

Kōdōkan Jūdō's Inauspicious Ninth Kata: The Joshi goshinhō - "Self-Defense Methods for Women" - Part 1

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Abstract

Background and Study Aim:

The purpose of the present paper is to provide a comprehensive and critical review of *Joshi goshinhō* ["Self-defense methods for Women"], the now reclusive 'ninth' *kata* of $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan\,j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, once part of the standard women's $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ curriculum in Japan.

Material/Methods:

To achieve this, we offer a careful critical analysis of the available literature and rare source material on this kata.

Results:

Recent overviews of Kōdōkan kata frequently omit Joshi goshinhō. This shift seems to have occurred since the 1990s despite no statement of obsoletion or removal from the Kōdōkan teaching curriculum being known. The creation of Joshi goshinhō was ordered by Nangō Jirō, a nephew of Kanō who led the Kōdōkan after Kanō Jigorō's death in 1938. Joshi goshinhō was completed in 1943 and is usually attributed to a team of eight to ten people.

Conclusions:

Joshi goshinhō is still an official kata of Kōdōkan despite it being often ommitted from recent kata listings. A variety of factors such as lack of experience and hierarchical position raise doubts about the extent of contribution of some individuals most commonly associated with the creation of Joshi goshinhō. Likely, those who deserve most credit for the intellectual and practical work underlying Joshi goshinhō were: Noritomi Masako, Honda Ariya, Mifune Kyūzō, Sakamoto Fusatarō, and Samura Kaichirō. Joshi goshinhō would meet the increasing demands for self-defense from female jūdōka. Jūdōka have a right to a critical analytical and non-revisionist approach to jūdō's history in its every aspect as an integral part of the pedagogical aims of jūdō.

Key words:

Joshi goshinhō • Kanō Jigorō • Nangō Jirō • jūdō • kata • Fukuda Keiko • Kōdōkan • Noritomi Masako • women's jūdō

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BACKGROUND

We have before reminded that according to the founder of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$'s own words, the proper study of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ essentially has to involve both randori and kata [1,2]. Indeed, over the last five years or so the international $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ community has started devoting more attention again to kata, driven largely by the increasing organization of international contests. Notwithstanding this recent upturn in interest, the true educational cohesion between randori and kata has been largely lost during the progressive 'sportification' of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. Even now, with competitions and the ensuing opportunity to win medals, those who perform in kata contests often are a different type of

jūdō athlete performing before a different type of jūdō audience than those competing in and watching jūdō shiai fighting contests. The existence of "kata jūdōka" vs. "randori/shiai jūdōka" goes against a proper understanding of jūdō since kata, randori and shiai are all essential and complementary parts of a proper, holistic jūdō education [3–8].

Kata are prearranged and abstract attack/defense choreographic forms, which represent the grammar of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. It is particularly important to realize that some of the more dangerous yet essential techniques in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ only exist in the form of *kata*. In other words, those who only focus on competitive fighting contests-type $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ lose out on

Anti-intellectual fascism -Formulates policies without the advice of academics and their scholarship, and serves to protect those sharing the ethnic, gender and rank from those without. It compensates for the lack of education via pseudomilitarist hierarchical structures, and advocates revisionist history with paternalistic attitudes to those differing in opinions, gender, ethnicity, or rank, while remaining hostile to intellectualists who represent a threat to its framework.

Joshi goshinhō – "Women's self-defense methods", a physical exercise which Nangō Jirō ordered to be created and which was completed amidst the Second World War in 1943.

Nangō Jirō – The second Head of the Kōdōkan, born in 1876, died in 1951.

Jūdō – Jūdō is a Japanese form of pedagogy, created by Kanō Jigorō, based inter alia on neoconfucianist values, traditional Japanese martial arts, and modern Western principles developed by John Dewey, John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer.

Kata – Predetermined and choreographed physical exercises, which together with free exercises (randori), lectures (kōgi), and discussions (mondō) form the four critical learning pillars of Kōdōkan jūdō education.

Kōdōkan – The specific name of the his school and style of budō as given by its founder Kanō Jigorō (1860–1938). a crucial part of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ essential to properly defend one-self against malicious physical attacks [9,10].

The purpose of the present paper is to provide a comprehensive study of a kata that has become increasingly rare within the Kōdōkan curriculum of instruction, and that really never established itself as a common part of jūdō practice abroad, namely the Joshi goshinhō 女子護身法 ["Self-defense methods for women"]. In recent years, this 'ninth' kata, of which the full name is Joshi jūdō goshinhō has silently disappeared from jūdō kata lists including those circulated and produced by the Kōdōkan Jūdō Institute in Tōkyō, Japan. Finding proper information about the contents, background and history of Joshi goshinhō, is difficult. We aim to address this acute shortage of information regarding Joshi goshinhō.

Our research questions are as follows:

- Under what circumstances and by whom was *Joshi goshinhō* created?
- What are the contents and theoretical foundations of *Joshi goshinhō*?
- Who practices Joshi goshinhō and where can it be observed and studied?
- Why has Joshi goshinhō become increasingly rare and why is it disappearing from records, curricula and instructional texts?

To address these questions and achieve our purpose, we offer a critical evaluation of the available literature and source material on this kata. Rare material drawn from original and reliable sources will also be introduced to support the drawing of definitive conclusions. This paper, presented in three parts, offers an important contribution to the existing knowledge base of $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kanj\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. It has implications for the current $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ syllabus, and also represents the only critical scholarly study of this kata in both Western languages and Japanese. Part One mainly focuses on the place of $Joshi goshinh\bar{o}$ among the kata of $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ and on the circumstances surrounding its creation. This paper also critically evaluates who authored this kata and what the extent of their input might have been.

