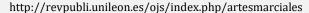


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Shin-gi-tai as a guiding principle in Kodokan judo. Yet, another example of historical reinvention?

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Abstract

Judo national governing bodies in recent years through slogans, posters, cartoons, and web site information have attempted to reignite their members' appreciation for a judo morality constructed on Japanese bushido. Similarly, several judo federations actively promote 'shin-gi-tai' (mind-technique-body) as a guiding principle for rank promotions and conduct allegedly in association with Kano Igoro's philosophy. Using translation, critical and heuristic analysis of relevant original historical Japanese sources, it is the purpose of this paper to investigate the origin, etymology and justification of shin-gi-tai as a pre-existing principle in Kodokan judo. Our results show that shin-gi-tai was first used in iudo by Michigami Haku while teaching in Shanghai in the 1940s. After his arrival in France in 1953, the concept was introduced and distributed within the Western judo world. However, Michigami was not the original author. It was on the island of Kyushu, from where Michigami hailed, that the term shin-qi-tai appears to have been first used in the Heiho shingitai oboegaki (Memorandum on military arts and mind-technique-body), a text authored by Toyoda Masanaga, an 18th century Niten ichi-ryu heiho swordsman influenced by Miyamoto Musashi. A similar term, shinkitai, later entered sumo through the Yoshida family, also active in Kyushu, who became responsible for the administration of sumo in the late Meiji period. Michigami as a young man had practiced both kendo and sumo. There is no link between Kano Jigoro and shin-gi-tai. While it is acceptable to use shin-gi-tai or any other legitimate meme in coaching athletes, asserting that it represents a fundamental principle that guides rank promotions and ethics in judo is nothing but historical reinvention that lacks any basis.

Keywords: Martial arts; combat sports; judo; sport history; ethics; bushido; Haku Michigami; Jigoro Kano; Kito-ryu; Kodokan.

Contributions: D.B. Waterhouse (ABCEFGHJK), Carl De Crée (ABCEFGHJKLMN). Codes according to CRediT (Contributor Roles Taxonomy): (A) Conceptualization. (B) Data curation. (C) Formal Analysis. (D) Funding acquisition. (E) Investigation. (F) Methodology. (G) Project administration. (H) Resources. (I) Software. (J) Supervision. (K) Validation. (L) Visualization. (M) Writing – original draft. (N) Writing – review & editing.

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[†] Prior to submission of this paper, the authors liaised with the editors of this journal, and carefully considered the Authorship criteria set forth by *Revista de Artes Marciales Asiáticas* and by The International Committee of Medical Journal Editors (Vancouver Rules) in arriving at the decision to respect David B. Waterhouse's position as the lead author of this paper, despite David having passed away before approval of the final manuscript that includes editorial revisions. Our decision was based on Professor Waterhouse having made a significant contribution to the conception of this paper, and having initiated, planned, and played a central role in the project by designing, analyzing and interpreting the data he collected, and by participating in drafting the article and in reviewing and/or revising it for intellectual content. David Waterhouse, however, could not approve of the post-submission revisions asked for, because of the impossibility of giving a postmortem approval. It is, however, considered permissible to include as author a deceased contributor not available to approve the final published version, if there is good reason to believe that the deceased would in fact have approved. Such inclusion becomes more reasonable the longer one has come in the process of finalizing the work and if no drastic changes with regard to the main messages of the work is made after the time of death, and if the decision with great likelihood reflects the views and attitudes of the deceased. We strongly believe that in this case all Authorship criteria were met.

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Shin-gi-tai como principio rector del judo Kodokan. ¿Otro ejemplo más de reinvención histórica?

Resumen

Los órganos nacionales rectores del judo han intentado en los últimos años, a través de eslóganes, carteles, dibujos animados e informaciones en páginas web, reavivar entre sus miembros el aprecio por la moral judo, construida sobre el bushido japonés. Asimismo, algunas federaciones de judo promueven de forma activa el "shin-gi-tai" (mentetécnica-cuerpo) como principio guía para los ascensos de grado y la conducta del practicante, supuestamente en asociación con la filosofía de Kano Jigoro. Utilizando la traducción, el análisis crítico y heurístico de fuentes japonesas históricas, originales y relevantes, este trabajo tiene el propósito de investigar el origen, la etimología y la justificación del shin-gi-tai como principio preexistente en el judo Kodokan. Los resultados muestran que el shin-gitai fue utilizado por primera vez en el judo por Michigami Haku mientras enseñaba en Shanghái en la década de 1940. Tras su llegada a Francia en 1953, el concepto fue introducido y difundido en el judo occidental. Sin embargo, Michigami no fue el autor original. Fue en la isla de Kyushu, de donde procedía Michigami, donde el término shin-gi-tai parece haber sido utilizado por primera vez en el Heiho shingitai oboegaki (Memorándum sobre las artes militares y la mente-técnica-cuerpo), un texto cuyo autor fue Toyoda Masanaga, un espadachín heiho de la Niten ichi-ryu del siglo XVIII influenciado por Miyamoto Musashi. Un término similar, shinkitai, entró más tarde en el sumo a través de la familia Yoshida, también activa en Kyushu, que se hizo responsable de la administración del sumo a finales del periodo Meiji. Michigami, de joven, había practicado tanto el kendo como el sumo. No existe ningún vínculo entre Kano Jigoro y el *shin-gi-tai*. Si bien es aceptable usar el término o cualquier otro meme legítimo en el entrenamiento de atletas, afirmar que representa un principio fundamental que guía los ascensos de rango y la ética en el judo no es más que una reinvención histórica que carece de toda base.

Palabras clave: Artes marciales; deportes de combate; judo; historia del deporte; ética; bushido; Haku Michigami; Jigoro Kano; Kito-ryu; Kodokan.

Shin-gi-tai como um princípio orientador em Kodokan judo. Mais um exemplo de reinvenção histórica?

Resumo

Os órgãos governamentais nacionais de judo nos últimos anos, por meio de slogans, pôsteres, desenhos animados e informações de sites, tentaram reacender a apreciação de seus membros por uma moralidade judo construída no bushido japonês. Do mesmo modo, várias federações de judo promovem ativamente o "shin-gi-tai" (mentetécnica-corpo) como princípio orientador das promoções de categoria e da conduta, alegadamente em associação com a filosofia de Kano Jigoro. Utilizando a tradução, a análise crítica e heurística de fontes históricas japonesas originais relevantes, o objetivo deste artigo é investigar a origem, a etimologia e a justificação do shin-gi-tai como um princípio pré-existente em Kodokan judo. Os nossos resultados mostram que o shin-gi-tai foi usado pela primeira vez no judo por Michigami Haku enquanto ensinava em Xangai na década de 1940. Após a sua chegada a França em 1953, o conceito foi introduzido e distribuído no judo ocidental. No entanto, Michigami não foi o autor original. Foi na ilha de Kyushu, de onde Michigami era originário, que o termo shin-gi-tai parece ter sido usado pela primeira vez no Heiho shingitai oboegaki (Memorando sobre artes militares e mentetécnica-corpo), um texto da autoria de Toyoda Masanaga, um espadachim heiho de Niten ichi-ryu do século XVIII influenciado por Miyamoto Musashi. Um termo semelhante, shinkitai, entrou mais tarde no sumo através da família Yoshida, também ativa em Kyushu, que se tornou responsável pela administração do sumo no final do período Meiji. Michigami, quando jovem, praticou tanto kendo quanto sumo. Não existe qualquer ligação entre o Kano Jigoro e o shin-gi-tai. Embora seja aceitável utilizar o shin-gi-tai ou qualquer outro meme legítimo no treino de atletas, afirmar que representa um princípio fundamental que orienta as promoções de categoria e a ética no judo não passa de uma reinvenção histórica sem qualquer fundamento.

Palavras-chave: Artes marciais; desportos de combate; judo; história do desporto; ética; bushido; Haku Michigami; Jigoro Kano; Kito-ryu; Kodokan.

1. Introduction¹

 $Gendai\ bud\bar{o}\$ 現代武道 (modern Japanese martial arts) is a term that applies to both unarmed and armed Japanese combat systems that were founded during or after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. $Nihonden\ K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\ j\bar{u}d\bar{o}\$ 日本伝講道館柔道, more commonly, simply referred to as $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}\$ 柔道 (The way of yielding), $karated\bar{o}\$ 空手道 (The way of the empty hand), $aikid\bar{o}\$ 合氣道 (The way of harmony with the mind), $kend\bar{o}\$ 剣道 (the way of the sword), $iaid\bar{o}\$ 居合道 (litt.: The way of mental presence and immediate reaction, but generally translated as 'the way of drawing the sword'), and $ky\bar{u}d\bar{o}\$ 弓道 (The way of the bow), are all examples of $gendai\ bud\bar{o}$. These combat systems of Japanese origin are characterized by a high degree of ritualization and conformity to Japanese cultural and aesthetic norms. To achieve this, their practical self-defense techniques are taught embedded within a discipline-specific pedagogical philosophy that draws from Buddhism, Confucianism, Neo-Confucianism, Shintōism, Taoism, Zen Buddhism, or a combination thereof. Rather than submitting students to lengthy

 $^{^1}$ Japanese names in this paper are listed by family name first and given name second, as common in traditional Japanese usage and to maintain consistency with the order of names of Japanese historic figures. Also, for absolute rigor, long Japanese vowel sounds have been approximated using macrons (e.g. $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$) in order to indicate their Japanese pronunciation as closely as possible. However, when referring to or quoting from Western literature, the relevant text or author is cited exactly as per the original source, with macrons used or omitted accordingly.



philosophical lectures, the founder and other prominent martial arts teachers typically summarize key theoretical concepts of their discipline in easy-to-remember catchphrases, often referred to as 'maxims', which students become familiar with during their training.

