence operations. Today military sambo is still the self-defense system taught to select army units and to agents of various intelligence services of the Russian Federation. It is a martial art designed for combat situations.

Military sambo includes choke holds, strikes with the hands and feet, disarming techniques, and elbow strikes, in addition to sport sambo techniques, described later in this entry. Choke holds are attempts to cut off the air supply, blood supply, or both from the torso to the head. This is usually achieved through blocking the windpipe or squeezing the carotid arteries. Although not legal in sport sambo, these devastating techniques can be very effective in combat situations.

Although striking is secondary in sambo, military sambo practitioners are taught strikes and how to use them to their advantage, especially when setting up for a throw or a hold. A strike by the elbow into the face or a stomp with the edge of the foot along the shin can often disrupt an opponent enough to allow a finishing hold. In addition, practitioners are taught unarmed combat techniques against knives, clubs, and firearms. Learning how to disarm an opponent is critical in combat situations, and military sambo practitioners are expected to be proficient in this skill.

Self-defense sambo is taught to the city police ("militia") and civilians interested in protecting themselves. It is not as involved or complex as sport or military sambo, and consists primarily of techniques to handle certain types of physical attacks. An analogy would be that of a person taking a basic self-defense course or rape-prevention course.

The rules of sport sambo were codified during the 1930s, and the art was formally recognized as an official sport of the Soviet Union in 1938. In 1939, the first sambo championships in the USSR were held in Leningrad (St. Petersburg). In 1968, the art was recognized by the International Amateur Wrestling Federation (FILA) as a discipline of wrestling, and in 1973 the first world championships were held in Teheran, Iran. Sambo was also a demonstration sport entry in the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. Sport sambo continues to grow as an international sport and is practiced worldwide. Although it is most popular in Russia, Eastern and Western Europe, and nations of the former Soviet Union, the number of sambists in the Americas, Japan, and the Middle East is growing. Sport sambo can be seen in the United States in Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) competitions and is also an event in the Pan-American games. There are also All-European sambo championships as well as All-Russian and World Cup championships. The growth of sport sambo has provided impetus for discussions of its inclusion in the Olympic Games as a medal event.

Sport sambo is similar to jûdô in many respects. Sambo practitioners

wear shorts or a wresting singlet, wrestling shoes, and a tight-fitting jacket known as a *kurtka*. The kurtka is tighter fitting than the traditional *jûdôgi*. In addition, the kurtka has epaulets or shoulder cuffs for grasping. Sambo practitioners also wear a belt that can be grasped by competitors and used for throws. The kurtka has rings to hold the belt in place, which is intended to simulate actual street clothing.

A sambo match is two periods of three minutes each with a one-minute rest interval between the two periods. The goal of the competitors is a total victory. This occurs in one of three ways: after a throw when the thrown lands on his back and the thrower remains standing, when the opponent taps the mat twice after being locked into a submission hold, and when one competitor has twelve points over the opponent's total. Failing total victory, the competitor with the most points wins. It is important to note that sambo matches are won by the awarding of points; there are no pins or throws that can directly end a match, as in most other wrestling systems.

Sambists have four methods to gain points in a match. The first is by throwing the opponent. Points are awarded by examining the final positions of both the thrower and the thrown after the throw is completed. The second is by a takedown. The attacking sambist must unbalance the opponent and take him to the mat, similar to Greco-Roman and freestyle wrestling. The third method is by a hold. The attacking sambist must hold the opponent's back toward the mat in a danger position of less than ninety degrees, with both chests in contact, to score. The fourth method is by a submission hold. Submission, or torture, holds are pressure holds exerted against the arms or legs. Examples include arm bars, leg locks, joint locks, and ankle locks. Note that there are no choke holds in sport sambo. A women's division was added in 1987 to Soviet sambo competition.

Sambo has a belt ranking system that is similar to some Asian martial arts, but its legitimacy is a subject of controversy. Some organizations recognize this system, while others do not. Belts begin with first degree, a white belt, and go up to eleventh degree, which is gold with an FILA emblem and honor band. Practitioners are awarded rankings exclusively based on competition. The first three belts are awarded at the regional level. Fourth and fifth degrees are awarded by regional coaches with approval from a country's national sambo federation. Sixth and seventh degrees are awarded to national champions. Eighth degree belts are awarded to champions who place third in an international event. Ninth degree rankings are for those who place second in an international event, and tenth degree is for those who place first. The eleventh degree is reserved for sambists with formidable competitive records or for those judged as "international masters" of sambo. Sambo coaches can be awarded belts based on the records of their students.

In addition to this ranking system, the USSR Sports Federation had its own internal system of sambo ranking. Sambists who were actively competing in the USSR were considered to be "sport candidates." Those sambists who won a national title in their class were awarded the title "master of sport" and were licensed to teach the art. There were different classes of sport sambo competition, including armed forces sambo competitions, KGB competitions, amateur competitions, and youth competitions.

Today, sambo is regulated by the International Amateur Sambo Federation (FIAS), which is further developing an international system of rankings and rules. This may lead to changes in sambo grading and proficiency examinations. It is likely, however, that the rules for competition and the method for awarding points in tournaments will remain the same.

Soviet films sometimes showcased sambo. There are three films that may be familiar to Western filmgoers. The first, *The Undefeated,* is a film about the life and travels of Anatolij Kharlampiev in his development of sambo. The second, *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears,* was the 1980 Oscar winner for Best Foreign Film and features a whimsical display of the art, as a sambist engages the Soviet version of juvenile delinquents. The final entry, *The Individual Swimmer,* features Soviet commandos and spies incorporating sambo techniques as they attempt to avert a war.

Sambo champions and trainers are well known and respected in the former Soviet Union and Russia. Anatolij Kharlampiev is a hero of the former Soviet Union for his work. Russian figures such as David Rudman and Laishev Renat are as well known in their home country as football and baseball players in the United States. With the advent of events such as the Ultimate Fighting Championship and international no-holds-barred events, sambists such as Oleg Taktarov and Igor Zinoviev have become recognizable figures worldwide.

Sambo was, for fifty years, the exclusive martial art for more than 300 million people. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union and free flow of information now occurring from the Russian Federation, the popularity of sambo continues to grow. As martial arts of all styles continue to grow in popularity worldwide, sambo can rightfully take its place as one of the most influential and effective fighting styles of the twentieth century.

Gene P. Tausk

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Samurai

Japan's famous warrior order arose during the early part of the Heian period (A.D. 794–1185), a product of the same trend toward the privatization of government functions and the delegation of administrative responsibility that distinguished the Heian polity from the Nara-era (710–794) predecessor. Its roots came from a shift in imperial court military policy that began in the middle decades of the eighth century and picked up momentum in the ninth.

Around the turn of the eighth century, the imperial house and its supporters had created an elaborate battery of military institutions modeled in large measure on those of Tang China. Contrary to popular belief, these institutions were not simply adopted wholesale, they were carefully adapted to meet Japanese needs. The various goals and requirements of the state, however, were often in conflict with one another, with the result that the imperial state military apparatus incorporated a number of unhappy compromises. Problems inherent in the system at its inception, moreover, were made worse by changing conditions as the principal threats the state armies were designed to meet—invasion from the continent and regional challenges to the new, centralized polity—dwindled rapidly.

By the mid-700s, the court had begun to reevaluate its martial needs and to restructure its armed forces, tinkering and experimenting with mechanisms for using and directing a new and different kind of soldiery, until a workable system was achieved around the late tenth century. Bit by bit, the government ceased trying to draft and drill the population at large and concentrated instead on co-opting the privately acquired skills of martially talented elites through a series of new military posts and titles that legitimized the use of the personal martial resources of this group on behalf of the state. In essence, the court moved from a conscripted, publicly trained military force to one composed of privately trained, privately equipped professional mercenaries.

As it happened, government interest in the martial talents of provincial elites and the scions of lower-ranked central noble families dovetailed with growing private demands for these same resources spawned by competition for wealth and influence among the premier noble houses of the court. State and private needs served to create continually expanding opportunities for advancement for those with military talent. Increasingly, from the late eighth century onward, skill at arms offered a means for an ambitious young man to get his foot in the door for a career in government service or in the service of some powerful aristocrat in the capital—or both. The greater such opportunities became, the more enthusiastically and the more seriously such young men committed themselves to the profession of

A portrait of three men in Japan dressed as samurai warriors, wearing armor and carrying naginata (halberds) and katanas (long swords), ca. 1890. (Michael Maslan Historic Photographs/Corbis)

arms. The result was the gradual emergence of an order of professional fighting men in the countryside and the capital.

Superficial similarities between the samurai and the knights of northern Europe make it tempting to equate the birth of the samurai with the onset of "feudalism" in the Japanese countryside, but such was not the case. While the descendants—both genealogical and institutional—of the professional warriors of Heian times did indeed become the masters of Japan's medieval and early modern epochs, until the very end of the twelfth century the samurai remained the servants, not the adversaries, of the court and the state.

This situation, so enigmatic in hindsight, seems much less so when considered in the context of the times. For the nascent warrior order of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries was constrained from without by the same public (state) and private (court noble) policies that encouraged its development, and from within by the inability of its own members to forge secure and enduring bonds among themselves. Like the landholding and governing systems of the same era, the Heian military and police system readily responded and adapted to changing circumstances in the capital and the provinces, while the court jealously guarded its exclusive right to oversee and direct it. Then, in 1180, Minamoto Yoritomo, a dispossessed heir to a leading samurai house, adeptly parlayed his own pedigree, the localized ambitions of provincial warriors, and a series of upheavals within the imperial court into the creation of a new institution—called the shogunate, or *bakufu,* by historians—in the eastern village of Kamakura.

The first shogunate was in essence a government within a government, at once a part of and distinct from the imperial court in Kyoto. Its principal functions were to oversee eastern Japan and the samurai class, based on authority delegated to it by the court. But the establishment of this new institution set rolling a snowball that expanded until it bowled over and completely destroyed Japan's classical polity. In the twelfth century, shôgunal vassals across the country discovered that they could manipulate the insulation from direct court supervision offered them by the Kamakura regime to lay ever stronger and more personal claims to the lands (and the people on them) they ostensibly administered on behalf of the powers-that-were in the capital. Through gradual advance by fait accompli, a new warrior-dominated system of authority absorbed the older, courtier-dominated one, and real power over the countryside spun off steadily from the center to the hands of local figures.

By the second quarter of the fourteenth century, this evolution had progressed to the point where the most successful of the shogunate's provincial vassals had begun to question the value of continued submission to the Kamakura regime. Thus when a deposed emperor, posthumously known as

Godaigo, issued a call to arms against the shogunate, among those who answered him were Ashikaga Takauji and Nitta Yoshisada, both descendants of Minamoto Yoritomo and sometime commanders of Kamakura armies. In 1333 Yoshisada captured Kamakura and destroyed the shogunate. Two years later Takauji broke with Godaigo and drove him from the capital. In 1336, after annihilating Yoshisada's army in the Battle of Minatogawa, he established a new shogunate, under himself, headquartered in the Muromachi district of Kyoto. Under the new regime, warriors not only dominated the countryside, but overshadowed the imperial court as well. Yoritomo's snowball was not, however, done rolling or growing yet.

Fifteen Ashikaga shôgun reigned between 1336 and 1573, when the last, Yoshiaki, was deposed; but only the first six could lay claim to have actually ruled the country. By the late 1400s, while both the court and the shogunate remained nominally in authority, real power in Japan had devolved to a few score feudal barons called daimyo, whose authority rested first and foremost on their ability to hold lands by military force. There followed a century and a half of nearly continuous warfare, as daimyo contested with one another, and with those below them, to maintain and expand their domains. The spirit of this Sengoku (literally, "country at war") age is captured in two expressions current at the time: *gekokujô* (the low overthrow the high) and *jakuniku kyôshoku* (the weak become meat; the strong eat).

But the instability of gekokujô could not continue indefinitely. Daimyo quickly discovered that the corollary cliché to "might makes right" is "he who lives by the sword, dies by the sword," and that many were spending as much time and energy defending themselves from their own ambitious vassals as from other daimyo. During the late sixteenth century, the most able among them began searching for ways to reduce vassal independence. This in turn made possible the creation of ever larger domains and hegemonic alliances extending across entire regions. At length, the successive efforts of three men—Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu—eliminated many of the smaller daimyo and unified the rest into a nationwide coalition. In 1603 Ieyasu assumed the title of shôgun and established Japan's third military regime. The new polity, a kind of centralized feudalism, left most of the country divided into great domains ruled by hereditary daimyo, who were in turn closely watched and regulated by the shogunate.

The advent of this new polity and the ensuing Pax Tokugawa marked the transition from medieval to early modern Japan, which brought with it profound changes for the samurai. In the medieval age, warriors had constituted a flexible and permeable order defined primarily by their activities as fighting men. At the top of this order stood the daimyo, some of whom

were inheritors of family warrior legacies dating back centuries, while others had clawed their way to this status from far humbler beginnings. Below these were multiple layers of lesser lords, enfeoffed vassals, and yeoman farmers, whose numbers and service as samurai waxed and waned with the fortunes of war and the resources and military needs of the great barons. The early modern regime froze the social order, drawing for the first time a clear line between peasants, who were registered with and bound to their fields, and samurai, who were removed from their lands and gathered into garrisons in the castle towns of the shôgun and the daimyo. The samurai thus became a legally defined, legally privileged, hereditary class, consisting of a very few feudal lords and a much larger body of retainers on stipend, whose numbers were now fixed by law. Moreover, without wars to fight, the military skills and culture of this class inevitably atrophied. The samurai rapidly evolved from sword-wielding warriors to sword-bearing bureaucrats descended from warriors.

The Tokugawa regime kept the peace in Japan for the better part of three centuries before at last succumbing to a combination of foreign pressure, evolution of the nation's social and economic structure, and decay of the government itself. In 1868, combined armies from four domains forced the resignation of the last shôgun and declared a restoration of all powers of governance to the emperor. This event, known as the Meiji Restoration (a name given to the calendar era 1868–1912), marked the beginning of the end for the samurai as a class. Over the next decade, they were stripped first of their monopoly of military service, and then, one by one, of the rest of their privileges and badges of status: their special hairstyle, their way of dress, their exclusive right to surnames, their hereditary stipends, and the right to wear swords in public. By the 1890s Japan was a modernized, industrialized nation ruled by a constitutional government and defended by a Westernized conscript army and navy. The samurai were no more.

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See also Budô, Bujutsu, and Bugei; Japan; Sword, Japanese; Swordsmanship, Japanese; Written Texts: Japan

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Savate

Savate (from the French for "shoe") is an indigenous martial art of France and southwestern Europe that developed from the fighting techniques of sailors, thugs, and soldiers. Although it has a reputation for being a kicking style, savate also includes hand strikes and grappling, as well as weapons. Two separate sports have derived from savate, the first a form of sport kickboxing called *Boxe Française,* the second a form of fencing with sticks called *la canne de combat*. Two related arts, called *chausson* (French; deck shoe) and *zipota* (Basque; boot), also existed but today are considered part of the style of savate called "Savate Danse de Rue."

The use of kicking techniques in Western martial arts like boxing and wrestling probably started with the Greeks and Romans in the art known as *pankration*. The early history is often vague, but sword manuscripts from the 1400s, such as *Talhoffer Fechtbuch,* also included sections on wrestling that included kicking and striking techniques along with grappling. Several of these manuals were recently collected together in a German book on wrestling that shows what appears to be the continuation of savate-like techniques from 1447 to 1700. The earliest references to savate itself come from literature and folklore: In the 1700s a poem describes a *savateur* (practitioner of savate) as part angel and part devil. In Basque folklore, the heroic half-bear, half-man Basso Juan uses zipota, the Basque form of savate, in his fights. In the mid-1700s, the term *chausson*, from the type of shoe worn on board ship, was being used to describe the fighting techniques of French, Spanish, and Portuguese sailors. As time passed, the more northern style of foot fighting was called savate while the southern style was called chausson. Chausson was more a form of play or sport, while savate was more combative.

In 1803, Michel "Pisseux" Casseux opened the first *salle* (training hall) of savate in Paris. He had codified the techniques of savate into fifteen kicking techniques and fifteen cane techniques. About the same time, Emile Lamand began teaching savate in Madrid. Lamand adopted the local style of knife fighting (called either *navaja,* for a type of knife, or *saca tripas* [gut

puller]) into his savate. As the popularity of savate increased, more *savatiers* (old spelling) began teaching formally. Due to the poor reputation of savate at that time, the word *sabotage* was used in French for the act of mugging someone and a savateur was considered a brutal thug.

Some of this disapproval changed during the time of the Lecour brothers. The banning of swords within the city limits of Paris to restrict dueling caused a great increase in interest in savate by the nobility and upper class. The use of *la canne* (the cane) and the *baton* (walking stick) for self-defense and to settle disagreements became common, and many noted swordsmen took up la canne and savate. Hubert Lecour was a professional soldier and *maitre d'armes* (master of arms) as well as a savateur who had taught lancers in Spain the techniques of baton for defense when unhorsed. His skill and ability to popularize the art gained him many students, such as Alexander Dumas, Lord Seymour, and the duke of Orleans. The latter, a noted duelist, is credited with introducing many rapier, saber, and court sword techniques into la canne. Savate became so popular that Napoleon III mandated its use in training soldiers. During this period, the sport of canne de combat developed from the techniques of *canne d'armes* and fencing.

The association of savate with the French military led to savate's exportation to many of the French colonies. In addition, French and Basque emigrants to North America carried the art with them. Depending on the length and strength of the influence, savate survived in formal salles (Ivory Coast, Algiers, French Indochina), as an informal art associated with boxing or wrestling (South Texas, Idaho, Quebec) or as a local preference for using one's feet (Louisiana). The survival of zipota in South Texas among the Basque settlers is well documented: Zipota maitre Isdro Chapa was a retired boxing champion as well as a noted boxing coach in Laredo, Texas, who trained his fighters in zipota for use in the streets. This art had been passed down in the local boxing gyms for generations until one of his students, his nephew Paul-Raymond Buitron III, renewed the ties to the European lineage by studying in France. There is compelling evidence of its influence in South America, as well. The high arcing kicks of chausson and its practice of kicking with one hand on the floor for balance are believed to have been incorporated into Brazilian capoeira. Great similarities are seen in the techniques, salute, and dress of the old practitioners of chausson and capoeira. The presence of chausson players among the sailors in Salvador, Brazil, has been established, and French cultural influence was strong in Brazil in the 1900s. Capoeira master Bira ("Mestre Acordeon") Almeida said in a 1996 personal communication with the author that the connection between the arts is probable and "that Chausson is one of the grandparents of Capoeira."

Hubert Lecour's brother, Charles, like one of his teachers, Michel Casseux, was fond of fighting and accepted challenges from fighters of any

Two champions of savate (French boxing), J. Charlemont and V. Castérès (front row, third and fourth from left). (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

style. One should note that at this time the differences between boxing, wrestling, and savate were less defined than today, and many fighters competed in all three. Charles Lecour's fight with the boxer Owen Swift of England ended in a draw, with Swift's legs wrecked and Lecour's face battered. Lecour then spent two years with Swift in England learning and adapting the punches of English boxing to savate. From this, the sport of Boxe Française, the first sporting form of kickboxing, began in 1832. Charles Lecour also challenged a maitre of chausson, Joseph Vingtras, over his comments that savate lacked malice. Chausson was still practiced as a separate art at the time. The bout was well attended. Vingtras's loss to Lecour led to the absorption of chausson's techniques into savate.

Due to the popularity of savate, the police in Paris requested and obtained a new law that sentenced anyone caught fighting with hands or feet in the street to immediate long-term enlistment in the army. The savateurs' response led to the development of *Lutte Parisienne* (Parisian Wrestling), a form of grappling that hides its techniques as much as possible. Hubert LeBroucher and Louis Vigneron were the savateurs most responsible for codifying these techniques. Vigneron techniques emphasized powerful projection throws and pinning techniques, while LeBroucher emphasized choking and neck-breaking techniques. At the same time, the savateurs in the police force began actively developing *Panache* (literally, plume; used to mean swagger, flourish), the use of clothing and other everyday objects to gain a quick advantage in a fight.

By the late 1870s, savate had become very popular in France. During this time Joseph Charlemont, a former legionnaire exiled to Belgium for some indiscretions, systematized the teaching of Boxe Française, la Canne et Baton (cane and walking stick), and Lutte Parisienne into grades. He also

developed the glove system to rank his students. Colored sashes or colored cuffs on the gloves were used. Panache was taught only to silver gloves as a final polish reserved for the highest ranks. His son, Charles Charlemont, became perhaps the greatest savateur of the time. Charles Charlemont fought and defeated the boxer Joe Driscoll in a bout called "the Fight of the Century" in 1899. This victory led to the exportation of savate to other countries, like the United States and the United Kingdom, where it was taught to the armed forces as "Automatic Defense." Even cartoon and fictional characters such as Batman and Mrs. Peel of *The Avengers* television series and 1998 motion pictures have used savate in their martial arts arsenals.

The period of the two world wars was as devastating to savate as the preceding times were beneficial. By the end of World War II, it is estimated that 40 percent of France's men had been killed in combat. Because of savate's popularity in the military and police forces, the percentage of savateurs killed was even greater. After World War II, one of Charlemont's senior students, Comte Pierre Baruzy, could only find thirty-three silver gloves remaining from the over 100,000 savateurs known before World War I. This remnant led to the rebirth of savate in the modern world. However, the social conditions in Europe led to an increased emphasis on the sporting forms. Two organizations were formed after World War II, a Savate and a Boxe-Française Federation. Originally, jûdô was also one of the arts affiliated with these federations. As savate spread to other countries with similar martial traditions, an International Federation formed. In the 1970s, the two French Federations merged, and the dominance of the sport form within the association began. In the late 1970s, Lutte Parisienne was removed from the normal course of study. In 1982, a special committee for la canne and the other weapon arts was formed. While many instructors, including Comte Baruzy, opposed this and continued to teach the entire system, savate was being broken into individual disciplines with little overlap. This fragmentation continued until the 1990s when the la Canne et Baton practitioners finally developed their own organizations separate from the Savate–Boxe Française Federation. During this time, savate as a complete combat art was still taught in isolated salles like that of Maitre Jean-Paul Viviane and in the police and military clubs like that of Maitre Robert Paturel. In 1994, a young American professeur (senior rank instructor), Paul-Raymond Buitron III, was charged by his maitres with developing a curriculum that requires mastery of all of the disciplines of savate as well as the formation of the International Guild of Savate Danse de Rue. Buitron was already trained in zipota when he studied savate in France, and he became the first American to earn his silver glove in France as well as the first American licensed to teach savate's disciplines. Maitre Buitron III reintegrated the disciplines and developed a series of training sets to

teach the techniques and logic of all of savate. By this effort, he preserved the full martial dimension of savate and has been called "the second Baruzy" in recognition of the amount of effort this required.

Savate Danse de Rue today trains students in the traditional disciplines of savate as one system. For technical ranks, a glove system is used: blue, green, red, white, yellow, and three grades of silver. Red is considered equal to a first-degree black belt. The basic body movements are taught from Boxe Française and chausson. A pivoting of the body generates power, and kicks are focused on the toes, heel, or sole of the shoe. The trademark kicks of savate are the *fouette,* a spiraling kick that is vaguely similar to a roundhouse kick, and the *coup de bas,* a low-hitting kick. Seventeen different kicks are recognized, as well as their spinning, jumping, and *main à sol* ("hand on the floor") variations. Officially, fourteen hand strikes are used, but this is a low number, as all open-hand strikes are basically considered as one type. Head, shoulder, elbow, knee, and hip strikes are also taught. After mastering bare-handed techniques, the student is introduced to the weapon system, called la canne et baton or canne d'armes. The savateur is taught in the following order: la canne (walking stick), *couteau* (knife), *larga* (cutlass or bowie), double canne, baton (heavy staff), *rasoir* (straight razor), firearms, and *fouet* (whip). The weapons are practiced against similar weapons, as in canne versus canne, against other weapons, as in canne versus couteau, and against unarmed foes. All of the weapons can be and are expected to be combined with the striking or kicking techniques as well as with grappling. The savateur's goal is to flow between these techniques smoothly. Along with the weapon techniques, the grappling techniques of Lutte Parisienne are introduced through a series of two-person exercises. The techniques of Lutte Parisienne, derived from Western wrestling, use both projecting and breaking techniques. However, the techniques are done in such a way as to damage, not restrain, the opponents, allowing the savateur's speedy escape. In addition, many techniques are designed to look accidental or to be hidden from witnesses. Later, the techniques of zipota are introduced to teach one how to handle multiple opponents. Zipota teaches a variety of infighting techniques and rapid changes of direction. Finally, when preparing for the first silver glove, the student studies Panache. Panache uses any available object to gain an advantage in a fight, giving it the name of "the art of malice." For example, hats, vests, overcoats, scarves, and briefcases are used to distract or damage an assailant. The upper two grades of silver add more complicated lutte sets. In addition, familiarity with the sporting forms of Boxe Française and canne de combat is required.

Despite the training of a silver glove, savateurs of that rank are not considered capable of teaching on their own. A separate teaching ladder

exists that can be started at green glove. Specialized training in how to teach, the logic behind the methods of training, and the techniques are required. The colored sash recognizes teaching rank: orange for coach, purple for *initiateur* (one who initiates), maroon for *aide moniteur* (assistant monitor), and black and green for *moniteur* (monitor). Those who hold the honorific titles of professeur, maitre, and grande maitre wear black and red, red, and white or pure white respectively. Of the technical ranks, silver gloves wear a black and blue sash.

Students are also classed as *élèves* (students), disciples (disciples), and donneurs (teachers). Anyone below the silver glove is an élève unless he has earned a teaching rank. The silver gloves and instructors below moniteur are considered disciples, or apprentices. This implies a personal relationship with a professeur who trains them in the art. Moniteurs and higher are called donneurs, as they give back to the art.

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See also Boxing, European; Capoeira; Dueling; Europe; Masters of Defence; Pankration; Stickfighting, Non-Asian; Swordsmanship, European Renaissance

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Silat

This Southeast Asian martial system is known variously as *silat* (Indonesia, the Philippines), *silek* (Indonesia), and *bersilat* (Malaysia). The term *silat* is generally agreed to mean "combat" or "fighting" and is commonly coupled with a modifier such as *ber* (Malay; to do) or *pencak/pentjak* (Indonesian; translated by Draeger and Smith as "regulated, skillful body movements" [1980, 178]). The system is based on indigenous Indonesian combat arts, with primary influence from India and China. Silat employs striking with both hands and feet, throws, and locks. A variety of weapons are integrated along with unarmed techniques in silat curricula. Techniques

are launched from very low stances, deep crouches, or even creeping positions. These stances are regarded as "signatures" of silat.

Most sources contend that silat originated on the Indonesian island of Sumatra, located just across the Strait of Malacca from the Malaysian peninsula. The art originated in Sumatra during the period of the Menangkabu Empire. The art developed and proliferated from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries, becoming a network of systematized arts by about the fourteenth century. The art was exported to Malaysia to the Malaccan court and undoubtedly influenced bersilat, which enters recorded history in about the fourteenth century.

Silat is an amalgam of indigenous Indonesian martial traditions and imported traditions from India, China, and the Middle East. In contemporary Indonesia the Japanese arts (e.g., jûdô and karate) and weapons (e.g., the *katana,* the classic Japanese single-edged, curved sword) have exerted an influence on some schools. The earliest non-Indonesian influences are likely to have been introduced in the area of the Sumatran seaport of Palembang during the period of the Mahayana Buddhist Srivijaya Empire (seventh to twelfth century A.D.) by Indians and Chinese who landed at the seaport. In noting the variety of influences on silat from abroad, Donn Draeger asserts, "In pentjak-silat can be found Nepalese music, Hindu weapons and combative styles, Siamese costumes, Arabian weapons, and Chinese weapons and combative tactics" (1972, 32). From Chinese *wushu,* silat derived its circular movement patterns, weapon names (e.g., *pisau,* a type of knife), and probably the use of animal forms in its various styles; Draeger and Robert Smith contend that both wushu and silat animal forms were inspired by early Indian combatives, however. Hindu culture can be seen in silat's grappling tactics, and the prototype of the *tjabang* (a short metal truncheon roughly in the shape of a blunt trident, resembling the Okinawan *sai*) is probably the Indian *trisula*. With the arrival of Islam in the archipelago, the Arab *jambia* probably provided the prototype for many Muslim pentjak silat blades. In the twentieth century, contemporary Japanese martial arts influenced modern silat tactics, techniques, weapons, and belt ranking (Draeger and Smith 1980, 32–33).

On the other hand, the most common oral traditions attribute the origins of the art to a native Indonesian inventor. Legend claims that a western Sumatran woman created the art after watching a fight between a snake and a bird or, another variant states, a large bird and a tiger. This is a legend that silat holds in common with other non-Indonesian martial arts such as taijiquan (tai chi ch'uan). If not of independent origin, this narrative may have been passed along with the animal styles common to the various systems of silat as an element of the Chinese heritage. This borrowing would be consistent with Draeger and Smith's arguments noted above.

Kelentan silat master Haji Su and his son Mat Noor. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

Until relatively late in the twentieth century the styles of silat, even in Indonesia, were extremely localized, with each village or master teacher having a distinct style within the general pattern. Draeger and Smith refer to 157 recorded styles in Indonesia in the 1960s, while others would label this as a conservative estimate. Given the absence of a standardizing governing body for this combative art, the real number of styles is actually unknowable. While most of these styles survive on the island of Java, silat is preserved not only among Muslims, but in Hindu populations (most notably in Bali) and Christian communities as well. Noting that there is not a random distribution of techniques and tactics (e.g., predominance of hand strikes over kicks), Draeger argues for the development of particular char-

acteristics in regional styles of pentjak silat because of the physical characteristics of inhabitants and socioeconomic factors.

Within the virtually infinite variety of styles, however, there are elements in common among Indonesian silat and its derivatives of Filipino silat and Malaysian bersilat. In general, silat is characterized by the following. While all systems are based on the use of weapons, training begins with instruction in empty-hand tactics and progresses to armed techniques. A wide variety of weapons are incorporated into the systems. Although bladed weapons are particularly favored, sticks of various lengths, polearms, and projectile weapons are found among the various styles. The weapons used, although their prototypes may have originated outside Southeast Asia, are regarded as specifically Indonesian and Malayan, for example, the kris (a double-edged stabbing dagger) and the *tjabang* (branch; a short, trident-shaped weapon similar to the Okinawan sai).

In order to embark on training with a traditional teacher, students were required to offer gifts, which symbolized the path about to be taken. According to Draeger and Smith, these were: "1. A chicken whose blood is spread on the training ground as a symbolic substitute for blood that might otherwise come from the student; 2. A roll of white cloth in which to wrap the corpse if a student should be killed during practice; 3. A knife, which symbolizes the sharpness expected of a student; 4. Tobacco for the teacher to smoke during rest periods; 5. Some money to replace the teacher's clothes if they are ripped in practice" (1980, 180). Following acceptance, a bond that extended far beyond a business arrangement developed—and indeed still does; students and teacher are regarded as sharing a blood relationship.

With variation from system to system, training includes learning the etiquette that governs practice sessions, basic natural weapons of the body and the targets that these techniques attack, stances and movements from posture to posture, sparring, vital-point striking (similar to Japanese *atemi*), weapons, and training in esoteric supernatural methods of attack, defense, and healing. The transmission of knowledge is less by direct instruction than by observation of the teacher and senior students with periodic correction, especially at the lower levels of the art. Until the latter part of the twentieth century, silat remained strictly combative, avoiding the compromises needed to make the transition to sport. Outside self-defense situations, silat has been an element of local celebrations (e.g., weddings, village festivals). According to Kirstin Pauka, among the Menangkabu at least, the common term for such "non-serious" use of the art is *main silek* ("playing silek [silat]"). The playful dimension allows silat to be subjected to both functional (self-defense) and aesthetic (performance) criteria. The criteria are, according to Pauka, for the functional qualities, effectiveness,

Silat experts must be able to use the ground to their advantage. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

precision, control, speed, and focus, and for the aesthetic, balance, effortlessness, light-footedness, and fluidity.

The prominence of aesthetic factors in silat and its close association with genres of Southeast Asian dance-drama have caused pentjak silat to be mistakenly categorized as dance by outsiders. Donn Draeger offers the following reasons for the confusion. Pentjak (regulated movements) silat (defense) consists of two separate components, each of which can be practiced separately. The agility and graceful movements inherent in the system manifest artful qualities (cf. Pauka); the practice of silat may be accompanied by music, and Indonesian dance forms (e.g., *randai*) have utilized silat movement patterns (Draeger 1972, 36). Rather than positing a one-way street, he suggests that there may have been cross-influence, in that dance movements may have been appropriated for use as silat. Pauka writes with certainty, in the case of randai among the Menangkabu at least, that the dramatic form evolved out of silek via the teaching method for basic moves that places students in a circle observing the movements of a teacher.

In traditional styles of silat, the concept of supernormal power coexists with the physical techniques. Although the primary contemporary reli-

gion of Indonesia and most of the practitioners of silat are Islam, supernaturalism in this area has been influenced by Buddhism, Hinduism (particularly in Bali), and especially animism. Animism (the concept of an outside power that can be tapped by adepts, which dates from the pre-Islamic period) is a particularly important principle in the supernaturalism that permeates silat. The principle of animism is fundamental to shamanism, and in the region shamans often practice silek. A form of power roughly similar to the Chinese concept of qi also potentially comes from an inner source (*tenaga batin*) and it may be generated through silek and spiritual exercises. Mantras and amulets are used for protection, and in some styles, the self-stabbing "kris dance" associated with the Balinese ritual drama of Rangda is practiced. These principles are reminiscent of Chinese and Indian yogic tradtions as well as animism. Further, Islamic Sufism supports the belief in *Ilmu* (Indonesian; science, esoteric knowledge), a supernatural power that allows silat practitioners at higher levels to induce a form of possession by animal spirits that James Wilson regards as the heritage of animism. Ilmu is related to but not same as tenaga dalam. This traditional esoteric power is not "recognized" in "official" silat circles. In fact, schools that utilize tenaga dalam are not allowed membership in IPSI—Ikatan Pencak Silat Indonesia (Wilson 1993, 23).

Certain styles of silat rely exclusively on supernatural power rather than physical methods. Opponents can be struck by the power of the adept, or one can use power to defend against strikes from attackers. Tenaga dalam can also be used for healing (Wilson). These styles, such as the Balinese Joduk style as characterized by Draeger and Smith, are secretive arts that prepare initiates for combat by means of hypnotism, autosuggestion, and trances. The sources of inner strength tapped are similar to those manifested in the Balinese kris dance, in which participants attain a frenzied state in which they turn their daggers on themselves.

During the period of Dutch colonialism, the practice of pentjak silat was repressed, but not extinguished. During the Japanese occupation during World War II, silat, as a potential tool for resistance, enjoyed a revitalization. When the Dutch attempted to return to control, natives of the archipelago turned to silat as a "secret weapon" for liberation—often because of the supernatural powers it was said to develop. Among practitioners of the art, at least, the successful transition from colony to nation was attributed to the power engendered through the practice of silat. Some silat systems both in Indonesia and Malaysia continue involvement in political action.

The last half of the twentieth century saw efforts to standardize pentjak silat. Modern federations such as Persatuan Pentjak Silat Selurah Indonesia (PPSI) attempted to standardize pentjak silat. Bhakti Negara (which

is composed of indigenous silat, jûjutsu, aikidô, karate, boxing, Kôdôkan Jûdô, and other contemporary systems) proposed an eclectic approach to the art and launched efforts to add a sporting dimension to silat. On Bali, Perisai Diri adopted a belt ranking system modeled on those developed for the Japanese cognate arts (e.g., jûdô). In general, these attempts have met with only limited success, due largely to resistance by traditional gurus.

Bersilat

On the Malay peninsula the arts labeled silat in Indonesia are grouped under the label of bersilat. The name *bersilat* is best translated by breaking it into its two components: *ber* ("to do") and *silat* ("fighting"). While this is the most straightforward explanation for the derivation of the name, practitioners often cite an origin legend focusing on a woman named Bersilat who learned the art through her dreams. While bersilat is regarded by some as distinct from Indonesian silat, there is a close relationship between the two systems, dating from at least the fifteenth century. Like Indonesian pentjak silat, bersilat manifests almost infinite variation, with each village or teacher passing along a variant style. Moreover, Malaysian bersilat utilizes hand and foot strikes, throws and locks, and attacks to vulnerable points in the body, as is the case with Indonesian silat. Also, a wide range of traditional Malay and Indonesian weapons are taught. Emphasis on particular techniques varies from style to style, however.

Bersilat, like pentjak silat, was originally a combat art. Modern bersilat, however, exists in two forms: *silat pulut,* a dancelike performance that may have derived from *kuntao* (*see* Southeast Asia), and *silat buah,* a combat form not publicly displayed that was probably influenced by Menangkabu pentjak silat, according to the small body of scholarship devoted to the art. Oral tradition also gives the art a Sumatran origin. The latter form, according to most sources, has virtually disappeared in favor of the more performance-oriented silat pulut. Public performances of bersilat suggest that in its modern form of silat buah the system lacks combat reality. Clearly the emphasis in modern bersilat is on physical exercise, performance, and sport.

Filipino Silat

According to Ronald Harris, *silat* (in Pilipino, kidlat) means "lightning," referring to the speed of execution of the unarmed striking and weapon use of Filipino silat. As is the case with both Indonesian and Malaysian styles, the kris is the most commonly used weapon. The Filipino type is often labeled kuntao-silat.

In the Philippine Archipelago, there are competing claims as to whether silat is indigenous under Muslim influence or blended with Chi-

nese martial arts. The latter theory is supported by the waves of immigration that are thought to have occurred in Filipino history, causing considerable cross-cultural influence. From the seventh century on, for the next 700 years, the central region of the Philippine Archipelago was subjected to the Hindu influence of the Sri Vishayan Empire. The Visayan Islands, in fact, were named after this empire. Later, during the period of the Majapahit Empire, 1292–1398, the southern region of the Philippine Archipelago came under Muslim control.

Moreover, Chinese merchants were historically active in the Philippine Archipelago. Many settled in the islands, where they remain a separate social class today. Chinese immigrants seldom intermarry with native Filipinos and continue to dominate in business. However, some proponents of Filipino silat claim that there is no Chinese influence. They argue, instead, that kuntao (often translated as "kung fu" or "fist way") developed and was preserved within the isolated Chinese communities.

Regarding kuntao in the Philippines, Ronald Harris notes that *kuntaw* is the art of the Samal people from Jolo, Mindanao. They are rivals of the Tausug tribe. Their primary weapons are fingernails tipped with poison. Traditionally, they grew long fingernails, but now they wear fingernails made of aluminum or other materials such as *carabao* (water buffalo) horn. The forms of kuntaw contain strikes with hands, feet, knees, and elbows. Harris further notes that in appearance, the forms resemble taijiquan. There are also acrobatic applications—rolling falls and cartwheels. Sparring is practiced after the mastery of forms. The highest kuntao rank is the yellow belt. Kuntao has many up and down movements (*langkas*) that require great leg strength. As has been noted elsewhere in Southeast Asia, Filipino kuntao movements are lethal and do not adapt well to the confines of competition.

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See also Philippines; Southeast Asia

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Social Uses of the Martial Arts

Individuals study martial arts for a variety of reasons. Examples include body sculpting, bullying, curiosity, personal empowerment, and redemption through pain. Societies use martial arts similarly, and some examples of common social uses follow. To avoid giving undue priority to any single use or motivation, the following arrangement is alphabetical.

*Agonistic*s. Agonistic behavior is aggressive social interaction between people. Such interaction can be mental, physical, or both, and participants can be actors, spectators, or both. Although participation can provide intrinsic pleasure, people more often use agonistic behavior less as recreation than as a conflict resolution model or to teach methods of trickery, deception, and divination not otherwise taught in school. Thus physical agonistics such as boxing essentially mimic dueling, while team agonistics such as football essentially mimic small-unit warfare.

C*haracter development*. "Whatever does not kill us, makes us stronger," said Nietszche, and for his part, Confucius said, "By the drawing of the bow, one can know the virtue and conduct of men." What constitutes good character depends on the society and subgroup, and changes over time. Thus the Romans thought good character meant the willingness to watch gladiators kill criminals, while before World War I the YMCA taught that it was abstinence from masturbation.

Currying divine favor. At various times, most major cultures have conceived martial art as an appropriate religious activity. (Examples of monastic warriors include Zealots, jihadists, Crusaders, Rajputs, and Shaolin monks, and to this day the Salvation Army sings, "Onward, Christian Soldiers.") The motivation is often the belief that God will grant victory to the person or side that is rightly guided. ("Whom shall I fear? The Lord is the protector of my life," said the medieval Knights Hospitaller.)

Exorcising demons. Sympathetic magic is at work here. For example, during the fourth century A.D., Daoists (Taoists) began using quarterstaffs during exorcisms. The idea was that when the priest pointed his staff toward heaven, the gods bowed and the earth smiled, but when he pointed it at demons, the cowardly rascals fled (Lagerwey). On the other side of the world, as recently as the seventeenth century, European medical texts urged physicians to treat the sword with the same salve as the injury. Often percussion (for example, drums and firecrackers) is associated with such activities, sometimes to help the ritual specialists enter the necessary trance states, sometimes to frighten the demons or inspire observers.

Funerary rituals. Homer described funerary games in *The Iliad,* and as George MacDonald Fraser said in *Quartered Safe out Here* about a division of dead men's property in 1945, "It was not callousness or indifference or lack of feeling for two comrades who had been alive that morning

Medieval judicial combat, trial by combat inside a fenced ring, 1350. The victor would be deemed to have been vindicated by God. (Hulton Getty/Archive Photos)

and were now names for the war memorial; it was just that there was nothing to be said" (1995, 88–89).

Group solidarity. Immigrant groups often encourage their children to participate in national games as a way of keeping them in touch with national traditions. Examples include German American *Turnverein* (German; gymnastic associations; *see* Chronology, 1811) and Japanese American jûdô clubs. At another level, as early as the fourteenth century Ibn Khaldun identified the role group that group solidarity played in combat, and more recently William H. McNeill noted that "keeping together in time" (that is, marching, drilling, and performing kata in groups) is one of the ways to develop such solidarity.

Honor and reputation. According to Homer, the Fates gave Achilles, golden-haired son of Peleus, the choice between a short life crowned by everlasting fame and a long life that no one would remember. The youth

A boy practicing martial arts on a beach in western Australia, 1980s. (Robert Garvey/ Corbis)

chose the former, and as a result became the short-lived (but famous) hero of Homer's *Iliad*. Meanwhile fights, duels, and homicide about matters of honor or masculinity are so common as to almost need no mention.

Invented tradition. Invented traditions (a term introduced by E. J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in 1983) establish social cohesion, legitimize political institutions, and sell commercial products. Examples of invented traditions include George Washington chopping down cherry trees, fat white-bearded Santas wearing red suits, and the Korean art *taekwondo* owing more to the warriors of ancient Silla than the college karate classes of Imperial Japan. Much (perhaps most) martial arts history is invented tradition; as Thomas Green has written, a system's official past is more frequently the product of dialogue and imagination than chronology (1997, 159).

Lord of disorder. Basically, people get together and hold festivals in which the normal order of the world is turned upside down. Thus feasting follows fasting. Energetic dancing follows heavy drinking. Women dressed as men abuse men dressed as women. Trickster becomes Warrior-King, and The Fool becomes the Sage. During these times, the authority of the state is always at risk: Something happens when people move out of the house or yard or dôjô and into the street with their martial activities. There is a subtext to the word *street-fighter.* Martial examples include stickfighting being associated with Carnival in the Philippines, fairs in Ireland and China, and harvest festivals in Africa, and wrestling being associated with fairs in Britain and the festival of Duesshera/Muharram in India.

Military training. In traditional society, preparation for military service often involves archery and stick games, energetic dancing (Indian *tandava,* Brazilian *capoeira,* Spartan *pyrrhiche*), and horse or canoe races. However, in industrialized societies, the focus often has shifted to shooting and wrestling games. Not everyone agrees that wrestling and dancing are worth the effort, however. For example, in a biographical sketch called

"Philopoemen," the Roman moralist Plutarch wrote that the athletic body and lifestyle were different in every way from the military. The diet and the exercise were particularly different, as the athletes slept and ate regularly, while the soldiers trained to endure wandering, irregularity, and lack of sleep. This being the case, Plutarch viewed athletics as something that distracted a man from more important things, such as waging war or earning fame. Either way, organizing contests and meets was arguably the most important part of the process, as in war the prowess of the individual warrior is rarely as important as command, communication, and logistics.

Monetary gain (aethlon [Greek; prizes given Hellenic athletes for victories during gymnikos, *or funeral games])*. Monetary motivation clearly applies to individuals selling belt rankings or requiring students to purchase long-term contracts, but also applies to athletic and professional associations, equipment manufacturers, and tourist bureaus.

Muscular development. Although individuals often play for fun or narcissism, the purpose of school physical education programs is not so much to build beautiful bodies or help anyone have fun as to ensure that children grow up healthy. (Through vigorous exercise, participants grow stronger and therefore become more productive workers.)

Nationalism. Governments patronize martial arts and combative sports as a form of muscular theater; the idea is that our national method produces better fighters than their national method. Thus in the sixteenth century, Indian rajahs, Japanese shôgun, and European princes had stables of professional wrestlers, while in more recent times the Communist Chinese have patronized *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan) and the South Koreans have patronized taekwondo. Nationalism leads to many invented traditions, in part because governments can afford to pay people to create them.

Paramilitary training. When used by police, paramilitary training typically emphasizes control methods that are not intended to kill or maim healthy adults and teenagers. Sometimes called nonlethal, such methods can kill or injure if they are misused or if the recipient is unlucky. However, when used by political factions and antigovernment activists, paramilitary training typically emphasizes lethal methods using everyday implements.

Political theater. "Dueling nobles," Robert Drews has written, "are essential for the poet's story, but in reality the *promachoi* [dueling nobles] were much less important than the anonymous multitude in whose front rank they stood" (1993, 169). While true, stories featuring deeds of derring-do teach history and morals to semiliterate masses, and it is not coincidence that the word *mystery* originally meant "to minister." Martial examples of political theater include the *Water Margin* stories in China, the Robin Hood stories in England, and the ballads about Jesse James in the United States.

Potlatch. Our group sets out to embarrass another group by putting

on fancier games than they could possibly afford. Thus Romans staged gladiatorial contests in which expensive slaves were killed, and alumni groups buy new uniforms and team equipment.

Preposterous violence. Humans take pleasure in imagining a world in which bad things happen to worse people, and James Twitchell has defined theatrical efforts in this direction as "preposterous violence." (Some examples of what he means include religious iconography featuring tortured saints and deities, Punch-and-Judy shows, comic books, kung fu theater, and professional wrestling.) Preposterous violence is voyeuristic rather than participatory, and as a result it usually bolsters rather than threatens the status quo.

Rites of passage. Here the emphasis is usually less on combat effectiveness than on learning to take one's lumps like a man. Thus gangs have beatings-in, schoolboys have hazing, and assorted cultures have youth games involving mutual flagellation. Military organizations and martial art classes typically invoke similar rites of passage: "I once studied a martial art that offered 'special training' twice a year," recalled a martial arts practitioner during personal correspondence with the author of this entry. "I don't believe I ever really learned anything at these events, but the bonding and the testosterone boost, even among the women in the group, were palpable for the next few weeks."

Status. A belt is just a belt, and as any decent philosopher or religious leader will affirm, it is pointless to claim to be a grand master when one has yet to master one's carnal self. Nevertheless, the human desire for status (also called "ego") explains why teachers frequently take enormous pride in grandiloquent titles while their students pay hundreds, sometimes thousands, of dollars for what are, after all, nothing more than clothing accessories.

Vice. In most societies, vice is a crime only if one gets caught, and as early as 388 B.C., boxers were being paid to lose in the Olympics. The more commercial the society, the more likely vice is to flourish, and in the postmodern world, casino owner Donald Trump has found "a direct relation between a high roller in the gaming sense and a boxing fan." (Specifically, a boxing championship meant an extra $15 million a week in business, and almost $2 million a week in profits.) (Berger 1993, 193).

There are doubtless more than the twenty categories listed. Of note, however, is the fact that each category contains the potential for both good and evil. So regardless of why a society (or individual) patronizes an activity, it is what the society (or individual) does with the activity that ultimately matters most.

Joseph R. Svinth

See also Dueling; Folklore in the Martial Arts; Political Conflict and the Martial Arts

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"Soft" Chinese Martial Arts

See External vs. Internal Chinese Martial Arts

Sôhei

See Warrior Monks, Japanese/Sôhei

Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia consists of contemporary Myanmar (Burma), Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam. These countries occupy both peninsular and island landforms, with China to the north and India to the west. Many of the distinctive cultural institutions, including the martial systems, were shaped by Indian and Chinese civilizations. The influence of Indian religions, in particular, is highlighted by the labeling of Southeast Asian civilizations as Hindu-Buddhist.

Although information regarding the earliest cultures in the area is sketchy at best, archaeological evidence indicates that the area was populated gradually and undramatically. Early immigrants of Malayan stock formed the core of the indigenous population. The earliest cultures owe a debt to southwestern China, and the religions were animistic. Much later with the arrival of Hinduism and Buddhism (Mahayana, followed a few centuries later by Hinayana) from India and, beginning in the thirteenth century, Islam, many of these indigenous practices were absorbed into the imported religions. Animistic principles may still be seen in Southeast Asian martial systems.

The earliest history of the region (from Chinese sources) notes an Indian presence in Annam (coastal "Indochina"), Cambodia, and Thailand and on the islands of Java, Sumatra, and Celebes by at least the third century A.D. Although influence came in from various regions of India, Indian cultural features were restricted to the elite members of society, exerting no more than minimal influence on the culture of the folk until the popularization of Hinayana Buddhism in the thirteenth century.

The major cultural centers, dating to the second century A.D., were located in the Mekong Delta (Funan, in the Chinese rendering of Khmer), along the eastern coast of modern Vietnam (Champa), and in northern Malaya (Sriksetra).

Indianized Funan comprised the dominant sea power of the era. From their stronghold south of contemporary Hue, the Chams (an Indianized culture of Annam, Vietnam) waged virtually constant land and sea campaigns against their Chinese neighbors, which were met by retaliatory campaigns. The Vietnamese in the tenth century entered into a struggle with the Chams over the territory south of Tonkin. With the eventual Vietnamese victory, the Indianized Cham culture was supplanted by the Chinese-based Vietnamese culture.

In the area of modern Indonesia, the early cultural influences came from India. The process of Indianization can be traced to approximately A.D 450 and to Taruma in west Java.

Sriksetra (in central Burma) was the capital of the Pyu. This state was destroyed by invading Thais from Nanchao in the northeast before the Burmans appeared on the scene in the ninth century. To the east lay the territory of the Mons, whose sphere of political influence spread into the area of contemporary Thailand. Eventually, Mon cultural influence extended to the Burmans, Khmers, and Thais.

After the fall of Funan to the Khmer in the sixth century, Srivijaya in southeast Sumatra became the dominant sea power in the region. Maintaining strong ties with India, while cultivating the favor of China as well, the kingdom built a commercial empire by controlling the Strait of Sunda and the Strait of Malacca.

The Tibetan Burmans, who ruled from the city-state of Pagan, arrived in central Burma (now Myanmar) in the ninth century by way of the Shan hills. After absorbing the surviving Pyus, whose state had been crushed by Thai invaders just before the Burman arrival, they eventually subjugated the dominant Mon culture, absorbing from it both technology and Hindu-Buddhist culture.

The thirteenth century brought turmoil to the region due to Kublai Khan's conquest of China and subsequent expansionist agenda. Chinese campaigns into Burma, Vietnam, Champa, and even Java led to the col-

Silat practice in Japanese-style uniforms and belts illustrates the influence of non-Indonesian martial arts on contemporary silat. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

lapse of empires such as the Pagan and realignments such as those in Indonesia that gave rise to other states such as the Majapahit political entity of eastern Java, which retained preeminence in the area through the fifteenth century. The growth of the Islamic sphere of influence on the Malay peninsula, especially in centers such as Malacca, and into Java led to Majapahit's demise in the sixteenth century.

On the mainland, the thirteenth century saw the development of the Thai into a major political force. By the end of the next century, unification of Siam (now Thailand) and the establishment of the kingdom of Laos had

been effected. Struggles between Siam and Burma continued well into the nineteenth century, while within Burma itself the Thai Shans strove to conquer upper Burma. Internal struggles between Burman and Thai groups continued into the sixteenth century, when the Burmans ultimately prevailed.

Most Indonesian rulers had become Muslims by the end of the sixteenth century, with the exception of Pajajaran in eastern Java (until the seventeenth century) and Bali. Bali resisted Islam, remaining the only Hindu-Buddhist civilization in the archipelago. In the areas that have become contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia, Islam absorbed previous influences (particularly indigenous animism), which appear in popular religious practice and the martial arts.

In mainland Southeast Asia, notably in what became modern Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos, Hinayana Buddhism remained dominant. Even more than in the Islamic states, the absorption of indigenous practice produced lingering effects on many native combative systems.

The intrusion of European colonialism into the region had minimal impact on traditional combative systems, beyond driving them underground in some cases. In the period following Japanese incursions in World War II, some practitioners incorporated that nation's martial arts (e.g., karate and jûdô) into native martial systems.

The martial arts in Southeast Asia coexist with dance and drama in some cultural traditions. Indonesia, Myanmar, and Thailand, for example, maintained at least into the late twentieth century dances that incorporate forms also seen in their combative arts. Among the Shan tribes of Myanmar in the early twentieth century, dance embodied and was likely to have been a vehicle for the practice of the indigenous boxing and weapons systems, and traditionally both *Muay Thai* (Thailand) and *lethwei* (Myanmar) boxing matches were preceded by martial dancing. *Pentjak silat* (Indonesia) and *bersilat* (Malaysia) utilize musical accompaniment during practice and exhibition. The role of *silek* (*silat*) as an element of west Sumatran folk drama as recently as 1998 has been well documented.

Cambodia

Archaeological evidence in the form of physical representations of human combat from the Khmer Empire (A.D. 802–1431) that have been found in the thousands in association with the Temple of Angkor Vat (Angkor Wat), built in the first half of the twelfth century by Suryavarman II (r. 1113–1150), and the walled city of Angkor Thom and its Bayon Temple, built late in the same century by Jayavarman VII (1181–1219), suggests a long history of martial arts. Although contact from India came early on in Khmer history and exerted profound cultural and religious influence, the statues and relief figures portrayed more closely resemble Chinese boxing

stances than any known arts of India. While it is clear from the historical record that Chinese contact began as early as the state of Funan, the early history is murky enough to render the Chinese images a continuing mystery.

Contemporary martial arts in Cambodia remain uninvestigated. The logical assumption is that, given the flow of peoples throughout the area and Cambodia's strong associations with Thailand and Vietnam, nations whose martial roots (primarily Chinese) and traditions are more well known, Cambodia shares a common heritage.

Similar points can be made about Laos, whose founders trace their origins to the migrations, beginning in about the eighth century A.D., from the Thai kingdom of Nanchao in southwestern China. Kublai Khan's incursions in the thirteenth century prompted mass migration of the Lao into the area of the modern state of Laos. Despite the absence of research, it is possible to speculate that indigenous martial systems based in Chinese *wushu* and Thai arts survived into modern times.

Indonesia

Silat is the primary martial art of Indonesia. The system is based on indigenous Indonesian combat arts with primary influence from India and China. Silat employs striking with both hands and feet, throws, and locks. A variety of weapons regarded as specifically Indonesian and Malayan (e.g., the kris—a double-edged stabbing dagger) are integrated with unarmed techniques in silat curricula.

Most sources contend that silat originated on the Indonesian island of Sumatra during the period of the Menangkabu kingdom. It then developed and proliferated from the seventh through the sixteenth centuries, becoming a network of systematized arts by at least the fourteenth century. Ultimately, silat is an amalgam of indigenous Indonesian martial traditions and imported traditions from India, China, and the Middle East. The earliest non-Indonesian influences are likely to have been introduced in the area of the Sumatran seaport of Palembang during the period of the Srivijaya Empire (seventh to twelfth centuries A.D.) by Indians and Chinese who landed at the seaport. Until relatively late in the twentieth century, the styles of silat were extremely localized, with each village or teacher having a distinct style within the general pattern.

Within the variety of styles, however, there are elements in common among Indonesian silat and its derivatives of Filipino silat and Malaysian bersilat. In general, silat is characterized by the following. While all systems are based on the use of weapons, training begins with instruction in empty-hand tactics and progresses to armed techniques. Until the latter part of the twentieth century, silat remained strictly combative, avoiding the compromises needed to make the transition to sport. Outside self-defense situa-

tions, silat has been an element of local celebrations (e.g., weddings, village festivals). The prominence of aesthetic factors in silat and its close association with genres of Southeast Asian dance-drama often have caused silat to be mistakenly categorized as dance by outsiders.

In traditional styles of silat, the concept of supernormal power coexists with the physical techniques. Although the primary contemporary religion of Indonesia is Islam, and most of the practitioners of silat are Muslims, supernaturalism in this area has been influenced by Buddhism, Hinduism (particularly in Bali), and especially animism. Also, Islamic Sufism supports a belief in *Ilmu* (Indonesian; science, esoteric knowledge), a supernatural power. The last half of the twentieth century saw efforts to standardize silat through modern federations such as Persatuan Pentjak Silat Selurah Indonesia (PPSI).

Kuntao is most commonly considered to be a generic term for Chinese martial arts practiced in the archipelago and on the Malay peninsula. The most common translation of the term is "fist art" or "fist way," although there is no standard written form for the art among Chinese ideograms. Donn Draeger and Robert Smith trace the term to Hokkien dialect from the southeastern coastal province of Fujian.

Kuntao was developed and has remained largely confined to Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Secrecy has traditionally been an element of the training. Therefore, kuntao and silat have pursued separate lines of development despite the proximity of the practicing communities.

Kuntao encompasses the range of traditional Chinese combat philosophies, from the "hard" Hokkien and Shantung styles to "soft" *Thay Kek* (*taijiquan* [tai chi ch'uan]). In general, however, the movements are circular rather than linear, and the practice of imitating animal movements and attitudes has been preserved from Chinese boxing. The systems incorporate both unarmed and armed techniques utilizing traditional Chinese weapons. Kuntao is strictly combative; there is no sport dimension.

Malaysia

Malaysia's principal martial art is *bersilat,* the form of silat practiced on the Malay peninsula. While bersilat is regarded by some as distinct from Indonesian silat, there is a close relationship between the two systems dating from at least the fifteenth century. The Indonesian origin is reinforced by tradition, which attributes bersilat to the Malayan folk hero Hang Tuah, who moved from Menangkabu in west Sumatra to Malacca, Malaya, in the late fourteenth century, bringing with him both the kris and silat.

Like its parent art, bersilat is subject to considerable local variation. Also like Indonesian silat, Malaysian bersilat utilizes hand and foot strikes, throws and locks, attacks to vulnerable points in the body, and traditional

Malay and Indonesian weapons such as the kris. Modern bersilat, however, exists in two forms: *silat pulut,* a dancelike performance that may have derived from kuntao, and *silat buah,* a combat form not publicly displayed, which was probably influenced by Menangkabu pentjak silat, according to the small body of scholarship devoted to the art.

Myanmar (Burma)

The primary combative arts of this area, beyond certain modifications required to enable practitioners to survive practice sessions, have retained their martial character rather than having been converted to sports or martial "ways" for achieving self-improvement. The systems are not discrete, but actually are elements of thaing (generic for "defense" or "all-out fighting") rather than separate disciplines. Grappling and striking, even techniques disallowed in other martial arts (e.g., biting and eye-gouging), are incorporated into thaing.

Bandô may be loosely translated as "way of steel discipline" (Dunlap 2000). The term commonly is used to refer to unarmed fighting arts. There are nine primary styles of bandô, each associated with a major ethnic group: Burmese, Chin, Chinese, Indian, Kachin (or Jinghpaw), Karen, Mon, Shan, and Talaing.

The styles are composed of animal systems or forms. Generally twelve animals are incorporated into the style, but there are exceptions, such as the Kachin system, which uses sixteen. Each system incorporates both striking and grappling developed in imitation of the characteristics of the animal that inspired the system. The tactics of each animal may be used separately or fused, as called for in a given situation.

The animism that is an important element of many of Burma's religious systems (especially that of the Kachin) has been given as an explanation for the organization of combat techniques around animal characteristics. Given the long influence of both Indian and Chinese cultures on Burma, however, and the presence in both of animal forms of martial arts, there are alternative explanations.

Banshay refers to traditional Burmese systems of weapons use. The training embodies both unarmed techniques against weapons and the means of wielding weapons in combat. The most common weapons are stick, sword, and spear. The sources of banshay are said to be both India and China. Among the Shan, weapon systems appear as "fight dances"; one type uses a pair of Burmese swords and the other a stick with flaming ends. The latter is sometimes practiced in pairs. History records that in about 1549, Burmese soldiers practiced sword dances in their encampment while laying siege to the Thai forces at Ayuthia. The nature and purpose of the dances were not recorded, however.

An advertisement for Burmese boxing found in Sagaing, Myanmar (Burma), in November 1996 illustrates the revival of interest in traditional martial arts. (Michael Freeman/Corbis)

Lethwei/lethawae (Burmese "boxing") shares many characteristics with *Muay Thai* (Thailand). As in Muay Thai, kicks, including knees, are used along with hand and elbow strikes. Unlike Muay Thai, however, competitors fight without gloves, using only hand wraps as protection for the fists; head-butts and grappling are permitted. A sport form of the system has existed since at least the eighteenth century. Currently there are matches divided into four rounds, judges, rankings from youth to professional grades, and even a national governing body. Matches traditionally have been associated with festivals and held in sandpits. Musical accompaniment is sometimes used; in fact, in the past at least, the Shan dance called Lai Ka (fight dance, or defense-offense) was a form of training for bare-knuckle fighting. According to Faubion Bowers the assumption is that dancing and fighting are so closely related that ability in one entails ability in the other. Boxing was popular among the hill tribes: the Kachin, Karen, Shan, and Wa.

Rather than existing as a separate art, Burmese wrestling, called *naban* (grappling), is integrated into other combatives. Grappling is most developed among the Chin and Kachin tribes, who are Himalayan in origin, and is said to have been derived from Indian wrestling rather than from Chinese grappling.

Thailand

Muay Thai is the most widely recognized of the martial arts of Thailand. In its contemporary form Muay Thai, or Thai boxing, is known as an international sport. Precise information is lacking on the system's origins because of the destruction of Siamese records in 1767 during one of their continuing conflicts with Burma (now Myanmar). As a combative system, however, it has figured prominently in the legends surrounding the centuries of conflict between the two countries. For example, in the late eighteenth century, a tradition maintains that Thai boxer Nai Khanom Tom (also Nai Khanom Dtom) was given the opportunity to fight for his freedom after being captured in a battle against the Burmese. He effected his release by defeating a dozen Burmese boxers. Other versions of this legend vary in their particulars, but in all versions, the Thai triumphs. In documented contemporary encounters, on the other hand, Muay Thai experts have fallen to the larger Burmese fighters.

One proposed date for the origin of Muay Thai is 1719, the year Prince Phra Chao Sua (also Seua) established martial competitions at Ayudhya. Prior to this time, it has been suggested that the empty-hand techniques of the art were embedded as military defense (likely to be synonymous with *lerdrit,* a military unarmed system) in the armed system of *Krabi-krabong.* Thai martial tradition claims Phra Chao Sua was himself a Muay Thai fighter who saved the country from invasion by defeating an opposing army's champion.

During this early period, hands were wrapped, but no gloves or other protective equipment were used. In fact, on occasion wrappings were gummed and broken glass was embedded in the surface. Rounds, weight classes, gloves, and groin protectors were added early in the twentieth century. Rules covering fouls, such as the prohibition of throws, biting, or striking a downed opponent, have changed little over the past two centuries.

Krabi-krabong is at present the most vital Thai armed tradition. The Thai developed armed combat skills both in their own campaigns and as mercenaries for the Khmer Empire.

By the early sixteenth century (1503) the Thai had developed "military science," as demonstrated by the compilation, at the orders of Siamese King Rama Tibodi II, of a "Treatise on Victorious Warfare" that outlined military strategy and military tactics. Almost a century later (1593) the extremely successful Thai king Naresuan, who led his forces into Burma, Cambodia, and Laos, appended twenty-one rules of combat to "Victorious Warfare." Naresuan was a legendary swordsman, having allegedly singlehandedly routed Burmese forces by killing the Burmese crown prince with a sword thrust. It is tempting, therefore, to suggest that his tactics influenced Krabi-krabong. Naresuan's rules, however, focused on mass warfare,

and unlike contemporary Krabi krabong practitioners, he fought while mounted on an elephant.

The curriculum of Krabi-krabong consists of training in six different weapon categories: staff, *gnow* (bladed staff), single sword, double sword, *mai sau* (wooden club worn on the forearm), and the combination of spear and shield. In addition, Krabi-krabong utilizes empty-hand techniques that are said to be the battlefield ancestors of modern-day Muay Thai. Practitioners train in pairs, using full contact and live blades.

Before each training session, match, or demonstration, it is required to perform the dancelike Wai Kru ceremony. The Wai Kru are ceremonies that show respect for the master teacher (*Kru, Khru,* or guru). Although the dances' structures and names vary from locale to locale, all are an integral element of Thai culture and permeated by the Thai variant of Buddhist beliefs. There is, as Faubion Bowers notes, an intimate connection between dance and combat throughout Thai tradition.

Vietnam

The likely origin of the Vietnamese people was southern China. Throughout the country's turbulent history, contact with and interference by China have been a fact of life. The Chinese Han dynasty overthrew the Vietnamese Trien dynasty, itself probably a Chinese family, in 111 B.C. In A.D. 39 a revolt led by the Trung sisters gave a brief respite from China's dominance. Chinese rule resumed in 44. Eventually, in 939, Vietnam regained independence, although China held sway over Vietnam's rulers until the French era.

Vietnam's history has been one of southward expansion, of internal geographical division (either because of formal administrative divisions or because of informal power assumed by regional viceroys), and of attempts to assert the control of the central government over the actions of local leaders. There has been little peace in Vietnam's evolution.

The political situation in Vietnam, therefore, both kept the martial arts systems in the nation closely tied to Chinese fighting arts and prevented the kind of systematization and nationalization that have prevailed within many other traditions. One effect has been considerable confusion about the martial arts of Vietnam and a dearth of knowledge, particularly in the West, regarding the history of the subject.

The Vietnamese martial arts (*vo thuat*) have remained responsive to local imperatives, as distinct from the standardization developed in Japan or in the People's Republic of China. Even after the reunification of the north and the south, a universally accepted body for the classification and standardization of martial arts has yet to emerge publicly in Vietnam. Thus, there are an indeterminate number of schools, some practicing family traditions, others based in regional tradition, most clothed in secrecy,

with skills perpetuated orally by transmission from teacher to student. The aura of secrecy that often attends martial arts was intensified when Vietnam was conquered and colonized by France (1859–1954). During the colonial period, martial arts were driven underground and were taught secretly (primarily within families, some maintain), transmitted with caution from teacher to student.

There is considerable discussion among Vietnamese martial artists themselves as to whether any of the Vietnamese martial arts truly developed independently of Chinese influence. Confucianism and its Mandarin civil service influenced military arts at the elite levels by the institution of formal military training in an eleventh-century academy of martial arts in the capital, Thang Long City (now Hanoi). In order to graduate in the military sciences, candidates had to pass entrance exams, followed by a minimum of three years' study before graduating. This climate also produced, in the sixteenth century, treatises such as *Linh Nam Vo Kinh* (On Vietnamese Martial Art).

In the eighteenth century, major schools of Chinese boxing, primarily Cantonese, were noted in Vietnam by names such as *Hong* (*Hung*)*-gar, Mo-gar, Choi-gar,* and *Li-gar.* It is claimed that these styles elaborated on the styles of various monasteries; among these the most commonly mentioned was Wo-Mei Shan Pai.

In twentieth-century Vietnam, *Vovinam, Kim Ke,* and *Vo Binh Dinh* have been regarded as the most popular systems. In addition, numerous Sino-Vietnamese styles have been reported, such as *Bach My Phai* (*Bak Mei Pai* or *Baimeiquan,* Chinese for "White Eyebrow Style"), *yongchun* (wing chun or V*ing Tsun*), and *Meihuaquan* (Plum Blossom Boxing). These styles were popular among Chinese who lived in Vietnam, especially in the Cholon section of Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon).

When discussions of native martial arts arise, Tay Son boxing is often cited as indigenous to Vietnam. The system came to national attention in a late eighteenth-century peasants' revolt in Vietnam. In 1773, three brothers, the Tay Son, led a revolt and divided the country between them. Their victories were attributed in part to *Vo Tay Son* (Tay Son Fighting Style), often known as Vo Binh Dinh (Binh Dinh Fighting, or sometimes translated into English as Binh Dinh Kung Fu). Each of the three brothers contributed to modern Vo Tay Son, and contemporary practitioners trace their martial lineages to one of the three. Vo Tay Son remains an aggressive combat art encompassing both unarmed and weapons forms. There are eighteen weapons in the curriculum, with an emphasis on bladed weapons, particularly the sword.

A less well-known system is *Kim Ke* (Golden Cock). As the name implies, the system adopts combative features of the cock. There are strikes

modeled on the spurring talons of the fighting cock, as well as high-jump kicks to the upper torso or head, a feature that appears in other Vietnamese systems also. Actions are fast and aggressive, with attack preferred to defense. Practitioners of Kim Ke even utilize biting attacks. It has been noted that Kim Ke fighters prefer lateral attack angles.

Family systems have been described that simply use the family name (e.g., *Truong Vo Thuat,* Truong Family Fighting Style) as a label. Such systems are developed within lineages and generally utilize both Vietnamese and non-Vietnamese (especially Chinese) martial arts as sources of armed and unarmed techniques.

The most familiar of Vietnam's martial arts are *Vovinam-Viet Vo Dao* and *Quan Ki Do*. Both systems were synthesized from a variety of preexisting arts in the twentieth century.

Vovinam (later renamed Viet Vo Dao) was founded by Nguyen Loc (1912–1960) in the late 1930s. Traditional history within the system states that Nguyen, while in his twenties, combined elements of local schools of Shontei province, other Vietnamese styles, principles from the "Linh Nam Vo Kinh" treatise, traditional Chinese wushu, Japanese jûdô and related wrestling systems, and Japanese karate to create Vovinam. Nguyen began teaching his eclectic system to a group of friends in 1938 in the capital city of Hanoi. The system was developed with the practical intent of providing, after a short period of study, an efficient means of self-defense. Further, as a distinctive national art incorporating what supporters have called "the best of Vietnamese martial arts," Nguyen hoped to establish a basis for national identity and patriotism among his hard-pressed people. A spectacular element of the art is the existence of leg techniques in which the practitioner uses both legs to kick, grasp, and trip an opponent. The "flying scissors" techniques are the most recognizable of these Vovinam tactics. Tradition holds that these maneuvers were developed as a means to allow Vietnamese foot soldiers to attack Mongol cavalrymen during the Battle of the Red River Delta in 1284. From its creation until several years following the founder's death, the system was called Vovinam. The name *Vovinam* blends two words: *Vo* (martial arts) and *vinam* (a shortened form of *Vietnam*) to signify "martial arts of Vietnam." In 1964, *Viet Vo Dao* ("the philosophy of Vietnamese martial arts") was added to the name to produce the modern form Vovinam-Viet Vo Dao.

Quan Ki Do (also Qwan Ki Do, Quan Ky Do), which can be translated as "Fist and Qi (energy) Way," was established by Pham Xuan Tong (ca. 1981). One tradition holds that the roots of the art are in the Chinese boxing system of *Wo-Mei* (a Southern Shaolin style). The main techniques derived from Chinese martial arts are based on the animal forms of the tiger, crane, and praying mantis. A Vietnamese system, Quan Ki, is re-

ported to have been incorporated into the art to supplement this fundamentally Chinese structure.

A countertradition maintains that Tong obtained the knowledge from which he synthesized Quan Ki Do elsewhere. According to this tradition, Quan Ki Do is based on the Vietnamese styles of Vo Bihn Dinh (see "Tay Son," above), Vo Quang Binh, and Vo Bach Ninh. At least some of the elements of these arts were inherited through an uncle.

The difficult issue of origins aside, Quan Ki Do encompasses both grappling and striking, as well as a variety of stick, pole-arm, and bladed weapons. The Vietnamese sword art of Viet Lon Guom is included along with traditional Chinese weapons in this arsenal. Also, meditation and breathing techniques are used to cultivate qi. Tong left Vietnam in the late 1960s and ultimately based his Quan Ki Do organization in Toulon, France.

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See also Ki/Qi; Muay Thai; Philippines; Silat; Thaing; Vovinam/Viet Vo Dao

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Stage Combat

Stage combat is broadly used to define any physical confrontation that is performed on stage. These confrontations can range from a slap to a massive battle sequence, and they can be performed by as few as two people (as in a duel) or by large groups (as in a bar fight). Unlike conventional martial systems, stage combat is meant to function as entertainment, not as a series of defensive and offensive techniques. Its main objective is to create an entertaining and exciting experience for the audience.

During the English Renaissance (in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) the London Masters of Defence (a professional organization of British fencing masters) rented out playhouses to test their students publicly. Men who could afford to do so were trained in the ways of swordsmanship with one of the recognized masters of this organization. Also, there were opportunities to train with foreign masters if one was so inclined. At this time, however, the foreign masters ran serious risks in order to teach in London because of the monopoly that the Masters of Defence held in the city; if, however, they could find a powerful enough patron to offer them protection, it was possible. By the 1580s, Italian and French styles of swordplay had come into vogue, and several Italian schools were in operation in London. During this time, duels settling a private difference through combat were extremely common; therefore, these fencing masters had no shortage of students eager to learn their skills. Thus, sword fighting was so prevalent at this time that everyone had some personal experience with it, either as a participant or an observer. Thus, theatrical sword fighting was a popular form of entertainment, and the fights themselves were spectacular displays.

Like any acting apprentice in the sixteenth century, William Shakespeare would have spent considerable time training with at least one master swordsman, until he himself was an accomplished fighter. The weapons found in Shakespeare's plays—the buckler, dagger, rapier, long-sword,

short-sword, staff, target, and poniard—are a good indication of what he was taught at his "school of fence" (Martinez 1996). The rapier and dagger, which are displayed in works such as *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet,* were undoubtedly the most popular weapons of the time. Richard Burbage, a member of Shakespeare's company, was a highly skilled swordsman as well as a renowned actor. In fact, some theater historians believe that the role of Hamlet, whose fencing match brings the play to its tragic conclusion, was written specifically with him in mind. Along with Richard Tarleton (another member of the company as well as a member of the London Masters of Defence), Burbage was probably the creative force behind some of Shakespeare's greatest duels. Due to the fact that professional actors in Elizabethan England were trained swordsmen, stage combat consisted of the actors' choreographing the fight out of their own knowledge and drawing on the fashion of the time. If a certain style had recently come into favor, Shakespeare may have very likely written it into his play. For example in *Romeo and Juliet,* Mercutio describes Tybalt's fencing with the lines, "The immortal passado, the punto reverso, the hay!" (2.4). All of these are Italian and Spanish fencing terms, which describe moves that were likely to have been in vogue at the time.

The fight director or fight choreographer arose out of the modern theater's need for someone who could create a safe and effective fight. This represents a contrast to the Elizabethan period, when swordsmanship was commonplace. In the modern world, it is necessary to have someone who can build, for example, a bridge from the past of Shakespeare's plays into the present. J. D. Martinez defines the fight choreographer as "a highly specialized theater artist who assumes primary responsibility for the safety of the performers entrusted to him. Beyond all creative consideration, the professional stage fight choreographer places safety first" (1996, 3).

The job of the fight director is to make the fight accomplish its goals within the confines of the play. To do this effectively, the fight choreographer needs to be well versed in a diverse range of elements of the theatrical performance. Along with having extensive training in various forms of armed and unarmed combat, the professional fight director should have knowledge of acting techniques, lighting design, costumes, weapons maintenance, firearm safety, and, of course, first aid. The fight choreographer not only creates the fight, but also makes sure it is safe for both the performers and the audience, exciting to watch, and appropriate to the needs of the play. Because the modern theater does not require actors to be trained in professional swordplay, a fight director is just as likely to come upon someone who has never picked up a sword as to find a consummate swordsman. For this reason, fight directors have become an indispensable part of the modern theatrical world.

English actor, producer, and director Laurence Olivier plays Hamlet in his 1948 film production of Shakespeare's work. He is involved in the fatal duel with Laertes, played by Terence Morgan. (Hulton Archive)

In planning a stage fight, the choreographer must consider the experience and physical stature of his performers, the needs and style of the characters, the concept of the play, rehearsal time, set and prop placement, characters' costumes, lighting design, historical accuracy, and how the fight fits into the telling of the story. By doing research in these areas, the fight director comes to the rehearsal room with a solid base on which to build a staged fight. The fight choreographer may arrive with a completely choreographed action or with a generalized idea of what should happen, but an open mind and willingness to adjust these ideas to the abilities of the actors and to the wishes of the director must be maintained. Consideration must be given not only to what the fight will look like, but also what it will sound and feel like to the audience. By adding vocalizations, different tempos, and specific character traits, a fight director can transform an otherwise boring set of moves into an exciting segment of an evening of theater.

Patrick Crean, one of actor Errol Flynn's fight choreographers and sword-fighting doubles, once said: "Thoughts fast, BLADES SLOW." This statement is the essence of stage combat training: Take it slow! By begin-

ning training in slow motion and gradually increasing the speed, the student learns the moves more accurately and has more control over them when the speed is increased. This teaching concept is similar to that employed in many Asian styles of martial combat.

Stage combat is a collaborative process; by working together students learn the fundamentals and help each other in understanding the material. With both partners taking care of each other and doing their best to make each other look good, a fight will be safe and effective. As in any physical activity, it is important to warm up before beginning exercises, and it is very important to breathe and stay relaxed while executing the techniques. Certain rules should be followed. In any fight there is a victim and an attacker. The victim is the person being attacked and the attacker is the person trying to injure the victim. To avoid actual injury, stage combat has devised a system whereby the attacker cues the victim before attacking. Dale Anthony Girard has distinguished two kinds of cues: "a) A placement of the arm and/or weapon that reads as a specific attack to a specific target. Leaving no question as to the direction of the attack from its point of origin to its intended target. b) A prearranged signal for someone to perform a specific action" (1997, 483). The victim then reacts in an appropriate way (e.g., if he is supposed to duck, he does), and only then does the attacker finish her move (e.g., trying to cut off the victim's head). This process is called Action-Reaction-Action: the initial action of the attacker, the reaction of the victim, the remaining action of the attacker.