The place of *Joshi goshinh*ō within the *Kōdōkan*'s *kata* portfolio

Many popular $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ books typically list and suggest that there exist either seven or eight $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ kata [11,12]. Since such books are intended exactly for the purpose of "being popular" (which lends its name to these items being referred to as "popular books"), they should therefore not necessarily be considered or used as reference works. The total of seven is based on the kata that are

most practiced and that typically feature in many foreign $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ federations' and organizations' of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ dan rank promotion syllabi and pedagogical programs. The $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ itself, though, has more consistently held that there exist eight or nine such kata.

In her 1973 book "Born for the mat" [13, p. 43], though not an official *Kōdōkan* text, Fukuda Keiko writes in English: "In KODOKAN Judo there are nine Kata, as follows:

- A. Seiryoku-Zenyo Kokumin Taiiku (Maximum efficiency physical exercise)
- 1. Tandoku Renshu (Solo exercise)
- 2. Kime-Shiki (Forms of Decision)
- 3. Ju-Shiki (Forms of Gentleness)
- B. Joshi Goshin-Ho (Women's Self-Defense Form)
- C. Nage-no-Kata (Forms of Throwing)
- D. Katame-no-Kata (Forms of Grappling)
- E. Goshin-Jutsu (Men's Self-Defense Form)
- F. Kime-no-Kata (Forms of Decision)
- G. Ju-no-Kata (Forms of Gentleness)
- H. Koshiki-no-Kata (Forms of Antique)
- I. Itsutsu-no-Kata (Forms of "Five")" (...)

Oimatsu Shin'ichi, an authority on the history of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ and $j\bar{u}jutsu$, and who held for many years the position of Head of the $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$'s Library and Museum, in 1982 [14, p. 227–228] in a leading Japanese textbook on $bud\bar{o}$ history, lists the official nine kata of $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ more chronologically ordered as follows (translation and Hepburn transcription are ours):

- 1. Nage-no-kata 投の形 [Forms of Throwing]
- 2. Katame-no-kata 固の形 [Forms of Controlling]
- 3. Kime-no-kata 極の形 [Forms of Decisiveness]
- 4. Jū-no-kata 柔の形 [Forms of Non-resistance]
- 5. Itsutsu-no-kata 五の形 [The Five Forms]
- 6. Koshiki-no-kata 古式の形 [The Antique Forms]
- 7. Kōbōshiki kokumin taiiku 攻防式国民体育 (1928) [Attack- and Self-defense-Style national Physical Education]
- 8. *Joshi jūdō goshinhō* 女子柔道護身法 (1943) [Methods of Self-Defense for Women]
- 9. Goshinjutsu 護身術 (1956) [Self-Defense]

We note some minor differences in terminology between Fukuda and Oimatsu's list. Most relevant to the current paper is that Fukuda uses the term *Joshi goshinhō*¹ (transcription here corrected to Hepburn), while Oimatsu uses the term *Joshi jūdō goshinhō*. Oimatsu also uses the term *Kōbōshiki kokumin taiiku* for what today is more commonly known as *Sei-ryoku zenyō kokumin taiiku*. The main point is, though, that both lists contain the same *kata* and same number of *kata*. Magara in 1992 in his comprehensive structural overview of the contents of *jūdō* techniques is in agreement with the lists provided

¹ Fukuda alternates between the terms Joshi goshinhō and Kōdōkan joshi goshinhō.

by Fukuda and Oimatsu, and equally includes *Joshi jūdō goshinhō* and *Sei-ryoku Zenyō Kokumin Taiiku* in his overview² [15].

However, the 1999 Jūdō Daijiten [Large Encyclopedic Dictionary of Jūdō] published by the Kōdōkan [16], which also lists nine official kata, unexpectedly contains a list of kata that differs from the above. It omits Joshi goshinhō and instead contains Gō-no-kata, a kata which had not been taught officially at the Kōdōkan as part of its syllabus for many decades and of which the status and survival had become the subject of considerable controversy [1]. The Jūdō Daijiten [17] is written in Japanese and its distribution among non-Japanese jūdōka very limited. Among its authors we particularly note the presence of Daigo Toshirō, former Chief-Instructor at the Kōdōkan and holder of the rare Kōdōkan 10th dan rank, achievements which are sufficient to regard him as the most important author in the aforementioned group. The Jūdō Daijiten is rarely mentioned as a reference in non-Japanese jūdō books or research articles. Hence, it is also not surprising that virtually all foreign sources typically list only seven or eight kata, despite nine kata clearly being listed therein.

Almost a decade after the publication of the $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ Daijiten, Daigo produced what is one of the most significant contributions to $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ kata resources published in a long time, namely, a comprehensive and lengthy scholarly article on kata, entitled " $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ kata ni tsuite" [About the kata of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$] [18,19]. In his extended article, written in Japanese, which appeared in seven parts in the monthly periodical $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ from October 2008 through April 2009, Daigo mentions and discusses nine $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ kata (translation and Hepburn transcription are ours):

- 1. Nage-no-kata 投の形 [Forms of Throwing]
- 2. Katame-no-kata 固の形 [Forms of Controlling]
- 3. Kime-no-kata 極の形 [Forms of Decisiveness]
- 4. Kōdōkan goshinjutsu 講道館護身術 [Kōdōkan Self-Defense]
- 5. Jū-no-kata 柔の形 [Forms of Non-resistance]
- 6. Itsutsu-no-kata 五の形 [The Five Forms]
- 7. Koshiki-no-kata 古式の形 [The Antique Forms]
- 8. Sei-ryoku zenyō kokumin taiiku 精力善用国民体育 [National Physical Education According to the Principles of Best Use of Energy]
- 9. Gō-no-kata 剛の形 [Forms of Use of Strength]

This list is identical to the list that appeared in the 1999 *Jūdō Daijiten*, which Daigo too co-authored [17].

