

## **Diffusion and Acceptance of Jiu-Jitsu in Argentina in the Early 20th Century : Eyes of the local society toward Japan and comprehension of Jiu-Jitsu**

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**Abstract:** This paper inquires into the logic of intercultural transfer and the dynamism of cultural transfiguration through the diffusion of Jiu-Jitsu from Japan to Argentina, at the turn of the 20th century. One of the main assignments examined in studies of sport and physical education in recent years has been to deconstruct an ethnocentric interpretation by re-approaching to the history of overseas propagation of Budo with special focus on bilateral cultural relationships, and this study reveals some new viewpoints on these assignments from South America.

The conclusions of this paper are as follows.

Firstly, Argentina re-recognized Japan as a kind of fellow being, for the point of heading to Westernization while belonging to the non-West. In this point, on the view of Japan from Argentina was via a European intermediary.

Secondly, that is why Argentina was deliberate for an intake of Jiu-Jitsu as a symbol of Japanese culture. In other words, Jiu-Jitsu was a culture of bleached off nationality. At this point, Jiu-Jitsu can be described that was freed from its certain national endemism, or that was taken into a new international hierarchy while resonating with cultural imperialism.

Thirdly, however if to look at the accepting scenes, there is a tendency to take in Jiu-Jitsu as a different culture into the local interpretation with the additional meanings. Through this sort of acculturation there is an opportunity of the locals to create values on their own initiative. This cannot be deciphered only passively by the cultural imperialism perspective for Jiu-Jitsu acceptance.

**Keywords:** Jiu-Jitsu, diffusion, Argentina, cultural transfiguration, duality of an eye

### **Introduction**

In the recent years, studies for historical consideration of Jiu-Jitsu (one of the traditional Japanese hand to hand style martial arts) diffusion overseas in the early 20th century are becoming accumulated. As an example, Niehaus's work targeted on Germany shows that Jiu-Jitsu was Germanized in the process of its acceptance into German society. Thus it was

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considered as a Germanic thing, which therefore is considered as a modern culture. Although Judo that arrived to Germany later, it was considered as a Japanese thing, hence as a traditional culture.<sup>1</sup> In this outlook, there is an opportunity shown to reconsider the dualism such as Jiu-Jitsu=a traditional culture, and Judo=a modern culture. A study on sports clubs in France by Brousse points out that flexible physical understandings and activities became the base of Jiu-Jitsu acceptance.<sup>2</sup> His work contains the critically examinable viewpoint for comprehensions in Japan that Dojo (Japanese budo gym) should be the base of Budo (a collective term of modernized Japanese martial arts) acceptance. Furthermore, Okada reveals that Jiu-Jitsu acceptance in the United Kingdom became connected to “Physical Culture”, which was to create the imperialistic human body at public level.<sup>3</sup> “Although “Physical Culture” is a physical exercise that clearly includes a vulgar recreational element, it may deconstruct the style of Jiu-Jitsu diffusion that comes with some sort of earnestness. Other than above cases, there is a study by Yabu on Jiu-Jitsu acceptance in the United States focusing on deciphering the meaning of acculturation through covering the local textbooks and performances about a various kind of martial arts.<sup>4</sup>

By the way, the purpose of above studies focusing on Jiu-Jitsu diffusion in the turn of last century is presumed to clarify following points. First, to decipher Jiu-Jitsu spread and acceptance not by preserving a cultural uniqueness or cultural rightfulness, but focusing on added meanings in the local society. Second, to bring in social-history perspectives to history of Budo, whilst examining the added meanings with understandings for the local history and society background. Third, to emphasize the characteristics of time background of the early 20th century. This period of time was the beginning of spots globalization from the West, as well as the time of various physical exercises integrated with nationalism were generated in the flow of “the West” and “non-West”.<sup>5</sup> To sum up, these studies purposed to free Jiu-Jitsu diffusion from its personal history by focusing on its accepting process from social-history perspectives, and eventually to take it into history of global physical-exercise-culture diffusion.

However, the accumulated studies are not sufficient. Precisely non of these researches cover Jiu-Jitsu diffusion in non-Western regions. Hence, this paper hopes to be a help for understanding Jiu-Jitsu diffusion in South America by disclosing the case of Shotaro Fukuoka to Argentina. If to look at the relations of South America including Argentina-Japan, and - Europe geopolitically, some difference from the case of the West must be discovered. Firstly, from European point of view South America belongs to “non-West”, but the modernization has been accomplished by many European immigrants. Especially in Argentina, 90% of its population is Caucasians, and “the West” has strongly influenced the society. Secondly, if to segment “the West” and “non-West”, both Argentina and Japan would belong to “non-West”, however it would result differently when to question “orient” or not. Thus, it should be difficult to use the Western structure of Jiu-Jitsu acceptance with Orientalism against Japan, to South American cases. Which means that examining this case will be able to show a part of multiple and complicated routes of Jiu-Jitsu diffusion overseas.

