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著者	BENNETT Alexander C., MARK Duncan R.
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Japanese *Budō* in South East Asia: *Shōrinji Kempō* in Indonesia

Alexander C. BENNETT

Teikyo University

Duncan R. MARK

Zenrin Gakuen

Introduction

It is fair to consider *budō* 武道—the martial ways of Japan—to be among the most successful of Japan's cultural exports. Although almost impossible to verify, some authorities estimate that there are up to 2 billion people practising *budō* in some form around the world. Regardless of the accuracy of this figure, wherever you go in the world, even in the remotest towns of the farthest countries, there is a high probability that there will be a *dōjō* 道場 of some sort in the community. In that *dōjō* you will find local people barefooted, dressed in Japanese *dōgi* 道義, obeying commands given in the Japanese language, bowing the Japanese way, and more often than not there will be a Japanese flag or picture of some great Japanese master from the past occupying a prominent part of the training hall. Interestingly, probably not one of the members will have ever been to Japan, and contact with Japanese people will have been limited.

Even if the martial art being practised is not 'Japanese' *per se*, but is a local martial art or a modern hybrid art, it is highly likely that it has been influenced to some degree by Japanese *budō*. A simple example would be the implementation of a *dan* grading system which utilises coloured belts to distinguish rank. In the case that the martial art being practiced is Japanese, there will inevitably be various idiosyncrasies stemming from the fact that is taking place outside Japan. There will be many aspects of the art which required adaptation to suit the particular social milieu in which it is placed.

The attraction to *budō* among non-Japanese is as varied as the forms that are practiced. The following is a list of possible reasons which inspire non-Japanese to engage in the study of *budō*:

1. Cultural motivations: In the case of *nikkeijin* 日系人 or newly settled Japanese families in an attempt to keep contact with their Japanese heritage, or general interest in Japan by local people.
2. Combat: To learn how to fight, self defence skills, armed forces, police etc.
3. Physical fitness.
4. Mental well-being: Many non-Japanese exponents of the martial arts commence training with the motives of developing self-confidence and discipline. This also corresponds with parents who encourage their children to study the martial arts for the same benefits.

5. As a competitive sport.
6. Pursuit of spiritual development and enlightenment: There is a significant attraction to the perceived 'mysterious' metaphysical attributes of the Eastern martial arts.
7. To learn the art of 'strategy': Although by no means a significant driving force now, in the days of Japan's bubble economy, there were widespread opinions that Japanese economic and business success was based around management practices stemming from 'samurai strategy', prompting numbers of businessmen in the West to take up martial arts training.
8. Forced participation by Japanese government or military up until the end of WWII: Koreans and Taiwanese were forcibly subjected to *budō* education in schools. Also a very small number of POWs inadvertently learned the arts though being "practised upon" by Japanese guards or soldiers. Although an extreme minority, there are some *jūjutsu* schools in the West whose founders claim to have learned the art through such means.

The most popular *budō* arts internationally are *jūdō* 柔道 (especially after becoming an official Olympic event), and *karate* 空手. Both of these forms of *budō* are not only practised by the general public but have also been integrated into the training regimes of military and police forces in numerous countries. Although fewer in actual practitioners, *budō* arts such as *aikidō* 合気道, *kendō* 剣道, *shōrinji kempō* 少林寺拳法, *naginata* 長刀, *sumō* 相撲, *kyūdō* 弓道, *iaidō* 居合道, *jōdō* 杖道, and the classical *kobudō* 古武道 have also spread internationally to a significant extent, especially from the 1970s onwards. However, when the international dissemination of *budō* is discussed, it is usually in regards to the state of affairs in Western countries. Very little research has been conducted to ascertain the extent of Japanese *budō*'s infiltration and popularity in Asia.

This research attempts to plot the spread of Japanese *budō* in South East Asia; the perceived motivations of the exponents; and how this kind of cultural intercourse, although largely unnoticed, plays a significant factor in the perception of Japan in the region. This paper will look at the spread and popularity in Indonesia of the relatively new Japanese *budō* art, *shōrinji kempō*. The first section will introduce the history of and founder of *shōrinji kempō*. The second section will outline the process of dissemination of the art in Indonesia, and the final section will investigate the motivations and attitudes of Indonesian practitioners.