Despite the extensive attention which Daigo gives to the background, contents, meaning, and creation of each of these kata, he somewhat surprisingly does not indicate why his list differs from the 1982 list by Oimatsu [14] or the 1973 list by Fukuda [13], or specifically, why he omits Joshi jūdō goshinhō replaces it by Gō-no-kata. In fact, Daigo does not even mention Joshi goshinhō anywhere in the entire article despite its objectives as a fairly comprehensive text. Without such clarification, the difference between the Oimatsu and Daigo lists is highly peculiar. We asked Daigo-sensei in person to clarify his choice and position. He explained his reasons as follows: "There is no kata after the death of Kanō Jigorō. Sei-ryoku zenyō kokumin taiiku was never meant to be a kata (solely) for jūdōka but for general physical education (for the general public). Joshi goshinhō is more an application than a set of principles, thus consequently intended to be more practical, which is understandable particularly if we consider the social environment in which it was made by Nangō. For the same reason, Kodokan goshinjutsu is not given a suffix of '-kata'." (...)3

As interesting as Daigo's answer might be, it does not address the core of the problem, since after all, he did include all these other "principles without the suffix '-kata' (namely, Sei-ryoku zenyō kokumin taiiku and Kōdōkan goshinjutsu)" in his lists of 'kata', but as indicated, only excludes Joshi goshinhō ... for hitherto unknown reasons despite our attempts to seek clarification.

As to the actual number of existing Kōdōkan jūdō kata, we have already extensively documented previously that there exist in fact ten Kōdōkan kata rather than nine since both Joshi goshinhō and Gō-no-kata are official Kōdōkan jūdō kata [1]. This is also obvious from the above two lists, since (a) each contains nine kata, and (b) each list contains one kata that does not appear in the other. The math is simple and those who put both lists next to each other will note and count a total of ten Kōdōkan kata. The subject of the present article, however, is not to reiterate that discussion but rather to explore the origin and history of Joshi goshinhō, examine its status in the current Kōdōkan syllabus, and try to elucidate why it may have been omitted from Daigo's recent series of articles [18,19] or from recent lectures on kata during the Kōdōkan International Summer Kata Course [20,21] or other recent significant meetings, discussions and publications. Not in the least, with the increasing rarity of sources and teachers knowledgeable in instructing Joshi

² Magara actually includes not nine, but ten *kata*, of which the tenth is *Shōnen-jūdō-no-kata* 少年柔道の形, [Jūdō Forms for Juveniles] which is a special populations *kata* like *Joshi jūdō goshinhō* but focusing on children. Its composition resembles *Sei-ryoku-zenyō kokumin taiiku* and it is built on three modules comprising 12 *atemi* 当身 [strikes] in *kata* form called *Shōnen atemi-no-kata* 少年当身の形, and a selection of 10 techniques from *Kime-no-kata* and 5 from Jū-no-kata, as far as deemed suitable for being practiced safely by children. This *kata* is a research project developed by the author at Juntendō University 順天堂大学 in Chiba 千葉, and has never been accepted or approved by the *Kōdōkan* within its curriculum.

³ Daigo Toshirō. Personal communication; 2011, September 12th; Tōkyo: Kōdōkan Jūdō Institute.

goshinhō, the *kata* has been gradually fading and has now become acutely at risk for complete extinction.

There exists no known controversy about the actual existence or content of $Joshi~goshinh\bar{o}$ or when it was created and who ordered its creation. However, exactly who intellectually and technically conceived it or who had the most input in its creation is a whole different matter and has been subject of considerable speculation. Similarly there remains much lack of clarity about precisely why this kata either deliberately or inadvertently has fallen into decline.

In 1927-1928 Kanō Jigorō completed his work on the last kata of Kōdōkan jūdō created by him [14]. This exercise, called Sei-ryoku zenyō kokumin taiiku though grouped with the formal exercises of Kōdōkan jūdō was intended to provide a logical series of gymnastics based on martial arts that could easily be performed by either gender, and which did not require any special equipment or clothing. However, this kata has remained relatively unpopular, almost everywhere except in the Kōdōkan Joshi-bu [Kōdōkan Women's Department]. The reason presumably has to do with the general perception in many jūdōka that it differs too much from what the majority of people is looking for in jūdō: either self-defense (and the biased perception of many is that this kata lacks immediate applicability for self-defense purposes), or sporting competitive combat. Instead, Sei-ryoku zenyō kokumin taiiku shuns any sense of spectacular stalwartness. Even though the majority of the jūdō population may themselves be to blame themselves for their ignorance of Kanō Jigorō's true objectives in jūdō, the point remains that Sei-ryoku zenyō kokumin taiiku for many has become the "Kata of anti-climax". Even the inclusion of the smooth and elegant jū-shiki and the gentle yet decisive Kime-shiki did not stave off the kata becoming rapidly unpopular.