A maxim can be defined as a moral rule or principle, often pedagogical in nature, that is dependent on an underlying philosophy and that motivates specific actions. Maxims often carry deontological implications. In Kantian ethics, for example, the Categorical Imperative serves as a test of maxims to determine whether the actions they prescribe are right, wrong, or justifiable. Maxims are an important source of inspiration for the practice and aesthetic expression of $shod\bar{o}$ 書道 (the way of Japanese calligraphy) and $sh\bar{u}f\check{a}$ 書法 (the method of Chinese calligraphy), which in Japanese and Chinese culture represent some of the most celebrated and revered forms of artistic expression. A notable characteristic of ancient Chinese and Japanese culture is the existence of a symbiosis between military and literary arts. The roots of this mutualism extend back to the Chinese Han 漢 Dynasty (202 BC-9 AD and 25-220 AD). The $Sh\check{i}ji$ 史記 (Records of the Grand historian) (ca. 109-91 BC) contains the quote (in Japanese translation): 「文事ある者は必ず武備あり」 (Transl.: Those who are skilled in literature are always equipped with military skills). This principle later evolved to the famous Japanese phrase Grand Gra

It is, hence, no surprise that Japanese martial arts $d\bar{o}i\bar{o}$ typically are decorated with kakejiku掛軸 (hanging scrolls) featuring carefully calligraphed maxims that are considered relevant to military success or self-improvement. Those Japanese dōjō dedicated to jūdō most commonly exhibit kakejiku that depict the two famous maxims coined by jūdo's founder, Kanō Jigorō 嘉納治五郎 (1860-1938): Seiryoku zen'yō 精力善用 (Efficient use of energy) and Jita kyō-ei 自他共栄 (Mutual prosperity). However, there are other, at least outside of Japan, lesser known maxims in jūdō, such as, for example, Kyōiku no koto tenka (ni) kore yori inaru wa nashi, hitori (no) tokkyō hiroku (ni) kuwawari mannin, issei (no) kaiku, tōku (ni) oyobu hyakusei 教育之事天下莫偉焉、一人徳教廣加萬人、一世化育遠及百世² (Transl.: There is nothing greater than education in the world. The moral education of one person can be passed on to thousands of people. The education of one generation can be passed on to hundreds of generations), equally due to Kanō Jigorō, or, Ōmyō zai ren shin 奥妙在練心 (Transl.: Profound skills lie in training the heart), due to Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), the legendary jūdō 10th dan holder. Another maxim, frequently associated with Kōdōkan jūdō, and that, particularly in Europe, appears to have gained certain popularity, is: 'shin-gi-tai' 心·技·体 (mind-technique-body). Despite this concept's frequent appearance in popular $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ books and on websites, the origin of shin-gi-tai and the justification of the references often made to this concept within $i\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ circles, have not previously been seriously researched.

A 2013 missive from Judo Canada, Canada's national governing body (NGB) for $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, which made reference to 'shin-gi-tai', triggered Professor Emeritus David B. Waterhouse to start investigating the history of this concept. In doing so, he regularly liaised with me and we debated the outcomes of our investigations and results over a period of approximately two years, whilst we also continued working on other research topics about which we shared an interest. Unfortunately, David fell ill and passed away in November 2017 (De Crée, 2018). Therefore, it was left up to his co-author to complete the final version of this manuscript.

It is the purpose of this paper to investigate the origin, etymology and justification of *shin-gitai* as a supposedly pre-existing principle and concept in $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\ j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. Our research hypothesis, based on how the concept of *shin-gi-tai* typically is presented in popular $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ books and $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ NGB websites or documents, is that *shin-gi-tai*, similarly to *Seiryoku zen'yō* and *Jita kyō-ei*, is a learning maxim of $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\ j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ once introduced or made reference to by its founder, Kanō Jigorō.

2. Research methodology

Rather than applying a merely anthropological framework we have chosen to apply a more holistic strategy that will approach our research question from a philological and historical angle

² In contemporary kanji: 「教育之事天下莫偉焉、一人徳教広加万人、一世化育遠及百世」

because of this method's effectiveness in maintaining academic rigor. While not ignoring the cultural-anthropological dimensions, our focus was to offer a critical-analytical assessment of the data we uncover and not step into the trap of so many published papers that deal with $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ history but that fail to rise above a merely descriptive approach. In brief, key aspects of our methodology are:

- Translation, critical and heuristic analysis of original historical Japanese primary sources;
- Critical analysis of relevant *Meiji-, Taishō-* and early *Shōwa-*era comments, notes, explanations and other literature and of rare historic drawings, pictures and film footage;
- Research visits to consult and discuss with leading Japanese researchers and senior Japanese *Kōdōkan jūdō* experts in order to evaluate conclusions and elicit comments that assist in further critical analysis.

To achieve our purpose, the authors had unlimited access to their respective vast personal private libraries, which have been carefully composed over decades. After his passing, the library of professor emeritus David Waterhouse was gifted to the University of Toronto. Specialized reference works that were consulted as part of this study, in particular, were: the Bugei Ryūha Daijiten 武芸流派 大事典 (Large Encyclopedia of Martial Arts), Gendai Jūdō Jinbutsu Sōsho 現代柔道人物叢書 (Contemporary Jūdō Personalities Book Series), Jūdō Daijiten 柔道大事典 (Encyclopedic jūdō dictionary), Sekai jūdō shi 世 界本柔道史 (World history of jūdō) (Maruyama, 1967), Kanō Jigorō Taikei 嘉納治五郎大系 (Kanō Jigorō Compendium), Morohashi Tetsuji's Dai Kan-Wa Jiten 大漢和辞典 (The Great Chinese–Japanese Dictionary) (Morohashi, 1983), Nihon Budō Taikei (日本武道大系) (Compendium of Japanese martial), amongst others. In addition, relevant Japanese language magazines (hard copies) were scrutinized, including the official Kōdōkan magazines Jūdō (and later designations, such as Kokushi 国士 (The patriot) and Yūkō-no-Katsudō 有効の活動 (The efficiency of movement)), Sakkō 作興, and other relevant Japanese būdō magazines, such as Hiden Budō & Bujutsu Magazine, and Kindai Jūdō 近代柔道 (Modern jūdō). In addition, we used our own proprietary digitized archives of Japanese and international scholarly texts, letters, notes and rare manuscripts.

This paper is organized as follows. After defining shin-gi-tai, we elaborate on the context in which the shin-gi-tai maxim is typically applied. Considering that shin-gi-tai is propagated as a practice maxim with moral dimension, we then explore the moral component of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. In doing so, we contrast morality as an integral part of $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\ j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, i.e., a form of pedagogy as originally intended by Kanō Jigorō, with an analysis of the evolution, veracity and authenticity of moral values as depicted in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ as a contemporary combat sport, and $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ governing bodies' motives to propagate such values. We then describe the discrepancies we found and how these prompted us for further etymological and linguistic research. After unraveling the historical roots of shin-gi-tai, we are then in a position to address our research questions, and narrow down how and when the term might have entered $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, and who was responsible for it. In doing so, we devote ample attention to Michigami Haku's own words as expressed in primary sources, and further examine whether there exists any link with $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$'s founder, Kanō Jigorō, and whether this principle represents an authentic maxim of $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\ j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. We end with providing potential avenues for further research on this topic.

3. Definitions of shin-gi-tai

However, what is *shin-gi-tai* actually? According to an anonymous article published in the December 2020 *La Gazette de l'Académie Française de Judo*, the magazine issued by the prestigious sub-organization within the French Judo Federation (FFJDA) that brings together French $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ academics and technical experts:

Un concept qui n'est pas réservé uniquement aux arts martiaux. En effet l'esprit « shin », la technique «GI » et le corps «TAI » peuvent s'appliquer à tout être humain pour vivre en société.

Le «SHIN», c'est l'état d'esprit que je développe au regard de mes contemporains. Le SHIN c'est le reflet de la mentalité que j'ai développée, par l'éducation et les règles qui m'ont guidées.

Le SHIN c'est aussi la personnalité que je me suis donnée avec des principes de vie, comme l'éthique, la morale, la franchise, la loyauté, l'honnêteté etc.

Le SHIN c'est le respect de l'autre, de nos institutions, de nos valeurs « du vivre ensemble ». Un homme éduqué, honnête, est un homme qui contribuera à la prospérité de son pays.

Le SHIN est une voie qu'il convient d'étudier, afin de mieux comprendre que l'essentiel n'est pas dans la victoire, mais dans la manière dont j'ai préparé cette victoire. Comprendre que la seule victoire qui compte, c'est celle que l'on remporte sur soi-même. Plus le chemin est court et moins l'expérience est grande.

SHIN est la clé de voute de notre édifice. Sans le SHIN, le judo est vide de raison, de sens et de matière. Le judo deviendrait un exercice physique sans profondeur, sans âme.

Le «GI», pour le judoka, c'est la technique qu'il va étudier tout au long de sa vie. Il découvrira les principes que KANO Jigoro a défini selon trois maximes essentielles :

1.La meilleure utilisation de l'énergie pour un résultat maximum,

2.Entraide et prospérité mutuelle. Seul, on peut aller loin. À plusieurs on peut soulever des montagnes,

3.JU-NO-RI le principe de l'adaptation. Céder pour mieux vaincre, l'essentiel est là pour progresser sur le chemin de la connaissance.

Dans la vie de tous les jours, judoka ou non, nous pouvons transposer l'étude de la technique par la réflexion de tous nos actes, selon les principes de KANO.