This paper takes procedure as follows. First, Fukuoka’s profile and his path of entering to Argentina, then eyes on Japan from Argentina through the press report on Russo-Japanese

War will be disclosed. Second, an eye on Jiu-Jitsu from Argentina will be examined including an imagined-geography of Japan and Europe. Third, the added meanings on Jiu-Jitsu in the process of acceptance by the local sports clubs will be deciphered with care of local understandings for sports. This paper will use as primary references privately own photographs, local newspapers, memoirs of sports clubs. These references are from hearing investigations in 2004 May with Shigeru Fukuoka, and in 2007 August to September on La Capital Museo de Periodico, Biblioteca Municipal de Rosario, Hugo G. Fernandez (who is the member of Rosario Japanese Association, the representative of Karate Puma (KAPU) and knows Fukuoka's activity), Joan B. Arrospegaray's (describe later) daughter - Maria, Raimondo Takeshi Fukuoka (the son of Fukuoka, living in Paraguay).

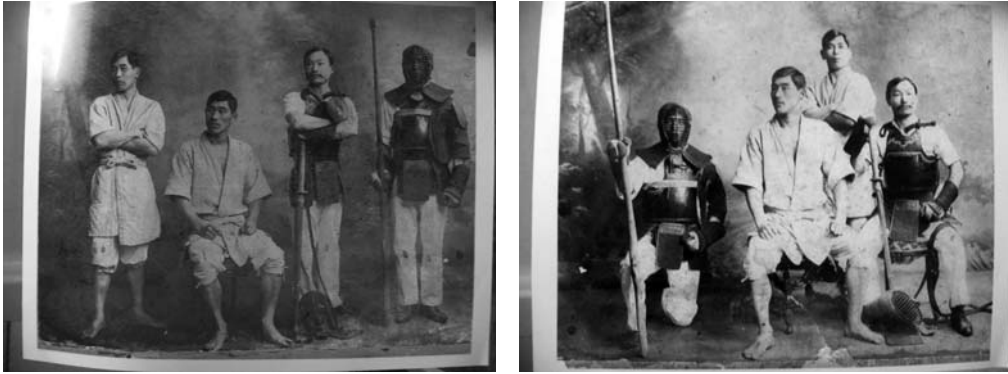
As to note, there is a directly related prior research to this paper by Yabu.<sup>6</sup> This paper succeeds to Yabu's previous work, but there should have been even more careful examination done in following points. First, an eye of Argentina on Japan and Jiu-Jitsu through Russo-Japanese War was depicted as if there was no conflict or reluctance of accepting a different culture. Second, it was not clear that what local culture or value merged with Jiu-Jitsu acceptance. Thus, if clarify above points, then the cultural meaning of Jiu-Jitsu as a different culture Fukuoka brought to Argentina, and rhetoric of cultural translation in the process of accepting a different culture can be deciphered.

Before proceeding to main chapters, it is needed to indicate the understanding for words of Budo, Bu-Jitsu and Jiu-Jitsu. According to Inoue, Budo is 'the culture shaped during the process of "modernization" in Bu-Jitsu and Bugei since mid-Meiji time'<sup>7</sup>, and is a general term for martial arts from modern Japan e.g. Judo and Kendo. On the other hand, a general term, Bu-Jitsu, e.g. Jiu-Jitsu and Ken-Jitsu can be considered as the culture with insufficient modernization process. However, when look at the meaning of 'modernization' this binary understanding is not sufficient. Because, the significant condition for modernized Budo listed as eliminating violence, theorizing, and adding educational value is not done by a certain Japanese organization, and un-modernized Jiu-Jitsu can possibly gain the modern meanings on its diffusion process as shown later in this paper. For above reasons, this paper will deal with Jiu-Jitsu as Bu-Jitsu but in Budo history so that more alternatives can be sought in dynamic historical images.

## **I Fukuoka's activity to reach coming to Argentina and an eye on Japan from Argentina**

### **I-1 A visit of Shotaro Fukuoka to the U.S. and a barnstorm trip in Europe**

Shotaro Fukuoka was born in 1878 June 19th, as the oldest son of Zensuke and Naka, who run a wholesale store for guns and gunpowder in Karatsu city, Saga prefecture. Fukuoka graduated from Karatsu middle school (present name: Saga prefectural Karatsuhigashi high school) around 1895, and married to Eki Nagata in 1898, had a son, Teruo two years later. His personal history and style of Jiu-Jitsu are unsure, but he probably learned Jiu-Jitsu in his schooling period or from the warrior class people who frequently visited his parents' store for



**Figure 1: photograph of Fukuoka on his barnstorm trip in Europe**

Source: owning by Shigeru Fukuoka

business.<sup>8</sup>

The detail of Fukuoka's visit to the U.S. is unclear, but it was in 1902 and gave a performance match there.<sup>9</sup> Then he went to the U.K. in 1903 and traveled and performed around Europe such as France to Germany. He came back to the U.S. in 1905 February, and settled himself in New York for his activity.<sup>10</sup> However, despite of the U.S. was in Jiu-Jitsu boom back then, the detail of his activity is yet unclear. At this time Jiu-Jitsu performance was on a theater and vaudeville everyday, thus the total number of performers is unknown. But Fukuoka must have been one of those many unnamed Jiu-Jitsu performers.