The History of *Shōrinji Kempō*

The Founder, Sō Dōshin. The following brief biography of the founder of *shōrinji kempō* is mostly gleaned from the official history espoused by the Shōrinji Kempō Federation. However, in many places the official history is contradictory and vague. Nevertheless, what we can ascertain is that the founder of *shōrinji kempō* was born on February 10, 1911, as Mitsutsuji Michio in Okayama prefecture. His father is unknown, although an elderly man known as Sō Shigetō 宗重遠 was later to take on an important role in the founder's life, and was possibly his grandfather. For whatever reason, however, his

biological father's name does not appear on his birth registration certificate. Eventually Nakano Riichi married his mother Yoshino when he was four years of age, and was thus registered as the boy's father.¹

In 1925, at age fourteen, Sō Dōshin 宗道臣 left home and went to live with Sō Shigetō, who was residing in Manchuria at the time, while his two sisters were sent to live with his mother's family. Sō Shigetō travelled extensively between Japan and Manchuria and was well-known for his prowess in the martial arts, especially *kenjutsu* 剣術. He was a Master Instructor (*Shihan* 師範) in Tsuda Ichiden-ryū 津田一伝流, an offshoot of the Asayama Ichiden-ryū 浅山一伝流 tradition of classical swordsmanship.

Sō Dōshin's mother died in May 1926, followed by one sister in August 1926, and his remaining sister in August 1927. As fate would have it Sō Shigetō also died in August 1927. In January 1928, he volunteered to go back to Manchuria. He was posted as an assistant to Doihara Kenji of the Kantō Army, and engaged in "behind the scenes work", most likely as a spy. Doihara was eventually convicted as a war criminal and was consequently executed after the war. This raises the question as to the degree of Sō Dōshin's involvement in China, but again this is an area which has been left suspiciously vague in the official histories.²

As part of his training he was sent to a special school under the tutelage of Liang Chen. This was to be his introduction to both Buddhism and the Chinese martial arts. Liang Chen was an important figure in the Zaiji Li Society, an obscure religious secret society. He was also an instructor of the Northern Shaolin White Lotus Fist Society which traces its roots back to the Shaolin temple. Sō Dōshin travelled extensively as part of a military survey in Manchuria and had the opportunity to meet a number of leaders of various secret societies that existed throughout the region. However, suffering from typhus he was forced to return to Japan.

On January 10, 1931, he joined the 1st wing of the Air Corps at Kakamigahara in Gifu prefecture. In April he collapsed with a high fever during a night-flying training exercise and was admitted to hospital. He was diagnosed as having a heart valve disorder and was not discharged from hospital for six months.³ He was told that 70% of those discharged by the military hospital died within one year and most of the remaining 30% died within three years. Faced with his mortality, in October 1931 he decided to return to China where he remembered the kindness of Liang Chen. Upon returning to China it seems that he continued working as a spy, volunteering for many dangerous missions. Liang Chen asked him why he was in such a hurry to die, to which Sō Dōshin replied that he had a bad heart and probably had less than a year to live. Liang Chen chided him asking where he got such an absurd idea, and then commenced treating him with traditional acupuncture and acupressure which proved to be effective.

In 1932 he was transferred to Beijing where he was again assigned to work undercover. He was introduced to Liang Chen's teacher, Taizong Wen, who had been a monk in the Shaolin Temple and had inherited the headmastership of the art Yihemen Quan (the fist of righteousness and harmony) from Longbai Huang, the 19th headmaster. In 1936, Sō Dōshin was destined to inherit the headmastership becoming the 21st headmaster. He was offered the supreme role in the tradition, but at the time he did not understand the sig-

nificance of the honour bestowed on him, and took the title just to please his teachers.⁴

Apparently he visited the White Robe Hall at the Shaolin Temple with Liang Chen and Taizong Wen which is where he saw the famous mural of *Arahan* 阿羅漢 painted during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1912). The painting contains pictures of dark skinned monks practicing the fighting arts with light skinned monks. This supposedly represents Indian monks practicing with Chinese monks, and was apparently an inspiration to Sō Dōshin.⁵