During any stage fight the victim is always in control. For example, if someone is being pulled across the floor by the hair, the victim is moving, and the partner performing the role of assailant is creating the illusion of doing the work. Turning again to Girard, "It is important to remember that the physical conflict on stage is an illusion; at all times each combatant should be fully in control of themselves and their weapons" (1997, 6). Since safety is the most important aspect of stage combat, students should always work at their own speed. Only when one is comfortable with the techniques and routine one has learned should the tempo be increased. A slow accurate fight is much more interesting and exciting to watch than a fast, sloppy, and essentially dangerous one. Nothing breaks an audience member's suspension of disbelief quicker than the thought that one of the actors may actually get hurt. A good fight is a safe fight. As William Hobbs, fight director for *The Three Musketeers* (1973), *The Princess Bride* (1987), and many other films, once said, "One cannot make rules regarding creativity, but only regarding technique and safety" (1980, 65).

Stage combat at its worst is a set of moves performed by actors on a stage. At its best, it is a living confrontation between characters in a struggle for supremacy within the life of the play. To make a fight more than just

moves, the actors and the choreographer must fill the fight with an outside life. To do this, the actors must decide on details about their characters. What physical attributes or limitations do the characters possess? Why are they in the confrontation? Do they want to be there? Are they scared, excited, showing off? Do they want to kill or simply humiliate their opponents? What is the playing field like? Is it evening, early morning, raining, foggy? How does this affect the way the characters fight? These are just a few of the many questions an actor must answer in order to give the fight an inner life. At the same time the actors are doing this, the choreographer must be thinking about how this fight fits into the overall concept of the play. Why did the playwright put the fight at this point? How will the fight add to the whole production? By researching the time period in which the play is set and studying the entire play to find out the fight's purpose, the choreographer can give the actors a fully realized battlefield. At the same time, the actors can arrive as the complex characters they are portraying, giving the audience a glimpse into something real. The early fight scene in *The Princess Bride,* for example, perfectly represents a technically easy fight that appears to be something quite extraordinary, because of the performances of actors Mandy Patinkin and Carey Elwes.

Fight directors are often asked about the historical accuracy of their fights, and though historical accuracy is kept in mind, it is not the primary focus for most choreographers. This is a theatrical art; therefore, "selling" the fight to the audience is more important than creating a picture-perfect replica of the past. Many fight directors will consult old fencing manuals in order to construct a scene; Domenico Angelo's *School of Fencing,* Giacomo di Grassi's *His True Arte of Defence,* and George Silver's *Paradoxes of Defence* are particular favorites. Even when they use these resources, however, modern production requirements inevitably outweigh historical accuracy. Therefore, fight choreographers must be aware of what moves may be unsafe on the modern stage (e.g., any move that drags a blade across the face would be considered unacceptable) and what moves will be most effective for the given performance.

Stage combat has become a significant feature of the entertainment world. Not only can it be seen on the stage of live theater and in commercial films, but it is also a major component of some of television's most popular shows. Many of the series of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries—*Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Angel,* and *Xena: Warrior Princess*—contain a strong element of stage combat. With the increase in popularity of stage combat, many schools have appeared that offer training in this theatrical art. The Society of American Fight Directors is the oldest organization for stage combat directors in this country and is the best place to find further information on this subject, including listings of certi-

fied teachers and schools, literature, and annual conferences. England, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada have similar organizations.

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See also Masters of Defence; Performing Arts

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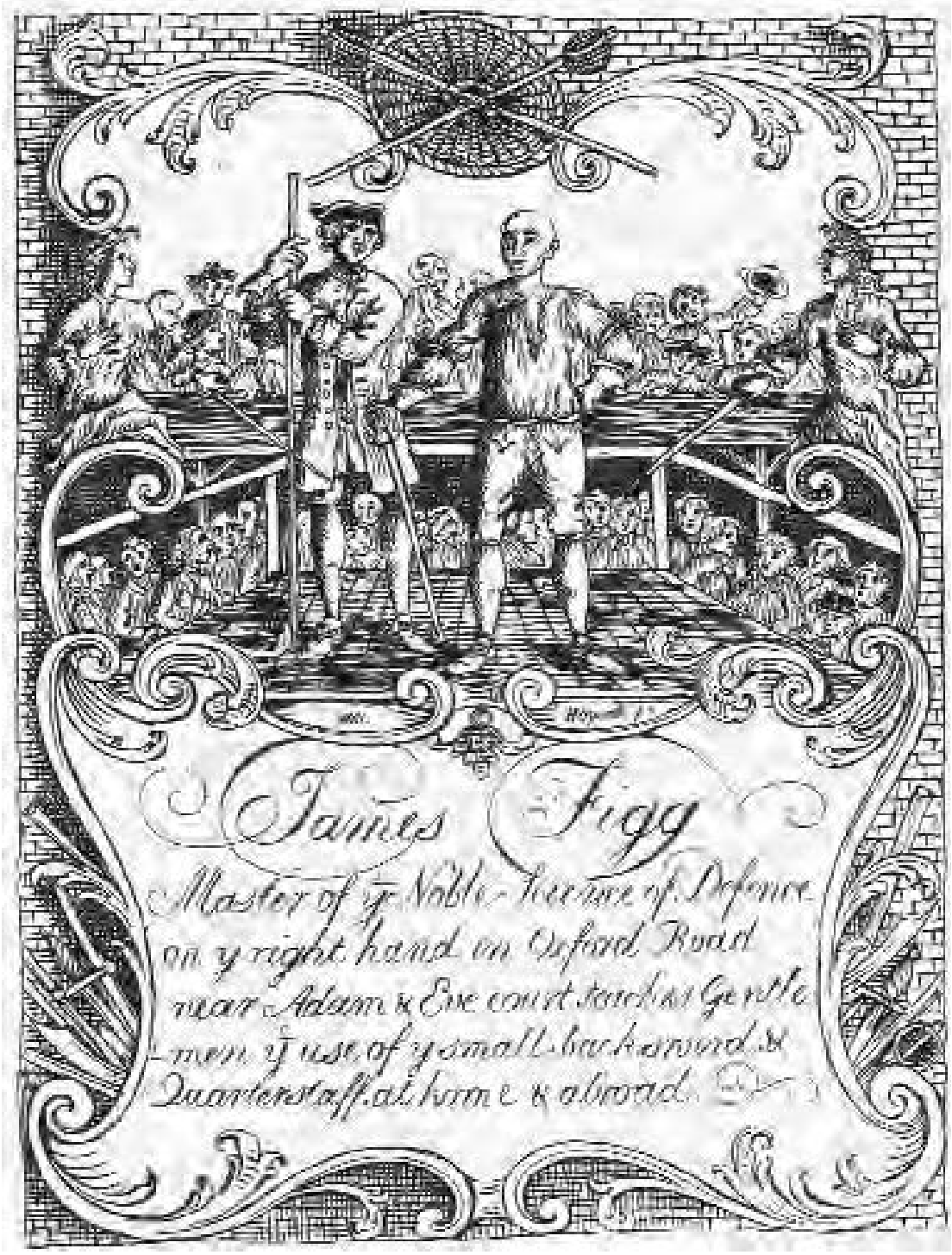
Stickfighting, Non-Asian

The use of a stick, club, or staff as a weapon in combat or in combative sports is called stickfighting. Today these uses can be classed into two types. First, there are those arts that developed for use with a stick, such as *makila* in the Basque highlands, shillelagh in Ireland, quarterstaff in Europe, and *bôjutsu* in Okinawa. Second, there are those arts that developed from the use of another weapon like the sword or spear. These arts would include *la canne d'armes* in France, singlestick in England, and *arnis de mano* in the Philippines. To say the use of the stick in fighting is one of man's earliest weapons is a relatively obvious statement supported by archaeology. A broken branch, an antler, or a large leg bone makes an excellent impromptu club. Stickfighting systems have developed around the world and many survive today in the forms of sports, folk dances, and cultural activities as well as fighting systems. Many others systems did not survive the introduction of reliable, personal firearms and sport forms of fencing.

At one time, each country in Europe seems to have had its own system of stickfighting. Fighting with sticks or cudgels was accepted for judicial duels in medieval Europe, and several records of these fights survive. In the fifteenth century, Olivier de la Marche told of a judicial duel between two tailors fought with shield and cudgel. According to ancient custom in Burgundy, the burghers of Valenciennes were allowed to participate in a judicial combat with cudgels. These civilians of the middle class had their shield reversed (upside down), as they were commoners and hence not allowed to use a knightly shield. The loser was then taken and hanged upon

a gibbet immediately outside the lists. Other judicial combats with clubs are reported in England, Germany, and France. In Shakespeare's *King Henry VI, Part 2,* a trial by combat between a master and his apprentice with cudgels is based on a historical case (act 2, scene 3). In Ireland, the use of the walking stick, the shillelagh, and the staff were common, as the British occupiers restricted access of the population to weapons. The association of the shillelagh with the Irish in the United States is so strong that the shillelagh has become one of the symbols of St. Patrick's Day. Several other weapons were used, and there are some attempts to preserve or recreate these systems under the name of *brata* (stick). The United Kingdom had several native systems, associated not only with the Welsh, the Scottish, and the English in general but also with local regions. By the nineteenth century, two systems seem to predominate: the quarterstaff and the singlestick. Quarterstaff, a 6-foot stave about 1 1/4 to 1 1/2 inches in diameter, goes back to earliest times. Mentioned in the stories of Saxons and Vikings, it became the preferred weapon of the yeoman or peasant. It is mentioned in George Silver's *Paradoxes of Defense,* and in the late 1600s, a British sailor defeated three opponents armed with rapiers in a bout before a Spanish court. It was played as a sport by the British military up into the twentieth century and was taught to the Boy Scouts in the United Kingdom and United States up until the late 1960s. Quarterstaff techniques were taught to the police in the United Kingdom, the United States, and India for use with riot batons, and the *lathi,* an Indian police staff about 5 feet long, shows considerable influence from it. Currently, it is still used for military training, and several groups are preserving or recovering it, along with other English martial arts.

Cudgel or singlestick was originally used to train soldier in sword technique, but later became its own martial art. Civilians played it as a sport and as a method of defending oneself with a cane. As a rough sport, it was taught and played in colleges, schools, and county fairs. Cudgel play was a distinct descendant of the short-sword and dagger play of Silver's time, which gladiators of James Miller's and James Figg's day still recognized. Miller, himself a noted Master of Defence, published a book in 1737 with plates detailing the weapons of the craft, including the cudgel. James Figg was considered the greatest Master of Defence and a well-known teacher in the same period. As the use of the traditional weapons had faded from the battlefield, the masters earned money by having exhibitions and public matches like the gladiators of old. Those professionals fought some of their duels on the stage with a Scottish broadsword in the right hand, and in the left a shorter weapon, some 14 inches in length, furnished with a basket hilt similar to that of their swords, which they used in parrying. The cudgel players copied these weapons in a less dangerous form, the steel



James Figg teaches men the art of self-defense with the use of a backsword and quarterstaff in a trade card engraving by William Hogarth. (Hulton Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

blades being replaced by an ash stick about a yard in length and as thick as a man's middle finger, with hilts (known by the name of pots), usually made of wickerwork or leather. Cudgel players were often used to warm up the audience for the main event. The original purpose appeared to have been training for use of the backsword.

Singlestick was simply the use of the one larger stick instead of two. To prevent any unfair use of the left hand, that hand was tied in various fashions, according to the local rules. The men, when engaged, stood within striking distance, the legs being kept straight or nearly so. Cuts and thrusts were performed as with the saber or backsword. There was no lunging in the earlier forms, but thrusts were allowed, and later texts mention the lunge as acceptable. A considerable amount of movement of the feet and body was permitted, and overall several similarities are seen with the German fraternity sport of *schläger.* Several fictional characters, such as Sherlock Holmes and Tom Brown, were skilled at it. Under some rules, bouts continued until one participant was bleeding from the head an inch above the eyes. Schools that taught to more genteel customers, such as Angelo's school in the 1750s in London, used leather jackets and cagelike headgear. Singlestick was taught in the military and police as a way of training for both the sword and nightstick. Spread throughout the British Empire, it appears to have influenced the Sikh art of *gatka,* in which the basic practice sword and its cuts closely resemble those of singlestick. In England, it was played in private schools until the 1930s. Attempts to revive singlestick with the use of padded jackets and fencing masks for increased protection are ongoing today.

Eire was also a center of stickfighting, and the best-documented style is that of the faction fighters of the nineteenth century. Irish stickfighting used either a single long stick of walking-stick length called the *bata* or a pair, with a shorter stick carried in the off hand. This short stick is what became associated with the Irish in the United States as the shillelagh. The term actually was used for a grade of oak exported to Europe. The longer stick was held in the middle, similarly to the *coulesse* (involving changing the striking end of the baton) techniques of *baton* (walking staff) in savate, so that the lower half lay along and protected the forearm. Strikes were done with the head of the stick. When used, the shorter stick served to block, as in the cudgel play described above. Techniques for longer staves (called wattles) and cudgels are also known to have existed. Fighting took place almost everywhere, and men trained from youth in the use of the stick, with each faction having its own fencing master. Faction fights took place with up to a thousand men participating, and ritual challenges existed. Fights occurred at wakes, county fairs, and dances, as well as by arrangement. The women joined in, not with sticks, but with a rock in a

sock or scarf. Needless to say, the authorities did not at all approve of these fights. Fights were often not deadly duels, but they were looked on as a rough but good-natured contest of skill. G. K. Chesterton, writing while memories of the faction fights were still fresh, said: "If you ever go to Ireland, you will find it truly said, that it is the land of broken hearts and the land of broken heads" (1980, 261).

The Scandinavian countries also had various styles using the walking stick and the quarterstaff. One still exists today called *Stav* (staff) that claims a 1,500-year descent in a familial line. In addition to stickfighting, this system includes training in the use of the sword and the ax. Many systems existed in the Germanic and central European lands. Of these, two German stickfighting styles, *stochfechten* (stickfighting) and *Jaegerstocken* (hunting or walking stick), appear to have survived to today. In addition, a wooden practice sword called the *dusack* was a popular weapon among the tradesmen in the later Middle Ages. Records of stickfighting techniques are found in the sword-fighting manuals of Europe, in which a stick or short staff (about three to five feet in length) is shown used against a sword. In addition, many swordsmen used wands to train with more safely, so it is easy to see how sword techniques would become intertwined with stick techniques. In the Netherlands, cane and cudgel systems existed similar to *la canne et baton* of today. The Bretons developed a stickfighting art that uses a 3-foot stick that is forked or hooked on the top like a cane. It appears to be associated with *Lutte Breton* (Breton wrestling), and the hooked end is used to trip or trap an opponent. The Basques have systems for using the makila (a walking stick that separates into two equal pieces with a small blade concealed inside one side) as well as the shepherd's crook, a light 5-foot stick. Both are used in *zipota* (Basque; kickfighting) as well as folk dance. Tribal leaders also carried the makila as a sign of authority. Spain had similar arts, mainly performed today as folk dance. These appear to be closely related to the canne et baton of savate. One order of Spanish knights (The Order of the Band) were required to play at wands six times a year to maintain their status. Undoubtedly, the art was familiar to Spanish soldiers in the Philippines, which allowed the rapid assimilation of Spanish techniques into the local arts of *kali* or *arnis* along with the techniques of *espada y daga* (sword and dagger). A local fencing teacher in Maryland, now in his seventies or eighties, taught the sword-and-dagger techniques he learned along with the modern fencing weapons as a child in the Philippines as a son of a member of the American forces. In Portugal, the art of *jôgo do pau* still exists as self-defense, cultural tradition, and sport.

France has the most organized and widely practiced form of stickfighting in Europe: the fighting art of la canne d'armes and its sport form, *la canne de combat*. These are closely associated with savate. Stickfighting

techniques have been part of savate since its codification by Michel Casseux in 1803. He listed fifteen kicking and fifteen cane techniques. *Danse de rue Savate* (Dance of Savate Street) actually has several types of stickfighting systems: la canne d'armes, using a cane or dress walking stick; its sport form of canne de combat, using a baton (a 65-inch walking staff); and the stickfighting system of *Lutte Parisienne* (Parisian Wrestling), using a crooked cane. La canne d'armes is the street combat system that developed with the cane during a ban of carrying swords within the city limits of Paris under the Napoleonic laws. The cane is handled much like a sword, and many fencers took to practicing it as a legal alternative to the sword. This crossover of practitioners led to the introduction of many court and small-sword techniques into la canne. The sport form, la canne de combat, utilizes a limited set of six techniques. These six cuts are called *brisse* (overhead), *crosse brisse* (backhand overhead), *lateral* (side), *crosse lateral* (backhand side), *enlève* (uppercut), and *crosse enlève* (backhand uppercut). Thrusts and the other cuts are banned as too dangerous. The cuts must be chambered (hand "cocked") behind the shoulder, and the legal targets are the lower leg, the body, and the head. A padded suit and headgear are worn. Bouts consist of four two-minute rounds. The sport is regulated in France by the Comité National de Canne de Combat et Baton and in the United States by the USA Savate and Canne de Combat Association, which is part of the International Guild of Danse de Rue Savate. The baton is a 64-inch staff that developed from the walking stick and a sign of authority carried by certain officers and nobles in France. The art of using it was taught to cavalrymen as a method of defending oneself with the lance when on foot and appears to have developed from pole-arms. It is sometimes erroneously referred to as *grand baton* or *moutinet*. Unlike the quarterstaff, the baton is held so the thumbs of both hands face each other (the lead hand is pronated). Finally, the crooked cane is also taught. Coming from Lutte Parisienne, this is an impact weapon whose hooked end can be used to trap, to tear, or to trip.

In Russia, stickfighting is called *shtyk* and uses a 5-foot stick called the *polka*. One of the stories of the origin of shtyk attributes it to the pre-Christian priests of the thunder god Perun. It is closely associated with the use of the pike, one of the big four of Russian medieval weapons (sword, ax, pike, and war-hammer). The emphasis in both shtyk and Russian pike fighting was the unbalancing of the opponent. As the arts were designed for mass combat, the ideal was to overturn an opponent, creating an opening in his line and leaving him for one's comrades to finish off. This emphasis on overturning is also seen in individual combat, in which to overturn or unbalance an opponent without injury is considered a sign of high skill. Later these same techniques were adapted to the bayonet. Shtyk is closely

associated with the Golitsin family, which was one of the branches of the royal family before the Russian Revolution. Movements with the polka include swinging and thrusts, but more emphasis is placed on levering and screwing (a twisting type of thrust). Parries are ideally *stringering*, a kind of sticky contact in which you keep control of the opponent's weapon. The Russian Martial Arts Federation (ROSS) is currently sponsoring the development of a sport form of the art.

In Upper Egypt (actually the highlands to the south), there is a centuries-old martial art system using stick and swords, called *tahteeb*. In fact, it can be traced to the time of the Pharaoh, as drawings on the walls of the ancient tombs of kings from that era show figures practicing the art using kendô-style postures. Nowadays, members of the Ikhwaan-al-Muslimeen (Muslim Brotherhood) practice it at their religious schools. Another style using a longer walking staff is found among the Bedouin and is called *naboud*. Other Middle Eastern, Arabic, and North African countries appear to have had similar stickfighting systems, which were normally derived from the sword.

In North and South America, the majority of stickfighting systems are imported forms or variations thereon. The original native tribes used various wooden clubs and swords in combat, but little or nothing is known about systematic approaches to training. In North America today, the closest thing to a national system is the collection of techniques of police and military baton use. This appears to be developed from singlestick, quarterstaff, and la canne. Recently, tremendous influence from arnis, kali, and *jô* (Japanese; staff, which is approximately 4 feet long) techniques can be seen. Certain ethnic groups have preserved, to a greater or lesser extent, the stickfighting arts of their homeland. The Basques in South Texas and Idaho still retain the makila and shepherd's staff, at least in dance. The Ukrainians in western Canada preserve some stick techniques in folk dance, as do Russian groups across the United States. The Quebecois have traces of la canne, and Czech settlers in the Midwest and central Texas retained parts of *Sokol* (falcon, the wrestling and physical training of Czechs, as well as the name of their social hall) in their gymnasiums. However, most of these remnants are of limited influence and are fading as the children become more Americanized. The most popular stickfighting arts appear to be the arnis or kali systems from the Philippines and the staff techniques from aikidô. Recent attempts to reintroduce la canne de combat are still limited in scope, and quarterstaff and singlestick, despite their importation with the Boy Scouts, are mainly extinct.

In South America and the Caribbean, the picture is brighter. Several Caribbean nations have stickfighting associated with the festival of Carnival (just before the start of Lent). Trinidad and Tobago actually adver-

tises that stickfighting competitions are held during Carnival. The stickfighting appears to be based on quarterstaff and baton techniques using the pronated grip. Interestingly, associated with the stickfighting is the use of the whip by *pierrots* (clowns), paralleling the association of la canne et baton with *le fouet* (the whip) seen in savate. *Bois* (wood) is practiced in what were once the French colonies in the Caribbean and appears to be la canne blended with African traditions. In South America, *capoeira* has *maculêlê,* a dance form and style of fighting that uses sticks called *grimas,* which looks very much like the Basque folk dances using the makila. The sticks are used in place of machetes to reduce risk and hide the skill from the authorities, and the local machete fighting style is known by the same name.

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See also Capoeira; Dueling; Masters of Defence; Philippines; Savate

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Sword, Japanese

The actual history of Japanese swords is divided into ten periods, as indicated in the following table:

Period	*Dates*
Nara	650–793
Heian	794–1191
Kamakura (Kotô)	1192–1336
Yoshino-Nambakucho	1337–1392
Muromachi	1393–1573
Azuchi-Momoyama	1574–1602
Edo (Tokugawa)	
Early (Shintô)	1596–1780
Late (Shinshintô)	1781–1868
Modern (Gendaitô)	1868–1945
Post-Modern (Shinsakutô)	1950–present

Prior to the Nara period there is, in sword history, an era variously referred to as the Historical, Ancient, or Dolmen period. Although swords were made during that time, they are not of the style the West has come to know as Japanese swords. The blades of this early period are mostly straight edges without *sori* (curvature) or *shinogi* (ridge-line), and the few that do have sori are those made after the Taiho era by such smiths as Amakuni and his followers in Yamato province. Smiths such as Amakuni are more legendary than they are historical.

Many smiths from the Kofun (Ancient Mounds) era (the third to the sixth centuries) are mentioned in the very early Japanese chronicles such as the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki,* but these smiths are undoubtedly mythological. More likely, blades from these early years were brought into the archipelago from the mainland by invaders, immigrants, pirates, traders, and others who had intercourse with mainland Asia in that period. This phase of sword study is best relegated to the archaeologist, with this one notation:

Dressed in traditional garb, sword-maker Nobufusa Hokke Saburo begins to form the front curve of the delicate "samurai" blade at his forge in Matsuyama Japan, 1952. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Blades of that era are almost straight-edged, as evidenced by treasures within the Shôsôin Repository at Nara, and in a few examples in temples, such as Shitenôji in Osaka, Komuro Shrine in Kôchi, Kashima Grand Shrine at Ibaraki, and Konogoji in Osaka. These blades have temper lines, suggesting that forging methods were already highly developed at that time.

At the start of the Nara period, the erratic locations of the emperor were converted to a permanent capital within the village of Nara in Yamato province. The arts of swordsmithing were still primitive, but in order to equip the national army, there arose a demand for a better killing sword. There is but one *tachi* (long, slung blade of the Kotô, literally "old sword," period, as a reference for the period prior to 1596) attributed to this period, the famous Kogarasu-maru. Once the heirloom of the Taira family, who controlled the country during the late Heian period, this sword has been greatly shortened (*ôsuriage*)

Very little is known concerning battle techniques within these two periods, but there must have been activity, else why the change from a straight stabbing blade to a curved slicing blade? Woodblock prints surviving from

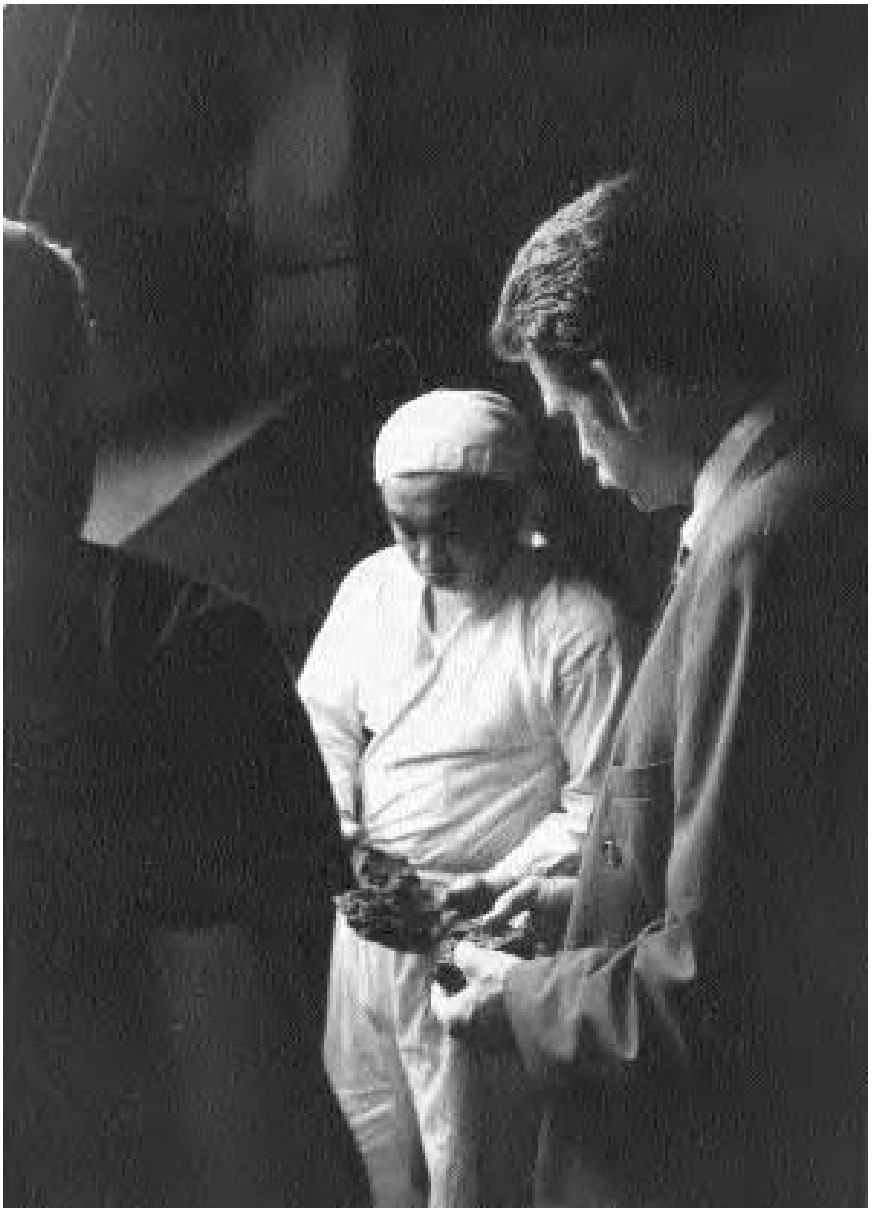
this period show only nobles and courtiers carrying swords, not warriors using them in combat.

During the Heian period the capital was moved to present-day Kyoto in Yamashiro province, and power shifted from the imperial family to the Fujiwara clan. About the year 900, two powerful warrior clans—the Taira (Heike) and the Minamoto (Genji)—arose. These clans vigorously fought against each other (and even, on occasion, among themselves), stimulating tremendous progress in the art of swordsmithing, which reached its zenith during the closing years of the Heian period. The Yamato and Yamashiro schools of swordsmithing predominated, with the Bizen style introduced around year 990. These blades had an elegant shape, a narrow width combined with a very deep *koshi-zori* (curvature at its deepest near the hilt), and a great amount of *fumabari* (enlargement near the base) with small *kissaki* (point). Usually the first 8 or 9 inches from the tip was straight.

The Kamakura period saw the imperial family becoming nothing more than pawns of the warriors. As a direct result of the Genpei War between the *Gen*ji and the Hei*ke* (which becomes *pei* when it follows the *n* of *gen*), a *Seii-Taishôgun* (Barbarian-suppressing Commander-in-Chief) established his *bakufû* (literally "tent-government"—a junta) at the village of Kamakura in Sagami province. The swordsmithing schools of Yamato, Yamashiro, and Bizen dominated the craft with the introduction of the Shoshû style in 1249 and the Mino style in 1320. These schools were the "Five Traditions" of the Kotô period.

During 1274, Mongols—those fell horsemen whose depredations extended as far afield as Poland, Palestine, and Persia and who had even defeated the Teutonic Knights of Germany—crossed the Korea Straight and invaded the Japanese islands. In all of Mongol experience, defending warriors fled away from them, but the Japanese *bushi* (warriors) ran toward them. However, the incredible bravery of a samurai in the face of death, in some ways his greatest strength, now proved to be his weakness. The tradition of being first into battle and challenging a worthy opponent was completely inapplicable to this foreign enemy.

The Japanese quickly learned that their swords literally bounced off the tanned hide armor of the Mongols. One of the reasons was that Japanese sword blades of those times had a good amount of *ha-niku* (meat-of-the-cutting-edge), and their edges resembled miniature hatchets in cross section, enabling them to whack through the stone-dust–encrusted lacquer of armor. It must also be noted that pre-invasion times were peaceful, which always has a tendency to stifle weapons technology. Finally, during the previous Genpei War, swords were considered of secondary importance—a sort of sidearm, subordinate to the bow and lance, the main weapons of battle. Hence these blades tended to be rather lightweight. All this soon changed dramatically.



Carl McClafferty and Tosho (swordsmith) Ezawa Toshiharu examine metal to be used in a sword, April 1994. (Courtesy of Carl McClafferty)

As a result of the first invasion, warriors began ordering polishers to grind off the ha-niku, making a sharper edge-profile. During this time, the Soshû school of sword-making came into its own. In this new tradition, a piece of steel plate was welded to an iron rod and beaten to a thin rectangle, marked across, and folded. This was beaten again to the same dimensions as before, the folding and beating process repeated up to fifteen times. Next, four such pieces were welded together to create a thicker plate, and again the cutting, folding, and beating process was carried out, this time for five repetitions. In this manner the individual layers being worked fifteen times gives 32,768 laminations in geometrical progression, the final number

of the combined plates folded five times yielding a sword with 4,194,304 laminates. Such a sword could be made wider and with a longer point than before, and with all this mixing of soft iron and hard steel, the sword did not require the strengthening "meat" of niku and could be made very sharp.

Lessons learned during these invasions completely changed the structured battle formations of the Japanese, along with their weapons. Henceforth, massed foot soldiers wielding sharp swords took the field, supplanting the mounted bushi with his *yumi* (bow) and *nagamaki* (a type of halberd used primarily by mounted troops, consisting of a *tachi* mounted on a pole slightly longer than the tachi itself).

The invasions also sapped the life from the shogunate, paving the way for the return of imperial rule, and so the Kamakura period was brought to a close. But before its closure the emperor was betrayed, and again the imperial family was set up as puppets to the regency of the Ashikaga clan. Emperor Godaigo escaped to Nara and set up a northern court that opposed the southern puppet court. The new methods of combat learned from the invasions were put to the test and further developed during the next fifty-five years of contention.

In the new Muromachi period feuding provincial daimyo (warlords) led tens of thousands of foot soldiers (*ashigaru*) into altercations. The situation became so terrible that a name was placed upon this era, confirming it as the Age of the Country at War (Sengoku jidai). Combat techniques developed of one man on foot against another, both armed with swords that by now had about a 33- to 44-inch cutting edge.

This period witnessed the introduction of the *katana* (long sword) and *wakazashi* (short or "companion" sword). These new blades tended to have the general Kamakura shape, but without the elegance of the former period—the only difference was the introduction of *sakizori* (curvature greatest in the upper third of a blade) into the shape. This sori was to facilitate a draw by a man on foot. Naturally, sword production all over Japan increased, and at the forefront was a new school of sword construction created by the fusion of Bizen and Soshû styles known as the Mino tradition.

Another important development concerning, and deeply affecting, the samurai was the introduction of Zen Buddhism. Zen differed from the Pure Land and Pure Mind sects in that it emphasized self-reliance. The ultimate goal of Zen was the attainment of enlightenment—Zen Buddhists desired to enter reality, not simply to come into contact with it. According to the teachings of Zen, a really good warrior must free his mind of all thoughts of death while in combat. Although Zen is Buddhism and therefore ostensibly opposed to the shedding of blood, Zen masters quickly became the leading elaborators of Japan's cult of the sword.

Zen masters, however, did not themselves teach the physical details of fencing; instead they laid their stress on correct moral attitude. When the swordsman unfetters his mind in combat he will not watch his enemy's blade, as such an action would be fatal in itself, causing his reflexes to be slow. Instead he must make his mind fluid and free of all stops; then his sword will become fully alive and give him the victory. In short, Zen provided an ideological framework ideally suited to the emerging samurai.

During the year 1574, Oda Nobunaga, a minor daimyo in central Japan, marched to the capital, ostensibly as the champion of a rival claimant to the title of shôgun, and proceeded to establish himself as an "advisor" to a virtually puppet shôgun. This was the beginning of the Azuchi-Momoyama period, and mass warfare was employed with the goal of unifying Japan. His two successors, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, of peasant birth, elevated to a general through his ability, and Tokugawa Ieyasu, a daimyo of medium wealth and power in western Japan (whose claims to descent from the Minamoto clan have been discredited by modern historians), fulfilled his dream—but only after fielding hundreds of thousands of sword- and matchlock-wielding foot soldiers against their enemies. Eventually, all opposition (including the remnants of the Toyotomi clan) was decimated by the Tokugawa, and peace descended upon the land.

During the peaceful times known variously as the Edo or Tokugawa period, massed battle between provincial lords ended, and the time of wandering swordsmen was ushered in. These itinerant stalwarts would journey from province to province, seeking to improve their knowledge by challenging the local master. Sword blades shrunk to about 26 1/2 inches with a shallow tori-zori (greatest curve in the center) in order to facilitate a quick draw, and the art of *iaijutsu* came into being.

Swordsmanship had developed all the way from being a technique utilized as a secondary measure on the battlefield into the primary method of combat. The shape along with the length of the sword changed to accommodate the changed function.

The Japanese sword evolved from the delicate tachi with its blade of 28 or more inches in the Heian period to the wide, bold blades of 34 or more inches in the Yoshino-Nambokucho period, and eventually arrived at a standard length of about 26 1/2 inches during the late Muromachi period, a standard maintained well into the Edo, Gendaitô, and Shinsakutô periods. Combat techniques ran the gamut from mounted individual combat, to massed melees of infantry battles, and back into individual combat on foot sans armor and horse. Combat training finally made a transition into "fencing," in which practitioners, using bamboo and hardwood "blades," honed their skills against others, while reserving the honorable heirlooms for cutting pseudo-bodies manufactured of rice-straw. Finally,

the Japanese sword of World War II was the last and only sword of the major combatants designed specifically to be used in physical combat.

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See also Japan; Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan; Samurai; Swordsmanship, Japanese

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Swordsmanship, European Medieval

The fighting implements and talents of medieval European peoples were the products of vigorous, technically skillful, heterogeneous cultures. These highly martial societies shared an impressive legacy from both the savage dynamism of Germanic and Celtic warrior tribes and the ordered might of the Roman war machine. This experience spans roughly 500 to 1500—a thousand years of warrior cultures. The nature of medieval warfare through the centuries was not static and fixed, but had diverse and evolving patterns. There is considerable difference between earlier medieval fighting in the age of mail (with lighter leather and chain armors, 500–1300) and fighting in the later "age of plate" (1330–1530).

Medieval combat was by no means untutored or devoid of mastery—far from it. The methods were not very subtle and the techniques were not flashy or showy but focused solely on utility. Individuals from these years seriously practiced and mastered the warrior craft. This age was primarily the time of mail-clad warriors armed with ax, spear, long knife, and sword. The feudal system pressed free men into military service; thus, the medieval knight was by no means the sole practitioner of swordsmanship or user of swords and shields. Foot soldiers, including spearmen and archers, had virtually equal roles, and mounted knights were not as dominant over footmen and archers as is commonly believed.

The simple, powerful techniques of medieval swords were those that the natural biomechanics of the human body allowed and for which the tools were shrewdly designed. Their techniques and tactics were a matter of physiology and psychology. There can be no doubt that although

strength, stamina, and ferociousness were valuable factors, the same could be said of quickness, coordination, and nerve.

Medieval swords existed in great varieties over more than nine centuries. Today, they are greatly misunderstood, regularly misrepresented, and handled incorrectly. For example, the popular misnomer *broadsword* is commonly misapplied in reference to medieval blades although the term is historically incorrect. Over the medieval centuries experimentation in sword designs was almost constant. The generic medieval sword has a thin, straight, fairly wide blade 32 to 38 inches long, with two parallel edges and a simple cross-guard (or "cruciform" hilt). Their blades ranged from wider cleaving ones to thinner, stiffer, and acutely pointed ones. Many were longer than 42 inches and suited to use by either one or two hands, while still others could only be handled in both hands. Such specialized designs were sophisticated and inventive responses to the hazards of battle against the arms and armors of a range of adversaries. Warriors might even own several kinds of sword, being expert in the subtleties of applying each.

Medieval swords were sturdy weapons with thick, flexible blades slanting to fine edges. They were durable steel weapons capable of withstanding the blows of other finely tempered blades. They were sturdy enough to beat or chop on thick pole-arms and metal-rimmed shields. They were designed with the understanding that armor of many types could be encountered and had to be defeated. European armors in particular were tough and highly sophisticated. Medieval weaponry was practiced with almost constant regard to the armor (typically mail) that would be encountered. Though produced by relatively simple technology, medieval swords were indeed sophisticated weapons. Thus the concept of the "medieval sword" does not really mean that there was only one type.

Beyond the characteristics noted above, most medieval swords were two-edged blades either nipped at the point or gradually tapering. The 2- to 3-inch width of the blade allowed for repeated sharpening and grinding to remove gouges and nicks. Although their lengths and widths varied, these blades could deliver a shearing cut that made a large, devastating wound. They generally had to be wielded with one hand. When used from horseback, they needed to be long enough to strike standing targets. When used on foot, they needed to be long enough to reach up to mounted adversaries. When used facing a shield, they typically had to be able to reach an opponent's legs, head, and weapon arm. Contrary to what is depicted in most films and television sword fights, medieval swords were not at all heavy (less than three and a half pounds on average); they had to be light enough to be used all day in combat.

As with the weapons themselves, the manner in which swords were

Defense and disarming moves as taught by the enormously influential Italian Master of Defence Fiore dei Liberi. This illustration appeared in his Flos Duellatorium *(Flower of Battle), first published in 1410. (Courtesy of John Clements)*

used was not uniform throughout the Middle Ages. Many schools of fighting even developed different methods for armored and unarmored combat. Most medieval combat, however, pitted mail-clad warriors armed with shield, spear, ax, and sword against one another. It is important not to characterize all medieval combat by means of the cliché of the knight in shining armor. Throughout the period, plate-armor was the exception, not the norm, and represented only a fraction of armor types worn. Used primarily by knights and wealthy men-at-arms, plate-armor existed in countless varieties, and the later style of fully encasing, fully articulated plate-armor must be distinguished from the earlier forms. Much medieval European plate-armor is ingenious and unequaled anywhere in the world. Although the use of plate-armor did decrease speed and agility, its use was not nearly as debilitating or restrictive as popular belief suggests.

The shield, among the earliest and most obvious forms of personal defense, served as an adjunct to armor for most of the Middle Ages. In the crowded clash of battle with spears and arrows, holding a deflecting cover makes great sense for a warrior. In the push and shove of mass warfare there might be fewer opportunities to employ one's weapon, but a shield will get almost constant use. In closer combat, the utility of the shield is evident in the way it allows a warrior to block slashes and thrusts while still allowing counterattacks. With the many classes of medieval shield and the highly developed methods of employing them, these ancient tools were represented in a highly effective form. Like the medieval sword, medieval shields are familiar objects that frequently have been undervalued. Like the sword, medieval European shields were by no means uniform or universal. They ranged from larger oval and round forms to long teardrop and triangular kite shapes, and small hand-bucklers. Due mainly to the rise of heavy cavalry and the coming of plate-armor, shields underwent several changes during the Middle Ages.

Weapon blows were devastating in their effect, and armor alone was simply not sufficient protection (at least not until the later advent of full plate). In all its varied forms, the medieval shield could be used passively

and actively, defensively and offensively, whether mounted or on foot. For hundreds of years, the sword and shield were considered integral.

Medieval shields were generally tough and well made. They were designed to withstand repeated blows and generally could not be purposely attacked and destroyed by any sword. The coming of firearms and massed pike-formations eventually rendered the shield obsolete as a practical implement of war. But prior to this, it was a highly prized tool. Study today of this most simple yet formidable instrument can be a fascinating martial exercise. The medieval sword and shield never employed a "wham-bam, whack-whack" style, or mere brutish hacking. This combination was employed with a dynamic skill that took coordination and intense practice. The conditions under which they effectively operated required subtle and tight movements more than aggressive hitting. The effectiveness of a properly handled medieval shield and sword is formidable. A shield considerably enhanced a warrior's defense, especially in the case of unarmored or lightly armored fighters. At the same time, it scarcely diminished a warrior's offense. A shield could eliminate almost half the body's targets and allow a weapon to remain hidden and ready to strike from an indirect position, particularly against an adversary's legs. A fighter using a shield could step right up with virtual impunity and deliver a wicked and swift blow, seemingly from out of nowhere. A shield allowed a fighter to close in against pole weapons such as pikes and charge or stand under assault by arrow and spear. It could also be a weapon in itself, and it is likely that no medieval warrior thought of it only as an implement of passive protection.

Historically, a warrior would avoid hitting his enemy's shield in favor of feigning attacks to provoke openings that permitted cuts at the head, neck, hand, forearm, and especially the shin and ankle. Other targets were the face, throat, underarm, and groin. The feint was not the only means of creating an opportunity for a cut. Swords could cut into the edges of untrimmed shields. The bare wood let a blade bite into it a few inches, and for an instant, the sword would stick. Until it was pulled free, an attacker was left quite vulnerable. For this reason, shields without metal rims were actually sometimes favored over trimmed shields. Therefore, no purpose was served by intentionally hacking away at the edges of an opponent's shield and in the process creating an opening for a counterblow. Instead, the idea was to force the adversary to react, move his shield in defense, and become vulnerable.

Medieval shields blocked with both their flat face and their edges. The flat surface of a shield naturally acts as its own area defense. Even in the case of untrimmed shields, the edge of the shield was also used, not just the flat. The shield was not held so close to the body that maneuverability was lost. It did not just hang, but moved to hit the adversary's shield or to divert

an incoming weapon simultaneously with a countercut. Motions such as ducking, sidestepping, and leaping forward or back were employed as needed. Fighting effectively with a shield did not entail dancing about unnecessarily, but neither was it about merely standing one's ground.

The sword and shield positions were offensive. As with any hand weapon, a shield is an extension of the arm. It dramatically increases the ability of the forearm to block and the fist to hit. The medieval shield was held at a slight angle to freely deflect blows away from the body with the companion weapon ready to strike.

Each shield shape lent itself to particular tactics and conditions of battle. The familiar round shield offered excellent coverage and mobility. The unique teardrop, kite-shaped shield offered superb coverage with little movement. Its lower end could strike out by being thrown against the opponent's thigh, knee, or shin, or at the opponent's shield to beat or knock it. Its extended length could parry low attacks at a safe distance without lowering to expose the head or shoulders. Smaller, thicker, more triangular shields allowed cuts and thrusts to be delivered from all around them without loss of protection. Such small shields were better suited to fighting in plate-armor and also allowed warriors to get in closer to their adversaries to stab at them. Plate-armor eventually led to the decline of the use of shields and to modifications of sword types, as well.

As armor gradually changed, newer forms of swords were devised. Improvement in armor altered the effectiveness of swords, and a process of reaction and response ensued. These changes in sword forms affected application. A change occurred from wider blades with parallel edges to narrower tapering ones, with a significant change in handling and cutting. Narrow, tapering, sharply pointed blades have a balance and center of gravity somewhat closer to the hilt, and this encourages greater speed and agility in certain techniques. A narrower blade shape (1–1 1/2 inches wide) has slightly less weight and a better balance that allows for a quicker switch from a cutting angle of attack to a more horizontal stabbing motion and back again. When thrusting or parrying, shorter, quicker (and therefore more deceptive) movements of the arm were possible. Long-swords and great-swords equipped with such blades allowed for powerful thrusting against heavier armors.

The adoption of plate-armor as defense against heavier swords and pole-arms and powerful archery caused less need for a shield. It also left the second hand free to use on a larger sword. Longer grips capable of being used in two hands had first come about because of the need for giving more forceful blows against increasingly tougher armors. A double-hand method of gripping allowed still heavier blades to be handled, which in turn further required better armor. Larger swords were needed that were sturdy enough

to stand up against increasingly heavy weapons (e.g., poleaxes, halberds, war-hammers, etc.).

The medieval European long-sword is seen in countless adventure and fantasy films, but the use of a longer blade gripped in two hands was actually not all that common during the medieval period. A long-sword style only became practical during the 1300s and 1400s, when plate-armor became tough enough to discard a shield in favor of using both hands on a longer sword that could make stronger blows yet still allow a free hand to reach out to grapple.

A variety of blades may be categorized as "long-swords" (German *Langenschwert* or Italian *spada longa* and *espadon*), which were characterized by both a long blade and a long handle for use in two hands. They range from war-swords and great-swords to the *estoc* or *tuck* (a form of long, rigid, pointed, triangular or square-bladed, and virtually edgeless sword designed for thrusting into plate-armor). Each kind has its own subtle characteristics. All were wielded and handled in the same general manner but with particular differences among them depending upon length, blade cross-shape and taper, balance point, center of percussion, and handle/grip configuration.

Long infantry blades that could not be used in a single hand, being weighty enough to demand a double grip, were "great-swords." Their blades might be flat and wide or, later on, more narrow and hexagonal or diamond-shaped. These larger swords capable of facing heavier weapons such as pole-arms and larger axes were devastating against lighter armors. Long, two-handed swords with narrower, flat hexagonal blades and thinner tips (such as the Italian *spadone*) were a response to plate-armor. Against plate-armor such rigid, narrow, and sharply pointed swords were not used in the same chop and cleave manner as the flatter, wider swords. Instead, they were handled with tighter movements that emphasized their thrusting points and allowed for greater use of the hilt. Those of the earlier parallel-edged shape were more apt to be known as war-swords, while later the thicker, tapering, sharply pointed form were more often called bastard-swords. Some were intended more for cutting while others were better for thrusting. The term *two-hander* or *two-handed sword* (*épée à deux mains*) refers to specialized forms of Renaissance weapons, such as the Swiss/German Dopplehänder (both-hander) or Beidenhänder (double-hander). These immense blades, up to 6 feet long, were used primarily for fighting against pike-square formations, where they were used to hack paths by lopping the tips off the pole-arms. During the mid- to late 1400s, swords of all lengths began to adopt guards with various protective rings and bars on their hilts. The addition of these extra guards was the result of a new method of gripping, which came into use as a result of the need for increased thrusting attacks.

There was a significant but subtle difference between the handling and action of wider, flatter, parallel-edged medieval swords and the narrower, thicker, tapering kinds, although each type of long-sword followed the same basic mechanics of use. The earlier form could make a greater variety of strikes and deliver more effective cuts, but the later was more agile and easier to guard and parry with. It could also more easily employ its versatile cross-guard in binding, trapping, and striking. The later, tapered, more rigid, diamond-shaped or hexagonal blade did not cut as strongly as the earlier type, but it could thrust superbly and was more agile on the transition from offense to defense. This sharply pointed blade was a versatile weapon that could be used as a short staff, club, or spear, and could hook and trap with its guard.

Methods for skillfully using these weapons were practiced for centuries and have survived in the illustrated fighting manuals produced by medieval Masters of Defence. Much of this material comes from German and Italian teachers of the early 1300s to early 1500s. Some, however, survives from English, Spanish, French, Dutch, and other sources.

The German masters had a rich store of terminology to describe the techniques, actions, and concepts of their fighting systems. *Kunst des Fechtens,* the German Art of Fighting, consisted of the arts of the Langenschwert (long-sword), the *Messer* (a sort of large cleaver), and *Ringenkunst* (wrestling). Unarmored combat was known as *Blossfechten*. Combat in heavy armor was known as *harnisch Fechten* (harness fighting). Fighting on foot also was distinguished from *Rossfechten* (mounted combat). Italian sword masters made similar distinctions.

Medieval masters worked out numerous guards and fighting postures best suited to their weapons in offense or defense. For the medieval long-sword there were fourteen fighting postures overall (*Leger* in German). They are all guards or wards from which to launch an attack or parry. Not all the masters taught set stances or guards, just obvious positions for striking. These fighting postures consisted of such positions as the middle position of *Kron* (crown guard), known also as *Pflug* (plow guard); *Oberhut* (Hawk), the high guard; the low guard, called *Alber* (fool's guard); the tail guard (also called *serpentino* and *leopardo*); the hanging-point or *Ochs* (ox guard); the *finestra* (the window guard); and others such as the boar's tooth, the iron door, and many more.

Virtually innumerable combinations of basic cuts, thrusts, parries, beats, binds, and feints applied with stepping and closing actions were taught within the many styles and schools, which constantly refined their techniques as the weapons and armor changed around them over the generations. Techniques were closely guarded by masters and not readily disclosed. In general, however, the German schools of swordsmanship taught

there were three principal actions called *drey Wunder* (three wonders): the thrust, the cut, and the *Schnitt* (a slicing or drawing cut). They taught that the thrust naturally was used primarily at longer range, the cut at medium range, and the slice more at close range.

Also, the German *Fechtmeisters* often divided sword combat into separate phases and distinguished opportunities for an attack, for example, *indes fechten* (attacking in the middle of the adversary's attack). A fundamental tenet of their style was the *nachraissen* (attacking after), in which rather than taking the offensive, the swordsman invites the opponent to attack first and then counterattacks, either in the middle of a cut or just after a cut has missed. This is the familiar idea of the timed countercut.

The German grand master Hans Liechtenauer called these prized techniques *meisterhau* (master cuts). These were techniques in which the swordsman strikes in such a manner that his sword deflects the incoming blow while simultaneously hitting the opponent. However, the grand master Liechtenauer taught that a superior swordsman seeks the initiative by going on the offensive. According to his teaching, passively accepting attacks by merely parrying blows without responding was inferior and led to defeat. The German masters also expressed the ideal of *stuck und bruch* (technique and counter), the concept that every technique has a counter and every counter a technique.

German fighting guilds also knew the technique of throwing the point, or making a false cut that suddenly and deceptively turns into a forward thrust. When used with armored gloves or gauntlets, the blade itself could be gripped by the hand. This allowed for a wide range of offensive and defensive actions known as *halb schwert* (half-sword). Italian schools might have called them false-point blows. Using the left hand to hold the blade allows the right to grip more strongly near the hilt, but some used the right hand in order to grip the pommel in the left. These moves were suited to plate-armor fighting, when gauntlets were employed and cuts were less effective against the opponent, but the *Fechtbuchs* show them practiced by unarmored students.

Techniques for infighting were detailed in the surviving manuals as well. Attacks made while maintaining constant pressure on the opposing blade in a sticking, binding manner were known as *am schwert* (on the sword). Fighting close allowed the opportunity for striking with the pommel or guard, or binding with the guard. It also allowed for throws, grappling, and grabbing actions, referred to as wrestling at the sword (*Ringen am Schwert*) or disarming moves known as *Schwertnehmen* (sword-taking). They were sometimes known as *unterhalten* (holding down) in the German systems of fighting. Italian masters labeled their methods of close fighting and entering techniques *gioco stretta* (close playing). In the English

systems, these were known as *gryps*. All were based on a handful of key actions: reaching out to grab the opponent's hilt or arm; striking with the pommel or guard; slipping the blade against or between an opponent's forearms; using the second hand to hold the blade while binding, striking, or slicing; and of course tripping and kicking. Wrestling or grappling moves were included, along with swordsmanship, in the curriculum of every master and school.

Today, Hollywood theatrical sword fights and displays arranged by professional stunt-actors and stage-combat performers typically present a form of medieval swordsmanship that bears only superficial resemblance to the nature of the historical craft. The proper martial use of sword and shield or long-sword is all but absent in most movie and theatrical combat presentations and live-action performance shows, as well as in fantasy role-playing societies. The subtle differences in style of use between handling wider flatter blades and thicker tapering ones are also rarely depicted with any accuracy in movies and film fights. Yet, historically the diverse forms of medieval European swords were skillfully employed with a deliberate methodology. Specific techniques were developed appropriate to the environment of the period.

Sophisticated methods for the use of swords were perfected and practiced for centuries, and their martial legacy was influential and long-lasting. Today, these arts consist of a collection of reconstructed techniques based on analysis of surviving historical manuscripts and fighting manuals, plus conjecture and analysis of historical arms, armor, art, and literature from the period. Today, the modern replication of weapon arts from the Middle Ages has its own distinct character. In many ways, modern replication and practice are still in their infancy. It is a martial art form that must be viewed within its own historical and cultural contexts. No historical schools of medieval fighting arts exist today to pass on their learning or tradition, and enthusiasts have had to rediscover these skills on their own. The chief tools for this are examination of historical arms and armor; extensive training and test-cutting with historically accurate replica weapons; research in the surviving historical manuals and texts; and earnest, realistic contact sparring with safe simulated weapons. Through physical exercises, academic research, and pure supposition, many dedicated individuals and groups are working to rebuild these lost skills and reclaim our Western martial heritage.

John Clements

See also Dueling; Europe; Knights; Masters of Defence; Wrestling and Grappling: Europe

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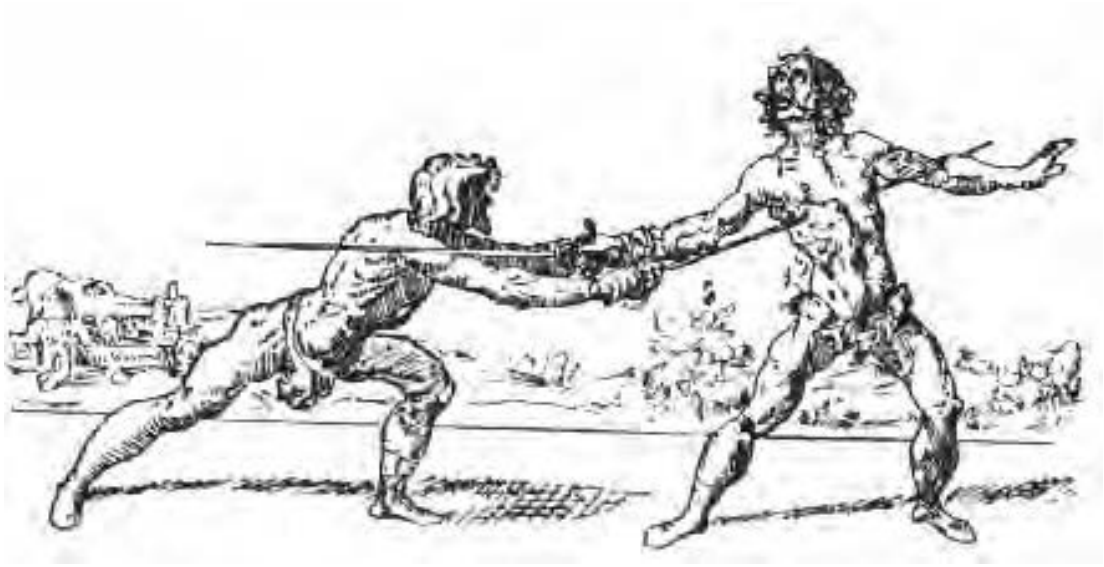
Swordsmanship, European Renaissance

Beginning in the 1490s and early 1500s there arose across Western Europe a distinction between those swords intended for war and those for personal self-defense. Changing social and technological forces allowed commoners to be able to afford and legally own swords, and to wear them in the expanding and newly crowded cities. The transformation of warfare by firearms and the breakdown of the old feudal order limited the avenues both for redress of personal grievance and for exhibition of martial skill. The result was an explosion in the popularity of dueling. This in turn caused a renewed interest in the personal Arte of Defence, to use the spelling of the English Renaissance, and the civilian use of the sword. Combined with the new sciences then coming into vogue, a systematic approach to studying swordsmanship swept Western Europe. The swords of the Renaissance then developed methodical styles in an age when swordsmanship on the battlefield had begun to lose its relevance and dominant role. This was to climax later in the methods of the military cut-and-thrust sword and the development of its innovative cousin, the slender thrusting rapier with its unique manner of fighting. But there were many types of Renaissance military swords, including assorted cage- and basket-hilted riding swords, the cleaverlike medieval falchion, the single-edged backsword, the Italian *schiavona* cutlass, the machete-like German *messer,* and the "s"-hilted Swiss *katzbalger* short-sword.



The rapier was the epitome of the Renaissance weapon. This illustration appeared in Italian master Capo Ferro's work of 1610, which was among the most famous and influential on the subject. (Courtesy of John Clements)

Symbiotically, with the spread of fencing schools came a significant increase in both street fighting and private dueling. As has been well documented, the years between 1500 and 1700 alone saw thousands of nobles, and even more commoners, killed in private duels. The rapier, formidable in this context, came into fashion as the weapon of choice. The nature of urban combat encounters and private quarrels changed with the introduction of the rapier. Rather than satisfying bravado and honor through a "stout exchange of manly sword blows," it became far easier to slay an opponent outright with a quick, short stab of the rapier. This had a profound effect on both the attitude with which individuals approached such encounters and the techniques utilized in a fight. Men could no longer engage in assorted nonlethal brawls and impromptu "swashbuckling" without risking quick death at the hands of the opponent skilled in the rapier.

Under these circumstances, sword blades changed. The focus shifted to urban self-defense as opposed to battlefield or tournament utility. Following from earlier medieval traditions, new schools of swordsmanship sprang up all across Europe in the new environment of the Renaissance. Many schools of fence had unsavory reputations as hangouts for ruffians and hoodlums. Others were prestigious and renowned. Many well-respected and highly sought-after instructors, called in England Masters of Defence, became famous for their martial skills. Various Schools of Defence and fighting guilds specializing in styles and weapons held public exhibitions and contests and vied for influence with rival groups. Examination of the armaments, historical fencing texts, artwork, and literature of

the period clearly demonstrates that European swordsmanship at the time was a systematic and highly dynamic art.

The Renaissance Masters of Defence were highly regarded specialists who published their methods in numerous illustrated technical manuals. Dozens of these manuscripts still survive. The various manuals describe fighting stances and guards (or Wards), attacks, evasions (or Voids), parries, and numerous kinds of counteractions. They also instruct on principles such as recovery, timing, distance, and judgment as well as the ethics and philosophy of personal armed conflict and dueling. These invaluable works present a highly developed and innovative aspect of Renaissance martial culture.

The cut-and-thrust swordsmanship of the early Renaissance consisted of a sophisticated and effective system of armed combat that evolved from medieval swords. This was a battlefield method that increasingly found use in personal single combat or private quarrel. These swords were used mainly by lightly armed foot soldiers (as well as in civilian self-defense) in the 1500s and 1600s and were employed against a range of armored and unarmored opponents. The weapons were popular for sword-and-buckler and sword-and-dagger fighting—which provided the foundation for the emergence of the thrusting rapier.

During this time, the use of the thrust began to dominate over the cut in civilian fighting. This is a consequence of the environment in which the weapons were employed as well as certain mechanics of use. The more refined techniques of Renaissance cut-and-thrust swords provided a foundation for those of later centuries, such as cutlasses, hangers, and spadroons. These in turn provided the basis for European stickfighting martial sports during the 1700s and 1800s (such as cudgeling, singlestick, backswording, and, in France, la canne). Other forms of cut-and-thrust swords, more closely related to medieval blades but with basket and cage hilts, emerged for mounted combat during the late Renaissance. These were held in a single fist grip and employed similarly to earlier medieval swords.

The forms of swordplay espoused in Italy by early Renaissance masters employed slender edged blades used in a slashing and stabbing style that developed from earlier military methods. These styles, applied in urban personal combat, served as a foundation for the development of the civilian thrusting style of the true rapier. Among the most famous and influential masters of the earlier cut-and-thrust method were German masters such as Joerg Wilhalm and Italian masters Antonio Achille Marozzo and Francesco Altoni. Some of the earlier medieval German *fechtbuchs* (fight books) also discuss elements of cut-and-thrust techniques. Among the most noted practitioners of the versatile and practical cut-and-thrust method was the Englishman George Silver. Other advocates of such weapons included masters such as Joseph Swetnam and Germans Jacob Sutor and Joachim Meyer.

A number of the masters reveal in their cut-and-thrust methods the thrusting techniques that were to later develop into the specialty of the thrusting, or "foining," rapier. Early rapier masters were themselves adept with common military cut-and-thrust swords as well as staff weapons, daggers, shields, and grappling and wrestling. Among the most famous and influential works were some of the first to fully define the new rapier method, and it is with this weapon that many are closely associated. These include Camillo Agrippa's treatise in 1553 and Jeronimo De Carranza's in 1569, Giacomo di Grassi's from 1570, Vincentio Saviolo's 1595 work, Luis de Narvaez of 1599, and Francesco Alfieri of 1640 and 1653. Some of the most useful dealing with the development of the true rapier include Salvator Fabris's of 1606, along with Ridolfo Capo Ferro's of 1610. Each developed particular techniques exclusively for the effective use of a long, slender, thrusting sword. Reflecting a diversity of approaches, such works by Masters of Defence offer unique insights into their distinct styles.

Renaissance cut-and-thrust swords were transition swords that had developed from wider medieval blades. They are invariably confused with rapiers, since their compound hilts (made up of assorted defensive rings and swept bars) are very often identical to those found on rapiers, and the transition between the two kinds of swords is not completely definite or precise. Rapiers were generally characterized by thinner, more pointed blades and complex guards consisting of various side-rings and knuckle-bars. These helped trap and bind opposing blades but also prevented blows from striking the hand. Fundamentally, the two types of weapon have different blade shapes and, as a result, different methods of use. Cut-and-thrust swords usually had straight, double-edged blades that allowed for a versatile and well-balanced combination of penetrating stabs and drawing slices with more classical cutting strikes. Their one-handed style also allowed for fast, agile transition from thrust to cut and back again, particularly when using a second weapon in the other hand. Through use of an extended arm and passing and traversing steps, the cuts can have considerable reach over a longer weapon held with both hands or shorter weapons held in two hands. These swords were often complemented by a buckler (a sturdy metal shield held in a fist grip) used for deflecting rather than direct blocking. Often with 6-inch spikes projecting from their faces, bucklers were weapons in themselves. Some later bucklers had metal hooks or bars to trap the point of an opponent's rapier.

Cut-and-thrust swordsmanship developed into a methodical style during an age when swordsmanship on the battlefield had begun to lose its dominant role. Such swords were still basically military weapons. They can be distinguished both from those swords of the earlier medieval period and from the later slender, thrusting rapier. The rapier at first developed in re-

sponse to the use of cut-and-thrust swords, and only later did it find use against other rapiers. Although a cut-and-thrust blade can be used in some ways like a rapier, a true rapier cannot be used like a cut-and-thrust blade. They were separate weapons with distinct methods. The cut-and-thrust sword also utilized the unique gripping method of fingering the *ricasso* (the thicker dulled portion of the blade just above the hilt), in which the index finger wraps around the guard to allow for superior point control and agility as well as ensuring a better hold. This highly effective manner of gripping followed from the ring hilts developed on late medieval swords and also was crucial to the later use of the rapier.

Most of these swords were capable of slashes, draw-cuts, and thrusts. Practice was conducted with wooden versions (wasters) and non-edged steel versions (blunts). With its practicality, the Renaissance cut-and-thrust form presents an effective and well-reasoned approach to swordsmanship. Although Renaissance cut-and-thrust swords continued to find use as field weapons in war, they became eclipsed as personal weapons of urban self-defense by the dueling tool par excellence, the vicious and elegant rapier. However, as a military armament the cut-and-thrust sword was also eventually to be replaced by the handgun and the curved cavalry saber, both more suitable for the primarily mounted armies of later ages.

The rapier lent itself to a highly effective form of personal combat—it was vicious as well as elegant in its lethality. It was strictly a personal weapon, never used, nor intended for use, on the battlefield. Originally, starting about 1470, any sword worn only in civilian dress was often referred to as simply a rapier (or *espada ropera* [Spanish; sword of the robe]), but the word *rapier* quickly took on the meaning of a slender civilian thrusting sword. Rapiers had slender, acutely pointed blades, and varied considerably in length, thickness, cross-sectional shape, and edge sharpness. True rapier blades ranged from early flatter, triangular blades to thicker, narrow hexagonal ones. For most sophisticated gentleman, the use of the rapier became a popular martial skill to study. Its introduction as a weapon was a gradual process that was highly controversial at the time and often violently disputed. The sword is considered to be of Hispano-Italian origin and was the first true civilian weapon. It became the premier weapon of urban self-defense and private dueling from roughly 1540 to 1690. It was eventually surpassed in this role only by the widespread use of handguns.

As a weapon, the rapier is extremely fast, and its extensive reach is formidable. Some blades could be as long as 50 inches. Its powerful, quick thrust was lethal in its penetrating power. A simple stab wound of only a few inches could prove instantly fatal, and it intentionally targeted the eyes, the heart, and the lungs. A rapier's thrusting attack was difficult to parry and could not simply be knocked aside. It had the unique capacity to make

incredibly deceptive and agile attacks and the dangerous capacity to renew continued attacks at unpredictable angles, even after parrying slashes of wider cutting swords. Its sturdy blade was not easily broken or cut and was capable of blocking heavier cutting blades with either its own blade or its particularly strong hilt. Metallurgy in Europe at the time had improved to allow for slender, more flexible, yet superbly tempered high-carbon steel blades.

As a sword that emphasized agile stabbing attacks, most rapiers had little to no edge, although some were capable of limited slashes, harassing tip cuts, and lacerating scratches. The rapier's blade was usually a narrow hexagonal or flattened diamond shape, incapable of the angle necessary for holding a particularly sharp or deep cutting edge. A rapier was virtually always used in conjunction with, in the free hand, a parrying dagger, buckler, or cloak. The parrying dagger was made with an elaborate guard specially designed for trapping and parrying, and was held sideways in order to parry or catch the opponent's blades. A formidable method of dueling with two rapiers also developed.

The nature of rapier fencing did not leave the user vulnerable to oncoming cuts. Instead, many cuts were outmaneuvered or outtimed. As with cut-and-thrust swords, a rapier duel was fought "in the round" and not linearly as in modern sport fencing. In back alleys, taverns, and street brawls, anything was acceptable—kicking, punching, grappling. The rapier produced a lethal method of personal swordsmanship that emphasized agility and finesse over strength and ferocity. The rapier represents one of the most innovative and original aspects of European martial culture. As a weapon for personal single combat, it was unequaled for almost 200 years until the advent of the dueling pistol.

With the ascendancy of rapiers over older swords in personal duel and private quarrel, there were many attempts to combine the slashing and cleaving potential of traditional military swords with the quick, agile thrust of a dueling sword. This led to a great number of experimental blade forms, many of which were dismal failures, with neither the cutting power of wider swords nor the speed and lightness of true rapiers. These are sometimes mistakenly called cutting rapiers and sword-rapiers or assumed to be some form of transition blade.

Eventually, the long rapier lost favor and declined, as times grew more civilized and orderly. By the late 1600s and early 1700s, it was slowly superseded and replaced by the shorter small-sword, more suited to urban wear. The small-sword was a vicious tool in its own right. The elegant manner of swordplay developed for it led directly to today's Collegiate and Olympic sport fencing. Sometimes known as a "court-sword," "walking-sword," or "town-sword," the small-sword developed from the rapier in

the late Renaissance as a personal dueling tool. Most popular in the 1700s, they are sometimes confused with rapiers. They consisted almost exclusively of a sharp pointed metal rod with a much smaller guard than the rapier and finger-rings. The blade was typically a hollow triangular or lozenge shape much thicker at the hilt and tapering to a hardened needle-like point. Most had no edge at all, and were merely rigid, pointed, metal rods. They were popular with the upper classes especially as decorative fashion accessories, worn like jewelry. However, in a skilled hand the small-sword was an effective and deadly instrument. Until the early 1800s, it continued to be used even against older rapiers and even some cutting swords.

The small-sword rather than the rapier led to the épée and foil of modern sport fencing. The small-sword was a more poised, somewhat formalized, dueling weapon. It became the gentleman's weapon of choice in duels of honor during an age when the sword as a weapon of war was well past its prime and an exclusively thrusting style of swordsmanship had become a combat form in its own right. In the middle of the nineteenth century, this combat system was transformed into the genteel "sport of fence," and the small-sword was adapted into the light, flexible, modern sport versions. The classical small-sword, though often disregarded as a weapon of martial study, is a deceptively violent and effective little tool, exceptionally quick, accurate, and easy to underestimate. It was intended primarily for codified dueling and not for facing other weapons in freestyle brawling (although such combats did occur).

Modern sport fencing has far more in common with this humble weapon than it does with rapiers or any earlier Renaissance swords. Modern fencing "weapons" were never real swords. Modern fencing tools are much lighter, softer, and faster than these historical weapons. The contrived rules of play create a specialized sport that observes its own rules and constraints and has very little to do with any elements of Renaissance swordsmanship. Real rapiers, being heavier, stiffer, and sturdier than today's sporting weapons, cannot be used in the same manner as the implements of modern sport fencing—and vice versa.

Despite the emphasis on the rapier from the mid-sixteenth through the late seventeenth centuries, the early Renaissance weapons should not be viewed exclusively as primitive "proto-rapiers" around which developed a less sophisticated or less effective fighting art. Renaissance cut-and-thrust methods were complete systems in their own right. The systems of personal combat described by early Renaissance Masters of Defence and the swords they favored were practical, fully developed, highly effective, and successful.

Renaissance fighting men were required to face the cold reality of violent death, and their lives very often depended upon the sudden and immediate use of personal skill at arms. From literary, artistic, and archaeo-

logical evidence it is clear that their blades and the skills for employing them were not haphazard, ad hoc, or simplistic. Renaissance fencing styles must be considered within their own historical contexts. Later manners of fence developed out of them but one should not speak of them as evolving—as if Western swordsmanship were some linear progression toward an ideal form. Instead, changes in civilian European swords and their systems of use have always resulted from a process of adaptation and change. Fencing instructors of later centuries did not build upon or extend the skills of earlier centuries in an "evolution" of knowledge so much as continually discard, reject, refine, and innovate methods to meet contemporary conditions and circumstances.

Contemporary Status

Due to historical and social forces, the teachings and skills of the Renaissance Masters of Defence fell out of common use, and no actual traditional schools of their instruction survive. Only a fraction of their extensive martial knowledge remains in the refined sport of modern fencing. Renaissance fighting arts in general and swordsmanship in particular, whether of the cut-and-thrust form or using the true rapier, cannot be practiced from the limited nonmartial perspective of a modern sporting game or nineteenth-century upper-class duel. Modern fencing itself owes far more to the later small-sword style of the early 1700s than to anything that came before it. Though the essential physical mechanics of its techniques follow from the earlier rapier and the small-sword, much of modern sport fencing's formalities and etiquette arose in the 1800s and were not fully established until the turn of this century.

While the methods, ideas, and concepts of the rapier's civilian thrusting swordplay were to form the foundation for the later gentlemanly style of small-sword play, such a poised, aristocratic context bore little resemblance to the back-alley ambushes of the urban rapier. The instructors of later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century small-sword schools were in a sense heirs to the rapier Masters of Defence, but they practiced in a very different world and under very different social and martial circumstances. Accordingly, even though the physical mechanics and tactical elements of both rapiers and small-sword fighting are closely related, they differ in significant ways. To equate the gentlemanly duels of honor and courtly reputation and aristocratic life to the encounters of Renaissance street corner and footpath is misleading. To suggest similarities between rapier fighting and modern sport fencing is even less accurate.

The Victorian-era bias featured in so much literature of heavy, cumbersome chopping blades slowly evolving into the refined, featherweight, slender small-sword is inaccurate. In the "scientific" approach to the game,

classical fencing and sport fencing have never entirely escaped this biased view. Today a "classical fencing" movement has developed that is concerned with the practice of Western fencing prior to the advent of electric equipment and international competitive rules. The movement represents an attempt to return to dueling as "A Gentlemen's Pastime." Unlike the study and practice of earlier historical Western swordsmanship, a gentlemanly art of self-defense as practiced with either épée or the eighteenth-century small-sword is not the equivalent in either method or conditions to the historical use of the rapier. Although the members of this movement are making a beneficial and worthwhile effort to pull sport fencing back to its pre-electric classical roots, working with épée, foil, and saber is no substitute for understanding earlier weapons and methods.

Serious interest in practicing Renaissance rapier fencing has been growing for over a decade now, and a variety of methods for doing so safely have appeared. Among the most common and popular means is to simply use normal sport épées and associated equipment. Also popular are the use of wider theatrical épées with historical-style replica hilts, and some historical-fencing enthusiasts can even be found using sport foils and sabers. All of these practices are common in recreational and living-history organizations such as the SCA (Society for Creative Anachronism) or with Renaissance festival performances. Several fencing clubs also offer forms of "classical fencing" or historical "swordplay." This choice of using épées, whether of the competition or theatrical variety, is very natural and at first thought makes perfect sense. They are familiar, safe, fairly easy to obtain, and compared to reproduction weapons, inexpensive. Recently, a better alternative has appeared. Del Tin practice rapiers, whose "flexi-rapier" blades safely bend and give yet are still rigid and thick enough to simulate the original, resemble real ones closely in shape (taper and cross-section) as well as balance and weight.

European swordsmanship of the Renaissance and its practice today have a distinct character. Their unique martial spirit is neither that of modern fencing with its sporting conventions and refined etiquette nor that of Asian fighting arts with their cultural and metaphysical components. As a Western martial art form, it also differs from its Asian counterparts in many ways. It is much less structured, involves no ritual and less etiquette, and has no established hierarchy. It historically focused on utility rather than philosophical intangibles. However, it maintains the modern humanistic ideals that are usually associated with the modern practice of popular Asian martial arts. Indeed, such elements were an intrinsic part of Renaissance ideas and the *code duello* (Italian; code of dueling). Being concerned with the practical use of archaic weapons, Renaissance swordsmanship arguably has only a small application to modern unarmed self-defense or

street situations. Although it can include numerous disarms and grappling actions, that is not its primary purpose. It is a martial art form intended for an age when most citizens openly went about armed.

Today's historical fencers and students of Renaissance swords who are reconstructing and practicing forms of Western swordsmanship practice and train as true martial artists in ways far different from those of sport fencers or theatrical and stage performers. They learn and train through handling historically accurate replica blades. They practice test-cutting and indulge in forms of intense free sparring. It may be argued that more has been learned in the past three decades about the actual functioning of European arms and armor than has been known for the past two hundred years. There is no doubt that the skills of Renaissance swordsmanship are slowly becoming again a legitimate martial art. Today, practitioners of historical Renaissance swordsmanship, or "the Arte of Defence" as it was known, are reviving and reconstructing the knowledge and skills of these once sophisticated and highly effective martial arts. They are not trying to reinvent or merely interpret, but to replicate and rebuild them. In the process they have succeeded in creating a new standard for scholarship and study.

John Clements

See also Dueling; Europe; Masters of Defence; Savate

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Swordsmanship, Japanese

Japanese swordsmanship since ancient times has been a unique martial discipline of wielding a straight or curved sword using one or two hands. It

evolved over more than two thousand years as an integral part of the martial culture of Japan, over time becoming an important symbol of the Japanese spirit and tradition. Swordsmanship has been practiced by court aristocracy and warriors of various affiliations as a fundamental form of fighting, together with mounted archery and halberd and spear fighting. It was first practiced to supplement other battlefield fighting methods, when close combat was inevitable. Later, it gained primacy over other forms of fighting, and eventually became transformed into a competitive sport in the modern period. The survival of swordsmanship over the centuries, and through significant transformations in the characteristics of warfare in Japan, is due to the place of the sword in Japanese culture.

The Japanese sword has always been to its bearers more than an instrument of war, marking status, social affiliation, and position or serving as a weapon with mystical powers for religious rituals. The compilers of Japanese mythology established its association with religion in the early eighth century when they recorded a battle between a fierce deity, Susa-no-o-no-mikoto, and a dragon. After slaying the dragon, the deity found an unusually long and sharp sword embedded in the dragon's tail. He took the sword and presented it to his sister, who became the ancestral goddess of the Japanese islands and the imperial dynasty. The goddess Amaterasu (Sun Goddess) presented the sword as one of the three sacred regalia (i.e., mirror, beads, and sword) to the god who descended from the heavens to the islands. The three regalia became legitimizing symbols of the imperial dynasty's connection to Amaterasu, marking the dynasty's authority to rule. As such, the sword, regardless of other more practical weapons, became the symbol in the Japanese psyche of a pure heart, indomitable mind, and a sharp and decisive spirit—the ideal *yamato damashii* (Japanese spirit and soul).

Sword fighting in Japan began in the Jômon period (ca. tenth–third centuries B.C.), with crude stone-carved swords of approximately 50 centimeters in length that, judging from their shape, were effective for striking more than for slashing or piercing. Little is known about these prehistoric swords other than what has been unearthed in archaeological sites. Based on these findings, archaeologists have concluded that these stone-made swords were used for hunting, as symbolic instruments in religious rituals, and as instruments of warfare in actual fighting. Since they lacked the qualities of the later metal swords and those who used them were at an early stage in social development, it is highly unlikely that Jômon people developed any kind of methodological sword-fighting skills. On the other hand, having been a society of hunters and gatherers, they probably developed techniques for hunting in a group, and shared knowledge of how and where to strike various animals. Nevertheless, whatever fighting and hunt-

Nakamura Taizaburo in a scene from the 1979 Japanese film Eternal Budô. *(Courtesy of Nakamura Taizaburo)*

ing skills the Jômon people developed, it was not until later periods that techniques were developed for the use of iron swords.

