

HISTORY & ANTHROPOLOGY

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30 years of *aikibudo* in Poland (1987-2017). An example of the process of institutionalisation in martial arts

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Abstract

Background. The scientific framework is provided by the sociology and anthropology of martial arts, and by the Humanistic Theory of Martial Arts. The process should be viewed holistically, through the dimensions of time and context and the process of creation. Problem. The author describes the *aikibudo* discipline in Poland and sets out its short history over the last 30 years. He also considers what have been the dominant institutional changes.

Method. The main methods are: sources analysis (documents and newspapers), and content analysis of scientific literature – a broad discourse.

Results and Conclusions. *Aikibudo* in the CERA and FIAB versions, under the patronage of *hanshi* Alain Floquet, has been taught in Poland for 30 years. Some instructors have played the role of pioneers, others continue their work. Some practitioners from the 1990s are today practising other, related martial arts. *Sensei* Stanislaw Cynarski has achieved the *hanshi* title in *aiki-jujutsu*. The teaching of GM Floquet is continued by *sensei* Salapski. In Poland, it is still more of an elite than a popular martial art.

Introduction

The term ‘*aikibudo*’ may here be translated in the following ways: 1) these are those martial arts which adopt *aiki* as a general principle; 2) Morihei Ueshiba’s method (*Ueshiba-ryu*) used between 1930 and 1940; 3) the style of Alain Floquet’s school (teaching: *Daito-ryu*, *Aiki-Yoseikan*, *Tenshinshoden Katorishinto-ryu*); 4) a description of a system taught in the Daitokan the school of the masters Tokimune and Munemitsu¹Takeda” [Cynarski, Skowron 2014: 60]. Some authors indicate that this is the teaching of “early Ueshiba”, 1935-1942 [Lind 1996: 47-48]. In general, *aikibudo* is an evolutionary form of the original *aikijutsu*. A further step in this evolution is *aikido* in the version of Ueshiba and his disciples. A further explanation is that *aikibudo* is a component of *aikido* as it is broadly understood, in which there are various forms of ancient *aikijutsu* (such as *Takeda-ryu*) as well as evolutionary forms [cf. Cynarski *et al.* 2006; Swider 2018].

This term also applies to the *kobudo/kenjutsu* of the *Tenshinshoden Katorishinto-ryu* school. ‘Kobudo’ is literally ‘old *budo*’, a group of classic martial arts, mainly using

traditional weapons. In this style the leading weapon is the Japanese sabre known as the samurai sword, hence the *kenjutsu* – a term referring to classic Japanese fencing. The school was founded in the 15th century. There has been proper representation of this school as well as Old Japanese (*nihonden*) *kobudo* in Poland [for many years Sugino, Ito 2010; Sieber, Grzywacz 2015].

Last year was the thirtieth anniversary of *aikibudo* and *kobudo* in Poland. This provides a perspective for historical (monographic) research, with reference to various sources, to describe and explain the sense of individual events. There is also a long-term participant observation study, and analysis of the literature on the subject. The author describes and attempts to explain the short history of the *aikibudo* discipline in Poland over these last 30 years. The scientific framework is provided by the sociology and anthropology of martial arts, and the Humanistic Theory of Martial Arts [Bolelli 2008; Cynarski 2012]. He also considers what the dominant institutional changes have been?² The process should

¹ *Sensei* Munemitsu Takeda is recognised by the Polish Aiki-Jujutsu Association and IPA as the 27th *soke* of *Daito-ryu*.

² The problem is realised within the framework of the IPA Project no. 4/2017-20: 4.1. Cultivation, institutionalisation and adaptations of martial arts in Europe.

be viewed holistically, through the dimensions of time, context and the process of creation.