In 1937, Sō Dōshin moved to Suifenhe on the border of Manchuria and became a railway security officer. In 1939, at age 28 he became the section chief for the Heilongjiang Prefecture Chamber of Commerce. Then in 1943, at 32, he was promoted to the position of general manager of the Heilongjiang Prefecture Chamber of Commerce. In August 1945, Russian troops moved into Manchuria and it took him approximately 1 year before he was able to repatriate to Japan. He states in his book *Hiden shōrinji kempō* 秘伝少林寺拳法 that as a result of his harsh experiences during and after the war he gradually came to realize the importance of the “quality of the person”.⁶ In other words, influenced by the Buddhist teachings and training he received while in China, he came to form a life philosophy which was later to be propagated through the means of the reinvented martial tradition which was eventually to become known as *shōrinji kempō*. He hoped to use his acquired knowledge in the martial arts to instil a sense of pride and social duty in Japan’s youth.⁷

The Creation of Shōrinji Kempō. Upon returning to Japan after the war in 1946, he first resided in Osaka and then moved to Tadotsu in Kagawa prefecture. He had a number memorable experiences which served to awaken him to the “decayed state of Japanese Buddhism”, prompting him to start teaching his own philosophy based on his experiences in China⁸. Few people were interested in his philosophizing, so he decided to teach *Arahan-no-Ken*, reputedly the original martial art taught at the Shaolin temple in China. It is said to be the forerunner to *Yihemen Quan*. Sō Dōshin is also said to have had a “revelation” of the Bodhidharma in which he received “divine guidance” to teach the ancient art of *Arahan-no-Ken* in order to attract and retain people’s interest in his ideas for improving society. He expressed the core teachings of this art through the terms “*kenzen ichinyō*” 拳禪一如 and “*rikiai funi*” 力愛不二, which will be explained below.

Sō Dōshin reorganized and codified the arts he learnt in both Japan and China, and added a new theoretical and philosophical structure based on personal insights gleaned through his wartime experiences. He essentially created an entirely new martial art which he called the *Nihon Seitō Hoppa Shōrinji Kempō Kai* (日本正統北派少林寺拳法協会 Japan True Transmission of Northern Shaolin Kempō Association). At first he attracted only a small number of students, but as his reputation in the community grew an influx of new students soon followed. At this time Japan was governed by occupation forces and training in the martial arts was forbidden. However, as Sō Dōshin was also active in bringing local criminals and gangs into line, the local police tended to turn a blind eye to his activities which were perceived as supplementing their lack of resources. However, due to his growing number of followers it was only a matter of time before higher authorities would start to take notice of what he was doing. In order to evade prosecution he

registered his martial arts club as a religious organisation which he justified by stating that he and his students were observing Buddhist dancing practices.⁹

In December 1948, Sō Dōshin founded an organisation called the Kō-manji Kyōdan (Red Swastika Society) which was also registered and approved as a religious group. A nationalistic Kō-manji organization also existed in China, and it is possible that the two were related in some way.¹⁰ The details and motivation of Sō Dōshin remain shrouded in history, but it is plausible that a strong sense of nationalism were at the forefront of his thinking. It was suggested in *What is Shōrinji Kempō?*, (Sō Dōshin 1970)¹¹, that part of his motivation at least was to create a group of strongly committed individuals who could, if it became necessary, intervene in domestic politics.

He also founded the Nihon Shōrinji Budō Senmon Gakkō (日本少林寺拳法専門学校 Japan Shaolin Martial Academy), now known as the Zenrin Gakuen. This academy was set up to train future teachers of *shōrinji kempō* and future leaders of society. In 1951, the laws concerning religious organizations were reformulated prompting Sō Dōshin to change the group's name to Kongō Zen Sōhonzan Shōrinji 金剛禪総本山少林寺.¹² In 1963, the Japan Shōrinji Kempō Federation was established (Shadan Hōjin Nihon Shōrinji Kempō Renmei 社団法人少林寺拳法連盟), and is now referred to as the Shōrinji Kempō Federation Foundation (Zaidan Hōjin Shōrinji Kempō Renmei 財団法人少林寺拳法連盟.) In 1974, the World Shōrinji Kempō Organization (WSKO) was also established (Shōrinji Kempō Sekai Rengō 少林寺拳法世界連合).

Sō Dōshin spent 30 years devoted to “building his organization in order to restore moral sense among the Japanese, love of their country, and their confidence and courage.” His motivation is expressed through the phrase he often used “half for one’s own happiness and half for the happiness of others”.¹³

Sō Dōshin died in May 1980. The daughter from his third marriage, Sō Yūki, now heads the Shōrinji Kempō organisations.