Figure 1 is a photograph of Fukuoka on his barnstorm trip in Europe. There are no details for the people in this photo, but presuming from their clothes, they should be a Jiu-Jitsu expert, a Ken-Jitsu (traditional Japanese sword fighting method) expert, and a So-Jitsu (traditional Japanese spear fighting method) expert. A spotlight should be on the fact of Bujitsu (a collective term of traditional Japanese martial arts) experts in different events grouped together and performed together. The reasons should be to avoid financial burden, for their security, and to perform effectively for audience. Notably, that various Bu-Jitsu gathered in one place must have attracted vulgar interests of audience, because they were interested in different cultures than high technical performance that Bu-Jitsu has to offer. After all, that Bu-Jitsu experts from different events did performance together indicates that various Bu-Jitsus' diffusion overseas have not been accomplished individually, but interacting shaping a complex route.

Fukuoka, by the way, 'signed a contract to the casino'<sup>11</sup> and visited Buenos Aires in 1906 January. It is conceivable that he made an agreement with some impresario then went to Buenos Aires. After having a match there, Fukuoka<sup>12</sup> went up North for 300km to Rosario, Santa Fe. At the time Rosario, the port town, had a population of 200,000, of which 1/6 of Buenos Aires, was the second biggest city in Argentina with thrivingly growing industries.<sup>13</sup>

### **I-2 An eye on Japan from Argentina through Russo-Japanese War**

In the early 20th century, the time of imperialism, Japan and Russia had the war, but Argentina also had an extremely delicate situation with Chile. This armed clash crisis was avoided shortly before it happened. The two battleships built for this crisis were purchased by Japan and regimented to Japanese Navy. The background of this purchase is not only that these advanced warships were built in the U.K. who was allied with Japan, but also the Navy of Japan and Argentina had been in a friendly relation since the late 19th century.

Under these circumstances Argentinian government accredited a four-striper Manuel D. Garcia as an officer to observe Russo-Japanese War and ordered him to report the detail of the war.<sup>14</sup> His report can be summarized as following three points. First, Japan has achieved modernization in a short period and it was supported by patriotism, and disciplinary rule and obedience based on fidelity for the nation. Second, Japanese Military forces are not a deteriorated imitation of Western army, but it is a re-formation best suited to Japan. Third, Argentinians tend to judge the Japanese as an inferior race, and Japan as being quite alien and immature nation, but it is wrong.

Imai states that the local newspapers actively reported the details of Russo-Japanese War and their tone was basically to require a correction for white-superior understandings for Japan due to Japan's victory.<sup>15</sup> At any rate, why did Russo-Japanese War possibly became a big interest that even shakes up Japan's position? That is related to the geopolitical position of Argentina.

As Argentina was casting off backwardness of South America and becoming to have a firm footing of a modern nation, it was deemed necessary to throw away its old values and social regime, then learn the Western politic, economy and culture. Thus, Argentina aggressively consumed social evolutionism that the West top hierarchy was embedded, and aspired to become an advanced white society of British and French as an absolute must.<sup>16</sup> However, on the other hand Argentina will never gain an absolutely equal position to Europe, unless completely removing the indigenous and mixed blood people. Because Argentina accepts social evolutionism whilst there is a conflict in its logic, she has rewritten some points to overcome this conflict and fit to Argentinian case; a racial defect based on genetics is reformable by education.<sup>17</sup>

Come to think of Russo-Japanese War, for Argentina who espouses social evolutionism, it was almost a turn over for its logical correctness because "inferior" Orient-Japan has beaten "superior" West-Russia. On the other hand, the victory of Japan was showing that a non-Western nation is capable becoming equal to the West. That is why Argentina did not show contempt and reread Japan was westernized, so that Japan's position was revised upward without losing a frame of the social evolutionism. In other words, it was necessary to cut off Japan from "Orient", because interpreting Japan's victory negatively would have resulted to deny Argentina's own development whilst belonging to non-West.

However, it is notable that this positive valuation is not the direct one but coming through an intermediary of Europe. Because, an eye on Jiu-Jitsu which described later will have an inflected comprehension by the same prism. In this point an eye on Japan from

Argentina is not one-sided, but embedded details will be examined later.

## II Eyes on Jiu-Jitsu in the local newspapers

In 1906 October Fukuoka won the entertainment match with the British wrestler, Frank Brown,<sup>18</sup> and became a warrant officer of the Rosario city police due to an arrangement made by the officer who watched his game. Then Fukuoka became a mounted police patrolling around the city, as well as a Jiu-Jitsu trainer for the city police officers.<sup>19</sup> Later he also taught Jiu-Jitsu at the Santa Fe state police school. He was deemed to have ran a Jiu-Jitsu studio (Dojo). He stayed in Rosario until 1915 and was recorded as the first Japanese migrated to Rosario.<sup>20</sup> At any rate, why did Fukuoka get hired as a police officer who is in charge of security, in Argentina where no other Japanese and strong racial discrimination based on Yellow Peril were existing? The reason can be sought into the impact of the entertainment match and Fukuoka's personality. However, this paper will examine it in basis of an eye on Jiu-Jitsu of the local society.