From aikijutsu to ido

Historical aikibudo

Master **Saigo Tanomo** taught *oshiki-uchi*, the secrets of his family, to the young **Sokaku Takeda**. He had many students, but he made his son *soke* – his successor at the *Daito-ryu* school that he created (*Daito* means. “Great East” in Japanese). Thus, **Tokimune Takeda** became the main master of the *Daitokan* school in Abashiri, Hokkaido, and the method was called *aikibudo*, because in addition to the “manual” techniques of *aiki-jujutsu*, it also contained forms of *kenjutsu Ono-ha Itto-ryu* [cf. Pratin 1996: 40-77]. ‘*Aikibudo*’ is a historical term used by the early Ueshiba and T. Takeda styles [Hall 2012: 22-23].

Many authors relate the related concepts – *aikiju-jutsu*, *aikijutsu*, *aikinojutsu* – exclusively to the *Daito-ryu* school and tradition, as does Hall [2012: 23]. Meanwhile, some researchers point to a second parallel line, to *Daito-ryu Shu-ryu* – the *Takeda-ryu Gen-ryu* [Maroteaux 1993a; Cynarski 1997; Cynarski et al. 2006; cf. Armstrong 1997]. Here we find master **Hisashi Nakamura** the leader / *soke* of the *Takeda-ryu* line [Maillet 1993], which was founded by Dr **Roland Maroteaux**. This expert is today developing the *Takeda-ryu Maroto-ha* school, – teaching the entire *sobujutsu* martial arts group.

Traditionally, 48 different martial arts were distinguished within the *budo* – a set of Japanese martial arts [Hall 2012]. Nakamura teaches the old techniques today under the names: *aikido*, *iaido sobudo*, (...) while Maroteaux uses the names: *aiki-jujutsu*, *sobujutsu* etc., emphasising the teaching of ancient combat techniques, so that it is not mistaken for today’s *aikido* of the Aikikai foundation, or related styles.

When Grand Masters Minoru Mochizuki (the *Yoseikan* school) or Hisashi Nakamura (*Takeda-ryu Nakamura-ha*) use the name *aikido* to describe their martial art, it is to accentuate the main meaning. This is, of course, is no longer the art of killing, but the way (one of today’s *budo* pathways) and the educational system [Bolelli 2008; Cynarski 2009]. However, the curricula of these schools contain techniques from ancient *aikijutsu*. In the case of *aikibudo*, the *bu* (war) ideogram clearly indicates a combat use. In the globally-popular *aikido* of the late Ueshiba, which is understood as the art of “harmony of movement”, the name *aikibudo* emphasises the preservation of the sense of martial arts.

Tradition and innovation

The renowned **Morihei Ueshiba** (1883-1969) was a student of Grand Master **Sokaku Takeda**. Ueshiba created the art of harmony of movement – *aikido*, though initially

using the name *aikibudo*. His early *aikido* was composed of Takeda’s old *aiki-jujutsu* techniques. However, today’s *aikido* of the Aikikai foundation is more “a path of harmony and peace”.

Meijin Minoru Mochizuki (1907-2003) was one of most talented students of Jigoro Kano and the early Ueshiba. He achieved high degrees and master titles in *aikido*, *iaido*, *judo*, *jujutsu* and *kobudo* [Cynarski 2004b]. He founded his *Yoseikan* school in about 1935. The *Yoseikan budo* system is currently being developed by his son, **Hiroo Mochizuki**. *Yoseikan* is a school for teaching *aiki-jujutsu* and *judo* techniques. Minoru Mochizuki has developed counter-techniques from the classical techniques, mainly *sutemi-nage* (throw and fall). He also developed *iaido*. It is an interesting evolution of techniques so that old forms do not become obsolete, but retain real effectiveness. The basic method of teaching the fight is free *randori* (a form of sparring), a term which is also used in relation to several combatants versus one.