Comment, devant une situation quel qu'elle soit, prendre la meilleure décision afin d'optimiser mon action?

En réfléchissant et agissant avec les principes de KANO, ont utilisent le SHIN et le GI.

Le judo est une philosophie en mouvement. Il faut agir selon SHIN-GI-TAI. Le judo est une voie qui nous enseigne que posséder est une valeur intrinsèque et que redonner et partager sont des valeurs universelles.

Le SHIN guide nos pensées, le GI nos moyens et le TAI nos actions.

Le «TAI », est le ciment de nos actions. La pratique du judo amène à en comprendre ses principes. Un homme entrainé doit être un modèle et, ou, un élément moteur d'un système au service du plus grand nombre. Être utile à sa famille, à son pays, à l'humanité.

A chaque étape de la vie le TAI évolue. Il est au service de la voie par laquelle le judoka étudie le meilleur chemin à prendre pour arriver au but fixé. Le TAI demande de la rigueur, de l'assiduité dans l'entrainement quotidien. Se forger un corps, c'est forger un outil pour étudier dans les meilleures conditions possibles, le judo.

Le TAI reste un moyen et non pas l'élément primordial. Certes, pour celui qui se consacre à la compétition, le TAI est un paramètre indiscutable, sans pour cela qu'il devienne l'ultime chemin balisé pour la victoire. La haute compétition demande un investissement qui n'est réservé qu'à quelques-uns. Gagner un titre est la motivation et l'engagement de nos judoka.

Cette période de la vie met en avant le GI et TAI. Ne pas se soucier du SHIN serait une erreur fondamentale, car c'est bien lui qui donne du sens à l'action, aux épreuves et finalement il est le seul à répondre à nos interrogations, à nos doutes, à nos peurs. Douter et s'interroger font partie intégrante des paramètres qui construisent un judoka.

L'esprit judo est un modèle de société ou chaque femme et homme sont utiles, ou chacun doit trouver l'harmonie et l'équilibre nécessaires à une vie bien remplie. (...) (Anonymous, 2020, p. 5)

Transl.: A concept that is not reserved only for martial arts. Indeed the 'shin' spirit, the 'gi' technique and the 'tai' body can be applied to any human being to live in society.

'Shin' is the state of mind that I develop with regard to my contemporaries. Shin is the reflection of the mentality that I have developed, through education and the rules that have guided me. Shin is also the personality that I have given myself with principles of life, such as ethics, morality, frankness, loyalty, honesty etc. Shin is respect for others, our institutions, our values of 'living together'. An educated, honest man is a man who will contribute to the prosperity of his country. Shin is a path that should be studied, in order to better understand that the essential is not in victory, but in the way in which I prepared for this victory. Understand that the only victory that counts is the one you win over yourself. The shorter the path, the less experience you have. Shin is the keystone of our building. Without shin, jūdō is empty of reason, meaning and substance. $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ would become a physical exercise without depth, without soul.

The 'gi', for the $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$, is the technique that he will study throughout his life. He will discover the principles that Kanō Jigorō defined according to three essential maxims:

1. The best use of energy for maximum results,



2. Mutual aid and prosperity. Alone, you can go far. Together, you can move mountains,

 $3.J\bar{u}$ -no-ri³ the principle of adaptation. Giving in to better conquer, the essential is there to progress on the path of knowledge.

In everyday life, $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$ or not, we can transpose the study of technique by reflecting on all our actions, according to the principles of Kanō.

How, in any situation, can I make the best decision to optimize my action? By thinking and acting with the principles of Kanō, we use shin and gi. $I\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is a philosophy in motion. We must act according to shinqi-tai. $I\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is a path that teaches us that possessing is an intrinsic value and that giving back and sharing are universal values. *Shin* guides our thoughts, *gi* our means and *tai* our actions.

'Tai' is the cement of our actions. The practice of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ leads to understanding its principles. A trained man must be a model and, or, a driving force of a system serving the greatest number. Be useful to his family, his country, humanity. At each stage of life, tai evolves. It serves the path by which the $i\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$ studies the best path to take to reach the set goal. Tai requires rigor, assiduity in daily training. Building a body is building a tool to study $i\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ in the best possible conditions. Tai remains a means and not the primary element. Certainly, for those who devote themselves to competition, tai is an indisputable parameter, without it becoming the ultimate marked path to victory. High competition requires an investment that is reserved for only a few. Winning a title is the motivation and commitment of our jūdōka.

This period of life highlights *qi* and *tai*. Not worrying about *shin* would be a fundamental error, because it is the one that gives meaning to action, to trials and ultimately it is the only one to answer our questions, our doubts, our fears. Doubting and questioning are an integral part of the parameters that build a $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$. The $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ spirit is a model of society where every woman and man is useful, where everyone must find the harmony and balance necessary for a fulfilling life.

The article in the Gazette de l'Académie Française unfortunately does not mention any reference for the origin of the statements and claims it contains.

4. Context of application of the *shin-gi-tai* maxim

Upon starting to research 'shin-qi-tai', it became quickly clear that the origin of this concept in relation to $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ was highly suspect. For example, the earliest Japanese $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ instructors teaching in Europe, such as Sasaki Kichisaburō 佐々木吉三郎 (1872-1924), who taught in Budapest in 1907, or Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治 (1885-1965), 8th dan, who taught at the London Budokwai 武道会 (Way of the Knighthood Society) since 1918, or Ishiguro Keishichi 石黒敬七 (1897-1974), 8th dan, who in the 1920s traveled to France, Romania, Egypt and many other countries, do not anywhere in their published jūdō learning texts make any reference to shin-qi-tai (Sasaki, 1907, Koizumi, 1960). In fact, we were unable to locate any historical trace of *shin-gi-tai* in relation to *Kōdōkan jūdō* before the midst of the 1950s in any Western language, except for French.

Indeed so, in 1957, Jean-Luc Jazarin, president of the College des Ceintures Noires de Judo et de Jiu-Jitsu (French Jūdō and Jūjutsu Black Belt Association) evoked the shin-gi-tai concept while making the following statement:

Le dan ne peut être scindé, ni dissocié, sinon ce n'est plus un dan. (...) La valeur traditionnelle des grades est hiérarchique et irreversible. Shin-ghi-taï représente un humanisme viril ..." (...) (Brousse, 2024, p. 22-23)

Transl.: The dan cannot be split or dissociated, otherwise it is no longer a dan. (...) The traditional value of grades is hierarchical and irreversible. *Shin-gi-tai* represents a virile humanism.

Brousse, in a 69-page-long report in which he dissects the evolution, politics and concerns that underpin and have underpinned the rank promotion process within the French Judo Federation (FFIDA) elaborates on the historical connection between *shin-gi-tai* and *jūdō* in France:

Au moment de la rédaction de ce rapport, les textes officiels fédéraux définissent le grade de la manière suivante:

³ 柔の理 (Principle of giving way and adaptability). See also: https://www.ijf.org/news/show/ju-no-ri-the-universalprinciple-of-adaptability



- Le grade de Judo-jujitsu et disciplines associées symbolise les valeurs de l'esprit et du corps : shin-ghitai (esprit, technique, efficacité).
- La partie sportive 'TAÏ' est une condition absolument indispensable en particulier du premier au quatrième dan inclus mais qui ne se suffit pas à elle-même : d'autres valeurs essentielles doivent toujours entrer en ligne
- L'expérience par la pratique rend le TAI moins efficient. Le GHI est une valeur qui s'acquiert de différentes façons et sur le long terme. Le SHIN est la valeur fondatrice des deux autres." (...) (Brousse, 2024, p. 23-24)

Transl.: At the time of writing this report, the official federal texts define the rank as follows:

- The ranks in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ - $j\bar{u}jutsu$ and associated disciplines symbolize the values of the mind and body: *shin-ghi-tai* (spirit, technique, efficiency).
- The sporting part 'tai' is an absolutely essential condition, especially from the first to the fourth dan inclusive but it is not sufficient in itself: other essential values must always come into play.
- Experience through practice makes *tai* less efficient. *Gi* is a value that is acquired in different ways and over the long term. *Shin* is the founding value of the other two.

Hence, it does appear that the concept of shin-gi-tai, whatever its origin, by the French, as far as $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is concerned, is especially brought in connection with black belt rank promotions. Coincidence or not, it is in the same context that shin-gi-tai also made its appearance in more recent times in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ NGBs in many other Western countries, such as, for example, Judo Canada, where it shows up in this NGB's National Grading Syllabus (June, 2013). Similarly, *Judo Vlaanderen* (Judo Flanders, the regional member federation of the Belgian Judo Federation, now called Judo Belgium) on its website writes: "Om zwarte gordel te worden, moet men rekening houden met shin-gi-tai, de geest, de techniek en de fysiek." (...) (Buysens, 2021) (Transl.: To become a black belt one must consider shin-gi-tai, the spirit, the technique and the physique.)

A majority of these NGB's then take it a step further, when they attempt –without proof– to associate this *shin-gi-tai* concept either directly or indirectly with Kanō Jigorō or $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\ j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$'s maxims *sei-ryoku zen'y*ō and *ji-ta kyō-ei*, in an apparent effort to justify both the existence and adherence to the concept of *shin-gi-tai* in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. For example, Judo Canada's National Grading Syllabus opines that "Grades in judo are attributed with regard to elaborate principles by Master Jigoro Kano, … and as stipulated in the regulations of the International Judo Federation (IJF)" (Judo Canada, 2016, p. 4).