### II-1 The British and French police and Jiu-Jitsu

In 1906 August 3rd, the most influential news paper in Rosario, *La Capital* published an article of "an academy for the police".<sup>21</sup> The content encouraged a qualitative progress for the Argentina police, whilst introducing the contemporary condition of both British and French police. As a background of this, there was increasing public anxiety by urbanization. That is, firstly a large-scale influx of immigrants,<sup>22</sup> secondly an increasing number of conventillo (a residential complex for low-income laborers), slums, brothels and crime rates,<sup>23</sup> thirdly a hygiene issue as represented by yellow fever, and lastly a demand for wage increase by an enhanced labor movement and an active strike movement. Accordingly on this article, the British and French police were treated as "guardians of the nation" to fulfill a duty for peace of the nation and security of the people.

In a basis of the above tone, Jiu-Jitsu was spotlighted as a method of the police training. The article argued that Jiu-Jitsu's 'excellence is acknowledged across the world today', and 'Jiu-Jitsu is a very effective method for a vicious attack from the famous "blackguard"', and reported about Jiu-Jitsu training in the French police school, and a three-week obligation for Jiu-Jitsu training in the U.K. This article evaluated Jiu-Jitsu very positively and concluded as; 'the British and French officers, who to become "guardians for the nation", learn the most specially important skills- Jiu-Jitsu. Learning about this anatomy is very much of advantage in helping the injured and casualties at accidents.'

At this point, the police was required various functions due to complexation of an urban social structure. To say simply, for an usage of an authority with the national indemnity, on one hand the police was expected a role of a violent equipment to restrain violence, but on the other hand a purpose of "to keep people alive (not to kill)" was pursued. Jiu-Jitsu was considered as a method to gain above both at the same time. This article ended as follows.

'As the Paris and London police demanded (functional enhancement in an urban city and rearing the highly qualified officers), New York and many other cities across the world demand the same. What gained at the academy for protecting people should be understood as to bring a certainly wonderful result. We have to imitate the police training taken in the neighboring countries, and it won't be useless.'<sup>24</sup>

Based upon on above understanding as a premise, the reason why Jiu-Jitsu has been utilized in Argentina will be taken a deep look whilst paying attention to a relation between Argentina and the Western countries.

## II-2 Duality of an eye on Jiu-Jitsu

*La Capital* issued an article "Jiu-Jitsu and the Paris police" just three days after the previous one (see figure 2).<sup>25</sup> This rapid-fire issue itself shows a high interest in Jiu-Jitsu. This article can be summarized in following six points. First, Jiu-Jitsu is extremely popular in Europe as a new sport. Second, Jiu-Jitsu techniques are superior to boxing techniques that are commonly known among white people. Third, the reason of above is that Jiu-Jitsu is capable in controlling an opponent, and breaking a human body, furthermore is less rough. Fourth, thus there is no worries for the officers being prosecuted by ones they punched. Fifth, effectivity of Jiu-Jitsu was proven at the match of a french Jiu-Jitsu player versus a boxer. Sixth, through this match the Paris police was convinced of the meaning of Jiu-Jitsu as a crime countermeasure, and welcomed a Jiu-Jitsu expert as their trainer.

As shown above, Jiu-Jitsu gained a friendly valuation, however this did not directly became the valuation of Japan. This fact is indicated in the head of this article.

'...Yellow Peril is scary. The culture brought from Japan is not simply an art, ...(omission)..., but might also adjust our custom and alter our beauty sense. "Jiu-Jitsu", which is treated extremely superior to our common sport "boxing", needs to be treated



**Figure 2: Jiu-Jitsu lesson in French Police**

Source: "El Jiu-Jitsu y La Policia de Paris". (in: *La Capital*, 9, Aug, 1906)



carefully for taking into the local society, even when mentioned followed. Because Jiu-Jitsu is essentially the same as Japanese spirit.<sup>26</sup>

This sentence above evinces an apprehension for Japanese culture changing Argentina cultural-custom and value. Thus it is noticeable of the strict line drawn between Jiu-Jitsu valuation and its “intake” to the local society. If to get a head start of conclusion, as same as the Russo-Japanese War case, an eye on Jiu-Jitsu in Argentina is intervened by an intermediary; Western Europe. More specifically, France, the goal and longing for Argentina, utilizes Jiu-Jitsu then it gains positive valuation for Argentina. An eye of local newspapers for Jiu-Jitsu has duality, i.e. a high valuation gained in Western Europe and a negative outlook toward Japan as a suzerain state of Jiu-Jitsu culture. And this duality does not have an antinomy but rather co-lives in one outlook. As an additional note, Jiu-Jitsu experts on above articles are British and French, and there are almost no articles recalling a relation of Japan and Jiu-Jitsu.

To amplify above argument, by abstracting nationality attached on Jiu-Jitsu, it became freed from the endemism of Japanese culture. However instead, Jiu-Jitsu was taken into an international hierarchy relation. To think of this with a rule-subordination relation for Europe, Japan and Argentina, then there can be some kind of distorted cultural imperialism found. However, if look into the actual scene of acceptance, the diffusion-figure cannot be argued as simple cultural imperialism. For instance, contrary to the apprehension above, after all Fukuoka became a police officer and Jiu-Jitsu was taught. That is, the only Jiu-Jitsu expert there was Fukuoka and expectations for his activity went beyond worries for Japan. The details for this point will be affirmed through the discussion of Jiu-Jitsu acceptance in sports clubs below.