Characteristics of Shōrinji Kempō. Firstly, the techniques of *shōrinji kempō* can be separated broadly into *gōhō* (剛法 hard method), *jūhō* (柔法 soft method), and *seihō* 整法 (healing method). The *gōhō* set of techniques entail methods for receiving an opponent’s strikes, kicks, or thrusts by deflecting and then counterattacking. *Jūhō* are techniques utilised when an opponent grabs the arm or clothing. Their momentum and power is turned against them by joint manipulation and reverse throws and holds. The *seihō* techniques are a combination of *jūjutsu katsu* 柔術活 or *kappō* 活法 and acupuncture or massage. As the degree of training and level of the exponent increases, both *gōhō* and *jūhō* types progress toward becoming a single body of techniques. In order to successfully subdue an opponent based on counter-movements and the particular situation, the exponent is required to master both the hard and soft methods, adapt them, and be able to use them effectively without consciously discerning between them.

The core philosophy of *shōrinji kempō* as espoused by Sō Dōshin is that it is “the quality of the person above all that matters.” This concept is further defined as being achieved through attention to ‘*jiko kakuritsu*’¹⁴ and ‘*jita kyōraku*’¹⁵ (“developing yourself” and “half for your own happiness, half for the happiness of others”). These concepts

are broken down even further into 6 distinguishing characteristics of *shōrinji kempō* of which the first 2 overall principles are:

- *Kenzen ichinyo*= the proper way of training.¹⁶
- *Rikiai funi*= the proper way of acting or behaving.¹⁷

The next two principles are concerned with actual application of techniques for proper use:

- *Shushu kōjū* 守主攻従= not attacking first.
- *Fusatsu katsujin* 不殺活人= improve the lives of others and your own life will be improved.

The final two principles refer with the method of practicing techniques:

- *Gōjū ittai*= hard and soft conjoined.¹⁸
- *Kumite shutai* 組手主体= practice based on mutual cooperation.

Fundamentally speaking, for an individual to make progress and develop, they need to consciously make efforts throughout their lives. Development is necessarily a lifelong process of gradual accumulation and adjustment. Even though one might make great improvement actual ‘enlightenment’ is unlikely. Still the journey is deemed worth the effort and thus encouraged as the main objective of training in *shōrinji kempō*.

The question then arises as to how to go about this development. Clearly a closeted book approach is not going to be of any practical value when confronted with a physical reality. Neither is pure brawn of any use in an increasingly intellectual society. What is required is a balanced approach as expressed through the common saying in the Japanese martial world, ‘*bunbu ryōdō*’ 文武兩道, or the pursuit of both a martial and literary (academic or arts) path which serves to complement each other.

The principles of training in *shōrinji kempō* are therefore expressed as ‘*kenzen ichinyo*’. ‘*Ken*’ refers to training in the physical techniques and, *zen* to the spiritual. In *shōrinji kempō*, the physical techniques refer not just to the ability to fling someone to the floor, but to the physical skills one needs to survive in society. ‘*Zen*’ here means the mental, spiritual, psychological skills needed to live a healthy well balanced life. The concept of ‘*rikiai funi*’ is similar, but with a slightly different perspective. Rather than solely focussing on one’s own development, it expresses the desired attitude that one should also cooperate with others for their benefit and development. ‘*Riki*’ is strength or power, but in the sense of capacity and ability to do things. ‘*Ai*’ means ‘benevolence’ rather than ‘love’ as it is commonly mistaken. In both ‘*kenzen ichinyo*’ and ‘*rikiai funi*’ the idea is that both sides of the equation are one and the same, whether it is expressed through ‘*ichinyo*’ or ‘*funi*.’ This is a holistic idea, which suggests that they are inseparable even though they might appear dualistic.

The next two concepts are concerned with one’s approach to training or methodology. ‘*Shushu kōjū*’, is usually taken to mean “don’t attack but defend first, and counter attack only if necessary.” However, this is a somewhat misguided interpretation, albeit the official one. The true meaning is to have the strength not be a victim. It is important to develop strength to enable defence against any attack. This might be said to create a

sort of détente in which both parties can coexist because neither has the ability to destroy the other. The principle of '*fusatsu katsujin*' is the corollary of this in that it inspires you to 'awaken' both yourself and others to their potential, and the potential of cooperating with each other.