Another student of M. Mochizuki was **Alain Floquet** (born December 18, 1939), who in 1973 founded his school, CERA (Fr. *Cercle d’Etude de Recherche sur l’Aikibudo et le Kobudo*, Jap. *Aiki-ken-kyukai*) [Floquet 2006: 7; Sieber, Cynarska 2015: 60]. Its logo depicts the guard of the samurai sword (*tsuba*) with a stylised image of a crane (the symbol of vitality and longevity) [Floquet 2006: 91]. *Aikibudo* in the CERA version, is seen as the message from the great masters of *aikido*, *jujutsu* and *kobudo* – M. Mochizuki, Yoshio Sugino, and Tokimune Takeda (Sokaku Takeda’s son), who were essentially the patrons of Floquet’s activity. The path to mastery consists in reaching for perfection in martial arts (*aikibudo*) and humanity [Floquet 2006: 80-81]. Similarly as in the sense of Ueshiba, *budo* is (according to Floquet [2006: 75]) “the path of harmony and peace”. Floquet teaches Mochizuki’s (evolutionary) techniques and forms, and those (classical forms) of Sugino and Takeda. He is also the author of several books on *aikibudo* and self-defence. Floquet’s CERA *aikibudo* contains *kobudo* in its programme (based on *Tenshinshoden Katorishinto-ryu “Sugino dojo”*), so we can talk about the *aikibudo* – *kobudo* system.

Meijin Yoshio Sugino (1904-1998) has been *hanshi* in *kobudo*, since 1966 and the holder of 10th dan since 1981 (IMAF) [Cynarski S. 1991]. He was one of Floquet’s teachers, as well as many more European *budoka*, and his first assistant was **Goro Hatakeyama** (1928-2009), 9 dan *hanshi*, *menkyo kaiden*. ‘*Sugino dojo*’ is the classical *kenjutsu* (*kobujutsu*) school *Tenshinshoden Katorishinto-ryu* [Sugino, Ito 2010; cf. Yumoto 1995; Otake 2007].

Dr **Wally Strauss** 10 dan from Australia, *soke* *Idokan ido*, combined the technique and idea of *judo-do* and *taiji quan*, creating the *ido* system that is akin to *aikijutsu* [Cynarski 2017]. **Meijin Lothar Sieber** passed the *ido*, associated with the master level in *jujutsu*, *karate* and *iaido*, to his *uchi-deshi* – Wojciech J. Cynarski (*kaiden shihan*). This transmission line

becomes another stage in the evolution of *jujutsu* and *aikijutsu* [Sieber, Cynarski 2013].

Aikibudo in Poland

Important characters

Alain Floquet, 9 dan, *hanshi*, created the CERA school [Cynarski 1990b]. At the age of 75 he received 9 dan and *hanshi* title in *aikibudo* from Hiroo. Mochizuki, and 8 dan in *kobudo* and his *menkyo kaiden* licence from Yukihiro Sugino (Yoshio Sugino's son). It is his school that first appeared in Poland (in Tarnow) in 1987. His organisation, the International Aikibudo Federation, is recognised worldwide.

Dr **Roland J. Maroteaux**, 9 dan, *hanshi*, creator of the *Takeda-ryu Maroto-ha aiki-jujutsu*, was a student of *soke* Hisashi Nakamura 10 dan, and among others, taught Wojciech J. Cynarski. The Polska Unia Takeda-ryu (PUT) was founded in Poland in 1994, as a regulatory unit of the Idokan Poland Association (IPA). The World Takeda-ryu Marotokan Federation (WTMF) works on a global scale, and cooperates with IPA. Between 1994 and 1996 Cynarski achieved further master degrees in *aikijutsu* and *iaido Takeda-ryu* [Maroteaux 1993a, b]. In 2010 *shihan* Cynarski received the WTMF Medal of Honour [Cynarski *et al.* 2006; "Aiki-Goshindo Kaishi" 1995-2016].

Jan Janssens from Belgium, 8 dan, *kyoshi* in *aiki-jujutsu*, was a student of M. Mochizuki and from 2001 to 2014 used the name "*aiki-jujutsu Yoseikan*" (with GM Minoru Mochizuki's consent). It is now known as "*Kobukai*" since Hiroo banned people outside *Yoseikan* from using the name. *Sensei* Janssens, whom Wojciech J. Cynarski met in 1991 in France, worked closely with the *aikibudo/kobudo* centre in Tarnow – first as leader of the Aikibudo / Kobudo Belgium style, then teaching his own *aikijujutsu Yoseikan* school / programme.