### III Sports clubs and Jiu-Jitsu

#### III-1 Sports clubs in Rosario and philosophy of Arrospeidegaray

Back then the most popular sport in Argentina was soccer.<sup>27</sup> In Rosario, Rosario Central was gathered in 1889, and Newell’s Old Boys was established in 1903. In addition, there were sports clubs making low-key efforts targeting physical training and bond of solidarity,<sup>28</sup> and Joan B. Arrospeidegaray was the pioneer in Rosario.

Arrospeidegaray, was a former-army and assembling a fire brigade after retired, a PE teacher in Rosario, and an Italian immigrant, began a sports activity in Circulo de Armas (a military circle) in 1895,<sup>29</sup> and in Circulo de Italiano (an Italian circle) in 1900. He assembled a Jockey Club in 1902. Then based on Circulo de Bomberos (a fire brigade circle) established in 1904, he began to run Club da la Gimnasia y Esgrima (a gymnastics-sword techniques) in 1907. Furthermore, he was a central to establish Batallones Escolares in 1910; an educational organization for gymnastics and self-defense arts especially targeting to children and youths. “Mi Capitán” (our captain) named after Arrospeidegaray directly shows a leading position of his.





**Figure3: Juan B. Arrospeidegaray and his fencing class**

Source: owning by Maria B. Arrospeidegaray

These clubs are incorporated into La Sociedad Sportiva Rosarina (The association of sports Rosarina) in 1910,<sup>30</sup> various sports were played; various ball games, field and track events, motor sports, martial arts, gymnastics, water sports, shooting, aircraft, bicycle, and boy scouts. The members were up to 500 including athletes, non-athletes, professionals with special physical training, youths and women. And the association organized or participated a wide range of events; contests, competitions and sports meetings on national level.

Incidentally, in Arrospeidegaray philosophy the most focus was on group-gymnastics, sword techniques, and self-defense arts. That is because he thought of these will bring up manliness, health, morality, and patriotism that people need. In his book, he states 'To complete physical education, a culture of manliness and morality is needed.'<sup>31</sup> More specifically in his logic, weakness of mind and body caused by deficiency of manliness can be improved with better health by physical training. And gaining manliness can reach recovering morality. Furthermore the joint power of manliness, health, and morality can be utilized for nation development.

In Arrospeidegaray's logics on an individual sport, group-gymnastics develop discipline, regulation and corporative spirit, then sword techniques and self-defense arts develop manliness. He regarded body and mind with the disciplined and trained foundation such as militarily as ideal. He did not concern that very competitive and individual sports would make it to his ideal. For instance, he valued group practice when learning sword techniques (see figure 3).

### III-2 The meaning attached on Jiu-Jitsu and its acceptance

Fukuoka was one of the foundation members of Club de la Gimnasia y Esgrima mentioned above, and started to teach Jiu-Jitsu from the beginning.<sup>32</sup> Although his details of being involved in club foundation is unclear, it is conceivable that there was high interest in Jiu-Jitsu from the timing of his visit to Rosario. Besides Jiu-Jitsu, Fukuoka taught body training method and swimming class, whilst he was also a competitive swimmer. Arrospeidegaray valued on drowning training, hence he encouraged swimming.<sup>33</sup> The following

is to view a role attached on Jiu-Jitsu at the sports club based on Arrospeidegaray's valuation.

'...Jiu-Jitsu - for this Japanese martial art, which is very effectual as a self-defense art, the trainees .... (omission)...do not need strong power to give an effectual result, but use power of an opponent beneficially to by grabbing a neck or wrenching an arm. Not only for an opponent, but for two or three opponents can this martial art bring out the ability of self-defense by its promptness and skillfulness gained through practice. ...(omission)... This is a series of attacks that must be understood by the certain occupations.'<sup>34</sup>

To decipher from above writing, first, the essence of Jiu-Jitsu can be seen in the outlook of self-defense arts, of which powerless people can handle. As mentioned earlier women and youths are in the club, and Jiu-Jitsu was the best suited self-defense arts for them. Precisely, compare to wrestling and boxing which needs muscles and bashing, Jiu-Jitsu was acknowledged as safer and more effectual self-defense. Second, "occupations" in the above writing indicates a detective, a guard, a police officer, a fire fighter, and a marine. Arrospeidegaray considered that Jiu-Jitsu can be utilized for lifesaving activities. Jiu-Jitsu techniques include "Kappo" that is to make an opponent "alive". It is deemed that Jiu-Jitsu's characteristics - "the ability of freely controlling life and death" was recognized.

These understandings toward Jiu-Jitsu shows that the style of physical exercise the club pursues matched very well to Jiu-Jitsu; instructing a wide range of members physical training and self-defense. This seemed why Fukuoka was able to become a member. The important thing here is that based on a timely and social background of local, those meanings were added. Certainly Jiu-Jitsu's function of "softness subdues hardness" and characteristics of "the ability of freely controlling life and death" is unique cultural value from from Japan. But for different culture to be taken in local society as "own culture", it takes the process of "rediscovering" the feature of "different culture" by the locals.