On May 4th of 1938 Kanō Jigorō passed away aboard the *Hikawa Maru*⁴ 沈川丸 ["The Glacial River Ship"] in open sea during the final trip Seattle to Yokohama on his way back from Cairo, 79 years old. The *Kōdōkan* had lost its *kanchō* [head] and its creator, its spiritual father

and architect. Despite Kanō's obvious health and personal issues in the preceding years 5 his death came still as somewhat of a surprise. On December 25^{th} of 1938, after ten months and three weeks without a $kanch\bar{o}$, Kanō Jigorō was succeeded by Nangō Jirō 南郷次郎 as new Head of the $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$. But who was Nangō Jirō? This question needs to be asked, in particular because its full answer may be of more importance than apparent for addressing part of the research question of this paper.

THE PERSON OF NANGŌ JIRŌ

Nangō Jirō 南郷次郎 was born on December 21st of 1876 as the eldest son of Nangō Shigemitsu 南郷茂光. Nangō's mother, Kanō Ryūko 嘉納柳子, was an elder sister to Kanō Jigorō making the relationship between Kanō Jigorō and Nangō Jirō one of uncle and nephew. Nangō entered the Kōdōkan and took up jūdō at age 7 in November of 1884. On December 13th of 1898, Nangō graduated from the Japanese Naval Academy while formally assigned to the Cruiser Battleship Hiei 比叡, a Kongō'o Class Japanese Naval Battle Cruiser of British design, named after the famous mountain in North-East Kyōto 京都. On January 12th of 1900 Nangō was appointed Second Lieutenant. There exist reports of Nangō while serving on the Hiei and docking in Melbourne, Australia, giving local jūdō demonstrations.

On September 26th of 1903 Nangō was promoted to Full Lieutenant and in this rank he actively participated in the *Nichirō Sensō* 日露戦争 or Russo-Japanese War, a conflict that lasted from February 10th of 1904 until September 5th of 1905. End of September 1906 Nangō returned to Naval College to complete an additional course and in April 1907 he enrolled in the advanced skills class in Torpedo School. On September 28th of 1907 he started serving aboard the *Hatsushimo* 初霜 ["First Frost"], a so-called "*Asakaze*" 朝風 ["Morning Wind"] Class 3 Destroyer" warship. On March 16th of 1908 Nangō became acting Chief – Torpedoist on the *Kashima* 鹿島, a 130 m long *Katori-*Class 香取型戦艦 battleship of British construction, and named after *Kashima Jingu* 鹿島神 宮 shrine in Kashima 鹿島, Ibaraki 茨城県 Prefecture.

⁴ The Hikawa Maru was a Nippon Yūsen Kabushiki Kaisha 日本郵船株式会社 Japan Mail Shipping Line ocean steamer, of which the construction was completed in 1929 by Mitsubishi Shipbuilding Co., Ltd. 三菱造船所 (Mitsubishi Sōsenjo). The ship was named after the Hikawa Jinja 氷川神社 shintō shrine in Ōmjya 大宫区, Saitama, Saitama Prefecture 埼玉県. In 1930, the 11,622 ton and 163m long ship commenced passenger service between Kōbe 神戸 and Seattle. The ship was equipped with luxury Art Deco style cabins and could carry 331 passengers. It was one of the ships to be nicknamed "Queen of the Pacific". In 1941 it was repainted and converted into a hospital ship. Between 1945 and 1947 it served as an Alien Repatriation Transport Ship. After completion of that assignment it served as a freight ship until 1954, after which it recommenced passenger service until 1960, when it was taken out of service. The Hikawa Maru, the sole Japanese Imperial Oceanliner to survive World War II afterwards found a permanent berthing spot near Yamashita Park 山下公園 in Yokohama 横浜市 where since 1961 it served as a popular floating restaurant, hostel and museum until it closed in December of 2006. Despite the uncertainty which was raised about its future, restoration of the vessel started in 2007. Access to the ship in its role of museum was reopened at the occasion of its 78th birthday on April 25th of 2008.

⁵ He likely suffered from kidney stones and he was a broken man after the death of his most faithful disciple Yamashita Yoshitsugu in October 1935, and the premature death of his eldest son Rishin in Septembner 1937.

⁶ Kongō 金剛 was the name of these Japanese cruisers built in Barrow-in-Furness, a seaport in Cumbria, North West England. 'Kongō' literally means 'diamond' with specific reference to its indestructible nature. The full name of these class of battle ships is Kongō-gata junyōsenkan 金剛型巡洋戦艦.

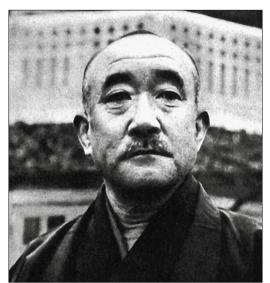


Figure 1. Nango Jirō, the second *Kanchō* (Head) of the *Kōdōkan* between from 1938 to 1946.

On September 25th of 1908, Nangō was promoted to Lieutenant-Commander. Two months later, on November 20th of 1908, he became an Instructor at the Japanese Naval Torpedo School, a position which he held for several years. Nangō advanced to the rank of Commander on December 1st of 1913. On February 12th of 1916 he became an aide to Prince Yorihito Higashifushimi-no-Miya 東伏見宮依仁親王 (1867-1922), Admiral of the Fleet⁷. On the 1st of December 1917 Nangō then received his promotion to Captain, and five years later (December 1st, 1922) he received his promotion to the highest rank he would achieve, namely that of Kaigun Shōshō 海軍少将 or Naval Rear Admiral. On February 25th of 1924, Nangō entered the Reserve Forces until he fully retired from the Japanese Navy on December 21st of 1939.