Authoritative Japanese references, either general, such as Morohashi's $Dai\ Kan-Wa\ Jiten$ 大漢和辞典 ($The\ Great\ Chinese-Japanese\ Dictionary$), or specific, such as $Kan\bar{o}\ Jigor\bar{o}\ Taikei$ (Kotani, 1987), make no reference to shin-gi-tai. One looks in vain to find the term shin-gi-tai back in most $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\ j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ textbooks. However, despite its absence in the authoritative $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}\ Daijiten\$ 柔道大事典 (Kanō et al., 1999), there does appear to be an entry for 'shin-gi-tai' in its more vulgarized version, i.e., the $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\ New\ Japanese-English\ Dictionary\ of\ Judo$, that reads as follows: "Shin Gi Tai (mind-skill-body). An expression suggesting a high-level unification of mind and spirit, technique and skill and the physical body, said to be one of the goals of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ and of Japanese $bud\bar{o}$ in general" (...) (Kawamura & Daigo, 2000, p. 117). This reference does, however, not link shin-gi-tai in any way to $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ rank, and the website of the International Judo Federation (IJF), for example, under "Grading System", 4 speaks about grades only in the most general terms. Kanō himself awarded a shodan grade for the first time in 1883, and in the 1920s he laid down quite elaborate criteria for dan examinations (Kanō, 1931); but these bear no relation to shin-gi-tai, or indeed to modern grading practices.

When individuals or organizations refer to *shin-gi-tai*, they typically do not really propagate it as a cheer of encouragement, but rather as an emphasis on self-cultivation and a gauge of progression with moral dimension. It is therefore helpful to reflect on the place morality and moral values in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, especially, in order to assess the importance and authenticity of *shin-gi-tai*.

⁴ http://www.intjudo.eu/Etiquette Knowledge/Grading System /Grading System

5. Moral values in jūdō

It is in 1882 that Kanō⁵ created $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ 柔道, an abbreviation for what in full is called *Nihonden Kōdōkan Jūdō* 日本伝講道館柔道, a Japanese form of pedagogy based on traditional Japanese martial arts. Kanō, speaking in an 1889 lecture (Kanō, 1889), and influenced by both Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and the American educator David Murray (1830-1905), alludes to three kinds of education: taiiku 体育 (physical education), chiiku 知育 (intellectual education) and tokuiku 徳育 (moral education). His newly created $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ had (and still has) three components:

- *Jūdō taiiku-hō* 柔道体育法 (Physical Education method)
- Jūdō shōbu-hō 柔道勝負法 (Combat method)
- *Jūdō shūshin-hō* 柔道修身法 (Mind training or morality method)

Modern sport jūdō is his taiiku-hō, as modified by the ethos of competitive sport, and by more recent ideas of physical education and training, shushin-hō was sub-divided by him in ways which today may sound somewhat strange and out-moded, while shōbu-hō looked back to jūjutsu and older battlefield fighting. Much later, and over a period of years, Kanō formulated for jūdō his two mottoes Sei-ryoku saizen katsuyō 精力最善活用 (Maximum efficiency for minimum effort), usually abbreviated to Sei-ryoku zen'yō 精力善用, and Ji-ta yūwa kyō-ei 自他融和共榮 (Mutual prosperity and harmony for oneself and others), usually abbreviated to Ji-ta kyō-ei 自他共栄 (Mutual prosperity), which embody different principles altogether.

From its inception in Western Europe (depending on the country, took place between about 1904 to the 1950) to the immediate post-World War II era, the focus of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ classes was on the self-defense or combat aspect. Especially the international successes of Anton Geesink between 1956-1964 seem to have altered Western audiences' perception of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$'s focus shifting towards becoming a full-fledged competitive sport (Brousse, 2019, 2021; Inoue 1998; Magami, 2002; Niehaus, 2003, 2006; Satō, 2013). Other charismatic Western super-champions, such as Willem Ruska, Jean-Luc Rougé, Ingrid Berghmans, Neil Adams, Karen Briggs, David Douillet, Teddy Riner, Kayla Harrison, and Clarisse Agbegnenou have further cemented this evolution. Authors such as Brousse (2019), Niehaus (2006), and Satō (2013) have reflected elsewhere in detail about the mechanisms behind this evolution.

For Kanō Jigorō, who after all, was a Japanese pedagogue with deep roots in both Confucian moral values and Western pragmatism, the moral aspect has always represented a crucial part of his $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\,j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$.

 $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is not morality but moral education in the broad sense. If we include $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ as subject into the curriculum of our schools throughout the country, it can certainly compensate the weak points of our present educational system, support the character formation of our pupils and strengthen their patriotism. (...)⁷

In comparison to $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$'s contest and self-defense aspects, the moral development has instead received relatively little attention in Western media and approaches to $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ training, except for whenever geopolitics or outright criminal behavior were involved, such as when athletes from Muslim countries have refused to compete with an Israeli athlete, when doping offences were committed, or in cases of sexual abuse of athletes by their coaches, or when the International Judo Federation in 2022 stripped its honorary president, Vladimir Putin, of his status following Russia's invasion of Ukraine. These were all cases where overall sportsmanship and legal standards were

⁷ o.c. Niehaus, 2006, p. 8.



 $^{^5}$ Although indeed established in 1882, it was predominantly through his 1889 lecture held before the *Dai Nippon Kyōikukai* 大日本教育会 (Greater Japan Education Society) that Kanō introduced his $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ to the Japanese public, and by extension to the world.

⁶ David Murray is probably less well known among *jūdōka*, and was an American educator. Originally, a professor of mathematics, natural philosophy and astronomy at Rutgers College in New Jersey, he traveled to and was active in *Meiji* era Japan.

challenged, rather than just $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ -specific Confucianism-infused morality. The lack of attention to $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ $sh\bar{u}shin-h\bar{o}$ 柔道修身法 $(j\bar{u}d\bar{o})$ moral self-cultivation) is no surprise since the transfer of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ skills and knowledge in the West has almost entirely been throughout physical training and randori, with the third $(k\bar{o}gi)$ 講義 or lectures) and fourth pillar $(mond\bar{o})$ 問答 or questions and answers) of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ didactics as established by Kanō, never having taken up a significant role. The one exception to this may be the perhaps occasional pseudo-philosophical reverie about $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ morals in one or another populist martial arts magazine (Inoue, 1998). Alternatively, $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ national governing bodies in recent years through slogans, posters, cartoons, and web site information have attempted to reignite their members' appreciation for a $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ morality constructed on Japanese $bushid\bar{o}$ (Veulemans, 2017), but unfortunately being largely based on little more than fantasy (Brousse, 2021; Inoue, 1998).

In a 2019 paper, Brousse reflected about the dialectical tension between ethics and individualism in the sport of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ during the 21st century and the second half of the 20th century:

Or, à la différence des périodes antérieures, la société du XXIe siècle se caractérise par la montée d'un individualisme qui fait obstacle à une adhésion sans réserve aux valeurs du judo et à son éthique. La compétition a plongé la méthode japonaise dans l'ère de la rationalité. Le sacré a glissé vers le profane. L'imaginaire des vertus de l'Orient est depuis longtemps dévoilé. Le mythe de l'invincibilité de l'art japonais est fortement contesté par d'autres arts martiaux. Alors que le judo d'hier a fait rêver des générations successives, les représentations collectives actuelles se répartissent entre les exploits sportifs de l'élite et les situations d'apprentissage des enfants en judogi. Les figures héroïques, les symboles, les textes fondateurs qui séduisaient tant les premiers pratiquants ont cédé la place aux personnages de bandes dessinées dont on colle les images sur des diplômes en papier. (...) (Brousse, 2019, p. 3)

Transl.: However, unlike previous periods, $21^{\rm st}$ century society is characterized by the rise of an individualism that hinders unreserved adherence to the values of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ and its ethics. Competition has plunged the Japanese method into the era of rationality. The sacred has slipped into the profane. The imaginary of the virtues of the Orient has long been revealed. The myth of the invincibility of Japanese art is strongly contested by other martial arts. While yesterday's $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ has made successive generations dream, current collective representations are divided between the sporting exploits of the elite and the learning situations of children in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}gi$. The heroic figures, the symbols, the founding texts that so seduced the first practitioners, have given way to comic strip characters whose images are stuck on paper diplomas.

That being said, one must admit that $21^{\rm st}$ century $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ also is characterized by a certain renaissance of moral values, in a sense that $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ national (NGBs) and international governing bodies seem to suddenly be catching on, on what they believe, is the moral foundation of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ (Brousse, 2019; Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Veulemans, 2017). Whether this development is truly genuine, is another question, especially given that the moral identity of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ as presented, appears to be noticeably shallow and mainly used for marketing purposes (Brousse, 2019; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983).

Brousse then continues critiquing this development while also exposing the identity and questionable ontology of moral values in Western $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$:

Initié en Provence, mais largement repris, voire plagié, le code moral du jūdō français fait aujourd'hui figure de morale officielle. Adopté, par de nombreuses instances nationales et internationales, le code moral du jūdō n'en est pas moins une tradition réinventée dont le principal fondement historique est une réaction nostalgique à un contexte jugé décadent. (...) (Brousse, 2019, p. 3-4)

Transl.: Initiated in Provence, but widely taken up, even plagiarized, the moral code of French $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is today considered an official moral code. Adopted by many national and international bodies, the moral code of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is nonetheless a reinvented tradition whose main historical foundation is a nostalgic reaction to a context deemed decadent.