The last two points concern actual practice. '*Gōjū ittai*' suggests that 'hard' and 'soft' approaches are part and parcel of each other. This is a reflection of yin-yang where each element is inseparable and one always flows into the other. In a technical sense, this means that there are never just hard karate-like punches or kicks or only soft *aikidō* like throws but a mixture of both flowing into a single whole. In a broader sense, this means that soft and hard approaches to daily problems need to be mixed according to circumstances.

'*Kumite shutai*' is a reminder that one can't make progress without the cooperation of other people. You might try to improve yourself but if you do so at the expense of others you are actually not making any progress as you will in effect be alienating yourself. Cooperation is always necessary for true development of the self, and development of the self through cooperation always leads to development of society.

The above is a synopsis of *shōrinji kempō* and the background and ideals of the founder. Compared to other *budō* arts such as *kendō*, *judō* and so on, *shōrinji kempō*, is a relatively new post-war creation. Even so, it is included among the nine 'traditional' *budō* arts represented by the Nippon Budokan Foundation. Some twenty years ago the Shōrinji Kempō Federation sent its first ambassadors abroad to teach the art, and there are now strong communities in several countries around the world. The United Kingdom, France, and Indonesia in particular have strong *shōrinji kempō* groups. In all there are some 2,300 branches in 31 countries around the world. According to WSKO records, the total number of registered practitioners is reputedly almost 1,500,000 people. The bulk of membership is supposedly in Japan but it is growing significantly outside Japan. WSKO is now facing difficulties similar to those faced by other *budō* organisations in their early stages of internationalisation, especially in regards to keeping tabs on the extent of popularization, and more importantly maintaining control.

It is not absolutely clear what the number of active practitioners is in Japan, but it is estimated to be around 50,000 according to official records at the headquarters. In South East Asia, *shōrinji kempō* is practised in Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, and Indonesia, all being governed by WSKO. Of the countries outside Japan where *shōrinji kempō* is found, Indonesia has by far the largest number of exponents. In fact, it is plausible that there are more practitioners in Indonesia than in Japan, although this is difficult to verify due to the unreliable statistics of membership in both countries.¹⁹ Either way, *shōrinji kempō* boasts immense popularity in Indonesia, and the next part of this paper will investigate why this is the case.

History and Development of the Indonesian Shōrinji Kempō Federation

PERKEMI (Persaudaraan Beladiri Kempō Indonesia or Indonesian Shōrinji Kempō Federation) was established on February 2, 1966. The founders were Indra Kartasasmita (currently Federation Vice Chairperson, WSKO Director), Ginanjar Kartasasmita (currently Federation Executive Committee member), and Sidharta Martoredjo (currently

Federation Executive Committee member), and a number of other Indonesian exchange students who engaged in the study of *shōrinji kempō* while in Japan.

In 1960, the late Utin Shaharaz and a number of other Indonesian exchange students joined the Tokyo Agricultural University Shōrinji Kempō Club. They were instrumental in encouraging their tight-knit community of compatriots at other universities to also take up the art. Indra was a graduate student at Kyoto's Doshisha University, and learning about *shōrinji kempō* from Ginanjar, he later joined the *dōjō* in Kyoto and received direct instruction from Sō Dōshin.

Upon concluding their studies in Japan, the students returned to Indonesia and formed a federation, successfully receiving governmental authorisation. Yoga Soegomo, then an army general was elected as the first Chairman and a subsequent conscientious drive was made to increase membership numbers throughout the country.

Kusumo Martoredjo, Jaji Santora, Rob Lucas, Jackson Sein, Tammy Dow, Arco Sabahgyo, and Ade Kadeiman were among the first recruits. From the outset, the organisation enforced a rule "creating cadres" which obligated members to introduce two new acquaintances upon reaching the grade of 3rd *kyū* 級. PERKEMI has been affiliated to KONI (Indonesia National Sports Committee/Olympic Council of Indonesia) since January 1968 initially as a provisional member, and consequently receiving full membership on September 25, 1970. PERKEMI joined the International Shorinji Kempo (currently World Shorinji Kempo Organization) on December 22, 1970.

Due to the shortage of experienced instructors capable of dealing with the ever-increasing number of new members, Indra requested that Sō Dōshin send an instructor from Japan to improve the overall level and help train instructors to alleviate the situation. Tokai University Shōrinji Kempō Club alumnus Satō Masami was dispatched from Japan for this purpose. Taking temporary leave from his work and leaving his family behind, Satō spent two years in Indonesia and is remembered fondly for his harsh training regimes, which reared many of Indonesia's current instructors.