Thus, it was before his formal retirement from the military but while he was still in the Reserve Naval Forces, that Nangō Jirō on December 25th of 1938, almost 11 months after Kanō Jigorō's passing, became the second Kanchō 館長 (Head) of the Kōdōkan (Figure 1). He would remain in this position until he was succeeded in 1946 shortly after the war had ended by Kanō Risei 嘉納履正 (November 25th, 1900 - January 13th, 1986). Nangō Jirō apparently had studied jūdō for about eight years and progressed all the way up to nidan or 2nd degree black belt. If so, then this would imply that he obtained this rank at the age of 15 years old, since he had started jūdō at age 7 back in 1884. What is certain is that Nangō did receive personal jūdō instruction from Kanō Jigorō himself. It has been said that Nangō's relationship with Kano was close and loyal even though they must have thoroughly differed on some crucial points regarding education and ideological matters, as shown later in this paper. It is also believed that Nangō personally financially contributed to the well-being of the *Kōdōkan*, especially during the war years. Nangō Jirō passed away on March 5th of 1951, about 5 years after having rescinded leadership of the *Kōdōkan* to Kanō Jigorō's second son, Risei 嘉納 履正 [22].

Today, in contemporary jūdō the name Nangō Jirō is not frequently heard; certainly he is mentioned far less than other figures such as Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 or Nagaoka Hideichi 永岡秀一, or even than the other past and present Kōdōkan kanchō. The average jūdōka does not associate any noteworthy jūdō phenomenon or event with Nangō Jirō, apart from having been the successor to Kanō Jigorō. And yet ... the name Nangō Jirō, perhaps even more than anybody else, remains prominently attached to one very specific jūdō-technical exercise: Joshi goshinhō.

WHEN AND BY WHOM WAS JOSHI GOSHINHŌ CREATED?

The Joshi goshinhō research team

Fukuda Keiko writes: "Joshi Goshin-Ho (Women's Self-Defense) was created upon Mr. JIRO NANGO's proposal (he was a nephew and the successor of the late Professor KANO)." (...)

[13, p. 18]

There is little doubt about the accuracy of the above statement, but it has led to inaccurate extrapolations elsewhere, such as, for example:

"Jiro Nango constructed the Joshi Goshinho because he thought there was a need to preserve the self-defense techniques for the women in the Women's Division." (...) [23]

In other words, some Western authors seem to have erroneously understood and suggested that Nangō Jirō would not only have 'ordered', but also have 'created' or 'compiled' *Joshi goshinhō* himself, a statement undoubtedly incorrect. Nangō Jirō, in the preface of his 1944 book "*Joshi Goshinhō*" does not leave any doubt that he did not personally construct the *kata*. Nevertheless, who exactly was responsible for most of the intellectual, structural and functional basis of its techniques, is far less clear. Nangō Jirō writes:

"本書に掲ぐるところの術技は其の教材を選擇し、講道 館指南役三船久蔵、女子部長綿貫範子、同輔佐八段 本田存、同女子指導主任八段半田義麿、六段酒本 房太

⁷ Prince Yorihito Higashifushimi-no-Miya received the title "Admiral of the Fleet" or 元帥海軍大将 Gensui Kaigun Taishō on June 27th of 1922.

郎、女子五段乗富政子等氏の多年研鑚體験によるものでありまして又嘗て 柔道を修行せる東京櫻蔭女学校長 宮川久子女史の協力参畫に力を致されたることを多とする次第であります。

昭和十九年三月" (...) [24, Preface, p. 1-2]

[Transl.: "All the techniques selected as materials for this book are due a great deal to the collaboration between $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ Instructor Mifune Kyūzō, Head of the Women's Division Watanuki Noriko⁸, with equal assistance from $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ 8th dan-holder Honda Ariya, from Women's Chief Instructor 8th dan-holder Handa Yoshimaro, from 6th dan-holder Sakamoto Fusatarō, Women's 5th dan-holder Noritomi Masako and the yearlong devotion to research by other people; furthermore, also the long-time practice and experience and contributions to the history of women's $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ from, in particular, Miyagawa Hisako⁹, Head Mistress at $T\bar{o}ky\bar{o}$ \bar{O} 'in Women's School¹⁰, are appreciated. March 1944."] (...)

Fukuda Keiko adds: "Further research was made by the highest ranking instructors of the KODOKAN and Miss NORITOMI and myself from the Joshi-Bu." (...) [13, p. 18]

In this way Fukuda is thus also explicitly adding her own name to those who have authored the *kata*. It should be noted though that no Japanese historian or any other authoritative source, explicitly mentions Fukuda or any supposed input by her to the development of *Joshi goshinhō*.

Natsume Miwako 夏目美和子 and Odile Martin write: "Le Goshin Ho fut composé après la mort de Maître KANO par un groupe de professeurs hommes du Kodokan, parmi lesquels on peut citer Maître MIFUNE". (...) [25, p. 107]

[Transl.: "The *Goshinhō* was composed after the death of Master Kanō by a group of male *Kōdōkan* instructors, among whom one notes Master Mifune".]

In an attempt to identify the true spiritual source of the techniques of <code>Joshi</code> <code>goshinho</code>, and in the absence of any such detailed information being available anywhere, it is necessary to reflect on those who were involved in its development. The above quotes are the only known sources to provide some direct insight. We are left then with eight explicit names and an unknown number of unidentified others, whose relevant input therefore was probably much more modest. The eight chief protagonists (with their historic rank at the time <code>Joshi</code> <code>goshinho</code> was created) identified by name for their contributing role either by Nangō Jirō or Fukuda Keiko are:

- Watanuki Noriko 綿貫範子, Honorary 1st dan (since February 1936), Head of the Women's Division & Kanō's eldest daughter
- Honda Ariya 本田存, 8th dan & Women's Chief Instructor
- Handa Yoshimaro 半田義麿, 8th dan
- Sakamoto Fusatarō 酒本房太郎, 6th dan (since 1944)
- Noritomi Masako 綿貫範子, 5th dan (since January 1940)
- Miyagawa Hisako 宮川久子, Honorary 1st dan (since February 1936)
- Fukuda Keiko 福田敬子, 3rd dan (?)