GM Gerardo Cantore from Argentina is the holder of 10th dan, *hanshi* in *aiki-jujutsu* (*Shinshinka* school, organisation SWKO (Shinshinkan World Karate-do Organisation)) and represents an "American" evolutionary line of *aikijutsu*. He was a student of the French *sensei* Georges London (1908-1971). He combined his experiences and skills in *karate* with the idea of *aiki*. He promoted Stanislaw Cynarski, a pioneer of *aikibudo* in Poland, to 9th dan.

Shihan Stanislaw Cynarski, 9 dan, creator of the *Yoseikan Yoshin-ryu*³ *aiki-jujutsu* school, was the first holder of a master degree in *aikibudo* in Poland and in this part of Europe (alongside Wojciech J. Cynarski)

For many years, in cooperation with experts from France and Belgium, he has been developing *aikibudo*

and *aiki-jujutsu*, as well as *kobudo* / *kenjutsu*. He was a leader of the Polish Aiki-Budo & KoBu-Jutsu Federation (PFABKBJ) from 1993-2001. He is currently president of the Polish Aiki-JuJutsu Association (PAJJA), registered in IPA. One of his students is Dr **Jaroslav Jastrzebski** from Krakow, 6 dan. S. Cynarski also – on behalf of PAJJA – promoted Wojciech J. Cynarski to 7th dan.

Professor Dr **Wojciech J. Cynarski**, 7 dan *aikijutsu*, *kyoshi*, is also a Grand Master (since 8.02.2013) 10 dan of the *Idokan judo-do/ido* [Sieber, Pawelec 2016]. He combines the idea of *aiki* with the philosophy of *ido* in the techniques of the *Idokan Yoshin-ryu budo* educational system [Cynarski 2017; Swider 2018]. He was a student of Stanislaw Cynarski, Floquet, Hatakeyama, Maroteaux and Sieber.

Rafal Salapski, 3 dan, represents the younger generation of *aikibudo* CERA instructors. He has been practising under the guidance of Floquet, and also under his highly advanced students (*kodansha*), like Jaroslav Sodritsov, 5 dan, from Russia, since 1995. The direction of transmission of this martial art is in general from Japan, through France, to Poland.

Important events

1987, autumn – Following an order from Dr Krzysztof Kondratowicz, *mgr* S. Cynarski contacted Floquet (then 7 dan, *kyoshi*) and CERA. Floquet sent him his book: *De l'Aikido Moderne à l'Aikibudo* (From modern *aikido* to *aikibudo*, or backward in evolution) [Floquet 1989].

1988 – The Aikibudo and Kobudo Centre in Tarnow in Poland (CAKP) was established [Cynarski 1990a]. In the same year S. Cynarski organised the first of many training seminars – the teacher was *sensei* Lionel Lefranc, 4th dan [photo 1; Cynarski 2005b].



Photo 1. The first seminar in Tarnow, 1988. Demonstration: *sensei* L. Lefranc (4 dan) and S. Cynarski [author's own collection].

³ Later (in October 2016) he changed the name of his school to *Idokan aiki-jujutsu* [Cynarski S. 2016], and all the teaching of martial arts by *shihan* S. Cynarski is now called *Tsunarusuki-ryu*,



Photo 2. Second seminar in Tarnow, 1989. Participants with *sensei* Chaigneau (3 dan). Second line, second from left – W.J. Cynarski, fourth – S. Cynarski, fifth – L. Chaigneau, eighth – A. Bies [author's own collection].

1989 – Wojciech J. Cynarski and Andrzej Bies (assistants to S. Cynarski, photos 2-3) went to France to get to know *aikibudo* and *kobudo*. The former came back after 3 months, the latter stayed in France permanently. After their *uchi-deshi* internship, both obtained 1 *kyu* degrees from Floquet.



Photo 3. From left: A. Bies, *sensei* A. Floquet and W. J. Cynarski in *dojo* of Temple sur Lot, 1989 [author's own collection].

1991 – July, 8-20, Tarnow – seminar with J. Janssens in Tarnow. S. Cynarski founded the Polish Kobudo and Aikibudo Union (PUKiA) in Tarnow [Cynarski 2005b]. The first issue of a specialist bulletin was published [Cynarski 1991].