The Current Situation of PERKEMI

PERKEMI organizational structure is as follows:

- Central Executive Board in Capital City.
- Regional Boards (Board in Provinces as activities coordinator in Provinces to supervise Branches.)
- Branches (in Regencies, Districts, and administrative towns.)
- Individual *dōjō* (as training places under branch Organization such as offices, universities, sub-districts, high schools, primary schools or the same level.)

Presently, active members number around 24,000, although the overall membership is said to exceed 80,000. There are 143 branches and a further 640 *dōjō*. *Shōrinji kempō* is practised in all prefectures of Indonesia and there are over 1,000 *dan* grade holders. The federation officially works to educate "leaders of society," and in addition to sponsoring regular national and regional seminars and tournaments, also sends exponents to inter-

national tournaments. In 1985, a 2000m² Central Federation Dōjō was completed near Jakarta.

Perhaps one of the important reasons for the successful propagation of *shōrinji kempō* in Indonesia compared to other nations outside Japan is due to the political influence and social status of the driving members. The first exchange students from Indonesia to Japan were generally so-called “elite” students who for the most part were guaranteed influential posts in academia or the civil service. After forming PERKEMI, they actively sought to utilize their network of contacts to add legitimacy and political clout to their ranks. Hence, the move to have an army general appointed as the first chairman. Even now, Indra and nearly all of the early Indonesian *shōrinji kempō* pioneers occupy important posts in national organizations, and hold tremendous influence in the country.

The style of *shōrinji kempō* propagated in Indonesia is very much in tune with the philosophy of the founder Sō Dōshin, who is still revered as a great leader worthy of emulation. In Indra’s words, “In my Kyoto days, Kaisō told us stories like this. When *sensei* returned home, Japan had just lost the war, and so all the Japanese people were hanging their heads. So, he spread *shōrinji kempō* to raise the spirits of his countrymen. So he said that I, too, should do *shōrinji kempō* to cultivate the country. My instruction is really tough, so even if 100 enter, about 3 stay. But those three people are people who would stake their lives on something if it were for *shōrinji kempō* or for the country. I’m raising people like that to make Indonesia a magnificent country.”²⁰

Judging by the comparatively large membership of the Indonesian organisation, one could assume that *shōrinji kempō* offers the Indonesian practitioner many individual advantages and benefits other than zeal to improve society at large. We conducted a survey to try and ascertain the motivations of Indonesians who practice the art. Due to Ramadan and the timing of this survey we were unable to collate all the data we had intended. However, we were able to receive responses from 137 Indonesian *shōrinji kempō* practitioners of various ranks with an average age of 30.8 years.

Survey of Indonesian *Shōrinji Kempō* Exponents

Firstly, we investigated the motivation for starting *Shōrinji Kempō*. Here, the overwhelming majority (85%) fell into the category of wanting to learn self-defence. This may be connected with an increase in violent crime in recent years and religious and political unrest. The other significant motivation for starting *shōrinji kempō* was an interest in Japanese culture. At 8%, this is significantly lower than self-defence motivations, but clearly indicates strong interest and respect for things Japanese in Indonesia.

The vast majority of Indonesian *kenshi* 拳士 also indicated that they considered *shōrinji kempō* a lifelong pursuit. This is related to the fact that 100% of respondents agree or strongly agree that *shōrinji kempō* has improved their physical condition, and 77% replied that they believe *shōrinji kempō* has facilitated in their spiritual well-being. Again, 100% of respondents agreed that their study of *shōrinji kempō* has in some way contributed positively to their character development. These are all areas which are heavily emphasized in Japan as well, where spiritual well-being and character development

are considered the main objectives for training in *shōrinji kempō*, and indeed other *budō* arts. Of course, it is difficult to gage the extent of spiritual and character growth, but the important point here is that the respondents are aware that such attributes are an important part of their participation in the art.

Interestingly, the majority of respondents (91%) also considered competition to be an important component of *shōrinji kempō*. Although this survey was not conducted on Japanese practitioners for comparison, the general attitude in regards to competition in *budō* circles is that although important, it is not a core objective. If anything, an obsession with winning or losing detracts from the ultimate objective of character development. Evidently, Indonesian exponents are more open to the importance of competition, although it must be pointed out that 48% disagreed that it was the most important aspect.