Early contacts with the continent in the Yayoi period (ca. third century B.C.–third century A.D.) resulted in the introduction and importation of straight double-edged Chinese swords made of bronze. From the few remaining bronze swords most commonly found in tombs, it is clear that the quality of these swords was rather poor. Bronze swords were used to indicate the status of their holders as well as to serve in their capacity as weapons, or for religious purposes. It is interesting to note that bronze swords were shaped differently according to their function. For example, swords designed for fighting were more massive and crude, while those marking the status of its bearer were carefully crafted and designed. Furthermore, the number of battlefield bronze swords found in archaeological sites far exceeds the number of swords of the aristocracy. Based on this evidence, combined with what is known from early Chinese records of Japan, it is clear that swords and spears were used extensively in warfare associated with the consolidation of power of the Yamato king.

With improvements in metallurgy, most importantly iron casting, iron blades replaced the unsatisfactory bronze swords. The Kofun period

(third–fifth centuries A.D.), when the Japanese acquired the knowledge of iron casting, marked the first significant turning point in the making and wielding of swords. By the Asuka period (fifth–sixth centuries), the Japanese were making good-quality, straight, single-edged swords that were placed in a decorated scabbard. These swords were by far more effective in cutting down an opponent than anything the Japanese had previously produced. The production and use of the sword as an effective weapon required warriors to practice wielding and stabbing. The precision with which a warrior had to wield his sword required more definite, predetermined movements, thus marking the first true swordsmanship, unsophisticated though it may have been.

The transition from sword techniques for the straight sword to those for a curved sword necessarily occurred at the same time that such curved swords were first produced. This transition occurred gradually during the tenth century, when straight swords were still used by warriors but curved swords had begun to appear. In the tenth century, Japanese makers were already experimenting with single-edged curved swords and were producing some double-edged curved swords as well. By the tenth century, with the rise of the two most important warrior families—Taira (also Heike) and Minamoto (also Genji)—and consequently, with improvements in military technology, Japanese warriors chose the single-edge curved sword. The preferred curved blade allowed for only one effective cutting edge at the outer side of the blade, while the inner side of the curvature was no longer sharpened, leaving it thick. The Japanese preference for a curved blade resulted from the nature of Japanese armor and the development of equestrian fighting skills. The hard leather or metal Japanese armor vis-à-vis the light Chinese armor, together with limitations incurred due to the seated position on a horse, gave the curved sword a better cutting power, and it was easier to draw while on horseback.

The use of swords was first recorded in the *Nihon Shoki* and in the *Sujin-ki,* where the term *tachikaki* to refer to sword fighting first appeared. These records provide only fragmentary information on the use of swords. More specific information on sword fighting in ancient and premodern Japan appears in the *Gunki* (War Tales), namely the *Hôgen monogatari* (Tale of the Hôgen), *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike), and *Taiheiki* (Record of Great Peace). These and other sources indicate that from the late Heian period until the late Kamakura period, swordsmanship on the battlefield was secondary to mounted archery, which was the primary method of warfare, and to wielding halberds (*naginata*) and spears (*hoko*). Furthermore, it is clear that swords were mostly used after the warrior dismounted from his horse to engage in close combat. Mounted swordsmanship is only recorded in some picture scrolls, which rarely show warriors

holding a sword while on horseback. An examination of picture scrolls further indicates that until the late Kamakura period the sword was held in the right hand only, since the design of the handle (*tsuka*) kept the handle short, the material hard, and the profile narrow, thus making it difficult to grip. By the Nanbokuchô period (fourteenth century) the design of the sword changed to allow a better hold, making the sword more practical in battle. Descriptions of sword fights, as recorded in the *Taiheiki,* and examination of remaining swords from that period attest to their superior quality and to their increasing importance on the battlefield, though mounted archery seems to have maintained its primacy.

From the mid-fifteenth century, following the Ônin War, Japanese swordsmanship entered an important period that lasted a century and a half. During this time, sword techniques were developed by warriors who focused their martial training on swordsmanship. The Ônin War between the Yamana and Hosokawa clans on one side and Shiba and Hatakeyama clans on the other was only the beginning of almost a century of civil war, starting in Kyoto and its neighboring provinces, and later spreading countrywide. Continuous and intensive warfare, the need to keep a constant state of military readiness, and above all, the necessity of maintaining a technological advantage and a level of fighting skills higher than those of neighboring armies prompted a significant change in the approach to military training, taking it to a higher, more sophisticated, and systematic level.

Continuous civil strife brought two developments that were consequential for the formation of early schools of swordsmanship. First was the interest of the *daimyo* (provincial lord) in protecting his military prowess by having efficient fighting methods developed for and acquired by his army. To protect the integrity of his army, the daimyo was interested in keeping these fighting skills unique to his domain, thus being able to maintain a leverage of surprise over his enemies. Second, guarded borders and limited mobility made the intermixing of military knowledge less likely (though not impossible), as teachers of swordsmanship were now more clearly identified with and served under a single daimyo. Though distinct schools of swordsmanship, each with an identifiable skillful and charismatic founder, did not develop until the late sixteenth century, the factors mentioned above set the stage for this development in the 1500s.

Battlefield swordsmanship reached its highest level and produced a number of schools of swordsmanship during the last three decades of the sixteenth century, when civil war intensified dramatically in what is known as the Sengoku period (late sixteenth century), a period in which Japan was in a state of *gekokujô* (those below overthrow those above). Though expert swordsmen had been assigned to teach swordsmanship since the late Heian period, and some fourteenth-century swordsmen even formed what may be

A color woodblock print of a duel between Ario Maru and Karieo Maru created by Ichiyusai Kuniyoshi. (Victoria & Albert Museum, London/Art Resource, NY)

considered systematized teachings, it was only in the Sengoku and early Tokugawa (seventeenth-century) periods that these experts formed clearly defined schools, with written records, sets of techniques, and established genealogies.

The formation of schools was possible because warriors who participated in battles and were able to achieve high skills in swordsmanship as a result of their extensive battlefield experience could rely on the name they created for themselves to attract the attention of potential patrons and followers. Indeed, patronage by prominent warriors was not hard to find because of the demand for such teachers. Ultimately, the cause for a new emphasis on sword fighting was the result of the new firearm technology, which rendered mounted archery especially inferior and vulnerable, thus making foot soldiers carrying swords replace the mounted warrior. In addition, a culture of specialized schools of art, theater performance, and craftsmanship was already in place and operating long before the formation of distinct schools of swordsmanship. Consequently, when Sengoku and early Tokugawa warriors sought to establish swordsmanship traditions, they relied on those existing schools for a model.

Two more factors contributed to the formation of specialized schools of swordsmanship. First, social mobility during the Sengoku period provided almost anybody with an opportunity to achieve recognition and advance to a higher social status. For many, swordsmanship was the way to realize their ambition. Those who mastered swordsmanship and made names for themselves on the battlefield or in challenge duels, even those of peasant origin who served as low-ranking foot soldiers, could look for re-

warding positions such as being sword instructors in the service of a daimyo. Thus, self-training and perfection of techniques became essential, and they were achieved by embarking on a *musha shugyô* (warrior training), an increasingly popular practice since the Sengoku period. The second reason was social and political reconstruction following the erection of castle towns as domain headquarters. The large population of warriors, now removed from the countryside and relocated in these towns, was fertile ground for the sword master, who could target a large number of potential disciples without having to travel. Furthermore, sword teachers hired by the daimyo were given a residence, a place to teach, and a stipend. The benefits of becoming a teacher included prestige and a stable income, which were especially valuable later in the Tokugawa period when many samurai had lost their stipends.

The Tokugawa period (seventeenth–nineteenth centuries), during which Japan enjoyed countrywide peace and a single warrior government, had a dual effect on swordsmanship, making swordsmanship a more refined and complex martial discipline while detaching it from its battlefield context. As a result, it was transformed into a martial discipline for small-scale combat. Under new military and social conditions created by the Tokugawa shogunate, samurai were required to carry two swords, but mounted warfare or even fighting in full armor was for the most part completely abandoned. Warriors began wearing long and short swords tucked in their sashes in a tight and stable fashion as a status marker, which separated samurai from the rest of the population. Carrying swords for the purpose of engaging in battle was no longer common among Tokugawa samurai.

In addition, formation of a rigid samurai class, removal of the samurai from the countryside and placing them in urban centers or domain headquarters, and changing their function to administrators significantly reduced the need to acquire high skills in any form of fighting. Nevertheless, though many samurai became administrators, others became part of a police and inspection force. They did not abandon their martial training. Instead, they had to develop methods and techniques to solve new problems and challenges. As a result, schools of swordsmanship had to adjust existing fighting techniques and develop new ones, such as fast drawing, to accommodate much greater maneuverability on one hand and violent encounters associated with urban life on the other.

The consequences were far-reaching, as swordsmanship was no longer simply one martial discipline among others used in warfare for the sole practical purpose of survival. Tokugawa swordsmanship took on multiple forms to fit within the Tokugawa social and military context. One form of swordsmanship focused on predetermined codified sets of movements against an imaginary opponent (kata) and developed into modern *iaidô*.

Another form subscribed to combat simulation by conducting duels using wooden or bamboo swords in sportslike duels, which included exhibition matches and formal recognition of winners, eventually evolving into modern kendô. Yet other schools chose to try and preserve swordsmanship in its early Tokugawa form, that of a real battlefield fighting skill. Though schools of swordsmanship combined all of these forms in their teachings, individual schools emphasized one form over the others, allowing for a clear separation of swordsmanship forms after the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate and the abolition of the samurai class.

Another important feature of Tokugawa swordsmanship was the association of swords and swordsmanship with divinities and related religious practices. As mentioned earlier, the establishment of a school was accompanied by compiling written records concerning its origins. These records normally included the founder's biography and some historical information relating to the school, but often they also included legends and myths of sacred secret transmission of knowledge from legendary warriors, supernatural beings, or from the divinities themselves to the founder's ancestors. Such divine connection provided the school with authority and "proof" of superior skills in an increasingly competitive world of swordsmanship. More importantly, the divine link to Japan's history and mythology, in addition to the symbolic role of the sword as a mark of a samurai's identity, instilled the notion of the sword as the mind and soul of the samurai. Practicing swordsmanship, then, took on the added importance of being a way to bring back and strengthen samurai ideals of earlier generations of warriors.

The Meiji Restoration (1868), which marked the end of warrior rule and the start of civil government in Japan, declared the Tokugawa practice of wearing two swords illegal. Centuries of warrior rule and culture came to an official end, sending traditional schools of swordsmanship into a decline, while swordsmanship itself evolved into a modern version in which the practitioners use sturdy protective gear and bamboo swords and follow prescribed rules of engagement in competition. When the Taishô (1912–1926) government added this modern swordsmanship (eventually called kendô) to the school curriculum, it immediately set it on a course to become a national martial sport. However, to preserve swordsmanship in its pre-kendô form, some schools of swordsmanship emphasized the sole practice of kata using metal swords that resemble real blades.

The practice of swordsmanship by focusing on kata is now known to many as *iaidô*. Some kendô practitioners who reach advanced levels in kendô turn to iaidô as a higher, more realistic form of swordsmanship. At any rate, the preservation of swordsmanship in kata practice follows the example of many other traditions, namely ikebana and Kabuki, among

others. By attempting to perfect a predetermined set of movements, practitioners can focus on their own body movements and state of mind without being distracted by real opponents. Thus, the kata provides a vehicle for what many Japanese have always valued highly—self-improvement and character building. Even when the iaidô practitioner performed the kata with a practice partner, the emphasis remained on perfection of movements and attaining a spiritual connection between the practitioners. Nevertheless, the use of wooden or metal practice swords did allow for the preservation of the combative nature of swordsmanship in kata practice, and when iaidô was evaluated by the American occupation forces after World War II, it was indeed classified as a method of warfare.

Under the American occupation following the Pacific war, Japan went through a social and cultural transformation that, in the decades that followed, popularized sports competition. The American command in Japan restricted any form of martial art practice, including kendô, in official educational institutions. In response to this policy, the Japanese made a radical change to the nature of kendô by placing strong emphasis on the use of bamboo swords, which were unlike weapons of war, and re-forming kendô as a competitive sport devoid of its martial essence. Permission to practice kendô in schools in its new form was granted only in the early 1950s. For almost a decade and a half of American occupation, teachers and students who were devoted to the preservation of martial traditions and who, in many cases, were also hard-line nationalists practiced swordsmanship behind closed doors. Shortly after the Occupation ended, the Japanese government lifted the restriction on kendô, and it quickly became part of schools' curricula once again. Similarly, kendô practice in the police force was resumed, leading to the revival of what is commonly referred to as "police kendô." Although post-Occupation kendô includes both sports competition and traditional forms, it is much more a sport than a practical martial art. Consequently, the increasing popularity of kendô as a competitive sport, together with diminishing interest in premodern martial traditions among younger Japanese, has made old-style swordsmanship anachronistic. Moreover, the concept of swordsmanship as a fighting skill of premodern warriors has lost its meaning for the common Japanese. Therefore, the image of kendô in contemporary Japan is that of bamboo swords, body protection, rules, umpires, and tournaments. Nevertheless, it is still viewed as a practical way for building stamina and perseverance, which are viewed by Japanese as the heart of true Japanese spirit.

Currently, kendô is one of the most widely practiced forms of competitive martial sport. It remains part of school education, and is a popular choice of practice for Japanese policemen. Premodern forms of swordsmanship are gradually becoming a thing of the past, or a feature of enter-

tainment that belongs in samurai movies. At any rate, the remaining schools of swordsmanship that teach traditional kata, or those schools where the emphasis is on actual sword fighting and less on rigid forms, have been pushed aside under the pretext of not being practical in a modern lifestyle. However, in a society where traditions die hard, it is still possible to find old forms of swordsmanship living together with the new.

Roy Ron

See also Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice; Japan; Koryû Bugei, Japanese; Samurai; Sword, Japanese

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Swordsmanship, Korean/ Hankuk Haedong Kumdô

Hankuk is the old name for the country of Korea. *Haedong* refers to the East Sea (Sea of Japan). *Kumdô* refers to the Way of the Sword. Hankuk Haedong Kumdô, therefore, explicitly denotes sword forms that are of Korean origin. Fantastic claims abound concerning the origins of many Korean arts, but more especially Haedong Kumdô. One reason for the confusion surrounding the origins of Haedong Kumdô is that the art remains obscure, even in Korea.

Korean History

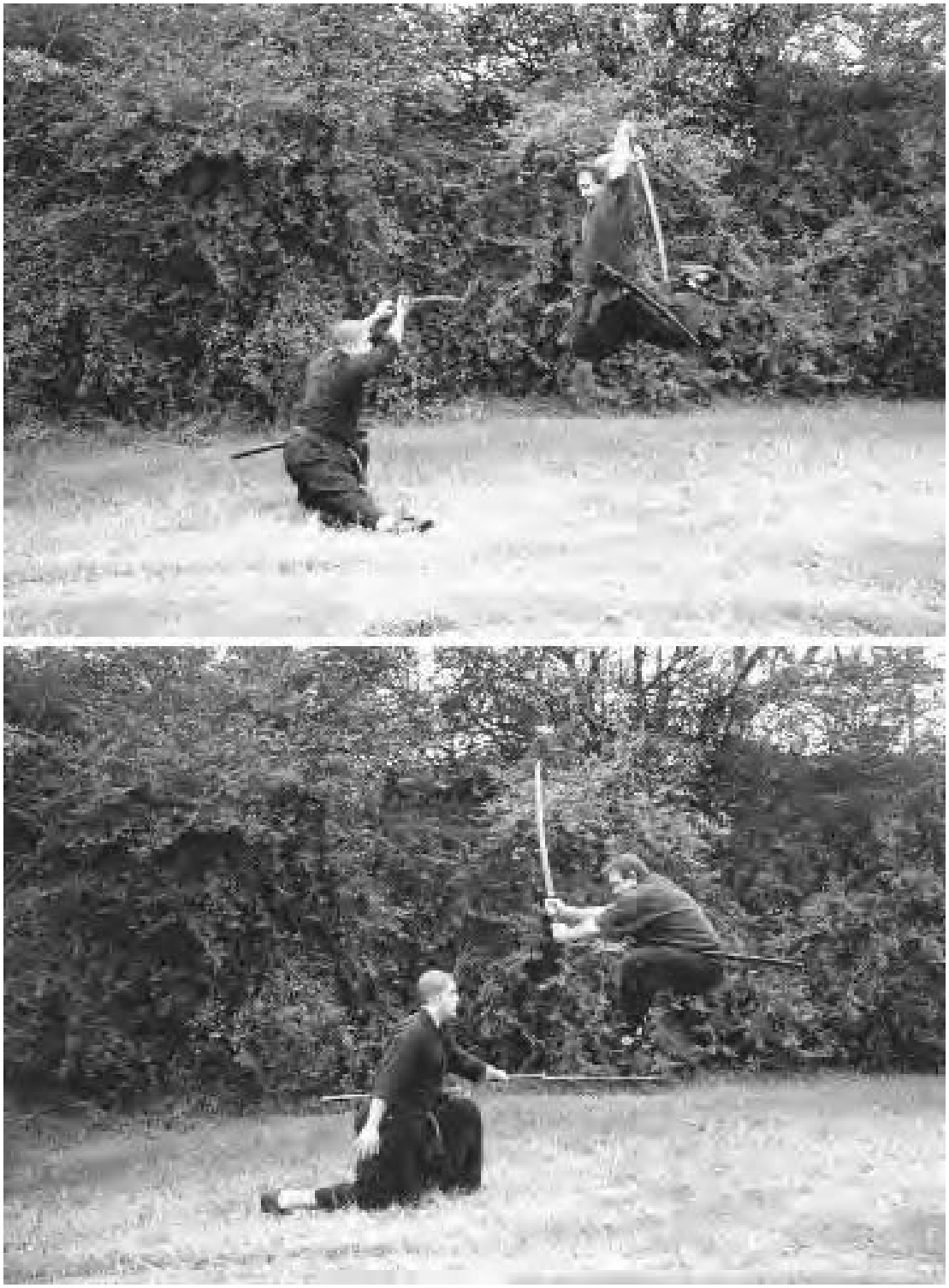
On August 29, 1910, Emperor Sunjong abdicated the throne of Korea and officially relinquished control of the country to the Japanese. Japan immediately set about the systematic destruction of the Korean culture, including making it illegal to teach Korean history. A revisionist history, written by the Japanese, replaced the traditional subject matter in the public schools. Korean martial arts were banned, and eventually supplanted by Japanese forms. *Ssirŭm,* a form of wrestling that the Koreans probably learned from the Mongols, was replaced by sumô. *T'aek'kyŏn,* a form of unarmed self-defense that included extensive use of kicking techniques, was replaced by jûdô. And Korean (Hankuk) kumdô was replaced by Japanese

kendô. The Japanese ban on Korean martial arts was, however, simply another obstacle in a long line of obstacles that hindered the transmission of Korean *muye* (martial arts).

In the latter part of the Chosun dynasty (1392–1910), military skills such as *kungdô* (archery) and kumdô fell into decline among the *yangban* (hereditary aristocracy), who embraced the philosophical notions of neo-Confucianism. And although radical Confucianism advocated the use of force as a practical means to achieve a political end, government by intellectual force was advocated over government by physical force. Ironically, the preservation of Korea's martial heritage may have been the result of a scholarly movement known as *Sirhak* (Practical Learning), undertaken during the latter part of the eighteenth century by literati who sought to enact social reform. The Sirhak scholars sought the model for a perfect society in ancient Chinese texts, while, at the same time, examining events in Korean history that had led to their social and political dilemma. The emperors Yungjo (1727–1776) and Chungjo (1776–1800) encouraged these studies and even established the Kyujanggak research institute on the palace grounds, for the purpose of preparing and disseminating texts for government administration. The Ming Chinese military classic, *Jixiao Xinshu* (New Book of Effective Discipline), may have been among the documents that were researched and used to create the *Sok Pyungjang Tosul* (Revised Illustrated Manual of Military Training and Tactics). The *Sok Pyungjang Tosul* was probably the basis for the *Mu Yei Do Bo Tong Ji* (Manual of Martial Arts Training), the document that contains the sword forms used in Haedong Kumdô.

The *Mu Yei Do Bo Tong Ji*

The *Jixiao Xinshu* was a text on *wuyi* (Chinese martial arts) written by the Ming general Qi Jiguang in 1561, and history suggests that the Koreans acquired the document by dubious means during the latter stages of the Imjin War (1592–1598), which was fought with the assistance of the Ming against the Japanese forces of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. It is doubtful that the Ming would have freely given up such an important military document to the Koreans, especially when a mere thirty-six years later, in 1636, the Qing (Manchu) Chinese forced the capitulation of King Injo and demanded Korean troops to assist in the subjugation of the Ming. The *Sok Pyungjang Tosul* was probably based on a copy of the *Jixiao Xinshu,* while the *Mu Yei Do Bo Tong Ji,* composed in 1790 and containing sections on armed and unarmed combat, as well as cavalry and infantry tactics, is a copy of the *Sok Pyungjang Tosul*. The sword forms used in modern Haedong Kumdô were gleaned from those contained within the *Mu Yei Do Bo Tong Ji.*



Hankuk Haedong Kumdô students Glen Koen and Ron Mottern from the Round Rock (Texas) Kwan practice techniques from Sangsu Kumbup and Yedo Kumbup. (Courtesy of Ron Mottern)

Methods of Using the Sword in Haedong Kumdô

Haedong Kumdô uses various *kumbup* (methods of using the sword), which are composed of different *pumsae* (solo forms). The kumbup historically used different types of swords and taught different skill sets.

Ssangsu Kumbup is a method of using the sword with two hands and primarily focuses on techniques against a single opponent. This is the beginning method of practice. *Shimssang Kumbup* is a more advanced form and teaches the practitioner how to draw an opponent into his strategy and defeat him. *Yedo Kumbup* traditionally used the Chinese straight sword (*jin*) and lighter, shorter swords (*hwandô* and *dando*), and contained many techniques for close fighting against multiple opponents. *Bonkuk Kumbup* refers to forms that were indigenous to Korea and contains techniques that were representative of the Korean method of swordsmanship. *Chedok Kumbup* used a very long, heavy sword with a straight blade. *Wuisu Kumbup* is the method of using the sword with the single hand, and is prerequisite for learning *Ssang Kumbup,* the double sword method. Ssang Kumbup uses two short swords, a long and a short sword, and two long swords. *Wae Kumbup* is the method of using the Japanese sword. Most modern practitioners use swords similar to *waegum* (Japanese swords), which are more readily obtainable. There are, however, certain groups within Korea that still create and train with the traditional swords. *Jangbaek Kumbup* is a highly advanced form that contains many indigenous techniques.

Formation of the Hankuk Haedong Kumdô Yunmaeng

Modern Haedong Kumdô is represented by the Daehan Haedong Kumdô Yunmaeng (Republic of Korea Haedong Kumdô Federation) and the Hankuk Haedong Kumdô Yunmaeng (Korean Haedong Kumdô Federation). The Daehan group is led by Kwanchang Nim (Grand Master) Kim Jung Ho, and was the parent organization of the Hankuk group. In 1962, Kim Jung Ho began his training in Haedong Kumdô from Jang Baek San. In 1982, he opened the first Haedong Kumdô *dojang* (training hall) in Anyang, Kyunggi province. In 1990, Kwanchang Nim Nha Han Il and Kwanchang Nim Kim Yun Chae left the Daehan organization and formed the Hankuk Haedong Kumdô Yunmaeng. The split was cordial, and students of the two organizations continue to exchange techniques, ideas, and opinions in the pursuit of *Shimgum* (the Way of the Sword).

Shimgum

Contrary to popular opinion, martial arts are not static paradigms. Those martial arts that exist today are dynamic systems of human interchange, an eclectic synthesis of adaptive forms that have been handed down through generations of teachers and students, all of whom have influenced the styles

through their perceptions, understanding, and communicative abilities. Martial arts are reflections of the cultures that create them, and as the cultures change, so do their martial arts. They are modified to meet the needs of the cultures as they grow and interact with other cultures. Martial combative forms are adaptive to pressures that exert themselves on and threaten a culture from without and from within.

Warfare between the Ming and Qing dynasties of China; the invasion of the Mongol hordes; Japanese encroachments on the Korean peninsula; political strife between the Three Kingdoms of Koryo, Paekje, and Silla; and constant battles with Chinese and Japanese pirates helped to shape muye do, generally, and Haedong Kumdô, specifically. However, while all of these forces exerted some form of influence on what is now called Haedong Kumdô, to say that Haedong Kumdô is Chinese or Japanese is incorrect. The Koreans have a propensity for assimilating things from alien cultures and making them uniquely Korean. This is true of kumdô. The Koreans combined their own indigenous sword forms (*Bonkukgum*) and philosophies with those of external origin to create Shimgum.

Shimgum is the soul of Korea, a way and manner of wielding the sword that reflect the hearts and minds of the Korean people. It is the distilled essence of the collective martial experiences of the Koreans throughout their long history. But Shimgum is more than a philosophy and a training method. It is the external expression of the Korean soul and character. What is contained within the heart and mind is reflected without through Shimgum.

Paldo/Chakgum

An example of Shimgum is the practice of paldo/chakgum. Paldo/chakgum is the practice of drawing the sword, cutting, and returning the sword to its scabbard (*kumchip*). In Haedong Kumdô, paldo are used to open the pumsae and chakgum are used to close the sets. Paldo/chakgum are also taught as individual pumsae, outside of the kumbup. Most of the paldo/chakgum used in Haedong Kumdô are derived from Japanese *iaidô* kata (forms). It must be remembered, however, that while the origins of these forms are alien to Korea, they are studied as a part of Shimgum. Iaidô is an art form and kendô is a sport. While these arts are the legacy of martial forms, they have long been divorced from their practical martial heritage. The All Japan Kendô Federation did not formalize the *seitei gata* (representative forms) for iaidô until 1968. Additional forms were added to its curriculum in 1980 as a result of dissatisfaction among kendô practitioners who felt the required forms were inadequate to learn true swordsmanship. Haedong Kumdô has made a concentrated effort over the years to avoid becoming solely an aesthetic art form or a popular sport. Shimgum is a martial art.

Although its movements are aesthetic, they are naturally so, deriving their grace and fluidity from the flow of martial *ki* (energy) throughout the body and the sword. The techniques used within Shimgum retain their martial purpose and effectiveness.

With the adoption of the *chukdô* (bamboo practice sword) for use in kendô, martial techniques were usurped by sporting pressures. Techniques began to evolve around the point-scoring possibilities presented by the lighter bamboo sword, techniques that could not be performed with the real steel sword. Haedong Kumdô uses the chukdô as a training device in *yaksuk kyukgum* (sparring) for the purpose of safety. The techniques are not, however, altered from their proper form when employing the chukdô. As the practitioner advances, the same kyukgum are performed with the *mokgum* (wooden sword) and, eventually, with the *chingum* (real sword). The essence of Shimgum is contained within chingum kyukgum (sparring with the real sword). Emphasis is therefore placed on combat effectiveness and on the correct handling and control of the sword. As used in Haedong Kumdô, paldo/chakgum fosters Shimgum by retaining martial techniques and mindset while facilitating an understanding of the true nature of the sword and of man.

The Future of Hankuk Haedong Kumdô

Under the leadership of Kim Yun Chae, of the Hankuk Yunmaeng, and Kim Jung Ho, of the Daehan Yunmaeng, Haedong Kumdô continues its expansion across the globe. There are currently several hundred dojang teaching Haedong Kumdô throughout the world. The American Federation of Hankuk Haedong Kumdô was established in February 1997 in Round Rock, Texas. In March 1998, the American Federation of the Daehan Haedong Kumdô was established in New York. Kim Yun Chae and the Hankuk Haedong Kumdô Demonstration Team have made several visits to the United States over the past few years in preparation for expanding operations into the United States. There are plans to begin development of a Haedong Kumdô instructors' training center in the United States in 2001.

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See also Korea

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T

T'aek'kyŏn

T'aek'kyŏn is a Korean martial sport that emphasizes foot and leg techniques. In the modern game, a player can win by making an opponent fall down with a sweep, trip, or throw, or by kicks to the head or face. It is distinguished by its evasive and dancelike footwork. In the twentieth century it has come to be seen as a living link with Korea's past, distinct from foreign influence. It has also provided a historical reference point for modern martial arts in Korea. T'aek'kyŏn was recognized by the Korean government with the title of Intangible Cultural Asset in 1983.

The origins of t'aek'kyŏn are highly speculative, though it probably has its roots in Chinese practices imported to Korea. If so, it is so far removed from those sources that it does not resemble anything identifiably Chinese. The name *t'aek'kyŏn* does not appear in Korean records until the latter part of the Yi dynasty (1392–1910), though there are many prior references to something called *subakhi,* "hand strike contest," which specialized in hand and fist techniques. There are comparatively few references to t'aek'kyŏn. The first that is known is in the *Chaemulpo,* or *Book of Treasures,* written by Yi Sŏng-ji ca. 1790. It includes a passage that states that *Subakhi* had come to be called *Tak'kyŏn* by the time the book was written. Though there is no direct evidence, it seems reasonable to assume that *Tak'kyŏn* and t'aek'kyŏn are identical. Other historical references to *Tak'kyŏn* describe something that greatly resembles modern t'aek'kyŏn.

Concerning the possible connection of *Subakhi* to t'aek'kyŏn, besides the statement in the *Chaemulpo,* other evidence points to a relation. Among the t'aek'kyŏn techniques that have been preserved, there are several variations on punching techniques. A number of these are designated under the category of *yaet pŏp,* or "old skills." This seems to fit in with the notion that *Subakhi* changed over time, its preference for hand techniques being replaced with foot and leg skills, thus requiring a different name. The name "old skills" itself seems to suggest an awareness of this process.

Current knowledge of t'aek'kyŏn comes from two general sources: ref-

erences to it in literature and art of the Yi dynasty and the memories of those who learned and practiced t'aek'kyŏn in the first decade of the twentieth century, before the Japanese colonization of Korea. There are only two written sources that convey the specifics of t'aek'kyŏn before the twentieth century. One source is *Korean Games,* by the American anthropologist Stuart Culin, published in 1895. The other is *Haedong Chukchi,* or *East Sea Annals,* a work of history by Choi Yŏng-nyŏn, published in 1921. There is also a painting by Yu Suk, completed in 1846, called *Tae K'wae To* (Scene of Great Cheer), which appears to be showing a t'aek'kyŏn match.

Based on conclusions drawn from the extant material, t'aek'kyŏn was an activity of the common people. Also, it was practiced primarily as a game or sport, although it did have combat applications. The poem in the *Haedong Chukchi* conveys a clear sense of admiration for the skills involved and implies that those skills were not minor. Probably because it was associated with entertainment in a broadly social context, a notion arose that Tak'kyon promoted, or at least coexisted with, vice, disorder, and dissipation, which led to its formal prohibition. That this prohibition was not, and probably could not have been, complete accounts for the survival of t'aek'kyŏn to modern times.

Living knowledge of t'aek'kyŏn comes almost exclusively from one man, Song Tŏk-ki. Song was born in Seoul in 1893. He began learning t'aek'kyŏn around 1905, at the direction of his father. According to Song Tŏk-ki, t'aek'kyŏn was practiced almost exclusively by the common people: shopkeepers, farmers, peasants, and gangsters. Its practice was restricted to the area of Seoul.

T'aek'kyŏn at that time was practiced in two general ways: as a game and as a form of combat. In its play form, it could resemble a sport, with teams, rules, and an organized procedure, or it could develop as a simple match between two people. It was most common on the occasion of large social occasions. Along with *ssirŭm,* t'aek'kyŏn was an important part of seasonal festivals in Seoul. T'aek'kyŏn also could be employed as a fighting system. As such, it existed primarily among gangsters, or their precursors. Song had experience in both types of t'aek'kyŏn.

There was no conventional training system for t'aek'kyŏn. It had no formal ranking structure, and there were no prearranged patterns to aid in learning or personal practice. Given its status as a social, public activity, people were probably able to learn t'aek'kyŏn piecemeal, at random times and places with different teachers. One who wished to learn might imitate those he saw practicing and eventually participate in games, without ever having had any formal instruction. According to Song Tŏk-ki, however, serious students learned t'aek'kyŏn in organized groups under specific teachers, as in his experience. Most importantly, t'aek'kyŏn itself clearly had a

distinct identity, with a common form and hence common techniques: *pumbalki,* triangular footwork; *hwalgaejit,* general hand and arm movements for deception, blocking, and grabbing; *sonkisul* (or *sonjil*), hand and arm techniques, including both open- and close-fisted strikes, traps, grabs, and grappling moves (head-butting is included in this category, presumably because one grabbed an opponent behind the neck to pull his head forward); *palgisul* (or *paljil*), foot and leg techniques, including both striking and pushing kicks, trips, sweeps, stamping, and others.

T'aek'kyŏn was entirely a standing art. In the game, techniques were performed with pushing instead of striking force. When it was used for fighting, however, all techniques were used with power.

In 1910, Korea was annexed by Japan. Although the Japanese discouraged the practice of t'aek'kyŏn, for several years Song still managed to practice with smaller groups, but pressure from both his family and the police finally compelled him to quit. Though there was some surreptitious practice during the occupation, it was rare and involved very few people. It would seem, however, that though its practice was formally prohibited, it was not actively suppressed. It did not disappear so much because of harsh repression as because its practitioners needed to look after themselves during a harsh time and hence had neither the leisure nor the inclination to practice their skills.

Korea was liberated in 1945. The Korean War followed in short order, from 1950 to 1953. The first opportunity Song Tŏk-ki had to demonstrate t'aek'kyŏn after Korea's independence was on March 26, 1958. This was the birthday of Yi Sŭng-Man, then president of Korea. For this occasion, Yi wanted to see displays of Korean fighting arts. Song heard of this and accordingly volunteered to give a demonstration. Because of the event, Song achieved a moderate amount of recognition.

The first step in the development of modern t'aek'kyŏn occurred in 1964 when Sin Han-sŭng read a story about Song in the *Hankuk Ilbo* newspaper. Sin was born in 1928. As a child, Sin had seen t'aek'kyŏn being practiced at his grandfather's home, though he himself had never learned it. By 1964, he had experience in *ssirŭm,* Western wrestling, *jûdô,* and *T'aegwondo* (taekwondo). He had become interested in traditional Korean martial arts, and the newspaper article about Song gave him his chance to learn.

Sin opened his own school in Chungchu in 1973. Sin's main goal over the next several years was to get government recognition for t'aek'kyŏn as part of Korea's cultural heritage. He also worked to spread and modernize the art so as to ensure its survival. To this end, he worked on creating a standardized training system for it. This system, when completed, had four parts. The first consisted of individual exercises, both standing and walking. The second consisted of partner exercises, demonstrating the application of techniques in the first set as well as introducing new ones. The third

section consisted of competition, and the fourth a form, which was a compendium of all the fundamental techniques involved in competition.

Sin was criticized for some aspects of his system, particularly the form. Some claimed that it altered the original style of t'aek'kyŏn, as taught by Song Tŏk-ki, too much. Several of these critics, who had also studied with Song, went on to establish their own associations. Even so, Sin is generally given credit for having done the most to preserve and spread t'aek'kyŏn. It would never have attained government recognition without his efforts. Song Tŏk-ki and Sin Hhan-sŭng both died in 1987, twenty days apart.

There are two ways to approach the influence of t'aek'kyŏn on Korea and Korean fighting arts. The first is the view that it had direct, technical connections with the modern styles. The second is to concentrate on its conceptual influence—that is, the associations and images that the name *t'aek'kyŏn* evoked. The first view has generated controversy. The most disputed is the view that taekwondo grew directly out of t'aek'kyŏn. In Korea, the leaders of the present t'aek'kyŏn associations disavow any direct connection with taekwondo. Experiential knowledge of t'aek'kyŏn can be conclusively traced to a very few individuals, and none were linked to those who later went on to establish taekwondo.

T'aek'kyŏn's conceptual influence is a much different matter. Those who grew up during the Japanese occupation and immediately after may have heard of t'aek'kyŏn through older relatives, but probably never saw it. Hence, the notion of t'aek'kyŏn as the Korean way of fighting grew in the popular imagination, even among those who had never seen it. People knew that at one time there had been a way of fighting called t'aek'kyŏn that specialized in kicking. References to t'aek'kyŏn had the effect of calling up associations with Korean life before the occupation and the war, a life of which only traces remained. Song Tŏk-ki himself, as a survivor from that time, evoked the old life as well. T'aek'kyŏn still retains these associations. It is this sense of history embodied in the name *t'aek'kyŏn* that has most influenced modern Korean martial arts. When the name *taekwondo* was suggested as the new name for the martial arts practiced by the various Korean schools in the 1950s, it was to connect these arts with the popular memory of t'aek'kyŏn and the associations that it called up. In these references, Korean fighting meant fighting mostly with the legs, a notion that probably contributed to the emphasis on kicking in modern taekwondo.

Whatever its presence in memory, t'aek'kyŏn itself is still somewhat obscure in Korea, and there are relatively few schools teaching it. Many Koreans identify the name with taekwondo, associate it with Chinese martial arts, or simply are unaware of what it might be. There are signs that it is growing more popular, with t'aek'kyŏn clubs in most large universities and competitions broadcast on national television.

Each t'aek'kyŏn association in Korea has a slightly different approach to competition, but the differences are largely minor. There are two varieties of the game. One is the kind of informal match that occurs in a gym as part of a class. The other is the more formal competition that takes place at tournaments. It is usually played on mats, identical to the kind typically used for jûdô. Players wear traditional white Korean clothes (*hanpok*). There are no rounds. A match continues until a player loses or until a time limit elapses. The judges and referee then decide the winner. Hand techniques are restricted to pushes, grabs, and traps. Grabbing the opponent's clothes is not allowed. Among the associations and even within them, a wide range of contact is permitted. It is typically medium contact, though using higher levels is usually not penalized. No protection of any kind, such as gloves or protective vests, is worn. There are two ways of scoring. One is to cause the opponent's knee or any part of the body above it to touch the ground. The other is a clean kick to the head or face. For a head kick to score, it must clearly cause the head to move. Only push kicks to the body are formally allowed. Such kicks do not score unless they directly cause the opponent to fall down.

The most distinctive quality of t'aek'kyŏn in practice is its footwork, called pumbalki. Players continuously step in a triangular pattern, shifting their weight and position. The object of this footwork is never to have a foot in one place for long and to be prepared to move a foot from its position if it is attacked. Hence, t'aek'kyŏn footwork has a rhythmic, dancelike quality. Another reason for this footwork is to facilitate evasive movements in all directions. *T'aek'kyŏn* has very few blocking skills; evasion is preferred. The feet should be kept close, since wide steps provide more opportunities for attacks, particularly sweeps. There are many kinds of sweeps and kicks. A distinctive feature of all kicks in t'aek'kyŏn, besides the front thrust kick, which is not allowed in competition, is that they are performed with pushing rather than striking power.

The preferred response to kicks is to trap them, then follow with a sweep to the opponent's supporting leg. Trapping is accomplished by bringing the hand over or underneath the kick, going with its force. The parts of the body subject to grabs are usually the neck and the shoulders. If a sweep is attempted, a player pulls the opponent's neck in the opposite direction of the sweep. When attempting a throw, a player grabs an opponent around the neck with one hand, pressing the arm to the side at the elbow with the other hand. There are also pushing moves, usually around the shoulders and ribs; however, the two most common pushes are against the throat.

The old hand strikes come in two categories: strikes against the face and head and against the body. With one exception, strikes to the head are all open-handed. Targets include the nose, front and side of the jaw, cheeks,

ears, and forehead. There is also a hammer-fist strike to the temple. Another technique is to scrape down the face, pushing at the same time. Strikes to the body are always punches, to the solar plexus or armpits, for example. The t'aek'kyŏn repertoire also includes a set of hand and arm motions called *hwalgaejit*. One can use them to confuse or distract an opponent.

There are currently four t'aek'kyŏn associations in Korea. Each of them was established by people who had studied with both Song tŏk-ki and Sin han-sŭng. They stress different aspects of t'aek'kyŏn, though their differences are minor. Each of them is growing, and it appears that the future of t'aek'kyŏn is ensured.

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See also Korea; Korean Martial Arts, Chinese Influences on; Taekwondo

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Taekwondo

Taekwondo (Korean; hand-foot way) is a Korean unarmed combat system whose traditional history traces its ancestry back 2,000 years. It is a native Korean fighting art, although in the latter part of the twentieth century it has been influenced by other fighting systems, most notably Shôtôkan Karate from Japan. In its current form, taekwondo exists in both sport and combat variants. One of the most popular martial arts in the world, it is one of the newest Olympic events and became a full-medal sport in the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, Australia.

There is evidence that the ancestors of the modern Korean people settled the peninsula and had developed tribal societies as early as 2000 B.C. By A.D. 500, three distinct kingdoms had emerged in the area: Koryo, Paekje, and Silla. These three kingdoms were often in a state of civil war, with China, the dominant power in the region, offering one side or the other support in an attempt to retain influence over the region. This influence from without became a common theme in Korean history, with Japan and Mongolia making invasion attempts as well in later centuries.

Both armed and unarmed martial arts were practiced by warriors of

Side kick delivered by Miss Kim, ca. 1950. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

these three kingdoms. Silla, despite being the smallest of the three, was eventually able to unify the entire peninsula by 800. Tradition attributes part of the success of the Silla kingdom to the practice of martial arts by a specific branch of the military known as the *hwarang,* which can be defined as the "flowering of manhood." Hwarang soldiers were expected to be proficient in all areas of the martial arts, both armed and unarmed, as well as to demonstrate loyalty to the ruler and uphold the Confucian values of a civilized society. Tradition has compared the hwarang to the samurai of Japan and the knight from the medieval period of Western European history, both of whom were expected to follow warrior codes of behavior. The collective martial arts of the hwarang were known as *hwarang-dô* (the way of the flowering of manhood).

The country fell into disunity again in 900, but was later unified under the Koryo dynasty and became known as Koryo by the beginning of the millennium. From the time of the unification of the nation until about 1400, the Korean martial arts entered into a period of expansion, experimentation, and development. Oral tradition maintains that hwarang-dô continued to be practiced and expanded by the hwarang warriors. The martial arts of t'aek'kyŏn, primarily a kick-oriented martial art, and *subak,* a fist-oriented

martial art, also became popular with the aristocracy and commoners alike. These two martial systems were to endure into the twentieth century. Despite repeated invasion attempts and influence by the Chinese, and a successful invasion by the Mongols, Korea maintained a large degree of independence and continued to develop its own unique culture.

During this time period also, the traditional history maintains that Chinese martial arts exerted a major influence on the Korean systems. Most important for the development of taekwondo, the contacts with China also included contacts with experts in northern systems of Chinese boxing. These northern systems were famous for their kicks, many of which were incorporated into Korean systems. Perhaps the most famous of these kicks is the so-called flying kick, known today as a jumping side kick.

In 1392, following the expulsion of the Mongols, the final Korean dynasty was established, the Yi dynasty. The Yi rulers began a systematic program of eliminating martial arts from society, with the result that martial arts practitioners and the hwarang are alleged to have taken their arts to remote locations, such as Buddhist monasteries, for continued study and practice. Korea also entered an isolationist period. So successful were the results that Korea eventually became known as the "hermit kingdom." Toward the end of the nineteenth century a vigorous and expansionistic Japan made inroads into Korean sovereignty and eventually annexed the nation outright in 1910.

The harsh Japanese occupation lasted until 1945. The use of the Korean language was banned, Korean citizens were forced to take Japanese names, and Korean institutions of learning were closed. However, this repression created a backlash of renewed interest among Koreans in traditional Korean arts, including martial arts, which were often practiced secretly. However, Koreans also studied Japanese martial arts during this time period, including karate, jûdô, and kendô.

With the end of the occupation, Koreans began to reassert their sovereignty and identity, and an understandable resurgence of Korean martial arts took place. With the division of the peninsula into the Communist-dominated north and the American-supported south in 1948, and the beginning of the bloody Korean War in 1950, there began an even greater push for reinstatement and development of Korean martial arts.

The Korean martial arts received a massive boost in popularity when several Korean stylists, including t'aek'kyŏn practitioners, gave a demonstration of these arts before South Korean president Syngman Rhee in 1952, during the height of the Korean conflict. So impressed was Rhee with the demonstration, he immediately ordered all Korean troops to be trained in these arts. There also began a push for the unification of these fighting arts.

A scene of ring-style training of Miss Kim, ca. 1950. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

In 1955, General Choi Hong-Hi, known as the "father of modern taekwondo," unveiled the art of taekwondo to the Korean public. General Choi and several other practitioners took the fighting arts of several schools, or kwons, and unified them into a single fighting art. Some kwons (e.g., Tang Soo Do) did not participate in this unification. General Choi also took several of the kata from Japanese karate, most notably Shôtôkan, and adopted them into taekwondo. General Choi took the name *taekwondo*, in part, because of the resemblance of the name to *t'aek'kyŏn*.

The Korean conflict brought many United States military personnel into Korea and exposed them to the art. Some Americans remained in Korea after the end of the conflict in 1953 and received teaching certification in taekwondo, later returning to America to teach the art.

Jhoon Rhee formally introduced the art to America in 1956, founding the first taekwondo academy in San Marcos, Texas. By the 1960s, the art had spread worldwide, into the Middle East, Taiwan, Canada, and Western Europe. With the outbreak of the Vietnam War, many more Americans were exposed to the art while stationed in Korea, which helped to account for a surge in popularity in the 1970s, when returning American service personnel brought the art with them. Taekwondo continued to expand worldwide in the 1980s, moving into the newly open societies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Taekwondo received exposure when the art was entered as a demonstration sport at the 1988 Olympics in South Korea. Today, it is practiced by an estimated 20 million persons worldwide.

Information on the fate of taekwondo in North Korea is sketchy at best. It is known that North Koreans do practice taekwondo, along with other Korean martial arts, but given the highly secretive nature of the

A taekwondo practitioner breaks with his elbow a stack of twelve 1-inch-thick boards, ca. 1950. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

North Korean regime, it is impossible to tell at the present time the popularity and development of the art in this region.

Taekwondo practitioners wear a uniform that resembles a karate gi, namely, loose cotton pants and a jacket. The Korean term for the uniform is *dobahk*. The major difference between a gi and a dobahk is that the dobahk is a one-piece vest that does not tie together, but rather is worn like a shirt. There is black piping around the edges of the uniform to help distinguish them from karate uniforms. They also tend to be made of very light material, since there is no grappling in taekwondo and thus no need for the uniforms to be sturdy enough to be grabbed. A belt is worn signifying rank. Their are ten ranks below that of black belt, known collectively as the *gup* ranks. Beginners start as white belts, until finally the black belt, or *dan,* ranks are attained. There are ten levels of dan rankings.

Taekwondo is, as the name suggests, a striking art and is characterized by an emphasis on kicking techniques. Taekwondo is one of the few martial arts in which practitioners are expected to execute kicks to high targets, most notably the head. While sometimes criticized as being ineffective for street or combat situations, these kicks form an essential element of the art. For Olympic-style training, kicking is emphasized above punch-

ing, as it is successful kicks that will give a competitor the most points and help to achieve a knockout.

Taekwondo kicks can be divided into six major types of kicks. The first type, usually the first learned by beginners, is the front kick. As the name suggests, this kick is delivered when the front of the body is facing an opponent. The striking areas on the foot are the ball of the foot or the instep, depending on the target. The leg and foot are positioned vertically, so the kick itself will travel vertically.

The second type of kick is the side kick. A practitioner kicks to the side, lifting the leg horizontally and thrusting the leg out. The entire bottom surface of the foot is used as a striking instrument, although sometimes in competition only the ball of the foot will be used. This kick can also be directed to the front. This is accomplished when a practitioner turns his body ninety degrees to the front while delivering the kick, thus adding the impetus of the rotation of the hips to the kick.

The third, most commonly used type of kick in taekwondo is the roundhouse kick, comprising approximately 70 percent of the kicks thrown in taekwondo competition. The striking area of the foot most commonly used is the instep of the foot, although the ball of the foot can also be used if greater striking power is desired. The practitioner will throw a roundhouse kick in the same manner as a side kick. However, instead of throwing the foot straight out, the kick is thrown by swinging forward the lower portion of the foot. The kick therefore travels horizontally.

The fourth major type of kick is the ax kick, sometimes known as the falling kick. The ax kick is thrown when the practitioner is facing his opponent. The leg is lifted straight up, almost vertical, with no bend at the knee. When the kick reaches its maximum height, it is brought down with tremendous force. The striking power of the entire bottom of the foot is used, although for extra power the heel alone can be employed.

The fifth and sixth major kicks used in taekwondo, the back kick and wheel kick, are the kicks for which taekwondo has become famous worldwide. Both of these kicks employ the spinning of the body, only unlike the type of spinning for roundhouse and side kicks described earlier, these kicks spin backward. This torquing effect produces an extremely powerful force that, when added to the momentum of the kick itself, produces a tremendous striking force. For a back kick, the body is turned 180 degrees, and the striking leg is lifted up and then driven straight back. The entire bottom of the foot is employed as the striking surface, with the stomach and solar plexus as the main targets. For a wheel kick, the body spins in the same manner as for a back kick, only in this case the leg is snapped out and held straight and the spin is completed for a full 360 degrees. The entire bottom of the foot is used as a striking surface, although for extra

power the heel alone can be used. Thus, the spinning motion of the body and the snapping motion of the leg combine to create the energy for the strike. The primary target for this kick is the head, and most knockouts in competition occur because of this kick.

In addition to these kicks, which are performed with one foot on the ground, taekwondo adheres to a philosophy that any kick that can be performed while one foot is on the ground can also be performed while jumping. Thus, in addition to the kicks that have already been described, there are jumping versions of the kicks. These jumping kicks are extremely powerful, as the force and momentum of the leap itself are added to the power of the kick. These kicks are obviously more difficult to employ than the basic kicks, but advanced practitioners are expected to be able to throw jumping kicks as well as the standing variants. Advanced taekwondo practitioners routinely employ these kicks in competition and combat, despite their inherent difficulty.

One of the most remarkable kicks used in taekwondo is the 360-degree roundhouse kick. With this kick, the practitioner jumps and spins the body a full 360 degrees while simultaneously snapping the foot out horizontally.

Reliance on kicking as the primary source of attack is the trademark of taekwondo. The major philosophy behind this martial art is that the feet can be used as dexterously as the hands for attacking an opponent, and because the legs are stronger and have greater reach than the arms, the feet are ideal as attacking weapons. This philosophy is reflected in the tremendous variety and variations of kicks that are available to a taekwondo expert.

Hand techniques are also taught, although they are sometimes secondary to the kicking techniques. The most utilized technique is the straight punch, much like the type of punch used in many systems of karate. With this technique, the punch is thrown straight, beginning from a "cocked" position at the chest with the fist pressed next to the body, knuckles facing the floor. The arm is then extended and the fist rotates so that the knuckles are pointed toward the ceiling at the completion of the technique. This turning motion increases the power behind the technique. Other hand techniques include knife-hand blows, made with the edge of the hand; spear-hand strikes, made with the four fingers of the hand extended so that the strike uses the points of the fingers; and clawing attacks, made with the hand in a claw formation.

There are currently various organizations and rules for sport taekwondo competition worldwide, but the most well known are Olympic style and non-Olympic style. Olympic-style rules are rules of competition used in international and Olympic events. Olympic-style competitors are required to wear head protection, which covers the head but leaves the face exposed; chest protectors, which protect the sternum, stomach, solar

plexus, and ribs; and groin protectors. Although the amount of protection is extensive, knockouts and injuries still occur in Olympic-style competition, which attests to the power of the kicks used in the art.

Olympic-style competition consists of three rounds of three minutes each. Competitors enter a fixed area in the shape of a square with four corner judges and one center referee. This box is referred to as the "ring," a term borrowed from boxing. The center referee has complete authority over the match; at his word the competition will begin and end. The four corner judges will keep track of points earned by the competitors for a technique and will also determine whether a point is "clean" or not at the request of the center judge. There is no stopping the clock in Olympic-style competition; competitors will continue until one is knocked down, until the center referee stops the match (in which case the time is halted), or until the clock runs out.

In Olympic-style competition, competitors must throw all kicks at waist-high and above. The only hand techniques that are allowed are punches, and these are only allowed to be thrown at the chest; punches to the face or groin area are not allowed. All types of kicks, so long as they are at waist height or above, are allowed. Any punch or kick that is thrown must have enough power behind it to force the recipient back from the force of the blow. "Touch" hits or hits that stop short of the target without impact are not permitted in this type of competition and will not be scored. The judges will make an inventory of points scored by a competitor. Strikes to the head from a kicking technique are worth more than kicks to the chest. The six types of kicks described earlier in this entry compose the vast majority of the kicks used in Olympic-style competition. Spinning kicks are used extensively because of their knockout power. The competitor with the most points at the end of a match, or the competitor who knocks out his opponent, is the winner. Competitors are not allowed to run out of the competition ring; those competitors that do so will run the risk of having points taken away if these actions continue. Olympic-style competition is similar to amateur boxing in many respects.

Non-Olympic-style competitors usually must wear the same equipment as Olympic-style players. The major difference between the two systems is that under non-Olympic rules, after a hit is scored against an opponent, the clock will be stopped while the technique is evaluated. If the majority of judges agree that a technique scored, the competitor will be awarded a point and the match will continue. Kicks to the head are worth more than kicks to the body, just as in Olympic-style competition. When an opponent has accumulated three points, the match is ended. If the clock runs out, at three minutes, the match ends also and the person with the most points wins. In case of a tie, a "sudden death" overtime is played, and the first person to

score a technique wins. As in Olympic-style competition, running out of the ring is not allowed. In some forms of non-Olympic competition, competitors do not wear protective gear (although groin protection is required), and practitioners are only allowed to make light contact when striking.

Forms competition is also an event in some taekwondo tournaments. The forms are known as *hyung* or *poomse*. Competitors perform a form, and a panel of three judges scores the competitor. Factors that are used in awarding points include the precision of techniques, especially kicks; the condition of a competitor (indicated by not being winded after the end of a sequence); the focus of techniques; and mental attitude. Obviously, forms judging is more subjective than sparring, with the judges having much more input into how and when points are awarded.

Taekwondo also places an emphasis on breaking. Practitioners are expected to be able to break wood and, at higher levels, concrete. Although breaking techniques are emphasized in other martial arts, most notably *Kyokushinkai Karate,* taekwondo practitioners are expected to be able to break at least one board with every type of kick. Thus, taekwondo practitioners will learn breaking techniques not with just a few techniques, such as a punch, but rather with all of the types of kicks. A student who climbs the ranks is expected to be able to break boards with advanced kicks, including jumping wheel kicks and back kicks. This is designed to teach the student accuracy and power in kicking techniques.

Taekwondo, perhaps more than any other martial art, has been featured in countless movies and television productions. Bruce Lee studied and copied taekwondo kicking techniques for incorporation into his movies, most notably *Enter the Dragon*. Chuck Norris, although a Tang Soo Do practitioner, made the kicks of Korean systems famous worldwide with his movies from the 1970s and early 1980s and his long-running American television series, *Walker: Texas Ranger.* There is now scarcely a Hollywood action film that does not include some sequence or fight scene that features the art.

Taekwondo has emerged as one of the major martial arts of the twentieth century. It is likely that as the art becomes an established Olympic sport, it will continue to grow in recognition and popularity. However, the art has been criticized as having become too much of a sport, with the predictable result that many of the techniques that enabled taekwondo to become an effective martial art in the first place, such as strikes to the vital points of the human body, will become forgotten as taekwondo practitioners instead focus their energies on how to score points in tournament fighting. This has already led to the development of what some have termed traditional taekwondo, in which emphasis is placed on *hyung* (forms) practice and self-defense, and equal weight is given to the practice and development of punches and kicks, as compared to Olympic-style taekwondo, in which

emphasis is placed on tournament fighting, especially kicking. Whether this new development will prove successful is as yet unknown.

Whatever the eventual fate of taekwondo, it is likely to remain one of the most popular martial arts. The spectacular kicks of the art are now almost synonymous with the term *martial arts*. Taekwondo, since its formation in the 1950s, has always been eager to accept new techniques, especially kicks, that fit into the philosophy of the system. It is likely that more varieties of kicks and combinations of kicks will be developed as the art continues to evolve, thus making it a martial art in constant development.

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See also Korea

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Tai Chi Ch'uan

See Taijiquan (Tai Chi Ch'uan)

Taijiquan (Tai Chi Ch'uan)

Taijiquan is a profound and varied Chinese martial art and health regimen with a set of core principles, movements, and exercises. Because it has had popularity in various parts of China for several centuries and has broad appeal even today, it represents many things to many people. Taijiquan is a health regimen based on traditional Chinese medicine. It is also considered by many as the ultimate martial art with smooth, fluid, graceful movement that represents Daoist (Taoist) concepts of naturalism.

A member of the *neijia* (internal) school of martial arts, taiji is appreciated as a form of meditation and centering in motion. Some devoted practitioners value taiji as a metaphor upon which to model Daoist attributes as a base philosophy to attain control over their lives. Some seek out taiji as a means of restoring lost health or controlling chronic illness. For many, it is just playful recreation or a way of socializing. Finally, for others, it may serve any combination of these functions.

Taijiquan's origins are not easily outlined. Myth, legend, and oral tradition link a body of philosophical thought going back many centuries to a distinct set of physical movements and training practices that can be

traced to the seventeenth century. Written texts attributed to the eighteenth century, discovered in a salt shop in the nineteenth century, are augmented by the then-current scholarly thought of martial artists living through turbulent times in Yongnian, located in Hebei province. When taiji became popular in Beijing at the turn of the twentieth century, these writings, perceptions, and practices were solidified and adopted by all major styles and branches of the movement.

The very term *taiji* comes from the Zhou dynasty and an anonymous text, the *Yijing* (*I Ching;* the Book of Changes). Over three thousand years ago, the author wrote, "In all changes exists taiji, which cause the two opposites in all things. The two opposites cause the four seasons, and the four seasons cause the eight natural phenomena."

Laozi, in about the fourth century B.C., wrote the Dao de Jing (Tao-te Ching), a text explaining the Dao, the nature of things and underlying principles. Through applying the principle of noncontention, one learns to master others.

Others labeled as contributors to the philosophic transmission include the philosopher Fu Xi, and even the reclusive poet and explorer of mysterious powers, Xu Xuanping of the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–907).

Another famous Daoist, Zhang Sanfeng, is said by many to have been the actual founder of taiji. What is confusing is that records from Wudang Mountain, a stunningly beautiful place that has been the center of Taoism since the seventh century, include two Zhang Sanfengs—one from the twelfth century and another from the fourteenth century. Legends first written down in the 1867 *Ma Tungwen* manuscript, and adopted for many years by the Yang Family, credit Zhang Sanfeng as creator of taiji. In fact, most taiji manuals from 1921 on credit Zhang Sanfeng as the founder without research.

According to legend, Zhang Sanfeng of the twelfth century was on the road while besieged by bandits and took refuge on Wudang Mountain. The spirit of Wudang Mountain came in a dream and taught him a new method of fighting, taiji, and he easily defeated a hundred bandits. The Zhang Sanfeng of the fourteenth century is said to have been a "mad" alchemist searching for immortality by observing tortoises and cranes, two long-lived creatures. One day he observed a crane and snake fighting, and from this graceful battle he came up with the Thirteen Postures of Taiji.

Both Zhang Sanfengs have been the subjects of many popular books and motion pictures. Both men combine the spiritual cultivation of Taoism with the skills of *wushu,* but historians have found no direct clear links.

What is clear is a body of skills from Wenxian County, Henan province, that represents the beginnings of all major forms of taijiquan. This includes physical forms and training practices stemming from the seventeenth century and some clear writings and supporting historical data.

Group practice of taijiquan in Beijing, China, 1980. (Galen Rowell/Corbis)

Tang Hao (1897–1959), after research in the 1930s, determined that Chen Wangting of Chen Village created much of what we know now as taijiquan. A garrison commander in the 1640s, who successfully led his local troops into battle "beating back bandits" (Zhaohua Publishing 1984, 3), he was a famous and successful martial artist in his day.

After the downfall of the Ming dynasty, Chen Wangting retired from warrior life and withdrew from society. According to a poem he wrote before he died, he did "field work when the season came, created boxing forms when depressed, and in leisure time taught disciples and children to be worthy members of society." He also mentions the book *Huang Ting,* a Daoist text on breathing, mind, and movement (Zhaohua Publishing 1984, 3).

In addition, a book by General Qi Jiguang, *The Canons of Boxing,* constituted a significant influence. The general lived a half century before Chen Wangting, and compiled a book from sixteen popular fighting styles. Twenty-nine of the thirty-two movements from the book are found in the various Chen Family routines, and the first two movements are the first movements of the Chen bare-handed forms.

Chen Wangting's contributions, which distinguish Chen Family boxing from external styles, include the *yi lu* (the long sequence that is the basis for traditional Yang, Wu, Hao, and Sun style sequences) and *tui shou*

(push-hands, a type of sparring using light touch and redirection of force, developing greater efficiency and sensitivity). This type of sparring allows the development of important fighting skills without injury; it may also be applied to weapons, for example, "sticky" spear techniques. Chen Wangting's other contributions are the incorporation of *qigong* exercises (called "silk reeling"), the use of spiraling movement, and the application of concepts of traditional Chinese medicine.

Some recent scholars have suggested another source for taiji's origin besides Chen village: nearby Zhaobao village and the mysterious Jiang Fa from Shanxi province, whose heyday was a quarter century before Chen Wangting's. There has been a further attempt to link Jiang Fa back to Zhang Sanfeng. Whether Jiang Fa's martial arts influenced Chen Wangting's, or Jiang Fa had a relationship dating back to the well-known Daoist, most scholars agree that Wenxian County is the origin of the original routines and training methods.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, a young man named Yang Luchan went from his home of Yongnian, Hebei province, to Chen village as a servant. There he learned taijiquan, and later returned home, where he became known as "Yang the Invincible." Several of his students include the three Wu brothers, two of whom were local magistrates and scholars, Wu Chengqing and Wu Ruqing, and one a superior martial artist, Wu Yuxiang. All loved martial arts, and unlike Yang, were literate. Wu Yuxiang was briefly a student of Yang, and then, because Yang held back teaching, he went back to Chen village and Zhaobao village for training with Chen Qingping.

Yongnian was a breeding ground for great martial artists, and this was a turbulent time. The eldest Wu brother found a text in a salt shop, attributed to Wang Zongyue from the turn of the nineteenth century. It was entitled *A Treatise on Taijiquan*. Prior to that time, taijiquan was referred to as Changquan (long boxing), or the Thirteen Movements. Wu Yuxiang, his brothers, and a nephew, Li Yiyu (and later Yang Banhou), worked on this manuscript to produce what are now known as the Classics. This body of work, consisting of approximately forty texts, expounds the philosophical and practical methods that most taijiquan schools claim as basic, common, and uniting. It includes, among other discussions, commentaries on sparring, the eight gates and five steps, the thirteen postures, the taiji circle, and qi circulation.

Yang later moved to Beijing, taking a post with the Qing government teaching martial arts. He simplified some of the Chen movements. His sons, especially Yang Banhou, continued his work, and later Yang Luchan's grandsons (from his son Jianhou), Yang Shaohou and Yang Chengfu, became famous for their skills, and their additions to the art, too.

Yang Chengfu made the form smooth, large, and broad, popularizing it for young and old. It is his style of performance that is most popular today internationally. His style is most often referred to as Yang Style, although there are still scattered pockets of people performing sequences that are attributed to earlier members of the Yang family.

Back in Yongnian, Wu Yuxiang created what is now known as Wu (or Hao) style from his studies with Yang, his training with Chen, and his study of the classics. This style is compact, simple, small in frame, and quite upright. Li Yiyu taught Hao Weizhen (1849–1920). In the capital, Wu Quanyou, a Manchu by birth and a student of Yang Banhou, created an elegant, medium-framed style referred to as Wu (different character and tone from Wu/Hao). It was passed on through Wu Jianquan (1870–1942) and is also quite popular.

Hao taught the famous Sun Lutang (1861–1932). Already a well-known martial artist at the turn of the century, the latter created a new style of taijiquan, Sun, incorporating xingyiquan (hsing i ch'uan) and baguazhang (pa kua ch'uan), which, like taijiquan, are considered internal arts based on similar principles. The Sun is a very distinctive style, still being taught by his daughter, Sun Jianyun, and gaining popularity.

In 1928, Yang Chengfu traveled to Nanjing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Guangzhou, and Hankou and taught taiji. This trip, plus the many people taught by the Yang Family in Beijing who migrated to other parts of the country, helped to popularize taijiquan throughout China. It was also in 1928 that Chen stylist Chen Fake (1887–1957) moved to Beijing and began teaching.

By far the five most popular styles of taijiquan are Yang, Wu, Wu/Hao, Sun, and Chen. Other, less popular, styles include Five Star, Buddhist, and Fu Style.

In the 1950s, the People's Republic of China sponsored committees that designed easier, shorter forms to bring taiji, and especially its health effects, to the masses. The first of these forms is the Simplified Twenty-Four Form, based on the Yang form. It eliminates repetitions of sequences and cuts difficult movements. It takes only five minutes to perform, versus twenty minutes for the traditional form. Later forms include the Eighty-eight Movement Form strictly based on the Yang form, the Sixty-Six and Forty-Eight Movement Combined Forms with elements from the five popular styles, and Thirty-two Sword. Also, because of government sponsorship, taijiquan is an official division of sports wushu. Competition in forms, like the International Forty-Two Empty-Hand and Sword Forms, has become popular, and it appears probable that taiji will be a demonstration sport in the Olympics of 2008.

As one effect of this government sponsorship, many traditional

schools have changed training methods and are now using simplified shorter forms first, to encourage beginners' progress. Some have even developed their own shorter competition forms. The results are evident, as taiji has gained tremendous popularity in China. Japan, Southeast Asia, Australia, Europe, the United States, and Canada have ever-growing numbers of taiji practitioners.

Taiji is generally practiced as forms or sets consisting of a series of connected and continuous postures performed very slowly. The slow practice of the art results in technique becoming refined, balanced, and strong. Fast sets also are performed, but only in certain schools, and only after one has gained some degree of proficiency at the traditionally slow sets. Both empty-hand and weapons forms are practiced individually, but may be practiced with a partner as well.

Training in push-hands is taijiquan's form of sparring. It is the logical extension of the solo forms of taijiquan. The principles learned in taijiquan are applied in push-hands. Push-hands practice allows a person to perfect the ability to yield and to let go of all that is nonessential in any interaction or confrontation.

Other individual practices include Zhan Zhuang (Standing Post Meditation) and sets of qigong, including the popular Eighteen Movement Taiji Qigong. Some modern schools repeat individual movements as a set of basics. A few schools practice seated meditation and breathing exercises, which they later apply to forms.

Although not all schools still teach weapons, as they have fallen out of favor, most traditional styles still retain the weapons as part of the curriculum. They are used at upper levels of skill to improve balance, coordination, strength, and the correct use of *jin* (force). The gaze of the eyes, with concentration (or focus), forms the *yi* (otherwise known as intention). This in turn directs flow of *qi* (internal energy), which in turn manifests as *jing* (physical force/action). Training in weapons clarifies the use of legs and waist, which reinforces the empty-hand training. Weapons are beautiful, and exhibit a power that demands attention and appreciation. All taiji weapons techniques have certain common denominators: continuity and smoothness, power from legs and waist, and "stickiness" once in contact with the opponent's weapon.

The major weapons include the *jian,* a double-edged straight sword. It is the most popular, but the most difficult of weapons to do well, and the favorite of aristocrats in years past. Quick, smooth, and accurate, it is said to be like a flying phoenix. The *dao* (broadsword or saber) is a curved single-edged weapon. Less sophisticated and more strength-oriented, it is the favorite of the common people. A chopping weapon, the dao is said to be like a fierce tiger. The *gun* (staff or cudgel) is a common weapon that uses

powerful larger, sweeping, striking movements. The spear is a poking, stabbing, long-distance weapon, the major weapon of the common foot soldier in ancient times.

Minor weapons show up in various styles and include the fan, a graceful, beautiful, and artful weapon of courtly life. The stick is a common walking traveler's weapon. The fire wheel (or ring) is an old weapon making a resurgence in popularity.

Taijiquan and the other internal martial arts, called neijia, are to be considered with the external martial arts, waijia, among the various styles popularly referred to as gongfu (other spellings include kung fu and gung fu) and wushu. *Wushu* refers to the martial arts of China in general (but it can be meant as a specific modern sport). This term is inclusive of taijiquan. *Kung fu,* though popularly and erroneously referencing the martial arts of China, in point of fact simply means "excellence." The character for the word *kung fu* consists of the characters for time and energy.

Though there is some dispute regarding the origins of the term *internal* martial arts, the internal martial arts have characteristics that distinguish them from the "external" styles, waijia. The "big three" internal arts, taijiquan, xingyiquan, and baguazhang, have the characteristics of being grounded, rooted, and balanced while expressing all techniques. The emphasis is on relaxation, calmness, and control. Since these arts are shaped by Daoist philosophy, yin and yang are clearly distinguished and yet harmonized in all movement. The mind's intention, yi, directs internal energy, qi, manifesting as force, jing. Striking techniques tend to inflict internal injuries, less conspicuous to the eye, as opposed to the more obvious externally apparent injuries of the external arts.

External martial arts are much more numerous, and they are often those associated with the Shaolin Temple, Buddhist origins, and India (i.e., a source outside China). The most profound difference is that external styles emphasize developing as much speed and power as possible through training the body. This training includes developing speed in footwork and learning long-range techniques and specific strategies and timings. Double weighting (distributing the weight equally on both feet) is a feature of the external school of martial arts, whereas double weighting is virtually taboo in the internal schools.

The internal martial arts feature all of the techniques of the external arts, including punches, kicks, grappling (*ch'in na*), throws, breaks, locks, and sweeps, but the application of power is different. Taijiquan (sometimes translated as "grand terminus boxing") is better adapted for short- and medium-range fighting than for distance fighting. This is in part as a result of its emphasis on utilizing the opponent's own energy against the opponent.

Taijiquan is composed of a wide range of styles, and many variations are evident even within each particular style. Yang Chengfu outlined the Ten Basic Tenets of Taijiquan. Though his formulation of these tenets postdated Chen-style taijiquan, they still apply to the earlier Chen style and to all styles subsequent to Yang Chengfu's Yang style. These ten basic tenets are in essence a summary of the Taiji Classics.

Styles vary in the depth of the stances, the size of the movements, flourishes, and the appearance of the release of power. In Chen style, for instance, emphasis is placed on the explosive release of power, referred to as *fa jing*. Despite these differences, the basic characteristics and tenets are a constant.

Kicks tend to utilize the heel of the foot rather than the ball of the foot. Hand strikes more often employ the palm, compared with the fist in most hard styles. Though the fist is an important weapon in taijiquan as well, the fist is closed loosely. The theory is that energy gets locked up in a consistently tightly clenched fist and steals energy from the punch. The view is that for every show of strength, there is resultant weakness. For strikes, more of the body is employed in taijiquan. For example, one of the essential actions of taijiquan is *kao* (bump) energy. Utilizing this force, one may use the shoulder, back, entire torso, or hip as a weapon.

Taijiquan was originally called the Thirteen Movements, but this does not refer to specific techniques of blocking or attacking. These are instead thought of more as eight energies and five directions. The energies are *peng* (ward off), *lu* (roll back), Ji (press), *an* (push), *cai* (pull down), *lie* (split), *zhou* (elbow), and *kao* (bump).

The first four of these energies are referred to as the "essential energies." The latter four are the "four corners," referring to the directions of the compass, northeast, southeast, northwest, and southwest. The remaining five directions are advance, retreat, gaze right, look left, and central equilibrium.

The jing (power) of these techniques is manifested by the propagation of qi (internal energy) from the ground, into the leg, gathered at the *dantian,* passing up through the spine, and then manifested out through the relaxed weapon, be it the hand, elbow, shoulder, sword, or other channel. This energy travels in a spiraling fashion, often referred to as silk-reeling. Ultimately, the body acts as a whip with the handle of the whip being the foot, rooted to the ground.

This root, as it is called, is the foundation of a taijiquan practitioner's stability or balance. It is accomplished by relaxing all of one's weight into one of the lower extremities, thus allowing gravity to do the work of stabilizing the body. The Chinese character for *song* (relaxing) is best interpreted as "sinking." It is by sinking into the lower extremity that root is es-

tablished. The earth's energy/force is then transmitted up through a point in the center bottom of the foot just behind the ball joint of the third toe, a point called the *yong quan* (bubbling well). Root is established by taking on the configuration of a triangle with its base on the ground; thus, the emphasis turns to developing the lower extremities, especially the thigh muscles. This is as opposed to external styles, where there is more emphasis on developing strength and power in the upper body.

Though relaxing/sinking into a leg (a yin activity) may appear passive, it illustrates paradoxical concepts and realities working in conjunction with one another, so very typical of taijiquan, which has its origins in mystical Daoism. Sinking or relaxing into the leg is a physical metaphor of the spiritual concept of "action without action," *wuwei.* Though there is no active muscle contraction when the player relaxes into the leg, the muscles of the leg are contracting on their own in a balanced and natural fashion, without conscious intent. *Wuxin* (no mind) is a core principle of all martial arts. The yin activity of sinking is counterbalanced by the yang activity of suspending the head. The result is stability elicited by the top of the spine being pulled up (to heaven) and the bottom of the spine pulled down (by the earth's gravity). The spine then serves as an individual's axis being pulled from above and from below, and from which all actions and forces emanate.

The peng (ward-off) energy of taijiquan is construed by some as the most basic of all of the energies in the martial art, giving taijiquan its character. Peng energy distinguishes taijiquan from all of the martial arts in the external school. Master Hong Junsheng, a Chen stylist, states, "Taiji (Quan) is Peng Force" (Wu 2001). Taijiquan, contrasted to the external styles of martial art, is notable for its softness and roundness rather than a hard and linear character. Peng energy is expansive and round (like an inflating sphere), spiraling up from the ground. The energy spiraling up from the ground is accomplished by compressing into the yin leg, followed by decompressing the leg, as in the case of a wound-up spring being released. The energy is then transmitted, with the skeleton and its ligaments and joints serving as the conduit for the energy. It is the slight concavity of the chest with the upper back slightly rounded, along with the opening of the joints in the upper extremities, that gives the taijiquan player the sense of holding an expanding sphere. If someone were to push on or place the arms around someone exhibiting peng force, there would be the sense of contacting an inflated rubber ball. This force serves to deflect or bounce off incoming force. This is the nature of peng.

In Daoism, it is said that from the wuji (Void) comes the One manifested creation—Taiji. The One begets the Two (yin and yang), and the Two beget the Three. From the Three come the Ten Thousand Things, the

myriad of manifestations in creation, that is, the realm of all possibilities. In taijiquan the other action energies and applications of the various postures are to be viewed as points along a continuum of an infinite number of possible responses to an opponent. One is never committed to any particular action or application, and like water, one can change in an instant, depending on circumstances. Water—with its soft, formless nature—is considered by the Daoists to be the strongest force in nature, able to blend, following the path of least resistance, and to wear away even the hardest of objects without itself being harmed. In metaphorical fashion, the taijiquan fighter strives to follow the example of water.

The mainstay of partner practice is push-hands (tui shou), a type of sparring exercise. Kicking, punching, striking, and joint-locking, although implied, have been removed to eliminate serious injury. The setup of unbalancing, throwing down, or projecting the opponent away is emphasized and cultivated. Because this safe method of martial skill development uses little space and no protective gear or special clothing, this martial art is easily pursued by two persons at any place and at any time.

This practice may take many forms that range from quite fixed, gentle, and cooperative routines to an aggressive "freestyle" that may resemble smooth, standing forms of jûdô or wrestling. Initial training should always be cooperative, safe, and prearranged, and emphasize sensitivity and sticking to the partner's movement. One learns to "feel" the partner's force—whether it is weak or strong and where it is solid or empty—so that one may react properly, placing the partner at a disadvantage.

Popular push-hands practice forms include:

Stationary Two-Hands. This deals with basic lead-hand pushing and neutralizing, coordinating hand pushes with body movement, especially from the waist. These are fairly square-on attacks.

Four-Hands Practice, both stationary and stepping. This deals with the actions of peng (ward off), lu (roll back), Ji (press), and an (push), the first four of the eight energies previously mentioned. It is more difficult to learn, and more interesting to practice. Again, it develops skills against attacks from the front.

Big Roll-Back (*Da Lu*) This deals with an opponent attacking from the corners, and is a method of practice of the other four of the eight energies: cai (pull down), lie (split), zhou (elbow), and kao (bump).

Freestyle Push-Hands. This may also be done stationary or moving. It refers to a wide range of practice, from skilled players running through the previous routines in a spontaneous and lively manner to actual competition of unbalancing, projecting, and throwing down the opponent. Some schools, such as Chen style, practice a very vigorous, competitive form of this push-hands practice.

Choreographed two-person sets are also considered a form of stepping push-hands. Some taiji schools include an intricate eighty-eight-movement set, some have shorter sets, and others have no choreographed sets, believing this to be an ineffective training method for the time involved in learning.

In push-hands, a confrontation is balanced out, and complementing rather than matching or superseding an opponent's force negates an aggressor's action. This "yielding" is not passive. Just enough force is used to maintain contact with the opponent, allowing for the neutralization of the aggressor's force. Though one gives up what is nonessential, one maintains one's root, center, and integrity. (It is also the total relaxation of the body involved in yielding while maintaining structure that allows qi to circulate fully through the body and thus to stimulate optimal health in the process.)

By blending with the opponent and matching the opponent's force, that is, by balancing yin and yang, the defender becomes one with the opponent. This is accomplished by *zhan nian jin* (sticking energy) and *ting jin* (listening energy). Utilizing these energies, a defender can sense what is going to happen before the actual occurrence. One is also then more sensitive to and more aware of the position and characteristics of one's own body at any instant in time. The result is a state of pure awareness, and without judging the situation, one knows oneself and has knowledge of one's opponent.

