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A Traditional Japanese Sport with Modern Character : An Application of Guttmann's Model to 'Tosiya'

By *Shuko Homma**

I. The purpose of study

During late feudal times (1600–1867), in the Edo Period, archery contests called 'Tosiya' were held at the Buddhist temple called Sanju–Sangen–Do, located in Kyo (now Kyoto). When Sanju–Sangen–Do was built in Edo (now Tokyo), the same types of 'Tosiya' contests evolved there as in Kyo, and in both places they were popular among warriors (Samurai).

'Tosiya', one of the martial arts in Japan, is worthy of attention, because it embraced the qualities which characterize many modern sports. The purpose of this study is to describe the characteristics of 'Tosiya'; the result of which can identify the correct status of 'Tosiya' in the context of Japanese sport history.

II. The method of study

This study explores the seven characteristics of modern sports which Allen Guttmann identified in his book, 'From Ritual to Record' (published in 1978¹⁾), in order to analyze 'Tosiya' as a sport, and to clarify both the nature and the limits of its modernization.

Lee Thompson²⁾ has previously applied the Guttmann's model to analyze the modernization of Grand Sumo.

III. The development of archery in Japan

To begin, we will describe briefly the history of archery in Japan before 'Tosiya' came into existence.³⁾⁴⁾⁵⁾

1) Primitive ages: The advent of the bow and arrow seems to have been about

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9,000 years ago. And it is likely to date back to an age before earthenware.⁶⁾ The bow and arrow were first used for hunting, and they also came into use for battle when the hardware began to be used for making weapons during 300 B.C.–100 B.C. We can see, as one bit evidence, a picture of the bow and arrow's use in hunting that was engraved on the surface of the bronze bell-shaped vessel of the mid-Yayoi period (100 B.C.–100 A.D.).⁷⁾

2) Ancient times: From the latter half of the third century through the eighth century, the use of the bow and arrow from horseback appeared and equestrian archery matches, such as 'Jyarai' were often performed as court functions. In the Heian Period (794 A.D.–1192 A.D.) besides the archery called 'Koyumi' which was an aristocratic play, there were many archery contests performed as court functions, such as 'Noriyumi', 'Tbahajime', and 'Tangono Kisha', as well as 'Jyarai'.⁸⁾

At the end of this period Kakuyu Toba, a Buddhist Archbishop, drew a caricatured picture scroll entitled, 'Chojyu-Jinbutu-Giga', that depicted a scene of a frog shooting in imitation of warriors in those days. This kind of shooting, which seems to be 'Marumono', was developed in the next period.

3) Early feudal times (1192–1599): During this period warriors often trained for the martial arts. There were many kinds of archery; such as 'Kasagake', 'Yabusame', and 'Inuomono', each of which were classified as shooting from horseback. Near the end of the Heian period shooting on foot such as 'Yumihajime', 'Kusajisi', 'Marumono', 'Momote', and 'Busha' began and during this period they also developed. Among these archery only 'Yabusame' has survived to be interested in the modern sport culture of Japan.

4) Later feudal times (1600–1867): When firearms were introduced at the battle of Nagasino (1575), the importance of bows and arrows as weapons declined immensely. On the other hand, with the advent of peaceful times under the Tokugawa Shogunate, the martial arts changed from building men of war towards preparing men of culture and sport. Although shooting on horseback, which was often performed in the early feudal times, was sometimes attempted in the later feudal times, 'Sasiya' (another name for 'Tosiya') typically represented the change from the martial arts to the martial arts of sport.

IV. 'Tosiya' at Sanju-Sangen-Do in Kyo

Now, we would like to look into 'Tosiya' which apparently originated at Sanju-Sangen-Do in Kyo. The temple had a main hall where 1,001 Images of Kannon Bodhisattva stood in an orderly line.⁹⁾ Also, there was a veranda around the temple. This veranda was used for 'Tosiya'.

As for 'Tosiya', although 'Oyakazu' was the most famous event, in fact, there were many kinds of 'Tosiya'. Each type of 'Tosiya' had one thing in common: the archer had to shoot his arrows through the narrow space between the floor of the west veranda of the temple and the eaves overhanging it. The archer shot from the veranda's south edge toward its north end. The bow used for 'Tosiya', in general, was somewhat shorter than ordinary, but more tightly-strung. The arrow was also shorter than ordinary. The archer knelt on the south edge of the west veranda and to shoot arrows through the narrow space at the veranda's far end (north).