What then was considered to be the most important aspect of *Shōrinji Kempō*? One thing that is in accordance with Japanese *dōjō* norms is the emphasis placed on etiquette. Etiquette and respect for one's opponent forms the philosophical basis for all *budō* arts, and this is obviously adhered to in the Indonesian *shōrinji kempō dōjō* that our survey participants belonged to. The premise behind the importance placed on etiquette is that it is thanks to one's opponent that one is able to use *shōrinji kempō* as a vehicle for self-development. Sō Dōshin is often quoted when expressing the importance of etiquette, or *rei*. "Relations among people should begin with *rei* (courtesy) and end with *rei*. If the *rei* is done properly, then one's posture corrects itself, and one's heart corrects itself spontaneously. If the heart is right, dignity will naturally adhere, and the conduct of *rei* will be a stately and flawlessly splendid thing. Ritual protects the body, beautifies society, and is an essential element in governing a country." (Translation from Shukyō Hōjin Sōhonzan Shōrinji *Shōrinji Kempō Kyōhan* 宗教法人総本山少林寺『少林寺拳法教範』(1979), p153).

Thus, one's opponent should not be considered an enemy *per se*, but as a partner whose cooperation is necessary for personal advancement. Etiquette is vital in ensuring safety in the *dōjō* and also maintaining the hierarchical order of the practitioners. Without rules of courtesy, there is always the danger that *budō* will degenerate into a violent and chaotic activity rather than one of harmonic relationships and physical and spiritual well-being. This lies at the core of *shōrinji kempō* philosophy.

In regards to respect for one's opponent, predictably, the majority of respondents replied that this aspect of their training was emphasised in their *dōjō*. However, 3% replied that respect for training partners/opponents was not given much weight. This may be a result of the emphasis that seems to be placed in some *dōjō* on competition. When the ultimate goal becomes centred on achieving good tournament results, the opponent is apt to be considered an obstacle rather than an object of respect. This is particularly visible among younger practitioners.

Further, in regards to etiquette and respect, all of the respondents indicated that Japanese forms of etiquette, and Japanese language was frequently used in the *dōjō*. Presumably, the representative form of etiquette performed by the Indonesian practitioners is the *gasshō-rei* 合掌礼. This is the *shōrinji kempō* greeting in which the left and right palms are held together in front of the face. This form of etiquette distinguishes *shōrinji kempō*

from other *budō* arts which utilise the standard bow (standing and seated) to express respect to opponents. The *gasshō-rei* is consciously performed to display an attitude of equality, and also expresses an attitude of mutual support and respect. In short, it expresses physically the thoughts of “self establishment” and “happiness for self and others.” This facet is obviously underlined in Indonesian *shōrinji kempō* circles.

When talking of such attributes there is always overlap with religious attitudes. In our survey 68% of the respondents were Muslim, 9% Catholic, and 23% Protestant. There were no Buddhists among the respondents. Nevertheless, the large majority (97%) stated that *shōrinji kempō* did not conflict with their religion. One of the reasons why *budō* has such a large following around the world is because it is able to override most religious affiliation. Depending on one’s definition of a religion, it is reasonable to classify *budō* as a form of religion itself. However, rather than being seen as openly in competition with other religious affiliations, *budō* is mainly viewed as being a complimentary activity due to the stress placed on harmony, respect, and courtesy etc. However, *shōrinji kempō* and the philosophy, or perhaps, religious doctrine as espoused through Kongō Zen are gaining popularity throughout the world, though largely through the art rather than the religion. A great deal of care is used to avoid mention of the religious aspects outside of Japan, particularly in those countries where it might be a sensitive issue. However, an increasing number of practitioners are exposed to the Kongō Zen side of the art through trips to Japan and information available on the internet. Nevertheless, this is an aspect that is apparently not emphasised in Indonesia.