Let us reflect on the background and credentials of these individuals in order to consider their potential for having been a major technical contributor in developing *Joshi goshinhō*.

Mifune Kyūzō

Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 is one of the best known jūdōka in history, and his background has been widely detailed in the half a dozen of books he authored as well as in the numerous publications by others. Mifune was born on April 16th 1888 in Kuji City 久慈市, Iwate Prefecture 岩手県. Mifune entered the Kōdōkan at age 15 in 1903, and became shodan the year after in October 1904. His ascent up the ladder of seniority has been one of the fastest of all times. He had been a 9th dan holder for almost six years since he was promoted to this rank in December 1937 by Kanō Jigorō in person. Mifune held this rank when Joshi goshinhō was consolidated in 1943, but would be promoted two years later on May 25th of 1945 to jūdan and became one of the youngest (62 yrs) and probably the most famous and longest serving 10th dan ever, until his death on January 27th of 1965.

By 1943 Mifune had already 40 years of jūdō experience. He had or would develop several jūdō techniques, such as notably ō-guruma 大車 [large wheel throw], sumiotoshi 隅落 [corner dropping throw], and tama-guruma 玉車 [ball wheel throw]. He was well versed and excelled in kata, way beyond a mere technical performance and understanding. Mifune's creative genius was such that putting him on a par with Kanō when it came to developing jūdō techniques or applying its technical principles, would be no exaggeration. Mifune created the Nage-no-ura-waza kenkyā 投の裏技研究 [Research into reverse throwing techniques]. Since Mifune demonstrated his Ura-waza 裏技 to Kanō Jigorō, this implies he must have developed

Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵, 9th dan (since December 12th of 1937)

⁸ Watanuki Noriko 綿貫範子 also was Kanō Jigorō's eldest daughter.

^{9 &#}x27;Miyagawa' is her married name; her original name is Ōba Hisako 大場久子.

¹⁰ The Ö'in Chūgakkō Kōtōgakkō 桜蔭中学校·高等学校 or Women's Middle School and Vocational School was established in 1924 and is located in Tōkyō's Bunkyō district not far away from the Kōdōkan at Hongō Ichi chōme 本郷一丁目.

this kata before Kanō passed away in May 1938. Despite having no known koryū 古流 ["old school"] or torite 捕 手 [naked hand self-defense] experience, he developed his own Goshinjutsu which largely relied or incorporated $kory\bar{u}$ techniques and appears for the first time in on an old movie entitled Jūdō Higi - Nihon Butoku 柔道秘技 武 徳日本 [Secret techniques of jūdō and the martial virtues of Japan] which supplemented the famous Shingi Mifune Jūdan 神技 三船十段 video [26]. Jūdō Higi – Nihon Butoku was filmed when Mifune still held the rank of kudan, and Shirai Sei'ichi 白井清一, his uke, 6th dan, which implies that the recording and thus the creation of his personal Goshinjutsu at least must date from 1937-1942 or earlier. Thus Mifune clearly had already mastered self-defense techniques years before Joshi goshinhō was created. We also note that on May 25th of 1945, thus roughly two years after the completion of Joshi goshinhō, Nangō Jirō promoted Mifune to jūdan [10th degree] who at that point was only 62 years old, a remarkably young age for this toprank. We also note that Mifune was the first jūdōka be promoted to jūdan by the second Kōdōkan kanchō [president]. One can only speculate if his appreciated involvement in creating and bringing to a good end this new kata even accelerated this process.

However, any speculation aside, the strongest evidence for Mifune's involvement in the creation of *Joshi goshinhō* was provided by Fukuda Keiko as eye witness, during a recent lecture in Tōkyō:

"When the war was over, the second-in-charge of the dojo had the idea that women should learn goshin-ho, or self-defense methods. So three prominent senseis, Shuzo [sic] Nagaoka Sensei¹¹, Kaichiro Samura Sensei and Kyuzo Mifune Sensei, started developing goshin-ho. I and Noritomi Sensei used to sit in the corner of the dojo so that we could see what they were doing. Mifune Sensei would say, 'What about this? What

about that?' And Samura Sensei would respond by saying, 'Okay, let's do it.' That was [how] goshin-ho was developed." (') [27, p. 5]

Watanuki Noriko

Watanuki Noriko 綿貫範子, née Kanō (October 1st, 1893 – March 1956), was Kanō-shihan's eldest and closest daughter. According to Fukuda Keiko: "Professor KANO and Mrs. WATANUKI NORIKO (then HEAD of the Joshi-Bu and eldest daughter of Professor KANO) presided over the instructors and pupils of the Women's Section." (...) [13, p. 16]

Nangō also refers to Noriko as "Head of the Women's Division and Kanō's eldest daughter". Watanuki Noriko received private instruction from Kanō even before the Joshi-bu was created on November 1st of 192612. She must have been extensively exposed to Kano's spiritual development and the conceptual growth of his jūdō. Nangō explicitly mentions her name when pointing out those who immediately contributed to the creation of *Joshi goshinhō*. The presence of her name in the list of contributors must be considered an "honorary authorship" probably because of her contributions to the establishment and running of the *Joshi-bu* for many years. Watanuki Noriko is little remembered in modern jūdō today, but she did leave two contributions that are still available for assessment by the jūdō audience, i.e. she co-authored the chapter on women's jūdō with Takahashi Hamakichi¹³ 高橋浜吉 in the third volume of Mifune's famous 5-volume Jūdō Kōza 柔道講座 [28]14, and she left a book with reminiscences about her father¹⁵.