As a function of push-hands practice, taijiquan emphasizes blending rather than speed, softness ("like steel wrapped in cotton") and roundness rather than hardness and linearity. Change is harnessed rather than controlled and created. In taijiquan a defender uses the attacker's force to unbalance the opponent, then strikes, pushes, or in other ways attacks the opponent. The taijiquan defender utilizes the aggressor's energy against the aggressor by "enticing the opponent to advance, causing the opponent to fall into emptiness, uniting with the opponent, and then throwing the opponent out"—Yin jin, luo kong, he ji chu.

Once an opponent enters into the defender's space and finds momentum allowed to continue on, it is difficult for the opponent to change intent and action. The result is the aggressor becoming uncentered, uprooted, and off balance, allowing for defense with minimal effort: wuwei (effortless effort).

Taijiquan is an art of coming to terms with paradox (yin and yang) in accordance with Daoist mystic traditions (as well as others). As Laozi put it in the Dao de Jing (Tao-te Ching): "Yield and overcome: Bend and be straight." The Taiji Classics reiterate in one form or another, "Seek stillness in motion and find motion in stillness."

With the arrival of morning light, tens of millions of Chinese head to parks and squares, by lakes, near trees, even in free spaces between buildings, to practice taijiquan, other styles of wushu, and qigong. It is a com-

mon sight for visitors to China, and one that is slowly becoming more common in the West, and not just in Chinatowns.

The strikingly odd yet calming images of slow-moving groups in perfect synchrony have permeated the Western consciousness as well. Senior citizen centers, martial arts schools, and health clubs throughout North America are developing taijiquan programs. Even Madison Avenue advertising firms have recognized the power of taijiquan. Using images of taijiquan players in the background to attract our eye, they pitch their products in the foreground, even during the halftime of the heavily watched Superbowl.

Yet, though we are exposed more and more, there is much confusion here in the West, and sometimes as much in the East. As taijiquan gains popularity as exercise, self-defense, and healing art, researchers in both the East and West are delving into the origins of the art, its healing nature, its martial nature, and the effects of practice.

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See also Boxing, Chinese; External vs. Internal Chinese Martial Arts; Ki/Qi; Medicine, Traditional Chinese; Meditation; Religion and Spiritual Development: China

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Thaing

Thaing is a Burmese term used to classify the indigenous martial systems of ancient Burma (now Myanmar). The word *thaing* loosely translates as "total combat." Moreover, as the loose translation stipulates, the label encompasses the range of combatives that have been systematized in Burmese martial tradition: *bandô, banshay, lethwei, naban,* and other ethnic or tribal fighting systems native to the region. Beyond the martial elements of thaing, practitioners are enjoined to incorporate ethical principles such as humility, patience, tolerance, integrity, loyalty, courage, knowledge, physical and spiritual strength, and love of family.

Traditional styles of thaing are associated with specific ethnic groups. Styles that have been identified in the literature include Burmese, Chin, Chinese, Kachin (or Jinghpaw), Karen, Mon, Shan, and Talaing. Forms of thaing have been reported among hill tribes such as the Wa, but little is known of their characteristics except that they have a shared worldview with the Kachin.

Traditional styles are subdivided into systems or forms named for (and adopting the mythical characteristics of) animals such as the boar or the python. Generally twelve animals are incorporated into a given style, but there are exceptions, such as the Kachin system, which uses sixteen.

Records of conflict among the various ethnic groups that have resided in the area of Myanmar (Burma) abound both in oral and written accounts. Accounts of this fierce competition for territory and resources begin with the Pyu in antiquity but start becoming historic rather than legendary during the eleventh century A.D., when King Anawrahtar organized lower Burma into a sovereignty as the Pagan Empire (after its capital at Pegu, not its religious beliefs).

In the Pagan Empire, martial arts were one of eighteen subjects mastered by aristocrats. Warfare was endemic, so ethnic groups also began to systematize the combat tactics appropriate to their environment and cultural heritage. Variation was introduced by differences in language, culture, geography, and religion. For example, some cultures were animists. So, after killing a living being, either human or animal, the head was removed to free the spirit and honored as a trophy. (This practice persisted at least into

the beginning of the twentieth century among the Wa and well into the mid-twentieth century among the Kachin.) Others were Buddhist, and so there were prohibitions against unnecessary killing.

Accordingly, the development of thaing needs to be viewed in the context of movements of ethnic groups such as the Shan, Mon, Karen, Arakanai, and Kachin through the mountainous area where Tibet, Yunnan, Burma, and India meet. The Kachins, for example, have a well-developed oral tradition of migration from their ancestral home, the Majoi Shingra Bum (Naturally Flat Mountain), which was possibly located in eastern Tibet. The Karens also have a tradition that they passed through the mountains on their way to lower Burma. Meanwhile, in neighboring Manipur, India, the Meiteis (who comprise 60 percent of the population) are of Tai origin and famous for their practice of martial arts. While this may owe more to Hindu than to Tibetan influence, the primary Manipuri art *thangta* is closely tied to dance and ritual practice. Likewise, the equally Tai hill tribes of Nagaland (north of Manipur) have related martial traditions.

Traditions from Yunnan province, which is where the Tai had an empire into the thirteenth century, also may have links with thaing. For example, as recently as 1928, Miao doctors were reported as boxing, fighting with sticks and knives, and practicing *qigong* (exercises for cultivating internal strength often associated with martial art training). While much more research is required into the subject, the historical connections among martial arts in the area are intriguing.

How these interconnections probably came about is that during the thirteenth century, Kublai Khan overthrew the Nanchao, or Tai, states in Yunnan. This caused Tai refugees to retreat into Manipur, Nagaland, and the Irrawaddy and Menam valleys, and over time they established a number of states, including one that later became Thailand. Moreover, the Naga who entered the Kachin state were often assimilated into Jinghpaw clans. Jinghpaw oral narratives suggest a natural affinity between the two groups.

Meanwhile, King Narathihapate of Pagan executed a Mongol ambassador carrying Kublai Khan's demands to Burma and even had the audacity to directly attack China. So for the next 150 years Burma and Mongol China were almost constantly at war, either with one another or with the various Tai states.

That said, lethwei only entered the oral traditions of this struggle during the eighteenth century. Specifically, according to Thai tradition, in the 1770s a Thai prisoner of war, Nai Khanom Tom, was awarded his freedom after he defeated a dozen of his Burmese captors in boxing matches. In contrast, Burmese tradition maintains that Nai was the consummate politician, ingratiating himself at the Burmese court to such an extent that he was al-

Two Kachin tribesmen near Bhamo, Myanmar (Burma), photographed around 1886. The man on the right is armed with a dha, *the traditional sword used for the practice of thaing. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)*

lowed to train in the royal fighting arts. This dedication to learning, his negotiating skills, and a perceived pro-Burman attitude (which induced his captors to believe he could further their cause among the Thai) led to his release.

From 1811 to 1815, Burmese rebels hiding in British India led raids into Burma. The British did little to prevent this, so between 1819 and 1823 the Burmese sent military forces into British-controlled Assam, Manipur, Cachar, and Bengal. In 1824, the East India Company had had enough, and responded by declaring war on Burma. Rangoon was occupied without resistance, the Burmese agreed to pay indemnities, and in 1825 the British withdrew.

However, this defeat embarrassed the Burmese government, and revolts followed. Meanwhile Anglo-Burmese relations continued to deteriorate, and there was a second Anglo-Burmese war in 1852–1853. During this war the British East India Company annexed Pegu province. Finally, in 1878, Burmese insurgents attacked Manipur, and this led to a third Anglo-Burmese war in 1885. That in turn led to the British annexation of all Burma in 1886, followed by a decade of guerrilla warfare.

British rule over Burma lasted until World War II; its most famous policeman was probably Eric Blair, who in 1934 published the novel *Burmese Days* under the pseudonym George Orwell. During their administration, the British outlawed headhunting and instituted a campaign intended to

stop guerrilla warfare; this included prohibiting training with swords and spears. Thus the British occupation started a progressive decline in the Burmese fighting arts.

Ironically, however, in 1933 the British-supervised Ghurka Rifles attempted to revive unarmed systems of Burmese traditional fighting. Forming the Military Athletic Club, nine Gurkha officers combined knowledge of the Burmese arts with what they knew of the Indian, Tibetan, Chinese, and Nepalese martial arts (i.e., the native arts of the countries from which the Ghurkas were recruited into the British army). The result was called bandô.

During World War II, the Japanese occupied southern Burma, but the British and Indians continued to fight in the mountains using Chinese military and American logistical assistance. (This area was home to Claire Chennault's Flying Tigers in 1941, and subsequently the famous "Burma Road.") During the war, the mountain tribes were generally loyal to the Allies, and in the process demonstrated formidable military skills. The Jinghpaw, for example, who fought with American troops during the war, in spite of retaining hostility toward the British, cooperated with them out of a greater hatred for the Japanese occupation forces.

The role played by the Jinghpaw (still known to the Allies as Kachin) is representative of that played by the hill tribes. OSS Detachment 101 worked with a force of 11,000 Kachin tribesmen who reportedly killed 10,000 Japanese at a loss of only 206 of their own. U.S. military personnel came to appreciate the Kachins as natural guerrilla fighters. So great was their skill (developed, in part, through practice of thaing), that the Kachin method of attack and ambush came to be emulated in the tactics of U.S. special forces teams such as the SEALs and Green Berets.

In 1946, nine survivors of the Military Athletic Club formed the National Bandô Association (NBA) in Burma. Their eclectic background is indicated by the ethnicity noted following their names: Abehananda (Indian), C. C. Chu (Chinese), Has. K. Khan (Pakistani), U Zaw Min (Burmese), G. Bahadur (Ghurkan), U Ba Saw (Karen), Duwa Maung (Lisu), Boji Mein His (Arakanais), and U Ba Than [Gyi] (Burmese). As the senior military officer, U Ba Than (1883–1968) was elected president.

In 1948 the British granted independence to Burma. The new government refused to join the Commonwealth, and shortly afterwards both Karens and Communists led rebellions. Although it was at first a close contest, the central government retained power. Nevertheless student unrest in the cities and guerrilla warfare in the countryside have continued into the present. Given this ongoing turmoil, reliable information on the state of thaing in Myanmar in general and among the Kachins and Karens in particular is difficult to obtain.

Branches of Thaing

Bandô, the most widely known of the various subdivisions of thaing, means "way of discipline." Practitioners train to master physical and psychological strategies that develop hardness. Physical hardness is developed by rigorous conditioning exercises, including punching lightly padded tree trunks with the intent of punching through the object rather than stopping at physical contact. Other exercises include tearing through bags of rice and rock to condition the hands for gouging. Controlled competition is encouraged because it allows the practitioner the opportunity to use techniques at full speed, to get used to the physical demands of combat, and to simulate the stress and uncertainty of real conflicts. And, while adaptable for the ring, bandô's fighting tactics are based in the concept of a life-and-death struggle. Therefore, a traditional curriculum includes various aggressive techniques typically banned from sport.

Mental hardness is created through a philosophy that encourages the acceptance of death. The process of accepting and embracing the worst is said to lead to liberation from fear and to the willingness to fight for total victory.

Toward this end, students are taught from the beginning that there is no substitute for physical fitness. They are further instructed that movement through or around threats and attacks is almost always the safest strategy. As a consequence, mobility skills (stepping, slipping, dodging, and rolling) are primary tactics. Blocking, parrying, and breaking are practiced as methods of defense. Offensive methods include a variety of striking and grappling methods.

Banshay, the Burmese term used to describe armed methods, is an integral element of thaing. Handheld traditional Burmese weaponry includes a variety of wooden and bamboo armaments. Examples include a small, pocket-sized stick held in a closed hand with a portion either jutting from the underside or top of the fist, short and midsized batons (*dhot*), walking staffs, clubs, spears, and shields. Also utilized are hosts of edged weapons, including knives, machetes (including the *kukri,* with its angled, curving, forward-weighted blade), swords (*dha,* whose blades vary from thick, Malay-style blades to sleeker versions similar to those used by other Southeast Asians), battle-axes, and fighting spears.

Projectile weapons such as the bow and crossbow also play a role. For example in the *Glass Palace Chronicle,* a Prince Sawhti, who was trained in archery by a hermit bow master, rescues the kingdom of Pagan from four giant monsters (a bird, a boar, a tiger, and a squirrel) by means of his skills as an archer.

Ropes, chains, belts, whips, shoes, and clothes also are included in the banshay arsenal.

Lethwei is the Burmese boxing system. Its repertoire includes all manner of unarmed techniques, and practitioners claim that it is a more complete system than the similar Muay Thai. Weapons include elbow and fist strikes; foot, leg, and knee blows; head-butts; and trips, sweeps, throws, and ground strikes.

Although Muay Thai converted to boxing gloves during the 1930s, hand wraps continue to be used in lethwei. Tradition plays a role in this. For example, among the Kachin the fighters' hands are traditionally bound in hemp cloth wraps used to wrap deceased relatives.

Lethwei contests are often associated with festivals and generally are accompanied by music. Matches are decided by a competitor's being knocked out or submitting, or by the referee stopping the match. The rules have remained very much the same since the eighteenth century.

Suppressed during British rule, lethwei experienced a renaissance in the 1990s. Not simply a sport, lethwei has practical defense applications and is used to develop a foundation for thaing.

Naban is the Burmese grappling system. It utilizes palm and foot strikes along with grappling techniques (including joint locks, pressure points, and chokes) to control and thus render an adversary unable to continue fighting. Commentators have characterized naban as practical in its tactics and strategies because it stresses compliance and eventual submission. Attacks are allowed to any part of the body, and there are no illegal targets in naban.

Thaing contests traditionally allow any strike or submission technique, with the exception of biting (this was probably because of the rate of death due to infection from bites), and matches have ended in death or disability.

Contemporary Developments

Two traditional styles of thaing survive in Myanmar—the Karen "School of Seven Arts" and the Mon "School of Nine Arts." With government approval, tournaments and exhibitions have been held regularly since the 1990s. National student sports festivals, along with European and Asian imports such as boxing, karate, and taekwondo, regularly include thaing, with both men's and women's divisions. Information on the nature of these competitions is not readily available, but it is likely that the style is based in the eclectic NBA system.

In addition, lethwei was resurrected in Yangon (Rangoon) in the 1970s. Described as a "vicious combination of wrestling, boxing, jûdô, karate and gymnastics with its most deadly technique being the high kick" ("Burmese Boxing . . ."), its matches are nonetheless accompanied by music. Therefore these events probably resemble Muay Thai matches, without the formalities of rounds or weight classes.

Outside Myanmar, thaing is represented by two styles: the eclectic American Bandô Association and the Kachin style.

The American Bandô Association (ABA) system, founded and currently headed by Dr. U Maung Gyi, incorporates not only traditional thaing, but also a range of Asian and Western combat systems. This eclecticism, of course, characterized the NBA, parent system of the ABA, as well.

In keeping with the general practice, the NBA/ABA animal systems incorporate both striking and grappling techniques. In this style, the animal forms are said to teach the psychological (rather than exclusively the physical) attitudes of the animal after which the system is named.

The following animals with their characteristics represent the NBA/ABA style.

Name of Form	*Characteristics*
1. Boar	courage, rushing, elbowing, kneeing, butting
2. Bull	charging, tackling, power striking
3. Cobra	attacking upper vital points
4. Deer	alertness
5. Eagle	double-hand blocking and striking
6. Monkey	agility, confidence
7. Paddy Bird	rapid flight
8. Panther	circling, leaping, tearing
9. Python	crushing, strangling, gripping
10. Scorpion	pinching and seizing nerve centers
11. Tiger	clawing, ripping
12. Viper	attacking lower vital points

(Draeger and Smith 1981, 157–158)

Unlike the NBA/ABA style, the Kachin style, currently headed by Phil Dunlap (inherited through his grandfather, William O'Shaunessy) has not consciously sought to incorporate nonindigenous elements into its curriculum. At least initially, the relative purity of the style was because of the isolation of the Kachin (also known as the Jinghpaw) territory. Moreover, the Jinghpaw intensified this separation by actively refusing to accept outside domination throughout the British colonial period and into the present. Due to decades of rebellion and drug wars (the rebellions are financed in part by opium sales), the current state of Kachin martial arts is unknown.

Nevertheless, the Kachin style is best understood from the perspective of the traditional Jinghpaw worldview, which includes their animistic religion. For example, the Kachin preservation of sixteen animal systems (as compared to the twelve cited by Draeger and Smith and the nine commonly taught by the NBA/ABA) is likely due to this animism.

Kachin animal systems embody both the physical and mental attributes of the animal described. Systems are further tied into human attributes as well, because it is believed that a fighting method must fit the individual's nature rather than force the individual to conform to the system. As an example, the Bull system with its "charging, tackling, [and] power striking" is for a big, strong, aggressive person who likes to deliver punishment to an opponent and does not mind receiving punishment in return. In a confrontation, the Bull will attempt, as far as possible, to remain at a distance from an opponent until the opportunity to deliver a devastating attack arises. The Boar is a smaller, quicker version of the Bull, for someone who attempts to get inside and work from clinching range. Lethwei is therefore said to be a combination of the Bull and Boar sets. Nevertheless, neither Bull nor Boar is simply a form of stand-up striking; they incorporate ground fighting as well. However, the ground fighting in these sets seeks less to grapple than to pin the enemy to the ground to be struck at will. Thus, during a takedown, body weight drives through the opponent's legs and torso along with twisting and lifting slams.

In contrast, there are several Snake systems that are very supple, quick, and relaxed. For example, the Python subset is mostly grappling. Here the purpose of strikes is to stun so that the opponent can be taken to the ground for the finishing techniques. Python takedowns rely primarily on imposing one's body weight on an opponent.

The Kachin style also includes a Monk system, which utilizes internal martial methods. Given the *qigong* practice reported in the histories of related groups such as the Miao, a Chinese heritage for this system is a tempting hypothesis. Practitioners, however, with backgrounds in yoga, *xingyiquan* (*hsing i ch'uan*), acupuncture, and qigong contend that the Monk system demonstrates more affinity to Indian yoga than to the Chinese internal arts.

Each method ("animal") is a martial art in its own right, with its own techniques, specific exercises, and weapons. Before specializing, the practitioner trains for about five years in lethwei. Upon completion of this period, the student then trains in an animal system for the rest of his career.

Each animal, however, is part of a much greater whole. Nonfamily members learn an individual animal, but the family of the lineage holder learns an overall system that teaches the underlying concepts of each system. This makes it possible to exploit weaknesses inherent in a given animal or to fuse the combat techniques of the various subsets, ensuring that the family line of the lineage holder will be able to defeat all others in the group.

Summary

Via bandô, thaing has had an impact on martial arts in North America and Europe. It is (at least as conceived by contemporary Western society) a mixed

martial art. As a result, its methods adapt well to self-defense applications (civilian, military, and law enforcement) and the no-holds-barred circuit.

Phil Dunlap

See also Muay Thai; Southeast Asia

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Thang-Ta

Thang-ta (Meiteilon; sword-spear) is the popular Manipuri name for a set of armed and unarmed fighting techniques developed by the Meitei people of the state of Manipur, India. The formal name for this martial system is *Huyen Lallong* (Meiteilon; art of warfare).

Bordered on the east by Myanmar (Burma), the state of Manipur (total area: 8,456 square miles) in northeastern India consists geographically of an oval valley of about 700 square miles surrounded by densely forested mountain ranges. Each of the various communities residing in the valley possesses its own distinct religious practices. The Meiteis have long been

the principal inhabitants of this valley. Their history is characterized not only by interclan and intertribal warfare and conflicts with Myanmar, Assam, and other neighboring kingdoms but also by long periods of stable government. Thang-ta, with its long and energetic practice sessions, allowed Meitei warriors to hone their combat skills in times of peace as well as war.

The story of the origins of thang-ta is embedded in the religious mythology of the Meitei community. In the mythology of the Meitei, the limbs and bones of the community's progenitor, Tin sidaba (also called Pakhangba), are said to have turned into various swords and tools, some of which are used in thang-ta; others are used in certain rites. Tin sidaba's ribs turned into the *thangjao* (broad sword) for instance, while one of his fingers became the heijrang (kitchen knife). Even today, each of the seven clans of the Meitei owns a distinctively shaped traditional sword that must be laid out during any event of ancestor worship. Leishemlon, the story of creation in Meitei mythology, records Pakhangba as the originator of thang-ta.

During the reign of King Khagemba between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries A.D., thang-ta reached its zenith. *Chainarol,* a manuscript written in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries that contains glimpses of the prevailing war customs, suggests that warriors were expected to adhere to a strict code of conduct. For instance, when an unarmed man was challenged, he had the right to fetch weapons and to fix the date for the fight. During the fight, when blood oozed from a scratch or wound on any part of a combatant's body, that combatant was declared the loser. Afterward, the combatants shared food and wine supplied by their wives. Then, the victor cut off the loser's head and, if the loser had requested this service, cremated the loser's body. Heads usually were preserved by victors as trophies of prowess.

Manipur, after losing the Anglo-Manipuri War, was annexed to the British Empire in 1891. In recognition of the heroism and skill of the Manipuri army, which was ably led by Major General Paona Brjabasi, the British immediately made it illegal for a citizen of Manipur to possess a weapon and outlawed the martial arts of Manipur, including thang-ta. Thang-ta went underground and was kept alive by only a few expert practitioners. After India gained independence in 1947 (Manipur became a territory of the Indian Union in 1949 and a constituent state in 1972), thang-ta slowly reemerged. Considerable controversy surrounds modern differences in thang-ta techniques taught by the various gurus (teachers); these differences may be attributable to the long suppression of this martial art by the British colonial power.

Today, thang-ta is popular in Manipur both as a martial art form and

Advanced acrobatic and sword skills are required in thang-ta, as is demonstrated by this photograph of two men in Manipur, ca. 1994. (Lindsay Hebberd/Corbis)

as a technique used in theater and dance. Therefore, it receives support from the state and has gained widespread popularity. Across Manipur a number of martial arts academies train men and women in thang-ta, and many dance and theater schools include thang-ta among their course offerings. The performance of thang-ta techniques, as in the solo decorative sword dance or a choreographed thang-ta duel on the stage, has become common in Manipur. In fact, the professional Manipuri dancer is quite likely to have taken a few thang-ta workshops, and well-known Indian choreographers such as Astaad Deboo and others have collaborated extensively with thang-ta artists.

The traditional repertoire of thang-ta is divided into four broad categories. These categories are *Ta-khousarol* (art of spear dance), *Thanghairol* (art of swordplay), *Sarit-sarat* (unarmed combat), and *Thengkourol* (art of touch and call).

Ta-khousarol consists of nine extremely demanding and sophisticated movement sequences: *Maram Nungshetpa, Maram Achouba, Maram Macha, Tangkhul, Athou Achouba, Thel, Maram Nungjrongba, Kabui, Athou Chumthang*. Each involves a series of moves executed in a specific order—salutation, removing stakes, watching the foe, battle, and so forth. The martial artist holds the *ta* (spear) in the right hand and the *chungoi* (shield)

in the left. The spear is made of bamboo, approximately 5 feet or more in length, with a blade attached on both sides. The spears used in present times are decorated with colored thread. The chungoi measures about 3 feet in length and 1 1/2 feet in breadth. It is usually black in color, with a motif painted on top.

Today, the spear dance is a popular solo performance piece for the expert martial artist, and Ta-khousarol techniques are used widely by drama directors and dance choreographers in Manipur.

Thanghairol encompasses two kinds of swordplay: *Leiteng-thang* (decorative swordplay) and *Yanna-thang* (combat swordplay). The expert swordsman carries a chungoi (shield) and three swords, namely, a *yet-thang* (right-hand sword), an *oi-thang* (left-hand sword), and a *tendon-thang* (additional sword); this last is kept at the back and used like an arrow in an emergency. In Leiteng-thang, the swordsman moves either two swords or one sword and the shield gracefully in a show of valor and virtuosity. A typical technique involves twirling two swords around the swordsman's body so that they trace the path of a figure eight without ever touching one other. In Yanna-thang the swordsman learns to master the various units of *Thanglon* (language of the sword), which include bladework and the accompanying footwork, so that the swordsman can defend against all modes of attack and counterattack. The thang is about 2 feet long, straight or slightly curved, with a handle made of brass and wood. In contemporary Manipur, Thanghairol is taught in martial arts academies and also seen frequently in theatrical productions.

Sarit-sarat consists of a series of techniques that must be mastered by every student. The training begins with different types of somersaults and various methods for rolling on the floor and later continues to include strategies of offense and defense without the use of weapons. This tradition focuses on using movements such as punching and kicking in strategic ways in order to deal with sudden attacks of any kind. It also includes unarmed fighting techniques for fighting an armed opponent. In stage performances of thang-ta, a popular theatrical piece is one showing a woman who defends herself against a male attacker by using the self-defense techniques of Sarit-sarat.

Thengkourol involves ritualistic movements that must be executed in sequence on the symbolic diagram of the *paphal* (coiled snake). The martial artist's movements form patterns by connecting the points of the diagram with the feet. Rather than being a system of techniques used for direct combat with another human being or an animal, Thengkourol functions as a magical practice in which the prayer along with the mode of action performed brings about the desired effect on the enemy or the kingdom. The knowledge of Thengkourol is highly valued by the community,

and those warriors who possess this knowledge are believed to possess the ultimate knowledge of the art of warfare.

Very little information is available about Thengkourol. It is a sacred art, the knowledge of which is preserved in secrecy. It is never performed in public. Currently, only a handful of martial artists claim to know Thengkourol.

Although gurus sometimes disagree about the details of a *Thengkou* (one of the forms of the art), they concur on the overall idea. There are nine Thengkou: *Akao, Leiphal, Leichai, Nongphan, Leikak, Leinet, Lankak, Akham, Leishit*.

The records of Manipur document occasions on which a series of Thengkou were performed to bring victory. For example, during the reign of King Garibniwaz, in the first half of the eighteenth century, Sarot haiba Toglen Wangkheirakpa, a noble, performed Akham Thengkou. Pandit Gopiram performed the Akham Thengkou during the reign of Rajarshi Bhagyachandra in the second half of the eighteenth century. The revered stories of these occasions have lived for generations in people's memories.

A student must be both the trusted disciple of a guru and over the age of forty before learning Thengkourol because it can bring destruction to others or even kill the performer. These strictures are meant to ensure that the martial artist has enough maturity and discretion to avoid misusing this mystical and dangerous sacred art.

The system of training in thang-ta is strict and bound by tradition. Training begins with the initiation ceremony, Ojha Boriba (teacher acceptance). On the auspicious day selected for the ceremony, the training ground is cleaned and candles are lit in front of the picture of the Pakhangba, the originator and ruling deity of thang-ta. The student is asked to meditate in front of Pakhangba and then to bow down and offer the teacher a gift of fruit, cloth (usually a *khudoi,* a locally woven garment worn by men at home), betel leaves, betel nuts, candles, and a token remuneration (usually one Indian rupee). The teacher accepts the gift and the student as a disciple, and that day the student officially starts training with the teacher. There are strict codes of conduct in the institutions. The following represent the disciplinary regulations of Hula Sindamsang, a school of thang-ta located in Imphal, Manipur.

1. The student must enter barefoot into the *sindamsang* (school) or the home of the teacher.
2. The student must bow in greeting to the teacher and elders who are already present.
3. The training floor must be well groomed and sprinkled with water before and after each training session.
4. Pregnant or menstruating women are not allowed on the training floor.

5. Before each training session, the student must bow to Pakhangba with reverence.
6. Before each training session, the student must bow to the partner and salute the partner with the weapon wielded by the student.
7. Before picking up a weapon (whether a sword, spear, shield, or stick), the student must touch it with the fingers and then touch the fingers to the forehead, thus acknowledging the sanctity of the weapon.
8. The student's feet must never touch the student's weapon or the partner's weapon.
9. If any person comes between practicing partners, all practice must be stopped for the day.
10. All students must stand still when receiving the instructions from the teacher.
11. No student shall come to the school intoxicated. Chewing of betel and smoking are not allowed in the sindamsang or in the presence of the teacher.
12. At the end of a training session, the student must bow again to the teacher.

Such regulations ensure that students learn in a disciplined and controlled environment, an important factor given that the slightest lapse in concentration may result in injury or even death. Students learn and execute a rigorous practice routine of different sets of exercises, after having mastered basic exercises that develop balance, flexibility, agility, endurance, and coordination. Beginning students practice with sticks of different sizes. Training in the use of various swords, the shield, and the spear follows once the student is proficient enough to use actual weapons.

Thang-ta provided the basis for two other movement traditions of Manipur: the classical Manipuri dance and the performance techniques of the ensembles of drum dancers and cymbal dancers and singers known as Nata Sankirtana. The decorative, nonnarrative hand gestures and the footwork of Manipuri dance are said to derive from thang-ta. Also, the basic stances of the drum dance and the cymbal dance have been influenced by this martial art.

The ever-present threat of invasion by the warriors of Myanmar and other kingdoms fostered in Manipur a strong martial tradition, which gave impetus to a vibrant physical culture as well. Among the ancient indigenous sports of Manipur are *Sagol Kangjei* (polo, which the British learned in Manipur), *Khong Kangjei* (a type of field hockey), *Yubi Lakpi* (coconut snatching, similar to rugby), *Mukna* (a style of wrestling), and *Kang* (a team sport played indoors only between mid-April and June).

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See also India; Meditation; Performing Arts; Religion and Spiritual Development: India

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Training Area

A training area is a system-specific context in which training in a martial art takes place. The locations considered appropriate for training vary widely across the world's martial traditions. The choices made may arise from traditional medical beliefs. For example, the masters of some Chinese systems recommend morning practice outdoors in order to promote health.

In other instances, historical and political contexts dictated hiding the practice of martial skills from the politically dominant behind closed doors or in secluded areas; it was for that reason that, according to oral tradition, Brazilian *capoeira* was practiced in slave quarters or in the bush and was disguised as dance. In India, the ethical concerns of the Northern Kalarippayattu gurus who do not want the dangerous art misused confine teaching to an indoor area at night.

Buildings designated as appropriate locations for martial art instruction are common in both European (e.g., the *salles de fence* [French; fencing halls] of the Renaissance sword master) and Asian (e.g., the g*uan* of some Chinese boxing teachers) arts. In some traditions, such as the Japanese or Korean, a building (referred to in Japanese as a dôjô and in Korean as a *dojang*) whose use is restricted specifically to activities associated with martial arts teaching, practice, testing, or exhibition serves as the location for training. On the other hand, although the location for the instruction in and practice of the Indian martial art of Northern Kalarippayattu is also a building, the *kalari* (Tamil; battleground), this building also may be utilized by the martial arts master as the clinic in which traditional medicine is practiced.

Outdoor areas such as pits or even the shaded area behind the house of a guru are employed as training quarters in the Southern Kalarippayattu system of India, as in some other arts. In yet other arts, the notion of a training area is even more informal. For example, particular parks may provide the training grounds for some of the Chinese arts (e.g., *taijiquan* [tai chi ch'uan]) in order to allow practitioners to obtain the benefits of fresh air while going through forms, but this is a matter of customary practice rather than the consecration of the site, as is the case with the Japanese or Okinawan dôjô, for instance. In the traditional street capoeira of Brazil, certain public areas (most notably the plaza of the Roman Catholic Church of Senhor do Bonfim in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil) became traditional areas for practice, although these locations were used for a range of other social interactions, as well.

Although this is not universally the case, it is common cross-culturally to make of the training location something in the nature of sacred space, if only temporarily. The space commonly is marked by special behaviors on entering the area. Students bow or perform similar ritual acts when entering. Behavior in the Japanese dôjô (place for studying the way [dô]) represents the height of formality in this regard. Not only is the building itself entered with such special behaviors, but also an area of even higher intensity is created within the building itself. In a traditional dôjô, a *kamidana* (altar to the spirits) will be found in the front of the room. Photographs of founders of the system, master instructors, or legendary figures are clustered

Practitioners of kendô, the Japanese Way of the Sword, practice their moves with bamboo swords in a dôjô in Japan, ca. 1920. (Michael Maslan Historic Photographs/Corbis)

on the front wall—along with national flags in many contemporary training halls. Hierarchy is signaled by positioning within the dôjô. The higher ranks line up facing the front of the training hall, with lower-ranking students lined up behind them; teachers stand at the front of the room facing students. The dôjô and the behaviors appropriate to it set the model for many other contemporary Asian martial arts and those non-Asian systems influenced by them.

In south India, a dynamic relationship is believed to exist between the students of kalarippayattu and their training hall, in that the building is analogous to a human body, while the students are the body's animating spirit. One cannot exist without the other. Even abandoned training halls do not lose their sanctity. In ancient times, Howard Reid and Michael Croucher report that landowners commonly owned private kalaris. If the training buildings fell into disuse, rather than destroying them, owners had them converted into temples. Rituals such as lighting a sacred lamp every day marked the abandoned kalari as sacred space.

Again, even in those systems lacking formal buildings for the practice of their disciplines, the symbolic use of space is obvious. Even in Southern Kalarippayattu, where outdoor areas rather than buildings are utilized, students of this art, like their northern counterparts, ritually honor deities as-

sociated with the kalari, and particularly Kali (the Hindu martial goddess), before they begin training. In capoeira, the *roda,* the circle of play formed by capoeiristas awaiting their opportunities to enter, is essentially created by the *berimbau* (the musical instrument used to accompany the *jôgo*—the martial contest of the art). The position in the roda occupied by the berimbau and by the *mestre* (teacher) constitutes a high-intensity area analogous to those noted in the Japanese dôjô. The *pe do berimbau* (foot of the berimbau) denotes the opening (the "door," as conceived in this tradition) through which one must enter to play. This door should be approached in a crouch from the outside of the ring. To enter, players kneel, perform ritual gestures (perhaps making the sign of the cross familiar in Roman Catholicism), and enter the roda with an acrobatic flourish (e.g., a cartwheel) before beginning the jôgo. The phenomenon of creating a sacred space without resorting to physical structures suggests that the training areas of traditional martial arts are more properly regarded as conceptual rather than physical.

The martial tradition of framing training and contesting areas as sacred space, while not universal, is widely spread and tenacious. There is a reminder of this custom even in specifically nontraditional combat systems in the formalities that precede bouts.

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See also Koryû Bugei, Japanese; Religion and Spiritual Development: Ancient Mediterranean and Medieval West; Religion and Spiritual Development: China; Religion and Spiritual Development: India; Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan

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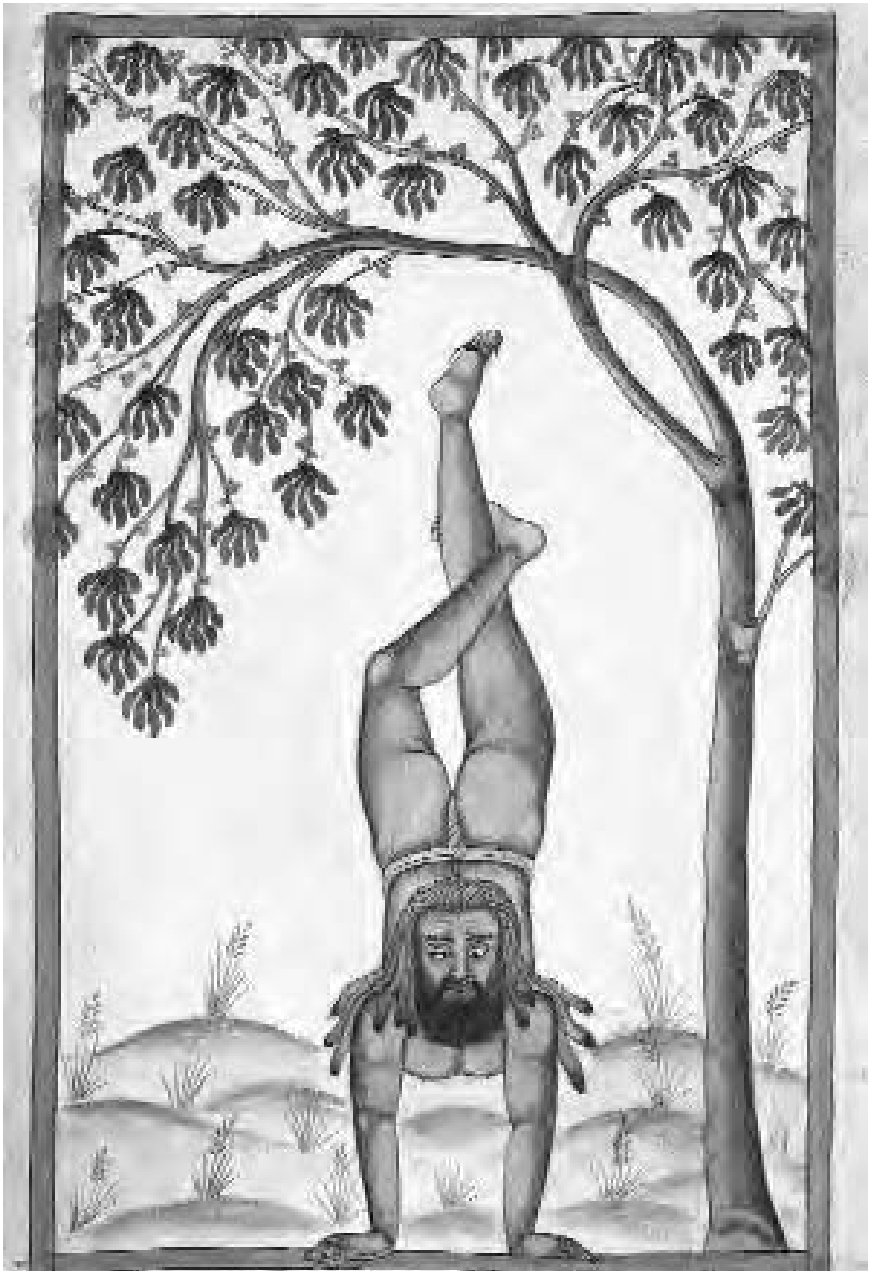
V

Varma Ati

Tamil term literally translated as "hitting the vital spots." Also known as *ati murai* (the law of hitting/attacking) and *ati tata* (hit/defend), as well as *chinna ati* (Chinese hitting), varma ati is the martial system practiced in the South Travancore region of Kerala and Kanyakumari District, southern Tamil Nadu, India. Traditionally the art is practiced by some Sambavars and, primarily, by Nadars who claim an ancient heritage as warriors; its origins are ascribed to the sage Agasthya in antiquity. Practice typically takes place in the open, or in unroofed enclosures made of palm leaves. Masters are known as *asans*. As implied in its various names, practice and fighting techniques emphasize empty-hand techniques from the first lesson, and initial steps are immediately combined with attacks and defenses aimed at the body's vital spots (*varmam* in Tamil; *marmam* in Malayalam). Some practitioners include fighting with sticks, especially long-staff. At some point, practitioners also began to take up the use of a variety of weapons—a privilege that at one time might have been the exclusive privilege of Nayars in at least some areas where varma ati was practiced. Asans also traditionally administer massage and physical therapies and set bones, as part of the Dravidian Siddha medical system. Numerous old Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts exist that identify the location, effects of injury, and treatment of the vital spots.

Since the area where varma ati is practiced is one of the main border regions where Tamil and Malayali cultures and languages overlap, it is likely that the varma ati practiced by Nadars and Sambavars was closely related to the styles of kalarippayattu practiced by Nayars in the old Travancore region. Although there are many differences in the systems, it is likely that certain techniques and paradigms of practice were shared. During the past thirty years the mixing of styles and techniques between varma ati and kalarippayattu has increased in direct proportion to mobility. With the founding of the Kerala Kalarippayat (sic) Association in 1958, varma ati came to be known as "southern style" kalarippayattu so that it could



As one practitioner explained, knowledge of the vital spots is revealed "like a meditation," since only a practicing Siddha yogi can intuitively unlock the secrets of a text and apply them in locating, attacking, and/or healing the vital spots. Here, a yogi assumes an asana *(posture) designed to create power for supernormal abilities such as those used in varma ati. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./ Corbis)*

be officially recognized by the Kerala State Sports Council. Although it is in the same association as kalarippayattu, varma ati techniques, rules, competition items, places of training, and so on were recognized as distinct and separate from those of kalarippayattu.

The practice of varma ati involves no preliminary physical training, as does kalarippayattu. Rather, students are immediately initiated into vigorous sets of methods of attack and defense, which can be used directly for self-defense or with a variety of weapons. The basic steps and body movements learned for self-defense are the basis for manipulation of all weapons

in this system. There are three sets of basic techniques in varma ati: *otta cuvatu, kuttu cuvatu,* and *watta cuvatu*. What characterizes all these basic techniques is the emphasis not only on lower body control, but on attacks on and defenses of the vital spots with the hands, arms, and elbows.

Training begins with "salutation steps" (*vandana cuvatu*), a salutation to the four directions with one leg, usually the left, in a stationary position, that ends with salutations to the master. Second in the system are otta cuvatu (single foot steps). Some masters draw a *kalam* (floor drawing) of five circles on the floor within which the basic steps are taken. One foot, usually the left, remains stationary while the other foot moves in all four directions to defend and/or counterattack from the four basic directions. Included are a variety of kicks, blocks, hits, and evasive moves. Such techniques are especially important for empty-hand fighting, since it is assumed to be better *not* to enter directly into a counterattack, but to wait until one first determines whether the opponent has a weapon or not. By keeping one foot fixed in place, the practitioner can first block or evade, and only then attempt to enter for attack. Most masters teach twelve basic otta cuvatu sequences, which form the preliminary body training of the student.

Vatta cuvatu are techniques performed with the same basic pattern as otta cuvatu, except for different steps. Here the practitioner can directly enter into a counterattack. Practitioners vary from six to twelve in the number of sequences they practice. Kutta cuvatu are combination steps that build in complexity of forms. Multiple steps with both feet are taken. These also include a variety of kicks, blocks, attacks, and evasive moves, and especially emphasized are complex combinations of defenses with attacks to the body's vital spots.

Practice of varma ati clearly centers on the vital spots—those vital places in the body where the life force, in the form of the internal breath or wind, is situated and therefore is vulnerable to attack. The numerous Tamil texts recording knowledge of the vital spots are based on verses that were originally transmitted orally and taught verse by verse as part of an esoteric, mystical, secretive knowledge within the Tamil Siddha tradition, since only someone who had attained accomplishment as a Siddha yogi could be considered a master of the vital spots. In keeping with the commonplace Tamil expression, "Without knowing myself first, I cannot know about others," the poet who authored one traditional text explicitly states, "Only by practicing the five stages (of yoga) in the six locations of the subtle body will you get a clear understanding of the 108 vital spots." Tirumular's classic definition of a Siddha is implicit in this practice—"Those who live in yoga and see the divine light (oli) and power (cakti) through yoga are the cittar" (Zvelebil 1973, 225). As one practitioner explained, knowledge of the vital spots is revealed "like a meditation," since only a practicing Siddha yogi

can intuitively unlock the secrets of a text and apply them in locating, attacking, and/or healing the vital spots (personal communication).

Varma ati practitioners usually agree that 108 is the actual number of vital spots first identified by the sage Agasthya. Unlike the 107 vital spots identified in Susruta's medical treatise as the total number of spots identified by forty-three names, 108 is actually the number of names of the vital spots in this tradition. Since some names identify single spots, and others are double, the number of vital spots may total more than 200. In the varma ati tradition, of the 108 spots, 96 are classified as minor spots (*thodu varmam*) and 12 as the major deadly vital spots (*padu varmam*). These most deadly spots are those that, when penetrated enough, cause instant death. The more numerous minor spots are not as dangerous when penetrated, but penetration does cause pain and incapacitation.

Varma ati techniques include a variety of methods of attacking the vital spots with the hands, fingers, elbows, and similar natural weapons. Some masters even provide esoteric explanations of the potentially deadly significance of each part of the hand: "The thumb is the mother finger of the hand. The right index finger is the guru. The second [middle] finger is Saturn, god of death. The third finger is directly connected to the heart, and the fourth is for tantric practice. . . . When you want to kill an opponent use the second finger of death. If you only want to incapacitate your opponent use Saturn supported by the guru finger so that you only penetrate halfway" (personal communication).

When a vital spot is penetrated, the internal wind, or vital energy, is understood to be stopped. As in kalarippayattu, emergency revival techniques for penetration or injury to a vital spot exist, functioning as counterapplications; however, the main revival technique in this system makes use of one of twelve to sixteen *adangal*—methods of massage and stimulating the revival spots. Since all the vital spots are understood to be connected through the internal channels (*nadi*) of the subtle-body to these twelve (or sixteen) revival spots, stimulating the appropriate vital spot through application to an adangal, according to one traditional text (*Varma ati Morivu Cara Cuttiram*), "straightens the channel" so that the internal wind moves freely again, and "brings [the injured] back to consciousness" (unpublished manuscript).

In the popular imagination, especially in the Kanyakumari region of the south, a martial master's powers of attack and revival using the vital spots can appear miraculous. Stories and lore abound. An account of the life of Chattambi Swamigal, the great scholar-saint of southern Kerala (1853–1924), records how this great holy man was known as a master of many traditional arts—wrestling, healing, yoga, and the "art" of the vital spots. The following narrative illustrates his reputation.

> One day [Chattambi Swamigal] was on his way from Kollur to Alwaye with two disciples. When he had reached the spot in front of the church at Edappali, his progress was interrupted by a band of young men who were drunk. Asking his companions to hold him by the back, he held his stick horizontally in front of him and with bated breath he bounced forward. Those who felt the touch of the stick fell to the ground. Thus he continued his journey without difficulty. It was only the next day on his way back, after he had administered the counter stroke that the ruffians were able to get up and move away. (Menon 1967, 134)

The knowledge of the vital spots remains a highly secretive, as well as controversial, subject among contemporary practitioners of both varma ati and kalarippayattu.

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See also India; Kalarippayattu; Religion and Spiritual Development: India; Written Texts: India

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Vovinam/Viet Vo Dao

Vovinam (later renamed *Viet Vo Dao*) is a Vietnamese martial arts system that was founded by Nguyen Loc (1912–1960) in the late 1930s. The sys-

tem was developed with the practical intent of both providing, after a short period of study, an efficient means of self-defense and establishing an ideological basis for national identity and patriotism among the beleaguered Vietnamese people.

Nguyen was born in 1912 in Huu Bang village in northern Vietnam. Tradition maintains that when his family moved to Hanoi during his early childhood, Nguyen's father placed him under the tutelage of an "old master" who instructed the boy in martial arts, both for the boy's health and for self-defense purposes. The nature of the curriculum apparently has not been preserved, but oral history specifies "wrestling" as well as other martial techniques. The martial styles Nguyen studied at this period have been labeled traditional, but the martial and cultural tradition remains unknown.

From 1859 to 1954, Vietnam was under French rule. During his youth in the early 1900s, founder Nguyen Loc was profoundly influenced by the inequities French colonial rule imposed on his people. Turning to his early training, he concluded that the martial arts could provide a vehicle for freeing Vietnam from outside domination by training both the spirits and bodies of the Vietnamese people. Thus, after researching and practicing many different martial arts, at the age of 26 he added elements of traditional Chinese *wushu* (martial arts), Japanese jûdô and related wrestling systems, Japanese karate, and Korean *taekwondo* to his preexisting knowledge to create an early version of Vovinam. Therefore, Vovinam is best described as a modern eclectic system created out of practical necessity. Nguyen began teaching his new system to a group of friends in 1938 in the capital city of Hanoi.

In 1940, Nguyen and his disciples were invited to demonstrate Vovinam in the Great Theater of Hanoi. This exhibition led to an invitation by Dr. Dang Vu Hy, president of the Sport Friendship Association, to begin teaching the new art formally at Hanoi Ecole Normal (Hanoi University of Education). The slogans that arose within the system—"Vietnamese practice Vietnamese martial arts," "Not a Vovinam disciple, not a Vietnamese patriot"—reveal that Nguyen's goal of using his system to promote nationalism was attainable.

In fact, members of the Vovinam group led many of the demonstrations against the French during the early 1940s, including demonstrations at the University of Hanoi and the Ministry of Agriculture. At this point, Nguyen Loc's focus was political; he utilized Vovinam to further the cause of Vietnamese independence. Thus, he created techniques that were simple but practical. The training focused on endurance, speed, and strength. Vovinam instructors were sent to cities throughout the country to promote Vovinam, and most of the training sessions lasted about three months. Vo-

Two men practice the Vietnamese martial art of Viet Vo Dao at the Quan Thanh Temple in Hanoi, Vietnam. (Christophe Loviny/Corbis)

vinam's popularity is demonstrated by the fact that within the first few years of its public opening tens of thousands of Vietnamese students had participated in the training programs.

At this time, the impulse to overthrow foreign domination gained impetus across Vietnam. In 1940 and 1941, Communist-led revolts erupted in the south, while Tay tribesmen rebelled in the north. From July 1941 to August 1945 Japanese armies occupied Vietnam. Under the Nazi-controlled Vichy French administration, a puppet government maintained figurehead status until March 1945. In 1941, Ho Chi Minh founded the

Vietminh, a nationalist coalition who opposed both French and Japanese colonialism.

In 1942, fearing Vovinam's potential for resistance, the French puppet regime ordered the closing of all Vovinam schools and prohibited Nguyen Loc from teaching. However, he continued secretly teaching his students. Nguyen's program maintained a political orientation beyond simple moral and physical improvement.

At the end of World War II, the French were allowed to return to Vietnam in force. By 1946, Vietnam was officially at war with France. Vovinam was utilized in the training of military cadets and to train militias of remote villages. Nguyen Loc led his students to join the war effort, where many distinguished themselves in the field. However, a disagreement with the tactics of the Viet Minh led Nguyen Loc to sever his ties with them and urge his disciples to follow suit. In retaliation, the Viet Minh ordered the capture of Nguyen and placed him in the precarious position of being wanted by both the Viet Minh and the French. He responded by telling his disciples to return to their hometowns to wait for an opportunity. Taking his own advice, he returned to Huu Bang village. There, he helped organize and train local militia units in combative techniques. He also assigned instructors to the Military Academy of Tran Quoc Tuan.

In 1954, in Geneva, Switzerland, an armistice agreement between France and the Vietminh was signed that provided for the temporary partition of Vietnam at about the seventeenth parallel, with North Vietnam under control of the Communist Vietminh and South Vietnam under Nationalist control. Fearing the effects of Communism, Nguyen Loc had immigrated to South Vietnam during the early 1950s, opening a Vovinam school in Saigon and others subsequently. Within ten years, Vovinam became popular around Saigon and its provinces and was introduced into the curricula of the military and police academies. In fact, Vovinam became so popular that the Vovinam association refused to open new classes due to the lack of instructors.

In 1960, Nguyen Loc passed away at the age of 47 because of an illness. Before his death, his senior student, Le Sang, was appointed to lead and further advance Vovinam. After a series of clashes with both the South Vietnamese government and later the Republic of Vietnam, Le Sang was able to preserve the system created by Nguyen Loc and was instrumental in the development of its training curriculum and philosophy.

From its creation until several years following the founder's death, the system was called Vovinam. The name *Vovinam* is a blending of two words: *Vo* and *Vietnam*. In Vietnamese, *Vo* means "martial arts," and *Vo Vietnam* means "martial arts of Vietnam." Nguyen Loc shortened *Vietnam* to *vinam*. Hence, *Vo Vietnam* was combined to form *Vovinam*. Then in

1964, *Viet Vo Dao* was added to the name. *Viet Vo Dao* means "the philosophy of Vietnamese martial arts." Even though the system is called Vovinam-Viet Vo Dao, many Vietnamese still know the martial arts system simply as Vovinam.

Vovinam was not widely known throughout the world until after 1975, when South Vietnam fell to the Communist forces. As a result, many of the instructors fled from Communism and opened up schools abroad, which led to the dissemination of the art in the latter half of the 1970s.

Unlike the traditional forms of many Chinese combatives, Nguyen Loc originated techniques that are simple and practical. Thus, the forms are readily understandable by any student and can be used immediately. There are no ambiguities or hidden techniques in the forms. The forms are built on exercises that students learn before the forms are actually taught. The students are taught ten exercises that teach specific attack or defense techniques for that rank level. For example, the following comprises one of the basic combination exercises:

1. Step forward with the left foot into a lunging stance. Execute an inward to outward horizontal strike to the opponent's neck with the bottom edge of the left hand. Punch with the right fist to solar plexus. Execute a left open-hand parry to the right shoulder.
2. Step forward with right foot into a lunging stance. Execute an outward to inward elbow strike 45 degrees downward. Execute a left open-hand slap to the right elbow.

Once the students understand the movements of the exercises, they are then taught the forms that combine those ten exercises. Overall, the movements are very practical and linear in nature, similar to karate. However, the movements incorporate more suppleness and relaxed movements than traditional karate.

As Vovinam began to grow in the early 1960s, it maintained its eclecticism, as the instructors combined other useful techniques from a variety of martial art systems. The one aspect that makes Vovinam stand apart from other systems is the special leg techniques. There are many high-flying kicks and scissors takedowns in which the practitioner uses both legs to grasp and trip the opponent. The "flying scissors" techniques are the most recognizable of the Vovinam tactics. Tradition holds that these maneuvers were developed in the thirteenth century as a means to allow Vietnamese foot soldiers to attack Mongol cavalrymen. The student begins by practicing leg techniques starting at the height of the leg. As the student advances, the level gets higher until the student reaches the neck and face. Many of these techniques are very dangerous, and thus the student must know how to control them. In addition, students must master falling and

rolling techniques in order to avoid getting injured during practice.

Vovinam employs a colored belt system to denote rank, with seventeen belts ascending from shades of blue for beginners to the white belt with blue, black, yellow, and red stripes for the grand master. As with many martial art systems, the colors of the belts carry symbolic significance. Blue represents the color of hope, which means that the disciple begins to enter in the life of a martial artist and to perceive the philosophy of martial arts. Black represents the color of water, which means that the understanding of martial arts and its philosophy has started to merge into the body, building a foundation for the character of the Vovinam disciple. Yellow represents the color of earth, which means that the martial arts and its philosophy have permanently become a part of the Vovinam disciple. Red represents the color of fire, which means that the martial arts and its philosophy develop into a torch that guides the path for the Vovinam's disciple. White represents the color of chastity, which means that the disciple's martial art and its philosophy have reached the absolute level, and the disciple has also become the figure of the martial arts discipline of Vovinam.

The major premise of Vovinam's philosophy is to strive for the betterment of the students, their families, and mankind. The main goals of Vovinam are as follows: to preserve and develop the martial arts of Vietnam, to improve Vovinam by research and creation of new techniques, and to train students in the strength, techniques, and philosophy of Vovinam. All the functions of Vovinam are based on an established foundation: "Take mankind as the end, take character as the goal, and take invincible will as the means."

Vovinam-Viet Vo Dao was founded as short-term physical training that was simple and practical as a tool for the Vietnamese people to use for their struggle for liberation from the French. As the system matured, a broader philosophy behind Vovinam was then implemented to become Viet Vo Dao. Grand Master Le Sang systematized Vovinam techniques to prepare the system to progress from Viet Vo Dao (Vietnamese Martial Arts) to *Nhan Vo Dao* (Martial Arts to Serve Mankind).

Prior to 1975, Vovinam was virtually unknown outside Vietnam. The first Vovinam school outside of Vietnam was opened in Houston, Texas, in 1976 following Vietnamese emigration to the United States after the fall of South Vietnam to the Communist forces in 1975. In 1980, a German school was opened. By 2000, the following countries had Vovinam schools: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Morocco, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States. Vovinam-Viet Vo Dao's current headquarters are located in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), Vietnam, and Le Sang remains the grand master of the system.

On August 25, 1999, the first woman was promoted to the rank of

senior master of Vovinam. Worldwide, the art gains popularity. With international recognition, Vovinam continues its expansion into the twenty-first century.

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See also Political Conflict and the Martial Arts; Southeast Asia

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Warrior Monks, Japanese/Sôhei

The sôhei (monk-warriors) have come to represent the immense secular power that Buddhist temples possessed in Japan more than anything else. Although the term itself does not appear in Japanese sources until A.D 1715 (imported from Korea), more than a century after armed monks and their followers had ceased to play any significant role, it has been used to denote a wide range of religious military forces in the pre-1600 era. Today, accounts of monks who engaged in warfare are muffled by and intertwined with literary and artistic representations, making it difficult to discern their origins, role, and changing character in Japanese history.

Taken in its broadest meaning, the sôhei may include not only armed monks but also various servants fighting in the name and under the protection of powerful Buddhist monasteries and affiliated shrines. As such, they appeared as early as the eighth century, when the imperial court sent out forces to combat "barbarians" in the eastern part of Japan. Young monks from central Japan reportedly aided the government troops, although it is unclear whether they actually carried any arms of their own. Chronicles and diaries subsequently indicate that there were sporadic incidents of violence involving monks and their followers in the ninth and early tenth centuries. It should be noted, however, that many of the instigators were not ordained monks but rather local strongmen, who used the cloak of monk robes to escape taxation and to appropriate land for themselves.

It is not until the late tenth century, amidst increasing competition for private estates and power in the capital region, that we find armed men regularly employed in the service of Buddhist temples. One of the earliest and most reliable documentary evidences dates to 970, when Head Abbot Ryôgen of the monastic complex of Enryakuji, located on Mt. Hiei just northeast of Kyoto, issued a set of rules, including prohibitions of carrying arms within the temple compound, in order to restrict the activities of rowdy elements of the clergy. Ryôgen's edicts notwithstanding, armed clerics became increasingly involved in disputes with governors and warrior retain-

ers of landholding nobles, and even in confrontations with other temples. But the resolution of conflicts by military means was not limited to religious institutions. The imperial family and nobles competing for positions at the imperial court, as well as Buddhist temples, relied more and more on warriors not only to protect and administer private estates but also in factional struggles in the capital. When the equilibrium between these factions broke down in the late twelfth century, armed forces from both the warrior class and influential religious institutions were involved in a five-year-long civil war, leading eventually to the establishment of Japan's first warrior government (the Kamakura *bakufu*) in 1185.

The new government was meant to complement the existing imperial court in Kyoto, and its main goals therefore were to preserve order and contain intrusions by the warrior class. However, local warriors continued to make headway by appropriating land and titles from temples, shrines, and the gradually weakening class of nobles in Kyoto. Yet, the most powerful monasteries managed on the whole to retain their independence and assets, owing in part to their armed forces. Indeed, they were so successful that, beginning around the turn of the fourteenth century, war chronicles afford warriors serving religious institutions a reputation for courage and martial skills that rivaled those of well-known samurai heroes. The best known example is Benkei—a giant of a monk who lived in the tumultuous late twelfth century—who symbolizes such characterizations in terms of strength, martial skills, wit, and unselfish loyalty. He is said to have won 999 duels in order to collect swords in Buddha's honor, before he was beaten by a young aristocratic warrior (Minamoto Yoshitsune), whom he later served loyally until their brave deaths in the face of a much superior force. Furthermore, according to the well-known war chronicle the *Heike Monogatari,* a furious and violent worker-monk named Jômyô Meishû balanced on a narrow bridge beam while successfully repelling hordes of warriors during the war of the 1180s. In an effort to convey the dual character of this monk, the tale describes how Jômyô calmly removed his armor following the battle and counted and treated his wounds before putting on his monk robe and retreating, piously chanting the name of Amida, the Buddhist savior.

Sponsored and appreciated mainly by members of the warrior class, these chronicles praise the heroics of such violent monks, while other works commissioned by capital nobles portray the religious forces of the major monasteries as a negative and disruptive influence on the imperial court. For example, fourteenth-century picture scrolls show groups of armed clerics participating in general monk assembly meetings in order to influence the temple community to stage protests in the capital, and various hagiographies glorifying the lives of founders of new, more populist

sects do not waste any opportunities to criticize the established temples for their secular influence. Regardless of such interpretive discrepancies, the most serious flaw of these accounts is their tendency to neglect the diverse character of the fighting clerics, who are consistently portrayed as a unified group of rebellious, yet well-dressed and easily identifiable, monk-warriors from the lower ranks. In reality, armed religious forces came from various sectors of society, bound together by the protective umbrella of important Buddhist monasteries.

At the very top, there were sons of high- and mid-ranking aristocrats who organized and headed the temple's armed followers in their capacity as aristocratic clerics. Although some of them were skilled warriors, they were above all educated nobles in monk robes, whose skills, training, and status made them indispensable in the management of private estates and the internal affairs of their temple. On occasion, these monk-leaders even took control of an entire monastery, as was the case with Shinjitsu (1086–?), who earned a reputation as "the number one evil military monk in Japan" for his attempts to increase his temple's influence in Nara and for his involvement in capital affairs in the mid-twelfth century. By the fourteenth century, imperial princes sought to become head abbots and take control of the forces and landed assets of wealthy monasteries in order to further the imperial cause against the increasingly influential warrior aristocracy. The role of these noble monk-commanders must therefore not be overlooked, for it was their ambitions and factional affiliations that made armed forces a permanent and important presence at the highest-ranking temples in the capital region of premodern Japan.

The bulk of the forces fighting in the name of Buddha came from various segments of the common population. Some of them were lower-ranking monks, as indicated by the contemporary terms used to refer to them—*akusô* (evil monks), *daishu* (literally, "clergy"—usually taken to represent the larger entity of people associated with a temple), and *shuto* (clergy)—which were used in opposition to the more educated and properly ordained ranking monks (often referred to as *sangô;* the monastic deans), but there were also acolytes and other followers under the protection of affiliated Shintô shrines. For example, we find two types of armed servants within the monastic complex of Kôfukuji in Nara. In the northern part of Yamato—the temple's home province—the armed followers belonged to the community of worker-monks, who were working as local estate administrators. In the south, the armed followers were local strongmen, referred to as "shrine servants" (*jinnin*), who closely resembled the local warrior in appearance, as they did not wear monk robes.

The armed forces of religious institutions thus had much in common with the emerging warrior class—indeed, many fighting monks are hard to

distinguish from the samurai—although the latter have enjoyed a much more favorable reputation than their religious counterparts. They were both a product of the larger trend of privatization of rulership and land that took place from the tenth and eleventh centuries on, satisfying the need for protection of private possessions for their patrons, who included imperial descendants and other nobles as well as the ranking temples. In fact, the akusô (evil monks) and the samurai have quite appropriately been described as a pair of twins that emerged from the sociopolitical developments of the Heian (792–1185) period. Oddly enough, whereas the samurai often are depicted as valiant and glorious heroes, the military men in monk outfits are still seen as villains.

Further evidence of the similarity between the samurai and the sôhei can be found in their general usage of weapons. Both carried swords for close encounters and were skilled with the bow and arrow as well. In addition, even though militarily inclined clerics might wear religious robes, it was not uncommon to find armor under the monk garments. Helmets also were used, as was the bandanna (*hachimaki*). However, contrary to their samurai counterparts, the belligerent monks remained primarily foot soldiers, becoming experts with the *naginata* (a kind of halberd, with a curved blade at the end of a long pole). Although the naginata earned a reputation in one-on-one combats, it was especially effective in combating mounted warriors, indicating that it was originally a preference of lower-ranking soldiers. Eventually, the naginata came to stand as one of the foremost symbolic weapons of armed monks, and a handful of temple-based martial art schools in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came to specialize in its usage. Another attire unique to the sôhei was a hood that many wore to conceal their identity, allowing lower-ranking monks to overcome hierarchical differences among the clergy. As a result, the religious forces came to be regarded as more unified than they actually were, especially since the hoods were frequently used to signify armed monks in chronicles and picture scrolls from the early fourteenth century.

The dual character of the religious forces disintegrated during the high point of the second warrior government, the Ashikaga bakufu, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, but the most influential temples continued to thrive and hold their own against the warrior class. Behind this survival, we find new nonaristocratic military leaders heading their own forces within the monasteries, reflecting the final elimination, in favor of military authority, of the ancient style of rulership based solely on social status. The new composition of the monastic communities thus mirrored developments in society in general, as warfare and violence reached new heights during the chaos of the Sengoku period (1467–1573). While temples that did not adjust to these circumstances were quickly absorbed by re-

gional warlords, those with sufficient forces, joined by religious strongholds in the countryside, participated actively in the wars to defend their assets. In addition, local warriors and peasants gathered under the banner of new populist sects, though rarely in monk robes, to fight in the name of the Buddhist savior to oppose oppressive rule by warrior leaders during this turmoil.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Japan was gradually pacified by a few powerful warlords who, interestingly, targeted the most powerful and independent monasteries first in their efforts to subdue the opponents to a centralized state. The attacks on and destruction of the last monastic strongholds of Enryakuji in 1571 and Negoroji in 1585 effectively signified the end of the religious forces, as Japan was subsequently restructured into a peaceful and pacified society with the establishment of the third warrior government, the Tokugawa bakufu. The sôhei were thus extinguished, although some temples continued to display the martial skills of the naginata for some time. More important, they remained a part of the cultural production of subsequent centuries, often blamed for the decline of the imperial government prior to 1600 by later scholars. Today, armed monks, without exception in their mythical form, still appear in popular culture both in Japan and the United States, be it in historical dramas or animated comic books.

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See also Folklore in the Martial Arts; Japan; Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan

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Wing Chun Ch'uan

See Yongchun/Wing Chun

Women in the Martial Arts: 479 B.C.–A.D. 1896

Martial arts do not exist in a vacuum and issues of gender and violence are never unambiguous. As Britain's Jennifer Hargreaves has written regarding women's boxing:

> Although strength and muscularity in boxing have symbolically been a source of physical capital for men, the diversity and complexity found in representations of the female body in boxing make it difficult to assess the extent to which the sport is a subversive activity for women or an essentially assimilative process with a radical facade. For now, female boxing remains riddled with contradictory cultural values. (1996, 131)

Therefore, beyond demonstrating female participation in martial activities such as boxing prior to the twentieth century, the following also attempts to place that behavior in cultural context. While the result may please neither moralists nor advocates of gender parity, that too is nothing more than a reminder of the contradictory nature of the study.

479 B.C. A Greek woman named Hydne becomes a Hellenic hero by helping her father Skyllis pull up the anchors of some Iranian ships during a storm, thus causing the ships to founder and their crews to drown. While most modern authorities suggest that Hydne and her father were probably sponge-fishers, it is possible that they were upper-class athletes whose training for Dionysian swimming meets had been interrupted by war. Two circumstances support this hypothesis: first, Hydne's and Skyllis's subsequent fame (Greek sponge-fishers rarely became Athenian heroes), and second, the paucity of detail and mass of conjecture surrounding the original sources.

About 460 B.C. The Greek historian Herodotus describes the practices and culture of some female warriors he called the Amazons. Who the Amazons were is not known, and in practice there were female warriors and

priestesses throughout the Mediterranean world. Also, stories about Amazon mastectomies are likely owed to Hellenistic stage tradition rather than actual practice: Hellenistic actors traditionally bared their right breasts to show that they were playing unmarried females.

396 B.C. A Spartan princess named Kyniska becomes the first woman to win the chariot-racing events at Olympia. While Plutarch wrote that Kyniska personally drove the winning chariot, most other ancient sources suggest that she was the owner of those horses rather than their driver.

About 330 B.C. Etruscan bronze statuettes show men wrestling with women. While the men were naked, the women wore thigh-length, pleated tunics. Accordingly, the art was probably allegorical rather than erotic.

Engraving of the French national heroine Joan of Arc holding a sword. (Bettmann/ Corbis)

About 322 B.C. Greek writers describe the female bodyguard of a north Indian prince named Chandragupta.

First century A.D. A Chinese annalist named Zhao Yi writes about a woman who was a great swordsman. She said the key to success was constant practice without the supervision of a master; after a while, she said, she just understood everything there was to know. But as immediately after saying this she accepted the job as swordsmanship instructor for the Kingdom of Yue, perhaps this description is lacking some verisimilitude. After all, if one needed no teacher save oneself to become a sword master, there seems no reason why she herself would become one.

18–27 A peasant rebellion rocks Shandong province and leads to the collapse of the Xin dynasty and the creation of the Later Han dynasty. This unrest (called the Red Eyebrow Rebellion after its members' practice of painting their eyebrows blood red) was led by a woman who claimed to speak with the voice of the local gods. Strictly speaking, this was a case of spirit-possession rather than shamanism.

About 41 Later Han soldiers under the command of the Shensi aristocrat Ma Yuan kill a Vietnamese feudal lord living near Tonkin and publicly rape his wife and sister-in-law. These rapes may have been official acts, as, from the Han perspective, they would have demonstrated the superior-

ity of Chinese patrilineage over Vietnamese matrilineage. On the other hand, they could have been individual acts, as the Chinese did not consider rape a public crime until 1983. Either way, the outrage causes the two women, named Trung Trac and Trung Nhi, to incite a Vietnamese rebellion. This rebellion in turn introduces the Chinese to the giant bronze drums that the Vietnamese mountaineers used to transmit military information and provides a favorite subject for Vietnamese stage and puppet plays.

About 55 The Roman Caesar Nero introduces his notorious Youth Games, which feature, to the disgust of the historian Tacitus, sword fights between women.

About 60 When a British queen named Boudicca (Boadicea) refuses to pay taxes to the Romans, a Roman official has the woman flogged and her daughters raped. The outraged Celts retaliate by killing tens of thousands of Romanized Britons living in what is today Norfolk and Suffolk, and burning the Roman capital at Londinium. When this rebellion was rediscovered through translation in the sixteenth century, it caused Boadicea's chariot, as the translators called it, to become an integral part of Elizabethan English nationalism. As for the unfortunate first-century queen, she and her daughters committed suicide near Epping Upland after the Romans slaughtered the British men in battle.

About 200 A Christian philosopher named Clement of Alexandria writes that women should be athletes for God. That is, they should wrestle with the Devil and devote themselves to celibacy instead of bowing meekly to their destiny of mothers and wives. However, this was not a universally held view, and wealthy Roman men continued amusing themselves with gymnastic, gladiatorial, and swimming acts featuring scantily clad female competitors.

271 A group of Gothic women captured while armed and dressed as men are paraded through Rome wearing signs that read "Amazons."

About 535 Korean aristocrats replace female sword dancers with male sword dancers, apparently as a method of limiting the power of female shamans.

585 French churchmen debate whether women have souls. At least that is the postmodern feminist view of the debate, which was actually about whether the Old French word *vir* meant the same thing as the Vulgate Latin word *homo*. (The decision was that it did not.)

590 The Christian Synod of Druim Ceat orders British women to quit going into battle alongside their men. The ban must not have been especially effective, since the daughter of Alfred the Great is remembered as the conqueror of Wales, and the people who taught sword dancing to the Ulster hero Cû Chulainn were female.

697 Roman Catholic priests prohibit Irish women and children from appearing on contested battlefields. This institutes a cultural change, for in pre-Christian times, Irish women and children had often accompanied Irish men into battle.

About 890 *Beowulf* is written. A villain of the piece is a homicidal crone called Grendel's mother. Meanwhile, in "Judith," a much shorter poem written about the same time as *Beowulf,* the poet praises a God-fearing woman who gets a lustful feudal lord drunk and then beheads him with his own sword. Although such a woman was unusual (medieval heroines were usually martyrs rather than killers), the author obviously knew something about beheadings, as Judith, a handsome Hebrew woman, requires two mighty blows to sever the demonic lecher's head from its neck-rings.

About 970 According to a twelfth-century writer named Zhang Bangji, Chinese palace dancers began binding their feet to make themselves more sexually attractive to men. The crippling practice was widespread throughout southern China by the fourteenth century, and throughout all of China by the seventeenth, and is remarked because foot binding prevented well-bred Han females from effectively practicing boxing or swordsmanship until the twentieth century. (Some were noted archers, though, generally with crossbows.) Still, into the 1360s, Hong Fu, Hong Xian, Thirteenth Sister, and other Chinese martial heroines (*xia*) were sometimes portrayed by women on Chinese stages, and there was a seventeenth-century reference to a fourteenth-century woman named Yang who was said to be peerless in the fighting art of "pear-blossom spear." But in general such activity ended with the spread of foot binding, and from the fourteenth to twentieth centuries specially trained men played female roles in Chinese theatricals.

About 1020 The Iranian poet Firdawsi describes polo as a favorite sport of Turkish aristocrats. According to the thirteenth-century poet Nizami, aristocratic Turkish women also played polo, which was the Central Asian equivalent of jousting.

1049–1052 A female general named Akkadevi becomes a heroine of west-central Indian resistance to southern Indian aggression.

About 1106 Troubadours popularize pre-Christian legends about an Ulster hero called Cû Chulainn who was so much man that by the age of 7 he already required the sight of naked women to distract him from wanton killing. Further, as he got older, Cû Chulainn became notorious for conquering matristic societies by rape. Evidently Christian patrilinealism was being imposed on Ireland, and the victors were describing how it was being done, as in the earliest forms of the story, Cû Chulainn's martial art instructors included a woman known as Scathach (Shadowy).

1146 Eleanor of Aquitaine, the self-willed, 24-year-old wife of Louis VII of France (and future wife of Henry II of England), joins the Second

A depiction of the mighty female warrior Tomoe Gozen from 100 Heroes Story *by Japanese author Kuu'yoshi. (Tokyo Central Library)*

Crusade dressed and riding astride like a man. Although her behavior was doubtless chic (Eleanor never actually entered battle with the Muslims), her disregard for propriety caused the pope to forbid women from joining the Third Crusade of 1189. Like most laws, the ban was widely ignored by the working classes.

1184 Minamoto soldiers kill a Taira general named Yoshinaka and his wife. Subsequent Japanese accounts portray the woman, Tomoe Gozen, as a mighty warrior.

Thirteenth century Tahitian priests introduce the *Huna* religion into Hawaii. The martial art associated with this religion was known as *Lua,* a word meaning "to pit [in battle]" or "two" (i.e., duality; the idea was to balance healing and hurting, good and evil). The methods developed from both military hand-to-hand combat and the ritual killings that were part of the *Huna* religion, and its practitioners were divided into those who used their skills to heal and those who used their skills to harm. Skill in *Lua* involved setting or dislocating bones at the joints, inflicting or stopping pain using finger strikes to nerve centers, and knowing how to use herbal medicines and sympathetic magic. Working-class Hawaiians, both men and women, also boxed and wrestled. There were no set rules in these latter games, which were known collectively as *mokomoko*. Accordingly, players slapped palms upon agreeing to terms or to signify a draw.

1207 King Pedro II of Aragon sponsors the first European tournament known to have honored a woman (his mistress, of course, as Iberian nobles married for land and children rather than love). The construction of prepared stands soon followed, as the lady and her servants could not be expected to stand in the mud like ordinary people.

1228 A woman challenges a man to a judicial duel at the lists in Bern, Switzerland, and wins. Such challenges were not uncommon in Germany and Switzerland during the thirteenth century, particularly during rape cases. To even the odds, such judicial duels were arranged by placing the man in a pit dug as deep as his navel while allowing the woman free movement around that pit. The usual weapons included leather belts, singlesticks, and fist-sized rocks wrapped in cloth. During these duels, if a participant's weapon or hand touched the ground three times, he or she was declared defeated. Male losers were beheaded, while female losers lost their right hands.

1280 The Venetian merchant Marco Polo describes a Mongol princess named Ai-yaruk, or "Bright Moon," who refused to get married until she met a man who could throw her. The story may be exaggerated, as it was not written until around 1295, and the writer, Rustichello of Pisa, was never one to let facts stand in the way of a good story. Nevertheless, it is likely that during his travels Polo really did see some Mongol women wrestling.

1292 Northern Italian towns start holding pugil-stick fights, bare-knuckle boxing matches, and cudgeling tournaments. Legend attributes the creation to the Sienese monk Saint Bernard, who taught that fists were better than swords or sticks for deciding arguments, but illustrations show slapping games in which players sat cross-legged on benches, and then took turns slapping one another until somebody fell off the bench. Another game involved slapping buttocks; this was often played between men and women. Mock equestrian battles were also fought in which a girl sat on a boy's shoulders, and one pair then undertook to knock over another.

About 1300 A secretary to the Bishop of Wurzburg produces a manuscript depicting unarmored German fighters. Known today as Manuscript I.33, the text is in Latin, while the technical terms are in German. Most of the work, however, involves a series of watercolor drawings showing students, monks, and even a woman training in a variety of sword-and-buckler techniques.

1354 The Islamic traveler Ibn Battuta reports seeing female warriors throughout Southeast Asia. Although many of these women were probably sword dancers, others were royal bodyguards. (Southeast Asian princes often preferred female bodyguards to eunuchs.)

1364–1405 Tamerlane's armies ravage Central and Southwest Asia. Although Tamerlane was a devout Muslim, and non-Muslims took the brunt of the Timurids' legendary cruelty, his use of female archers in defense of baggage trains appalled orthodox Muslim opponents.

1389 Sixty aristocratic women lead sixty knights and sixty squires from the Tower of London to the lists at Smithfield. The thought of females actually fighting during a tournament was, in the words of a near-contemporary German author, "as impossible as a king, prince, or knight plowing the ground or shoveling manure." (Contemporary tales of female jousters appear most often in erotic fantasies and satires.) Women did sometimes compete in ball games and footraces. Many wealthy women also enjoyed hunting with crossbows and falcons.

1409 Christine de Pisan, the Italian-born daughter of a French court astrologer, publishes a book called *Livre des Faits d'Armes* (Book of Feats of Arms), a vernacular study of military strategy and international law. It includes original work, alongside translations of Vegetius and Frontinus, classical authorities in the field. It is also a reminder that medieval females could be as knowledgeable about military and political matters as was anyone else within their social or economic class.

1431 The English burn a 19-year-old Frenchwoman named Jeanne la Pucelle (Joan the Maid) as a witch. Her actual crime was rallying peasants to the French flag. (She and some Scottish mercenaries had won some important battles, thus giving the peasants hope.) Jeanne la Pucelle was renamed Jeanne d'Arc (Joan the Archer) during the sixteenth century. The modern cult of Saint Joan dates to the 1890s, when French politicians decided to use the woman's martyrdom to create a unifying national holiday. (Bastille Day, which the Catholics viewed as godless, and the Royalists viewed as an insult, was too controversial for this purpose.)

1541 While going up a river in Brazil, the Dominican monk Gaspar de Carvajal reports being attacked by a band of armed females. The story causes the river along which Carvajal was traveling to be called the Amazon.

1541 Pedro de Valdivia leads a military expedition whose members include his mistress, Inés Suárez, overland from Peru into central Chile.

About 1545 Women begin playing female roles on the French stage. The practice spreads to Italy around 1608, and Britain around 1658. The reason for the change was that dowryless females were willing to work for less money than the men and boys who had traditionally played female roles.