Mundialization and sportification have seriously tainted the authenticity and purity of $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\ J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ 講道館柔道, as originally intended by Japanese pedagogue Kanō Jigorō 嘉納治五郎 (1860-1938). Today's $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ has become a travesty of the $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\ j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ as intended by Kanō Jigorō (Inoue, 1998; Satō, 2013). The falsehoods that are vastly permeating modern $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ are, however, not limited to the moral values attributed to it, but have infected $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\ j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ to its very core. This deterioration

is present in today's contest rules where a considerable number of throws are now outlawed (morote-gari, kata-guruma, kuchiki-daoshi, kibisu-gaeshi, etc.) despite substantially presenting not any more danger than any other throw, and where today's focus is entirely on winning medals and championships. This is in stark contrast with Kano's view which emphasized that it is far more important how someone wins than whether someone actually wins a $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ contest or not, and that the emphasis instead should be on personal growth towards realizing jūdo's maxims (Kanō, 1932, 2006). We can observe the same problems in the practice of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ kata where today poorly prepared teachers and delusional kata judges have been effectively deceived to believe that the purpose of kata would be to not deviate from whatever supposedly standardized version prescribed in a videotape or written out in a booklet, instead of focusing on the true intent of *kata*, that is, conveying the *riai* of the kata to the jūdō student, and improving the practitioners' jūdō level (Kanō-sensei Denki Hensankai, 1984; Magami, 2002). To support this, a bizarre elaborate scheme has been created by international and national governing bodies which involves scores being given to 'kata couples', kata champion titles, and even pathways to become a 'kata judge'. Lastly, historical reinvention of tradition by infusing nonexistent $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ values is now also seriously infecting one of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$'s most visible aspects, its rank promotions, and how these rank promotions are managed by the $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ governing bodies.

 $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ governing bodies tend to have an agenda behind inventing and launching such hoaxes, or as Brousse writes: "Ainsi, les valeurs énoncées affichent-elles la volonté implicite d'une éducation à la citoyenneté dans un contexte d'opposition ultra-sécurisée en même temps qu'elles légitiment la fonction et le pouvoir des institutions qui les promeuvent." (...) (Brousse, 2019, p. 4). Transl.: Thus, the values stated, display the implicit desire for an education in citizenship in a context of ultra-secure opposition at the same time as they legitimize the function and power of the institutions that promote them.

The same applies to the supposed moral values of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ in the way they are presented by NGBs and that are largely based on a hoax that has no historical basis and no connection to Kanō Jigorō or his ideas whatsoever. Instead, these strategies are the result of historical reinvention of tradition that has never existed in the first place (Brousse, 2019; Inoue, 1998).

One such concept that NGBs and international $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ governing bodies over the past years have increasingly reverted to, to idolize or justify their policies, is shin-gi-tai, to the extent that it has almost gained the status of being a $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ maxim next to other concepts such as sei-ryoku $zen'y\bar{o}$ and ji-ta $ky\bar{o}$ -ei. Shin-gi-tai has now firmly permeated the modus vivendi of many NGBs and often also is presented as a purported foundation for rank promotion policies.

There can be no doubt that $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$'s rank promotion system, originally thought out by Kanō as an eloquent pedagogical tool of progress and recognition, today is one of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$'s most debated and controversial concepts. Awarding $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ ranks has long become a process that has been ugly infected by discrimination, nepotism, politics, sexism and racism, with each rank-issuing organization making a point of how its own issued ranks are supposedly superior, and non-recognition of others its foremost tool of domination together with *hamon* 破門 (excommunication). Perhaps even more outrageous, is that here too, $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ organizations abundantly use falsehoods and historical reinvention to justify their course. In his report on the rank promotion process within the French Judo Federation, Brousse (2024) pays particular attention to the concept of *shin-gi-tai* that in France has been in use for some time as a passe-partout justification for all kinds of purposes and NGB policies, and that in recent years has been eagerly adopted by foreign and international $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ governing bodies, such as Judo Canada (2016), Flemish Judo Federation (Buysens, 2021), etc.

6. Results of our historical-etymological investigations

Brousse, who conducted a limited investigation into the roots of *shin-gi-tai* in France, concluded that it was imported into France and popularized there by Michigami Haku 道上伯 (1912-2002), *Kōdōkan* 7th *dan*, FFJDA 9th *dan* (Figure 1). Considering Michigami's strong and proud connection with the *Budō Senmongakkō* 武道専門学校 (Vocational Martial Arts School) from which he had graduated in 1938, Brousse speculated that this was where Michigami got the concept of *shin-gitai*.

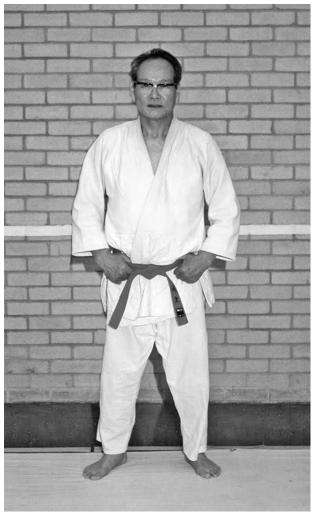
Kano ne fait aucune allusion à la trilogie shin gi tai évoquée par Jean-Lucien Jazarin. Et pour cause, il s'agit d'une analogie proposée initialement par Haku Michigami pour mettre en lumière la complémentarité des éléments qui définissent la maîtrise dans les arts martiaux traditionnels japonais, une conception véhiculée par la Budo Senmon Gakko dont l'expert installé à Bordeaux était diplômé. (...) (Brousse, 2024)

Transl.: Kanō makes no reference to the *shin-gi-tai* trilogy mentioned by Jean-Lucien Jazarin. And for good reason, it is an analogy initially proposed by Michigami Haku to highlight the complementarity of the elements that define mastery in traditional Japanese martial arts, a concept conveyed by the *Budō Senmongakkō*, from which the expert based in Bordeaux was a graduate.

Shin-gi-tai 心技体, literally meaning 'heart-technique-body', is of fairly recent origin, and its application to jūdō is more recent still. It is indeed clear that the invention of this phrase and its introduction into sporting and jūdō circles, especially in France, the West, but also in Japan, were due to Michigami Haku, and largely dates only from the 1950s, after he came to France. His subsequent prestige as the coach of Anton Geesink helped to spread it in Japan, and there are now countless references to it on Japanese web-sites, in connection with sport of all kinds. There is even a 4-star restaurant in both Tōkyō and Hataka (Kyūshū) called 'Shin-gi-tai Wolf' 心・技・体 うるふ.8

In agreement with what Brousse wrote, in France, the concept was widely promoted by Michigami's student Jean-Lucien Jazarin (1900-1982), in two books, Le judo, école de vie (Jūdō, school of life) (Jazarin, 1974) and L'Esprit du judo: entretiens avec mon maître (The spirit of jūdō: conversations with my master) (1968; revised and enlarged edition, 1993), the latter of which has a preface by Michigami. The variant and incorrect romanized spelling 'Shin Ghi Tai', used by Judo Canada in the pre-amble to its National Grading Syllabus since at least 2004, likely was borrowed from Jazarin by Québec members of the National Grading Board, along with other nonsense implying that it supposedly would

Figure 1. Michigami Haku 道上伯 (1912-2002), *Kōdōkan 7th dan*, FFJDA 9th *dan*



originate with Kanō Jigorō himself. Jazarin's books are a strange mishmash of ideas from Western and Eastern sources, and are undeserving of serious examination.

Some Japanese writers have tried to equate the three elements of *shin-gi-tai* with Kanō's three $h\bar{o}$ (taking them in reverse order), but there is no justification for this, and it hardly ever occurs in

⁹ See, inter alia: Ishida, Teruya (石田輝也). (2017). Jūdō kiso kara shingitai o kitaeru keiko (mi ni naru renshū-hō) (柔道 基礎 から心技体を鍛える稽古 (身になる練習法)) (Jūdō: Training to Train the Mind, Technique, and Body from the Basics (A Training Method that Will Help You)). Tōkyō: Bēsubōru Magajin-sha (ベースボール・マガジン社), 176 p (in Japanese), or about the late Yonezuka Yoshisada 米塚義定 (1937-2014), Kōdokan 8th dan, USJF 9th dan, a well-known, but also controversial jūdō instructor (https://davetrains.tumblr.com/post/24779821972/yoshisada-yonezukas-autobiography) of Japanese origin



 $^{^8}$ The restaurant was named after the 58th yokozuna 横綱 (lit. 'horizontal rope', but referring to the highest rank in $sum\bar{o}$) Chiyonofuji Mitsugu 千代の富士貢, real name Akimoto Mitsugu 秋元貢 (1955-2016), from the $Kokonoe\,sum\bar{o}$ stable 九重部屋, who was nicknamed 'The Wolf' ($Urufu\$ ウルフ) due to his ferocity and distinct masculine facial features. See: https://wolf.ipn.com

books on $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. Even when one seeks outside the topic of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ we have not found any mention of it until after World War II, when it seems to have emerged in reference to the practice of $kend\bar{o}$ 剣道 (the way of the sword) and other revived $bud\bar{o}$. Alternative formulations of it in $kend\bar{o}$ are ki-ken-tai itchi 氣剣体一致 (mind, sword and body in harmony), shin-gi-shin 心技身 (mind-technique-body) and shingi ittai 心技一体 (mind and technique united in one body). Furthermore, when we look at $kory\bar{u}$ 古流 (traditional) arts, in Sekiguchi- $ry\bar{u}$ $j\bar{u}jutsu$ 関口流柔術, 10,11 which, though not considered a true parent school of $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, has nevertheless also influenced $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, we find back shinkiryoku itchi 心気力一致 (Harmony between mind, energy and force) (Table 1).

Table 1. Summary table showing variants and predecessors of the *shin-gi-tai* concept and their geographical distribution.