1992 – CERA Winter seminar in Tarnow, under the supervision of Gerard Clerin (5 dan) and Paul-Patric Harmant (4 dan). Transfer of the PUKiA and “*Centrum Aikibudo i Kobudo w Polsce*” (CAKP) office to Rzeszow. The president and technical director was Wojciech J.

Cynarski (already 1 dan *aikibudo*, 2 dan *jujutsu*) [Krowiak 1992; Cynarski 2005a]. Wojciech J. Cynarski represented Poland at the founding congress of the Federation International d'AikiBudo, FIAB in Lagord, France [photo 4]. More internships and training seminars were taking place, in Krakow, and other cities [Cynarski 1992a-d; 1993a].

1993 – *Sensei* S. Cynarski (2 dan *aikibudo* CERA) founded the “*Polska Federacja Aiki-Budo i KoBu-Jutsu*” (PFABKBJ), in which Wojciech J. Cynarski (by now *yudansha* in the *Tenshinshoden Katorishinto-ryu*) became the technical coordinator for *kobu-jutsu*. The Idokan Poland Association (IPA) was established in Rzeszow on the basis of PUKiA. Its staff are trained in France [Cynarski 1993b-c]. In September/October this year, Wojciech J. Cynarski led the 1st instructor course for *Aikibudo & Kobudo* (under PUKiA and the *Polish Martial Arts Federation*) in Warsaw. [Cynarski 2004a]. Training method video cassettes VHS were published [Cynarski 1993d-e]. Training and promotion materials are realised [Cynarski 1993e-f]. The “*Biuletyn Aikibudo*” demonstrates *aikibudo* techniques (descriptions and drawings) from *aikido Yoseikan* and from classical *aiki-jujutsu Daito-ryu* [Cynarski 1993c: 9-15] for the first time in Poland.

1994 – *Sensei* Wojciech J. Cynarski established a closer cooperation with Dr Maroteaux for *aikijutsu Takeda-ryu* studies. He did an *uchi-deshi* internship with *shihan* Maroteaux (6 dan, *joden shihan* this time) and received *shodan* in *aikido/aikijutsu Takeda-ryu* [Cynarski 1994]. The Polish Takeda-ryu Union (PUT) was founded by IPA. S. Cynarski received his 3 dan (honour degree) in *aikibudo* from IPA.

1995 – Wojciech J. Cynarski appointed *Shibu Kobudo* with the approval of master G. Hatakeyama, in Rzeszow, in Poland [Sieber, Grzywacz 2015]. In this year,



Photo 4. Congress of FIAB in Lagord/La Rochelle (France), 1992. From left, first line: 3rd – G. Hatakeyama, 6th – W.J. Cynarski, 7th – A. Floquet, 2nd line: 3rd – Y. Sugino [author's own collection].

Rafal Salapski (*jujutsu* instructor from Warsaw) took up the practice of *aikibudo* & *kobudo*.

1997 – The first Polish scientific publication on the evolution of *aikijutsu* was published [Cynarski 1997]. From 3- 8 February, Jan Janssens (by now 6 dan) led a seminar in Tarnow. Close cooperation between PUT and IPA and the *Takeda-ryu* school was established, which lasted until 1998 [Documents CAKP and PUKiA, 1991-1997].

1998 – S. Cynarski passed the 3 dan technical exam with *sensei* Janssens (6 dan) from Belgium. Robert Wyskiel, a student of Wojciech J. Cynarski, took the rank of 1 dan. S. Cynarski was promoted to the next ranks by Dr Kondratowicz, leader of the “Polish Centre of Jiu-Jitsu” (PCJJ).

For several years, the leader of *aikibudo*, representing the FIAB in Poland, under the supervision of Floquet was Pawel Kliglich, a student of S. Cynarski. *Sensei* Stanislaw Cynarski then worked in cooperation with several Polish organisations and their leaders. Wojciech J. Cynarski concentrated his activity on *jujutsu* and *karate Idokan* studies [Documents RCDB and IPA, 1987-2017].