Honda Ariya

Honda Ariya 本田存 was born in 1870 in Tatebayashi 館林, Gunma Prefecture 群馬県. Honda did have *koryū*

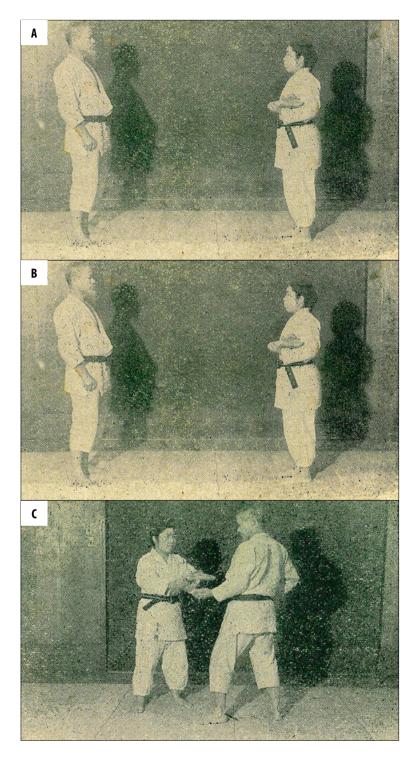
¹¹ Nagaoka 永岡 sensei's (1876–1952) first name was Hideichi 秀一 although in many publications, including several Kōdōkan documents, the kanji are mispronounced as Shū'ichi and even as Hidekazu. However, there does not exist a reading of these kanji as 'Shuzo', which is an obvious mistake.

¹² Several authors have mentioned different dates, more precisely, different years for this event, usually ranging from 1923–1926.

¹³ The first name can also be pronounced 'Yōkichi' or 'Hamayoshi', but as far as we are aware, the correct reading in this instance is indeed 'Hamakichi'

¹⁴ Watanuki Noriko's chapter co-authored with Takahashi Hamakichi is generally dated at the time of publication of Jūdō Kôza in 1955–1956, but may have been written earlier. Reconstructing the exact timeline is particularly difficult since most English language sources falsely claim that Watanuki Noriko would have died prior to Kanō: "Although Kano was a strict disciplinarian, he also had a emotional, warm-hearted side. 'He wept,' Risei recalls 'when he heard of Noriko's death.'" (...) [quoted in Adams Andy: Jigoro Kano – The quiet giant. Black Belt, 1970; 8(3): 42–48, p. 45]. This widespread statement is factually impossible since Noriko survived Kanō by almost two decades. It was Kanō's eldest son Rishin who died in September 1937 and thus prior to Kanō Jigorō.'

¹⁵ Other notable family members of Kanō Jigorō were: his wife Kanō Sumako 嘉納須磨子, née Takezoe 竹添 (born 1872, married, August 7th, 1894; died December 25th, 1945, age 73 yrs.; she was the daughter of famous Chinese scholar Takezoe Shin'ichirō 竹添信一郎), his first son Kanō Rishin 嘉納履信 (March 3td, 1897 – September 14th, 1934, age 37, whose name in most Western books, including Bennett's translation [Bennet 2009, 178] is often misread as 'Rinobu', and who was an oil painter and high school teacher and was adopted into Kanō's wife's family as Takezoe Rishin 竹添履信 to become the adoptive heir of Kanō's wife's father; this is also the name under which he is known as an artist), his second son Kanō Risei 嘉納履正 (November 25th, 1900 – January 13th, 1986, age 85 yrs., known mostly because of his role as the third kanchō of the Kōdōkan from 1946 to 1980, as well as President of the International Judo Federation (IJF) between 1952–1965), Kanō Tokujirō 嘉納徳二郎 (biographical data not known), Kanō Rihō 嘉納履方 (1910 – November 18th, 1945, age 35 yrs.) whose arrest by the police in 1932 and September 1933 [see: Japan Times, September 23td & December 19th, 1933] because of alleged communist sympathies made the front cover of the newspapers, after which he left Japan for the United States to go study at the University of Chicago, Kanō Tokusaburō 嘉納德三郎 (May 8th 1912 – date of death not known), his daughters Kanō Yuriko 嘉納百合子 (1912 – March 6th, 2008, age 96 yrs.), Kanō Nami 嘉納彼 (1922 – July 7th of 1995, age 73 yrs.), and his 5th daughter Takasaki Atsuko 鷹崎第子 née Kanō (biographical data not known).



experience, but in an unusual branch, namely the $Sui-fu-ry\bar{u}$ $\bar{O}ta-ha$ 水府流太田派 style of swimming 16 with its characteristic side stroke swimming; the school also specialized in swimming in streaming water. Honda must have achieved a certain expertise in this art. He worked as a middle school teacher and was a celebrated competitive swimming coach of different leading swimming

teams, whose athletes won several national swimming titles. At the time when *Joshi goshinhō* was consolidated (1943) Honda was thus approx. 73 years old and had achieved the rank of 8^{th} *dan*, which he would hold until his death six years later in 1949. Honda's experience with teaching women's $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ was vast. Kanō had appointed Honda (then still a 6^{th} *dan*) to start teaching $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ to

¹⁶ Sui'eijutsu 水泳術: The art of swimming is a form of classical bujutsu that in general entails combative swimming and which depending on the specific school may encompass various applications of swimming techniques and survival, including swimming in full battlegear as well as unarmed and armed fighting skills in water. However, Suifu-ryū Ōta-ha 水府流太田派 style specialized in sideways swimming.