1561 Mochizuki Chiyome, the wife of the Japanese warlord Mochizuke Moritoki, establishes a training school for female orphans and foundlings. The skills the girls learned included shrine attendant, geisha, and spy. While Mochizuki-trained geisha are sometimes claimed as the first female ninja, it is more likely that the women were simply prostitutes trained to remember and repeat whatever they heard from their carefully selected patrons.

About 1590 A chronicler named Abu Fazl describes the harem of the Mughul emperor Akbar as housing about 5,000 women. About 300 of these women were wives; the rest were servants and guards. The guards were mostly from Russia and Ethiopia, and were little more than armed slaves. There were exceptions, of course, and one of Akbar's chief rivals in the 1560s was a warrior-queen named Rani Durgawati.

1601 A Javanese prince named Sutawijaya Sahidin Panatagam dies. Throughout his life, the man's courage and luck were legendary, and he reportedly forgave would-be assassins by saying that daggers could not pierce the skin of a man who was protected by the gods. He took this belief seriously, too, as his concubines included an east Javanese woman who introduced herself to him by attacking him with some pistols and butterfly knives.

1606 The Iberian navigator Quiros visits the Tuamotus Archipelago, and observes its Polynesian inhabitants wrestling. Both men and women wrestled, and there were sometimes mixed bouts. The audience defined the ring by standing around the participants. The wrestling was freestyle, and hair pulling was allowed.

1611 The Mughul emperor Jahangir falls in love with an Iranian widow named Mehrunissa. The emperor's fascination is not surprising, as Mehrunissa was a gifted poet, competent dress and carpet designer, and avid tiger hunter. (She hunted from atop a closed howdah, and once killed four tigers with just six bullets.) Her niece was Asaf Khan's daughter Arjumand Banu, the woman for whom the Taj Mahal was built.

1630–1680 Dueling provides a favorite theme for French playwrights. According to these writers, people (both men and women dueled in French plays) dueled more often for love than honor, and trickery brought victory more often than bravery.

About 1650 Doña Eustaquia de Sonza and Doña Ana Lezama de Urinza of Potosí, Alto Perú, become the most famous female swashbucklers in Spanish America. At the time, Potosí, a silver-mining town in the Bolivian Andes, had more inhabitants than London, and was probably the richest city in the world.

1688 Following a coup in Siam, women drilled in the use of muskets replace the 600 European mercenaries and Christian samurai who had served the previous government. The leader of these women was called *Ma Ying Taphan,* or the Great Mother of War. Burmese princes also used female bodyguards inside their private apartments, and European, Japanese, or Pathan mercenaries without.

About 1690 Female wrestling acts become common in Japanese redlight districts. Although Confucianist officials charged that such acts were harmful to public morals, female wrestling remained popular in Tokyo until the 1890s and in remote areas such as southern Kyûshû and the Ryûkyûs until the 1920s.

1697 A 40-year-old Maine woman named Hannah Dustin escapes from an Abenaki Indian war party after hatcheting to death two Abenaki men, their wives, and six of their seven children as they slept. (A third Abenaki woman and a child escaped, although both appear to have been injured.) For this slaughter (which is almost unique in frontier annals), the Puritan minister Cotton Mather proclaimed Dustin "God's instrument," while the General Assembly of Massachusetts awarded her a sizable scalp bounty.

1705 Because a Comanche raid covers hundreds of miles and lasts for months, wives often accompany war parties, where they serve as snipers, cooks, and torturers. Unmarried Comanche women are also known to have ridden into combat, although this is considered somewhat scandalous.

1706 A trooper in Lord Hay's Regiment of Dragoons is discovered to be a woman. At the time, she had thirteen years' service in various regiments and campaigns. Subsequently known as Mother Ross, she had enlisted after first giving her children to her mother and a nurse. She spent her military career dressed in a uniform whose waistcoat was designed to compress and disguise her breasts.

1707 The French opera star Julie La Maupin dies at the age of 37; in 1834 novelist Théophile Gautier made her famous as *Mademoiselle de Maupin*. In her time she was a noted fencer and cross-dresser; her fencing masters included her father, Gaston d'Aubigny, and a lover, a man named Sérannes. Other redoubtable Frenchwomen of the day included Madame de la Pré-Abbé and Mademoiselle de la Motte, who in 1665 fired pistols at one another from horseback from a range of about 10 yards, and then, after missing twice, took to fighting with swords. And in 1868, two women named Marie P. and Aimée R. dueled over which would get to marry a

young man from Bordeaux. Marie was hit in the thigh with the first shot, leaving Aimée free to marry the young man. (Or so said the popular press.)

1722 Elizabeth Wilkinson of Clerkenwell challenges Hannah Hyfield of Newgate Market to meet her on stage and box for a prize of three guineas; the rules of the engagement require each woman to strike each other in the face while holding a half-crown coin in each fist, with the first to drop a coin being the loser. These rules perhaps suggest how bare-knuckle boxing began, as James Figg was a chief promoter of women's fighting. For example, in August 1725, Figg and a woman called Long Meg of Westminster fought Ned Sutton and an unnamed woman; Figg and Meg took the prize of £40. Nevertheless, says historian Elliott Gorn, the sporadic appearance of women in English prizefights only "underscored male domination of the culture of the ring" (Gorn 1986, fn. 69, 265).

1727 After his army takes heavy casualties during a slave-raiding expedition against Ouidah, King Agaja of Dahomey creates a female palace guard and arms it with Danish trade muskets. By the nineteenth century this female bodyguard had 5,000 members. One thousand carried firearms. The rest served as porters, drummers, and litter-bearers. These Dahomeyan women trained for war through vigorous dancing and elephant hunting. They were prohibited from becoming pregnant on pain of death. They fought as well or better than male soldiers, and they were said by Richard Burton to be better soldiers than their incompetent male leadership deserved.

1759 Mary Lacy, a runaway serving girl who served twelve years in the Royal Navy, gets in a fight aboard HMS *Sandwich*. "I went aft to the main hatchway and pulled off my jacket," wrote Lacy, "but they wanted me to pull off my shirt, which I would not suffer for fear of it being discovered that I was a woman, and it was with much difficulty that I could keep it on." The fight then developed into a wrestling match. "During the combat," said Lacy, "he threw me such violent cross-buttocks . . . [as] were almost enough to dash my brains out." But by "a most lucky circumstance" she won the bout, and afterwards she "reigned master over all the rest" of the ship's boys (Stark 1996, 137).

1768 After disguising herself as a boy and shipping out with the French navigator Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, Jeanne Baré becomes the first female to circumnavigate the world. Women also served in the British navy. These women avoided discovery because European seamen seldom bathed and invariably slept in their clothes.

1768 In the Clerkenwell district of London (perhaps at the London Spa), two female prizefighters mill for a prize of a dress valued at half a crown, while another two women fight against two men for a prize of a guinea apiece. And at Wetherby's on Little Russell Street, the 19-year-old rake William Hickey sees "two she-devils . . . engaged in a scratching and

boxing match, their faces entirely covered with blood, bosoms bare, and the clothes nearly torn from them." These "she-devils" were singers and prostitutes, and their prefight preparation consisted mostly of drinking more gin than usual. Other rough venues included the Dog and Duck in St. George's Fields, Bagnigge Wells on King's Cross Road, and White Conduit House near Islington (Quennell 1962, 63–66).

1774 During Wang Lun's rebellion in Shandong province, a tall, white-haired female rebel is seen astride a horse, wielding one sword with ease and two with care. The woman, whose name is unknown, was a sorceress who claimed to be in touch with the White Lotus deity known as the Eternal Mother. An actress named Wu San Niang ("Third Daughter Wu") was also involved in Wang Lun's rebellion. Described as a better boxer, tightrope walker, and acrobat than her late husband, Wu has skill remarked mainly because female boxers were unusual in a society whose standards of beauty required women to bind their feet.

1776 According to tradition, a Buddhist nun named Wu Mei (Ng Mui) creates a Southern Shaolin Boxing style known as *yongchun* (*wing chun;* beautiful springtime). The tradition has never been proven, and twentieth-century stylistic leaders such as Yip Chun believe that a Cantonese actor named Ng Cheung created the style during the 1730s. If Yip is correct, then the female attribution could mean that Ng Cheung specialized in playing female roles, or that the ultimate master is a loving old woman rather than some muscled Adonis. Still, it is possible that some southern Chinese women practiced boxing in a group setting. During the late eighteenth century, Cantonese merchants began hiring Hakka women to work in their silkworm factories. (While ethnically Chinese, the Hakka had separate dialects and customs. Unlike most Chinese, these customs did not include binding the feet of girls. Therefore their women were physically capable of working outside the home.) To protect themselves from kidnappers (marriage by rape remained a feature of Chinese life into the 1980s), these factory women gradually organized themselves into lay sisterhoods. So it seems likely that Wu Mei was simply a labor organizer or head of an orphanage whose name became associated with a boxing style.

1782 A 22-year-old Massachusetts woman named Deborah Sampson cuts her hair and enlists in the Continental Army, calling herself Robert Shurtliff. She fought against the Tories and British in New York, and she also wrote letters for illiterate soldiers and did her best to avoid rough soldiers' games such as wrestling. (The one time she did wrestle, she was flung to the ground.) After the war, Sampson married, and in 1838 her husband became the first man to receive a pension from the United States government for his wife's military service. Sampson's maritime equivalents during the Revolutionary War included Fanny Campbell and Mary Anne Talbot.

About 1794 According to sociologist Jennifer Hargreaves, a boxing match between two Englishwomen was described: "Great intensity between them was maintained for about two hours, whereupon the elder fell into great difficulty through the closure of her left eye from the extent of swelling above and below it which rendered her blind. . . . Their bosoms were much enlarged but yet they each continued to rain blows upon this most feeling of tissue without regard to the pitiful cries issuing forth at each success which was evidently to the delight of the spectators" (1996, 125).

About 1805 British newspapers start reporting the faction fights that had been occurring at Irish fairs and horse races since the 1730s. Irishmen fought using sticks and brick-sized stones while Irishwomen struck using razors or stones sewn inside knitted socks. Although it was acceptable for a male faction fighter to use his stick to parry a blow from a woman, it was considered bad form for him to hit her with the stick. Fists and feet were another matter; 2.5 percent of deaths associated with the faction fights were the results of kicks administered once the other fellow was down, and 5 percent of deaths were due to infected bites.

1807 After learning that the Polish hussar Aleksandr Sokolov is actually a Russian woman named Nadezha Durova, Czar Alexander I awards Durova a medal for bravery and a commission as an officer in the Mariupol Hussars. Durova continued serving with the Russian army throughout the Napoleonic Wars and retired as a captain in 1816.

1817 The British fencing master Henry Angelo describes a mulatto fencer known as Chevalier de Sainte Georges as the finest fencer in the world. Other noted Afro-European fencers of the period included Soubise, who taught aristocratic women (including the duchess of Queensberry) to fence at Angelo's London salle.

About 1820 According to Richard Kim, the wife of the Okinawan karate master Matsumura Sôkon becomes known as one of the finest karate practitioners in the Ryûkyûs. As Mrs. Matsumura could reportedly lift a 60-kilo bag of rice with one hand, the reputation may have been deserved. On the other hand, it could be modern myth. For one thing, Matsumura Sôkon was born in 1805. Since Asian men typically marry younger women, this means Mrs. Matsumura was likely no more than 10 years old. For another, Okinawans usually associate female wrestling with prostitutes rather than the wives and daughters of aristocrats. Furthermore, left to their own devices, most Okinawan women take up dancing rather than karate or sumô. Finally, Nagamine Shôshin did not publish the stories upon which Kim based his accounts until June 1952, which was more than a half century after Matsumura's death. So perhaps some exaggeration crept in over time.

1821–1829 With significant outside assistance, the Greeks free themselves from Ottoman Turkish rule; a heroine of the war is a Spetsiot woman

named Lascarina Bouboulina, who commands ships in battle against the Turks and Egyptians, and takes pride in taking and discarding lovers like a man.

1822 In London, Martha Flaherty fights Peg Carey for a prize of £18; the fight, which starts at 5:30 A.M., is won by Flaherty, whose training has included drinking most of a pint of gin before the match. Female prize-fighting was a function of the low prevailing wage rate for unskilled female labor. (Assuming she worked as a fur sewer or seamstress, Flaherty's prize exceeded a year's wages.) Attire included tight-fitting jackets, short petticoats, and Holland drawers. Wrestling, kicking, punching, and kneeing were allowed. Women with greater economic freedom usually preferred playing gentler games. For instance, although Eton did not play Harrow in cricket until 1805—Lord Byron was on the losing Harrovian side—Miss S. Norcross of Surrey batted a century in 1788.

1829 The Swiss educator Phokian Clias publishes a popular physical education textbook called *Kalisthenie* (the title comes from the Greek words meaning "beauty" and "strength"). Clias favored light to moderate exercise, and rejected ball games for women because he thought they required too much use of the shoulder and pectoral muscles.

About 1830 An Italian woman named Rosa Baglioni is described as perhaps the finest stage fencer in Germany.

1832 Warning that lack of exercise produces softness, debility, and unfitness, American educator Catherine Beecher publishes *A Course of Calisthenics for Young Ladies;* the best exercise for a woman, according to Mrs. Beecher, is vigorous work with mop and washtub. No liberation there. Then, in 1847, Lydia Mary Child, author of *The Little Girl's Own Book,* became slightly more adventurous, saying that "skating, driving hoop, and other boyish sports may be practiced to great advantage by little girls provided they can be pursued within the enclosure of a garden or court; in the street, of course, they would be highly improper" (Guttman 1991, 91).

1847 Queen Victoria decides that women who served aboard British warships during the Napoleonic Wars will not receive the General Service Medal. At least three women applied, and many more were technically eligible. But they were all denied. Explained Admiral Thomas Byam Martin, "There were many women in the fleet equally useful, and [issuing awards to women] will leave the Army exposed to *innumerable* applications of the same nature" (Stark 1996, 80–81; fn. 66, 184).

About 1850 After catching her trying to steal their horses, Flathead Indians club to death a Blackfeet war chief called Running Eagle. As Blackfeet men frequently rode naked into battle as a way of showing that they had nothing to lose by fighting, it cannot be argued that Running Eagle masqueraded as a man. Instead, it seems to have been fairly common for

childless Blackfeet women to participate in horse-stealing expeditions. Cross-dressing men (*berdache*) also accompanied Plains Indian military expeditions. The cross-dressers provided supernatural protection, and the women did the cooking. Native Americans were never as sexually obsessed as the European Americans, and ethnographic evidence suggests that most rapes attributed to the American Indians were actually done by European or African Americans. (Although tales of female sexual bondage to the Indians have been a staple of English and American literature, theater, and movies for 300 years, most Indian cultures required warriors to go through lengthy cleansing rituals before having sex with anyone, male or female. These rituals were taken seriously, too, as failure to accomplish them properly could cause a man to lose his war magic.)

1850 Theater manager A. H. Purdy introduces the spectacle of "Amazons," or uniformed women performing close-order drill, to the New York stage. Female drill teams remained popular with North American audiences for the next 150 years; just look at football halftime exercises.

1854 In New York City, an Englishman named Harry Hill opens a concert saloon at 25 East Houston Street; although prizefights are illegal in New York, Harry Hill's nightly shows include boxing and wrestling acts. Most pugilists were male—both William Muldoon and John L. Sullivan started at Harry Hill's—but could be female. In 1876, for instance, Nell Saunders boxed (and beat) Rose Harland for the prize of a silver butter dish. A drawing published in the *National Police Gazette* on November 22, 1879, shows Harry Hill's female boxers wearing T-shirts, knickers, and buttoned shoes, and showing a scandalous amount of arm and thigh. Harry Hill's had two entrances. The main entrance was for men, who paid twenty-five cents' admission. The side door was for women, who paid nothing. Hill's drinks were overpriced, and the air was a cloud of tobacco smoke. Other than that, Hill ran a respectable house, and his boxers circulated among the crowd to keep it that way. Reform politicians finally caused Harry Hill's to close in 1886.

1857–1858 Forty-seven battalions of Bengali infantry and several independent principalities rebel against Britain's Honourable East India Company. Although most rebels were men, the best-known rebel was a woman, the 25-year-old Rani of Jhansi. She rode into battle armed and armored like a man, and died of wounds received near Gwalior in June 1858. Rani's counterpart on the British side, a woman whom the modern Indians revere much less, was an equally redoubtable Afghan widow from Bhopal named Sikander Begum.

1864 In volume 1 of a text called *Principles of Biology,* the English philosopher Herbert Spencer coins the phrase "survival of the fittest." Spencer saw nature as a state of pitiless warfare, with the elimination of the

weak and unfit as its goal. People who did not read him closely soon applied this theory to social dynamics, and called the result Social Darwinism. Social Darwinism was a very popular theory among white-collar workers whose masculinity (and jobs) were threatened by women and immigrants.

1865 General James Miranda Barry, the inspector general of the British Army Medical Department, dies in London, and is discovered after death to have been female.

1870 In a world where clerks and secretaries are increasingly female, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch's novel *Venus in Chains* turns male clerks' terror of what Henry James called "damnable feminization" into a fantastic story of fur-clad, whip-cracking women verbally and sexually abusing men. Besides creating a stock figure for subsequent pornographic fiction, von Sacher-Masoch's conclusion retains some validity: "Whoever allows himself to be whipped deserves to be whipped."

1875 Parisian street gangsters are reported shaving their heads and dressing in metal-studded leather jackets; the press responds by calling such people "apaches." Originally, this name referred to a Belgian pepperbox revolver that had a blade under its barrel and a knuckle-duster in its butt, rather than to the Athabascan people of the American Southwest, but after the Apache leader Geronimo became a household word, the revolver was forgotten. Around 1890, the apache name also began to describe a sadomasochistic dance genre in which tattooed, scarred women fought knife or saber duels while stripped to their underclothes, or smiled while men slapped them around.

1878 J. R. Headington argues in the *American Christian Review* that female athletics represent a nine-step path to ruin; for example, a croquet party leads to picnics, picnics lead to dances, dances lead to absence from church, absence from church leads to immoral conduct, immoral conduct leads to exclusion from church (no forgiveness here!), exclusion from church leads to running away, running away leads to poverty and discontent, poverty and discontent lead to shame and disgrace, and shame and disgrace lead to ruin. Although many middle-class women heeded Headington's advice, fewer upper-class women did, causing female athleticism, especially in golf, tennis, and cycling, to become increasingly common throughout the late nineteenth century.

1881 Author Charlotte Perkins Gilman of Providence, Rhode Island, perhaps best known for her short story "The Yellow Wallpaper," becomes the United States' first known female bodybuilder. Besides lifting weights, Gilman ran a mile a day and boasted of her ability to "vault and jump, go up a knotted rope, walk on my hands under a ladder, kick as high as my head, and revel in the flying rings" (Guttman 1991, 124). By 1904, fencing was also popular with Rhode Island society women; instructors

included Eleanor Baldwin Cass, and students included Marion Fish and Natalie Wells.

1881 A Swedish woman named Martina Bergman-Osterberg becomes the superintendent of physical education for London's public schools. By 1886, she had trained 1,300 English schoolteachers in the methods of Swedish gymnastics. "I try to train my girls to help raise their own sex," said Bergman-Osterberg, "and so accelerate the progress of the race."

1884 The British scientist Sir Francis Galton tests 500 men and 270 women to see how fast they can punch; he finds that the men average 18 feet per second, with a maximum speed of 29 feet per second, while the women average 13 feet per second, with a maximum speed of 20 feet per second. In other words, although some women could hit harder than the average man, most women could hit only 55 percent as hard.

1884 A 20-year-old American woman named Etta Hattan adopts the stage name of Jaguarina, and bills herself as the "Ideal Amazon of the Age." Whether Hattan was all of that is of course debatable, but she was certainly Amazon enough to defeat many men at mounted broadsword fencing during her fifteen-year professional career.

1887 Circus magnate P. T. Barnum hires wrestler Ed Decker, the Little Wonder from Vermont, as a sideshow attraction, offering to pay $100 to anyone who can pin Decker, and $50 to anyone who can avoid being pinned within three minutes. Despite weighing only 150 pounds and standing only 5 feet 6 inches tall, Decker reportedly never lost to a paying customer. Of course, some matches were harder than others, and as a British sideshow boxer told a reporter a year later, "I still pray, 'Oh, Lord, let me win the easy way.'" Women also fought as booth boxers. According to Ron Taylor, a Welsh sideshow promoter of the 1960s, "My grandmother used to challenge all comers. She wore protectors on her chest, but she never needed them. Nobody she ever went up against could even come close to hitting her" (undated clippings in Joseph Svinth collection). The most famous of these British fairground pugilists was probably Barbara Buttrick, who was the women's fly and bantamweight boxing champion from 1950 to 1960. This said, not all the female pugilists were female. For instance, a carnival shill named Charles Edwards told A. J. Liebling about a turn-of-the-century Texas circus that had a woman stand in front of the tent promising $50 to any man who could stay three rounds with her. Once inside the dimly lit tent, the mark then found himself boxing a cross-dressing male look-alike.

1889 Female boxing becomes popular throughout the United States. Champions included Nellie Stewart of Norfolk, Virginia; Ann Lewis of Cleveland, Ohio; and Hattie Leslie of New York. The audiences were male, and the fighters sometimes stripped to their drawers like men. *Savate* fights,

in which kicking was allowed, were also popular. Girls as young as 12 years headed the bills. Cuts were stitched on the spot, and the women often fought with broken noses, jaws, and teeth. There were occasionally matches between female boxers and female savate fighters. In 1902, for instance, a Mademoiselle Augagnier beat Miss Pinkney of England during such a bout. Pinkney was ahead during the first ninety minutes, but then Augagnier managed to kick Pinkney hard in the face, an advantage that she immediately used to send a powerful kick into Pinkney's abdomen for the victory.

1889 Female wrestling becomes popular in France and England, with Masha Poddubnaya, wife of Ivan Poddubny, claiming the women's title. Said journalist Max Viterbo of a female wrestling match in the Rue Montmartre in 1903, "The stale smell of sweat and foul air assaulted your nostrils. In this overheated room the spectators were flushed. Smoke seized us by the throat and quarrels broke out." As for the wrestlers, "They flung themselves at each other like modern bacchantes—hair flying, breasts bared, indecent, foaming at the mouth. Everyone screamed, applauded, stamped his feet" (Guttman 1991, 99–100).

1891 Richard Kyle Fox and the *National Police Gazette* sponsor a women's championship wrestling match in New York City; to prevent hair pulling, the women cut their hair short, and to keep everything "decent," the women wear tights. (Not all matches were so prim, and in 1932, Frederick Van Wyck recollected some matches of his youth that were between "two ladies, with nothing but trunks on" [Gorn 1986, 130].) Fox's wrestlers include Alice Williams and Sadie Morgan. The venue is Owney Geoghegan's Bastille of the Bowery.

1895 Theodore Roosevelt hires the New York Police Department's first female employee. The reason was that Minnie Kelly did more work for less money than did the two male secretaries she replaced. In 1896, Commissioner Roosevelt also gave uniforms and badges to the women who processed female prisoners at police stations. Excepting meter maids and secretaries, police departments used women mainly as matrons and vice detectives until 1968, when the Indianapolis police pioneered the use of female patrol officers.

1896 San Francisco's Mechanics' Pavilion becomes the first U.S. boxing venue known to have sold reserved seats to women. (The occasion was a title bout between Bob Fitzsimmons and Jack Sharkey, and Fitzsimmon's wife Rose was notorious for sitting ringside and shouting advice to her husband.)

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See also Women in the Martial Arts: Britain and North America; Women in the Martial Arts: China; Women in the Martial Arts: Japan

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Women in the Martial Arts: Britain and North America

During the early 1900s, feminists often regarded combative sports such as boxing, wrestling, fencing, and jûdô as tools of women's liberation. Because these sports were historically associated with prizefighting (in Shakespeare's time, prizefighters were fencers rather than pugilists) and saloons (the *Police Gazette* was holding "Female Championships of the World" in New York City saloons as early as 1884), the middle classes publicly despised such activities.

Nevertheless, around 1900, combative sports started becoming more fashionable. Fencing was particularly popular with women, partly because of its exercise value, partly because it was said to build character, and mostly because it was not a contact sport.

During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, jûdô classes became popular with upper-class women. Partly this was due to the Japanese army claiming that jûdô was the secret weapon that made its soldiers invincible in the trench fighting around Port Arthur, and partly it was due to the exaggerated claims of *jûjutsu* teachers and sportswriters. For example, in *The Cosmopolitan* of May 1905, a Japanese visitor to New York named Katsukuma Higashi boasted that given six months, he could teach any 110-pounder of good moral character to "meet a man of twice his weight and three times his muscular strength and overcome him under all circumstances." This was hyperbole rather than fact—within the year the 120-pound Higashi himself proved incapable of beating either a 140-pound professional wrestler, George Bothner, or a 105-pound *jûdôka* (jûdô player), Yukio Tani. Nevertheless the myth persists. Witness, for example, the enormous popularity of *The Karate Kid,* a Hollywood film that saw its youthful hero change from chump to champ during the seven weeks between Halloween and Christmas.

Jûjutsu was first introduced to England in March 1892. The occasion was a lecture given by T. Shidachi, secretary of the Bank of Japan's London branch, and his assistant Daigoro Goh (Smith 1958, 47–62). Seven years later, Yukio Tani introduced jûjutsu into British music halls, and by the time "The Adventure of the Empty House" appeared in *Strand Magazine* in October 1903, Sherlock Holmes was using a Japanese-based system of wrestling called baritsu to free himself from the clutches of Professor Moriarty. From the 1890s there were also jûdô and jûjutsu practitioners in the United States, several of whom, like Tani, worked as professional wrestlers.

Seattle police officer Sven J. Jorgensen teaches Florence Clark jûjutsu, July 10, 1928. (Seattle Post-Intelligencer Collection, Museum of History & Industry)

Proponents of the art suggested from the first that jûdô would be useful for women. One early book advocating this was A. Cherpillod's *Meine Selbsthilfe Jiu Jitsu für Damen* (My Self-Help Jiu Jitsu for Ladies) (Nuremburg: Attinger, 1901). Another was Irving Hancock's *Physical Training for Women by Japanese Methods* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904). And two years later, *Physical Training for Women* was followed by *The Fine Art of Jujutsu* by Mrs. Roger (Emily) Watts (London: Heinemann, 1906).

Male reactions to women's involvement in such activities varied. A few men thought it wonderful, Sam Hill of Seattle even suggesting that all white women living in the South learn jûjutsu for self-defense. Others were appalled, seeing it as contrary to God's will. Most, however, were simply amused until, during the late 1930s, women's self-defense was made acceptable by militarization.

Women's reactions varied, too. Suffragettes and rich women often viewed participation in combative sports as empowering. Working-class women sometimes viewed them as a means toward getting a paying job in vaudeville. Working women and actresses also thought that some method of physical retaliation useful against men who reached under their skirts was handy. On the other hand, many parents had strong misgivings re-

Women boxers in Washington, ca. 1970. (Tacoma Public Library)

garding all female athletics. The fear seems to have been that "respectable" boys would not marry girls who could beat them at anything.

But whether mothers and educators liked it or not, by the 1920s huge numbers of young women were regularly playing baseball, basketball, golf, tennis, and volleyball. Unable to stem the tide, the educators and physicians sought to turn it by stating that, although nothing preserved female beauty so well as sport, there were certain sports that were better than others and a few (including soccer and boxing) that were downright unladylike. Furthermore, competition and the development of unsightly muscles could be minimized by new rules that made girls' sports considerably less exciting than boys' sports.

These rules could be draconian. In 1922, for example, rules for a girl's basketball team at Martinez High School in San Francisco included the following: "No dancing, no soup, no milk, no candy, no ice cream; [hot] chocolate while resting instead of oranges; two hours rest before each game; eight hours sleep daily; no fried foods; no pastry; feet to be bathed three times weekly in tannic acid" (*Japan Times,* March 29, 1922). Others were simply inane, such as those requiring girls to essentially stand in one place while playing basketball. Although the athletes protested (the Martinez girls, for instance, said no dancing, no basketball team), hardly anyone, least of all physical education teachers or school administrators, listened.

In the words of a *Scientific American* author in 1936, "Feminine muscular development interferes with motherhood" (Laird 1936).

Despite some loosening of dress codes during the Edwardian era, before World War I most female athletes dressed as conservatively as Iranian female athletes of the 1990s. Afterwards, however, dress codes relaxed, and newspapers started showing pictures of attractive movie starlets dressed in bathing suits. As a result, by the 1930s female athletic attire roughly matched equivalent male attire except in "genteel" sports such as fencing and golf, where skirts remained the norm into the 1950s. Still, Mrs. Grundies worried about "indecent exposure," and as a result various elastic undergarments were developed. During the 1910s, for example, some women tried Leo McLaglan's "Jûjutsu Corset," and during the 1950s female professional wrestlers supported their rhinestone-encrusted bathing suits with 2-inch-wide elastic bands. The most popular device, however, was the brassiere. First developed by the New York socialite Mary Phelps Jacobs around 1914, its original purpose was not to assist in athletics but to flatten the bust.

Tamami "Sky" Hosoya, USA Boxing Women's national champion (1997) and professional wrestler. (Courtesy of Sky Hosoya)

Even allowing for hype—vaudevillians and society women both received more than their fair share of media coverage—early twentieth-century women played combative sports for the same reasons as their granddaughters. In short, they did them for one of four main reasons: body sculpting, socializing with friends or business acquaintances, personal empowerment, or physical self-defense.

Another constant over time was the derisive attitude that people—women as well as men—took toward female participation in "unladylike" sports. For example, as recently as 1981, some sociologists in the United States wrote about female karate black belts:

> There was evidence that a psychology of tokenism is operating in Karate as it operates in other domains. The skills of these "tokens" are belittled, and ritualized deference is withheld. The interesting question is whether increasing

> participation and success by women will eliminate the token aspects of responses to them. Or will the cognitive inconsistency be resolved by devaluing the achievement of a black belt (a pattern found in the occupational world). The long-term results are interesting because the issues involved are so fundamental to the ideology of gender typing. (Smith et al. 1981, 20)

Sexual stereotyping—"any woman who boxes must be a lesbian"—was another constant. As recently as May 1994, the Irish boxer Deirdre Gogarty told British video journalists, "I'm always afraid people think I'm butch. That's my main fear. I used to hang a punch bag in the cupboard and bang away at it when no-one was around, so nobody would know I was doing it. I was afraid people would think me weird and unfeminine" (quoted in Hargreaves 1996, 130).

Still, resistance toward female involvement in combative sports seems to have softened somewhat over the years, especially when the female involvement is amateur rather than professional. Said the father of Dallas Malloy, a 16-year-old amateur boxer profiled in the Sunday supplement of the *Seattle Times* on August 8, 1993, "We've tried to encourage our daughters to do something interesting with their lives, not be a sheep. I have a feeling whatever Dallas does, she will always be different. She'll do anything but what the crowd does."

Joseph R. Svinth

See also Boxing, European; Jûdô; Wrestling and Grappling: Japan

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Women in the Martial Arts: China

Chinese women have practiced martial arts from early times. The most significant reflection of this fact is the story of the Maiden of Yue, a legendary swordswoman who is said to have trained the troops of Gou Jian, king of the state of Yue, and whose story contains one of the earliest records of basic martial arts principles. It is even possible that this story of a swordswoman is meant to symbolize the fact that brute strength, which was depicted as a common trait of martial artists in ancient times, was not necessarily most important to defeating an opponent.

Even China's military examination system, which comprised basic martial arts skills and understanding of the military classics, was established under the reign of a woman, Empress Wu Zetian, in A.D. 702. As fate would have it, the Chinese Empire also met its demise under Empress Ci Xi not long after she encouraged the disastrous antiforeign Boxer uprising of 1900.

During the Eastern or Later Han dynasty (A.D. 25–225), the threat from Qiang tribes to the area now comprising Shanxi province was so great

A woman in Beijing performing a wushu *form, November 1997. (Karen Su/Corbis)*

that women in that region were reported to have carried halberds and bows and arrows, and practiced spear routines alongside the males.

During the Tang dynasty (618–960), one of Chinese culture's grandest periods, martial skills were valued alongside intellectual pursuits. The poet Du Fu immortalized the skill of a woman in his "On Watching a Sword Dance by Madam Gongsun's Disciple." In Chinese, sword dancing has always been synonymous with the practice of actual sword techniques. It was a favorite pastime of the female revolutionary Qiu Jin, who was executed on the eve of the Revolution of 1911, and whose memorial statues often depict her standing defiantly with a sword.

Popular culture in the capital city (first Kaifeng and then Hangzhou) during the Song dynasty (960–1279) included both male and female wrestling matches in the marketplace. Women demonstrating martial arts routines to draw a crowd preceded these matches. The scholar-official, Sima Guang, derided the spectacle of scantily clad women wrestlers among the entertainers who gathered outside the Gate of Great Virtue during New Year celebrations in 1062. Noting the irony of these public displays in front of this symbol of national decorum, he petitioned the throne to prohibit women's wrestling.

Throughout the Song period, China was under threat of invasion from various northern nomadic groups, and the Mongols finally conquered

it in 1279. The Song History records a number of heroic personages involved in the fighting against the invaders. Among these was the younger sister of one leader named Yang Aner. She was called Woman Number Four, and the history describes her as clever and fierce, and good at riding and archery. This period also spawned the legend of the woman warrior Hua Mulan, who was also said to have lived prior to the founding of the Tang, but about whom no firm historical record exists. The story of her substituting for her father by joining the military disguised as a man served as a dual symbol of patriotism and filial piety.

Ever since the legendary Maiden of Yue, who supposedly lived around 200 B.C., women martial artists have had roles in popular literature. Of the 108 main characters in the Ming novel *Outlaws of the Marsh* (also known as *All Men Are Brothers* or *Water Margin*), three are women. Stories about women martial artists abounded during the Qing period (1644–1911). Some are about fictional characters, such as the skilled young Buddhist nun in *Strange Tales from the Studio of Small Talk* and others in various popular martial novels. There are also numerous vignettes about real people in the *Stone Studio Illustrated News* of the 1880s and 1890s, the *Qing Unofficial History Categorized Extracts* (completed in 1917), and the official *Yongchun County Gazetteer*—home of *yongchun* (*wing chun*) boxing.

Based on the record in the *Yongchun County Gazetteer* (Fujian province), one can at least tentatively assume that what is now known as yongchun boxing likely evolved from the skills introduced there by Woman Ding Number Seven between 1644 and 1722. She is said to have come to Yongchun with her father and taught some of the locals. One of these, Zheng Li, supposedly improved the art further with skills he learned from an itinerant Buddhist monk, who had picked up some Shaolin techniques. These skills were then passed on in Yongchun to the twentieth century.

The vignettes in the *Categorized Extracts* and *Stone Studio Illustrated News* reveal a variety of situations involving women martial artists, especially incidents in which they beat numbers of male ruffians. One of the most compelling stories is about a Widow Qi Number Two who, between 1795 and 1820, rescued a wrongfully imprisoned old nun and then joined a group of White Lotus Sect rebels and became their leader. Women martial artists also served in the ranks of the Taiping rebels (1850–1863) and the Boxers in 1900. All this reflects a society in turmoil, where both men and women might be forced to defend themselves. Under these circumstances, the wealthy and well-placed depended on escort or protection agencies. Women served in some of these enterprises as well.

After the Revolution of 1911, women continued to make their mark in the martial arts, and they were prominent in the team that performed at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin. They continue to play an important part in

China's current physical education program, which includes standardized routines for nationwide competition. Most recently, they have participated in international martial arts tournaments, which have included contact competition.

Stanley E. Henning

See also Boxing, Chinese; Folklore in the Martial Arts; Written Texts: China; Yongchun (Wing Chun)

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Women in the Martial Arts: Japan

Early History

The battle tales of Japan, chronicles of wars in the Heian, Kamakura, and Muromachi periods, focus almost completely on the deeds of the nobility and warrior classes. These tales, passed down by blind bards much as Homer's *Iliad* was, present warriors as archetypes: the tragic Loser-Hero, the Warrior-Courtier, the Traitor, the Coward, and so on.

Women's roles in such tales are slight:

- The Tragic Heroine who kills herself at the death of her husband.
- The Loyal Wife who is taken captive.
- The Stalwart Mother who grooms her son to take vengeance for his dead father.
- The Merciful Woman whose "weak, feminine" qualities encourage a warrior chieftain to indulge in unmanly empathy, dissuading him from killing the family of his enemy, who later grow up to kill him.

- The Seductress, who preoccupies the warrior leader, diverting him from his task with her feminine wiles.

Only in passing does one hear about women in the mass: slaughtered, or "given" to the warriors as "spoils of war." That they were surely raped and often murdered was apparently considered too trivial a fact to even mention in later warrior tales, once the conventions of the genre had been codified.

Still, unless one is willing to imagine a conspiracy of silence in which women's roles on the battlefield were suppressed in both historical records and battle tales, it is a fair assumption that *onna-musha* (women warriors) were unusual. This is borne out by the prominence given to the few women about whom accounts are written. Interestingly, in the cases of both of the most famous of these women, the *naginata* (a halberd associated with women's martial arts today) was not their weapon of choice.

Japan's most famous women warriors are Tomoe Gozen and Hangaku, also called Itagaki. In the *Heike Monogatari,* Tomoe Gozen was a general in the troops of Kiso Yoshinaka, Yoritomo's first attack force. She was described as exceptionally strong and hauntingly beautiful, with pale white skin like that of a court lady. Her last act, on the verge of Yoshinaka's defeat, is the subject of many plays and poems. She was ordered to retreat. Rather than simply leave, however, she instead rode directly into a group of the enemy, singling out the strongest. She matched his horse's stride, reached over, sliced off his head with her sword, and cast it aside. Tomoe, has not, however, ever been proven as a historical figure, although not for lack of trying. Although Tomoe is claimed by more than a few naginata traditions as being either their founder or one of their primordial teachers, there is no factual justification for such a claim. It is, instead, merely an attempt to associate their tradition with a powerful, romantic figure who lived long before their system was even dreamed of.

Hangaku, daughter of the Jo, a warrior (*bushi*) family of Echigo province, was known for her strength and accuracy with the bow and arrow. During an uprising of Echigo against the central government, she held off the enemy from the roof of a storehouse. After being wounded in both legs by spears and arrows, she was captured, then released in the custody of a famous warrior. There is an account of her later defending the Torizakayama Castle with 3,000 soldiers. The enemy numbered 10,000, and she was defeated and killed.

Thus, at least in the earlier periods of the Heian and Kamakura periods, women who became prominent or even present on the field of battle were exceptional. This does not mean, however, that Japanese women were powerless. There is a common image of Japanese femininity based on the accounts we have of those women of the Imperial court, swaddled in lay-

ers of kimono and rigid custom, preoccupied with poetry and moon viewing. Such a picture obscures just who the *bushi* women were during the ascendancy of their class. They were originally pioneers, helping to settle new lands, and if need be, becoming fighters, like women of the Old West in American mythology. Women at one time or another even may have led some bushi clans. This can be inferred in that women had the legal right to function as *jitô* (stewards), who supervised land held in absentia by nobles or temples.

These women trained with the naginata because, generally speaking, they defended their homes rather than marching off to battle. Therefore, they only needed to become skilled with a few weapons that offered the best range of tactics to defend against marauders attacking on horseback or in small groups with swords.

The Warring States Period

From the tenth until the seventeenth centuries, Japan can never be said to have been at peace. However, from 1467 until 1568, the whole country was swept into chaos, in what became known as the *Sengoku jidai,* or Warring States period. This was a time in which all social classes were swept up into war, and feudal domains were sometimes stripped of almost all healthy males.

One result of this rampant warfare was that women were often the last defense of towns and castles. Thus there are accounts of wives of warlords, dressed in flamboyant armor, leading bands of women armed with naginata. In an account in the *Bichi Hyôranki,* for example, the wife of Mimura Kotoku, appalled by the mass suicide of the surviving women and children in her husband's besieged castle, armed herself and led eighty-three soldiers against the enemy.

It was at this time that the image of women fighters with naginata probably arose. However, as Yazawa Isako, a sixteenth-generation headmistress of the *Toda-ha Buko-ryû,* wrote in 1916, the main weapon of most women in these horrible times of war was not the naginata, but the dagger (*kaiken*). *Bushi* women carried a kaiken with them at all times. Yazawa states that women were not usually expected to fight with their dagger, but rather to kill themselves.

Japanese female suicide (*jigai*) was as wrapped in custom as the male warrior's *seppuku* (cutting the abdomen). In seppuku, a man was required to show his stoicism in the face of unimaginable pain. In jigai, women had a method in which death would occur relatively quickly, and the nature of the wound would not be likely to cause an ugly distortion of the features or disarrangement of the limbs, thus offending the woman's dignity after death. The dagger was used to cut the jugular vein.

Women did not train in using the kaiken with sophisticated combat techniques. If a woman was forced to fight, she was to grab the hilt with both hands, plant the butt firmly against her stomach, and run forward to stab the enemy with all her weight behind the blade. She was to become, for a moment, a living spear. Thus, she was not supposed to boldly draw her blade and challenge her enemy. Instead she had to find some way to catch him unawares. If she were successful in this, she would most likely be unstoppable. But men knew this, and so a woman could not realistically expect to face a single foe or have the advantage of surprise. Furthermore, if she were captured alive, even after killing several enemies, she would be raped, displayed as a captive, or otherwise dishonored. In the rigid beliefs of this period, this caused shame to attach to the family name. In these grim times, the only escape from what was believed to be disgrace was death at one's own hands.

The Edo Period: An Enforced Peace

In the mid-seventeenth century, when Japan finally arrived at an enforced peace under the authoritarian rule of the Tokugawa shogunate, the need for skill at arms decreased. The turbulent energies of the warrior class were bound up in an intricate code of conduct, based on laws governing behavior appropriate to each level of society. The rough codes of warriors were organized into the doctrines (for there was not simply one) of *bushidô* (the way of the warrior). Self-sacrifice, honor, and loyalty became fixed ideals, focusing the warrior class on a new role as governing bureaucrats and police agents of a society at enforced, totalitarian peace. The role of the warrior was mythologized, and certain images were held up as ideals for all to emulate.

During the Edo period (1603–1867), all women, not only those of the samurai class, became increasingly restricted. In this world, everyone had to fill an immutable role in society, fixed at birth and held until death. The rules and social conventions governing conduct between men and women, formerly more egalitarian, became more rigid than at any other period of Japanese history, and a woman's relationship toward her husband was said to mirror that of a samurai toward his lord. The bushi woman was expected to center her life on her home, serving her family in the person of her husband first, his male sons second, and her mother-in-law third. Studies and strong physical activity were considered unseemly.

Work was almost completely gender divided, and men and women became increasingly separate from one another. There was usually a room in each house reserved for men that women were forbidden to enter, even to clean or serve food. Husbands and wives did not customarily even sleep together. The husband would visit his wife to initiate any sexual activity and afterwards would retire to his own room.

In such a society, stories of women warriors defending their homes and their families were a means toward an end. Women trained with the naginata less for the purpose of combat than to instill in them the idealized virtues necessary to be a samurai wife. Women's work was unremitting in serving the males of the household and in trying to teach proper behavior to their children, who were legally considered to be the husband's alone. However, unlike the women of Victorian England, who were expected to be subservient and frail, the bushi women were expected to be subservient and strong. Their duty was to endure.

When a bushi woman married, one of the possessions she took to her husband's home was a naginata. Like the *daisho* (long and short swords) that her husband bore, the naginata was considered an emblem of her role in society. Practice with the naginata was a means of merging with a spirit of self-sacrifice, of connecting with the hallowed ideals of the warrior class. As men were expected to sacrifice themselves for the state and the maintenance of society, women were expected to sacrifice themselves to a rigid, limited life in the home.

Meanwhile, in rural villages, women sometimes used naginata to maintain order. An elderly woman, for example, recalled that when she was a small girl in a village in Kyûshû, the southernmost major island of Japan, men were often gone from the village to work on labor crews. When there was a disturbance at night or a suspicious character entered the village, the women would grab their naginata hanging ready on one of the walls of the house and go running outside to search the town for any danger. The woman's grandmother was the leader of this "emergency response squad," and this squad was a naturally autonomous group within the village. Protecting the neighborhood was simply assumed to be a woman's job.

Tendo-Ryû: One Foot on the Battlefield, One in the Modern World

Perhaps the best way to understand the role of martial training within Edo-period society and in subsequent periods of Japanese history is to examine the historical records and practices associated with some of the traditional *ryû*. (The author employs the term *ryû* in order to avoid the connotation of faction within a style that may be carried by the term *ryûha*.) *Tendo-ryû naginata-jutsu,* in particular, embodies many of the most significant changes in martial training from the late sixteenth century to the present, including

- A transition from a warrior's art (Ten-ryû), incorporating many weapons, to a martial tradition with a decided emphasis on a single one
- An increasing emphasis on the naginata as a weapon associated with women
- A transition from combative training to a training of will and spirit

A late-nineteenth-century depiction of the match at the dôjô of Chila Skusaku between Naginata & Shinai. (Courtesy of Ellis Amdur)

- The use of martial arts in mass education
- The development of sportive forms of martial training

Therefore it is a worthy exemplar.

First developed for warriors during the 1560s, Tendo-ryû had a rather violent history, and many of its early members were involved in duels. Significant changes occurred during the late 1800s, however, under the tenure of Mitamura Kengyô, headmaster of one line of Tendo-ryû. Chief among them was that Mitamura singled out the naginata for the purpose of training women and girls.

The motivation was the desire to combat the steady influx of Western influence, and in 1895 Mitamura joined the newly formed Dainippon Butokukai, a Kyoto-based martial arts regulating body. After he displayed his methods for group instruction in 1899, a women's school in Kyoto contracted with him to teach naginata on a regular basis, and subsequently the Tendo-ryû came to be known as specializing in the study of the naginata. Women took prominence as teachers (most notably, Mitamura's brilliant wife, Mitamura Chiyo), and over time the practice weapon was made lighter.

Tendo-ryû kata instill a sense of fighting awareness; Mitamura Takeko, the granddaughter of Mitamura Kengyô, calls this the "cut and thrust spirit." She believes that practicing in this way can help one to reach deep inside oneself: "I don't just practice the naginata, it is a part of me." She states that even though a student practices killing, "the gentleness and softness inherent in a woman is not lost. In fact, the training is aimed at focusing those traits into a strength which can be used for fostering and protecting as well as taking life" (personal communication 1982).

Unlike some schools that claim to have remained largely unchanged since their inception, it is likely that Tendo-ryû is far different from the original Ten-ryû practiced by the wild founder Saitô Denkibô Katsuhide. Nonetheless, perhaps the best of his spirit still resides in the hands and hearts of the women of Tendo-ryû, a courage and integrity in movement anyone would do well to emulate.

Jikishin Kage-ryû Naginata-dô and the Development of Meiji *Budô*

During the 1860s, Satake Yoshinori, a student of the Jikishin and Yanagi Kage-ryû, developed a new naginata school with his wife, Satake Shigeo, who had studied martial arts since she was 6 years old and was famous for her strength with the naginata. Between them, these two developed the forms of the present-day Jikishin Kage-ryû Naginata-dô. An innovative work, Jikishin Kage-ryû Naginata-dô bears no discernible relation to Ippusai's kenjutsu system, which tradition says preceded it. Furthermore, the addition of the suffix *-dô* (way) indicates that the founders saw their school as a budô, a means of martial practice meant for the purpose of self-perfection rather than self-preservation.

During the 1920s, the succeeding chief instructor, Sonobe Hideo, introduced Jikishin Kage-ryû into girls' schools. (Until the American reforms of the late 1940s, Japanese schools were rarely coeducational.) Sonobe taught at major schools in the Kyoto area, and was one of the first teachers to popularize mass training. "There is no fear on the part of the woman who is well trained [in wielding naginata]," Sonobe told the *Japan Times* in July 1925. "She is strong and confident. Her body is in perfect condition, muscles hard, body constantly alert, eyes and mind keenly following the movements of the blade."

Since World War II, the Jikishin Kage-ryû has continued to grow and has the most students of any of the traditional schools of naginata. The present head teacher is Toya Akiko.

The forms of Jikishin Kage-ryû are done in straight lines in a highly defined rhythm. The *kiai* (vocal expressions of spirit) are traded back and forth, in almost a call-and-response, adding to a sense of dancelike structure. The forms project a sense of crisp elegance, but the emphasis appears to be on correct performance rather than development of martial skills: Perfection of the form as it is given rather than an ability to improvise freely is the aim of the school.

Despite this seemingly noncombative orientation, Jikishin Kage-ryû first made its name in matches against kendô practitioners. Both Satake Shigeo and Sonobe Hideo became famous through their many victories in such contests. Although Jikishin Kage-ryû no longer emphasizes competition against kendô practitioners, matches still do occur, and many members happily par-

ticipate in competitions in the modern sports-oriented *atarashii naginata* (see below). Thus, perpetuating the tradition is clearly a valued part of its practitioners' lives. Overall, the Jikishin Kage-ryû has been more successful than any other system in appealing to a large population of Japanese women. In its forms and practice, they find a kind of semimartial training that encourages and strengthens their will and sense of a strong, graceful femininity.

Modern Competitive Martial Sports

During the 1870s, the Japanese began thinking of themselves in terms of a national identity. Before this time, one's feudal domain was, in many senses, one's country. Toward this end, the central government began to manipulate the doctrines of bushidô to make them apply to the entire populace rather than just the warrior class. Through this, the government encouraged the development of a militant and obedient society.

Language, religion, and especially education were brought under the control of the government, and the newly created public school system became a great propaganda machine. As in all societies, the school system's purposes were manifold, but in imperial Japan, the primary emphasis was on submission to the emperor and the needs of the state. Education was seen as a means of gaining skills and knowledge for the good of the country. Students were taught that cooperation, standardization, and the denial of personal desires were the most productive ways of serving the nation.

After the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, martial arts were made a regular part of the school curriculum. The classical disciplines, however, were not considered completely suitable for the training of the mass population. The older martial traditions encouraged a feudalistic loyalty to themselves and their teachings, and in addition, often focused on somewhat mystical values not directly concerned with the assumed needs of imperial Japan.

So in 1911, jûdô and kendô, both Meiji creations, were introduced into boys' schools. As early as 1913, there was a jûdô class at Seijyo Girls' High School in Tokyo, but the idea of women's wrestling did not prove very popular, for as late as 1936 there were only a few dozen *dan*-graded female jûdôka in Japan.

However, working-class women were not necessarily bound by convention, and during the early Meiji period, a time when many people lost their means of livelihood, there arose a phenomenon known as *gekken kôgyô* (sword shows). In these, former samurai, down on their luck, joined forces to create what amounted to circuses in which they gave demonstrations and took challenges from the audiences. Mounting the stage, fighters would challenge all comers from the audience, using wooden or bamboo swords, naginata, spear, chain-and-sickle, or any other weapon selected by the challenger. These fights were very popular and well written up in the

newspapers. And, even though the fighters probably tried to exert some control, there were many injuries.

In addition to challenge matches, members of the troupe would engage each other in contests, pitting women armed with wooden naginata against men armed with wooden or bamboo swords. One of the most remarkable of these female fighters was Murakami Hideo, who became a seventeenth-generation headmistress of the *Toda-ha Buko-ryû*. Murakami's life story cries for a novel. Born in Shikoku in 1863, she studied *Shizuka-ryû Naginata-jutsu* as a girl. When her teacher died, she left home while still teenaged to study other systems. Then this staunch, tiny woman continued her wanderings in Honshu, traveling alone, testing her skill against other fighters, studying as she went. Imagine, if you will, a young woman, little more than a girl, marching through the Japanese countryside alone, without employment, walking from one dôjô to another.

Murakami reached Tokyo while in her early twenties and became a student of Komatsuzaki Kotoko, and possibly Yazawa Isako, the fifteenth- and sixteenth-generation teachers of the Toda Ha Buko-ryû. By now she was very strong, and so she was awarded the highest license (*menkyo kaiden*) in the school while still in her twenties.

Unable to read or write, Murakami was unable to make much of a living, so she joined the gekken kôgyô. Fighting with a chain-and-sickle or naginata, she took all challenges from the audiences. There are no reports of her ever losing. In her later years, she was able to make ends meet as a teacher—her dôjô in the Kanda area of Tokyo was called the Shûsuikan (Hall of the Autumn Water)—but she was always poor. According to those who knew her in her old age, she was a tiny, kind, but wary woman, always ready to invite one to supper. She could drink anyone under the table. As far as is known, she lived alone and she died alone.

As these matches were for the paid entertainment of the audience, they soon degenerated to what must be considered the pro wrestling of the Meiji period (1867–1910), with waitresses serving drinks in abbreviated kimono and drunken patrons cheering in the stands. Matches became dramatic exhibitions, vulgar parodies of the austere warrior culture from which they had emerged. Discouraged at times by the police, who regarded them as a threat to public order, the gekken kôgyô were disbanded by the 1920s. Nonetheless, they can be regarded as the first precursors of modern martial sport in Japan—competition for the sake of comparing skills and entertaining an audience.

Women's Martial Art Training, 1920–1945

As martial arts continued to be integrated into public education, the practice of naginata came to a crossroads. Jûdô, kendô, and later karate were

A sparring match between Murakami Hideo and Kobayashi Seiko of the Toda-ha Buko ryû. (Courtesy of Ellis Amdur)

designed to be practiced in standardized formats. While this had not happened to naginata practice yet, it did as it began to be featured in public schools, since when taught en masse to groups of young people, even the most conservative traditions must change. Pre–World War II photographs show lines of children diligently swinging weapons in unison, while other pictures show young children phlegmatically plodding their way through *kata*. Form practice means something very different to warriors trying to get an edge in upcoming battles and to teenagers attending gym class at the local high school. So, to make the training relevant to young people, competitive practice became more and more popular.

Competition led to modifications in equipment. The light wooden naginata covered with leather was used first; later, for safety's sake, bam-

boo strips were attached to the end of a wooden shaft, in imitation of kendô *shinai*. This weapon replica is light and whippy, allowing movements impossible with a real naginata. As rules developed and point targets were agreed upon, the techniques useful for victory in competition began to differ from those used by the old ryû, each of which had been developed for different terrain, varied combative situations, and a welter of sociopolitical objectives. Naginata practice began to develop into something new—a competitive sport.

Not all teachers were opposed to this universalistic trend, given its congruence to the strong centralization of state power at this time. During World War II, some naginata teachers, notably Sakakida Yaeko, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, created the Mombushô Seitei kata (standard forms of the Ministry of Education). Sakakida had been (and remains) a student of *Tendo-ryû* and was an avid participant in matches pitting naginata against kendô. She states that she found that the different styles of the old ryû were not suitable to teach to large groups of schoolgirls on an intermittent basis. Given the conditions in which she had to teach, she felt that it was too difficult for the girls to learn the sword side of the kata, so she began to emphasize solo practice with the naginata. In addition, she was concerned that they might study one style in primary school and another in secondary school, thus being required to relearn everything each time they switched schools.

As a result of these difficulties, she and several associates created totally new kata that focused on naginata versus naginata. The Mombushô forms, made for the express purpose of training schoolgirls and adopted for use in 1943, were the result. Something, however, seemed to be lost in the process. Geared for children rather than warriors, these forms are, as a result, simplistic and somewhat lacking in character. The singularity that made the old ryû strong was sacrificed in favor of a generic mean.

Teachers and students of the classical ryû received basic but scanty instruction in the new kata and were assigned "territories" made up of several grammar schools. As part of their preparation, the teachers were instructed in how to give pep talks to the girls. These talks included warnings about the barbarism of invading armies and the need for girls to protect themselves and their families. Yet the protection was not intended for the sake of the integrity of the girls themselves, but for the sake of being "mirrors of the Emperor's virtue."

Nitta Suzuyo, nineteenth-generation lineal successor to the Toda ha Buko-ryû, subsequently recalled teaching these forms to girls aged 12 to 17 years. She stated that, although still a young woman herself, she was dispatched to teach because her teacher, Kobayashi Seiko, had no desire to teach the Mombushô kata, preferring to continue to teach her traditional

ryû in private. As part of the training for teachers, Nitta was told that the most important thing was to boost the girls' morale and strengthen their spirit in case of an enemy landing. Nitta said that the girls professed to enjoy the training, which was done in place of "enemy sports" such as baseball or volleyball.

Training after World War II

In 1945 the war ended for Japan. The occupation forces were fearful of anything that seemed to be connected to Japan's warlike spirit, and the Americans severely restricted martial studies. Thousands of swords were piled on runways, run over with steamrollers, and then buried under concrete construction projects. Donn Draeger, noted martial arts practitioner and scholar, recalled the sight of those swords, flashing in the sun in shards of gold and silver, crackling and ringing under the roar and stink of the steamrollers.

After a few years, however, these bans were lifted, and the first All Japan Kendô *Renmei* (federation) Tournament was held in 1953. At a meeting held afterwards, Sakakida and several of the leading naginata instructors of Tendo-ryû and Jikishin Kage-ryû made plans for the institution of a similar All Japan Naginata Dô Renmei. It was decided to adopt the Educational Ministry kata as the standard form of the federation, with only a few minor changes. They also decided to eliminate the writing of *naginata* in the traditional characters, which had meant "long blade" or "mowing blade," and, to indicate their break with the past, they used the syllabary, whose characters only have sound values. This martial sport has come to be called *atarashii naginata* (new naginata).

This change in the way of writing naginata may seem to be a trivial one, but it is not. The change in how naginata is written states decisively to practitioners that atarashii naginata is no longer a martial art, using a weapon either to train combat skills or to demand, through its paradoxical claim as a "tool for enlightenment," a focused and integrated spirit. Instead, they have created a sports form, martial in both appearance and "sound," but not in "character."

Atarashii naginata is composed of two elements: kata and shiai. According to some of their leading instructors, particularly those of this generation, the kata were created by taking "the best techniques from many *naginata ryûha*." This is propaganda at best, absurd at worst: The forms of the various ryû are not mere catalogues of separate techniques, to be selected like bonbons in a corner candy store, but interrelated wholes, permeated with a sophisticated cultivation of movement and designed for combative effectiveness and spiritual training. Sakakida herself only states that she observed the old ryû and tried to absorb their essence. Then, forgetting their movements entirely, she devised the new kata.

Atarashii naginata contests are an imitation of kendô competition. The matches between heavily armored opponents scoring points only at specified targets often resemble a game of tag, and the practitioners rarely utilize kata movements. Thus kata are no longer relevant to combat. So, by removing the considerations of one's own death (and one's responsibility for another's fate), atarashii naginata may have removed the major impetus for the development of an ethical stance toward the world. All that may remain for many trainees is a sport, with the emphasis on winning or losing a match.

Be that as it may, many naginata teachers have entered the modern association and have attempted to teach both their old tradition and atarashii naginata. However, only a few of their students are willing to practice the old kata. This has resulted in the abandonment and demise of most of the old martial traditions; often the only reason young people practice the old school at all is "just so it won't be forgotten."

It must be noted, however, that the demise of the old traditions is the responsibility of practitioners themselves, as they either could not find a way to make their art relevant to the younger generation or have no idea themselves of the value of the tradition passed on to them. But there is hope. In the words of one outspoken teacher, Abe Toyoko:

> I see lots of people today, jumping from one new thing to another, not getting settled. I really think people need something in the foundation, some deeply rooted place in their lives. I see this even in the judging of naginata matches. It used to be so different, this judging. There were only two per match, and they were deliberate and subtle, not jumpy and conforming like the ones today. Even their movements had more meaning. The judges used to have individual styles, their own way of signaling points. Now everyone has to do it the same way. You won't believe this. They stopped a match once, one I was judging, and asked over the loudspeaker if I would raise my arm a few more degrees when signaling. Do you believe it? And just a couple of years ago, I was judging with another teacher. One of the competitors moved, just moved a little, and the other judge signaled a point. I asked the two women in the match if a point had been made and they both said no. But because the judge had ruled for it, it was declared valid! I haven't judged since. I don't want to be a part of teaching people how to win cheaply or lose unfairly. (personal communication 1982)

Ellis Amdur

See also Form/Xing/Kata/Pattern Practice; Koryû Bugei, Japanese; Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan; Swordsmanship, Japanese; Women in the Martial Arts, 479 B.C.–A.D. 1896

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Wrestling and Grappling: China

Wrestling or grappling is the nucleus for Chinese bare-handed martial arts, going back to the dawn of Chinese civilization. It has consisted of various forms and been called by different names over the centuries based on changing times, China's vast geographical setting, and multiethnic society. From earliest times it was a basic military combat skill that complemented weapons techniques.

Chinese wrestling's mythological origins are found in the fight between the Yellow Emperor and Chi You, the inventor of weapons. Chi You's followers are said to have donned animal-horn headdresses to butt their opponents in hand-to-hand combat. Thus, one of the earliest names for wrestling was *juedi* (horn butting). Another early term, used as a verb, *bo* (to seize or strike), to describe bare-handed fighting, including wrestling, was apparently also used as a noun to describe boxing. Thus, we can see the

complementary relationship between Chinese wrestling and boxing, which, in earliest times, were likely barely distinguishable.

During the Spring and Autumn period (770–476 B.C.), exceptional wrestlers were selected to serve as bodyguards to accompany field commanders in their chariots. This tradition is vividly portrayed centuries later in the powerful guardian figures associated with Buddhist art.

In the Record of Rituals (second century B.C.), wrestling, termed *jueli* (compare strength), is described, along with archery, as a major element of military training carried out during the winter months after the harvest. During the Qin period (221–207 B.C.), wrestling (juedi, the accepted formal name) was officially designated as the ceremonial military sport.

During the Former Han period (206–208 B.C.), wrestling and boxing (*shoubo* [hand striking]) became more clearly distinguishable, the former more of a sport emphasizing holds and throws, and the latter retaining the deadlier, no-holds-barred, hand-to-hand combat skills. However, wrestling's full evolution as a sport with rules and limits was uneven. The official Tang History (A.D. 618–960) mentions wrestling matches held in the imperial palace in which heads were smashed, arms broken, and blood flowed freely.

Another trend discernible during the Former Han was the exchange of martial arts skills between China and the nomadic peoples to the north. One of Han emperor Wu's (140–87 B.C.) bodyguards, Jin Ridi, a Xiongnu (ancestors of the Mongols), used a skill called *shuaihu* (a neck-lock throw) to defeat a would-be assassin. A similar term, *shuaijiao* (leg throw), ultimately became the modern common name for Chinese wrestling. This was also likely the period when both Chinese boxing (shoubo) and wrestling (juedi) were introduced to the Korean peninsula through military colonies established and maintained as far south as Pyongyang between 108 B.C. and A.D. 313. These were the terms used for bare-handed Korean military martial arts throughout the Koryo period (918–1392) and into the following early Yi period.

Wrestling tournaments were grand occasions for both commoners and the elite. Folk matches drew crowds from many miles around, while imperial tournaments were accompanied by much pomp, with rows of military drummers on either side of the wrestling ring. Tang emperor Zhuang Zong (924–926) personally challenged his guests and offered prizes if they could beat him. One individual defeated him and was made governor of a prefecture.

Some of what we know about wrestling can be found in the *Record of Wrestling* (*Jueli Ji,* ca. 960), the very existence of which is testimony to the role of wrestling in Chinese popular culture. In addition to the older terms, *juedi* and *jueli*, it lists several later terms, including *xiangpu,* a colloquial form for popular folk wrestling (the term first appears between A.D.

Two Mongolian wrestlers lock themselves in battle during a match in China. (Karen Su/Corbis)

265 and 316); the term adopted in Japan for sumô; and *xiangfei,* a local term used in Sichuan and Hebei.

Contemporary descriptions of society in the Song dynasty (960–1279) capitals of Kaifeng and Hangzhou reveal that wrestling enjoyed widespread popularity. Wrestling associations were among the specialty groups abounding in the capital of Hangzhou. Open-air matches were held at specially designated areas in and around the city, sometimes in spacious temple grounds. People came from all around to watch and participate. The wrestlers included both men and women, and there were even mixed male-female matches, such as the one described in the novel *Water Margin* (also known as *All Men Are Brothers* or *Outlaws of the Marsh*). In this episode, a woman, Woman Duan Number Three, confronts Wang Qing. Wang fools her and flips her to the ground, but immediately snatches her up with a move called "Tiger Embraces His Head."

The scholar-official Sima Guang, in a memorial to court (1062), opposed the spectacle of scantily clad women wrestlers. Moreover, the elite palace guards or Inner Group were all top-flight wrestlers.

The Mongols, who ruled China from 1271 to 1368, emphasized the "men's three competitive skills" of riding, archery, and wrestling. They were key elements tested in competition for leadership positions. To say

that these were only men's skills, however, is somewhat misleading, for women also practiced them. The *Travels of Marco Polo* describes one instance where the daughter of King Kaidu (grandson of Ogodai) agreed to marry any man who could best her in wrestling. But, much to the dismay of her family and other well-wishers, she took her skill seriously, defeated all hopefuls, and remained single. The Mongols prohibited Han Chinese martial arts practices, which by this time consisted mainly of boxing and weapons routines.

Like the Mongols, the Manchus, who ruled China between 1644 and 1911, stressed riding, archery, and wrestling. They too attempted to place restrictions on Han Chinese martial arts practices, which they associated with subversive activities. Emperor Kangxi (1662–1722) is said to have established an elite Expert Wrestlers Banner (Shanpu Ying) to reward the strongmen/bodyguards he used to keep palace intrigues in check. Manchu emperors actively encouraged wrestling, called *buku,* among their own people and used it as a political and diplomatic tool in their relations with the Mongols. The Tibetans were also fond of wrestling, and this activity is depicted in a wall mural in the Potala Palace.

The main objective of Chinese wrestling, regardless of local variations of style (such as Beijing, Baoding, Tianjin, or Mongolian), is to throw the opponent to the ground by a combination of seizing, and arm maneuvers (twists and turns) and leg maneuvers (sweeps and hooks). A rough-and-tumble folk sport, it was practiced under Spartan conditions, without mats, and wrestlers practiced rolling in a fetal position to lessen the impact from hitting the ground.

In the turmoil following in the wake of the Communist rise to power in China and finally the split between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan in 1949, a number of Chinese wrestling masters immigrated to Taiwan. Among them was shuaijiao (or, as it is more commonly spelled in the West, *shuai-chiao*) champion Chang Tung-sheng. Chang and his students were instrumental in popularizing the system outside of Asia.

Chinese wrestling was popularized in the twentieth century as sport shuaijiao. The modern form is a type of jacketed wrestling, although practitioners assert that throwing in shuaijiao does not depend on grabbing the opponent's jacket or clothing. The priority is to grab the muscle and bone through the clothing in order to control and throw down the opponent. However, the use of the competitor's heavy quilted, short-sleeved jacket, which wraps tightly around the torso and is tied with a canvas belt, adds variety to the techniques used in controlling and throwing the opponent. Fast footwork using sweeps, inner hooks, and kicks to the opponent's legs are combined with the use of the arms to control and strike in order to create a two-directional action, making a powerful throw.

There is no mat or groundwork in shuaijiao. After the opponent is thrown to the ground, one strives to maintain the superior standing position. This is particularly the case against a larger opponent, who because of greater body weight will generally have the advantage in grappling on the ground. In a self-defense situation, after the opponent is thrown a shuaijiao, the practitioner immediately applies a joint lock and executes hand strikes or kicks with the knee or foot to vital areas of the falling or downed opponent.

Modern shuaijiao training utilizes individual drills, work with partners, and exercises employing apparatus. Balance, flexibility, strength, and body awareness are developed through movement such as hand and foot drills. After attaining proficiency in solo drills, the trainee advances to work with a partner. Practicing with a partner allows one to add power and coordination to techniques. Drills against full-speed punches, kicks, and grappling attacks are practiced to aid in training for *san-shou* (Chinese freestyle kickboxing) and self-defense. For the inexperienced novice student to learn, remember, and deploy martial art techniques quickly, while difficult in training, becomes more so under stress. In order to teach effective physical applications of shuaijiao techniques, free sparring drills and related mock-physical-encounter situations are of paramount importance in the training. Work with various types of equipment (striking and kicking the heavy bag, weight training, and work with canvas bags filled with steel shot) supplements the solo and partner practice of techniques.

Contemporary shuaijiao utilizes a ranking system divided into ten levels. The first version of the ranking system was created by Grand Master Chang Tung-sheng for the Central Police College of Taiwan. The ranking system follows the Japanese model of beginner (*chieh*) levels in descending order of fifth through first to expert (*teng*) levels of first through tenth. A colored belt signifying rank is worn with the uniform. The current ranking system was developed by Chang and Chi-hsiu D. Weng and is recognized by the International Shuai-chiao Association and the United States Shuai-chiao Association.

Shuaijiao has developed an international following. In the United States, the United States Shuai-chiao Association oversees the activities of the system, and in the spring of 2000 the Pan-American Shuai-chiao Federation was established in São Paulo, Brazil. The first Pan-American Shuai-chiao tournament was held in the following year.

Chi-hsiu D. Weng

See also China

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Wrestling and Grappling: Europe

Wrestling, at its core, is an attempt to force an opponent to submit by using holds, throws, takedowns, trips, joint locks, or chokes. Holds are attempts to immobilize an opponent by either entangling the limbs or forcing the shoulders to touch the mat, placing an opponent in a danger position. A throw is an attempt to toss a person across either the hips or shoulders, using the body as a fulcrum. A trip is an attempt by a wrestler to use legs to sweep one or both of the opponent's legs out, forcing a fall to the ground. A takedown is an attempt to unbalance an opponent, such as by grabbing both of the legs with the arms, once again forcing a fall to the ground. A joint lock is an immobilizing lock against a limb of the opponent, such as the elbow or knee, which attempts to hyperextend the joint beyond its normal range of motion, forcing the opponent to either surrender or risk losing the limb. A choke is an attempt to cut off either the air supply or blood supply, or both, to the head, once again forcing the opponent to either surrender or suffer unconsciousness.

There are thousands of techniques in wrestling that depend on the implementation of these movements. Experienced wrestlers of any style, therefore, have a great number of techniques and combinations that they may use in combat. Strikes or percussive blows are not allowed in sport wrestling, or if they are, such techniques are purely of a secondary nature, with a throw or hold intended to be the immobilizing technique. Once blows with fists or feet become the primary weapon or balanced equally with throws and holds, then the match either becomes boxing or "all-in" fighting.

Two wrestlers at the University of Washington, ca. 1920. (University of Washington Special Collections)

Wrestling exists in many forms. There are sportive forms, in which the practitioners attempt to compete for points before judges and must play within a set of prescribed rules. Many of these sportive forms are unique to a particular culture or civilization, while other forms have gained worldwide acceptance and have been introduced into Olympic competition. Contemporary martial arts practitioners use combative forms of wrestling, and the police and military forces of many nations employ wrestling to supplement armed combat. Combative wrestling is used for self-defense purposes in environments where there are no rules. Sacred forms of wrestling are used as religious ceremonies or only practiced during religious festivals or holidays. There are even forms of wrestling that are only used for secular holidays and festivals.

There is no universal agreement as to the origin of wrestling. However, mammals of all types engage in some kind of close-in grappling when they fight. Bears hug each other in fierce grips, attempting to bite and crush their opponents. Felines, ranging from housecats to the great lions and tigers, close with each other and attempt to encircle their opponents with their fore and back legs. Primates are known to wrestle with one another both in play and in combat. The closest human relatives in the animal kingdom—gorillas, chimpanzees, and orangutans—have been observed to throw their fellows when playing in moves that are remarkably similar to

basic wrestling throws. In addition, these creatures attempt to entangle the limbs of their opponents. It is worth speculating that many of the basic wrestling moves have been genetically imprinted in humans as instinctual methods of self-defense. Certainly the human hand, with its opposable thumb and four fingers, is ideally suited to grasping and holding.

Exactly when wrestling became a formal activity that was refined and taught, rather than an improvised activity, is unknown. It is certain, however, that wrestling has been with human society since the earliest civilizations. Wrestling in any form is a struggle between opponents that demands the ability not only to outmaneuver, but to outthink an opponent. Physical strength, although important, has always been secondary to the ability to move quickly and efficiently and to set up an opponent for a throw or hold. It has been said that wrestling matches are more like games of chess than combats, and successful wrestlers have always relied on their ability to think several moves ahead.

In this entry, wrestling will be examined in three broad contexts: historical, societal, and martial. The discussion of the historical aspect of wrestling will examine, however briefly, the development of wrestling from earliest times to the present. The treatment of the societal aspects will focus on specific types of wrestling by culture, a comparison of wrestling styles of the world, and the particular rules and limits of these styles in relation to European wrestling traditions. The discussion of the martial aspects of wrestling will examine wrestling as a martial art, as distinct from a sport. The fact that wrestling is an effective method of self-defense is often overlooked in contemporary society. Considering the myriad of techniques available to experienced wrestlers, including disarms and powerful throws, wrestling should not be characterized simply as a sport.

Western combat traditions generally are conceived of as having their origins in classical civilization. The Greeks and Romans dedicated wrestling competitions to Zeus (Roman Jupiter), the king of the gods, attesting to the importance of the activity. Our knowledge of wrestling as a formal activity, however, begins with the rise of civilization, and diverse cultural influences emerge in contemporary wrestling.

The first written records of the activity come from the Near Eastern civilizations of Babylon and Egypt, East Asia (China), and South Asia (India). Extensive descriptions of wrestling techniques in the surviving reliquaries of the Egyptian civilization date back at least to 1500 B.C. From Egypt, in fact, there comes a clear "textbook" of wrestling and fighting methods recovered from the tomb of Beni-Hassan. Various throws, holds, and takedowns are clearly illustrated through pictographs and descriptions. If, as thought by some scholars, this material was indeed conceived as a textbook of wrestling and fighting, designed to pass on instructions to fu-

ture generations of students, it is one of the oldest textbooks in the world. Many of the images clearly refer to techniques that are easily recognizable in modern wrestling systems: shoulder throws, hip throws, and leg sweeps.

Even earlier records dating back to the ancient Near Eastern civilizations of Sumer (ca. 3500 B.C.) and Babylon (ca. 1850 B.C.) attest to wrestling as being one of the oldest human activities. For example, the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh* clearly describes wrestling techniques used by the hero and his antagonists. The early chronicles of Japan list wrestling as one of the activities practiced by the gods. In fact, every culture on the planet appears to have developed some form of wrestling, making it one of the few human activities that can be said to be universally practiced.

In East Asia, Mongolia and China both developed indigenous wrestling systems. Murals of grappling techniques paid tribute to the art in fifth-century B.C. China. Chinese shuaijiao (shuai-chiao) continues to be practiced and has been disseminated internationally. The name literally means "throwing" and "horns," possibly a reference to the early helmets with horns that were worn by shuaijiao practitioners. Because of an apparently unbroken line of succession from this early period, shuaijiao may be the oldest continuously practiced wrestling system in the world. Shuaijiao wrestling involves powerful throws; the competitor who is the first to land on any part of his body above the knee loses. It is surmised that shuaijiao was originally a battlefield art. Today, shuaijiao exists as a wrestling style that is extremely popular in China, Taiwan, and Mongolia. Historically, it is likely to have influenced Western wrestling via traditional Russian systems and modern sambo.

In addition, there may be a South Asian link to Western wrestling through India. Beginning with the early civilizations of the Indus River valley (ca. 2500–1500 B.C.), there are pictographs and illustrations of figures who are clearly wrestling. In the Hindu religious text the *Mahabharata,* wrestling is described in detail. Even today, wrestling is practiced at village festivals in India and Pakistan. Like other forms of wrestling, competitors attempt to throw one another for points. Submission holds are neither frequent nor particularly appreciated. There are forms of all-out wrestling competition as well, known as *dunghal,* where practitioners fight until one submits or the contest is stopped because of injury. An argument can be made for a connection to the West via Alexander the Great's expeditionary forces into South Asia in the third century B.C., whose members included adepts at both wrestling and *pankration* (all-in fighting). In the absence of written records, however, cross influences between Indian and Western wrestling traditions must remain speculative.

Not until the Greeks, however (ca. 1000 B.C.), were wrestling techniques and descriptions of champions systematically recorded in written

forms in Western cultures. When the Olympic Games were initiated, wrestling was one of the original events, as was boxing. When pankration was added in 776 B.C., all three Greek unarmed combat systems were in place as Olympic events.

The goal of Greek wrestling was simple: Combatants were to force their opponents to submit without the use of striking. As a result, all holds and throws were permissible, with the exception of arm and leg locks and choke holds. Although the participants began from a standing position, it is likely that many of the events were concluded on the ground after a throw or a trip was used to force one of the competitors to the ground. When thrown, a competitor was lifted from a standing position and thrown to the ground. Examples include throwing an opponent over the shoulders or hips, with the shoulder or hip acting as a fulcrum, or facing an opponent and using the leg strength to lift and deposit the victim on the ground. Since the stadiums in which the wrestling matches were held had dirt floors, a powerful throw could momentarily stun.

Following the throw, trip, or takedown, a Greek wrestler attempted to maneuver the opponent into a submission hold. The purpose of the hold was to immobilize the opponent and place him in a danger position, such as when his shoulders touched the ground. This placed Greek wrestling at odds with pankration, in which any holds were allowed, including those that might dismember joints or choke an opponent into unconsciousness. Besides being included in the Olympics, wrestling was practiced at all athletic festivals, including those that were local, strictly intracity competitions. It was also mandatory for Greeks preparing for armed combat to study the rudiments of wrestling, boxing, or the pankration. Olympic Games, which honored the Greek deities, were ostensibly a religious form of expression. The sportive and military applications, however, were obvious. Wrestling, therefore, addressed three different spheres of life in the Greek world: religion, sport, and military training.

Despite the overall love of wrestling by Greek civilization, this martial art was not universally appreciated. Plato, in *The Republic,* stated that wrestlers were of dubious health and could fall seriously ill whenever they departed from their diet. In addition, several commentators expressed frustration at the many wrestling contests, including Olympic events, that were, as they believed, fixed. Still, the modern sport of wrestling in the Western world owes its roots to the practices of the ancient Greeks, beginning three thousand years ago.

When the Romans conquered the Greeks, in approximately 146 B.C., they found in the Greek world much that they admired and copied. Although they were impressed by Greek athletic preparation and by events such as wrestling, the art of wrestling as a sport never became popular in

the Roman world. The Romans added no innovations to Greek wrestling; they used the techniques that had been developed over the previous centuries and adapted them to their own temporal and religious festivals. The Romans themselves much preferred the blood sports of the empire, such as fights between gladiators or animals. As a result, wrestling suffered a loss of prestige. When Christianity became the official religion of the empire in the fourth century A.D., and later when the empire fell and chaos ensued, organized sports and high-level athletic techniques such as wrestling declined as well. Although wrestling continued to be practiced, most notably for combat training, in the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium) until the empire's demise in A.D. 1453, the authority of the Eastern Orthodox Church prevented wrestling from obtaining status as a sport. The Greek love of wrestling, with its innovations and techniques, had come to an end.