However, the remains of the many unsuccessful arrows embedded in the eaves demonstrate the difficulty of this shooting exercise.

*The different kinds of 'Tosiya'*⁵⁾¹⁰⁾¹¹⁾

1) 'Oyakazu' A contest, in which the arrows were shot from the south edge of the veranda to the north end (a distance of some 120 meters). The contest began at 6 p.m. and continued for the 24 hours.

The archer who made a new record was called 'So-ichi' or 'Tenka-ichi', (Champion of all Japan).

2) 'Hiyakazu' A contest, in which the arrows were shot continually for 12 hours in the daytime.

3) 'Sen-sha' A contest, in which 1,000 arrows were shot continually.

4) 'Hyaku-sha' A contest, in which 100 arrows were shot continually.

5) 'Gojukken' For youth, the above events were held at a reduced distance of about 90 meters.

6) 'Han-Do' Also for youth, the distance was also reduced to the half of 'Oyakazu' in the above events except 'Gojukken'.

At Sanjyu-Sangen-Do in Edo there were also shorter distances for youth such

as 'Yonjyukkekn', 'Yonjyu-go-ken', and 'Gojyu-go-ken'.

The following were officiating roles in 'Tosiya' competition¹²⁾:

1) 'Domi' Craftsmen of arrows and bowstrings who came from six schools (branches of the 'Heki' school), and who acted as referees in deciding if an arrow was shot through each time.

If the arrow was shot through, the referees waved a 'Sirusibata' (a sort of baton, the top of which had an ornament).

2) 'Kemi' The inspector who checked and made sure of the accuracy of the notation which the 'Domi' entered into the record.

In addition, there were several persons in front of where arrows fell, and where the archer knelt and shot. They waved the 'Sirusibata' and shouted. The archer who broke the record offered a tablet to Sanju-Sangen-Do to commemorate his achievement.

Today we can see three such tablets on the wall of the south corridor inside the temple: 1) the first tablet is what Kanzaemon Hosino from the 'Owari' clan offered when he scored 8,000 successes with 10,542 arrows in 1669, 2) the second one is what Daihachiro Wasa from the 'Kishu' clan offered when he record 8,133 successes with 13,053 arrows in 1686 (no one has surpassed him in 'Oyakazu' since then), 3) the third tablet was offered by a young archer succeeded in breaking the record in 'Han-Do'.

V. The nature of 'Tosiya' as a sport when applied to Guttmann's modernization model

Guttmann identifies seven qualities which are inherent evolution of sport from simply ritual practices to ones of more modern organization. These qualities are: (1) secularism, (2) equality, (3) specialization, (4) rationalization, (5) bureaucratization, (6) quantification, and (7) records.

(1) Secularism

The contest of 'Tosiya' was held at Sanjyu-Sangen-Do, which is a temple called 'Rengeo-in'. However, 'Tosiya' had no special meaning as a temple ritual. Whether an archer could succeed in setting a new record was the center of interest among people in those days. Thus, in this respect, it can be said that 'Tosiya' was a secular

event.

(2) Equality

As archery was limited to warriors, there was no participatory equality in the contest. Moreover, Japanese society in this period was divided into four social classes: warriors, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants.

Military power was monopolized by the warrior class and, therefore, without few exceptions, training in the martial arts was limited to warriors. Moreover, the execution of 'Tosiya' was expensive, so that it brought about a tendency to make participation difficult for those other than the warriors who belonged to the big feudal clans such as 'Owari' and 'Kishu'.

As far as equality in the contest is concerned, however, the participants were treated all alike; and it should be noted that a form of competition, such as 'Han-Do', was prepared for youth, because it gave young men the same opportunity as the adult to participate.

(3) Specialization

Excellent archers, that is, experts in archery from each clan participated in 'Tosiya'. In fact, the clans even encouraged the archers to do so. An archer who distinguished himself in 'Tosiya' might have had the chance to get promoted. Thus, specialization of the archer was recognized in 'Tosiya'.

At the same time, there were other specialist roles in 'Tosiya': referee, inspector, signal-sender, and so on.