Year	Concept	Discipline	Who	Geographical Location
c. 1610	shingitai 心技體	kenjutsu	Miyamoto Musashi (1584-1645)	Higo, Kumamoto, Kyūshū
c. 1755	shingitai 心技體	kenjutsu	Toyoda Masanaga	Kyūshū
c. 1830	shingiryoku itchi 心氣力一致	kenjutsu	Chiba Shūsaku (1792-1855)	Miyagi & Tōkyō
c. 1865	shingi ittai 心技一体	kenjutsu	Yamaoka Tesshū (1836-1888)	Tōkyō, Shizuoka & Kyūshū
c. 1909	Shinkitai 心氣體	Sumō	Yoshida family	Kumamoto, Kyūshū
1940	shingitai 心技体	Jūdō	Michigami Haku	Shanghai, China
1952	ki-ken-tai itchi 氣剣体一致	kendō	not known	Tōkyō & rest of Japan
	shin-gi-shin 心技身	kendō	not known	Tōkyō & rest of Japan
1953	shingitai 心技体	Jūdō	Michigami Haku (1912-2002)	Bordeaux, France & rest of Europe

It is clear that *shin-gi-tai* 心技体 derives from Japanese *kenjutsu* 剣術 and *kendō* 剣道, and is no older than the middle 18th century. More precisely, its first appearance seems to be in a text attributed to the Kyūshū *Niten ichi-ryū heihō* 二天一流兵法 swordsman Toyoda Masanaga 豊田正修. ¹² The Dutch author William de Lange, who has written extensively on the history of *kenjutsu* and *kendō* has made an English translation of *Bukōden* 武公伝, a text written by Toyoda in 1755 (de Lange, 2011).

 $^{^{12}}$ Pronunciation is not 100% certain, and the name can also be read Toyoda Seishū or as Toyoda Sanao.



who had immigrated to the United States, where he founded the Cranford Judo Karate Center, and who was a two-time United States Olympic $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ team coach.

¹⁰ Sekiguchi-ryū 関口流, also known as Sekiguchi Shin-shin-ryū 関口新心流 was founded by Sekiguchi Yarokuemon Ujimune 関口弥六右衛門氏心 (1598-1670) during the Edo 江戸時代 period in 1640, around the same time as Kitō-ryū 起倒流 (1637). According to Mol: "Historically, the Sekiguchi-ryū was a very combative system, which as it developed further absorbed sword techniques (iaijutsu 居合術 and kenjutsu 剣術) as well as bajutsu 馬術 (the art of Japanese military equestrianism), sōjutsu 錦術 (the art of spear fighting), and bōjutsu 棒術 (the art of staff fighting). The jūjutsu curriculum of the school was quite comprehensive, and because the school was developed in the early Edo period it includes techniques that would have worked well on the classical battlefield as well as techniques that were heifuku kumi-uchi 平服組計 (plain clothes grappling) in nature." (...) (Mol, 2001, p. 184).

¹¹ Furthermore: "In many martial arts books Sekiguchi Ujimune, founder of *Sekiguchi-ryū*, is referred to as Sekiguchi 'Jūshin'. This is the name Ujimune adopted after his retirement. In his later years, Ujimune lost much of his physical and mental powers, but he did not want to forget the importance of *yawara no kokoro* 柔の心 ('the spirit, or heart, of softness or gentleness'). This is why he took the name 'Jūshin', so that everytime someone called his name he would be reminded of this principle." (…) (Mol, 2001, p. 183).

However, *shin-gi-tai* seemingly does not appear in this text, but in the title and content of *Heihō shingitai oboegaki* 兵法心技體覚書 (*Memorandum on military arts and mind-technique-body*), a short text first printed in *Nitō ichiryū kendō hiyō* 二刀一流剣道秘要 (Mihashi, 1909). This work comprises the text of Miyamoto Musashi's 宮本武蔵, or in full, Shinmen Musashi-no-Kami Fujiwara no Harunobu (新兔武蔵 守藤原玄信), (ca. 1584-1645)¹³ *Gorin no sho* 五輪之所 (*A book of five rings*), plus shorter works by him or attributed to his followers. *Heihō shingitai oboegaki* is among a group of short texts which Mihashi says are not by Musashi, but were compiled by his followers (Mihashi, 1909). However, if Toyoda Masanaga was indeed the author of *Heihō shingitai oboegaki* (and for the time being we have to accept this on trust), he was not a direct pupil of Musashi, but rather of his own father Toyoda Masatake 豊田正剛), who had preserved anecdotes of several of Musashi's last pupils.

By the *Meiji* period (1867-1912), Miyamoto Musashi was something of a forgotten figure, except in Higo Province 肥後国 14 and Kumamoto 熊本, in particular, though he was occasionally depicted in later 19^{th} -century ukiyo-e 浮世絵 (lit.: 'pictures of the floating world', but meaning woodblock prints). In the 1930s, the long epic novel by Yoshikawa Eiji (Yoshikawa 1935/1981) made him famous again.

In the earlier 19th-century, we find such mottoes as *shingiryoku itchi* 心氣力一致 (mind-energy-force in harmony), due to the swordsman Chiba Shūsaku Taira no Narimasa 干葉周作成政 (1792-1855), the founder of the *Hokushin Ittō-ryū Hyōhō* 北辰一刀流兵法 (One-sword school of warfare) (Figure 2), and there seem to be other variants in *kenjutsu* circles.

Figure 2. 18th Century Swordsman Chiba Shūsaku Taira no Narimasa 千葉周作成政 (1792-1855), founder of the Hokushin Ittō-ryū Hyōhō 北辰一刀流兵法 (One-sword school of warfare), a school associated with the motto of shingiryoku itchi 心氣力一致 (mind-energy-force in harmony).



For example, regarding the similar *shingi ittai* 心技一体 (harmonious mind and technique),¹⁵ we note that David Hall in his compendious *Encyclopedia of Japanese Martial Arts* (Hall, 2012, p. 437),

¹⁵ Of course in this phrase *ittai* can and probably should be taken adverbially, rather than as the third member of a trio.



¹³ Birth name: Shinmen Takezō 新免武蔵.

¹⁴ Higo Province was an old Japanese province in the region that is today Kumamoto Prefecture on the island of Kyūshū.

credits this phrase to another famous swordsman, namely Yamaoka Tesshū 山岡鉄舟 (1836–1888), founder of the *Ittō Shōden Mutō-ryū* —刀正伝無刀流 (One-sword true no-sword school) *kenjutsu* school. Unfortunately, Hall does not support his claim with a source.

It appears to be, however, the Yoshida family, which became responsible for the administration of *sumō* at the end of the *Meiji* period, who started using the phrase *shinkitai* 心氣體. Earlier, in the *Edo* period the Yoshida 吉田 family served the feudal lord and House of Hosokawa 細川 in Kumamoto 熊本 on Kyūshū, and may have taken ideas from Musashi's *Niten-ichiryū kenjutsu*.

7. Results of our investigations about the connection between Michigami Haku and shin-gi-tai

Michigami Haku, who was from Ehime Prefecture 愛媛県 on the island of Shikoku 四国, had done $sum\bar{o}$ as a boy, and was a graduate from the $Bud\bar{o}$ $Senmongakk\bar{o}$ in Kyōto, where he obtained his first six dan grades in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ from the Butokukai. Very much like Abe Kenshirō 阿部謙四郎 (1915-1985), who too was a graduate from the $Bud\bar{o}$ $Senmongakk\bar{o}$ and also originated from Shikoku, though from the Tokushima 德島県 Prefecture, Michigami had a synoptic view of $bud\bar{o}$. No association between Abe Kenshirō and shin-gi-tai has been uncovered so far though, 16 and Brousse's (2024) conclusion 17 that Michigami would have acquired the concept of shin-gi-tai from the Butokai $Senmongakk\bar{o}$ seems somewhat premature.

In a 5-part interview published in the evening edition of the Japanese newspaper *Nihon Keizai Shinbun* in the summer of 2002, Michigami answers as follows:

とかく欧州には試合に勝と、有頂天になってガッツポーズをしたりする者がいます。私はそういう人間を弟子と認めない。 来日の折に全日本選手権などを見ても、これが柔道家の態度なのが目を□いたくなる者がいる。非常に残念なことです。昔 は試合に勝っても、「次は君が活□するだるう」と相手に敬意を示していました。

外国で教えるにあたり、私は「心技体」という言葉を使ってきました。技術習得には努力が必要。努力すれば、体が自然とできて、合理性もわかる。合理性がわかると、人生に自信が生まれ、結果として立派な人門になるという意味です。(...) (Iwamoto, 2002-26 Jul)

Transl.: Especially in Europe, there are many people who get ecstatic and pump their fists when they win a match. I do not accept such people as my students. When I visit Japan and watch the All Japan Championships, I am shocked to see that this is the attitude of some $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$. This trend is very depressing. In the past, we showed respect to the opponent by telling him that he will be successful in the future.

¹⁷ "... une conception véhiculée par la Budo Senmon Gakko dont l'expert installé à Bordeaux était diplômé" (...) (Brousse, 2019, p. 24) (Transl.: a concept conveyed by the Budō Senmongakkō, from which the expert based in Bordeaux was a graduate). In a personal contact (8 October 2024), Brousse confirmed his view that "Michigami traduisait l'esprit de l'enseignement reçu au Busen, pas en judo ..." (Michigami translated the spirit of what he learnt at the Busen, not from jūdō)



¹⁶ Abe Kenshirō developed his own philosophical approach, which he called *kyūshindō* 求心道, which to date remains poorly understood. Abe likely was inspired by Tanabe Hajime 田辺元 (1885-1962), a Japanese philosopher of science, who is not well known outside of Japan. Tanabe was a student of Nishida Kitarō 西田幾多郎 (1870-1945), founder of 'the Kyōto School'and a contemporary of Kanō Jigorō, who may well have influenced Kanō towards developing the *jita kyō-ei* 自他共栄 principle.