Contemporaries of the Romans, however, maintained wrestling systems. The Celts were notable in this regard. Roman writings (e.g., Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War*) describe Celtic life, including armed and unarmed combat, and note that Celtic festivals included wrestling. At least two variants of these forms of wrestling still exist: Cornish wrestling, practiced in the British area of Cornwall, and Breton wrestling, practiced in the French area of Brittany. Not surprisingly, these are also two of the last remaining outposts of Celtic life on the European continent, with Cornish, a Celtic language, still being spoken into the twentieth century, and Breton, also a Celtic language, still spoken in Brittany in the twenty-first century.

Various wrestling systems, both combative and sporting, appeared in the city-states and nations that arose in Europe following the fall of the Roman Empire. For example, in the area of what is today Germany, Austria, and the Czech Republic, as early as the thirteenth century there are indications that knights and men-at-arms used wrestling techniques in hand-to-hand combat. Later, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, German fighting guilds systematically taught wrestling techniques, known as *Ringen,* and disarming techniques, collectively known in German as *Ringen am Schwert* (wrestling at the sword), as part of their curricula. The *Fechtbuch* (fighting book) of Hans Talhoffer offers several pages of illustrations on what today would be classified as "getting inside the opponent," when an unarmed grappler moves within the effective fighting range of a sword or other weapon and removes it from the armed combatant. Several other Fechtbuchs from this and later time periods clearly show methods of throwing, takedowns, and armlocks that indicate that wrestling as a combat art was in use in Europe in the Middle Ages. One exponent of wrestling, Ott the Jew, was apparently so respected in his native Austria that he was even able to transcend the boundaries of anti-Semitism that existed in European societies during this period.

The Italians, as well, developed wrestling styles and grappling systems for combat. In one of the most famous treatises of the late Middle Ages, the Italian master Pierre Monte describes wrestling as the foundation of all fighting, and goes on to state that any form of weapons training must include knowledge of how to disarm. Monte criticizes wrestling techniques of other nations, most notably the Germans, in which he believed the practice of fighting on the ground was dangerous. This evidence suggests that various schools and theories of wrestling existed in Europe during this time.

In Scandinavia as early as A.D. 700–1100, wrestling called for competitors to grasp their opponents by the waist of their pants and attempt to throw them. The person who fell to the ground first would lose. This reflected the idea that a person once thrown on a battlefield would be at the mercy of an individual with a weapon. This wrestling tradition eventually became extinct in the Scandinavian countries, but persisted in one of the last outposts to be settled by the Vikings: Iceland. Today, this wrestling variant still exists in the Icelandic sport of *Glima,* an Icelandic word meaning "flash." Instead of trousers, participants wear a special belt known as a *climubeltae,* which simulates the wearing of trousers. A climubeltae consists of a wide belt worn around the waist with two smaller belts worn around the thighs. Competitors attempt to throw their opponents by grasping the climubeltae, and as in the ancient art from which it descends, the person who falls first or is thrown so as to touch the earth with any part of his body above the knee loses. This art form has been revived in Scandinavia and is practiced at festivals reenacting and celebrating Viking culture around the region.

Farther east, in Russia, wrestling systems developed among indigenous tribes that were later officially adopted as a part of its national culture. The ancient chronicles of the country, most notably the *Lay of Igor's Campaign,* describe warriors using wrestling techniques as part of their training. This would seem to indicate that Russian warriors developed wrestling as an unarmed combat skill for use in battle. The Mongols invaded Russia in the thirteenth century, and later the Russians reversed this by moving into former Mongol-dominated regions as the Mongolian Empire began to fall apart. This move brought the Russians into contact with many different peoples, many with their own styles of wrestling. As a result, regional styles evolved. For example, traditional Siberian wrestling resembles Japanese sumô and Korean *ssirŭm* in many respects. Other regions of Russia developed systems very similar to modern Greco-Roman and freestyle.

In the 1930s, after the overthrow of the Russian Empire and the building of the Soviet Union, the Russians developed their own form of wrestling for the entire nation: sambo. Sambo was intentionally created from the native fighting and wrestling techniques of the Russians, those of

One of the giants of the Cumberland style of wrestling, George Steadman (left), and Hex Clark during a match. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

the more than 300 nationalities of the Soviet Union, and elements of Japanese jûdô. Sport sambo allows throws, holds, leg and arm locks, and takedowns. Combat variants also exist. Today, even after the demise of the Soviet Union, sambo enjoys international popularity.

The United States developed its own systems of wrestling as well. Many of the early English settlers brought with them their native systems when they settled in the "New World," including Cornish and Cumberland/Westmorland-style wrestling from England. In the nineteenth century, catch-as-catch-can wrestling, originally from England, became popular in America. Catch-as-catch-can was a combat/sport form of wrestling in which most holds and throws/takedowns were allowed. In this respect, catch-as-catch-can was similar to Greek wrestling at the height of its popularity. Some have even compared it to pankration, although strikes were not allowed. From this catch-as-catch-can tradition, in the later nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, professional wrestling became an established sport in the country. Wrestlers such as Karl Gotch and "Farmer" Burns often challenged all comers in matches in which participants would wrestle until one surrendered. Unfortunately, however, the sport did not survive, and today the only representative from this "golden

age" of American wrestling is the gaudy showmanship and theater of make-believe "professional" wrestling, currently touted as "sports entertainment." There are attempts to revive the art, however. Today, there is a form of wrestling known as *pancrase* in Japan that resembles catch-as-catch-can.

Two official amateur wrestling systems exist today that may be defined as international styles because they have attempted to impose a rule structure that is uniform in application and that is intended to allow wrestlers from all nations to participate: Greco-Roman and freestyle wrestling. Both types are Olympic events. Freestyle wrestling allows competitors to grasp any part of the body and use the legs for sweeps and takedowns. Greco-Roman allows only the upper body to be used; the legs cannot be employed to sweep the opponent, nor can they be touched for grabs or takedowns. Both forms of wrestling are similar in that competitors attempt to pin their opponents by forcing the shoulders to touch the mat. Freestyle wrestling is practiced worldwide and is the most popular form of the sport. In North America, high school and college students compete in freestyle wrestling tournaments with modified rules, such as changes in the time allowed to pin an opponent. Greco-Roman is most popular in Europe. Due to the lack of worldwide acceptance of this style, however, there is talk at the present time of removing this category from Olympic competition.

Wrestling has traditionally been a male pursuit, but with the close of the twentieth century, female wrestling began to receive greater acceptance. Jûdô has allowed female competition for a number of decades, and in 1987, the Soviet Union allowed female sambo competitions. There is still no worldwide sanctioning body for female Greco-Roman or freestyle wrestlers. However, with the growing demand for gender equality and the passage of laws enforcing it in the United States and many European nations, it is likely that female participation in wrestling will be allowed internationally.

Wrestling is a martial art and sport that transcends national boundaries and cultural identities. Beyond the general criteria presented at the beginning of this entry, hundreds of recognized regional variants of wrestling exist in the world. A small listing includes the following: *trente,* from Romania and Moldavia; *kokh,* the national wrestling system of Armenia; Georgian jacket-wrestling, which resembles jûdô in many respects; *dumog,* one of the better-known wrestling systems from the Philippines; *Schwingen,* the national wrestling system of Switzerland; *tegumi,* a wrestling system from the island of Okinawa; *lutte Parisienne,* the French combat wrestling system that is often associated with the art of *savate;* and Corsican wrestling, from the Mediterranean island of Corsica.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is safe to assume that wrestling will continue to grow in popularity throughout the world. The fate of specific cultural forms of wrestling is unknown; perhaps as the

world narrows into a global village these forms of wrestling will cease to be practiced. Yet, even with this possibility, the growth of wrestling as a world sport and method of combat will continue.

Gene Tausk

See also Boxing, European; Europe; Gladiators; Masters of Defence; Pankration; Sambo; Savate; Swordsmanship, European Medieval; Swordsmanship, European Renaissance

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Wrestling and Grappling: India

There can be no consideration of Indian wrestling as a sociocultural phenomenon without a complete examination of the history out of which the modern sport emerges. And this history is not shaped only by the form of the sport as such, nor is it linear in any developmental, progressive sense. Wrestling as a martial art is as closely linked to colonialism and nationalism as it is to the ancient traditions of South Asian civilization; its form emerges out of a more pervasive and complex concern with the place of the body in society and the meaning of embodied practice in terms of religious, moral, and political principles.

However, on a purely superficial level Indian wrestling is directly comparable to other martial arts, most notably and explicitly freestyle wrestling. Since the basic rules, moves, and techniques are almost identical, one

may almost speak of "wrestling in India" rather than Indian wrestling as such. Thus the term *kushti,* which means "wrestling," denotes both a very local form of the art as well as a more global phenomenon. Kushti is composed of three primary dimensions: *daw, pech,* and *pantra* (moves, countermoves, and stance), and there is almost direct congruence between the "daws" known as *multani, dhobi pat,* and *kalajangh,* for example, and the corresponding freestyle moves known as arm drag, front hip throw, and fireman carry. Even so, what is significantly different about wrestling in India is that wrestlers sometimes wrestle in earth pits, sometimes engage in bouts that last for half an hour or more, sometimes wear distinctive briefs, and under some circumstances can employ moves that amount to hitting or kicking an opponent and/or throwing him by holding and pulling on his briefs. Sometimes a bout is decided when one contestant's shoulders touch the earth, and sometimes the rules of a tournament are set by those who organize it—but at other times and under other circumstances wrestlers in India wrestle according to strict and clearly defined international guidelines, rules, and regulations. The radical contingency of this is all fundamentally important, since wrestlers in India often consider themselves to be simply wrestlers—capable of competing equally on the earth of a freshly plowed village field or on expensive "rubber" mats at the National Institute of Sports in Patiala. In other words, there is an important sense in which the transnational form of freestyle wrestling makes Indian wrestling into wrestling in India. The history of this process can be directly linked to the formalization of rules and the structured organization of tournaments throughout India during the twentieth century.

It is important to realize, however, that this history is not one in which freestyle wrestling in India has emerged out of—and then has diverged away from, and become something different than—traditional Indian wrestling. The point is that wrestling in India, at any given time, but particularly in the twentieth century, undermines the pretense of Indian wrestling understood as a distinctive, culture-specific, martial art. Consider, for instance, what might appear to be uniquely Indian about Indian wrestling—the intense and comprehensive regimen of *jor* (Hindi; training), *khurak* (diet), and *vyayam* (exercise); the principle of *brahmacharya* (celibacy) as a prerequisite to training; the rich symbolic meaning of the *akhara* (gymnasium); the competitive dynamics of *dangals* (tournaments); the significance of royal patronage; the idealized structure of the guru-*chela* (master-disciple) relationship; and, in more general terms, the kind of embodied person known as a *pahalwan,* who is completely devoted to his guru, spends all his time wrestling, and who, among other things, idealizes the practice of celibacy; the consumption of huge amounts of milk, butter, and almonds; and the daily performance of thousands upon thousands of

dands and *bethaks*. Each of these "traditional" features is thoroughly modern and contextualized by changing, rather than stable, priorities.

Although wrestling is said to date back to antiquity in South Asia, references to the art in the Vedas, Upanishads, as well as in the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* epics, are cryptic and ambiguous. Two medieval texts, the *Manasollasa,* a treatise on royal art and culture in the Vijayanagar kingdom, and the *Mallapurana,* a caste purana of the Jyesthimalla Brahmans of western India, provide more detailed accounts. What is interesting about these two texts, however, is that they do not provide a very useful framework—no better or worse than accounts of the history of freestyle wrestling, that is—for understanding wrestling in contemporary India. Whereas most contemporary Hindu wrestlers emphasize the fundamental importance of a vegetarian diet, both medieval texts prescribe a diet that includes meat, even for high-caste Brahmans. Contemporary wrestlers de-emphasize the caste identity of wrestlers, saying that the sport breaks down hierarchy by producing a physiology "of one color" based on a principle of embodied power. However, both medieval texts use caste as an important, if problematic, criterion for ranked classification. The medieval texts carefully delineate and differentiate the kind of dietary regimen for different kinds of wrestlers, and recognize the value of moderation and balanced consumption, whereas contemporary wrestlers tend to single-mindedly advocate the hyperconsumption of milk, ghi (clarified butter), and almonds. Correspondingly, whereas the medieval texts seek to make a careful distinction between wrestlers on the basis of age, skill, caste background, physical development, size, and competitive preparedness, contemporary wrestlers tend to fetishize mass and musculature as developed through exercise and diet. Concerning exercise, it is noteworthy that whereas contemporary wrestlers tend to exclusively do hundreds if not thousands of fairly straightforward exercises—dands, a kind of jackknifing push-up, and bethaks, rapid deep-knee bends—to build up strength, the medieval texts catalog complex training regimens based on an array of many more different kinds of exercise.

An early-twentieth-century studio photo of the famous Indian wrestler The Great Gama (Ghulam Mohammed, 1878–1960). (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

It is difficult, if not impossible, to know whether there have been various alternatives to, or distinct stages between, the medieval and the modern traditions of wrestling. There is no doubt, however, that the emphasis on celibacy is a fairly modern phenomenon, a phenomenon that articulates the high anxiety of masculinity in late colonial and postcolonial India. Wrestlers claim that celibacy is an imperative part of the training regimen because sex in general and the loss of semen in particular are thought to be debilitating. Brahmacharya, as abstinence and asensuality, has a long genealogy in South Asia, which can be most clearly traced in the practices of asceticism and yogic self-discipline on the one hand and the disciplinary practices of brahmanical ritual pedagogy on the other. Wrestlers explain their advocacy for absolute asexuality using these idioms, pointing out that abstinence promotes focused concentration and the development of skill, as well as the embodiment of *shakti* (superhuman, subtle strength) manifest in the aura of pervasive *ojas* (divine energy).

However, it is clear that celibacy became a very problematic concept in twentieth-century India, invoking, on the one hand—in the context of Victorian colonialism—a kind of effete masculinity and, on the other, a kind of power that was displaced, disarticulated, and ambiguously marked on the male physique by virtue of its structural androgyny. In this light it is possible to understand how wrestlers in colonial India sought to articulate, with nervous bravado, an ideology of hypercelibacy—absolute detachment from sensual arousal—that was located, bombastically through hyper-self-discipline, in a massively masculine physique. The point of reference was not so much an idealized, intrinsically athletic physique as the threat of colonial masculinity defined by aggressive sexuality and the attendant feminization of the colonial subject.

The akhara (wrestling gymnasium)—replete with the symbolic significance of the earthen pit, its microcosmic relationship to the elemental structure of the cosmos, and the ritualized structure of religious meanings associated with Lord Hanuman (a patron deity of wrestling), as well as its spatial and architectural form as an integrated whole—might be considered the most quintessentially Indian feature of Indian wrestling. Clearly the earth of the pit has come to symbolize elemental purity, fertility, and the power of nature. Hanuman's embodiment of shakti through absolute celibacy substantiates this symbolism, and links the gymnasium to the sacred realm, defining it as a locus of physically expressed spiritual devotion. The integrated balance of earth, water, trees, and air is regarded as a kind of elemental matrix, both marking the gymnasium off as a world apart and yet redefining the world as whole by way of microcosmic instantiation. In most respects the gymnasium is conceptualized as a natural environment minimally transformed to evoke the ideal of a rural, agrarian landscape. In

the rhetoric associated with wrestling, the gymnasium is said to reproduce the natural and authentic qualities of village life. Curiously, however, gymnasiums are the product of a history that is rooted not so much in the world of peasants as in the palaces of princes and in the urban imagination of middle-class nationalists.

In the medieval period wrestlers were, in some instances, peasants. But to the extent they came to embody the identity of a pahalwan they were wards of the royal state. They were kept in stables by rajas and maharajas who paid their expenses and built gymnasiums for practice and arenas for tournament competition. These gymnasiums and arenas were designed to represent the aesthetics of aristocratic taste, and thus manifest pomp and pageantry rather than peasant parochialism. Among other things, rose water, buttermilk, ghee, and in some instances crushed pearls, gold, and silver were mixed into the earth of the royal pit. Moreover, the ritual features of the gymnasium as a sacred space were not as significant as its secular configuration in relation to the authority of the king and the degree of his prestige, political power, and attendant status in the domain of changing imperial hierarchies. By most accounts, the place of the gymnasium in the broader political culture of the princely states took on heightened significance in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries when, as scholars have recently pointed out, the status of rajas and maharajas was being defined in terms of British imperial authority and the pageantry of colonial rule.

During this same period of time, gymnasiums were redefined and developed in the context of various kinds of Indian nationalism. Both militant Hindu nationalists as well as the more secular nationalists of the Indian National Congress were concerned with the problem of Indian masculinity and sought to reform Indian men—in particular middle-class men, who were regarded as corrupt, weak, and effeminate—by instituting various forms of physical culture. Thus, after the revolt of 1857, and increasingly around the turn of the century, wrestling gymnasiums were built in the newly urbanized areas of north and central India to try to reproduce the "natural" masculinity of peasants by transplanting the "natural" environment of rural India into the modern space of rapidly expanding cities. The Birla Mill Vyayamshala in the heart of Old Delhi, where, until recently, Guru Hanuman trained almost all of India's international freestyle wrestlers, is the best example of this manufactured tradition of modern Indian wrestling that is also, significantly, wrestling in India.

Up until his death in 1999, Guru Hanuman epitomized the ideal of an enlightened master teacher and the role of a master teacher in defining the structure of training in the gymnasium. A guru, or *ustad,* is, in essence, a senior wrestler who imparts to his disciples the knowledge of wrestling. He

gives his chelas (disciples) instructions on training, self-discipline, technique, and overall development. However, a guru is more than a teacher; he is the object of his disciples' absolute devotion and service, and this devotion and service are understood as an integral feature of training. In many respects, the guru is revered as "greater than God" by his disciples, and thus the regimen of training in the gymnasium takes on the aura of ritual practice. Young wrestlers must prostrate themselves at their guru's feet, and on Gurupuja (devotion to the guru [master teacher]) must formalize their obeisance by transforming the guru into God. In this sense the guru's persona is much closer to that of an ascetic adept intent on the embodiment of truth than to that of a coach. However, Guru Hanuman cast himself, and was cast by the central government of India, in the role of an Olympic coach, and many if not most other ustads in contemporary gymnasiums struggle with the conflicting demands of athletics and asceticism, of self-discipline as an end in itself and training for competition.

Although there were senior wrestlers in the stables of many rajas and maharajas who functioned, undoubtedly, as teachers, and there were men who built and defined urban gymnasiums around themselves and their sense of national purpose, the status of a guru, as such, has an ambiguous history. Little or no mention is made in the medieval literature and in the history of competitive wrestling of who won against whom. Much more is made of individual prowess than of a tradition of training defined by a specific master of the art. In short, the ideal of the guru-chela relationship seems to be much more important than the practice as such. More significantly, the ideal is a function of the way in which the priorities of modern wrestling and modern coaching require that for Indian wrestling to be anything other than just wrestling in India, it requires the form of difference. Wrestlers in contemporary India are quite clear on this point. While categorically defining themselves as disciples of a master, they say it would be foolish not to avail themselves of a broad range of expertise. As the range of expertise expands to include training camps run by coaches from Russia and Canada, the need for there to be gurus may increase or decrease, depending on the degree to which wrestlers define themselves as pahalwans or Olympic hopefuls.

The designation *pahalwan* refers to a man who embodies the ideals and practices of wrestling. A pahalwan is a wrestler, but a wrestler who is oriented in two directions at once. As a wrestler in India competing with other wrestlers for the chance to participate in the Asian Games or the Olympics, he is drawn, through the structure of sports hostels and recruiting camps, toward the mats of the National Institute of Sports. As an Indian wrestler he is grounded in the akhara, as the akhara defines a cultural space that is modern by way of its location in the colonial and postcolonial history of India.

A traditional Indian sandpit wrestling match, ca. 1950. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

In some sense, the characteristic features of a dangal (tournament) define a wrestler in India as a pahalwan, but only to the extent that it highlights the tension between two alternative modernities. Dangals are wrestling tournaments that are organized by various local, regional, state, and national groups, any of which may be either political, economic, or cultural in orientation. Thus, a village leader, a trade union, or an organization such as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (a militant, pro-Hindu nationalist organization) may sponsor a dangal. In colonial and precolonial times, rajas and maharajas organized tournaments, and the success or failure of a wrestler reflected directly on his patron. Dangals are defined by the wrestlers who compete, and sponsors often seek to attract well-known

champions in order to enhance the prestige of the event. The rationale for organizing a dangal is *nam kamana* (making a name for oneself), thus making the events inherently competitive rather than just formal contexts within which athletes compete.

What is most significant about dangals is the pomp and circumstance of the event as a whole, as it revolves around a series of progressively important bouts. Significantly, dangals are characterized by a degree of structured improvisation and ad hoc negotiation, in the sense that the questions of who will compete with whom and what the length of a contest will be are often worked out in public with a high degree of panache and affected style. Similarly, the dangal is very much a stage where wrestlers perform, and not simply an arena where moves are executed with athletic precision. There is certainly no standardization with regard to how to structure dangal competition—no stipulated panel of judges, no weight-class criteria, no time limit as such, no sharply delineated boundary. All of this means that dangals can be very volatile and contentious, for although there are clearly delineated rules, and skill, strength, and stamina define, in some sense, the aesthetics of competitive performance, a dangal always seems to verge on the edge of chaos, and there is usually some degree of unstructured confrontation between competing groups. Thus in an important way dangal competition strains against the rule-bound protocol of competitive freestyle wrestling in India. Moreover, the pahalwan who is on stage at a dangal is called on to embody an ideal of physical development (tremendous mass, density, and radiance) that is somewhat at odds with the paired-down, lean, flexible musculature of the international wrestler.

This, however, is a very recent development, as is most clearly illustrated by the case of Gama who, embodying the ideals of a pahalwan, beat Stanley Zybyzko in what was, in effect, a World Championship "dangal" staged in London by the John Bull Society in 1908. Subsequently, in 1928, Gama defended his title as world champion in a dangal staged in India by the maharaja of Patiala. When Gama was world champion from 1908 until 1950 it was still possible to be a world champion, and to be that as an Indian wrestler. Now, at best, one can be a heavyweight freestyle gold medal winner, and only then as a wrestler from India competing in the Olympics or the Asian Games.

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See also India; Religion and Spiritual Development: India; Written Texts: India

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Wrestling and Grappling: Japan

The grappling arts are probably the oldest of all the martial arts. Grappling as the term is used here includes hitting, kicking, throwing, joint locks, and holding up or holding down one's opponent in such a manner that observers declare a victory or, if grappling is used in combat, incapacitation or death of the loser results. Pottery shards shaped like and with pictures resembling wrestlers have been found in many ancient cultures. A 5,000-year-old bronze sculpture from Mesopotamia immortalizes two men in loincloths locking arms in a stance not too different from what we might see in a modern catch-as-catch-can wrestling bout. Gilgamesh, the Middle Eastern hero of mythology from 4,000 or more years ago, engages in symbolic wrestling bouts to prove his superiority over animal nature. Egyptian wall paintings dating back 2,500 years reveal that grappling was a skill considered worthy of artistic depiction along the Nile of the ancient Pharaohs.

The willingness of men, and occasionally women, to put down their arms and participate in contests of strength with simple rules evolved in similar fashions around the world. Asia, particularly Japan and China, has many traditions of martial arts that involve grappling. Some have become well known by evolving into sports, while others have not developed a following, as they have remained too combative and dangerous to appeal to the general public.

Often people try to trace the diffusion of particular techniques historically and cross-culturally, as well as within the country of origin. However, it is likely that the similarities in the martial arts have more to do with physiology and physics than with historical roots. People become very clever when they attack other people. Given that similarities exist across cultures and wide geographical distances, it is still useful to examine martial arts in terms of their points of origin in an effort to develop arguments concerning both the origins of the Japanese grappling arts and their influences on other wrestling traditions.

Although it is connected in oral tradition to the Shaolin arts, the Chinese grappling system of *qinna* (*ch'in na*) probably existed as a discipline long before the Shaolin Temple. After all, China had a long period of civil wars, invasions, and excursions, as well as battles between city-states. War means conflict, and conflict results in the development of fighting skills. The traditional narratives of Bodhidharma (Damo), a Hindu monk who is credited with bringing Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism to China early in the sixth century A.D., claim he taught bone-and-marrow-washing *qigong* (*ch'i kung*) exercises at Shaolin Temple. Tradition notes that he claimed to be a reincarnation of the legendary Yellow Emperor in order to increase his credibility with the monks. He is claimed to have introduced, in addition to Indian qigong methods, new forms of meditation and fighting methods (including qinna) to the monks, but the historical record seems to favor the idea that the monks already possessed effective fighting skills. However, tradition avers that since qinna techniques are extremely effective but nonlethal, they were more compatible with the Buddhist ethos than were other martial disciplines. Therefore, monks at the temple researched, developed, and trained in them. These techniques were passed on with the various martial styles taught at the temple. Qinna influence has been suggested as a factor in the development of specialized weapons for seizing the weapons of opponents that were said to have originated with the Shaolin Temple.

Qin (*ch'in*) means "to seize" and *na* means "to hold and control"; thus, *qinna* can be translated as the art of seizing and controlling. Its techniques are generally categorized into muscle tearing, bone or skeletal displacement, sealing the breath (or chokes), pressing the veins and arteries to cause damage or unconsciousness, and cavity presses and meridian attacks, which apply pressure to points associated with the accumulation or circulation of *qi* (*ch'i;* vital energy). The last two are considered *dim mak* (Cantonese, death touch; pinyin dianxue, spot hitting). Because of their usefulness, these techniques have been merged into other fighting skills since the beginning of Chinese martial arts. In fact, practically all the countries of Asia have some techniques of qinna mixed into their indigenous arts.

In the famous Chinese boxing style *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan) and the not so well-known *liuhe bafa,* neutralization is usually done with a circular motion, and the grappling techniques are usually round and smooth. Often the opponent will be controlled before realizing a technique is being applied. In coordination with circular stepping, circular qinna will be used to pull an opponent's "root" (solid contact with the ground) and to execute a throw. The influence of this type of movement can easily be seen in the Japanese wrestling arts, especially in the grappling employed in *ninjutsu* and in aikidô.

Kojiki, the Japanese record of ancient history dating from the eighth

A sumô wrestling match, 1890. (Courtesy of Joe Svinth)

century A.D., mentions sumô in its descriptions of the legendary origins of Japan. Sumô attained a ritual association with the power of good quelling evil. The *Nihon Shoki* (a history of Japan compiled in the eighth century A.D.) describes a legendary bout between Nomi-no-Sukune and Taima-no-Kehaya at the "Imperial Palace" in 23 B.C. This sanctioned brawl was to determine the gods' choice between the Izumo and the Yamato clans to rule over Japan. Nomi-no-Sukune won this bout by smashing Taima-no-Kehaya to the ground with such force that he died of broken bones and internal injuries. The winner, in contrast to the loser, was described as a man of renowned strength, but gentle. After this event, sumô matches were held to determine the will of the gods concerning bountiful crops, political decisions, and so on. This practice was called *sumô sechi* and lasted into the twelfth century.

Until the end of the sixteenth century, wrestling sometimes took the form of no-holds-barred competitions that included both punching and kicking, although restrictions were placed on lethal strikes. When the Tokugawa assumed the shogunate in 1600, sumô stables and tournaments were established, and wrestlers were put on retainer. This lasted until the beginning of the Meiji period (1868).

Although modern sumô societies forbid women from even entering the ring, sumô has not always been an exclusively male sport. The *Nihon Shoki* records ladies-in-waiting of the emperor Yûryaku as holding bouts in A.D. 469. History also records a powerful Buddhist nun who took on men in Kyoto during the reign of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1592–1598).

Since 1960, modern sumô has been composed of seventy moves derived from the original forty-eight. The ring is considered holy ground and sanctified with salt and water both before and during a tournament as each competitor enters the ring. Sumô is regarded as a heavyweight grappling art, and the contestants are often taller than 220 cm and weigh over 200 kg. The minimum requirements are 173 cm in height and 150 kg in weight for apprentices. The object of the bout is no longer to kill the opponent (nor has it been for centuries), but to hurl the opponent out of the ring or to the ground. Today, there are over forty-five sumô stables ruled by the Japan Sumô Association. Matches frequently draw crowds exceeding ten thousand in Japan, and the sport is gaining popularity around the world.

In contrast to the ritual sport of sumô, jûjutsu (from *jû* [supple, soft] and *jutsu* [technique, method]) was from its inception a combative grappling art. Unlike contemporary codified sports, various systems of jûjutsu developed from a variety of sources. As a result, famous schools like the *Daitô-ryû Aiki-jûjutsu* coexist with the relatively unknown mountain village schools that go back for centuries in the warrior traditions of Japan. The Japanese record over eight hundred schools of jûjutsu.

According to some traditional sources, a Ming refugee imported jûjutsu to Japan in the seventeenth century. This is as suspect as the belief that Damo brought martial arts to the Shaolin Temple. Older schools of jûjutsu than the still existing and popular Shibukawa, Takuechi, Kito, Sekiguchi, and Oguri schools of that period predate the seventeenth century. Moreover, Zen was introduced into Japan from China during the Nara period (710–781). Zen monks were well known for their skills in grappling and striking. Therefore, a Chinese influence on the wrestling and grappling arts of Japan from the eighth century is likely.

Shibukawa Yoshikata (1652–1704), founder of the Shibukawa (knights of harmonious spirit) school and author of *Jûjutsu Taiseiroku* (Synthesis of Jûjutsu), credited Chinese philosophy as the source of his ideas, as he claimed the "change of strength hinges upon being soft and yielding to ad-

just to the movement of things forward and back, moving and stopping. This is jûjutsu and our school is based on the teachings of the *I Ching* [pinying Yijing]."

Descriptions of the fighting during the Muromachi period (1338–1573), however, suggest that victory in hand-to-hand fighting was decided more often by power than by technique, by brawn rather than brain. This preponderance shows in the type of armor and weaponry used by the mounted warrior of the period. Izaza Chôsai Ienao (1387–1488) founded the famed *Katori Shintô-ryû,* the first *ryûha* (traditional school of warrior arts) to teach, along with weapon skills, hand-to-hand unarmed combat (identified as *yawara-ge*), to correct what he felt was a loss of moral integrity in the training of the warriors of his time. Though the ryûha is most often discussed as a sword school, its jûjutsu techniques are effective and worthy of study.

Although at present it is popular to categorize martial systems as armed or unarmed and as oriented to grappling or striking, the integration of a range of combat tools within a set of organizing principles represents the traditional norm. For example, in discussing the martial principles of the *Kashima-Shin-ryû,* Karl Friday explains that the unarmed application of the ryûha's principles vis-à-vis the use of swords or pole-arm weapons is not a matter of opposition, but of points along a continuum during which the realities of combat draw to a greater or lesser extent on armed or unarmed conflict.

In fact, a strong argument can be made for the position that most of the schools of jûjutsu emerged from the sword schools during times of peace or when swords were put aside. Thus, a line of development emerges from *heihô* (combat strategy) to *bugei* (martial arts) to *budô* (warrior ways of transcendence). Over time, the Katori Shintô-ryû (like many other Japanese martial disciplines) developed a division of teaching skills between the *sôke* (the head of school and political leader) and *shihan* (senior instructors who teach methodology).

At least by 1716, jûjutsu was recognized as a distinctive art. In this year, Hinatsu Shigetaka published *Honchô bugei shôden,* a short encyclopedia of the martial arts of Japan existing at that time. The volume included hand-to-hand fighting, or jûjutsu.

Jûjutsu as a fighting style emphasizes grappling over striking. However, in most schools grappling is integrated with the strategic application of *atemi* (striking) or *kyûsho-jutsu* (vital point, or pressure point, striking).

Jûjutsu commonly works to the outside of the opponent in applying wrist and arm locks and to the inside to execute throws. Effective chokes and hold-downs usually evolve out of arm bars. In the better combat schools, the opponent is usually thrown in such a way as to land on the head or face down, on the stomach.

Some of the schools have been overly influenced by aikidô and have departed from the more brutal and devious combat techniques, and other schools have gravitated toward sport to the point of facing off squarely to an opponent like boxers or wrestlers and throwing people on their backs so that they still have a fighting chance. This can be seen in the modern Gracie Jiu-jitsu (spelling based on the one trademarked by this school) or the Hawaiian *Danzan-ryû* jûjutsu.

Like jûjutsu, aikijutsu avoids meeting force directly. In the case of aikijutsu, a defender strives to harmonize with aggression rather than either opposing or yielding to it, as the label for the art—derived from *ai* (coordinated, harmonized), *ki* (energy) *jutsu* (technique)—implies. Thus, aikijutsu strives for blending with the force (at both the physical and psychic levels) of the attacker. In practice, aikijutsu techniques have been described as utilizing the mechanical model of the wheel against an opponent, in contrast to jûjutsu or jûdô, which uses the lever as a model. In the context of his discussion of the principles of jûdô and aikidô, John Donohue characterizes the jûdô (and by implication the jûjutsu) strategy as making the attacker fall over the defender's body, while in aikidô (and aikijutsu) the defender leads the attacker to fall around a focal point (e.g., a point of anatomical weakness). The principle embodied in the method dates from the feudal period as an element of various ryûha, as was the case with jûjutsu, although in its best known modern guise of aikidô, the principle of aiki is most closely associated with *Daitô-ryû Aikijutsu* through aikidô's founder, Ueshiba Morihei. Daitô-ryû, the system studied by Ueshiba before he went on to found aikidô, has been claimed by its adherents to date back to the Kamakura period (1185–1333) and is said to have been founded by Minamoto Yoshimitsu (Yoshitsune). The interpretation of ki (in Chinese, *qi* [*ch'i*]) as intrinsic energy and its use in a fashion reminiscent of the internal Chinese arts (e.g., taijiquan) is a distinctive feature of aikijutsu and was emphasized (along with a philosophy of harmonious conduct in general) in Ueshiba's aikidô.

Just as the mainstream ryûha of the feudal period provided a vehicle for the development and preservation of grappling principles that have evolved into the contemporary cognate arts of aikidô and jûdô, ninjutsu permitted the nurturing of similar skills in its pre-Tokugawa heyday and in the modern revival attributed to Hatsumi Masaaki. Hatsumi is the head of nine ryûha or martial traditions: Three are ninjutsu ryûha and six concern other martial art traditions. Each school differs in ways from the others according to the type of armor worn or weapons carried during the time of its popularity. He inherited these schools from Takamatsu Toshitsugu, his teacher. His interpretation of these schools is named the *Bujinden* or, among the practitioners, *Bujinkan budô taijutsu*. The *hombu* (home dôjô) is in Noda City, Japan.

In the 1980s, the American Stephen Hayes, as a shôdan (first-degree black belt), began to publish practical guidebooks of Tôgakure combat techniques leavened with pragmatic information concerning self-protection appropriate for modern times. Hayes inadvertently launched the ninja craze. The ambiguous ninja ways, mysticism, magic, strategy, warriorship, ki development, easily learned combat techniques, exotic weaponry, and artistic expectations were a heady brew for Americans and Europeans. Two of the ninja schools, *Gyokko-ryû Koshijutsu* and *Tôgakure-ryû Happô-hiken,* may be used to represent the general grappling techniques of ninjutsu.

According to its own legends, Ninpô has its roots in ancient Daoist (Taoist) China. During the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–907), many Chinese military leaders immigrated to Japan. Gyokko-ryû Koshijutsu, which is primarily a striking art with some rather brutal joint-dislocation techniques, is an example of an art preserved from this period by the Bujinden. One of the interesting characteristics of modern ninja grappling is the use of *koshi* in the application of grips, locks, and strikes. The other characteristic that separates it from many of the sport grappling arts is that almost all the core techniques of the art are to be done with or without weapons. Bare-handed techniques become sword or pole weapon techniques by the simple introduction of the weapon.

Following Daoist admonitions, weapons are referred to and treated as tools. (The sword is not to be considered an object of beauty or worship.) Until the end of the Nara period, Chinese ideas were dominant in the social life of the nobles of Japan. Chinese concepts of warfare and religion were taught as part of the education of nobles and traders and absorbed into the daily life of the court. Laozi and Sunzi were required reading in the Nara court. Later historians quoted by Stephen Turnbull in his history of the ninja even referred to the families of this region as Chinese bandits who had memorized Sunzi. During the Genpei War (1180–1185), Nara was overrun, and the conquering samurai replaced the indigenous nobles with their own, creating a new underclass of former nobles to be exploited and the legendary "ninja assassin" at the same time.

Tôgakure-ryû Happô-hiken, after Gyokko, is the oldest unbroken lineage ryûha in the nine schools that make up the Bujinden or Bujinkan Budô Taijutsu. It was founded by Tôgakure Daisuke, a vassal of Kiso Yoshinaka, who lost in a revolt against the Heike clan. It includes an array of unconventional weapons and tactics such as camouflage, exploding eggs, and, as swords could not be worn, claws and various rope, chain, and wooden weapons. Sweeps and arm bars dominate its grappling techniques, along with the use of some incapacitating nerve attacks. As it was developed to knock over people wearing armor and carrying at least two swords, the movements are deep and low going in and the escapes are often leaping or rolling.

The ninja philosophy, or *Ninpô,* can best be illustrated by the words of the former sôke. Takamatsu Toshitsugu stated, "The essence of all martial arts and military strategies is self-protection and the prevention of danger. Ninpô deals with the protection of not only the physical body, but the mind and spirit as well. The way of the ninja is the way of enduring, surviving, and prevailing over all that would destroy one. More than simply defeating or outwitting an enemy, Ninpô is the way of attaining that which we need to live happily, while making the world a better place" (Hatsumi 1981, 4).

The Japanese grappling arts exert a continuing global influence, especially in the cognate forms derived from the earlier combat systems. Jûdô is an Olympic sport with an international following. In the area of popular culture, the films of American actor Steven Seagal have drawn attention to the more combative elements of aikidô. At the close of the twentieth century, submission fighting in various formats provided a popular no-holds-barred arena for grapplers in both "pure" Japanese systems such as jûdô and jûjutsu and those non-Japanese arts heavily influenced by Japanese wrestling, such as Brazilian jiu-jitsu and Russian sambo.

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See also Aikidô; Boxing, Chinese; Boxing, Chinese Shaolin Styles; Japanese Martial Arts, Chinese Influences on; Jûdô; Ninjutsu; Sambo; Samurai; Taijiquan (Tai Chi Ch'uan); Wrestling and Grappling: China

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Wrestling, Professional

During the nineteenth century, professional wrestling took place in saloons and circuses for the amusement of gamblers, but during the twentieth century it became a kind of muscular theater performed either live or on television. These latter productions were often hypocritical, greedy, ruthless, reactionary, homophobic, racist, and vulgar. However, the change simply reflected the desires of the audience, for, as former professional wrestler Robert "Kinji" Shibuya put it in 1999, "The meaner I acted in the ring, the richer I walked out of it" (Niiya 2000, 136).

How this transformation came about is a complicated story. Even the roots of the modern all-in style are complicated. For example, in nineteenth-century Britain, professional wrestling was a gambling sport akin to boxing and horse racing. In the north of England and Scotland, the wrestling style most commonly used was Cumberland and Westmorland. In this style, the wrestlers locked hands behind each other's backs and then each tried to throw the other to the ground or make him break his grip. The judges at these events were known as "stycklers," a word that, as "stickler," became a synonym for anyone who insisted on precise and exacting compliance with rules.

In the south of England, other styles were more popular. Cornish wrestlers, for example, wore short jackets, and gripped one another's sleeve and shoulders as in modern jûdô. A standard trick involved trapping the right arm and then back-heel tripping. Devonshire wrestlers wore straw shinguards and clogs, and were allowed to kick one another in the shins. Otherwise their techniques were similar to Cornish wrestlers. Unlike Cornish and Devonshire wrestlers, Lancashire wrestlers wore only underwear, and the players started well apart with their knees bent and hands outstretched. Although kicking, hair pulling, pinching, and the twisting of arms and fingers were prohibited, almost anything else went, even the full nelson hold to the neck. (The name *full nelson* dates to the early nineteenth century, and refers to the enveloping tactics used by the famous admiral at the Battles of the Nile and Trafalgar.) Lancashire wrestling also was known as "catch-as-catch-can," and is an ancestor of international (or Olympic) freestyle.

In Ireland, popular styles included collar-and-elbow. The name referred to the initial stances taken, and in this style, almost anything went, as the initial grips were intended as defenses against kicking, punching, and rushing. Collar-and-elbow wrestling became widely known in the northern states during the American Civil War, and afterwards it became one of the roots of the Amateur Athletic Union's American freestyle wrestling.

In France, styles included *Ar Gouren,* which was similar to Cornish wrestling, and *La Lutte Française* (French wrestling). In the latter method, holds were permitted from the head to the waist. The goal was to throw or twist the opponent's shoulders to the ground, without attacking his legs. In this style, head-butts, choke holds, and joint locks were not allowed.

In Germany and the Low Countries, wrestling was associated with three groups. The first was professional entertainers who wrestled bears and each other in traveling circuses. The second was young men who wrestled for the honor of their trade guilds during Carnival and other festivals. And, after the 1790s, the third were patriots who built up their bodies for the Fatherland in gymnastic associations called *Turnverein.* There were a variety of German and Dutch styles, including some all-in methods that bear a passing (and doubtless coincidental) resemblance to *jûjutsu*.

All these national styles met in North America, where they combined with African wrestling, which was known as "knocking and kicking." The elements of knocking and kicking were passed along through observation of matches in which slaves were pitted against each other in what the few surviving descriptions characterize as human cockfights.

There was also some influence from Native American styles. Into the early nineteenth century, both slaves and indentured servants in the northeastern United States often ran away to live with Woodland Indians, who used wrestling as a way of settling their personal disputes. To the horror of Protestant missionaries, Woodland Indian wrestling had no rules except prohibitions against pulling hair, and so it began to be suppressed after 1840.

From these diverse roots developed a distinctively North American style that involved considerable eye gouging and ear biting, and a crowd that yelled for more.

Standard venues for mid-nineteenth-century wrestling included music halls and saloons. The entertainment in the better clubs included dance revues, comedy acts, and wrestling matches. The wrestlers were there for the money rather than to hurt one another, and as a result they began "working" the crowd to give them a good show. However, if betting was involved, then sometimes wrestlers and promoters went so far as to prearrange results. A typical scam here involved a wrestler spending several months in a town, beating everyone in sight, and then losing to a partner who drifted into town pretending to be a scrawny, underfed unknown.

Professional wrestlers British Bulldog and Brett Hart (in a headlock) battle it out in the ring, England. (Courtesy of Mike Lano, wrealano@aol.com)

At the same time, moralists became concerned with chivalry and fair play. As a result, there were new issues about rules. Some early matches followed Greco-Roman rules, which were essentially those of La Lutte Française. (During the 1870s, La Lutte Française came to be known as Greco-Roman, as that facilitated its spread through Europe.) However, Greco-Roman was not much appreciated in the English-speaking world: It was perhaps "productive of some excitement when witnessed by the uninitiated," sniffed Walter Armstrong and Percy Longhurst in the *Encyclopædia of Sport and Games* in 1912 (4, 346–347). "But apart from that it may be asked, 'What useful purpose does it serve?' . . . For, instead of being the art of standing up against an adversary, it is simply the art of getting down in a certain position, so as to avoid being thrown in a backfall." As a result, by the 1890s the style preferred in North America was catch-as-catch-can.

Prominent late nineteenth-century wrestlers and promoters included New York's William Muldoon, Germany's Karl Abs, England's Tom Cannon, and Scotland's Donald Dinnie. Ethnic wrestlers included the Japanese Sorakichi Matsuda, the African American Viro Small, and a host of "Terrible Turks," most of whom were ethnically Bulgarian or Armenian. There were also novelty acts. Masked wrestling, for example, appeared in France as early as 1870, and in 1889, Masha Poddubnaya, wife of the

Russian wrestler Ivan Poddubny, claimed the women's world wrestling championship.

During this period, contests often emphasized ethnicity and nationalism. For example, in 1869 a Danish strongman named Frederik Safft defeated a German named Wilhelm Heygster in Copenhagen. As the Prussians had defeated Denmark in a war in 1864, the victory made Safft a Danish hero. Following the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, jûjutsu acts became popular in the United States, Europe, and Latin America. Noted performers included Katsukuma Higashi, Tokugoro Ito, and Taro Miyake. And during 1909–1910, the Bengali millionaire Sharat Kumar Mishra sent four Indian wrestlers (the Great Gama, Ahmed Bux, Imam Bux, and Gulam Mohiuddin) to Europe as part of a scheme to prove that Europeans could be beaten using Indian methods.

At the turn of the century, popular European champions included George Hackenschmidt, Paul Pons, and Stanislaus Zbyszko. These men worked in the music halls of Paris and London, and did turns with partners, lifted weights, and accepted challenges from the crowd. These challengers were often shills, because champions had nothing to gain and everything to lose by wrestling unknowns. Thus the draw was matches that the crowd believed were real, but in which the results were actually prearranged. As Hackenschmidt put it in an article published in *Health and Strength* on March 20, 1909, "Wrestling is my business . . . [While] I am certainly very fond of the sporting element which enters into it, [I] should be absurdly careless if I allowed my tastes in that direction to interfere too seriously with my career in life."

In North America, wrestlers worked in saloons, Wild West shows, and vaudeville. Prominent turn-of-the-century wrestlers included Martin "Farmer" Burns, Tom Jenkins, and Frank Gotch. This was also the era of yellow journalism, and so, with the support of jingoistic sportswriters, there arose a clamor to see whether European or American wrestling was best. This in turn led to two well-publicized matches between the North American champion Frank Gotch and the European champion George Hackenschmidt. Gotch won both times, and so the U.S. newspapers gave him the title of "Champion of the World."

Following Gotch's retirement in 1913 (he received more lucrative offers from a Chicago movie company), wrestling went into decline. Part of the problem was World War I ruining the business in Europe. But scandals also played a part. For example, in March 1910, John C. Maybray and about eighty others (including Gotch's former manager, Joe Carroll) pleaded guilty in Iowa to charges of using the U.S. mails to fix wrestling matches.

Toward reducing the appearance of corruption, after World War I the National Boxing Association began recognizing "official" wrestling cham-

pionships, and subsequently organized a National Wrestling Association. In practice, however, promoters and wrestlers continued doing business as they always had.

During the 1920s, there were several ways wrestlers earned their keep. Some wrestled for regional promoters such as Lou Daro in Los Angeles, Paul Bowser in Boston, and Jack Pfeffer in New York. Here they were told who would win and who would lose. Others worked carnivals and Wild West shows. In these venues, shills were often used to work the crowd. An example of a shill was actor Kirk Douglas, who worked his way through college taunting the Masked Marvel. The Marvel in this case was future New York assemblyman Red Plumadore. As Plumadore recalled it for Robert Crichton, occupational hazards of the carnival wrestler included drunken opponents who didn't know when they were hurt, challengers who introduced rocks or knives into what was supposed to be a wrestling match, and the occasional college wrestler who proved to be a terror. Pay could be good, however, especially when the locals paid the Marvel to be particularly hard on a local bully or especially kind to a popular foreman or labor leader. Finally, a few wrestlers continued hustling. Fred Grubmeier, for example, was legendary for dressing like a hick, losing matches to second-rate local wrestlers, and then "accidentally" defeating the regional champion once the big money was down.

Of course hustling was a hard life, and so most wrestlers and promoters tried something easier. One new product was "Slam Bang Western Style Wrestling," which combined the showiest moves of boxing, football, and Greco-Roman wrestling with the "old-time lumber camp fighting" seen in the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch Wild West Show. Essentially this was film-style stunt work performed before live audiences; pioneers in this development included Joseph "Toots" Mondt, Billy Sandow, and Ed "Strangler" Lewis.

During the Depression, theaters closed and circuses retrenched, and this led to financial difficulties for promoters, contract wrestlers, and hustlers alike. Meanwhile, as wrestling promoters had never adopted boxing promoters' practice of paying sportswriters to write favorable things about their stars, there was a spate of scandalous exposés in the newspapers. For example, in 1936 heavyweight champion Danno O'Mahoney lost to Dick Shikat. This was apparently a double cross, as Shikat had been scheduled to lose. The defeat cost O'Mahoney money, so his promoters took Shikat to court, and the newspapers had a field day. Taken together, all this led to a sharp decline in business, and by the mid-1930s venues such as Madison Square Garden no longer booked wrestling shows.

Promoters are nothing if not resourceful, however, and gimmicks introduced to draw crowds during the 1920s and 1930s included flying tack-

les and jumping kicks. Bronko Nagurski and "Jumping Joe" Savoldi, respectively, were famous practitioners of those techniques. Mud wrestling also dates to the 1930s; here Paul Boesch was a pioneer. But of course the biggest draws continued to be matches that left the audience (known to the wrestlers, using carnival language, as the marks) believing that the wrestling was real rather than prearranged, or that featured ethnic rivalry. Sometimes the two story lines were combined. A. J. Liebling described how this worked in the *New Yorker* on November 13, 1954: "A Foreign Menace, in most cases a real wrestler, would be imported. He would meet all the challengers for the title whom [reigning champion Jim] Londos had defeated in any city larger than New Haven, and beat them. After that, he and Londos would wrestle for the world's championship in Madison Square Garden. The Foreign Menace would oppress Londos unmercifully for about forty minutes, and then Londos . . . would whirl the current Menace around his head and dash him to the mat three times, no more and no less. . . . [After] the bout, the Menace would either return to Europe or remain here to become part of the buildup for the next Menace."

During World War II, wrestlers often ended up in the service. Here some of them found employment as hand-to-hand combat instructors. Examples include Kaimon Kudo and Lou Thesz. To meet the demand for wrestling on the U.S. home front, women's wrestling became popular. Stars included Mildred Burke, Gladys Gillem, Clara Mortensen, Elvira Snodgrass, and Mae Young. The wartime audiences were about half men and about half women and school-age boys. The performers were working-class women who viewed wrestling as a way of earning good money—up to $100 a week for a champion, as opposed to $20 a week as a secretary—while staying physically fit. Nazi newspapers picked up on this, and used the story to show how corrupt and immoral the Americans were.

In 1948 five North American wrestling promoters organized the National Wrestling Alliance (NWA), the idea of which was to reduce competition between territories and thereby increase the promoters' share of the financial pie. There were problems, however, most notably that, in the words of the NWA champion Lou Thesz, most of the promoters were "thieves, and the one quality all of them shared was suspicion of each other" (Thesz 1995, 107). Another problem was that every promoter wanted the world champion working for him. So there were soon nearly as many world champions as wrestlers. Nonetheless, by 1956, thirty-eight promoters belonged to the NWA, and between them they controlled professional wrestling in North America, Mexico, and Japan. This arrangement led to another scandal, as the U.S. government eventually ruled that it was an illegal restraint of trade.

To many wrestling fans, the period from the early 1950s to the late 1970s represents the Golden Age of Wrestling. In part, this nostalgia is

owed to the energy, or "heat," that a charismatic wrestler such as Lou Thesz, Buddy Rogers, or Walter "Killer" Kowalski could generate from live audiences. Mostly, however, it was due to the new medium of television.

From a production standpoint, wrestling was perfect for television. After all, everything could be filmed by one camera, and the action was limited to a small, well-lit area. Furthermore, the act was popular: In Japan, people stood by the thousands in the street to watch their hero Rikidozan beat Americans, while in California and Illinois Americans congregated in bars to watch Americans do the same thing to wrestlers called The Great Tôgô and Mr. Moto. Nevertheless, these stereotyped portrayals of ethnic groups offended the United States' burgeoning civil rights movement, and as a result U.S. network television refused to syndicate wrestling. As a result promotions remained regional rather than national.

Perhaps the most notorious of the new television wrestlers was Gorgeous George (George Wagner), a dandy whose costumes, pomaded hair, and abrasive style the fans loved to hate. Television, with its close-ups, also increased the audience's desire for blood. (Literally—wrestlers such as Dangerous Danny McShane would nick themselves with a tiny piece of razor blade, and the fans in Texas, Tennessee, and the South would go wild.) And, finally, it encouraged acrobatic tricks such as Antonio Rocca's cartwheels. Many wrestlers thought the blading and cartwheels awful, but the crowds grew, so what the wrestlers thought didn't matter.

The end of the Golden Age was due, as usual, to changing promotional methods. In 1963 there was a split in the National Wrestling Association, and out of the breakup emerged the World Wide Wrestling Federation (WWWF) led by Vince McMahon Sr. Structurally these two groups were similar, and business continued as usual. Then, in 1983, McMahon relinquished control of the organization, now known as the World Wrestling Federation (WWF), to his son, Vince Jr. About the same time, cable television networks started looking to fill niche markets. And, being young and ambitious, Vince McMahon Jr. moved to fill them with WWF wrestling.

One of the strategies McMahon Jr. used was to raid other territories for talent. This made for a strong WWF but quickly depleted other groups. He also told the New York media that wrestling was moribund, and that he and the WWF were going to revitalize it. The reporters bought the line, and so promoted his story of "the amazing revival of wrestling."

Next, McMahon created Hulkmania. This revolved about soap opera plots surrounding a wrestler called Hulk Hogan, many of which featured celebrities such as pop singer Cyndi Lauper and TV action star Mr. T.

Many old-time fans hated the WWF methods, and vowed never to watch wrestling again. But, like alcoholics or drug addicts, few stuck to their promises of withdrawal. And, due almost solely to the media blitz, in

1987 the WWF champion Hulk Hogan was allowed to beat Andre the Giant in front of a record 93,000 fans in Detroit. This enormous financial success piqued the interest of Atlanta businessman Ted Turner, who in 1988 decided to start his own wrestling show. To start his business he bought Jim Crockett Promotions, which had been the mainstay of now much-shrunken NWA. Next he named his new wrestling promotion World Championship Wrestling (WCW). Finally he began raiding the WWF for talent.

Structurally, WCW attempted to portray an image similar to that of the wrestling seen during the Golden Age of Television. Thus many of the group's performers wrestled in Spartan attire of boots and trunks, and feuds and angles were reminiscent of the 1950s, where the wrestlers lost due to concern about their sick relatives. The WWF, however, lived on gimmicks. Here anything went—wrestlers were reported involved with other wrestlers' wives; The Undertaker rose from the dead; women stripped almost naked in the ring; and one wrestler came within seconds of having his penis chopped off by an angry manager. (In a guest appearance, John Wayne Bobbitt, notorious for having his own penis severed during an argument with his wife, came to the wrestler's rescue.)

Although both WCW and WWF featured a handful of highly paid superstars, they had no farm system. Toward correcting this shortfall, schools taught by former wrestlers such as Karl Gotch and Killer Kowalski emerged. Local independent promotions also developed. Known as "indies," they made little money for anyone but still provided wrestlers with crowd interaction and dreams of stardom.

Meanwhile, public perception of wrestlers underwent a metamorphosis. For example, in 1956, Rod Serling's *Requiem for a Heavyweight* showed a punch-drunk, over-the-hill boxer suffering the worst fate imaginable for a once-proud athlete: He became a professional wrestler. As the character played by Jack Palance in the television production and Anthony Quinn in the movie begged his manager: "Maish, Maish don't make me . . . Maish, Maish I'll do anything for you but don't ask me to play a clown!" By the 2000s, however, successful performers in football, basketball, and boxing gleefully took the money offered by the cable companies. For example, during the late 1990s and early 2000s, there were several ex-NFL players in the WWF and WCW, and boxer Mike Tyson and basketball stars Dennis Rodman and Karl Malone participated in professional wrestling angles and events.

Likewise, during the 1950s many an amateur wrestler would have chosen dismemberment over participation in professional wrestling. But that also changed. For example, Bob Backlund, a former NCAA wrestling champ, began a long-term relationship with the WWF in 1974, and Kurt Angle, a WWF champ of the early 2000s, had been an Olympic gold medalist in 1996.

Martial artists also were involved: Early twenty-first-century wrestlers included former world karate champion Ernest Miller and Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) champions Dan Severn and Ken Shamrock. Unlike some of the *jûdôka* (jûdô players) who tried wrestling during the 1950s and 1960s, they were well received by the fans and apparently considered the move a career decision rather than a letdown.

Audiences for WWF and WCW promotions were huge, and by the mid-1980s wrestling had become the third most popular spectator sport in North America. (American football and automobile racing were numbers one and two.) According to wrestler Adrian Adonis, this was because the "American people are sickos who love violence and the sight of blood." Perhaps. But then why wrestling's even greater popularity in Japan? Approaching the question from another tack, academics such as Theodore Kemper have claimed that watching wrestling releases testosterone in viewers, thereby giving them vicarious thrills that they don't get in their dead-end jobs (Kemper 1990, 203–204, 214–217). Perhaps. But then how to explain the sales of wrestling action figures to children or market research showing wrestling's enormous popularity with female viewers? Finally, there are the opinions of academics such as Gerald Morton and George O'Brien, who equate "rassling" with folk theater (Morton and O'Brien 1985, 52–54, 63–64, 74–75). Is wrestling theater in a squared circle, the Shakespeare of sport? That is the most probable explanation. However, there is still no easy way to explain why millions of people enjoy watching professional wrestling and yet dislike watching amateur wrestling.

Jeff Archer
Joseph Svinth

See also Jûdô; Stage Combat; Wrestling and Grappling: India; Wrestling and Grappling: Japan

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Written Texts: China

The martial arts, like other traditional Chinese skills, are based on certain theory and principles. As living arts, their theory and principles were primarily transmitted orally and through actual practice. Since they were life–and-death skills, extra care was taken to protect their secrets, especially any unique tactics or techniques. For example, the Daoist (Taoist) scholar, Ge Hong (A.D. 290–370), who studied martial arts himself and served a stint as a military commander, notes in his autobiography that the martial arts all have certain closely held techniques, described in an abstruse manner, that allow one to gain the advantage against an unwary opponent.

This aura of secrecy surrounding martial arts techniques has resulted in a dearth of written material on the subject. Also, martial arts did not have a high priority in Confucian society. Literate practitioners generally kept their notes to themselves, while many practitioners were illiterate. Techniques were passed down through demonstration or gained through individual insight. Key principles and techniques were encapsulated in easy-to-memorize "secret formulas" or rhymes, which, in themselves, were not normally transparent to the uninitiated, nor always clear even to other experienced practitioners.

These secretive conditions were prevalent in the Chinese clan-oriented society. However, scholars are still fortunate enough to be able to piece together a reasonably clear understanding of martial arts theory and principles through the scattered literature that exists, especially Ming-period military writings, and Qing-period manuals and other writings.

An interesting characteristic of Chinese military writings is that a common theoretical thread runs from the strategic level down to the level of individual hand-to-hand combat. These written works contain advice on the marshalling of armies that is equally applicable to the martial arts. One author, Jie Xuan (late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries), even uses the earliest term for boxing, or hand-to-hand struggle (*bo*), to describe military maneuvers.

Yin-yang theory, which is an essential element of the traditional Chinese worldview, is also the foundation for military thought, including the martial arts. This theory of the interplay of opposite attributes and contin-

ual change explains martial arts tactics and techniques to cope with situations described as weak versus strong (empty versus full) and pliant versus rigid (soft versus hard). The earliest extant published exposition of this theory applied directly to the martial arts is a vignette about a young woman of Yue in the Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yue (ca. A.D. 100). This story is found in a chapter titled "Gou Jian's Plotting." Gou Jian, king of the state of Yue (?–465 B.C.), is said to have sought the best military minds, armorers, and martial artists to serve him. In fact, one of the finest Chinese bronze swords yet unearthed has actually been identified as Gou Jian's.

According to the story, the young woman was summoned to appear before the king of Yue because of her famed swordsmanship. Along the way she met an old man in the forest. He said his name was Old Yuan, that he had heard of her skill, and would like to see her in action. When she agreed, Old Yuan broke a piece of bamboo and the young woman got the short end. Old Yuan lunged at her three times, but she eluded his thrusts and jabbed him each time. Suddenly, he jumped up into a tree and was transformed into a white ape ("ape" in Chinese is pronounced the same as his name, Yuan). The young woman bade him farewell and resumed her journey.

When the king of Yue interviewed the young woman, he asked her to reveal the key to her swordsmanship. She replied that deep in the forest with no one around she had no teacher, but she loved to practice constantly, and it came to her in a flash of insight. The key was subtle but easy, and its meaning quite profound. It included frontal and flanking aspects, and yin and yang: Open the frontal, close the flank, yin subsides, and yang arises. In all hand-to-hand combat, the spirit wells up within, but the appearance is calm without; one looks like a proper woman, but fights like an aroused tiger. Pay attention to your physical disposition and move with your spirit; be distant and vague like the sun, and agile like a bounding rabbit. Pursue your opponent like a darting reflection, now bright now gone. Breathe with movement, and don't transgress the rules. Whether straight or crossing, initiating or responding, nothing is detected by the opponent. By this means, one can confront one hundred, and one hundred can confront ten thousand. The king was so pleased that he gave the young woman the title Maiden of Yue and had her teach his commanders and top warriors so they could, in turn, teach the rest of the troops.

These few principles expounded in the story of the Maiden of Yue comprise the core of Chinese martial arts thought regardless of style. For example, the phrase "the spirit wells up within, but the appearance is calm without" is even found in Chang Naizhou's eighteenth-century boxing manual and one of Wu Yuxiang's nineteenth-century *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan) commentaries. This phrase describes the psychological aspect of the martial arts, which is inseparable from the physical. An unflappable,

focused mind is a must in hand-to-hand combat. An unsettled mind portends defeat. On the other hand, a good martial artist seeks to confuse the opponent. As described in Tang Shunzhi's (1507–1560) Martial Compendium, this is done by mastering the principle of emptiness (*xu*) versus fullness (*shi*) or deception by feints and diversions, emptiness representing the deception and fullness the real move.

Another key principle, to negate oneself and accommodate others, is found in the *Book of History* (ca. second century B.C.) and is quoted in *Taijiquan Theory* (ca. 1795–1854). General Yu Dayou (1503–1580) describes the martial arts interpretation and practical application of this concept in his *Sword Classic:* "Flow with the opponent's circumstances, use his force. Wait until his 'old force' has dissipated and before his 'new force' has been released." This approach is derived from a popular formula, "Hard prior to his force, pliant following his force, the opponent is busy and I quietly wait, know the timing, let him struggle." This principle is key not only to conservation of one's own energy, but also to the timing for use of force and the type of force to use.

Stability is a key principle regardless of school. Basic training invariably emphasizes developing firm, rooted stances. Examples are the widely practiced Horse Riding Stance and the Three-Part Stance of *xingyiquan* (*hsing i ch'uan*). Effective issuance of force is primarily dependent on the lower body, up through the waist, and so the saying goes, "The feet hit seventy percent, the hands hit thirty percent." This does not mean kicks outnumber punches, but that the majority of force in a punch is generated from the feet through the waist, not independently through the arms and hands.

To breathe with movement as described in the story of the Maiden of Yue means to breathe naturally. Generally inhale when amassing force and exhale when releasing it. Emitting a sound when releasing force was considered a normal phenomenon even among past practitioners of taijiquan, but this practice came to be viewed as uncouth in twentieth-century society, as the martial arts came to be practiced more as exercise than as fighting art. Releasing force involves combined psychophysiological focus, and even taijiquan theory compares release of force to shooting an arrow.

Finally, with special reference to boxing, Tang Shunzhi, in his *Martial Compendium,* explains that there are two main categories of fighting techniques, long fist (*changquan*) and short hitting (*duanda*). The former involves changing overall form or stance and is used to close the gap between opponents. The latter involves maintaining one's overall form or stance for close-in fighting. Tang also explains that individual forms have inherent characteristics. They change in transition when executed, but ultimately retain their essential nature.

Stanley E. Henning

See also Boxing, Chinese; China; Religion and Spiritual Development: China

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Written Texts: India

Within Indian systems of embodied practice like martial arts, yoga, and the performing arts, knowledge is traditionally handed down from teacher to disciple generation after generation, and therefore specialist knowledge is lodged within the practice of the master. When written texts exist in these disciplines, they are often worshipped, since they symbolize the knowledge authoritatively interpreted in the master's embodied practice. This type of knowledge is witnessed as early as the Vedas, which were transmitted orally for centuries before being committed to writing. Although one can read a Sama Vedic text today, the living tradition of daily, calendrical, and ritual recitation and use of Sama Veda is lodged in the practice of the few surviving masters of the tradition.

Three types of texts are important to understanding the history and techniques of martial arts in India: (1) primary source texts written within a particular Indian martial tradition that provide specific information on techniques and/or the ethos of practice; (2) secondary sources such as poetry or epics that provide a variety of types of information about the practice and culture of traditional martial arts; and (3) ancillary sources that provide information on paradigms of the body, body-mind relationship, and/or practice that are assumed in the practice of traditional Indian martial arts, especially yoga and *Ayurveda* (Sanskrit; science of life), the indigenous medical system. As reflected primarily in secondary sources, two major strands of martial culture and practice have existed on the South Asian subcontinent since antiquity—the Tamil (Dravidian) and Sanskrit *Dhanur Veda* (science of archery) traditions. The early martial cultures and practices reflected in Tamil and Dhanur Vedic sources have certainly influenced the history, development, subculture, and practice of extant Indian martial arts.

Texts and Textual Sources in Antiquity

From the early Tamil *sangam* (heroic) poetry, we learn that from the fourth century B.C. to A.D. 600 a warlike, martial spirit predominated across southern India, and each warrior received "regular military training" (Subramanian 1966, 143–144) in target practice and horseback riding, and each specialized in the use of one or more of the important weapons of the period, including lance or spear (*vel*), sword (*val*), shield (*kedaham*), and bow (*vil*) and arrow. The heroic warriors of the period were animated by the assumption that power (*ananku*) was not transcendent, but immanent, capricious, and potentially malevolent. War was considered a sacrifice of honor, and memorial stones were erected to fallen heroic kings and warriors whose manifest power could be permanently worshipped by one's community and ancestors—a tradition witnessed today in the propitiation

of local medieval martial heroes in the popular *teyyam* mode of worship of northern Kerala, heroes who practiced *kalarippayattu*.

Although *Dhanur Veda* literally means the science of archery, it encompassed all fighting arts. Among them the use of bow and arrow was considered supreme and empty-hand fighting least desirable. The *Visnu Purana* describes Dhanur Veda as one of the traditional eighteen branches of knowledge. Both of India's epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana,* make clear that Dhanur Veda was the means of education in warfare for all those called upon to fight. Drona, the Brahman guru of the martial arts, was the teacher of all the princely brothers in the *Mahabharata*. Although the earliest extant Dhanur Veda text is a collection of chapters (249–252) in the encyclopedic *Agni Purana,* dating no earlier than the eighth century A.D., historian G. N. Pant argues that an original Dhanur Veda text dates from the period prior to or at least contemporary with the epics (ca. 1200–600 B.C.).

Among the heroes described in the epic literature, a number of different paradigms of martial practice and mastery emerge. Among the Pandavas in the *Mahabharata,* there is Bhima, who depends on his brute strength to crush his foes with grappling techniques or on the use of his mighty mace. Quite in contrast to Bhima's overt and brutal strength is his brother, the unsurpassable Arjuna, who uses his subtle accomplishments of focus and powers acquired through meditation to conquer his enemies with his bow and arrow. Arjuna is the idealized heroic sage, who develops his subtler powers through disciplined technical training and the application of "higher" powers of meditation to such training.

For example, one of the most important aspects of traditional martial practice is the development of single-point focus (*ekagrata*) applied in the use of weapons. Drona's test of skill, administered to his pupils at the end of their course of training in the *Mahabharata,* illustrates the importance of the development of single-point focus. He asked each prince in turn to take aim with his bow and arrow at an artificial bird attached to a treetop "where it was hardly visible." Having drawn the bow and taken aim, he asked each whether "you see the bird in the treetop . . . the tree or me, or your brothers?" to which all but Arjuna replied, "Yes" (Van Buitenen 1973, Vol. 1, 272–273). All but Arjuna failed. He was the only practitioner to answer "no" to all but the first question. He did not "see anything else going on around" him—he and the target were one. Contemporary martial practice reflects this antique concern. Kalarippayattu master Achuttan Gurukkal explains, "We should never take our eyes from those of our opponent. By 'single-point focus' I mean kannottam, i.e., keeping the eyes on the opponent's. When doing practice you should not see anything else going on around you."

Nineteenth-century illustration of the Mahabharata: *combat with archers and swords with four people, Paithan school, gouache on paper. (Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY)*

Although late, the Dhanur Vedic text in *Agni Purana* provides us with an important record of the earlier technical system of martial practice that influenced many of today's martial arts, especially Kerala's kalarippayattu. The four Dhanur Veda chapters in Agni Purana appear to be an edited version of one or more earlier manuals briefly covering a wide range of techniques and instructions for the king who must prepare for war by training his soldiers in arms. Like the purana as a whole, the Dhanur Veda chapters provide both sacred knowledge (*paravidya*) and profane knowledge (*aparavidya*) of the subject. The text catalogues five training divisions for war (chariots, elephants, horseback, infantry, and wrestling) and five types of weapons to be learned (projected by machine [arrows or missiles], thrown by the hands [spears], cast by hands yet retained [noose], permanently held in the hands [sword], and the hands themselves) (249: 1–5). Either a Brahman or a Kshatriya "should be engaged to teach and drill soldiers in the art and tactics of the Dhanurveda" because it is their birthright. A Sudra may be called upon to take up arms when necessary if he has "acquired a general proficiency in the art of warfare by regular training and practice," and "people of mixed castes" might also be called upon if needed by the king (249: 6–8) (Dutt Shastri 1967, 894–895).

Beginning with the noblest of weapons (bow and arrow), the text describes practical techniques. There are ten lower-body poses to be assumed when using bow and arrow, and a specific posture to assume when the disciple pays obeisance to his preceptor (249: 9–19). Instructions are given on how to string, draw, raise, aim, and release the bow and arrow (249: 20–29).

The second chapter records how a Brahman should ritually purify weapons before they are used, as well as more advanced and difficult bow and arrow techniques (250). Implicit in this chapter is the manual's leitmotif—how the martial artist achieves a state of interior mental accomplishment. The archer is described as "girding up his loins" and tying in place his quiver after he has "collected himself." He places the arrow on the string after "his mind [is] divested of all cares and anxieties" (Dutt Shastri 1967, 897). Finally, when the archer has become so well practiced that he "knows the procedure," he is instructed to "fix his mind on the target" before releasing the arrow (Dutt Shastri 1967, 648). The consummate martial master progresses from training in basic body postures, through technical mastery of techniques, to single-point focus, to even more subtle aspects of mental accomplishment:

> Having learned all these ways, one who knows the system of karma-yoga [associated with this practice] should perform this way of doing things with his mind, eyes, and inner vision since one who knows [this] yoga will conquer even the god of death (Yama).
>
> Having acquired control of the hands, mind, and vision, and become accomplished in target practice, then [through this] you will achieve disciplined accomplishment (siddhi). (Dasgupta 1986)

Having achieved such single-point focus and concentration, the martial artist must apply this knowledge in increasingly difficult circumstances. The archer progresses to hitting targets above and below the line of vision, vertically above the head, while riding a horse and shooting at targets farther and farther away, and hitting whirling, moving, or fixed targets one after the other (250: 13–19; 251).

The remainder of the text briefly describes postures and techniques for using a variety of other weapons: noose, sword, armors, iron dart, club, battle-ax, discus, trident, and hands (in wrestling). A short passage near the end of the text returns to the larger concerns of warfare and explains the use of war elephants and men. The text concludes with a description of how to send the well-trained fighter off to war:

> The man who goes to war after worshipping his weapons and the Trailokyamohan Sastra [one that pleases the three worlds] with his own mantra [given to him by his preceptor], will conquer his enemy and protect the world. (Dasgupta 1986)

In keeping with the encyclopedic nature of the puranas, other sections of the *Agni Purana* include information related to the use and application of martial arts in warfare, including a section on rituals performed by Brahman priests to protect and/or cause success in battle (Dutt Shastri 1967, 840, 539), construction of forts (576–578), instructions for military expeditions (594); and battle formations and troop deployments (612–615, 629–635).

The Dhanur Vedic tradition was clearly a highly developed system of training through which the martial practitioner was able to achieve accomplishment in combat skills to be used as duty demanded. Practice and training were circumscribed by rituals, and the martial practitioner was expected to achieve a state of ideal accomplishment allowing him to face death. He did so by combining technical training with practice of yoga, in the form of meditation using a mantra, thereby achieving superior self-control, mental calm, single-point concentration, and access to powers in use of combat weapons. This antique pattern of training toward accomplishment is clearly assumed in the way that traditional kalarippayattu integrates the practices of ritual and devotion, meditation and concentration, and technical training.

It is clear that from antiquity there exists a legacy of recording the techniques and secrets of martial practice in palm-leaf manuscripts, which were preserved, copied, and passed along to a master's most trusted disciples. Not surprisingly, these texts have traditionally been kept secret and only revealed within a particular lineage of practice to those trusted to safeguard secret knowledge and techniques. Among traditional masters, this is still the case today. Although numerous palm-leaf manuscripts exist in library collections throughout India, only very recently have a few of these texts been published, and many await translation and interpretation by qualified historians and linguists.

Texts within Specific Indian Martial Arts

The following discussion provides an overview of texts—primarily from within the kalarippayattu of Kerala, with some reference to the *varma ati* of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The points made, however, may represent general relationships between martial arts and texts. The symbolic importance of texts within the kalarippayattu tradition is marked each year in *kalari* celebrating Navaratri Mahotsavam, the festival of new beginnings inaugurating an annual season of training. It is a time for worshipping the traditional sources of knowledge, that is, texts, masters, and tools of the trade. An architect worships manuals of measurement, building tools, and the master. A dancer worships manuals recording dance technique, hand cymbals for keeping time, items of costuming, and the guru. In kalarippayattu,

sourcebooks or written records of knowledge (traditionally palm-leaf *grandam* [manuscripts]), weapons, and the *gurukkal* (masters; teachers) are worshipped. The sources of knowledge and authority are laid at the feet of the deities (usually Sarasvati, Durga, and Mahalaksmi) whose presence is specially invoked for the duration of the festival. They are worshipped at the first special *puja* given on the eighth day of the festival. A typical set of texts worshipped by one master on Navaratri includes *Kalari vidya* (kalari art)—a manual of exercises and techniques in the *dronambillil sampradayam* (lineage of practice); *Marmmabhyasam* (techniques of the vital spots)—a manual that records techniques for attacking and defending the body's vital spots; *Marmmaprayogam* (application to the vital spots)—a manual of locks and methods of application to the body's vital spots; *Marmmacikitsa* (treatments for the vital spots)—a manual of emergency counterapplications and treatments for injuries to the body's vital spots; and *Vadakkam pattukal* (northern ballads)—a contemporary printed collection of the traditional oral ballads of northern Kerala singing of the exploits of local heroes.

Several are original palm-leaf manuscripts passed on within a family; several are handwritten notebooks copied from originals not in this master's possession; and the *Vadakkam pattukal* is a printed book purchased from a local bookstore. The information within the texts is of four types: (1) records of specific martial techniques or related information on practice; (2) information on such things as construction of a kalari, deities, and ritual practice; (3) records of martial mythology or legends; and (4) methods of treatment and recipes for medical preparations.

The kalari vidya text is typical of those recording verbal commands (*vayttari*) that are delivered while students practice preliminary training body exercises, as well as when training in basic weapons forms. For example, the first regular body exercise sequence begins with the commands, "Take position. Left forward, right forward, right back, into position." The verbal commands per se tell us little about the position to be assumed—in this case the "elephant pose." When weapons forms are recorded, only the student's side of weapons use is verbalized and recorded in textual form. Only a master can instruct students in how to correctly assume and perform each of the exercises recorded so that the practitioner reaps the potential benefits of practice or becomes accomplished in a weapon's technique.

These manuals of practice may be titled or untitled. The oldest manuals are palm-leaf grandam written in archaic Malayalam; however, most masters today possess handwritten notebooks copied from original grandam. Several traditional manuscripts are in library collections (*Mallayuddhakrama, Verumkaipidutham,* and *Ayudhabhyasam* are in the

Madras University library manuscript collection), and a few have appeared in print, such as *Rangabhyasam* (published by the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Series). These titles are similar to those in the possession of practicing masters. At an obvious functional level, these manuals of practice are similar to those of other artists or craftsmen—they are used as reference books for occasional consultation to clarify any doubts that a master might have.

A text is defined by whatever is included within any particular palm-leaf manuscript or copied notebook; for example, a text in the possession of one master may be a loose, lengthy collection of sections of technical information on a variety of subjects, sometimes including not only techniques of practice but also information on the body (both gross and subtle); preparation of medicines and a variety of massage therapies; how, when, and where to reveal secret knowledge to one's most favored disciples; the history and foundation myth of practice in Kerala; information on the construction of a traditional place of training (kalari); and installation and worship of appropriate deities. One master's text records the following details about worshipping the deities of his kalari:

> During puja in your mind you must meditate on all the Gurudevada which dwell in the forty-two by twenty-one kalari, and also the twenty-one masters, the eight sages, and the eight murtikkal [aspects or forms] of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, the forty-three crores devas [430 million gods], four sampradayam [lineages] which are meant for kalari practice, the sambradayam which are used in Tulunadu, the famous past kalari gurus of the four Namboodiri households known as ugram velli, dronam velli, ghoram velli, and ullutturuttiyattu, the eight devas connected with thekalari, and the murti positions connected with kalari practice.

Others masters possess many shorter texts devoted to specific topics such as collections of verbal commands for body exercises, empty-hand techniques (*verumkaipidutham*), mantras, or medical preparations for external application of an oil or for internal consumption in treating a condition.