(4) Rationalization

As mentioned earlier, there were many kinds of competition in 'Tosiya': 'Oyakazu', 'Hiyakazu', 'Sen-sha', 'Hyakusha', 'Gojukken' and 'Han-Do'. The aim of the contest was for an archer to shoot more arrows through than the champion had done. There was a rule to render an impartial judgement. The referee from the same school as the archer was not allowed to wave the baton first.

Thus, the form of the contest, and its rules, were considerably well-established. Therefore, we can, to an extent, recognize rationalization in 'Tosiya'. However, an archer had to shoot arrows continuously for a long time (24 hours or 12 hours), and he also had to surpass the record that other archers had already set. This form of competition lacked the efficiency (and thus, rationalization) that is necessary for

life in modern society.

(5) Bureaucratization

An organization (like an association) which administered the contest, was never established. In this respect, we cannot recognize bureaucratization in 'Tosiya'.

However, considering that the referees came from the craftsmen of six 'Heki' schools, they seemed to be people who kept in touch with one another and who closely co-operated. In addition, we can see the differentiation of roles in the contest: referee, inspector, signal-sender, the person to hand, and so on.

Judging from these facts, the organization and administration of the contest became bureaucratized.

By the way, in the same period, 'sumo' already had an organization called 'Sumo-Kaisho' to control the professional 'sumo' wrestlers in Edo as well as their matches. In this sense we can recognize the bureaucratization in 'sumo'.

(6) Quantification

Quantification is very clear, especially in terms of shooting more arrows through. And, there was a way to score more successes with 100 or 1,000 arrows. We can recognize a more advanced form of quantification from the viewpoint of superiority in the skill demanded by archery.

(7) Records

'Tosiya' aimed at breaking the preceding best performance and at setting a new record. Therefore, it obviously was a quest for attaining new records. Moreover, the quest and standard got so close to the limits of human possibility that archers almost seemed to lose interest in continuing the contest.

Then too, the results of the contest were recorded in a book by the referee, and then it was checked by the inspector. Thus, we can obviously recognize the eager quest for records in 'Tosiya'.

Now, we will compare the result of the above discussion by means of a table showing the characteristics of sports that Allen Guttmann offers.

VI. Conclusion

As far as shooting on horseback in early feudal times is concerned, 'Yabusame' and 'Kasagake' were performed as a Shinto ritual, while 'Inuoimono' was executed

Table 1 The characteristics of 'Tosiya' as a sport

	Primitive Sports	Greek Sports	Roman Sports	Medieval Sports	Modern Sports	'Tosiya'
Secularism	Yes & No	Yes & No	Yes & No	Yes & No	Yes	Yes
Equality	No	Yes & No	Yes & No	No	Yes	Yes & No
Specialization	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Rationalization	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes & No
Bureaucracy	No	Yes & No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes & No
Quantification	No	No	Yes & No	No	Yes	Yes
Records	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes

as a ceremonial event. As for shooting on foot, 'Busha' and 'Momote' were also performed as a Shinto ritual. And, 'Yumihajime', as well as 'Kusajisi', were ceremonial.

When comparing 'Tosiya' with forms of shooting in early feudal times, 'Tosiya' had the characteristics of modern sports, such as secularism, specialization, quantification, and the quest for records—most of which the latter noted forms lacked. However, owing to its limits of bureaucratization, 'Tosiya' was not a modern sport in terms of efficient rationalization and equality.

With regard to the establishment of bureaucratic organization needed to administer the contest, the barrier of the clan should be noted, and the inefficiency connected with rationalization seemed to have a close relationship with inefficient work forms of work in later feudal times.

Finally, the limits of equality in participation seemed to have originated from the division of labor based on the social classes, that is, warriors, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants, in addition to gender discrimination.

'Tosiya', in its traditional form, has not been incorporated into modern Japanese sporting culture. Japanese archery was finally restored as 'Kyudo' in modern society after a period of non-practice. 'Kyudo' was organized and administered by an organization called 'Dai-Nihon-Butokukai' (established in 1895), but the form of the contest had to be changed to be much more effective.¹³⁾ First, the distances of 28 m and 60 m have mostly been adopted. Secondly, arrows have been limited to eight (when there were only a few archers), or twelve or twenty (when there are many archers). And thirdly, the competitive form, in which many archers stand side by side shoot arrows simultaneously, has been adopted.

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