To teach overseas, I have used 'shin-gi-tai' as a theme. It takes efforts to master a technique. If you put in the effort, your body will develop, and you will also understand what moves are efficient. As a result, you will achieve self-confidence and become a fine person.

Further research of Japanese sources, including another interview that was published posthumously, shows that Michigami Haku appears to have first had the idea of *shin-gi-tai*, and somewhat elaborated it, when he was teaching in Shanghai, China, in 1940, so, yes, after his graduation from the *Budō Senmongakkō*. This means that, in any case, Michigami's use of the phrase antedated his arrival in France in 1953:

父にならい道上も海外に出たいと思っていた。そこに降って湧いた話が中国・上海の東亜同文書院大学だった。恩師の推薦で予科教授になれという。上海は各図の租界が設けられた国際都市で魅力があった。道上が赴任したのは昭和十五年。 そこで傑作な武勇伝を残している。

道上伯の言葉だった「心技体」

道上は、戦前、上海で次のように説いた。「柔道の最終的な目的は、心技体の練

成を通じて、立派主人間になろうと努力することである。身体を鍛え強くなろうとすれば、技術の練成が欠かせない。技術を身につけようとすれば、苦しさに耐えて練習を積み重ねなければならない。このように心と体と技を同時に鍛錬するのが、柔道というものだ。柔道は人間形成そのものなのだ」有段者会の会長はこの「心技体」にいたく感動し、この精神を流布して歩いた。巡りめぐって日本に逆輸入されたことを知る人はほとんどいない." (...) (Nashimoto, 2011, p. 22-23)

Transl.: Following in his father's footsteps, Michigami also wanted to go abroad. Then, out of nowhere, he was offered a place at *Shanghai Dōbunshoin University* in China. ¹⁸ He was recommended by his teacher/mentor to become a professor at the preparatory school. Shanghai was an attractive international city with many concessions. Michigami was assigned there in 1940. He left behind some great heroic tales.

Michigami Haku's words: 'Mind, technique, and body'

'Mind, technique, and body' was the phrase of Haku Michigami. Before the war, Michigami preached in Shanghai as follows:

"The ultimate goal of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is to strive to become a great master through the training of mind, technique, and body. If you want to train your body and become stronger, you must train your technique. If you want to master technique, you must endure pain and keep practicing. $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is about training your mind, body, and technique at the same time. $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is the very formation of a person." The president of the $Y\bar{u}danshakai$ (Black belt Holders Association) was deeply moved by this 'Mind, Technique, and Body' and spread this spirit around. Few people know that it was eventually imported back to Japan.

In a monthly newsletter published by Michigami's son Yūhō 道上雄峰, that unfortunately is not free from taking liberties and showing wide veneration towards Michigami, we can read:

Les étrangers qu'il fréquentait lui demandaient souvent « Qu'est-ce que le Judo? ». Quand il répondait que c'était l'alliance de la souplesse et de la force c'était difficile à saisir, aussi il utilisait le mot shingitai (Mot formé respectivement des caractères « esprit », « technique » et « corps », et qui désigne l'alliance de ces trois principes). Personne n'avait utilisé ce terme avant Haku Michigami. C'est un mot qui est né grâce à lui. De nos jours, tout le monde au Japon connaît ce terme et on l'emploie souvent dans le milieu sportif.

Un judoka s'entraîne pour devenir fort. Il répète des techniques cent fois, mille fois par jour. C'est cela qui renforce le corps (tai). C'est en polissant et assimilant les techniques (gi) qu'on améliore ses capacités. En faisant des efforts, on cultive aussi l'esprit (shin).

C'est assurément une trinité. (...) (Michigami, 2014a)

Transl.: Foreigners he met often asked him, 'What is $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$?' When he answered that it was the alliance of flexibility and strength, it was difficult to grasp, so he used the word *shingitai* (A word formed

¹⁸ The name in traditional Chinese is written 上海東亞同文書院大學 and pronounced *Shànghǎi Shùyà Tóngwén Shūyuàn Dàxué*, and means East Asia Academic University. It was originally located in Shanghai, China, even though it is the predecessor of what is now Aichi University 愛知大学 in Japan.



respectively from the characters 'spirit', 'technique', and 'body', and which designates the alliance of these three principles). No one had used this term before Michigami Haku. It is a word that was born thanks to him. Today, everyone in Japan knows this term and it is often used in sports circles.

A $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$ trains to become strong. He repeats techniques a hundred times, a thousand times a day. This is what strengthens the body (tai). It is by polishing and assimilating techniques (gi) that one improves one's abilities. By making efforts, one also cultivates the spirit (shin).

It is certainly a trinity. (...)

In a later newsletter, we find back Michigami Yūhō making a similar assertion:

Quand le français lui demanda avec un anglais balbutiant ce qu'était le véritable sens des slogans du Judo Kanô « Canaliser efficacement » (seiryoku zenyô) et « Entraide et prospérité mutuelle » (jita kyôei), ils eurent du mal à se comprendre.

Alors comme il l'avait fait à Shanghai avant la guerre, Michigami raconta : « Le but ultime du Judo, c'est de s'efforcer à devenir un homme admirable en renforçant le shingitai. Si on veut renforcer son corps, on ne peut passer outré l'amélioration de la technique.

Si on veut acquérir la technique, il faut persévérer et répéter les entraînements. À mesure qu'on persévère, l'esprit se fortifie. Entraîner ainsi à la fois l'esprit, le corps et la technique, c'est ça le Judo. Le Judo c'est la formation de l'être. »

Jazarin fût extrêmement touché par ce « shingitai » et le fit apparaître dans un rapport du Collège des Ceintures Noires, prêchant cet esprit dès qu'il en avait l'occasion. Grâce à cela, ces mots se propagèrent totalement dans le monde du Judo français. C'est ainsi que « Shin Gi Tai » est devenu un mot français. Désormais, ce mot inventé par Michigami est très utilisé dans toutes les disciplines sportives au Japon.

Toutefois, Michigami ne soupçonnait pas le moins du monde que cela deviendrait plus tard l'étincelle d'une discorde entre les leaders du Judo français. (...) (Michigami, 2014b)

Transl.: When the Frenchman asked him in broken English what the real meaning was of Kanō's $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ motoes 'Best use of energy' (sei-ryoku $zen'y\bar{o}$) and 'Mutual prosperity' (jita $ky\bar{o}$ -ei), they had difficulty understanding each other.

Then, as he had done in Shanghai before the war, Michigami said: "The ultimate goal of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is to strive to become an admirable man by strengthening *shingitai*. If you want to strengthen your body, you cannot ignore the improvement of technique.

If you want to acquire technique, you must persevere and repeat training. As you persevere, your mind becomes stronger. Training the mind, body, and technique in this way, that is $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is the training of the being."

Jazarin was extremely touched by this 'shingitai' and made it appear in a report of the Black Belt College, preaching this spirit whenever he had the opportunity. Thanks to this, these words spread completely in the world of French $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. This is how 'Shin Gi Tai' became a French word. From now on, this word invented by Michigami is widely used in all sports disciplines in Japan.

However, Michigami did not suspect in the least that this would later become the spark of discord between the leaders of French $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$.

Whilst the above quotes bear witness to Michigami introducing the term shin-gi-tai in France, we remind that we have shown in Table 1 that Michigami neither invented nor was the first person to use this term in martial arts, and that the term had been in existence in kenjutsu in Japan since the middle of the 18^{th} century, or even early 17^{th} century when considering Musashi. Hence, Michigami's son's assertion that ... "Michigami would have invented the word 'shin-gi-tai'" is clearly a falsehood. Instead, writing that Michigami may have been the first one to use the term in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, likely would be closer to the truth.

Although there might not be any abject objection to *shingitai* as a motto for coaches, it does seem inappropriate to treat *shin-gi-tai* in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ as it has been, namely, as a holy writ, and this by both Japanese and foreign writers such as Jazarin, who clearly are unaware that it is of recent origin and apply it with the zeal of medieval theologians. Where it really crosses a line, is when people who probably do not know Japanese wrongly associate it with Kanō Jigorō.

Kanō may have been aware of it, but we have yet to find it in his own writings. So far, no one has been able to do precisely that. It is also striking that, as suspected, the phrase does not appear in the authoritative 14-volume reference dictionary by Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次 (Morohashi, 1983), despite Morohashi's connection with Kanō. For these reasons, our initial research hypothesis that *shin-gi-tai*, similarly to *Seiryoku zen'yō* and *Jita kyō-ei*, is a learning maxim of *Kōdōkan jūdō* once introduced or referred to by its founder, Kanō Jigorō, must be rejected.

We pointed out earlier that some Japanese writers have even tried to equate the three elements of shin-gi-tai with Kanō's three $h\bar{o}$ (taking them in reverse order), but there is no justification for this, and this truly is an example of historical reinvention. The same applies to those NGBs, such as the FFJDA (Brousse, 2024), Judo Canada or Judo Vlaanderen, 19 who attempt to correlate shin-gi-tai to $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ grades; but neither it (shin-gi-tai), Kanō's three $h\bar{o}$ (taiiku- $h\bar{o}$, $sh\bar{o}bu$ - $h\bar{o}$ and shushin- $h\bar{o}$) or his twin mottoes can be so correlated. It occurs to us that they may be confusing it with another set of three terms, shu-ha-ri row, which come from the bujutsu tradition, and do refer to a temporal sequence. Shu represents the first stage of learning, but it lasts until one's forties.