Some specialized texts are devoted to identifying, locating, attacking, defending, and healing injuries to the vital spots of the body. Kalarippayattu masters possess one or more of three types of texts on the vital spots: (1) those, like the *Marmmanidanam* (Diagnosis of the Vital Spots), that are ultimately derived from Susruta's early medical text (*Samhita*) enumerating each vital spot's Sanskrit name, number, location, size, and classification, the symptoms of direct and full penetration, the length of time a person may live after penetration, and occasionally symptoms of lesser injury; (2) those, like *Granthavarimarmma cikitsa,* that also identify the 107 vital spots of the Sanskrit texts and record recipes and therapeutic procedures to be followed in healing injuries to the vital spots; and (3) much less San-

skritized texts, like *Marmmayogam,* that are the kalarippayattu practitioner's handbook of empty-hand practical fighting applications and emergency revivals for the sixty-four "most vital" of the spots (*kulabhysamarmmam*) As detailed in Zarrilli (1998, 1992), kalarippayattu texts focusing on the vital spots are rather straightforward descriptive reference manuals cataloguing practical information. In contrast to the straightforward descriptive nature of these texts are the varma ati master's highly poetic Tamil texts, which were traditionally sung and taught verse by verse. Some texts, such as *Varma Cuttiram,* located at the University of Madras manuscript library (#2429), are relatively short (146 *sloka* [verses]) and focus on one aspect of practice. Longer texts like *Varma ati Morivu Cara Cuttiram* (Songs [concerning] the Breaking and Wounding of the Vital Spots) include more than 1,000 verses and provide the name and location of each vital spot, whether it is a single or a double spot, symptoms of injury, methods of emergency revival, and techniques and recipes for treatments of injuries not only to the vital spots but also to bones, muscles, and similar tissue. The text admonishes the student to

> 12.1 Proceed by giving massage with the hands, legs, and bundles of medicinal herbs,
> 12.2 with confidence set fractures. I am explaining all this carefully, so listen and follow what I say.
> 12.3 With piety take your guru and god in mind, and treat other lives as your own.
> 12.4 With thinking and doing together as one, search out the vital spots, fractures, and wounds. (Selvaraj 1984)

These texts reveal that the varma ati system was traditionally a highly esoteric and mystical one, since only someone who had attained accomplishment as a Siddha yogi (an actualized master of a specialized Tamil form of disciplined practice through which the individual gains enlightenment) could be considered a master of the vital spots. As anthropologist Margaret Trawick Egnor notes, "The language of Siddha poetry is notoriously esoteric; modern students of it say it was deliberately made so, so that the Siddha knowledge would not become public" (1983, 989).

Although numerous palm-leaf and hand-copied manuscripts dealing with the vital spots have been collected in government manuscript libraries and some have even been published (see Nadar 1968; Nadar n.d.; Selvaraj 1984; Nayar 1957), given variability of interpretation, individual masters differ in their interpretations. As Ananda Wood asserts, "the direct instruction of an experienced teacher is necessary to interpret such theoretical texts practically. A theoretical text is fairly meaningless without such a teacher who knows the practical skills and techniques himself. For example, a vital spot may be described in a text as located two named measures

below the nipple, but the lack of a standard measure corresponding to the name in the text would mean that an experienced practitioner would be required to interpret the text and point out the spot" (1983, 115). An increasing number of reference texts about the vital spots have also become available to Ayurvedic medical practitioners and kalarippayattu practitioners, such as a recent Alikakerala Government Ayurveda College publication that includes a section on the vital spots.

To summarize, techniques of practice and related information on teaching and martial practice are recorded in texts passed on from generation to generation. These texts record abbreviated, shorthand, partially descriptive sets of verbal commands for oral use in teaching. Techniques can only be transmitted directly from teacher to student through embodied practice and oral correction. Ultimately, the authority of any text rests in the embodied knowledge and practice of the master himself and in his transmission of that knowledge into the student's practically embodied knowledge.

During the 1970s cheap popular paperback editions of these manuals began to appear in print (Velayudhan n.d.), making available on a commercial basis what had hitherto been secret information passed on from masters to disciples. In addition, complete sets of techniques have been published, such as can be found in Sreedharan Nayar's Malayalam books, *Marmmadarppanam, Kalarippayattu,* and *Uliccil,* and most recently in P. Balakrishnan's *Kalarippayattu*. It seems likely that future research in other specific martial traditions will reveal a similar range of specialist texts that have no doubt been influenced by the antique Tamil and Dhanur Vedic traditions.

Phillip Zarrilli

See also India; Kalarippayattu; Meditation; Performing Arts; Religion and Spiritual Development: India; Varma Ati; Wrestling and Grappling: India

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Written Texts: Japan

Editorial note: Bracketed number codes in this entry refer to the list of ideograms that follows.

Japanese martial art literature encompasses such a wide variety of genres, both fiction and nonfiction, produced over such a long period of history,

that it defies all attempts at simple characterization. The production of martial literature began with early chronicles and anonymous collections of tales concerning wars and warriors and reached its zenith during the Tokugawa [1] regime (A.D. 1603–1868) when government policies enforced a strict division of social classes, according to which members of the officially designated hereditary class of warriors (*bushi* [2] or *buke* [3]) were placed above all other segments of society and charged with administration of government. The Tokugawa combination of more than 250 years of peace, high status afforded to warriors, widespread literacy, and printing technology resulted in the production of vast numbers of texts in which warriors sought to celebrate their heroes, establish universal principles of warfare, record their methods of martial training, adapt arts of war to an age of peace, and resolve the contradiction inherent in government regulations that demanded that they master both civil (*bun* [4], peaceful) and military (*bu* [5]) skills. It is this last endeavor more than any other that continues to capture the imagination of modern readers, insofar as Tokugawa warriors applied abstract concepts derived from Chinese cosmology, neo-Confucian metaphysics, Daoist (Taoist) magic, and Buddhist doctrines of consciousness to give new meanings to the physical mediation of concrete martial conflicts.

Some idea of the number of martial art treatises produced by Tokugawa-period warriors can be gleamed from the *Kinsei budô bunken mokuroku* [6] (References of Tokugawa-Period Martial Art Texts), which lists more than 15,000 separate titles. This list, moreover, is incomplete, since it includes only titles of treatises found at major library facilities and ignores private manuscripts, scrolls, and initiation documents that were handed down within martial art schools. Following the Meiji [7] Restoration (1868), which marked the beginning both of the end of the hereditary status of warriors and of Japan's drive toward becoming a modern industrialized state, interest in martial arts immediately declined. Despite a brief resurgence of interest during the militaristic decades of the 1930s and 1940s and the reformulation of certain martial arts (e.g., jûdô and kendô) into popular competitive sports, relatively few books about martial arts have appeared since the end of the Tokugawa period. A 1979 *References* (supplement to *Budôgaku kenkyû* [8], vol. 11, no. 3) of monographs concerning martial arts published since 1868, for example, includes only about 2,000 titles, the vast bulk of which concern modern competitive forms of kendô, jûdô, and karate. No more than a few Tokugawa-period treatises about martial arts have been reprinted in modern, easily accessible editions. For this reason, knowledge of traditional (i.e., warrior) martial art traditions, practices, and philosophy remains hidden not just from students of modern Japanese martial art sports but also from historians of Japanese education, literature, popular life, and warrior culture.

Early-fourteenth-century scroll fragment depicting the attack of the Kusonoki Masatsuras at the Battle of Rokuhara. (Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY)

The following survey of Japanese martial art literature, therefore, is of necessity somewhat tentative. It concentrates on works from the Tokugawa period (or before) that have been reprinted and/or influential during modern (i.e., post-1868) times. However influential a work might have been during premodern periods, if it has been ignored by subsequent generations it is omitted here. Even with this limitation, texts from several disparate genres must be surveyed. Through theater, novels, cinema, and television the image of the traditional Japanese warrior (a.k.a. samurai) has attained mythic status (analogous to that of the cowboy or gunfighter of America's Old West). Insofar as contemporary practitioners and teachers of Japanese martial arts consciously and unconsciously identify themselves with that mythic image, texts depicting legendary warriors and their traits and ethos constitute an indispensable part of Japanese martial art literature. In addition, the texts in which Tokugawa-period warriors analyzed their battlefield

experiences and systematized their fighting arts remain our best sources for understanding the development and essential characteristics of Japanese martial training. Finally, one cannot fail to mention the early textbooks that laid the foundation for the development of the modern competitive forms of martial art that are practiced throughout the world. Thus, our survey covers the following genres: war tales, warrior exploits, military manuals, initiation documents, martial art treatises, and educational works.

War Tales

War tales (*gunki mono* [9] or *senki mono* [10]) consist of collections of fictional tales and chronicles about historical wars and warriors. Literary scholars often confine their use of this term to works of the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, such as *Heike monogatari* [11] (Tales of the Heike; i.e., the 1180–1185 war between the Minamoto [12] and Taira [13] clans) or *Taiheiki* [14] (Chronicle of Great Peace; i.e., Godaigo's [15] 1331–1336 failed revolt against warrior rule), which originally were recited to musical accompaniment and which evolved orally and textually over a long period of time. In a broader sense, however, the term sometimes applies even to earlier battlefield accounts such as *Shômonki* [16] (Chronicle of Masakado [17]; i.e., his 930s revolt). None of these tales can be read as history. Their authors were neither themselves warriors nor present at the battles they describe. Episodic in nature, they derive dramatic effect primarily from repetition of stereotyped formulas (e.g., stylized descriptions of arms and armor, speeches in which heroes recite their illustrious genealogies, the pathos of death). Overall, they present the rise of warrior power as a sign of the decline of civilization and sympathize with the losers: individuals and families of fleeting power and status who suffer utter destruction as the tide of events turns against them. Thus, *Heike monogatari* states, in one of the most famous lines of Japanese literature: "The proud do not last forever, but are like dreams of a spring night; the mighty will perish, just like dust before the wind."

In spite of the fact that war tales are obvious works of fiction, from Tokugawa times down to the present numerous authors have used these works as sources to construct idealistic and romanticized images of traditional Japanese warriors and their ethos. The names of fighting techniques (e.g., *tanbo gaeshi* [18], dragonfly counter) mentioned therein have been collected in futile attempts to chart the evolution of pre-Tokugawa-period martial arts. Excerpts have been cited out of context to show that medieval warriors exemplified various martial virtues: loyalty, valor, self-discipline, self-sacrifice, and so forth. At the same time, however, these texts also contain numerous counterexamples in which protagonists exemplify the opposite qualities (disloyalty, cowardice). Perhaps because of this very mix-

ture of heroes and villains, these tales continue to entertain and to provide story lines for creative retellings in theater, puppet shows, cinema, television, and cartoons.

Warrior Exploits

Whereas war tales describe the course of military campaigns or the rise and fall of prominent families, tales of warrior exploits focus on the accomplishments of individuals who gained fame for founding new styles (*ryûha* [19]), for duels, or for feats of daring. The practice of recounting warrior exploits no doubt is as old as the origins of the war tales mentioned above, but credit for the first real attempt to compile historically accurate accounts of the lives and deeds of famous martial artists belongs to Hinatsu Shigetaka's [20] *Honchô bugei shôden* [21] (1716; reprinted in Hayakawa et al. 1915). Living in an age of peace when the thought of engaging in life-or-death battles already seemed remote, Hinatsu hoped that his accounts of martial valor would inspire his contemporaries, so that they might emulate the warrior ideals of their forebears. Repeatedly reprinted and copied by subsequent authors, Hinatsu's work formed the basis for the general public's understanding of Japanese martial arts down to recent times. Playwrights, authors, and movie directors have mined Hinatsu for the plots of countless swordplay adventures. The most notable of these, perhaps, is the 1953 novel *Miyamoto Musashi* [22] by Yoshikawa Eiji [23] (1892–1962). This novel (which was translated into English in 1981) more than anything else helped transform the popular image of Miyamoto Musashi (1584–1645) from that of a brutal killer into one of an enlightened master of self-cultivation. It formed the basis for an Academy Award–winning 1954 movie (released in America as *Samurai*) directed by Inagaki Hiroshi [24] (1905–1980).

Military Manuals

Japanese martial art traditions developed within the social context of lord-vassal relationships in which the explicit purpose of martial training was for vassals to prepare themselves to participate in military campaigns as directed by their lords. Therefore, instruction in individual fighting skills (e.g., swordsmanship) not infrequently addressed larger military concerns such as organization, command, supply, fortifications, geomancy, strategy, and so forth. Manuals of military science (*gungaku* [25] or *heigaku* [26]), likewise, often included detailed information on types of armor, weapons, and the best ways to learn how to use them.

The most widely read and influential military manual was *Kôyô gunkan* [27] (Martial Mirror Used by Warriors of Kôshû [28]; reprinted in Isogai and Hattori 1965), published in 1656 by Obata Kagenori [29]

(1572–1662). *Kôyô gunkan* consists of various texts that purport to record details of the military organization, tactics, training, martial arts, and battles fought by warriors under the command of the celebrated warlord Takeda Shingen [30] (1521–1573). Although ascribed to one of Takeda's senior advisers, Kôsaka Danjô Nobumasa [31] (d. 1578), it was probably compiled long after its principal characters had died, since it contains numerous historical inaccuracies, including fictional battles and imaginary personages (e.g., the infamous Yamamoto Kanzuke [32]). In spite of its inaccuracies, *Kôyô gunkan* has been treasured down to the present for its rich evocation of the axioms, motivational techniques, and personal relations of late sixteenth-century fighting men.

Yamaga Sokô [33] (1632–1685) was the most celebrated instructor of military science during the Tokugawa period. Yamaga combined military science (which he studied under Obata Kagenori) with Confucianism and Ancient Learning (*kogaku* [34]) to situate military rule within a larger social and ethical framework. His *Bukyô shôgaku* [35] (Primary Learning in the Warrior Creed, 1658; reprinted 1917) formulated what was to become the standard Tokugawa-period justification for the existence of the hereditary warrior class and their status as rulers: Warriors serve all classes of people because they achieve not just military proficiency but also self-cultivation, duty, regulation of the state, and pacification of the realm. Through his influence, martial art training came to be interpreted as a means by which warriors could internalize the fundamental principles that should be employed in managing the great affairs of state.

Initiation Documents

Before Meiji (1868), martial art skills usually were acquired by training under an instructor who taught a private tradition or style (*ryûha* [36]) that was handed down in secret from father to son or from master to disciple. There were hundreds of such styles, and most of them gave birth to new styles in endless permutations. This multiplication of martial traditions occurred because of government regulations designed to prevent warriors from forming centralized teaching networks across administrative borders. *Ryûha*, the Japanese term commonly used to designate these martial art styles, denotes a stream or current branching out from generation to generation. By definition, though not necessarily so in practice, each style possesses its own unique techniques and teachings (*ryûgi* [37]), which are conveyed through its own unique curriculum of pattern practice (kata [38]). Typically, each style bestowed a wide variety of secret initiation documents (*densho* [39]) on students who mastered its teachings. Although some martial art styles still guard their secrets, today hundreds of initiation documents from many different styles have become available to scholars. Many

of them have been published (see reprints in Imamura 1982, etc.; Sasamori 1965). These documents provide the most detailed and the most difficult to understand accounts of traditional Japanese martial arts.

Martial art initiation documents vary greatly from style to style, from generation to generation within the same style, and sometimes even from student to student within the same generation. They were composed in every format: single sheets of paper (*kirikami* [40]), scrolls (*makimono* [41]), and bound volumes (*sasshi* [42]). There were no standards. Nonetheless, certain patterns reappear. Students usually began their training by signing pledges (*kishômon* [43]) of obedience, secrecy, and good behavior. Extant martial art pledges, such as the ones signed by Shôgun Tokugawa Ieyasu [44] (1542–1616), provide invaluable historical data about the relationships between martial art styles and political alliances. As students proceeded through their course of training they received a series of written initiations. These writings might have consisted of curriculums (*mokuroku* [45]), genealogies (*keifu* [46]), songs and poetry of the way (*dôka* [47]), teachings adapted from other styles (*to no mono* [48]), lists of moral axioms and daily cautions (*kokoroe* [49]), diplomas (*menjô* [50]), and treatises. In many styles the documents were awarded in a predetermined sequence, such as initial, middle, deep, and full initiation (*shoden* [51], *chûden* [52], *okuden* [53], and *kaiden* [54]).

A key characteristic of initiation documents, regardless of style, is that they were bestowed only on advanced students who had already mastered the techniques, vocabulary, and concepts mentioned therein. For this reason they typically recorded reminders rather than instructions. Sometimes they contained little more than a list of terms, without any commentary whatsoever. Or, perhaps the only comment was the word *kuden* [55] (oral initiation), which meant that the student must learn this teaching directly from the teacher. Many initiation documents use vocabulary borrowed from Buddhism but with denotations completely unrelated to any Buddhist doctrines or practices. Moreover, initiation documents from different styles sometimes used identical terminology to convey unrelated meanings or to refer to dissimilar technical applications. For this reason, initiation documents cannot be understood by anyone who has not been trained by a living teacher of that same style. Recently, however, it has been demonstrated that the comparative study of initiation documents from a variety of styles can reveal previously unsuspected relationships among geographically and historically separated traditions.

Martial Art Treatises

Systematic expositions of a particular style's curriculum or of the general principles of martial performance also were produced in great numbers.

The earliest extant martial art treatises are *Heihô kadensho* [56] (Our Family's Tradition of Swordsmanship, 1632) by Yagyû Munenori [57] (1571–1646) and *Gorin no sho* [58] (Five Elemental Spheres, 1643) by Miyamoto Musashi (both reprinted in Watanabe et al. 1972). Both texts were written by elderly men who in the final years of their lives sought to present their disciples with a concluding summation of their teachings. Until modern times both texts were secret initiation documents. Like other initiation documents they contain vocabulary that cannot be fathomed by outsiders who lack training in their respective martial styles. For this reason, the modern interpretations and translations that have appeared thus far in publications intended for a general audience have failed to do them justice. In some cases, the specialized martial art terminology in these works has been interpreted and translated into English in the most fanciful ways (e.g., Suzuki 1959).

Heihô kadensho begins by listing the elements (i.e., names of kata) in the martial art curriculum that Munenori had learned from his father. This list is followed by a random collection of short essays in which Munenori records his own insights into the meaning of old sayings or concepts that are applicable to martial art training. In this section he cites the teachings of the Zen monk Takuan Sôhô [59] (1573–1643), Chinese military manuals, neo-Confucian tenets, and doctrines of the Konparu [60] school of Nô [61] theater. Munenori asserts that real martial art is not about personal duels, but rather lies in establishing peace and preventing war by serving one's lord and protecting him from self-serving advisers. He emphasizes that one must practice neo-Confucian investigation of things (*kakubutsu* [62]; in Chinese, *gewu*) and that for success in any aspect of life, and especially in martial arts, one must maintain an everyday state of mind (*byôjôshin* [63]).

Gorin no sho eschews the philosophical reflection found in *Heihô kadensho* and concentrates almost exclusively on fighting techniques. It basically expands Musashi's earlier *Heihô sanjûgoka jô* [64] (Thirty-Five Initiations into Swordsmanship, 1640; reprinted in Watanabe et al. 1972) by organizing his teachings into five sections according to the Buddhist scheme of five elements: Earth concerns key points for studying swordsmanship; Water concerns Musashi's sword techniques; Fire concerns battlefield techniques; Wind concerns the techniques of other styles; and Space (i.e., emptiness) encourages his disciples to avoid delusion by perfecting their skills, tempering their spirits, and developing insight. Throughout the work, Musashi's style is terse to the point of incomprehensibility. In spite of his use of the elemental scheme to give his work some semblance of structure, the individual sections lack any internal organization whatsoever. Some assertions reappear in several different contexts without adding any new information. Much of what can be understood appears self-contradictory. This unintelligibility, however, allows the text to function as Rorschach

inkblots within which modern readers (businessmen, perhaps) can discover many possible meanings.

Many other formerly secret martial art treatises have commanded the attention of modern readers. Kotôda Toshisada's [65] *Ittôsai sensei kenpô sho* [66] (Master Ittôsai's Swordsmanship, 1664; reprinted in Hayakawa et al. 1915) uses neo-Confucian concepts to explain doctrines of *Ittô-ryû* [67], a style that greatly influenced modern kendô. *Mansenshûkai* [68] (All Rivers Gather in the Sea; reprinted in Imamura 1982, vol. 5) is an encyclopedia of espionage (*ninjutsu* [69]) techniques. Shibugawa Tokifusa's [70] *Jûjutsu taiseiroku* [71] (Perfecting Flexibility Skills, 1770s; reprinted in Imamura 1982, vol. 6) explains the essence of *Shibugawa-ryû Jûjutsu* [72] so well that it is still studied by students of modern jûdô. *Sekiunryû kenjutsu sho* [73] (a.k.a. *Kenpô Seikun sensei sôden* [74]; reprinted in Watanabe 1979) by Kodegiri Ichiun [75] (1630–1706) has garnered attention for its sharp criticism of traditional swordsmanship as a beastly practice and its assertion that the highest martial art avoids harm both to self and to one's opponent.

Not all martial art treatises were kept secret. Many were published during the Tokugawa period. Not surprisingly, these are the ones that modern readers can understand with the least difficulty. *Tengu geijutsuron* [76] (Performance Theory of the Mountain Demons; reprinted in Hayakawa et al. 1915) and *Neko no myôjutsu* [77] (Marvelous Skill of Cats; reprinted in Watanabe 1979) both appeared in print in 1727 as part of *Inaka Sôji* [78] (Countrified Zhuangzi) by Issai Chozan [79] (1659–1741). Likening himself to the legendary Chinese sage Zhuangzi, Issai explains swordsmanship in Confucian terms in *Tengu geijutsuron* and in Daoist (Taoist) terms in *Neko no myôjutsu*. Both works were enormously popular and saw many reprints. Hirase Mitsuo's [80] *Shagaku yôroku* [81] (Essentials for Studying Archery; published 1788; reprinted in Watanabe 1979) provides an invaluable overview of how archery evolved during the eighteenth century. Hirase asserts that archery is the martial art par excellence and laments that contemporary archers have forgotten its true forms, which he then proceeds to explain. Similar works were published regarding other forms of martial training: gunnery, horsemanship, pole-arms, and so forth.

The most influential treatise was not written by a warrior, but by a Buddhist monk. It consists of the instructions that Takuan Sôhô presented to Yagyû Munenori regarding the way the mental freedom attained through Buddhist training can help one to better master swordsmanship and to better serve one's lord. First published in 1779 as *Fudôchi shinmyôroku* [82] (Marvelous Power of Immovable Wisdom; reprinted in Hayakawa et al. 1915), Takuan's treatise has been reprinted countless times ever since and has reached an audience far beyond the usual martial art circles. Takuan emphasized the importance of cultivating a strong sense

of imperturbability, the immovable wisdom that allows the mind to move freely, with spontaneity and flexibility, even in the face of fear, intimidation, or temptation. For Takuan the realization of true freedom must be anchored to firm moral righteousness. He likened this attainment to a well-trained cat that can be released to roam freely only after it no longer needs to be restrained by a leash in order to prevent it from attacking songbirds. Under the influence of the extreme militarism of the 1930s and 1940s, however, the freedom advocated by Takuan was interpreted in amoral, antinomian terms, as condoning killing without thought or remorse. For this reason it has been condemned by recent social critics for contributing to the commission of wartime crimes and atrocities.

Educational Works

In 1872, the new Meiji government established a nationwide system of compulsory public education. That same year, the ministry in charge of schools promulgated a single nationwide curriculum that included courses in hygiene and physical exercise. In developing these courses, Japanese educators translated a great number of textbooks and manuals from European countries, which only a few decades earlier had developed the then-novel practices of citizen armies, military gymnastics, schoolyard drills, and organized athletic games. Tsuboi Gendô [83] (1852–1922) was the first person to attempt to introduce to a general Japanese audience the notion that exercise could be a form of recreation and a pleasant way to attain strength and health, to develop team spirit, and to find joy simply in trying to do one's best. His *Togai yûge hô* [84] (Methods of Outdoor Recreation, 1884) helped ordinary Japanese accept the concepts of sport and, more importantly, sportsmanship.

In the eyes of many Japanese educators, a huge gulf separated traditional martial arts from sports and sportsmanship. The Ministry of Education, for example, initially rejected swordsmanship (*kenjutsu* [85]) and jûjutsu instruction at public schools. Its evaluation of martial art curriculums ("Bugika no keikyô" [86], Monbushô 1890) found martial arts to be deficient physically because they fail to develop all muscle groups equally and because they are dangerous in that a stronger student can easily apply too much force to a weaker student. They are deficient spiritually because they promote violence and emphasize winning at all costs, even to the point of encouraging students to resort to trickery. In addition, they are deficient pedagogically because they require individual instruction, they cannot be taught as a group activity, they require too large a training area, and they require special uniforms and equipment that students cannot keep hygienic. At the same time that the Ministry of Education was rejecting traditional Japanese martial arts, however, it sought other means to actively promote

the development of a strong military (*kyôhei* [87]). In 1891, it ordered compulsory training in European-style military calisthenics (*heishiki taisô* [88]) at all elementary and middle schools. The ministry stated that physically these exercises would promote health and balanced muscular development, spiritually they would promote cheerfulness and fortitude, and socially they would teach obedience to commands.

Faced with this situation, many martial art enthusiasts sought to reform their training methods to meet the new educational standards and policies. In particular, they developed methods of group instruction, exercises for balanced physical development, principles of hygiene, rules barring illegal techniques, referees to enforce rules, tournament procedures that would ensure the safety of weaker contestants, and an ethos of sportsmanship. Kanô Jigorô [89] (1860–1938), the founder of the Kôdôkan [90] style of jûjutsu (jûdô), exerted enormous influence on all these efforts in his roles as president (for twenty-seven years) of Tokyo Teacher's School (*shihan gakkô* [91]), as the first president of the Japanese Physical Education Association, and as Japan's first representative to the International Olympic Committee. Under Kanô's leadership, Tokyo Teacher's School became the first government institution of higher education to train instructors of martial arts. Kanô was a prolific writer. His collected works (three volumes, 1992) provide extraordinarily rich information on the development of Japanese public education, jûdô, and international sports.

Kanô also encouraged others to write modern martial art textbooks, several of which are still used today. *Jûdô kyôhan* [92] (Judo Teaching Manual, 1908; reprinted in Watanabe 1971) by two of Kanô's students, Yokoyama Sakujirô [93] (1863–1912) and Ôshima Eisuke [94], was translated into English in 1915. Takano Sasaburô [95] (1863–1950), an instructor at Tokyo Teacher's School, wrote a series of works, *Kendô* [96] (1915; reprinted 1984), *Nihon kendô kyôhan* [97] (Japanese Kendô Teaching Manual, 1920), and *Kendô kyôhan* [98] (Kendô Teaching Manual, 1930; reprinted 1993), that helped transform rough-and-tumble *gekken* [99] (battling swords) into a modern sport with systematic teaching methods and clear standards for judging tournaments. These authors (as well as pressure from nationalist politicians) prompted the Ministry of Education to adopt jûjutsu and gekken as part of the standard school curriculum in 1912 and to change their names to jûdô and kendô, respectively, in 1926. Finally, Kanô was instrumental in helping Funakoshi [100] Gichin [101] (1870–1956) introduce Okinawan boxing (karate) to Japan (from whence it spread to the rest of the world). Funakoshi's *Karatedô kyôhan* [102] (Karate Teaching Manual, 1935; English translation 1973) remains the standard introduction to this martial art.

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See also Archery, Japanese; Budô, Bujutsu, and Bugei; Japan; Kendô; Koryû Bugei, Japanese; Religion and Spiritual Development: Japan; Sword, Japanese; Swordsmanship, Japanese

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List of Ideograms

1	Tokugawa	徳川
2	*bushi*	武士
3	*buke*	武家
4	*bun*	文
5	*bu*	武
6	*Kinsei budō bunken mokuroku*	近世武道文献目録
7	Meiji	明治
8	*Budōgaku kenkyū*	武道学研究
9	*gunki mono*	軍記物
10	*senki mono*	戦記物
11	*Heike monogatari*	平家物語
12	Minamoto	源
13	Taira	平
14	*Taiheiki*	太平記
15	Godaigo	後醍醐
16	*Shōmonki*	将門記
17	Masakado	将門
18	*tanbo gaeshi*	鍔迫り L

19	*ryūha*	流派
20	Hanitsu Shigetaka	日夏繁高
21	*Honchō bugei shōden*	本朝武藝小傳
22	*Miyamoto Musashi*	宮本武蔵
23	Yoshikawa Eiji	吉川英治
24	Inagaki Hiroshi	稲垣浩
25	*gunpaku*	軍舶
26	*heigaku*	兵學
27	*Kōyō gunkan*	甲用軍鑑
28	Kōshū	甲州
29	Obata Kagenori	小幡景憲
30	Takeda Shingen	武田信玄
31	Kōsaka Danjō Nobumasa	高坂弾正昌信
32	Yamamoto Kansuke	山本勘助
33	Yamaga Sokō	山鹿素行
34	*kogaku*	古學
35	*Bukyō shōgaku*	武教小學
36	*ryūha*	流派
37	*ryūgi*	流儀
38	kata	形
39	*densho*	傳書
40	*kirikami*	切紙
41	*makimono*	巻物
42	*sasshi*	冊子
43	*kishōmon*	起請文
44	Tokugawa Ieyasu	徳川家康
45	*mokuroku*	目録
46	*keifu*	系譜
47	*dōka*	道歌
48	*to ni mono*	外物
49	*kokoroe*	心得
50	*menjō*	免状
51	*shoden*	初傳
52	*chūden*	中傳
53	*okuden*	奥傳
54	*kaiden*	皆傳
55	*iuden*	口傳
56	*Heihō kadensho*	兵法家傳書
57	Yagyū Munenori	柳生宗矩
58	*Gorin no sho*	五輪書

59	Takuan Sōhō	沢庵宗彭
60	Kunpūryū	金春
61	Nō	能
62	*hakubutsu*	博物
63	*hyōjōshin*	平常心
64	*Heihō sanjūgoka jō*	兵法三十五ヶ条
65	Kotōda Toshisada	古藤田俊定
66	*Itōsai sensei kenpō sho*	一刀斎先生剣法書
67	*Itō-ryū*	一刀流
68	*Musōshinkakuu*	無双神角流
69	*ninjutsu*	忍術
70	Shibugawa Tokifusa	渋川時英
71	*Jūjutsu taiseiroku*	柔術大成録
72	*Shibugawa-ryū Jūjutsu*	渋川流
73	*Sekiunryū kenjutsu sho*	夕雲流剣術書
74	*Kenpō Sekkun sensei sōden*	剣法夕雲先生相伝
75	Kōdegiri Ichiun	小出切一雲
76	*Tengu geijutsuron*	天狗芸術論
77	*Neko no myōjutsu*	猫之妙術
78	*Inaka bōji*	田舎坊子
79	Issai Chozan	伊齋蝶山
80	Hirase Mitsuo	平瀬光雄
81	*Shagaku yōroku*	射学要録
82	*Fudōchi shinmyōroku*	不動智神妙録
83	Isuboi Gendō	坪井玄道
84	*Togai jūge hō*	戸外運動法
85	*kenjutsu*	剣術
86	"Bugika no keikyō"	武技科の景況
87	*kyōhei*	撓兵
88	*heishiki taisō*	兵式体操
89	Kanō Jigorō	嘉納治五郎
90	Kōdōkan	講道館
91	*shihan gakkō*	師範学校
92	*Jūdō kyōhan*	柔道教範
93	Yokoyama Sukujirō	横山作次郎
94	Ōshima Eisuke	大島英助
95	Takano Susaburō	高野佐三郎
96	*Kendō*	剣道
97	*Nihon kendō kyōhan*	日本剣道教範
98	*Kendō kyōhan*	剣道教範

99	*gekken*	擊劍
100	Yumakoshi	弓矢術 (弓法)
101	Gichin	義陣
102	*Karatedō kyōhan*	空手道教範

Wushu

See Boxing, Chinese

X

Xingyiquan (Hsing I Ch'uan)

Of the three primary "internal" arts of China, *xingyiquan* (also spelled *hsing i ch'uan* and *shing yi ch'uan*) is the most visibly martial and the least well known and understood in the West. Xingyiquan (Form Will Fist) is a complex art, utilizing bare-handed and weapon techniques, that applies more linear and angular force than the other two internal arts of *baguazhang* (*pa kua ch'uan*) and *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan). Xingyi is probably best known for its emphasis on extraordinary power applied explosively. Several styles or lineages of xingyi exist, named for the various provinces in China where they were developed. Xingyi has been practiced widely in China, and the styles are not limited to the province for which they are named. For example, *Shifu* (Master) Kenny Gong reports that he learned the *Hebei* style along with bone medicine as a child in Canton.

The origins of xingyiquan are traditionally assigned to General Yue Fei, who is believed to have developed the boxing system from the movements of the spear during the Song dynasty (920–1127). According to legend, he developed both xingyi and Eagle Claw, the former for his officers, the latter for his troops. Tradition asserts that his teachings were passed down secretly and in a book now lost until a wandering Daoist (Taoist) taught xingyiquan to General Ji Jike (also called Ji Longfeng; 1600–1660) and gave him a copy of Yue Fei's book. Of Ji Jike's students, two are important: Ma Xueli of the Henan province and Cao Jiwu of the Shanxi province. Cao Jiwu was not only Feng's foremost disciple, but also a commanding officer of the army in the Shanxi province, and he trained his officers in xingyiquan. From Cao Jiwu, the Shanxi or Orthodox style of xingyi descends. Tradition holds that Ma Xueli originally became a servant in Feng's household, where he secretly watched the xingyi class. He learned so well that he was later formally accepted, and from him descends the Henan school. The Henan style has become closely associated with Chinese Moslems and has lost some of the ties to Daoist cosmology seen in the other styles.

Two students at the Shen Wu Academy of Martial Arts in Garden Grove, California, hone their xingyiquan skills. (Courtesy of Tim Cartmell)

Cao Jiwu had a disciple named Dai Longbang who had previously been a taijiquan master. He trained his two sons, who introduced him to a farmer named Li Luoneng (Li Lao Nan). Li Luoneng studied for ten years and took xingyi back to his home province of Hebei. In the Hebei province, xingyiquan absorbed some of the local techniques of another boxing system, baguazhang, to become the Hebei style. Two stories exist of how this occurred. The more colorful one is that a Dong Haichuan, the founder of baguazhang, fought Li Luoneng's top student, Guo Yunshen, for three days, with neither being able to win. Impressed with each other's techniques, they began cross-training their students in the two arts. More probable is the story that many masters of both systems lived in this province, and many became friends—especially bagua's Cheng Tinghua and xingyi's Li Cunyi. From these friendships, cross-training occurred and the Hebei style developed.

The Yiquan (I Ch'uan) school derives from Guo Yunshen's student and kinsman, Wang Xiangzhai. His style places a great emphasis on static meditation while in a standing position. During World War II, Wang defeated several Japanese swordsmen and *jûdôka* (practitioners of jûdô). When invited, Wang turned down an opportunity to teach his art in Japan. However, one of his opponents, Kenichi Sawai, later became his student and introduced Wang's style of xingyi into Japan as *Taiki-Ken*.

A student practices xingyiquan at the Shen Wu Academy of Martial Arts in Garden Grove, California. (Courtesy of Tim Cartmell)

Training in xingyi consists of a series of standing meditations (called "standing stake"), stretching and conditioning exercises sometimes called qigong (chi kung), a series of forms, and one- and two-man drills. The Shanxi, Hebei, and Yiquan systems share the five basic fists (*beng quan* [crushing fist], *pi* [chopping], *pao* [pounding], *zuan* [drilling], and *heng* [crossing]), which are named for the elements of Daoist cosmology: wood, metal, fire, water, and earth.

There are also twelve animals upon which forms are based in these styles: dragon, tiger, bear, eagle, horse, ostrich, alligator, hawk, chicken, sparrow, snake, and monkey. Because the names represent Chinese characters, the names of some of the animals may change between styles and even from teacher to teacher. For example, alligator may be called snapping turtle or water dragon, and ostrich may be called tai bird, crane, or phoenix. Some styles combine the bear and eagle into one bear-eagle form. In general, the Shanxi styles have the most complicated animal sets and the most weapon forms, while the Yiquan styles are the simplest. Henan style, which has been practiced extensively among Chinese Moslems, is the simplest, in that it does not use the five elemental fists and its animal forms are based on only ten animals. The animal forms are also very short, consisting of one or two moves each.

Weapons used in xingyi include the spear (often considered the archetypal xingyi weapon), the staff, the double-edged sword, the cutlass or

broadsword, needles, and the halberd. In addition, a Hebei stylist will also learn the basics of bagua, including forms called "walking the circle" and the "Eight Palms Form."

Training normally starts by learning the basic standing exercises, starting with the fundamental stance, called *san ti* (three essentials). This develops posture and alignment. The basic exercises (dragon turns head, looking at moon in sea, boa waves head, lion plays with ball, and the turning exercise) are taught next to introduce the student to proper body movement. The five fists are then taught, introducing the student to the concepts of generating power in various directions. After that, the student is introduced to other exercises and the forms. Three one-man forms are taught: the Five Element Linking Form, the Twelve Animal Form, and the assorted form. Several two-man forms also exist and may be part of the training: These include Two Hand Cannon, the Conquering Cycle Form, and others.

Many exercises and drills exist to help the student learn these techniques and applications involving striking; throwing and grappling are also learned from the forms. Shifu Kenny Gong of the Hebei style asserts that xingyiquan has three special attributes: the ability to sense and take an opponent's root, or balance ("cut the root"), to act and strike instantly ("baby catches butterfly"), and to stun an opponent with a shout ("thunder voice"). The first two are said to give the xingyi practitioner the look of not fighting when he fights. The third ability is reputedly lost to the current generation.

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See also Baguazhang (Pa Kua Ch'uan); Boxing, Chinese; External vs. Internal Chinese Martial Arts; Ki/Qi; Taijiquan (Tai Chi Ch'uan)

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Y

Yongchun/Wing Chun

Yongchun (perhaps better known outside Asia by its Cantonese name *wing chun*) is a Chinese martial art that is classified as a boxing system because of its reliance on striking techniques utilizing either hands or feet. The name *yongchun* or *wing chun* (alternatively *wing tsun, ving tsun,* or *youngchuan*), following oral tradition, is commonly translated as "beautiful springtime" in honor of the first student of the art. In general, Chinese fighting arts are classified as "external" (relying on muscular and structural force) or "internal" (relying on an inner force called *qi* [*chi*]); wing chun is a member of the former category. Wing chun originated in and remains most popular in southern China (particularly in the Hong Kong area). This martial art employs proportionately more punches than kicks and teaches the stable stances and closer fighting distances consistent with favoring hands over feet. Therefore, yongchun is characterized by economical movements, infighting, and defensive practicality.

As is the case with many traditional martial arts, the origins of yongchun come to us via oral history rather than written documentation. Oral transmission allows for the addition of legendary material, particularly concerning the earliest periods of the system. In addition, the secrecy imposed on students of the art and the existence of autonomous local cadres of yongchun practitioners, as distinct from a central organization, render impossible the contemporary reconstruction of a lineage that would be both definitive and scientifically documented.

Oral traditions of yongchun maintain that the system was invented by a Buddhist nun named Wu Mei (Ng Mui) who escaped the Shaolin Temple in Hunan (or in some versions, Fujian) province when it was razed in the eighteenth century after an attack by the dominant Manzhou (Manchu) forces of the Qing (Ching) dynasty (1644–1911), which officially suppressed the martial arts, particularly among Ming (1368–1644) loyalists. After her escape and as the result of witnessing a fight between a fox (or snake, in some histories) and a crane, Wu Mei created a new fighting sys-

Undated photo of the legendary Grandmaster Yip Man. (Library of Congress)

tem. This system was capable of defeating the existing martial arts practiced by the Manzhou and Shaolin defectors and, owing to its simplicity, could be learned in a relatively short period of time.

At this time, Ng lived on Daliang Mountain (Tai Leung Mountain) and regularly traveled to a village at its foot, where she befriended a local shopkeeper, Yan Si (Yim Yee), and his daughter, Yan Yongchun. On one of her trips to the village, the nun learned that the pair was being bullied by a local warlord who had announced his intention of marrying Yongchun, with or without her consent or her father's permission.

Wu Mei offered Yongchun sanctuary on Daliang and instruction in her new method of fighting. After, by the standards of the day, a remarkably short period of time (given as from one to three years), Yongchun returned home, challenged her unwelcome suitor, and defeated him soundly.

Yongchun later married Liang Botao (Leung Bok Chau), who was himself a martial artist. After seeing her fight, he came to respect her so much that he learned her system, which he named yongchun in her honor. Despite the secrecy surrounding the art, it was taught to select students through subsequent generations. During this period, the exchange of fighting knowledge between teachers of yongchun and students who had previous martial arts experience led to the addition of weapon techniques to the empty-hand skills created by Wu Mei. There was a particularly close connection between yongchun practitioners and the traveling Chinese opera performers known as the "Red Junk (Malay; ship) People" after the red junks that served as both transportation and living quarters for the troupes. These troupes reportedly served as havens for Ming loyalists involved in the resistance against the Qing rulers and offered refuge to all manner of martial artists.

At any rate, Liang Erdi (Leung Yee Tai), a crew member of one of the Red Junks, became an heir to the yongchun system, which he passed along to Liang Zan (Leung Jan), who resided in the coastal city of Fuzhou. With Liang Zan and his students, the transition from legend to documented history begins.

Noting that the earliest solid evidence of yongchun places it in the coastal regions of southeastern China, alternative early histories of the system consider the ecology of that area, the cultural adaptations required for this environment, and the historical record. In general, these rationalist arguments maintain that the system developed from the fighting styles that were practiced in coastal Fujian province. Rather than originating in the Shaolin heritage of a single martial artist, as the Wu Mei legend maintains, martial arts knowledge that passed along through the coastal provinces of southeast China led to the development of the precursor of the contemporary art. Thus the creation, transmission, and refinement of practical fighting techniques by successive generations of anonymous individuals eventually produced yongchun. The argument that the mechanics of yongchun and other martial arts systems found in the south were ecologically determined goes as follows. The balanced stances and sliding footwork patterns and the low, focused kicks of the system are particularly suited to stability on treacherous terrain—the marshlands between the rivers and tributaries of southeastern China, the mud of a riverbank, the swaying deck of a boat. Also, the infighting preferred by the yongchun stylist lends itself to close quarters and tight spaces, just the situation one might encounter on a junk. Therefore, we see in the rationalist histories of yongchun a sense of geographic determinism, an argument that ecology, coupled with the needs of self-defense, have here produced an appropriate response. Although widely accepted, this argument is not universally accepted, by any means.

A less orthodox, but intriguing, rationalist theory espoused by Karl Godwin attributes the origin of yongchun to the introduction of Western bare-knuckled boxing to the southeastern coastal region of China during the nineteenth century. This argument draws evidence from the technical and structural similarities between European and American boxing of the latter half of the nineteenth century and yongchun, as well as from the historical records of European commerce in the area. Godwin further suggests that Western boxing was modified by the introduction of (push-hands) from *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan, the most widely practiced internal boxing system) to create yongchun's distinctive *chi shou* (sticky hands) techniques.

During the late nineteenth century a traceable record emerges surrounding the education and martial arts career of Grand Master Yip Man (Cantonese; Mandarin Ye Wen; 1893–1972). This record begins with Yip's master, Liang Zan (Leung Jan). Liang Zan, a traditional physician and pharmacist who was heir to a yongchun system, established a medical practice in the coastal city of Fuzhou. He taught his sons, Liang Chun (Leung Chun or Leung Tsun) and Liang Bi (Leung Bik), and a few other students in his pharmacy after closing. Next to the pharmacy was a money changer's stall run by Chen Huashun (Chan Wah Shun; Wah the Money-

changer). Chen learned elements of the art by peeping through a crack in the pharmacy door and, after repeated appeals, eventually obtained formal instruction.

Chen gained a national reputation and passed along the art to sixteen disciples. The sixteenth was Yip Man, the son of a prominent Fuzhou landowner. Yip Man, at the age of 16, after he had studied for three years with Chen, was sent to Hong Kong to continue his formal academic education. Soon after his arrival, he challenged and was soundly defeated by an elderly man whom he later discovered to be Liang Bi. Thereafter, he was taught by Liang until Yip returned home to Fuzhou at the age of 24. There he remained until the end of World War II.

The Japanese conquest of southeastern China left Yip Man in financial difficulty. With the takeover of the country by the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, his fortunes degenerated further, compelling Yip to move his family to Hong Kong. During this unsettled period, he turned for the first time to teaching yongchun for his livelihood, initially as instructor for the Association of Restaurant Workers and later opening a series of his own schools and privately instructing scores of students. As the result of these actions, Yip is credited with removing the veil of secrecy from the art and making yongchun available for public instruction. Since the 1970s, yongchun has grown to become one of the most popular of the Chinese boxing arts.

The style of yongchun introduced by Yip Man and popularized by his students consists of three principal unarmed sets (sequences of martial arts movements): *Sil Lim Tao* (Cantonese, Little Idea; Mandarin *xiaoniantou*), *Chum Kil* (Cantonese, Seeking the Bridge; Mandarin *xunqiao*), and *Bil Jee* (Cantonese, Flying/Thrusting Fingers; Mandarin *biaozhi*). In addition, there are two weapon sets: one that utilizes a long staff and one that utilizes a pair of broad-bladed, single-edged swords, approximately 20 inches long. Chi shou (sticky hands) techniques are the cornerstone of yongchun. These techniques, which teach students to come into contact with and adhere to opponents in combat, are practiced with partners and in a form using a wooden dummy, *mok yan jong* (Cantonese, also *muk yan jong;* Mandarin *mu ren zhuang*). The sticking concept is extended to legs and to movements of the staff set, also.

Following Grand Master Yip's teachings, contemporary yongchun principles call for closing with an opponent and utilizing the ability to stick to and trap limbs. The centerline theory posits a vertical line drawn down the center of the body, intersected by three horizontal lines dividing the body into six gates. One defends this centerline and gates while attempting to launch an attack by "entering" an opponent's gates. The ability to "stick" and launch centerline attacks is augmented by the basic yongchun

stance, which calls for feet shoulder-width apart with the toes and knees turned in at 45-degree angles. The system favors flowing with an opponent rather than meeting force with force and deflecting strikes with one's own strikes at such an angle as to simultaneously block and attack. Therefore, yongchun is well suited for use by a smaller, weaker person against a larger, stronger one.

Finally, yongchun, unlike the overwhelming majority of Asian martial arts and many non-Asian ones, is notable for its absence of ritual. The primary example of this is the fact that the yongchun sets begin without the formal bow that precedes the forms of most other martial arts.

Yongchun systems exist that developed parallel to Yip Man's. Since the 1970s, however, Yip's system has enjoyed overwhelming international popularity. Some of this is due to Grand Master Yip himself; he developed an effective system and introduced it to the public before his rivals. More importantly, though, he taught film star Bruce Lee (1940–1973) yongchun in the mid-1950s. Lee vocally acknowledged his debt to Yip throughout his career. As a result of these factors, Yip's students, such as Hawkins Cheung, Leung Ting, William Cheung, and others, have successfully perpetuated the Yip system of yongchun.

During the 1960s, Bruce Lee developed his own martial systems, which expanded on and departed from the yongchun techniques he learned from Yip Man. For example, Jeet Kune Do translates as "intercepting fist way"; the intercepting fist is also a principle of yongchun.

In Hong Kong, Leung Ting has sought to systematize and popularize Yip Man's yongchun by introducing a highly structured curriculum, a ranking hierarchy, uniforms, and diplomas under the auspices of the Wing Tsun Leung Ting Martial Arts Association.

Yongchun systems, unlike many other martial arts, show no sign of developing into sports. Their compact movements lack the spectacular acrobatics that have caused other arts to capture public attention. As a practical defensive art, however, the international popularity of yongchun continues undiminished.

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See also Boxing, Chinese; Boxing, Chinese Shaolin Styles; Folklore in the Martial Arts; Women in the Martial Arts: China; Written Texts: China

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Chronological History of the Martial Arts

About 30,000 years ago	Slings, arrows, and atlatls (Nahuatl; spear throwers) are developed.
About 9500 B.C.	Metal is refined.
About 8000 B.C.	Self-bows appear. (A self-bow is a bow made from a single piece of wood.)
About 7250 B.C.	Walled towns appear.
About 5500 B.C.	Copper tools appear.
About 4000 B.C.	Compound bows appear. (A compound bow is one that is made from more than one piece of wood or of material other than wood. Examples include horn and sinew glued together.)
About 3127 B.C.	According to Indian texts written during the sixth century B.C., the god-man Krishna is born at Mathura, in Uttar Pradesh. Stories describing the life of Lord Krishna report that he sometimes engaged in wrestling matches.
About 2700 B.C.	Britons begin making and using yew bows. Although made from a single piece of wood, and therefore technically self-bows, these weapons were actually compound bows, as the wood from which they were made was carefully selected to include both sapwood and heartwood. (The flexible sapwood was used for the back of the bow, while the denser heartwood was used for its belly.)
2697 B.C.	According to documents written between the sixth century B.C. and the third century A.D., Huang Di, the Yellow Emperor, rules China. Huang Di was subsequently credited with inventing many things, including Daoism (Taoism), archery, wrestling, swordsmanship, and football.
About 2300 B.C.	Friezes on the walls of a tomb in Saqqara, Egypt, show youths wrestling. Other friezes on the same tombs also show boys in light tunics boxing with bare fists and fencing with papyrus stalks, perhaps in the context of playing soldier.
About 1950 B.C.	The world's oldest wrestling manual appears as frescoes on the walls of four separate tombs built near Beni Hasan, Egypt.
About 1829 B.C.	According to the twelfth century A.D. Irish *Book of Invasions,* the Tailltenn Games are established near modern Telltown, Ireland. These games featured singing, wrestling, and racing; took place about August 1; and commemorated Tailltu, the mother of a pre-Christian sun god named Lugh (pronounced "*Lew*," but nonetheless sometimes anglicized as *Lammas*).
About 1520 B.C.	A fresco made on the Aegean island of Thera shows boys boxing.

About 1500 B.C.	Near the ford at Jabbok, the Hebrew patriarch Jacob wrestles with a spirit being, thereby earning the title of "Israel," or "wrestler with God." There is some controversy about Jacob's winning technique. The Christian Bible, for example, credits Jacob's victory to his refusing to give in even after his opponent grabbed him by the genitals ("the sinew which shrank, which *is* upon the hollow of the thigh" [Genesis 32:32, King James Bible]). The Jewish tradition, however, has Jacob continuing despite an injury to his sciatic nerve, which in turn explains why the sciatic nerve is discarded during kosher preparation of meat. The nature of Jacob's opponent is also debated. For example, Christian theologians typically say it was an apparition of God. Jews, on the other hand, say that it was the guardian angel of Jacob's brother Esau, and that the victory symbolizes Jacob's spiritual victory over Esau.
About 1450 B.C.	Swords (that is, metal blades that are more than twice as long as their handles and equally usable for cutting, thrusting, and guarding) are made in the mountains of Austria and Hungary.
About 1424 B.C.	According to the *Bhagavad-Gita* (Sanskrit; Lord's Song), the god-man Krishna and the warrior-king Arjuna discuss the meaning of life. Their decision is that a warrior should have a code of ethics and fight in defense of it. They also decide that it is inappropriate for a warrior to avoid battle by choosing to live as a merchant or a priest, as he would then be untrue to his obligations.
About 1250 B.C.	According to the Hellenic story of Jason and the Argonauts, a Lakedaimonian (Spartan) boxer named Polydeukes defeats a foreign bully named Amykos.
About 1193 B.C.	According to Homer's *Iliad,* funeral games (*agon gymnikos*) played by the Homeric warriors during their siege of Troy include chariot races, boxing, wrestling, foot races, discus throwing, and archery events.
About 1160 B.C.	A frieze at Medinet Habu celebrating the accession of Pharaoh Ramses III shows ten pairs of wrestlers and stickfighters in an arena surrounded by grandstands. The matches were probably fixed, as the art shows that Egyptians always won, and the Libyans, Sudanese, and Syrians always lost.
1123 B.C.	According to tradition, King Wan and his son, Dan, the Duke of Zhou, patronize the publication of the Yijing (I Ching; Book of Changes). King Wan is also credited with increasing the number of the linear diagrams shown in the Yijing from their original eight to their modern sixty-four.
About 1015 B.C.	According to 1 Samuel 17:21–58, a Hebrew shepherd named David uses five stones and a sling to slay a Philistine named Goliath.
About 890 B.C.	The Athenian king Theseus is entertained by the spectacle of men hitting each other in the head with leather-laced fists.
Eighth century B.C.	According to the *Ramayana* epic, the Indian kingdom of Kosala conquers Sri Lanka. The hero of the conquest is Lord Rama, whose best friend is the monkey-god Hanuman. As long as Hanuman remains celibate and loyal to his Lord Rama, he is blessed with great wisdom, windlike speed and strength, and

	immunity from all types of weapons. Hanuman has since become the patron saint of Indian and Pakistani wrestlers.
776 B.C.	According to tradition, the first Panhellenic Games are played at Olympia, a shrine to the god Zeus standing on a plain west of Corinth.
About 770 B.C.	Swords appear in China. These early Chinese weapons were generally made of hammered bronze; although the Chinese worked terrestrial iron from about 1000 B.C., they used it mainly for tipping plows until the fourth century B.C.
708 B.C.	According to a victor's list made up by Sextus Julius Africanus after A.D. 217, wrestling is made part of the Olympic Games. However, the date is questionable, as the oldest statue at Olympia to honor a wrestler is only dated to 628 B.C.
About 700 B.C.	A Chinese text written in the sixth century B.C. ranks wrestling as a military skill on a par with archery and chariot racing.
688 B.C.	According to a victor's list drawn up by Sextus Julius Africanus after A.D. 217, boxing with ox-hide hand-wrappings is added to the Olympic Games. As the first Olympic statue to honor a boxer was only erected in 544 B.C., this dating is unreliable.
648 B.C.	According to the victor's list produced by Sextus Julius Africanus after A.D. 217, *pankration* (literally, "total fighting" in the sense of "no holds barred") is introduced into the Panhellenic Games, A giant named Lygdamis of Syracuse being its first known champion. Unfortunately the latter attribution is not certain, as the oldest statue honoring an Olympic pankrationist was only dated 536 B.C.
632 B.C.	According to a Chinese text written during the fourth century B.C., the Prince of Chin dreams of wrestling.
About 550 B.C.	Reflexed compound bows appear in Central Asia. (A reflexed bow is one that, when unstrung, reverses its curve; a Cupid bow is an example.)
544 B.C.	According to tradition, the Buddha achieves Nirvana while sitting under a tree in Bodhgaya, India. The Buddha's power was not entirely spiritual, either, as according to subsequent stories, he was a champion wrestler, archer, runner, swimmer, and mathematician who won his first wife in a duel.
About 540 B.C.	An Olympic wrestling champion named Milo of Kroton (a Hellenic city in southern Italy) reportedly develops his famous strength by carrying a heifer the length of a stadium every day for four years, a feat that has in modern times been claimed as the progenitor of progressive weight training.
About 511 B.C.	According to tradition, a crippled general from Shandong province called the Honorable Sun, or Sun Zi, writes *The Art of War,* as a way of passing his knowledge on to others.
479 B.C.	The Chinese philosopher known as Kong Zi dies in Shandong province. Although his philosophy, known as Confucianism, was ignored in its time (the fourth-century philosopher Meng Zi was actually the first famous Confucianist), it subsequently became the cornerstone of the imperial Chinese bureaucracy. And, because the government viewpoint was not popular with everyone, rival philosophies such as Daoism (Taoism) and Legalism developed to compete with it.

About 460 B.C.	The Hellenic historian Herodotus describes the practices and culture of some female warriors he calls the Amazons. Who the Amazons were is not known, and in fact there were female warriors and priestesses throughout the Mediterranean world.
About 445 B.C.	Hellenic philosophers describe the four "roots" of the universe as being Fire, Air, Earth, and Water. These elements in turn had basic characteristics, namely hot, cold, dry, and wet.
About 398 B.C.	Engineers working for the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius the Elder invent what the Greeks called *katapeltes* (hurlers) and the Romans called *ballistae* (throwers). Smaller versions of these weapons subsequently became crossbows. The Chinese meanwhile were developing trebuchets, which were enormous slings attached to pivoting wooden beams.
388 B.C.	During one of the first fixed fights on record, a boxer named Eupolos the Thessalian pays the fighters Agetor of Arkadia, Prytanis of Kyziokos, and Phormion of Halikarnassos to lose to him during the Olympics.
About 350 B.C.	According to a story by Zhuang Zi, Chinese kings enjoy watching sword fights, sometimes to the exclusion of affairs of state.
About 330 B.C.	Etruscan bronze statuettes show men wrestling with women.
About 322 B.C.	According to Greek sources, a north Indian king named Chandragupta kept an armed female bodyguard.
About 290 B.C.	While commenting on the Yijing (I Ching; Book of Changes), the Chinese scholar Zhuang Zi introduces the convention of describing "yin" and "yang" as "bright" and "dark" instead of "weak" and "strong."
About 270 B.C.	Chinese scholars describe matter in terms of the Five Configurations (*wu xing*). These elements included wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, and may show Hellenistic influence via India. The appearance of this cosmology in Sun Zi is part of the reason that many non-Chinese scholars think that Sun Bin actually wrote (or at least extensively revised) the text.
About 246 B.C.	As part of a memorial for a deceased patrician named Junius Brutus Pera, three pairs of slaves are made to fence with one another in the Roman cattle market. The spectacle makes this funeral famous, and gladiators are the ultimate result.
216 B.C.	King Ptolemy IV of Egypt sends his best pankrationist, a man named Aristonikos, to the Olympic Games; his goal is to show Egypt's superiority over Greece. However, to the Greeks' satisfaction, the Theban pankrationist Kleitomachos ultimately prevailed. And how did he do this? Not by outfighting the Egyptian, but by appealing to the patriotism of the ethnically Greek officials and crowd. This is a reminder that neither the use of athletics for political purposes nor biased officiating is anything new.
Second century B.C.	The Chinese historian Si Ma Qian describes *xia,* a word that can be translated as "knights who wore coarse clothes" or "knights from humble alleys." In general, these heroes were noted for their altruism, courage, and sense of justice (with the emphasis being on correcting individual rather than social injustices). They were notorious for associating with butchers and gamblers, drinking in public, and ignoring normal social cour-

	tesies; while not all of them were famous swordsmen or archers, some were, and these probably provided models for subsequent Chinese martial art heroes.
165 B.C.	A rope-dancer and a pair of boxers upstage a new play by the Roman dramatist Terence; undaunted, Terence unveils an improved play five years later and is again upstaged by the announcement that the boxers are about to begin. This is a reminder that Roman boxing and wrestling were as much theatrical acts as combative sports.
105 B.C.	To show recruits exactly what happens on battlefields, the Roman governors of Pavia, Italy, introduce public gladiatorial matches. That these matches were not intended to be recreational (in which case they would have been called *ludi* [Latin; games]) is indicated by their name, *munera,* from *munus,* function, employment, duty.
First century B.C.	A Chinese annalist named Zhao Yi writes about a woman who was a great swordsman. She said the key to success was constant practice without the supervision of a master; after a while, she said, she just understood everything there was to know.
23 B.C.	According to the *Chronicles of Japan,* the Emperor Suinin watches a sumô match between a hero named Sukune-no-Nomi and a bully named Taima-no-Kehaya. The story is probably legendary, as the text was not written until the eighth century, at which time its purpose was to trace the genealogies of the reigning leadership back to ancient gods.
A.D. 90	Roman entrepreneurs introduce gladiatorial battles between dwarves. Similar midget acts remained popular in circuses and professional wrestling rings for the next 1,900 years.
About 98	The Roman writer Tacitus reports that German priests forecast the outcome of upcoming engagements by comparing the strength of the two sides' war-chants. Warriors amplified their chants by shouting into their shields while clashing their weapons against them. Sixteenth-century English playwrights called this sound "swashbuckling," and said it was especially useful against cavalry attacks, as the noise scared horses.
Second century	Indian Buddhists are encouraged to avoid all contact with evil or cruel persons who practice the arts of boxing, wrestling, and nata. *Nata* is, literally, "dancing," but in some of the more violent dances, the dancers go through choreographed battles against invisible demons. The Hellenistic world had its equivalents; unarmed exercises were known as *skiamachiae* (Greek; private contests), while armed versions were known as *hoplomachiae* (armed contests).
Second century	The medical texts ascribed to the Indian physician Susruta describe 107 vital points on the human body. (Some people added a secret spot, too, to bring the total to 108, a number with important Buddhist cosmological significance.)
141	The Chinese physician Hua Tuo is born. As an adult, Hua created a series of exercises called *Wu Qin Xi* (Five Animals Play). Although the inspiration is said to have been observation of the

141 *cont.*	animals themselves, the animal dances of Turkic animists seem a more likely source, especially if those dances were done by sorcerers interested in acquiring the animals' magical powers.
About 200	A Christian philosopher named Clement of Alexandria writes that women should be athletes for God. That is, they should wrestle with the Devil and devote themselves to celibacy instead of bowing meekly to their destiny of mothers and wives.
About 220	As a way of recruiting the best fighters for his bodyguard, a Chinese warlord named Liubei begins holding fencing tournaments.
271	A group of Gothic women captured while armed and dressed as men are paraded through Rome wearing signs that read "Amazons."
302	Stirrups appear in Chinese art, the Turks or Mongols then beginning to invade the country having introduced the devices. The most famous member of the Han resistance to the contemporary invasions is Hua Mulan, a young girl who takes her elderly father's place in the Northern dynasty army.
About 378	In Mexico, the Tikal king Jaguar-Paw and his brother Smoking-Frog begin using atlatls (Nahuatl; spear-throwers), for the purpose of killing enemies from long range. (Earlier battles had been fought hand-to-hand.)
Fifth century	Quarterstaffs become associated with Daoist exorcisms. The idea was that when the priest pointed his staff toward heaven, the gods bowed and the earth smiled, but when he pointed it at demons, the cowardly rascals fled.
About 400	The Indian poet Vatsayana writes the *Kama Sutra,* or "Aphorisms on Love." Along with acrobatic sex, the *Kama Sutra* also taught Indian courtesans to captivate men through regular practice with sword, singlestick, quarterstaff, and bow and arrow.
495	The Shaolin Temple is built at Bear's Ear Peak in the Song Mountains of Henan province. The name means "the young forest," and alludes to the forest in north India where the Buddha chose to depart this life.
501	The king of the Burgundians introduces trial by battle into Western Christianity.
About 530	According to tradition, an Indian monk known as Bodhidharma (Carrier of Wisdom) introduces southern Indian moving meditations to the monks of the Shaolin Monastery in Henan province.
About 550	During an exhibition held at the court of the Liang dynasty Wu Di emperor, a Buddhist monk called Dong Quan (Eastern Fist) uses unarmed techniques to disarm armed attackers.
590	The Christian Synod of Druim Ceat orders British women to quit going into battle alongside their men. The ban must not have been especially effective, since the daughter of Alfred the Great is remembered as the conqueror of Wales and the people who taught sword dancing to the Ulster hero Cu Chulainn were female.
About 600	The imperial court of China's Tang dynasty hires Punjabi and Bengali astrologers to teach Vedic astrology. This may have significance for the Chinese martial arts, as many subsequent mar-

	tial art practice forms have rectilinear patterns whose designs are similar to those used by Vedic astrologers to cast birth charts and horoscopes. (Practice inside tiled courtyards is another possible explanation, but defining social space using geometric methods was vastly more important to thirteenth-century Muslims and sixteenth-century Western Europeans than to seventh-century Chinese.)
About 630	Norasimhavarman I Marmalla, the Vaishnavite king of southern India's Pallava dynasty, commissions dozens of granite sculptures showing unarmed fighters disarming armed opponents.
About 647	The White Huns settle in northern India. Various Rajput (King's Sons) clans claim descent from these warriors. This seems unlikely. First, reliable Rajput genealogies rarely go back further than the eleventh century. Second, Muslim chroniclers do not start describing Hindu warriors as Rajput rather than *kshatriya* until the tenth century. So the Rajputs are probably not White Huns, but Hindus who got tired of the passive resistance that many Brahmans preached.
668	The Chinese capture the Koguryo capital of Pyongyang, leaving a political vacuum in Korea that Silla quickly fills. The question has been raised of why the Chinese did not also conquer Silla. Evidently the government was too well organized and the military too strong. Koreans also believe that the Silla warriors' *hwarang* spirit deserves some of the credit. It is also unclear what hwarang refers to. The name translates into something akin to "Young Flower Masters." It could refer to an earlier women's group that its members replaced politically, the flower of manhood the members represented, a flower that the Buddha once held aloft to admire, a Korean gambling game that involves fencing with reeds, or something else altogether. In any case, the followers of hwarang were said to refine their morals, learn right from wrong, and select the best from among themselves to be their leaders. Aristocratic youths were inducted into this organization while aged 14–18 years. Usually there were about 200 hwarang scattered throughout the kingdom, each with an entourage of about a thousand, and they frequently served as generals or political advisors.
About 671	The Byzantines develop a liquid incendiary called by the Franks Greek fire.
680	During a battle at Karbala, Iraq, the third Shiite imam, al-Hussein ibn 'Ali, disappears under a shower of arrows. To commemorate his martyrdom, the Shiites instituted a forty-day period of mourning in 1109. Known as Muharram (abstinence), this observance originally meant little more than hanging black sheets from windows. But over time people took to showing their piety in more sanguinary ways. Lent served a similar purpose for Christians, while for Rajputs, it was Dussehra.
682	In an essay called *The Canon on the Philosopher's Stone,* the Chinese alchemist Sun Simiao becomes the first person known to have written that saltpeter, charcoal, and sulfur are explosive when mixed.

Eighth century	Vishnaivite monks living in Kerala, India, are described as devoting their mornings to archery, singlestick, and wrestling; their afternoons to chanting and dancing; and their evenings to walking in the woods.
Eighth century	The Kievan annals describe a Slavic boxing game involving fistfights between picked champions. Bouts took place during the winter on the frozen rivers that established boundaries between districts. While kicking, tripping, and putting iron into one's gloves were discouraged, the only real rule was that the two men had to fight face to face and chest to chest without recourse to magic or trickery.
About 700	The Chinese scholar Hong Beisi describes an esoteric Buddhist movement art using the word *quanfa.* This term, which has become a generic term for the Chinese martial arts, is probably best translated as "boxing methods" (*quan* means "fist," and *fa* means "method" or "law," usually in a philosophical context).
About 710	Christian Serbs are reported using poisoned arrows against Bosnian Muslims. The English word *toxin* comes from the Greek phrase *toxikon pharmakon* (bow poison), which is what the Byzantines called these arrow-borne poisons.
714	China's Xuan Zong emperor establishes an acting school at his royal capital, and the sword dances and gymnastics taught in such schools subsequently were associated with Chinese martial arts.
About 750	A peripatetic Indian monk called Amoghavajra introduces the esoteric finger movements, or mudras, of Yogacara Buddhism into China. As memorizing these finger movements was supposed to cause subtle changes to the practitioner's internal energy (which is possible, since the hands provide more sensory input to the brain than all other parts of the body except the eyes, tongue, and nose), they were subsequently incorporated into some East Asian martial arts.
About 750	Probably in hopes of obtaining divine intervention, the Koreans erect Buddhist temples all around Kwangju. By the gates of these temples were statues of bare-chested temple guardians standing in what the Koreans now call *kwon bop* (pugilistic) stances. The guardian on the west (the excited fellow with wild hair and open mouth) represented yang energy, and was called Mi-chi. The guardian on the east (the fellow who stands with his mouth closed and his emotions under control) represented yin energy, and was called Chin-kang. Similar temple guardians were constructed in Japan. The surviving pair at the Tedaiji Monastery in Nara were unusual, though, partly because they were next to the altar rather than the gate and mostly because they wore armor. The Tedaiji statues were made of lacquered hemp cloth spread over a wooden frame, and known as *rikishi,* or strongmen. Japanese professional wrestlers also use the latter name.
788	Shankara achieves enlightenment in India. While little known today, Shankara was probably the most influential philosopher of his day, as his theory that one could escape fate by achieving a mind empty of illusions (*sunya*) led to the development of both Zen Buddhism and the Indo-Arabic numeral zero.

789	The Japanese aristocracy start patronizing *kumitachi* (sword dances). Their models were similar Chinese and Korean entertainments, and their methods reportedly set the precedent for the choreographed fencing depicted in the seventeenth-century No and Kabuki theaters.
About 790	Rhinelanders develop bellows-driven forges, significantly improving German metallurgy and becoming a factor behind the subsequent successes of the Danish Vikings, who bought their swords from the Rhenish Germans.
793	Given a choice between seeing his mother torn to pieces before his eyes or losing his horse, an Aquitanian aristocrat named Datus does the only sensible thing: He keeps his horse.
Ninth century	The Franks start using the Latin word *schola,* or "school," to describe places where monks study philosophy rather than places where soldiers wrestle and fence.
About 800	Buddhist monks develop the idea of centering the mind and the breathing at a spot about three fingers' width below and a couple of inches behind the navel. While the practice soon became popular among sitting Zennists, it did not become popular among Japanese swordsmen for another thousand years. (Pioneers of the idea that training in proper breathing and energy projection was important to swordsmanship included Shirai Tôru Yoshinori [1781–1843], whose *Heihô michi shirube* [Guide to the Way of Swordsmanship] was widely circulated during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.)
About 820	Members of an Indian monastic order called the Dasnami Naga are reported practicing archery and other combative sports.
About 840	*Sumai* (struggle) wrestling, an ancestor of modern sumô, develops in Japan. Associated with harvest festivals, the wrestlers were part of a giant potlatch relationship designed to show their patrons' ability to squander such mighty energies. The roots of the sport may lie in Korea.
About 860	The Iraqi mathematician Abu Yusuf Ya'qub ibn-Ishaq as-Sabbah al-Kindi (called in Latin Alkindus) writes that the finest swords in the Islamic world come from Yemen and India. To al-Kindi, these weapons were known as *wootz,* after the Indian steel used to make them; to Europeans, they were known as Damascus, after the damask cloth that the wootz steel resembled.
863	The Chinese storyteller Duan Cheng dies. His works include a text called *Yu Yang Za Zu* (Miscellaneous Fare from Yu Yang, a mountain in Hunan where great masters had hidden books containing great knowledge). One story describes a young man who learns that a prospective knight-errant needs to master swordsmanship as well as archery, and another an old sword-dancer who whirls two swords as if pulling silk, then plants them in the ground in the manner of the seven stars of the Big Dipper.
About 890	According to David Howlitt of Oxford University, King Alfred the Great of England has a cleric named Aethelstan write a vernacular description of proper chivalric behavior that even Alfred's grandson will be able to understand. The result is the untitled poem called by eighteenth-century scholars *Beowulf*.

Tenth century	A Punjabi weaver called Goraksha (a title of initiation; the man's actual name is unknown) renounces the world to become a Tantric mystic of the Natha sect. Goraksha is remembered as the creator of *hatha yoga,* which means the "yoking (of the spirit) to the sun and the moon," a system of breathing techniques and calisthenics designed to teach practitioners how to control their personal and psychic energies.
About 907	Following the collapse of the once-mighty Tang dynasty, Chinese refugees settle in Japan. The *Tôgakure-ryû ninjutsu* system claims these Chinese refugees as its founders.
About 950	Japanese martial philosophers describe *kyuba no michi* (the Way of Bow and Horse). This discussed the Japanese warrior's overriding concern for personal honor, and was the conceptual grandparent of the Tokugawa-era code known as *bushidô.* (The contemporary pronunciation of the two Chinese characters meaning "warrior," though, was "*mononofu,*" not "*bushi.*")
About 960	Indo-Iranian merchants settle along China's southeast coast, leading to the creation of an ethnic Chinese Muslim population known as the Hui. Chinese persecution occasionally led to Hui insurrections, and several modern *wushu* (martial arts) spear forms are attributed to the fighting arts of nineteenth-century Hui rebels.
960	The Song dynasty is established in southern China. This dynasty is remembered for its many technological innovations, probably because it used scholars rather than warlords as its governors and generals. Song-dynasty storytelling was divided into eight categories, and topics included magical tales (*yao shu*), sword stories (*biao dao,* or military tales), and cudgel stories (*gan bang;* these are essentially detective stories, and the allusion is to police using clubs rather than swords to apprehend and interrogate suspects). These categories were not too distinct, and were freely mixed in later works such as *The Water Margin.*
About 967	Japanese officials describe their peers' bodyguards as *samurai,* or "ones who serve," instead of "henchmen" or "minions."
About 970	According to a twelfth-century writer named Zhang Bangji, Chinese palace dancers begin binding their feet to make themselves more sexually attractive to men. The crippling practice was widespread throughout southern China by the fourteenth century and throughout all of China by the seventeenth, and is remarked because foot binding prevented well-bred Han females from effectively practicing boxing or swordsmanship until the twentieth century. (Some were noted archers, though, generally with crossbows.) Still, into the 1360s, Hong Fu, Hong Xian, Thirteenth Sister, and other Chinese martial heroines (*xia*) were sometimes portrayed by women on Chinese stages, and there was a seventeenth-century reference to a fourteenth-century woman named Yang who was said to be peerless in the fighting art of "pear-blossom spear."
About 1040	Indian Buddhists fleeing the raids of the Muslim Muhammad of Ghazna reestablish Tantric Buddhism in Tibet. One of their earliest monasteries was the Shalu monastery at Shigatse. Its

claim to fame was that it trained its monks to run for many days and nights without stopping. The basis for such tales is the *khora,* or pedestrian mandalas, run by Tibetan monks around sacred mountains. Buddhist monks ran clockwise, while Bon monks traveled counterclockwise. (This difference had to do with which direction the practitioner held to be the most important, the female/left or the male/right. The landowning classes, which included priests and soldiers, generally preferred the right-hand path, while the mercantile classes, which included artisans, merchants, potters, burglars, hunters, and prostitutes, generally preferred the left-hand path.) Analogous dances appeared in Islam and Christianity about the same time. The Islamic and Christian dances represented the angels in heaven and the progression of the planets. Only men did such dancing, as women's dances were considered lewd. Such dances also reinforced Hellenistic medical theories, according to which standing strengthened the spine, walking removed afflictions of the head and chest, and well-regulated breathing tempered the heat of the heart.

1042 Warrior-monks establish a Western Saharan Islamic nomocracy known as the Almoravides (*al-murabbitun*—those who gather in the fortress to wage the holy war). By the 1080s, these fundamentalists had conquered Morocco and invaded Ghana and Iberia; Rodrigo Díaz, known as *El Cid,* was the Christian hero of the Iberian defense.

About 1063 Following his reported intervention during a battle in Sicily, Saint George becomes the patron saint of Norman warriors. Pious English soldiers continued seeking Saint George's assistance well into the modern era, and he was reported to be personally supporting British forces as late as 1914.

1066 According to the *Chronicle of Saint Martin of Tours,* Geoffroi de Preuilli, the man "who invented tournaments," is killed during a tournament at Angers. The Germans rejected the French claim to primacy in inventing tournaments, citing as evidence similar equestrian games played by the retainers of Louis the German in 842 and King Henry the Fowler ca. 930.

About 1070 An Englishman known as Hereward the Wake exchanges blows with a potter, the two men agreeing to stand up to each other's blows in turn, with the better man to be judged by the result. The blows seem to have been open-handed slaps to the side of the head rather than punches to the jaw, but in the parlance of the day the game was known as boxing. In the nineteenth century, the story caused Sir Walter Scott to claim that Richard the Lion-Hearted played similar boxing games.

About 1075 Norman clergy start dubbing Norman knights. The reason seems to have been that the clergy wanted to exert control over the men-at-arms by blessing preexisting initiation rites. Rituals varied from place to place. The practice of "striking me kneeling, with a broadsword, and pouring ale upon my head" (Burke 1978, 39–41) is associated with eighteenth-century journeyman initiations rather than medieval aristocratic practice.

1077	The Song-dynasty scholar Zhao Yong dies. Ming-dynasty scholars subsequently credited Zhao and his students with creating Earthly Branch horary astrology. Earthly Branch astrology sought to locate auspicious moments by combining birth information, Indo-Iranian arithmetic puzzles, and the 64 trigrams of the Yijing (I Ching; Book of Changes). Earthly Branch divination methods are commemorated by the names of several Southern Shaolin *quanfa* (fist law) styles, various Okinawan karate kata, and the eight trigrams shown on the modern South Korean flag.
About 1086	Believing it to be useful for teaching *heihô* (the way of strategy) to soldiers, a Japanese prince named Otoku introduces the game of Go into Japanese military training. Most of his contemporaries continued to view the game as an entertainment rather than a practical martial art.
1090	An Iranian imam called Hasan ibn al-Sabbah establishes the occult branch of Sevener Shiism known as the Nizaris in the mountains of western Iran. Due to hashish-laden drinks that Nizari leaders supposedly gave their followers before sending them out to commit political assassinations, the Nizaris are better known by the Syrian name of *hashshashin* (hashish-takers), from which the word *assassin* comes. The Nizaris are also remembered for providing Islamic literature with its stories about Aladdin, the daring young thief who could open magic caves and seduce women simply by crying, "Open, sesame!" Pakistan's Agha Muhammad Khan (1917–1980) is probably the most famous modern Sevener.
1096	During England's first important judicial duel, the Norman Count of Eu fights another Norman named Godefroy Baynard; the cause is a dispute over Godefroy's relationship with the homosexual King William Rufus.
Twelfth century	A Tamil martial art develops in southern India. In Travancore, it was known as *varma ati* (hitting the vital spots) while in Kerala it was known as *kalarippayattu* (gladiatorial training).
About 1100	Mystery plays become popular throughout Europe. These presented the history of the world from the Creation to the Last Judgment (the word *mystery* originally meant "to minister") and taught biblical stories to illiterate audiences during Carnival or other popular festivals. The plays' scatological dialogue and use of partial nudity were sacrilegious and crude by modern standards. Nevertheless, from a martial art standpoint, their feats of choreographed sword dancing and wrestling were impressive, and it was not for want of a better word that the twelfth-century German theologian known as Hugh of St. Victor described all kinds of games and amusements as "theatrics."
About 1106	Troubadours popularize pre-Christian legends about an Ulster hero called Cu Chulainn who was so much a man that by the age of 7 he already required the sight of naked women to distract him from wanton killing. Further, as he got older, Cu Chulainn became notorious for conquering matristic societies by rape. Evidently Christian patrilinealism was being imposed

	on Ireland, and the victors were describing how it was being done, since in the earliest forms of the story, Cu Chulainn's martial art instructors included a woman known as *Scathach* (Shadowy). At any rate, the military training described included lessons in breath control, charioteering, chess, sword dancing, tightrope walking, and wrestling. At advanced levels, the training also included fencing games, in which the goal was to chop off locks of hair without drawing blood, and dodging well-thrown rocks and spears.
About 1130	An Indian text describes the nature of wrestling patronage in the kingdom of Chaulukya.
1132	A Chinese text describes a firearm made using a bamboo tube reinforced on the inside with clay and on the outside with iron bands. The invention is attributed to a soldier named Gui Chen, the commander of a Southern Song garrison in Hebei province.
1135–1147	A Welsh cleric named Geoffrey of Monmouth writes a Latin manuscript called *Historia Regum Britanniae* (The History of the Kings of Britain). In it, Geoffrey makes Arthur a king nobler than Charlemagne, transforms Merlin from a slightly batty poet into a powerful warlock, and introduces the characters of Uther Pendragon, Gawain, Mordred, and Kay. In other words, he codified the entire Arthurian legend.
About 1140	A bas-relief at Ankor Wat shows Thai mercenaries parading before King Suryavarman II. Cambodian war-magic of the era included ingesting human livers.
1155	An Anglo-Norman scholar named Wace dedicates a French poem named *Brut* to Eleanor of Aquitaine. *Brut* tells the story of Britain's Trojan founder (a myth borrowed from Virgil) and introduces Round Tables and other Celtic myths into the Arthurian legend.
About 1160	Southern Chinese philosophers (including the neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi) begin arguing that the elixir of life is not found through magic spells or elixirs, but in directed meditation. The same sources also introduced the Greco-Indian concepts of the Three Treasures (*jing,* semen in men, and life energy in the universe; *qi,* breath in people and cosmic energies in the universe; and *shen,* consciousness in people and the Dao [Tao] in the universe) into Chinese exercise routines.
1170	Tametomo, a minor retainer associated with the Minamoto clan, becomes the first Japanese samurai honored for slitting his belly open with his dagger rather than surrendering. (Before that, Japanese warriors had often changed sides if it seemed expedient, but the Minamoto stressed loyalty more than had their predecessors.)
1184	Minamoto soldiers kill a Taira general named Yoshinaka and his wife. Subsequent Japanese accounts portray the woman, Tomoe Gozen, as a mighty warrior.
About 1190	"During the holydays in the summer," writes the English traveler William Fitzstephen, "the young men [of London] exercise themselves in the sports of leaping, archery, wrestling, stone throwing, slinging javelins beyond a mark, and also fighting with bucklers" (Carter 1992, 59).