Furthermore, a notable matter is a positive understanding toward "slyness". This can be revealed by the relation with "viveza" that is Argentinians nature, of which to positively accept artfulness in society.<sup>35</sup> By the early 20<sup>th</sup>, "viveza" was percolated through Argentina due to distrust for the nation and companies came with political instability, insufficient democratization, an oligarchy, group integralism, and hierarchy social background. This skillful slyness can be seen as below for example.<sup>36</sup>

'Through Jiu-Jitsu you unconsciously learn the method of gaining slyness, speed and easiness. ... (omission)... You can assimilate to introductory actions, motions, landscape and slyness into yourself, within a explainable range by this book.'<sup>37</sup>

Furthermore, Jiu-Jitsu was occasionally understood as slyness related matter in Europe and the U.S. However, it meant negatively "unfair", but in Argentina it meant as positive acquirement. This sort of different cultural understandings deviate from a simple cultural imperialistic acceptance of Jiu-Jitsu. Precisely, viveza - 'an important "cultural, social and

personal nature” for any Argentinians, and they have at least some, or cannot live in the society<sup>38</sup> shaped one end of the social climate. Thus it made possible to shape a different accepting route of Jiu-Jitsu from Japan and Europe<sup>39</sup>.

## Conclusion

This paper has shown three points as below. Firstly, Argentina that believes in social evolutionism of European superiority through the report and media news of Russo-Japanese War, re-recognized and upgraded Japan as some sort of fellow being, for the point of heading to westernization while belonging to non-West. In this point, an eye on Japan from Argentina was not the direct one but via European intermediary.

Secondly, that is why Argentina was deliberate for an intake of Jiu-Jitsu as a symbol of Japanese culture. In other words, Jiu-Jitsu evaluated on newspaper statements was a culture of bleached off nationality. Therefore at this point, Jiu-Jitsu can be described that was freed from its certain national endemism, or that was taken into a new international hierarchy while resonating with cultural imperialism.

Thirdly, however if to look at the accepting scenes, there is a tendency to take in Jiu-Jitsu as a different culture into the local interpretation with the additional meanings. Jiu-Jitsu was accepted as a sport targeting to physical training or self-defense for everyone, and its “slyness” was understood as positively. There is a momentum of creative-valuation for people, which cannot be deciphered in an interpretation of cultural imperialistic acceptance of Jiu-Jitsu.

By the way, this examination does not only stay in a range of Jiu-Jitsu diffusion. Matter of fact, on its diffusion process, Fukuoka has learned sword techniques and boxing in the local places. Therefore, the relation of spread and acceptance should be read bidirectionally. Additionally, due to the friendship between Arrospeidegaray and Fukuoka in the sports club, Fukuoka’s Jiu-Jitsu was utilized positively in the local events. Here is importance of human interaction for cultural diffusion. Later, Fukuoka had lung tuberculosis in the late 1915 then left Rosario to Paraguay. There should be a related research to this paper needed on his activities in Paraguay. At the end, if Fukuoka taught every single member of Club de la Gimnasia y Esgrima, that is about 100, it is only a small number within Rosario’s population of 200,000. On the other hand, if this paper would take into account of coaching Jiu-Jitsu for the police and at the Dojo, an impact for Jiu-Jitsu acceptance can be even more exhaustive. Additionally, there are evidence indicating Jiu-Jitsu lessons after Fukuoka left Rosario by a certain Mr. Takimoto<sup>40</sup>, and other parts in the nation, by Kanichi Hanai in Concepcion city<sup>41</sup>, by a certain Mr. Kudo in La Plata city<sup>42</sup>, and Judo lessons by Yoshio Ogata in Buenos Aires<sup>43</sup>. To deepen an analysis on above activities, Fukuoka’s case in Rosario can be more stand out, and the local diffusion process can be more detailed. These will be my future academic targets.

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  - 9 ‘In 1902, Fukuoka has gone to North America doing Judo with Mama Maeda (5 dan) commonly called Conde Koma. Later, he has gone to Europe and joined a circus to perform Judo.’ Paraguay Nihonjin iju shiryokan jimukyoku (ed.), *Paraguay wo aruita Nihonjin—Ishii Michiteru ikosyu*, Paraguay Nihonjin Rengokai, Paraguay, 1993, p.9, and ‘Fukuoka has 1 dan of country Judo. But for a Japanese it must be the first one to have a match with a Yankee in North America. Conde Koma=Maeda 5 dan has come to the U.S. a lot later.’ Kotaro Yamaoka., *Chubei to Nanbei no Nihonjin*, Nanbeikenkyusya, 1922, pp.154-156.
  - 10 “New York Passenger Lists 1820-1957”. plus a hearing investigation on Fukuoka.
  - 11 Kyuhei Gasyu., *Argentina doho 80nenshi*, Rokkosyuppan, 1981, p.181.
  - 12 By a hearing investigation on Fernandez in 2005 Aug.
  - 13 Nihon Latin America Kyokai (ed.), *Saikin nanbei jijo*, No.1, Nihon Latin America Kyokai, 1911, pp.79-80.
  - 14 The war report by Manuel D. Garcia is translated by Katsuji Tsushima on *Aruzenchin Kansenshukan no kiroku—Nihonkai kaisen* 1998, Nihon Aruzenchin kyokai, thus this paper used it as well.
  - 15 Keiko Imai., “Aruzenchin no shuyoshi ni miru nichirosensou touji no nihonhodo”, *Latin America Ronshu* No.33, Japan Society of Social Science on Latin America, 1999, pp.75-89. Imai notes that for instance *La Nación* states that Japan beaten pre-modern empire state Russia, thus Japan is the West in the East and is a good model of social evolutionism. *La Prensa* points out that Japan’s modernization is on their creativity and Europe should learn from it. *El Pais* overviewed that after Russo-Japanese War, Japan has reached the stage of making

imperialistic expansion.