Finally, the overwhelming majority of Indonesian *shōrinji kempō* practitioners (89%) expressed a desire to visit Japan to continue their studies in the suzerain nation. This again attests to the respect and interest in Japan nourished by participation in a Japanese *budō* art, especially considering that the majority of *shōrinji kempō* practitioners in Indonesia started because they wanted to learn an effective martial art for self-defence. As the numbers of practitioners continue to grow in Indonesia, it is foreseeable that many will eventually come to Japan to study.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we discovered through our survey that *shōrinji kempō* maintains a very good reputation in Indonesia. This can be attested to by the disproportionate number of practitioners compared to neighbouring countries in South East Asia. There is evidently a significant attraction to the philosophical concepts promoted by the founder of *shōrinji kempō* to maintain harmony and respect for other individuals. This is thought to contribute not only to self-development, but also to the betterment of society as a whole. Of course, this is the official line, and undoubtedly there are many practitioners who are primarily still interested in acquiring unarmed combat skills or glory through winning competitions. Nevertheless, through our survey we were able to establish that at least the higher principles (minus the Kongō Zen teachings) of *shōrinji kempō* were very much recognised, and considered ideals for aspiration in the course of a life-long career studying the art. Considering that 83% of respondents consider *shōrinji kempō* to have a favourable reputation in Indonesia, and also taking into consideration that many of the officials who head

the Indonesian organisation also hold influential positions in government and other social organisations, it is certain that *shōrinji kempō* will continue to grow in the region.

Shōrinji kempō is but one of the Japanese martial arts found in South East Asia. It was evident from this limited investigation that Japan and its people and culture were greatly respected by the practitioners of *shōrinji kempō*. It is plausible that similar trends and attitudes can be found among the hundreds of thousands of practitioners of other arts as well. Although it is not widely recognised in Japan, the *budō* arts that have disseminated successfully throughout the region are considered to be a great asset in the lives of the practitioners. As such, we think it is fair to say that *budō* should be highly praised as a great diplomatic and political asset to Japan in that they foster respect and goodwill on a scale that would be greatly envied by any ministry of foreign or cultural affairs. Still, significantly more research needs to be done to ascertain the extent of popularization in the region in order to validate of this final statement.

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NOTES

1 It should be noted here that the founder changed his name to Nakano Dōshin in 1950, and then to Sō Dōshin in 1963. In this paper he will be referred to as Sō Dōshin.

2 On the inside back cover of Sō Dōshin's *What is Shōrinji Kempō?* it states "In 1928 Dōshin Sō returned to Manchuria, this time as a member of a secret organization. To facilitate his covert activities, he became a disciple of a Taoist priest who was also an executive of Zaijari secret society and a master of the Byakurenmonken, a branch of kempo originating at the Shōrinji."

3 Suzuki Yoshitaka 鈴木義孝, "Shōrinji kempō" in *Nihon budō taikai* Vol. 8 (Imamura Yoshio et al. ed.), p. 418.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 420.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 402.

6 人、人、人、すべては人の質にある

7 Suzuki Yoshitaka, *op cit.*, p. 403.

8 There is a dramatized movie of Sō Dōshin's story entitled '*Shōrinji kempō*' produced in 1975 in Japanese: A dubbed English version entitled 'The Killing Machine' starring Chiba Sonny is also available.

9 Suzuki Yoshitaka, *op cit.*, p. 405.

10 The Chinese Kō-manji organization was said to be a sister organization of the religious group Ōmoto-kyō 大本教 founded by Deguchi Nao 出口なお and Deguchi Onisaburo 出口王仁三郎. The Ōmoto-kyō played an important role in the life of Ueshiba Morihei 植芝盛平, the founder of *aikidō*. There is a rumour that Sō Dōshin and Ueshiba Morihei met in Manchuria. Also of significance is that Sasagawa Ryōichi 笹川良一, who was an active supporter of *Shōrinji kempō* is also said to have been a member of the Chinese Kō-manji organization.

11 When he returned to Japan at age 17 he did so under the patronage of Mitsuru Toyama, the founder of the ultratriotic Amur River Society (so called Black Dragon Society) and a friend of Sō's grandfather.

12 Suzuki Yoshitaka, *op cit.*, p. 406.

13 "*Nakaba wa jiko no shiawase o, nakaba wa hito no shiawase o.*" 半ばは自己の幸せを、半ばは人の幸せを (Sō Dōshin (1963)).

14 自己確立

15 自他共楽

16 拳禪一如

17 力愛不二

18 剛柔一体

19 There are reputedly 24,000 active practitioners in Indonesia. It is plausible that the figures are inflated somewhat and it is difficult to discern accurate numbers. It is highly likely that the disparity in membership is not as great as these numbers suggest and it is also possible that Indonesia has more active members than in Japan.

20 <http://www.shorinjikempo.or.jp/wsko/wh-wsko/federation/indonesian.html>