We are not alone in this conclusion, as Brousse too has speculated about the similarities with shu-ha-ri (Brousse, 2024), though he stopped short, for reasons unknown to us of rejecting shin-gi-tai or at least, of elaborating on how the concept cannot justifiably be linked to Kanō or $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$'s maxims. Considering the large group of still active senior $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ instructors in France, who were, or who consider themselves as, disciples of Michigami, one evidently understands, that any outspoken challenge to the concept of shin-gi-tai and $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ might not be received very well, as is usually the case in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ or $bud\bar{o}$ when one has the audacity to question something someone's sensei has said, even more so if that sensei is famous and dead (Vveinhardt et al., 2019):

Shin gi tai représente un marqueur de l'évolution individuelle. La formule rejoint l'autre concept japonais propre aux arts martiaux, shu ha ri, qui désigne les étapes de l'apprentissage. Celui qui débute obéit tout d'abord en se fondant dans le moule qui lui est imposé. Puis, il s'en détache et, ensuite, il peut créer son propre style. Shin gi tai renvoie à une méta-compétence, c'est-à-dire à un guide d'actions et un modèle de comportement permettant d'enrichir le champ des compétences, autrement dit, d'apprendre à apprendre. C'est l'expression d'un idéal d'aboutissement. On le voit, il ya là une ambition d'une ampleur telle que son utilisation comme outil d'évaluation mesurable est illusoire. (...) (Brousse, 2024, p. 25)

Transl.: *Shin-gi-tai* represents a marker of individual evolution. The formula is similar to the other Japanese concept specific to martial arts, *shu-ha-ri*, which designates the stages of learning. The beginner obeys first by blending into the mold imposed on him. Then, he breaks away from it and, then, he can create his own style. *Shin-gi-tai* refers to a meta-skill, that is, to say, to a guide of actions and a model of behavior allowing to enrich the field of skills, in other words, learning to learn. It is the expression of an ideal of achievement. As we can see, there is an ambition here of such magnitude that its use as a measurable evaluation tool is illusory)

Kanō himself distinguishes three levels of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ training, but oddly enough at the lowest level the young student is to learn just self-defense (with or without weapons).

The *shin* component receives the attention it deserves throughout the entire career, from the beginning, and its share only increases as the $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$ progresses in rank.

- 1. Competition history (tai component)
- 2. Technical ability (*gi* component)
- 3. Competencies (shin component)
- 4. Active commitment (shin component)" (...) (Buysens, 2022)



 $^{^{19}}$ As part of their black belt promotion rules, $Judo\ Vlaanderen\ writes$ (translated into English): "Characteristic of our $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ sport is the use of a grade system. It is used to indicate the ability, progression and maturity of the $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$ and has been refined by us over the years. Considering the objective of our sport, one can say that the further a $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$ progresses in his/her grade, the more the personal evolution (as a person) is taken into account. The three components that determine a grade are: tai (body), gi (technique) and shin (spirit). Tai includes the physical possibilities and is addressed in randori and competition. Gi includes the technical mastery and knowledge and is proven at $sh\bar{o}dan\ shiken$. Shin indicates the possession of the right attitude and maturity. This refers to a $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ attitude in particular and a social attitude in general. These three components are present in every grade, but their share differs. In lower (Dan) grades, tai predominates more, while in higher (Dan) grades, tai training based on practical application by considering results from practice (footnote: IJF Dan ranks & Grades 12.2018).

8. Concluding remarks about Kanō Jigorō and shin-gi-tai, and future directions

Clearly, Michigami's shin-gi-tai motto has become popular in Japan since World War II as a kind of mantra, variously interpreted, among coaches in many sports; it is even referred to in some Japanese texts on $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, and it has found its way into several French and English texts on $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, written by people who probably do not know Japanese and wrongly associate it with Kanō Jigorō. Kanō may have been aware of it; but we have yet to find it in his own writings (Kanō 1910, 1931, 1932, 1986, 2006; Kanō-sensei Denki Hensankai 1984); and, as we suspected, the phrase does not appear in the authoritative 14-volume reference work $Dai\ Kan-Wa\ Jiten\ to Kanō$ (Morohashi, 1983), despite Morohashi's connection with Kanō.

One difficult to examine trail that might deserve further exploration is whether Kanō might have learnt about *shin-gi-tai* through *Kitō-ryū*, one of the two significant parent schools of *Kōdōkan jūdō*. It is true that *Kitō-ryū*'s most advanced writing, the *Seikyō-no-maki* 性鏡之巻 (*Scroll of the Mirror of character*) does write about the relationship between *shin-ki-tai* (心·気·体), so not quite *shin-gi-tai* (心·技·体) (Oimatsu, 1982). The *Seikyō-no-maki* was written in 1637 by Ibaraki Matazaemon Toshifusa 茨木又左衛門俊房 alias "Sensai" 專斎 and "Sōzen" 宗然 (†1674), the founder of the original *Midare Kitō-ryū* 乱起倒流. This scroll, sometimes nicknamed, "*Kitō-ryū*'s *menkyo kaiden* scroll", was, however, no longer issued in every single branch of *Kitō-ryū* that offshot after *Kitō-ryū*'s 5th generation head Takino Sen'emon Sadataka 滝野専右衛門貞高, alias "Yūken" 遊軒 (1695-1762). It is, hence, not fully established whether study of the *Seikyō-no-maki* and its distribution was still maintained in *Takenaka-ha* 起倒流竹中派, *i.e.*, the *Kitō-ryū* branch from which Kanō originated. Even if it was not, it is still possible that Kanō was familiar with its contents through individual academic study of *Kitō-ryū densho* 起倒流伝書 (transmitted archival documents).

The scroll's content and learnings are complicated. Essentially, and as far as the topic here under discussion is concerned, it argues that "the relationship between the mind, spirit, and body is considered to be either 'mind \rightarrow spirit \rightarrow body,' meaning that the mind moves and becomes spirit, which then moves the body, or 'body \rightarrow spirit \rightarrow mind,' meaning that when the body is tired, it wants to rest, and so the body moves spirit, which moves the mind. The ideal is to always have a relationship of 'mind \rightarrow spirit \rightarrow body.' " (...) (Kanō et al., 1999, p. 218; Oimatsu, 1982) Ibaraki here might have been inspired by *Rinzai Zen* 臨済宗 Buddhist influences transmitted by Zen monk Takuan Sōhō 沢庵宗彭 (1573-1645), or undergone direct philosophical influences from *kenjutsu* 剣術 (the art of the sword) via $Yagy\bar{u}$ -shinkage-ry \bar{u} 柳生新陰流 swordsmaster Yagy \bar{u} Tajima-no-Kami Munenori Matazaemon 柳生但 馬守宗矩 (1571-1646).

In sum, shin-gi-tai owes something to the teaching of Miyamoto Musashi, but not directly. The meme was introduced in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ by Michigami Haku, and first gained popularity in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ amongst his followers in France. As for Kanō, even if it is possible to interpret some of his ideas according to this phrase, he had his own preferred and careful formulations for the underlying philosophy of $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$.

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 $^{^{\}rm 20}$ See Appendix 1 for the original Japanese scripts.



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Authors' biographical data

David B. Waterhouse (1936-2017) was a Full Professor of Japanese Studies at the Department of East Asian Studies of the University of Toronto from 1975 to 2002. Since then, he had been an Emeritus Professor until his passing. A graduate in pianoforte from the Royal Academy of Music in London, and in Western Classics, Moral Sciences and Oriental Studies from Cambridge University, David started his professional career at the British Museum. He was a Senior Member of University College, an Honorary Research Associate of the Royal Ontario Museum's Far Eastern Department since 1969, and a former Adjunct Professor in the Department of Religious Studies at McMaster University. David published on a wide variety of topics and had special expertise on the 18th century Japanese woodblock print artist Suzuki Harunobu 鈴木春信 (1724-1770), about whom in 2013 he produced a seminal work entitled "The Harunobu Decade", published with Koninklijke Brill N.V. In 1990 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada (FRSC), and also was a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society (FRAS). He was a 2017 recipient of the Order of the Rising Sun 3rd Class, Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon, awarded to him by Emperor Akihito of Japan, and held the jūdō rank of 4th dan from both Judo Canada and the Kōdōkan Jūdō Institute in Tōkyō. David passed away on Thursday, November 16th, 2017, aged 81 years. E-mail: not applicable.

Carl De Crée is a Full Professor of Medicine (Exercise Endocrinology & Sports Medicine) and a university executive administrator. In addition, he also is a senior scholar in Chinese and Japanese Studies and has conducted research on $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ since 1981. He is a graduate of the first cohort of the University or Rome's unique Master's degree program in $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, and one of only a few $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ -experts holding the European Judo Union Level-6 Specialized Judo Teacher & High-Performance Coach qualification. He also holds double Trainer-A qualifications in both $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ and $j\bar{u}jutsu$ from the Flemish Trainer School, and an International Judo Coach qualification and a Judo Master Teacher Class A Certificate from USA Judo. He has previously resided in Japan and has studied $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ with, inter alia, the late Felix De Smedt, Marcel Clause, Hirano Tokio, Fukuda Keiko, Imamura Haruo, Abe Ichirō, Daigo Toshirō, and Ōsawa Yoshimi, and with Ashida Kunio, Kurimura Yōji, Ochiai Toshiyasu, Okano Isao, Tokuyama Misao, and Tsuji Yoshimi. He holds an 8th dan black belt in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ and the title of $ky\bar{o}shi$. He is a former student in the Inoue Keitarō-lineage of Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū jūjutsu under the late Tobari Kazu-shihan, and the first and only non-Japanese ever to hold menkyo in Kitō-ryū. E-mail: prof.cdecree@earthlink.net