- 16 For instance the farther of Argentinean modernization Juan B. Alberti states that ‘the civilized people colonizing for thier settlement, it is a civilization in *Sistema económico y rentístico de la Confederación Argentina* (1852). However, colonizing Asians and Africans means uncivilization not civilization’. Sesiria Konaha., “Senzen no ijusya no nagare”, *Nihon Argentina kouryuushi hennsyuuiinkai*, *Nihon Argentina koryushi—harukana tomo to 100 nen*, Nihon Aruzenchin syuko 100shunenn kinennjigyo sosikiinkai, 1998, p.210, And Domingo F. Sarmiento, the fifth president regarded *Facundo* (1845) of Caudillo and Gaucho as backwardness of Argentina. For sweeping away them all to civilize Argentina, it is necessary to take in the Western civilization and to expand trading with the West, and prepare sufficient education.’ His thoughts of this matter positively influenced ‘Argentiniens to acknowledge the necessity of westernization=civilization.’ Fumio Nakagawa, Hiroshi Matsuhita, Sigeo Osonoi., *Latin America gendaishi II—Andes Laprata chiiki*, Sekaigendaishi 34, Yamakawa shuppansha, 1985, pp.279-280. Also, an idea of racial hierarchy based on the hate for mixed blood people stated by a French sociologist, Le Bon, was often accepted by Political-ideologists in Argentina. The ideology of nation being of race-deterministic was succeeded by Carlos O. Bunge and José Ingenieros. For example, Bunge says ‘Latin America has been sick of repeating no government and autocracy. If to plan political development, then we have to take in European immigrants to improve racial ratio.’, Maruta Matsuhita, “Shakai Dawinism kara indihenismo ni mukete — Latin America shisoshi ni okeru jinsyumondai no iso”, *Rekishigakukenkkyukai* (ed.), *19 seiki minsyu no sekai*, Nanboku America no 500 nen: No.3, Aokisyoten, 1993, p.63. Ingenieros says ‘whether or not one nation to have an ability to develop forward, it is decided by the ratio of European blood in our people. Argentina is creating a new European race, thus Argentina should play a leading role in American continent. Ibid, p.65
- 17 Matsushita, 1993, p.61.
- 18 “Politeama”. (in: *La Capital*, 16, Oct, 1906)
- 19 “La foto que se negó a monir”. (in: *El Rosario*, 4, Oct, 1981)
- 20 Aruzenchin Nihonjiniminshi hensyuuiinkai (ed.), *Aruzenchin Nihonjin iminshi senzenhen*, Shadanhujin zaia Nikkei dantairengokai, 2002, p.52
- 21 “Academias para las Policías”. (in: *La Capital*, 3, Aug, 1906)
- 22 The Europeans emigrated to Argentina between 1871 to 1915 are up to 2.5 million. Iyo Kunimoto, *Gaisetsu Latin America shi*, Kaiteishinban, shinpyoron, 2002, p.183.).
- 23 Regarding to a change of urban structure, refered to: Mutsuo Yamada, “Latin America ni okeru toshi no henyo to minsyu”, *Rekishigakkaikennkyu* (ed.), *19 seiki minsyu no sekai*, Nanboku America no 500 nen: No.3, Aokisyoten, 1993, pp.237-262. And Maruta Matsushita., “Buenos Aires—Nanbei no pari kara Latin America gata toshie”, Iyo Kunimoto, Hiroko Jo (ed.), *Latin America toshi to shakai*, Sinpyoron, 2002, pp.174-197.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 “El Jiu-Jitsu y La Policia de Paris”. (in: *La Capital*, 9, Aug, 1906)
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Allen Guttmann., *Modern Sports and Cultural Imperiarism*, translated by Minoru Tanigawa,