1191	Chinese mathematicians start experimenting with the Indo-Arabic numeral zero. The transmitters were more likely Indo-Iranian merchants than Zen monks, for if the Zen Buddhists had transmitted the knowledge to China from India, then Chinese mathematicians would have started experimenting with the "gap," as they called the numeral, 300 years earlier than they did.
Thirteenth century	Tahitian priests introduce the *Huna* religion into Hawaii. The martial art associated with this religion was known as *Lua,* a word meaning "to pit [in battle]" or "two" (e.g., duality; the idea was to balance healing and hurting, good and evil).
Thirteenth century	According to tradition, a text called *Mallapurana* (literally, Old Story of the Caste of Wrestlers from Modhera) appears in India. Although the exact date is uncertain (the oldest surviving copy of the text only dates to 1674–1675), the *Malla Purana* is clearly one of the oldest surviving Indian wrestling manuals.
1215	According to tradition, Swiss mountaineers develop *Schwingen* (German; swinging) wrestling at Unspunnen, near Interlaken, in honor of their duke, Betchold von Zaringenn. While thirteenth-century Swiss mountaineers clearly used wrestling matches to resolve or minimize intracommunity conflicts, the earliest verifiable Schwingen matches were only held in 1593, and the sport only became popular following the introduction of Swedish and Prussian gymnastics into Switzerland during the 1830s.
1228	A woman challenges a man to a judicial duel at the lists in Bern, Switzerland, and wins. Such challenges were not uncommon in Germany and Switzerland during the thirteenth century, particularly in rape cases.
1235	Crossbows enter common use with Swiss hunters, and in 1307, an Altdorf farmer called Wilhelm Tell reportedly uses one to shoot an apple from atop his son's head. While the veracity of the latter tale is questionable (it did not appear in print until 1470), it has become an important part of modern Swiss nationalism.
About 1250	Chivalric codes are codified throughout France.
1258	English clergymen tell their parishioners that they should not engage in violent wrestling *(axlartok),* ring-dancing, or dishonest games on church holidays.
About 1261	English minstrels create stories about a landless outlaw of the Sherwood Forest called Robin Hood. Robin's arrow-splitting feats appear to combine folklore—heroes are always supermen—and gambling games with old men's memories of days gone by.
1280	The Venetian merchant Marco Polo describes a Mongol princess named Ai-yaruk (Bright Moon), who refused to get married until she met a man who could throw her in wrestling.
1285	A Chinese actor introduces Chinese military dances into Vietnam. These dances were a possible source of inspiration for the Vietnamese court dances known as *vo vu,* which were in turn a source of inspiration for the eighteenth-century Vietnamese stickfighting art known as *Vo Tay Son* (Tay Son fighting) or *Vo Binh Dinh* (Binh Dinh fighting).

1289	Kublai Khan issues orders prohibiting Chinese peasants from possessing swords, spears, and crossbows. Although these bans are popularly believed to have inspired the development of the modern Chinese martial arts, that causality is uncertain, as reliable descriptions of the Chinese unarmed martial arts do not become common until the 1560s.
1292	Northern Italian towns start holding pugil-stick fights, bare-knuckled boxing matches, and cudgeling tournaments. Legend attributes the creation of these games to the Sienese monk Saint Bernard, who taught that fists were better than swords or sticks for deciding arguments. Preparations began shortly after New Year, and celebrations were in full swing by Lent. (Essentially a time of institutionalized disorder, the celebration of Carnival before Lent always placed enormous emphasis on food, sex, and violent stage plays and games.) Where Carnival was not held, the Feast of the Innocents and May Day served as substitutes.
1295	A man calling himself "The Snake" *(Del Serpente)* publishes an illustrated swordsmanship manual in Milan.
Fourteenth century	Chinese sources describe methods for attacking the 108 vital points of the human body.
About 1300	A secretary to the Bishop of Wurzburg produces a manuscript depicting unarmored German fighters. Known today as Manuscript I.33, the text is in Latin, and the technical terms are in German.
1307	A seafaring Turk named Suleyman Pasha leads forty Muslim holy warriors on a raid into Byzantium. Two of Suleyman's men were mighty wrestlers. (The other thirty-eight were evidently smaller, bowlegged Central Asian archers rather than mighty wrestlers.) According to legend, these two men were so well matched that they died wrestling one another. The match was said to have occurred near Hadrianopolis (modern Edirne). Be that as it may, Suleyman Pasha (by then the Ottoman emperor Orkhan I) organized an annual wrestling tournament in 1342 near Edirne. Known as the Kirkpinar tournament, it soon became a national festival.
1314	To celebrate the Scottish victory over the English at Bannockburn, the people of Fife, Scotland, organize the Ceres Highland Games, with events including wrestling, stone lifting, caber throwing, and horse racing; the venue is the archery ground. The Scots claim the Ceres Games as the oldest annual sporting contests in Europe.
1325	The black African knights of Mansa Musa, king of Mali, are described as receiving pairs of new trousers whenever they distinguished themselves in battle. The greater their exploits, the baggier their pants.
1332	The world's oldest surviving bronze cannon is cast in China, probably for the Mongols.
About 1345	Korean sources describe a wrestling game called *ssirŭm,* similar to Mongolian wrestling, except that rope belts knotted on the right are used to show government-awarded grades. The chief Korean martial art tournament was held annually at Kaesong

About 1345 *cont.*	on the fifth hour of the fifth day of the fifth month. Since this was according to a lunar calendar, that meant around the beginning of June. From an astrological standpoint, the timing was propitious. After all, the competitors' yang (male) energy was at its peak with so much Horse energy in the air. (In East Asian astrology, five is a powerful male number, and the horse is a major symbol of male energy. Meanwhile, in Confucianism, relationships between people, nature, etc., are almost always arranged in quintuples.) On the other hand, from a political standpoint, the ability to host a peaceful national tournament reflected well on the central government's credibility and power.
1347	According to tradition, Saint Barbara becomes the patron saint of English gunners.
About 1350	Temple art shows Southeast Asian and Indonesian aristocrats carrying the serpentine daggers called krisses. For Vaishnavas, these blades appealed to a serpent god, whereas for Muslims, they symbolized a believer's willingness to accept pain.
About 1360	Chinese authors begin writing down the oral traditions known as *Shuihu Zhuan* (The Water Margin). These stories were originally set near the end of the Northern Song period, meaning the early 1100s, and featured a social bandit named Song Jiang. Writers associated with this transcription are Shi Nai'an (a possible eighteenth-century forgery) and Luo Guanzhong, the pseudonym of a fourteenth-century romance novelist. A version running to 120 individual episodes appeared in 1614, but in 1641 literary critic Jin Shengtan edited this to a more manageable 71 and simultaneously reset the plot to the late Ming dynasty. In the process the 108 bandits of the stories were made loyal to the old emperor and ascribed other conventional values. This latter text is the version of the story most commonly translated into English. (For example, *All Men Are Brothers* in 1933 and *The Water Margin* in 1937.)
1368	After seizing Peking from the Mongols, a Chinese warlord named Zhu Yuanzhang establishes himself as the Hong Wu (Extensive and Martial) emperor, thereby establishing the Ming dynasty. Because Zhu was an orphan who had been raised at the Shaolin Monastery, Chinese panegyrists subsequently credited all Shaolin monks with nearly supernatural fighting prowess.
About 1374	The Malayan national hero Hang Tuah moves from Menangkabau, Sumatra, to Malaka, Malaya. As Hang Tuah was a shopkeeper's son and Malaka was a major spice-trading port, this move was probably mercantile rather than military. Hang Tuah is famous for introducing both krisses and *silat* ("quick action," with an implication of "a method for overcoming any problem posed by an adversary") into southern Malaya.
1377	After learning how to manufacture gunpowder from a Chinese engineer, a Korean official named Choe Mu-son persuades the Koryo court to establish a "Superintendency for Gunpowder Weapons."
1378	A Welsh mercenary named Owain Glyndwr is murdered in

France. His military exploits and hatred of the English endeared him to the Welsh people, and when the Welsh rebelled against the English in 1402, Owain Red Hand became the subject of many legends and stories. These stories in turn inspired Shakespeare's character Owen Glendower.

About 1380 Bornean Muslims settle the Sulu Islands. During the holidays and coronation ceremonies of their sultans, Muslim soldiers often did sword dances known as *dabus*. These had Indonesian and Sufi roots, and provide one source of the modern Filipino stickfighting art known as *arnis de mano* (harness of the hand). Christian *Moro-Moro* plays produced for performance during Carnival provide another major root.

1383 German butchers establish the *Bürgershaft von St Marcus von Lowenberg* (The Citizens' Association of Saint Marcus of Lowenberg) at Frankfurt-am-Rhein. This was a sword-dancing club where members learned a mimed dance using carving knives instead of swords. To reduce injuries, the sword techniques taught used slashing movements rather than thrusting blows. Dances were done publicly during Carnival and Christmas. Although the dances themselves were festive in nature, rival guilds often fought over which should have precedence during parades and speeches. Butchers also danced the sword dance in Zwickau in Bohemia, while in Breslau (now Wroctaw, Poland), it was the skinners.

About 1391 According to a seventeenth-century hagiographer named Wong Xiling, Zhang Sanfeng, a Daoist (Taoist) alchemist turned minor deity, creates *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan; Grand Ultimate Boxing). But the alchemist wasn't associated with boxing until the sixteenth century, when the boxer Zhang Songqi mentioned that he had learned his methods from the alchemist in a dream.

1393 According to Okinawan tradition, emigrants from Fujian province introduce *quanfa* (fist law) to the Ryûkyûs. Unfortunately for the tradition, these Chinese emigrants were navigators and shipwrights rather than boxers, and, in the words of the U.S. historian George Kerr, "There is no evidence that they were more than very ordinary folk at home on the China coast" (Kerr 1972, 110).

About 1410 A swordsman of the Bolognese school named Fiore dei Liberi publishes *Flos Duellatorum in Armis* (Flower of Battle).

1411 According to tradition, two Thai princes resolve a dynastic dispute by agreeing to be bound by the results of a boxing match between picked champions. While this wager is often claimed as the first manifestation of *Muay Thai* (Thai boxing), that claim remains unsubstantiated.

About 1413 Because the Daoists (Taoists) believe that *qi* (internal energy) develops fastest at places that are 2,000 to 4,000 feet higher than the surrounding territory, during the thirteenth century some of them start building hermitages in Hebei province's Wudang Mountains.

1416 Buddhist monks establish the Drepung Monastery in Lhasa, Tibet. It housed over 7,000 monks in 1901, and was one of the largest Buddhist universities in the world until the Communist

1416 *cont.*	Chinese destroyed it in 1959. In 1419, a rival sect established the Se-ra monastery at Lhasa. Because Tibetan political power rested in the hands of abbots and prelates, a corps of warrior monks, or *dob-dob,* was also established at this monastery. The warriors' training consisted of running in the hills, throwing stones at targets, practicing high and long jumping, and fighting with clubs and swords.
About 1450	A retired samurai named Choisai Ienao establishes the Tenshin *Shoden Katori Shintô-ryû.* This is Japan's oldest documented martial art school.
1474	The Swiss establish the Société de l'Harquebuse (French; Society of the Harquebus) at Geneva, making it the country's first gun club. As in modern shooting sports, the shooters fired at black bull's-eyes surrounded by concentric rings. As the targets stood 200 yards from the firing line, weapons probably included rifles as well as harquebuses.
1485	Portuguese merchants arrive at Benin City, in southern Nigeria; the Portuguese describe the Bini soldiers as carrying iron swords, wooden shields, and iron-tipped spears, and using poisoned arrows.
1486	Sword dances are outlawed in Vitoria, Spain; the reason given is "the scandalous behaviour and shedding of blood occasioned by them" (Alford 1962, 121–122). Iberian dances of the era often feigned combat between Moors and Christians. Hence the English term *Morris* (from Moorish) *dancing*. Besides patriotism, their purposes included impressing women.
About 1499	The Sikh religion, which borrowed tenets of faith from both Hinduism and Islam, appears in the Punjab. One unusual Sikh weapon was a sharpened steel washer measuring about 7 inches in diameter. The weapon was known as a *chakra* (circle), and aristocratic Sikhs often carried two or three stuffed inside their turbans and amused themselves by twirling them around their forefingers and then flicking them toward targets; the television heroine of *Xena, Warrior Princess* is of course the most famous chakra user in recent memory. More important personal weapons for Sikh soldiers included swords, bucklers, lances, and daggers.
About 1500	The Iranian Shah Ismail I makes Shiism the paramount Islamic faith in Azerbaijan and Iran. Ismail was also an avid physical culturalist, and the modern *Zour Khaneh* (Iranian academies of physical training) owe much to his patronage.
About 1500	The straight-bladed rapier known as the Toledo appears in Spain. The design is important because it evolved into the modern épée.
1509	A monument is built at Shuri, Okinawa, to honor the accomplishments of the Ryûkyûan king Shô Shin. In 1926, the Okinawan scholar Iha Fuyu interpreted the part of the monument reading "Swords and bows and arrows exclusively are accumulated as weapons in the protection of the country" to mean that the king had ordered the collection of all the iron weapons in the country. In 1987, Professor Mitsugu Sakihara of the University of Hawaii showed that this was a misinterpretation of the text,

and that King Shô Shin was actually stockpiling arms rather than suppressing them (Sakihara 1987, 164–166, also 199, fn. 76).

About 1510 Matchlock harquebuses enter service throughout Europe.

1517 A Spanish expedition commanded by Hernán Cortés introduces crossbows, cannons, iron armor, horses, and war dogs into Yucatán and Mexico. Although the Spanish thus had superior technology, the conquest of Mexico owed less to technology than to the hatred that the coastal Indians had for the Mexica-Tenochitlans, who raped coastal Indian women and boys, then cut out their hearts and ate their arms and legs.

1517 The Bolognese fencing master Achille Marozzo writes a manuscript he calls *Opera Nova chiamata duello,* or *New Work of Dueling*. First published in 1536 and continuously reedited until 1568, this was probably the most important Italian fencing manual of the Renaissance.

1521 On Cebu, in the Philippines, a band of Filipinos enraged over Spanish sailors impregnating local women kills Ferdinand Magellan. The hour of hard fighting it took the 1,100 Filipinos to kill the capitán-general and chase his remaining forty or so men back into their longboats suggests that the historic martial arts of the Philippines may not have been as deadly as modern Filipino nationalists sometimes claim.

1525 In the wake of the Peasants' War in Swabia and Franconia, German nobles suppress Carnival, trade fairs, and the pugilistic entertainments featured in them.

1528 In India, the Timurid conqueror Babur holds a *darbar* (public festival) to celebrate the circumcision of his son, Humayun. Rajputs and Sikhs held similar initiation ceremonies for their boys, and scheduled amusements included animal fights, wrestling, dancing, and acrobatics.

About 1530 English tournament fighters are reported shaking one another's unarmored hands after completing their matches. A century later Quakers adopt the courtesy as "more agreeable with Christian simplicity" than either bowing or cheek kissing. The practice of passing knives by the handle also dates to the mid-sixteenth century. This was a matter of courtly etiquette rather than common practice, and for the next three centuries, the European practice of eating from the blades of foot-long knives horrified most Asians.

About 1532 After learning five different ways of seizing an opponent from a traveling wizard, a Japanese man named Takenouchi Hisamori establishes a martial art school that teaches students to defeat their opponents by tying them up. Although *Takenouchi-ryû* teachers sometimes claim that theirs is Japan's oldest *jûjutsu* system, that has never been definitively proven.

1533 Francisco Pizarro and a few hundred Spanish cavalrymen and harquebusiers, plus an equal number of Indian archers and spearmen, conquer the Inca Empire. Although nineteenth-century scholars said that the most important reasons for Pizarro's success were his unshakable faith in God and glory, twentieth-century historians give greater importance to a smallpox epidemic that preceded Pizarro in the Andes.

About 1540 East Asian patent medicine salesmen start breaking bricks and boards with their bare hands, to convince skeptical customers that the peddlers' opium-laden alcoholic beverages are as powerful as claimed. Whereas legitimate breakers used normal bricks and boards (a fist moving at 40 feet per second generates about 675 foot-pounds of energy, far more than is necessary to break a brick or board), illegitimate breakers often gave challengers hardened bricks while saving weakened ones for themselves.

About 1540 The Sikh guru Angad Dev establishes a wrestling pit, or *akhara,* at Khadur Sahib. According to subsequent reports, the guru's goal was to instill character into street urchins.

1540 According to some Italian historians, Caminello Vitelli of Pistoia manufactures Europe's first pistols. This seems unlikely, though, as the Venetians built handgun ranges as early as 1506 and the Bohemians used the word *pistala* (pipes) to describe one-handed guns as early as 1427. So it is probably better to say that small handheld firearms became popular in southern Europe during this period. Sixteenth-century Italian pistols were about 2 feet long, and could be used as clubs following discharge.

1540 After surviving a terrible leg wound, a pious Basque soldier named Ignatius Loyola establishes an evangelistic Roman Catholic monastic order known as the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits. Loyola envisioned the Jesuits as members of a kind of chivalric order, and his spiritual exercises, which taught solitary meditation and fencing as forms of mental discipline, bear comparison to the Buddhist meditations used in China and Japan.

1542 The English Parliament bans crossbows, giving the reason that "malicious and evil-minded people carried them ready bent and charged with bolts, to the great annoyance and risk of passengers on the highways"; they also ban "little short handguns," the reason being that too many yeomen were loading them with "hail shot" and then slaughtering the king's game birds (Trench 1972, 116–118).

1543 The Portuguese introduce snaphaunce muskets into Japan. Snaphaunce locks are a firing mechanism for handheld black-powder firearms that drop the piece of flint onto a steel plate near the touchhole. Hence their name, which means "pecking hen" in Low Dutch. Snapping-lock muskets were mechanically simpler and more reliable than wheel-locks, and Italian gunsmiths continued making them until the 1810s. Always looking for weapons to give ill-trained conscripts, Japanese warlords quickly ordered these weapons into mass production, and within fifty years, owned more high-quality firearms than all the princes of Europe combined.

1545 A Tudor scholar and writer named Roger Ascham publishes *Toxophilus,* the first English-language archery manual. An educated man, Ascham viewed archery as a way of promoting fitness and building character rather than as a practical military combative.

1547 The archbishop of Mainz conducts tests to discover why rifling

	makes muskets more accurate, and concludes that demons guide the spinning balls; the result is bans against the manufacture and possession of rifles in most Roman Catholic countries.
1549	Burmese soldiers besieging the Thai capital at Ayuthia stage a series of sword dances. These appear to have been used mostly to keep the troops amused while their superiors interpreted cloud omens and other astrological signs.
About 1550	Japanese pirates *(waka)* use harquebuses during their raids into China and Korea. While the pirates' successes owed more to disciplined small-unit infantry tactics than firearms, the new weapons still caused the Koreans to create new military bureaucracies. The Chinese, on the other hand, started hiring acrobats and boxers to teach their peasants how to fight. However, tales of flying swordsmen do not become a staple of Chinese fiction until the late nineteenth century.
About 1550	The training of Ottoman Janissaries is described as including archery, musketry, javelin throwing, and fencing. There was no pike training, though, since the Janissaries believed that pikes were useful only for men trained to fight like machines.
About 1560	Japanese schools of swordsmanship introduce kata designed to teach *batto-jutsu* (quick-draw techniques). Pioneers included Tamiya Heibei Narimasa, a sword instructor for the first three Tokugawa shôgun who was a student of Hayashizaki Jinsuke, the mid-sixteenth-century samurai who reportedly developed these techniques after meditating for 100 days at a Shintô shrine in Yamagata. In 1932, the Japanese systematized some of these quick-draw techniques and then turned them into a new martial art called *iaidô* (the way of sword-drawing). A pioneer in the latter process was Nakayama Hakudo of the *Musô Jikiden Eishin-ryû*.
1560	Construction begins on the massive Da Er Monastery in the Nan Shan mountains of western China. Since it was an important and popular Yellow Hat Buddhist temple, an additional "Defender of Buddhism" hall was added in 1631. Bronze mirrors lined the walls of this latter hall. Beside its doors stood rows of spears and swords. The monks used these weapons to exorcise demons and entertain crowds during quarterly temple fairs.
1562	A Ming-dynasty general named Qi Jiguang starts work on a book of military theory called *Jixiao Xinshu* (New Text of Practical Tactics). Although most of Qi's book was devoted to battlefield maneuver and armed techniques, this was also the first Ming-dynasty text to provide realistic descriptions of Shaolin *quanfa* (fist law).
1563	Because so many duelists are dying from blood poisoning or infection, the Council of Trent threatens duelists, seconds, and the civil authorities who are failing to suppress them with excommunication; rarely enforced in practice, these bans are used mainly for preventing duels between aristocrats and commoners.
About 1565	The Flemings start putting handle bindings on longbows, thus giving them both a top and a bottom. (Although bow makers routinely stamped bows at their centers to help archers line up their shots, bows without handles could be spanned either end up.)

1570	By doing single backward aerial somersaults, an Italian mountebank named Arcangelo Tuccaro becomes modern Europe's first famous trapeze artist. Due to problems with ropes and springboards, double back flips were usually fatal until the 1890s, while triple back flips were equally hazardous until the 1920s. These statistics about world-class gymnasts are worth recalling whenever one encounters tales about the exploits of legendary heroes.
1571	To increase his power, prestige, and wealth, the Japanese lord Oda Nobunaga orders the destruction of the Buddhist temples on Mount Hiei. (When King Henry VIII of England dissolved all Catholic monasteries in Britain between 1535 and 1540, he almost tripled his private income. Although these two men didn't know each other, doubtless they had similar hopes and expectations.) As Nobunaga's persecution caused the surviving monks to begin living in towns instead of monasteries, the destruction was partially responsible for spreading Buddhist martial arts into the Japanese cities.
About 1578	To secure the support of the Tibetan theocracy for his son Yonten Gyatso, the Golden Horde's Altan Khan orders that people start referring to the young man as the Dalai Lama Vajradhara. The phrase means "the teacher whose wisdom is as great as the ocean."
1578	Lord Oda Nobunaga hosts Japan's first major sumô tournament. Although referees and heroic ring names, or *shikona,* also date to the 1570s, the straw-and-earthen ring, or *dohyo,* only dates to the 1670s.
1579	Lai Qidai becomes the first Chinese philosopher known to have illustrated his explanations of the Dao (Tao) using a circle of interlocking black and white fish. Lai's goal was to emphasize the Dao's central nature, yin and yang, rather than its outward nature, seen in the sixty-four trigrams of the Yijing (I Ching; The Book of Changes).
About 1588	In a stage play called *The Wounds of Civil War,* the Elizabethan playwright Thomas Lodge becomes the first English playwright known to have included lusty rapier work in a secular entertainment.
1588	To ensure the safety of his tax collectors, the self-made generalissimo Toyotomi Hideyoshi prohibits Japanese farmers from owning weapons of any kind, which in turn forces peasants to choose between being samurai or farmers. Nevertheless, firearms, swords, and other weapons remained easily obtainable throughout the Tokugawa era, and as late as 1840, perhaps 80 percent of the participants in Saitama Prefecture fencing contests were commoners.
1592	A massive Japanese invasion causes a desperate Korean government to create a *Hullyon Togam* (General Directorate for Military Training). Its purpose was to teach peasants to be musketeers, archers, or pikemen. Its pedagogy came from the 1562 Chinese military treatise called *New Text of Practical Tactics* (described under that year). An unintentional result was the publication of some of the first detailed de-

scriptions of the Korean martial arts. Unsurprisingly, the book emphasized fighting with weapons rather than fists and feet.

1594 China's Wan Li emperor canonizes a third-century A.D. soldier-saint named Guan Yu. This converts the latter into Guan Di, the Chinese God of War, whose likeness graces the entries of many modern martial art schools.

About 1595 Dutch Republican soldiers develop the marching and musketry drills that eventually become military close-order drill.

About 1600 The members of a Hindu religious cult known as the *thugi* (pronounced "tug-ee," and meaning "sly deceivers") become notorious throughout India for strangling unsuspecting merchants, then dancing around their bodies. Although loot was behind the cult's popularity, cult leaders claimed that the Indian death goddess Kali provided occult powers when offered human sacrifices.

About 1605 The Tokugawa court of Japan patronizes the *Go In* (Go Academy) of a master called Honinbo Sansha, leading to the introduction of Honinbo's method of classifying players (*shôdan* for the first degree, *nidan* for the second degree, and so on) to the samurai class.

1610 The Spanish create the name *arnis de mano* (harness of the hands) to describe the ritual hand movements used during Filipino folk theatricals.

1612 Tokugawa soldiers hunt down gangs of armed peasants unwilling to resume their status as serfs. This process is pronounced complete in 1686, when 300 members of the All-God Gang are arrested and their leaders executed. As usual, this was more a case of the government declaring victory than an accurate representation of the facts, as the modern Japanese crime syndicates known as the *yakuza* date their origin to the officially sanctioned guilds of peddlers, gamblers, and strong-arm men formed in the wake of this repression.

1613 Some Beothuk Indians kill a couple of Basque cod fishers during a fishing dispute off Newfoundland, encouraging the angry Basques to sell large quantities of weapons, including a few old muskets, to the Micmacs, the Beothuks' traditional enemies, and to offer bounties for Beothuk scalps. Although this offer led to the first known scalping in North America, the practice did not become widespread until the Massachusetts Bay Colony began offering scalp bounties in 1675.

1617 English merchants carry Japanese matchlocks into Thailand "three or four at a Tyme" so that the government "would not take notice thereof" (Perrin 1979, 11, 18, 64). Japanese firearms were preferred partly because they were better made than European weapons, and mainly because the Christian samurai in the Siamese king's bodyguard preferred them.

1621 The last chapter of a Chinese military manual called *Wu Bei Zhi* (Account of Military Arts and Science) includes illustrations of some unarmed martial arts exercises. According to tradition, these descriptions subsequently influence the development of Shuri-di karate.

1624	Needing sugar to make their gin, the Dutch seize the sugar plantations of Salvador da Bahia. A year later, the Spanish eject the Dutch. Two years later, the Dutch return the favor, and so on until 1654, when the Luso-Brazilians finally reclaim Bahia as their own. While the importance of all this was that it gave the Dutch the desire to establish slave-and-sugar plantations in the Caribbean, some Brazilian historians have seen in these battles the roots of *capoeira,* which was supposedly developed to help slaves who escaped during the confusion to better resist recapture. Yet this causality seems improbable, mainly because the Maroons of Haiti, Jamaica, and Reunion all greeted the bounty hunters with firearms, spears, and *pungi* sticks, not musical bows and twirling shin kicks. Therefore capoeira probably dates to the development of sizable mixed-race populations during the eighteenth century rather than the unrest and warfare of the seventeenth century.
1624	The English coin the word *gunman*. The idea was to distinguish the matchlock-armed Woodland Indians of the Carolinas from the European settlers (who were described as "firemen," after their snaphaunce and wheel-lock weapons).
1625	The Thirty Years' War causes the development of new codes of warfare in Europe. The Dutch jurist Huigh de Groot describes these changes, the main purpose of which was to put legitimate use of force into the hands of a central state rather than regional chieftains, in a legal text called *On the Law of War and Peace.* On the other side of the world, Japanese warlords were formulating an equally flexible code of bureaucratic militarism known as *bushidô* (the Way of the Warrior).
About 1630	French and German duelists begin scoring points using the points instead of the edges of their rapiers. To reduce injuries during training, fencing masters first develop the *fleuret,* or flower-like leather sword-tip, and then a special lightweight sword known as the *épée.*
About 1640	Catholic Irish butchers are reported hamstringing or kneecapping their Protestant rivals, who retaliate by hanging the Catholics from meat hooks.
1643	The phrase *second-string* starts referring to the substitute during a football scrimmage rather than the spare bowstrings that British archers carried in case their first string broke or got wet.
1646	The English word *fire-arm* is coined to describe wheel-lock carbines and other weapons that discharge projectiles using the hot gases released by burning gunpowder.
About 1648	A Dutch geographer named Olifert Dapper (who bases his comments on an account written by a Dutch mercenary named Fuller) reports that the armies of the Angolan queen Nzinga Mbande trained for war using leaping dances. This Angolan dancing has been claimed as a root of the modern Brazilian game called capoeira.
About 1653	Rather than shaking hands before a match, school-trained French fencers are reported as raising their swords to their hats.
1659	Outside Pratapgarh Fort, 80 miles southeast of Bombay, the

	Maratha hero Shivaji agrees to discuss terms with a Bijapur general named Afzal Khan. The two men met with their bodyguards inside Shivaji's tent to discuss terms. Although there is sectarian debate about who struck first, there is no doubt that the talks broke down into a brawl in which Shivaji killed the Khan, and his bodyguards killed the Khan's bodyguards and beheaded the Khan.
1661	Johan Paschen publishes *Fecht, Ring und Voltigier Buch* (Fencing, Wrestling, and Vaulting Book) at Halle, Germany, which is one of the first books to describe those activities as being separate rather than related.
1663	Samuel Pepys describes a match between two prizefighters named Matthews and Westwicke. The rules required the fighters to use eight different weapons, and as the fighters' only payment was coins that the audience threw into a hat, probably neither man had much interest in injuring the other so badly that he could not continue.
About 1664	A central Chinese soldier named Chen Wangting dies. According to tradition, Chen combined General Qi Jiguang's military conditioning exercises with Daoist (Taoist) breathing exercises, thereby creating the oldest known *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan) practice forms. But Chen's martial art was called *pao chui,* not taijiquan. Further, *pao chui* means "strike like a cannon," which sounds like something one would name an external art rather than an internal art. Also, the Chen family records do not describe the man as the founder of a system. So some skepticism is perhaps in order.
1664	Morikawa Kozan establishes a Japanese archery style called the Yamato-ryû. While acknowledging that firearms rendered archery obsolete for military purposes, Morikawa believed that bows did a better job of improving the spirit, and so taught archery as a Buddhist exercise.
1666	Iroquois warriors are described as going into battle wearing only loincloths, moccasins, and war paint, firearms having rendered their body armor, shields, and war clubs obsolete.
1666	Hendrik Hamel, a Dutch merchant shipwrecked in Korea for thirteen years, notes that Buddhist monks hired down-on-their-luck laborers to protect monasteries and roads. This suggests a source for subsequent stories about Buddhist monasteries teaching fighting arts.
1669	The Japanese close the only swordsmithy on Okinawa. During the 1930s this fact is used to support the theory that karate was created due to Japanese weapons bans.
About 1670	French fencing masters begin wearing padded waistcoats *(plastrons)* with their leather fencing jackets. The plastron was decorated with a red heart and provided students with a target against which to practice their lunges and thrusts. The affectation of elegantly elevated sword hands was adopted soon thereafter, apparently as a way of keeping thrusts from accidentally slipping into the face. (Masks were as yet uninvented.)
1671	A Chinese potter named Chen Yuanbin dies in Nagoya, Japan. Chen always enjoyed wrestling and boxing, and according to

1671 *cont.*	tradition his discussions with three *rônin* (masterless samurai) named Fukuno Hichiroemon, Isogai Jirozaemon, and Miura Yojiemon had significant impact on the development of *jûjutsu* and related Japanese martial arts.
1672	A Japanese swordsman called Nakagawa Shoshunjin advertises himself as a master of ninjutsu, and even offers to teach people to avoid detection by changing themselves into birds or rats. Since Nakagawa studiously avoided matching swords with duelists and only taught children, the truth of his claims is unknown.
1674	According to an eighteenth-century tradition, five Shaolin monks skilled "in the art of war and self-defense" establish the first Chinese Triad, the Hong League, in Fujian province. What these military skills involved is unknown, as the account of them has changed over time. In 1925, for instance, they included praying for rain and making a few magical passes with a sword, while by 1960, they included superhuman prowess in Chinese boxing.
About 1676	A Japanese man named Fujibayashi Yasuyoshi publishes ten hand-bound volumes, known collectively as *Bansenshukai* (Ten Thousand Rivers Collect in the Sea), that discussed ninja techniques and mysteries in some detail.
1681	The London *Protestant Mercury* provides the first known description of an English bare-knuckled prizefight.
1688	Following a coup in Siam, women drilled in the use of muskets replace the 600 European mercenaries and Christian samurai who had served the previous government.
About 1690	Female wrestling acts become common in Japanese red-light districts. Although Confucianist officials charged that such acts were harmful to public morals, female wrestling remained popular in Tokyo until the 1890s and in remote areas such as southern Kyûshû and the Ryûkyûs until the 1920s.
About 1692	A man named Gong Xiangzhun introduces a form of Chinese boxing to Okinawa; the *Shôrin-ryû* kata *kusanku* commemorates his instruction.
1707	The French opera star Julie La Maupin dies at the age of 37; in 1834 novelist Théophile Gautier made her famous as *Mademoiselle de Maupin*. In her time she was a noted fencer and cross-dresser; her fencing masters included her father, Gaston d'Aubigny, and a lover, a man named Sérannes.
1715	A *Máistir pionnsa* (Gaelic; fencing master) named Alexander Doyle starts teaching Irish fencing in Germany, claiming it develops obedience to orders, quickness of eye, agility, and physical fitness in young men thinking of military careers. (Because British law prohibited Catholic Irish from owning swords, Irish fencing masters normally trained using singlesticks instead of swords.)
1716	The words of Yamamoto Tsunetomo, a provincial samurai turned Buddhist monk, are collected, bound, and titled *Hagakure* (Hidden Among the Leaves). Although obscure during its own time, during the 1930s *Hagakure* became popular with

Japanese ultranationalists, and the quotation "The Way of the Samurai is found in death" was especially popular.

1719 Prince Phra Chao Seua institutionalizes high-stakes prizefighting at Ayudhya, a Thai royal city 53 miles north of modern Bangkok. This may represent the beginnings of *Muay Thai* (Thai boxing).

About 1720 Despite the Chinese laws prohibiting nonmilitary personnel from owning bows, swords, or firearms, an official named Lan Ding Yuan argues that the crews of merchant ships should be allowed to carry arms to protect themselves from pirates. After considerable deliberation, his government agreed, and in 1728, new laws were passed allowing junks sailing to Japan, the Ryûkyûs, Siam, or Indonesia to carry eight muskets, ten sets of bows and arrows, and twenty-five pounds of powder.

1727 After his army takes heavy casualties during a slave-raiding expedition against Ouidah, King Agaja of Dahomey creates a female palace guard and arms it with Danish trade muskets. By the nineteenth century this female bodyguard had 5,000 members.

1733 In Charleston, the *South Carolina Gazette* posts a reward for the return of a runaway slave named Thomas Butler. Butler was said to be a "*famous* Pushing and Dancing Master," which suggests a practitioner of an African combative akin to capoeira (Rath 2000).

1734 Jack Broughton introduces new rules to English pugilism, prohibiting hitting below the waist or after the opponent is down, introducing rounds and rest periods, and designating the starting mark as "a square of a yard chalked in the middle of a stage." However, they say nothing about hip throws or slashing the opponent's legs with spiked shoes, and they allow seconds to bring their man up to the mark, whether conscious or not.

1740 A Confucian memorialist writes that if the people of Henan province "are not studying boxing and cudgels, prizing bravery and fierce fighting, [then] they believe in heterodox sects, worshipping Buddhas and calling on gods." In other words, to this eighteenth-century scholar, *quanfa* and religion were not related, but were instead separate paths through a world filled with poverty and injustice (Esherick 1987, fn. 25, 357).

1743 Jack Broughton introduces "mufflers," or leather gloves padded with ten ounces of horsehair or lamb's wool, to boxing.

About 1755 Japanese school fencers begin using face and body armor. According to the *Shigei enkakuo* of 1831, masks designed to protect the eyes came first. Next came padded helmets and arm protectors. Finally bamboo breast protectors were developed. These in turn developed into what are now helmets (*men*), breast protectors (*dô),* and gauntlets (*kote*). About the same time, bamboo swords (*fukuro-shinai*) also came into use. The latter development probably came as the result of peasant participation in fairground battles, but it could also have been motivated by merchants' sons wanting to make their swordplay as visually exciting as the swordplay seen in Bunraku (Japanese puppet theater).

About 1755	Toward reducing the risk of accidental blinding, metal masks pierced by eyeholes appear in Parisian fencing salles. But according to Richard Burton, "To put on a mask was to show the adversary that you feared the result of his awkwardness; it was a precaution that bordered on the offensive" (Burton 1911, 92–93). As a result, they did not become popular until a more comfortable (and stylish) wire mesh design appeared during the 1780s.
1755	In his famous dictionary, Samuel Johnson defines the English word *box*. As a noun it meant a blow on the head given with the hand, while as a verb it meant to fight or strike with the fist. A *boxer* is defined as "a man who fights with the fist." The word also appeared in Irish Gaelic, where it became *boiscín,* and referred to both fighting with the hands and sparring with sticks.
1757	Gamblers and grifters living in Fujian and Gwangdong province create the crime syndicates known to outsiders as Triads, after the three dots that members used as gang signs, and to insiders as the *Dian Di Hui,* or Heaven-and-Earth Societies. Members were rarely orthodox (*zheng*) boxers. Instead, in the words of the nineteenth-century Malay triad leader Ho Ah-kay, they were simply gangs in the employ of brothel owners and gamblers.
1758	The Swiss jurist Emmerich de Vattel revises Huigh de Groot's laws of war, calling the result *The Law of Nations*. Vattel specifically excludes battles against American Indians, black Africans, and Barbary corsairs from consideration because, in Vattel's words, right "goes hand in hand with necessity" (Fabell 1980, 202).
1764	To reduce expenses, the members of England's Royal Company of Archers begin shooting feather-filled glass balls instead of the eyes of live geese buried up to their necks in dirt.
1766	Near Ningbo, in Zhejiang province, a few dozen mountain villagers recite incantations, dance wildly, and invoke the protection of a Tang-dynasty general they learned about by watching stage plays. This makes them China's first known Spirit Boxers (*shenquan*).
About 1767	A Thai aristocrat named Nai Khanom Tom defeats a dozen Burmese boxers to secure his release from a Burmese prisoner of war camp. On the one hand, this speaks highly of Tom's skills, as Burmese boxers were generally both larger than Thai boxers and more skilled in wrestling. On the other hand, it may not be as surprising as it sounds, as the Burmese army relied more on spears and firearms than boxing prowess for its military successes, and its soldiers included more townsmen than skilled pugilists.
1768	During a national sorcery scare, Chinese officials search some sectarian temples and torture some beggars, and then declare the problem solved. Removed from context and combined with stories about concurrent Fujianese lineage feuds, these events may provide a root for the many subsequent stories describing how the Chinese government forced Daoist (Taoist) fighting monks to sack Shaolin Monasteries in Henan and Fujian province.

1768 In the Clerkenwell district of London (perhaps at the London Spa), two female prizefighters mill for a prize of a dress valued at half a crown, while another two women fight against two men for a prize of a guinea apiece. And at Wetherby's on Little Russell Street, the 19-year-old rake William Hickey saw "two she-devils . . . engaged in a scratching and boxing match, their faces entirely covered with blood, bosoms bare, and the clothes nearly torn from them." These "she-devils" were singers and prostitutes, and their prefight preparation consisted mostly of drinking more gin than usual (Quennell 1962, 63–66).

1771 A French fencing master named Olivier, whose Fleet Street school is a favorite of British lawyers, publishes a bilingual text called *Fencing Familiarised*. In it, Olivier encourages civilized behavior from his students. Shouts and exclamations, for instance, are not to be tolerated, as "they serve only to fatigue the stomach, and deafen the spectators" (Conroy n.d.). During the same period in East Asia, shouts and ritual breathing methods were viewed as almost magical keys to success. For example, some nineteenth- and twentieth-century Japanese fencing masters discounted blows that were not accompanied by a shout; the exact phrase they used was *kiai wo kakeru* (to utter the spirit-shout). Chinese boxers also liked loud war cries and esoteric breathing methods. The White Lotus rebel Wang Lun, for instance, taught his civil students to practice breathing, fasting, and meditation, and his military students to practice boxing and cudgels.

1773 The Tay Son brothers start a Vietnamese civil war that lasts until 1801. Tay Son military training, known as *Vo Tay Son,* taught eighteen bladed weapons, but was best known for its aggressive swordsmanship. Chinese influence is possible, as the system has been called Vietnamese *quanfa* (fist law). Another Vietnamese system of the era was *Kim Ke* (Golden Cock). As the name implies, Kim Ke was based on cockfighting, and as a result featured aggressive high kicks to the head. Here *Muay Thai* influence is possible, as the Nguyen family that eventually occupied the Vietnamese capital of Hue received considerable military aid from Siam.

1775 Philip Vickers Fithian writes that Easter Monday in Virginia was a general holiday, and that "Negroes now are all disbanded till Wednesday morning & are at Cock Fights through the County" (Gorn and Goldstein 1993, 18–19). Slave owners also gave slaves off the six days between Christmas and the New Year. During this time, the slaves visited friends, played ball games, wrestled, and danced.

About 1776 According to tradition, a Buddhist nun named Wu Mei (Ng Mui) creates a Southern Shaolin Boxing style known in Cantonese as *yongchun* (*wing chun;* Beautiful Springtime). The tradition has never been proven, and twentieth-century stylistic leaders such as Yip Chun believe that a Cantonese actor named Ng Cheung created the style during the 1730s.

1780 A Tyrolean clock maker named Bartolomeo Girandoni manufactures some twenty-shot air rifles for the Austrians. Even

1780 *cont.*	though they worked well, these technologically advanced .56 caliber weapons were withdrawn from service in 1801 and banned outright in 1802. In theory, this was because the weapons were fragile, but in practice it was more probably because the roar of a flintlock musket was too thrilling to give up for mere range and accuracy.
1781	Turkic-speaking Chinese Muslims living in Gansu province brawl in the streets over matters of Islamic ritual; the men fight using long poles, short sticks, and whips, while the women throw garbage. Martial art training took place in mosques, and combined Sufistic spirit possession and trance dancing with *xingyiquan* (*hsing i ch'uan;* mind and will boxing) and other martial arts commonly practiced by caravan guards.
1786	The publication of the *Treatise of Ancient Armour and Weapons* by Francis Grose stirs English interest in antique arms and armor. This said, scholarly investigations only date to 1824 and the publication of the appropriately titled *Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour* by Samuel Rush Meyrick.
1790	The Chinese establish a National Theater in Beijing, with the purpose, of course, of showcasing the Chinese theatricals commonly (but imprecisely) known in English as the Chinese opera. To make these performances work, schools were established for children as young as 4 years of age, and because a star could make a good living, standards for admission were very high. Physical training for the students included daily practice in bodybuilding, gymnastics, and sword handling, while concurrent academic training involved memorizing long passages from Chinese classical literature. Thus National Theater–level martial art students operated at an entirely different level of proficiency than those of the Shandong *wushu* (martial art) teacher of 1900 who promised his students that they would be bulletproof following just one day of study.
1793	The Saxon educator Johann Guts Muths publishes *Gymnastics for the Young*. Three years later, he follows up with another book called *Games*. The idea of both books was that every minute of a schoolboy's day should be filled with purposeful, directed activity.
About 1794	A Korean official named Yi Dok-mu compiles a manual of the martial art techniques used by the Korean army. Known as the *Mu Yei Do Bo Tong Ji* (Illustrated Manual of Martial Arts), it was written in classical Chinese, perhaps to keep it from being easily understood by merchants and wives.
1799	With the support of the Crown Prince of Denmark, Franz Nachtigal establishes a Prussian-style gymnasium in Copenhagen. Nachtigal, like Guts Muths in Germany, believed that fun was overrated. Therefore schoolchildren and soldiers needed to do exercises that made them respond quickly to their superiors rather than play the games that they enjoyed. Furthermore, they needed to be graded in everything they did, and their performances needed to show measurable improvement over time. In other words, physical training was something that children and soldiers did for the nation, not for fun.

1803	The word *amateur* enters the English language. Originally it referred solely to literary dilettantes, but during the 1860s people changed the meaning of the word to refer to athletes who followed the rules designed to keep working-class athletes from competing with middle-class athletes.
About 1809	Incursions by British and Russian naval forces into Japanese waters cause the Japanese government to regain an interest in manufacturing cannons and other militarily useful weapons. This said, it was the entirely unrelated threat of gang warfare along the Tokaido Highway between Edo and Yokohama that lay behind the era's revived interest in sword fighting, wrestling, and other traditional martial arts.
1811	A Prussian schoolmaster named Friedrich Ludwig Jahn establishes a *Turnverein* (gymnastics club) at Hasenheide, a park just outside Berlin. A strict moralist, Jahn saw *Turnen* (the term means more than just gymnastics, as it originally included weight lifting and wrestling, too) as a means of building character in boys. He was an ardent patriot, and his club soon became a hotbed of muscular pan-Germanism. As this pan-Germanism frightened the conservative Prussian government, it persecuted both *Turners* and Jahn from 1819 until 1842.
About 1815	*Hung gar* (Red Boxing) *wushu* appears in Fujian province. The nineteenth-century Chinese used such arts to improve fitness or health, make money for gamblers or reputation for prizefighters, and attract new members to esoteric religious cults.
1819	The publication of *Ivanhoe* by the Scottish novelist Sir Walter Scott helps create the Romantic perception of gallant knights in shining armor; Scott's chivalric ideal proves especially popular in the American South. As a result, equestrian tournaments were held in Charlottesville, Virginia, as late as 1863. (The latter was a Confederate hospital town, and that particular tournament featured one-armed knights who held the reins in their teeth.)
1825	Jem Ward of London becomes the first British prizefighter to receive a championship belt. (Although English wrestlers had received championship belts for years, boxers usually preferred cash prizes.) Similar belts were introduced into the United States around 1885, mostly as a way of generating interest in prizefights.
1827	On a sandbar outside Vidalia, Mississippi, a Louisiana slave-smuggler and sugar merchant named James Bowie uses a large knife to kill a local banker named Norris Wright; colorful newspaper accounts of their fight start a journalistic tradition in which all large single-edged knives are called Bowie knives. Newspaper accounts aside, the big knives' more usual uses included shaving kindling, butchering game, and holding the meat over the fire.
About 1830	An Italian woman named Rosa Baglioni is described as perhaps the finest stage fencer in Weimar, Germany. German students start fighting with the blunt-tipped swords known as *Schläger* (blow) around the same time, perhaps because they are heavy weapons less likely to be carried by women.

About 1830	Irish immigrants introduce collar-and-elbow wrestling into New England. The style was often used by the Irish to settle arguments, and was known as "collar-and-elbow" after the initial stances taken as defenses against kicking, punching, and rushing. The style became widely known during the American Civil War and formed the basis for the American professional wrestling techniques of the 1870s and 1880s.
1832	Jean Antoine Charles Lecour combines English prizefighting with French *savate* to create *Boxe Française* (French boxing). Lecour's brother Hubert starts introducing the methods into the French music halls, often to the accompaniment of comic songs and similar acts.
1834	Johann Werner introduces *Turnen* to his School for Female Children in Germany; girls in Magdeburg begin to be taught gymnastics in 1843, as are adult women in Mannheim in 1847. Competition was discouraged as "unwomanly," and exercises such as the horizontal bar and the balance beam were prohibited as indecent.
1835	James Gordon Bennett stimulates sales for the *New York Herald* by adding coverage of footraces and prizefights.
1837	The Highland Games are introduced at Braemar, Scotland. These games were the progenitors of modern track-and-field, and of professional sports in general. They also helped popularize Cumberland wrestling, which previously had been popular mainly in northern England.
1837	Japanese soldiers use gunfire to prevent a United States ship from landing missionaries at Naha, Okinawa. This said, it took the naval bombardment of some Satsuma and Choshu forts in 1863 to start the Japanese thinking about reorganizing their forces after European models. Armed with rifles and drilled as disciplined tactical units, the Choshu armies defeated much larger shogunate forces in pitched battle in 1866, which in turn led the shogunate to seek French military assistance in 1867. In other words, it was internal politics, not Commodore Perry's Black Ships, that caused the Meiji Restoration and the subsequent militarization of Japan.
1838	Wealthy New Yorkers begin frequenting "concert saloons," the first modern nightclubs, where the entertainment includes dance revues, comedy acts, and prizefights.
1838	London Prize Ring Rules replace Broughton's Rules in English prizefighting.
1842	According to tradition, a Chinese man named Gou Zi creates *Da Xing Quan* (Monkey Boxing) after spending several months watching monkeys cavorting outside his prison cell. Romance aside, the name probably refers to the dramatic sword dances done by Shandong peasants possessed by the spirit of the Monkey King, a Chinese literary hero renowned for always being one step ahead of his adversaries. The word the Chinese used for this spirit possession, *ma bi,* means "horse," and the phenomenon probably bears comparison to the similar spirit-possessions reported in the Haitian *vodou* religion.

1842 A prizefight between Charles Freeman and William Perry on December 6 becomes the first to use the railway as a means of transporting spectators. (The prefight agreements stipulated that the fight had to take place halfway between Tipton and London, thus necessitating a special for the Eastern Counties Railway.) But as the police could also ride the rails, the illegal mill was rescheduled several times, and in the end the fans ended up going to the fight by riverboat.

1844 In London, an English shop assistant named George Williams establishes the first Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Williams's dream was to provide middle-class Protestant men such as himself with social clubs that encouraged Bible study rather than tobacco and gin. And the early YMCAs did this. But when the YMCA moved into the United States and Canada during the 1850s, its leaders found that Bible study did not attract as many young men as the gymnasiums of the Swiss and German *Turners*. To overcome this problem, most YMCA buildings built after 1880 included weight rooms, gymnasiums, and swimming pools.

1846 In Singapore, members of triad-affiliated gangs are reported fighting each other using wooden sticks and iron pipes. But by 1867, the gangsters were using muskets and small cannon, and by 1921 they were carrying pistols. Unarmed martial arts, meanwhile, were taught and used mostly as a form of militant nationalism.

1852 Harvard and Yale hold their first informal sporting competition, a rowing regatta in Boston; the ties between American sport and business are already clear, as a local railroad pays all expenses in exchange for free advertising.

1853 The YMCA opens a "Colored" branch in Washington, DC. By 1869 Colored YMCAs existed throughout the United States. By training hundreds of African American coaches, administrators, and officials, these YMCAs made sport part of African American cultural pride.

1854 Chinese miners wave American-made spears and swords at one another during a mining dispute in Trinity County, California. This is the first known display of Asian martial arts in the Americas.

1855 The United States Navy replaces its flintlock single-shot pistols with .36 caliber Model 1851 Colt revolvers; the navy also orders some full-flap sheaths to accompany these revolvers, which in turn makes it the first military to issue belt holsters with its pistols. (Military holster design reached fruition four years later with the development of the British Sam Browne rigs.)

1857 An anonymous notice in the *Saturday Review* coins the phrase *Muscular Christianity*. The phrase described the philosophy that a perfect Christian gentleman should be able to fear God, play sports, and doctor a horse with equal skill. ("The object of education," said an editorial in *Spirit of the Times,* "is to make men out of boys. Real live men, not bookworms, not smart fellows, but manly fellows.") (Gorn and Goldstein 1993, 94).

1858 On October 13, an Austin, Texas, newspaper called the *Southern Intelligencer* reports that "it is a common thing here to see boys from 10 to 14 years of age carrying about their persons Bowie knives and pistols" (Hollon 1974, 54). The model for the statement was probably Ben Thompson, a 16-year-old typesetter for the newspaper who fancied himself quite the thug. In Thompson's case, the weapons were somewhat ornamental: Although Thompson once fired a shotgun from ambush at a black youth, he did not actually kill anyone until 1865. Texas gunslingers were much more likely to shoot unarmed blacks and Mexicans than armed anything. John Wesley Hardin, for instance, was 15 when he shot and killed a black man for shaking a stick at him. William Preston Longley was similarly 15 when he shot and killed two black men for dancing in the street. These youthful Texas gunmen somehow always managed to avoid meeting equally notorious black or Mexican gunslingers. The most notorious black gunslinger was probably Jim Kelly, a rider with the Print Olive outfit in Kansas and Nebraska during the 1870s. The Olive outfit was truly mean, and known for shooting, hanging, and then burning rustlers it found on its range.

1858 As part of their post–Crimean War reforms, the British introduce Swiss calisthenics into their recruit training programs.

1859 New York State bans prizefights, and places severe restrictions on sparring matches. The goal was to stop working-class men from traveling around the state watching prizefights.

1859 A Greek grain merchant named Evangelios Zappas convinces King Otto of Greece to host an Olympic festival at Athens in order to inspire Greek patriotism and promote international trade. Besides running and jumping, the events held at this festival include both standing and ground wrestling.

1861 Under the influence of the physical culture movement, Amherst becomes the first United States college to have a physical education department.

1861 Feng Guifen introduces *zi qiang* (self-strengthening) into the Chinese political lexicon. Although the phrase originally meant using European arms and manufacturing methods to defend traditional Chinese values, by 1935 it also meant using foreign calisthenics to strengthen Chinese bodies and spirits for military service.

1862 With the help of Henry Fugner, Dr. Miroslav Tyrs creates the Sokol (Falcon) system of national gymnastics in Bohemia. This system offered women a greater part than did German gymnastics, and also supported Czech nationalism better than Prussian *Turnverein.* Sokol methods influenced czarist Russian sport during the 1890s and Soviet sport after 1918.

1864 In volume 1 of a text called *Principles of Biology,* the English philosopher Herbert Spencer coins the phrase "survival of the fittest." Spencer sees nature as a state of pitiless warfare, with the elimination of the weak and unfit as its goal. People who did not read him closely soon applied this theory to social dynamics, and called the result Social Darwinism.

1865 With the publication of a book called *Researches into the History of Early Mankind,* the English anthropologist Edward B. Tylor becomes the first important prophet of cultural diffusion. Tylor's premise is that ideas are only invented once, and that cultures grow by borrowing these ideas from one another. These ideas have subsequently been applied to the martial arts. Europeans, for instance, have often insisted that Greeks or Romans were the source of some particular invention, while the Chinese and Indians argued about whether Bodhidharma was the inventor.

1867 Under the patronage of John Sholto Douglas, the eccentric eighth Marquis of Queensberry, new rules are developed for amateur boxing. The new rules helped pugilism recover its lost popularity, as they reduced the visible injuries and subjected fighters to the constraints of the clock, something important to workingmen who needed to catch the last train home.

1871 Japan's first modern police force is formed, the organizer and first chief a former Satsuma samurai named Kawaji Toshiyoshi. (About two-thirds of early Tokyo police were former Satsuma samurai.) A trained swordsman of the Chiba school, Kawaji believed that martial arts training developed superior policemen. Many Japanese agreed with him, and to this day training in kendô, jûdô, and *jodô* (singlestick) continues to play an important role in Japanese police training.

1875 The Russian mystic Helene Blavatsky and the American lawyer Henry Olcott establish the Theosophical Society in New York and London. Although Blavatsky was something of a charlatan and Olcott important mainly for supporting Sri Lankan Buddhism during a time of profound Christian oppression, together they were among the first Europeans or Americans to systematically mine Vedic and Buddhist philosophies for religious truths.

1876 Inspired by the success of the YMCA at providing urban youth with an attractive alternative to saloons, the Wilson Mission establishes the Boys Club of the City of New York; to attract Catholic and Jewish youths, the club keeps active Protestant proselytizing. Sponsors, including railroad baron E. H. Harriman, supported such organizations because they were believed to reduce street crime.

1879 An Anglo-Irish philologist named John Mahaffy invents the myth of ancient Greek amateur sports. The invention was designed to keep white-collar workers and their children from having to compete against working-class workers and their children. Mahaffy also invented the idea of the intrinsic pleasure of sport for its own sake, again as a way of preventing working-class athletes from competing with middle- and upper-class athletes. In fairness to Mahaffy, he was a man of his times, and his ideas were an outgrowth of late Victorian philosophy rather than eccentric bigotry.

1880 To encourage newspaper sales (the more controversial or anticipated the bouts, the more papers sold), Richard Kyle Fox's *National Police Gazette* begins ranking boxers.

1881	The Japanese army replaces neo-Confucian *bushidô* with *tokuho,* a Prussian-inspired "Soldiers' Code." (Although trained by the French, the Japanese liked imperial German and Austrian political philosophy.) After making some additional changes that emphasized the primacy of the emperor, the Soldiers' Code was renamed *bushidô* (the way of the warrior) in 1909. The brutal excesses of the Greater East Asian War, as the Japanese call World War II, are therefore owed to early-twentieth-century military codes rather than the neo-Confucian *bushidô* of the Tokugawa-era samurai.
About 1883	Kanô Jigorô decides to divide his jûdô students into two separate groups, ungraded (*mudansha*) and graded (*yudansha*). This ranking system was innovative, as Japanese martial art schools previously awarded rank using scrolls (*menkyo*) rather than colored belts.
1884	Britain's Edgerton Castle publishes a history of European swordsmanship called *Schools and Masters of Fence*. Probably the most influential swordsmanship history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it presents theories that came under savage attack during the 1990s. Particularly contentious aspects include the following: first, that Renaissance Italy was the birthplace of systematic European fencing; second, that older German swordsmanship was mere rough and untutored fighting; and finally, that nineteenth-century sport fencing represented linear evolution toward final perfection.
1889	Hooks become common in Australian and North American boxing, as do corkscrew punches and combinations of three to five punches thrown in rapid succession. Queensberry-rules boxing with padded gloves was the reason—padded gloves protected knuckles and thumbs from breaking on the opponent's head, while ten-second knockouts and rounds that did not end when a player fell to the ground encouraged boxers to throw flurries rather than carefully aimed single shots.
1889	Female boxing becomes popular throughout the United States. Champions included Nellie Stewart of Norfolk, Virginia; Ann Lewis of Cleveland, Ohio; and Hattie Leslie of New York. The audiences were male, and the fighters sometimes stripped to their drawers like men. *Savate* fights in which kicking was allowed were also popular. Girls as young as 12 years headed the bills.
1896	The First International Games are held in Athens, Greece; these are subsequently renamed the first modern Olympics.
1896	The Spanish close a Manila fencing academy known as the *Tanghalan ng Sandata* (Gallery of Weapons) because its active students include the rebel leader José Rizal y Mercado. The master of the Gallery of Weapons was Don José de Azes, and his academy was located at a Jesuit private school known as *Ateneo de Manila*. Since de Azes taught both rapier fencing and Filipino nationalism, either he or his students are probably the creators of the theory that Spanish fencing influenced the development of *arnis*.
1899	An English engineer named Edward W. Barton-Wright pub-

lishes an article called "The New Art of Self Defence" in *Pearson's Magazine*. Barton-Wright had studied jûjutsu while living in Japan, and his "New Art," which he immodestly called "Bartitsu," combined jûjutsu with boxing and *savate*.

1901 An elderly Ryûkyûan aristocrat named Itosu Ankô campaigns for the introduction of a simplified form of *Shôrin-ryû Karate* into the Okinawan public schools.

1902 A London dentist named Jack Marles invents the first mouth guards for boxers. The devices were originally designed for use during training, and the English welterweight Ted "Kid" Lewis, who reigned from 1915 to 1919, was the first professional to regularly wear one in the prize ring.

1902 Alan Calvert establishes the Milo Bar-Bell Company, the first company to manufacture plate-loading iron barbells for amateur use, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

1902 An editorial in Baltimore's *Afro-American Ledger* complains that professional boxer Joe Gans "gets more space in the white papers than all the respectable colored people in the state." This was not to take anything away from Gans, but to wonder why illiterate prizefighters should be more influential role models than "respectable colored people" such as Booker T. Washington or W. E. B. Dubois (Ashe 1988, 16).

1904 The word *kokugi* (national sport) is coined in Japan to describe sumô; at the same time, Japanese school gymnastics *(heishiki taisô)* are renamed "military drills" *(heishiki kyoren),* as this puts the emphasis on discipline and obedience.

1904 Xu Fulin and his coworkers Xu Yiping and Xu Chenglie open the Chinese Physical Training School (*Zhingguo Ticao Xuexiao*) in Shanghai. Between 1926 and 1931 novelist Xiang Kairan wrote some fictionalized popular accounts of this organization's leaders beating Russians, British, and Japanese in weight lifting, boxing, and jûdô contests.

1905 "It is a good thing for a girl to learn to box," says an article in the beauty column of the February 27 issue of the New York *Evening World,* because "poise, grace and buoyancy of movement result from this exercise."

1905 A pro-Japanese karate teacher named Hanagusuku Nagashige creates the modern ideograms for karate, the ones that mean "empty hands" instead of "Tang dynasty [i.e., Chinese] boxing."

1906 Erich Rahn of Berlin opens Germany's first jûjutsu school; the style taught is (probably) *Tsutsumi Hozan-ryû*.

1908 Robert Baden-Powell establishes the Boy Scouts of England. Stated goals of the organization include preparing working-class youth for future military service.

About 1911 Yabiku Moden establishes the Ryûkyû Ancient Research Association, the first school to publicly teach *kobudô* (ancient weapons arts) on Okinawa.

1911 Under pressure from the Diet, Japan's Ministry of Education decides to require schoolboys to learn jûjutsu and *shinai kyôgi* (flexible stick competition), as jûdô and kendô were known until 1926; the idea, says the ministry in its reports, is to ensure that "students above middle school should be trained to be a

1911 *cont.*	soldier with patriotic conformity, martial spirit, obedience, and toughness of mind and body."
1912	Xu Yusheng, the vice-director of the Beijing Physical Education Research Association, introduces studio-style martial art instruction to north China. Although Hsu taught *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan) and had studied with Yang Jianhou, Song Shuming, and other famous boxers of his day, he was an intellectual. Therefore he taught taijiquan as national gymnastics, rather than as training in pugilism or self-defense.
1912	The Shanghai Chinese YMCA organizes a course in *quanfa,* since the youths who come for self-defense lessons usually discover that they like the foreign games of volleyball, basketball, and baseball even better, and thus are more amenable to Protestant proselytizing.
1913	A Japanese police official named Nishikubo Hiromichi publishes a series of articles arguing that the Japanese martial arts should be called *budô* (martial ways) rather than *bujutsu* (martial techniques), as their purpose is to teach loyalty to the emperor rather than practical combatives. In 1919, Nishibuko became head of a major martial art college (Bujutsu Senmon Gakkô) and immediately ordered its name changed to Budô Senmon Gakkô, and subsequently Dainippon Butokukai publications began talking about *budô, kendô, jûdô,* and *kyûdô* rather than *bujutsu, gekken, jûjutsu,* and *kyujutsu.*
1917	Funakoshi Gichen, a 53-year-old Okinawan schoolteacher, demonstrates *Naihanchi* kata during the First National Athletic Exhibition in Kyoto. Although this introduced karate into Japan, no one there expressed much interest until 1921, when Kanô Jigorô added *atemi-waza* (vital point techniques) to the curriculum of Kôdôkan Jûdô.
1918	Believing that physical exercises will create healthier workers and fitter soldiers, Bolshevik leaders encourage their workers and soldiers to exercise; because few Russians have access to gyms or swimming pools, wrestling is encouraged.
1919	Huo Yuanjia of Tianjin establishes the Jin Wu Athletic Association in Shanghai. Although organized along the same lines as a YMCA, the nationalism of its founders was Chinese rather than North American or European. Therefore its instruction included training in the Chinese martial arts rather than Swedish gymnastics or Canadian basketball.
1919	In order to give a cut over his eye time to heal, Jack Dempsey starts wearing padded headgear while training for a world championship fight in Toledo, Ohio. Because Dempsey won that fight in three rounds, the practice quickly became standard during professional training and amateur boxing.
About 1920	Romantic fantasies in which Chinese heroes overcome foreign invaders through military prowess become popular in China. Their plotting was subsequently a staple of Chinese martial arts films.
About 1920	Three competent professional wrestlers (Joseph "Toots" Mondt, Billy Sandow, and Ed "Strangler" Lewis) associated with the *101 Ranch Show* invent "Slam Bang Western Style

Wrestling." This was a carefully choreographed act designed to return more of the gate profits to the wrestlers than the promoters.

1921 Ueshiba Morihei, the founder of aikidô, opens his first dôjô in Tokyo.

1929 The Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore arranges for a Japanese named Takagaki Shinzo to teach jûdô at Calcutta's Bengal University (modern Visvabharati University). Tagore's hope was that the jûdô instruction would spread Japanese-style nationalism through British India. But few Indian college students were particularly interested in physical culture, and when they were, they preferred American barbells to Japanese jûdô.

1929 Vasilij Sergevich Oshchepkov introduces jûdô to Moscow. In 1932 Oshchepkov organized Russia's first jûdô tournament, and the following year he published jûdô's first Russian-language rules. Then, in 1936, the Leningrad Sport Committee prohibited a competition between the Moscow and Leningrad teams, causing an angry Oshchepkov to write protests to various government offices. This in turn led to his being arrested on the charge of being a Japanese spy, and in October 1937 he died from what the NKVD termed a "fit of angina." His students took the hint, and in November 1938 Anatolij Arcadievich Kharlampiev announced the invention of "Soviet freestyle wrestling," which coincidentally looked a lot like Russian-rules jûdô. Following World War II, Stalin decided that the USSR would compete in the Olympics, which already had international freestyle wrestling, so in 1946 Soviet freestyle wrestling was officially renamed *sambo,* which was an acronym for "self-defense without weapons" (Sam*ozashcita* B*ez* O*ruzhiya*). Present-day sambo has diverged significantly from jûdô. Technical differences include sambo players wearing tight jackets, shorts, and shoes; using mats instead of *tatami* (which in turn causes sambo coaches to stress groundwork and submission holds rather than high throws); and a philosophy that emphasizes sport and self-defense rather than character development.

1930 Thai boxing adopts Queensberry rules; although the introduction of gloves and timed rounds reduce the visible bloodshed, they also increase the death rate from subdural hemorrhage. (Recent estimates have put the death rate at one per 1,500 bouts.)

1930 Following a year in which nine professional boxing matches ended in fouls, the New York State Athletic Commission starts requiring professional boxers to wear protective groin cups.

1931 After the Japanese seize Mukden, the Chinese government orders its schoolchildren to undertake two to three hours of physical training a week. In 1934, the Chinese Ministry of Education published a formal fitness program designed by a YMCA director named Charles McCloy, and with slight modifications, this program remained the Chinese standard into the 1970s. The designer of the *taijiquan* (tai chi ch'uan) forms used in the Guomindang program was a physician named Zheng Manqing.

1932 An El Paso saddler named Sam Myres produces the first commercial quick-draw holsters, with a design following the ideas of an Oklahoma lawman named Tom Threepersons. Custom quick-draw rigs had been available for several years. See, for instance, William D. Frazier's 1929 book, *American Pistol Shooting,* and J. Henry Fitzgerald's 1930 book, *Shooting.*

1934 Ôtsuka Hironori of the All-Japan Collegiate Karate Association publishes rules for *yakusoku kumite* (noncontact free sparring).

1934 Twenty-seven-year-old Charles Kenn of Honolulu organizes a theatrical event featuring ancient Hawaiian games and sports, with the goal of replicating a *mahahiki* festival, including replicating *Lua* and other combative sports virtually extinct since the arrival of missionaries and smallpox during the 1840s.

1935 Kawaishi Mikonosuke introduces Butokukai Jûdô to Paris. (Although a separate licensing body, the Butokukai's jûdô differed from Kôdôkan Jûdô mostly because the former put more emphasis on groundwork than the latter.) At the front of Kawaishi's school was a blackboard. On this board, Kawaishi wrote the names of his techniques. In front of each name was a number:

Ashi-waza (Leg technique)
1. *Osoto-gari* ("Major Outer Reaping Throw")
2. *De-ashi-barai* ("Advanced Foot Sweep")
3. *Hiza-guruma* ("Knee Wheel")

Kawaishi would then say, "I will teach you the first movement," and the students would follow along. As the numbers were in French, the students thus "learned by the numbers" (personal communication with Henry Plee, October 8, 1995). Kawaishi's inspiration was probably American self-defense instruction, as by 1935, New York wrestling instructor Will Bingham had been teaching women "to dispose of a masher with neatness and dispatch [using] grip No. 7 followed by hold No. 9" for at least twenty years (*New York World,* January 30, 1916, *Sunday Magazine,* 3).

1940 The Hon Hsing Athletic Club is established in Vancouver, British Columbia, and its *quanfa* (fist law) classes are (probably) the first organized Chinese martial art classes in Canada. There were, however, no non-Chinese students allowed until the 1960s. "It used to be that the Chinese instructors wouldn't teach Westerners," Raymond Leung told Ramona Mar in 1986. "But it's wrong to think that if we teach them, they'll use it to beat us. With every new student, I think we make one new friend" (Yee 1988, 148).

1940 In Montreal, 19-year-old Joe Weider publishes the first issue of *Your Physique,* the first magazine to seriously tout bodybuilding. In 1947 Weider started the International Federation of Body Builders. The chief difference between bodybuilding and weight lifting is that the former is semierotic muscular theater while the latter is nationalistic athletic competition.

1941 Bob Hoffman of York Barbell introduces the idea of women's weight lifting and bodybuilding to the United States.

1942 The Japanese replace the Dutch colonial government of Indone-

	sia with an Islamic nationalist government, whose leaders of the new government include Achmed Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta; with Japanese approval, these Indonesian nationalists then use the dancelike Indonesian martial art of *silat* as a method for uniting ethnically, culturally, and religiously diverse peoples.
About 1944	In Pernambuco, Brazil, Paulino Aloisio Andrade teaches a stick-fighting game called *maculêlê* to a group of local children, and then has the children participate in various regional festivals and folklore shows. Machetes were later added to the act for the sparks that flew when the players' blades hit.
1947	Soviet leader Joseph Stalin decides that the Soviets should participate in the Olympics, thus making the games a battleground in the Cold War. Stalin wanted his athletes to enter the 1948 Olympics, but could not be guaranteed a large number of gold medals. Since the Soviets had virtually no athletic facilities, coaches started having players swim during the summer, run in the spring and fall, and do cross-country skiing in the winter. In other words, they invented cross-training.
1947	A Japanese named Doshin So incorporates his martial art school as a Kongô Zen Buddhist religious order. So said that he taught martial arts mostly as a way of attracting young people to Buddhism, and that it was the Buddhism, not the martial arts, that would make them better people.
1947	A Shôtôkan karate club known as the Oh Do Kwan is established at a Korean army signals school at Yong Dae Ri. The original instructor was a signal officer named Nam Tae Hi. In 1955, during a demonstration for the South Korean President Rhee Seung Man, Nam broke thirteen roofing tiles with a single blow. This so impressed Rhee that he told Colonel Choi Hong Hi, who was Nam's commander and an honorary fourth *dan* (fourth degree black belt), to start a training program for the entire Korean military. As Nam always insisted that trainees shout "Tae Kwon!" (Fists and Feet), his karate style soon became known as taekwondo (the way of fists and feet).
1947	The Ikatan Penchak Silat Indonesia (Indonesian Pentjak Silat Association) is established in Jakarta. Although its leaders said that the association was meant to encourage the development of the Indonesian martial arts, it was actually used to further the spread of militant Islamic (and anti-Dutch) nationalism.
1949	Feng Wenpin, president of the All-China Athletic Federation, describes the purpose of Communist Chinese physical education as developing sports for health, nationalism, and national defense; to accomplish this with a minimum of time, space, or equipment, workers are encouraged to practice martial art practice forms.
1950	The U.S. Air Force introduces Japanese martial arts into its physical training programs; this in turn introduces them to middle America.
1952	Although Mao Zedong's motto was "Keep fit, study well, work well," the chairman also believed that secret societies, like capitalism and ancient religions, undermined the race and retarded

1952 *cont.*	progress. Therefore the China Wushu Association was created, under the aegis of the All-China Athletic Federation, and tasked with removing all "feudal comprador fascist thought" from the Chinese martial arts.
1953	Arvo Ojala introduces metal-lined, forward-raked pistol holsters to Hollywood; Ojala's rigs appear in most subsequent cinematic gunfights and contribute to the establishment of quick-draw pistol competitions in 1956.
1953	Tôhei Kôichi introduces aikidô to Hawaii; on Maui, a policeman named Shunichi Suzuki helps him arrange demonstrations, and due to Tôhei's good work (and returning to Hawaii during 1955–1956 and 1957–1958), aikidô soon becomes popular with U.S. policemen.
1959	With the publication of *Goldfinger,* British novelist Ian Fleming introduces European and North American readers to karate.
1959	Bruce Lee starts teaching *yongchun (wing chun)* in the covered parking lot of a Blue Cross clinic in Seattle, Washington.
1961	After a woman named Rusty Glickman defeats a male opponent during an Amateur Athletic Union (AAU)–sanctioned jûdô meet in New York City, the AAU bans women from participating in jûdô tournaments. (The reason was not that the male-dominated AAU leadership believed that women *couldn't* wrestle, but that women *shouldn't* wrestle.) Under pressure from women's groups (including one led by the by-then Rusty Glickman Kanokogi) the AAU finally relented in 1971 and allowed women to compete against women using special "women's rules." The women kept pushing for equality, and women were allowed to compete using standard rules in 1973.
1963	The massive muscle bulk of the Soviet national jûdô team causes the French national jûdô team to start demanding weight divisions.
1964	Angel Cabales of Stockton, California, opens the first commercial school to teach Filipino martial arts to non-Filipinos.
1966	History students at the University of California–Berkeley establish the Society for Creative Anachronism, or SCA. The original purpose of the SCA was to re-create life in medieval times. Many members liked sword-and-buckler play. Early weapons and armor were crude and tended to build a high tolerance for pain.
1966	Bruce Lee appears on a short-lived American television series called *The Green Hornet*. Because some influential producers refused to believe that North American audiences would ever like an Asian hero, Lee could not get starring roles. Outraged, he returned to Hong Kong, where he met Raymond Chow of Golden Harvest, who was starting to use hand-to-hand fights in his action films instead of swordplay. The result was a series of low-budget chop-socky flicks, including *The Big Boss* and *Way of the Dragon*. Even though the fighting shown in these movies was more spectacular than practical, the scripts' antiauthoritarian themes appealed to working-class audiences everywhere, and the result was incredible box-office success.
1970	While watching full-contact karate star Joe Lewis defeat a San

Jose kenpô stylist called Black Militant Ohm, a ringside announcer invents the term *kickboxing*.

1974 Mike Anderson, a taekwondo instructor from Texas, introduces brightly colored uniforms to North American tournament karate, so as to add visual excitement to the sport; previously karate uniforms were black, white, or a combination of black and white.

1980 Stephen Hayes introduces the *Tôgakure-ryû Ninjutsu* of Hatsumi Masaaki into the United States. While Tôgakure-ryû is a relatively mainstream Japanese martial art, its popularity in the United States is owed mainly to the unrelated (but nearly simultaneous) publication of *The Ninja,* a novel by fantasy writer Eric van Lustbader that portrays the ninja as bulletproof, black-clad sadists.

1981 Due to the commercial success of chop-socky movies, the People's Republic of China repairs the damage to the exterior of the Shaolin Temple at Changzhou and replaces its four aged monks with dozens of politically reliable martial art teachers. From a commercial standpoint, the move was wildly successful, and by 1996, there were nearly 10,000 Chinese and foreign students attending *wushu* academies in the Shaolin valley (Smith 1996, A1, A16).

1981 Park Jung Tae, a senior instructor of the International Taekwondo Federation living in Canada, introduces taekwondo into North Korea. The South Korean government is outraged.

1986 In Tokyo, the Ministry of Education proposes allowing kendô and jûdô to be termed *budô* (native Japanese techniques that constitute martial ways) rather than *kakugi* (combative technique).

1991 In California and New York, "karate aerobics" and "executive boxing" become the rage among working women looking for a new form of aerobic exercise.

1993 New York music promoter Robert Meyrowitz organizes a pay-per-view Ultimate Fighting Championship™ (UFC) in which competitors are free to punch, kick, or wrestle their opponents. At first, most participants were trained in styles that emphasized either striking (e.g., punching or kicking) or grappling but not both, and during such contests, Gracie Jiu-jitsu, which emphasized groundwork, proved most successful. Then both strikers and grapplers began cross-training, and within a few years champions had to be competent at both striking and grappling.

Joseph R. Svinth

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