2001 – PFABKBJ is disbanded. The Polish Association of Aiki-JuJutsu (PAAJJ) is still active in Tarnow.

2003 – R. Salapski is practising in France at a *aikibudo* seminar run by Floquet.

2004 – S. Cynarski received 6 dan and the title *shihan* from PCJJ. Wojciech J. Cynarski was promoted to 4 dan in Tarnow, and Dr Jaroslaw Jastrzebski from Krakow to 3 dan in *aiki-jujutsu*.

2008 – 7 dan *aiki-jujutsu* for S. Cynarski, 6 dan for Wojciech J. Cynarski, and subsequently 5 dan for Jastrzebski.

2011 – In February that year W.J. Cynarski received 8 dan *judo-do/ido* in Munich.

2013 – Wojciech J. Cynarski received 10 dan in *judo-do/ido* in Germany, as a confirmation of his high skills in *aikijutsu* and other martial arts, which was signed by, among others, *meijin* L. Sieber 10 dan.

2015 – Instructor Salapski (Warsaw) organised, a two-day seminar with GM Floquet for the first time in Poland.

2016 – January S. Cynarski, Wojciech J. Cynarski, and Jastrzebski received higher master degrees: S. Cynarski – 8 dan in *aiki-jujutsu* from Idokan, then Wojciech J. Cynarski – 7 dan in *aiki-jujutsu* (*Yoseikan Yoshin-ryu* style). In April he received the 7 dan *aikijutsu*, *kyoshi* title and *shihan Idokan Takeda-ryu* (IPA). In June Jastrzebski received 6 dan from the PAAJJ.

2016 – July GM Gerardo Cantore received 10 dan in *aiki-jujutsu* from the American national representation of the *Nippon Kobudo Rengokai*. He, in turn, awarded S. Cynarski an honorary 9 dan and the title *hanshi* (under the SWKO organisation, Argentina). Since 2016 Polish students of *sensei* Floquet have been represented by mgr Salapski (3 dan *aikibudo*) at the FIAB.

S. Cynarski changed the name of his school and style to: *Idokan aiki-jujutsu*.



Photo 5. Summer 2017 in Temple sur Lot: S. Cynarski, A. Floquet and F. Floquet [courtesy of S. Cynarski and R. Salapski].

2017 – 30 years have passed since the cooperation between S. Cynarski and Floquet was established. S. Cynarski was practising at Temple sur Lot (France) and obtained 2 dan in *kobudo Tenshinshoden Katorish-*

into-ryu [photo 5]. *Shibu Kobudo* IPA recognised this degree as 2 dan *kenjutsu*. The *aikibudo* CERA representatives did not organise any jubilee event in Poland.

Discussion

The 30-year perspective already allows for an analysis of the state of accomplishments, just as happened for Polish *judo* [cf. Sikorski 2009]. However, in the case of martial arts, where the effects of activities are less measurable (there are no sport competitions, medals or championships), it is harder to assess these achievements. However, one can analyse the advancement of the institutionalisation process.

The institutionalisation of martial arts includes the process of organising and creating new institutions as applied to local conditions extended over time [Cynarski 2006]. In the case of *aikibudo*, there are also changes to the ideological foundation. A technique was preserved from the combat *aikijutsu* style but the purpose of the training was significantly humanised [Cynarski, Obodyski 2005]. The Japanese themselves nowadays prefer the name *aikido*, which is broadly understood as martial arts paths applying the principles of *aiki* (harmonising, balancing energy).

Aikijutsu is taught today in Europe and in Poland in, among other schools: *aikibudo* CERA (Floquet, 9 dan, *hanshi*); *aiki-jujutsu Takeda-ryu Maroto-ha* (Maroteaux, 9 dan, *hanshi*) and *aiki-jujutsu Idokan* (S. Cynarski, 9 dan, *hanshi*) [cf. Cynarski 2009: 219-233]. S. Cynarski has his own school, but he is still practising *aikibudo* as defined by Floquet. Jan Janssens (8th dan, *kyoshi*) has been running a separate school since 2014 under the name *aikijujutsu / aikido Kobukai*.