- Masayuki Ishi, Keiko Ikeda, Masae Ishi, "Sports to teikoku — kindai sports to bunkateikokusyugi", showado, 1997, pp.68-76.
- 28 Ibid, p.176.
- 29 Regarding sports clubs organizing in Rosario by Arrospeidegaray, referred: "Donde Hoy Esta "La Tribuna" Hubo Uno de los Primeros Circulos de Armas". in: *La Tribuna*, 12, Oct, 1957
- 30 In this point Yabu, 2006. treated "La Sociedad Sportiva Rosarina" as a sport club but, it is conceivable that this is a general term of sports clubs in Rosario city.
- 31 Arrospeidegaray, Juan B., *La Gimnasia al Alcande de Todos y para Todos: Rosario Deportivo a Traves de 35 Años*, Argentina, 1943, p.6.
- 32 "Donde Hoy Esta "La Tribuna" Hubo Uno de los Primeros Circulos de Armas". (in: *La Tribuna*, 12, Oct, 1957)
- 33 Arrospeidegaray, 1943, p.71.
- 34 Ibid, p.75.
- 35 Fumio Nakagawa., "Dai 2 sho — Latin America no kachikan to koudoyoshiki", Fumio Nakagawa, Chikako Mita (ed.), *Latin America hito to syakai*, Shinpyoron, 1995, pp.45-46.
- 36 The same argument was on the articles used on this paper. 'For this Japanese style boxing, power is just a second element but slyness comes first. ...(omission)... this proves that Jiu-Jitsu is superior to boxing.', "El Jiu-Jitsu y La Policia de Paris", in: *La Capital*, 9, Aug, 1906
- 37 Arrospeidegaray, 1943, p.75.
- 38 Albert Matsumoto, *Argentina wo shirutame no 55 sho*, Akashisyoten, 2005, pp.108-109.
- 39 However, this outlook does not cover the people marginalized through the process of Argentina's independence to modernization; non-Caucasian, indigenous people, and mixed people. Viveza at Jiu-Jitsu diffusion process is yet to be examined.
- 40 En la Sportiva Rosariana: Interesante Festa. (in: "El Rosario", 6, Aug, 1911)
- 41 Toyohiko Ban., *Mano de Santo no Kikyoku: Aruzenchin soccer ni ikita aru nihonjin no monogatari*, Bungeishobou, 2006.
- 42 Oobakakou., Nanbei 4man mile, 1911, p.99.
- 43 Uequín, Juan, R., "Historia del Judo" tomo1, Kier, Argentina, 2005, pp.57-88.



## 20世紀初頭のアルゼンチンにおける 柔術の伝播とその変容

—現地社会における日本への眼差しと柔術理解を中心に—

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本論文は、20世紀初頭における柔術のアルゼンチンへの伝播について、受容側の視点を重視しながら、柔術という異文化が現地社会へと編入される際のロジックと文化変容のダイナミズムに迫る研究である。この点で、近年の研究動向をみれば、武道や武術の海外伝播を個別史としてではなく、身体運動文化のグローバルな伝播プロセスと関連付けて読み解く研究が漸進しつつあるが、本研究は、これらの研究蓄積に若干の厚みを加えるとともに、未だ伝播史が十分に明らかではない南米における事例に着目することで、従前における欧米を対象とした研究が示す受容のありかたとは些か異なる像を明示したい。

とりわけアルゼンチンは、ヨーロッパからみて「非西洋」に属する地域であり、しかしその人口の90%はヨーロッパからの白人移民によって構成されている。他方で同じ非西洋圏に属する日本とアルゼンチンとの当時の関係性を鑑みれば、両国は共に後発的な近代国家として国際社会における地歩を固めるべく帝国主義的發展を目指しており、その点で相同性を有しながらも、しかし「東洋」の小国たる日本に向けられたアルゼンチンからの眼差しは、自国の裡にヨーロッパ性を宿しているがゆえに、アンビバレントなものだった。こうしたある意味で屈折した日本理解を軸に、柔術が現地社会のいかなる文脈と接合し受容されたのかということ、以下の手順を追って検討した。

第1に、日露戦争に関する海軍武官の報告や新聞の報道を通じて、現地社会の言説空間に表象された日本と柔術について考察した。まず注視したのは、アルゼンチンにおける社会進化論の信奉を背景に、ヨーロッパとの距離関係をもって、日本が再評価されたことである。この点で、ロシアを破った日本の像は、日本と同じく非西洋圏に属するアルゼンチンにとって、ある意味での成功モデルとしてみなされたともいえよう。また柔術についても、それが英仏の警察で採用された、という事実を媒介に評価された。換言すれば、日本文化の象徴としての柔術が自国に侵入することに関しては慎重であり、言説上で評価されるのは、あくまでもナショナリティが漂白された文化としての柔術である。この点で柔術は、そのナショナルな文化的固有性から一定解放されたとも、あるいは文化帝国主義と共振つつインターナショナルな序列関係の裡に再編された、ともいうことができよう。

第2に、しかし柔術は、言説空間上の評価とは別に、同国の警察やスポーツクラブで実践的に受容された。それは、警察官の体位や品位の向上、あるいはクラブにおける優秀な心身育成装置への希求といった、現地における様々な社会的要請と柔術とが結合したからである。この点で、柔術と

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いう異文化を自国の文脈に引き入れて解釈し、独自の意味を付与しながら、自文化に引き入れようとする契機も読み取れる。即ち柔術は、ときに身体鍛錬を目的とするスポーツとして、あるいは誰でも学べる護身術として受容され、また欧米では一般的に消極的な意味で認識されがちな柔術の狡猾さが、ある種の抜け目なさを尊ぶ同国の風潮と接合することで、肯定的に理解された。そこには、単なる柔術の脱国籍化や文化帝国主義的な受容という解釈では読み解けない、現地の人々の織り成す価値創造的な契機が見出せよう。

キーワード：柔術，伝播，アルゼンチン，文化変容，眼差しの二重性