There is no one organisation or federation that brings together the various forms of *aikibudo*. Rivalry prevails over cooperation, but most often with mutual respect. However, the master's degrees are not mutually recognised. At most, representatives of various schools sometimes meet at joint training seminars.

In many cases, *aiki* warriors exercise parallel *kobudo* or other martial arts. In the case of complete systems, such as *sobudo Takeda-ryu* or *budo Idokan* [Cynarski 2009: 41-47; cf. Armstrong 1991], this is a must. And *aikibudo* CERA includes in its programme elements of the teaching of the *Tenshinshoden Katorishinto-ryu* school, in the field of several weapons. This provokes interest in the classic forms from the practitioners.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the classical institution of *uchi-deshi*, that is, the intern student who trains with his teacher while living with him for some time. The more these training internships (actually seminars with practical workshops in the gym) are fulfilled, the more they become institutionalised.

They were initiated by Wojciech J. Cynarski's cousins, and to this day they are implemented by, among others the current Polish leader of *aikibudo* CERA – Paweł Salapski (3 dan *aikibudo* and *kobudo*).

Compared to other organisations of traditional martial arts, the 30-year timespan has not brought about the development of training instructors or an increase in the number of *aikibudo* teaching centres, etc. [cf. Skowron-Markowska 2017]. The reason may be the rivalry between the leaders and the “promotional policy” of the main master. The main master (in this case Floquet) appoints his representatives.

In 2006 the programme of *aikijutsu Takeda-ryu Idokan* was announced in IPA [Cynarski et al. 2006; Swider 2018]. However, it has not been widely propagated. The leader of *aikibudo* and *aiki-jujutsu* under the IPA is currently *shihan* S. Cynarski – the pioneer of *aikibudo* in Poland and the first Polish *hanshi* in *aikido* in its broadest sense. In addition, the ideas of *aiki* and *ido* are related.

Conclusions

Aikibudo in the CERA and FIAB version, under the patronage of Alain Floquet *hanshi*, has been taught in Poland for 30 years. Some instructors have played the role of pioneers, others continue their work. The main institutional change has been the change of the organisation's leader. Some Polish practitioners from the 1990s are engaged in other, related martial arts today.

Sensei Stanisław Cynarski achieved the *hanshi* title in *aiki-jujutsu*. This jubilee is especially his celebration. And the training of GM Floquet is continued by *sensei* R. Salapski. In Poland, it is still more an elite than a popular martial art.

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XXX lat aikibudo w Polsce (1987-2017). Przykład procesu instytucjonalizacji sztuk walki

Słowa kluczowe: sztuki walki, *aikibudo*, *kobudo*, organizacja, nauczanie

Abstrakt

Perspektywa. Ramy naukowe współtworzą tu socjologia i antropologia sztuk walki, oraz Humanistyczna Teoria Sztuk Walki. Powinniśmy postrzegać ten proces instytucjonalizacji sztuk walki holistycznie, w wymiarach czasu, kontekstu i stawania się. Problem. Autor opisuje i stara się wyjaśnić tę krótką historię *aikibudo* w Polsce – ostatnie 30 lat. Jakie instytucjonalne zmiany były dominujące?

Metoda. Głównymi metodami były: analiza źródeł (dokumenty i prasa), oraz analiza treści literatury przedmiotu – szeroki dyskurs.

Wyniki i wnioski. *Aikibudo* w wersji CERA i FIAB, któremu patronuje Alain Floquet *hanshi*, jest nauczane w Polsce od 30 lat. Jedni instruktorzy spełnili rolę pionierów, inni kontynuują ich dzieło. Część praktyków z lat 90. XX wieku uprawia dziś inne, pokrewne sztuki walki. *Sensei* Stanisław Cynarski osiągnął w *aiki-jujutsu* tytuł *hanshi*. Zaś nauczanie mistrza Floqueta kontynuuje dziś *sensei* Salapski. W Polsce jest to sztuka walki wciąż bardziej elitarna, niż popularna.