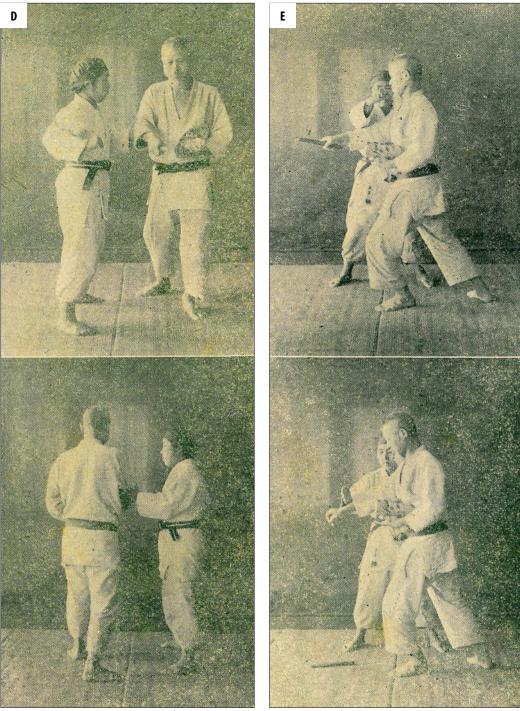


Figure 2A–E. Noritomi Masako, *joshi 5th dan (tori)* and Sakamoto Fusatarō, 6th *dan (uke)* showing the last technique of the *Seigo-hō* 制護法 [Escapes with counterattacks] or third series, which equally is the final technique of *Joshi qoshinhō*, called *Kyohaku-(dasshu)-dori* 脅迫 (奪) 取 [Robbing at knifepoint]. [24, p. 121–125].

women as early as November 1st of 1924 at the *Ōtsuka Kai'unzaka Dōjō* 大塚開運坂 道場 in Bunkyō-ku, Tōkyō 東京文京区. However, as far as known, Honda had no past experience with *koryū* unarmed combat. Neither do we know of any *jūdō* techniques which he would have developed. However, according to a 1933 advertisement in the *Aichi-ken Inoyama Kōtō Onna Gakkō* 愛知県犬山高等女学校 [Aichi Prefecture Inoyama Women's High

School] school magazine, Honda Ariya teaches Joshi goshinjutsu 女子護身術 [Women's self-defense] at the Tōkyō Kōtō Shihan Gakkō 東京高等師範学校 where he holds the function of Kōshi 講師 [Lecturer]. He is also listed with the designation of Kōdōkan Kanji 講道館幹事 [Kōdōkan Executive Secretary]. This does imply that he must have known self-defense techniques a decade before Joshi goshinhō was developed. That the term Joshi

goshinjutsu is not referring to standard *jūdō kata* taught in those years becomes clear from a further description in the magazine. Honda writes:

"立の場合」と「腰掛の場合」と「座の場合」です

「立の場合」は掴まれたというか、攻撃を受けた箇所で対処の方法が変わってきますので、手先の部、手首の部、腕の部、体の部、頭の部、頭髪の部、肩の部、腋下の部、袖の部、袂の部、襟の部 袴及スカートの部、肩掛の部に分かれます。

たとえば、立の場合の袴及スカートの部には、袴とかスカートに攻撃を受けた? (...)

"According to Honda-sensei, self-defense arises in three different situations: standing, seated in a chair, or seated in traditional Japanese position on the knees. When standing, the situation then is further divided by how one is being grabbed: by a part of the hand, the wrist, a part of the arm, the trunk, the head, the hair, the shoulders, or the sleeve at the armpit, or the elbow, or collar, or what to do if the attack is aimed at the hakama divided skirt?" (...) [29]

Thus these are typical descriptions of self-defense situations rather than the way $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is structured. However, it remains unclear in how far these techniques are either self-developed or whether Honda learnt them somewhere. Therefore it cannot be properly assessed in how far he did significantly contribute to the development of *Joshi goshinhō*, although his occupation with these types of techniques to the extent that he advertises them, does seem to support a considerable likelihood that he might have been substantially involved.

Handa Yoshimaro

Handa Yoshimaro 半田義麿 appears to have come from Kagoshima Prefecture 鹿児島県 on Kyūshū 九州 where he was born the same year that Kanō Jigorō had founded the Kōdōkan: 1882. Handa entered the Kōdōkan at age 18 in 1900. He seems to have been a professional jūdō instructor and worked in this capacity at the 7th Vocational High School 七高等学校造士館 in Tōkyō. He also was an active member of the Tengu Kurabu 天狗俱楽部 or Tengu Club, a social interaction group that existed until 1945. His involvement in promoting

women's jūdō apparently was so intense that he became chronically overworked and sought his relief in alcohol. He held the rank of 8th dan at the time when the Joshi goshinhō was established in 1943. Although we were unable to find affirmative information of Handa having any koryū background, his family seems to have had samurai roots and apparently maintained a tradition in classical bujutsu; thus, it is not impossible that he too might have had other unarmed combat experiences besides jūdō. Fukuda Keiko writes (referring to the time when Joshi goshinhō was created): "Mr. HANDA by then had grown older and had retired from active instructing." (...) [13, p. 18]. Handa was eventually promoted to 9th dan in 1947. He died prematurely two years later in 1949 at age 67 due to liver cirrhosis caused by heavy drinking and chronic alcoholism.

Sakamoto Fusatarō

Sakamoto Fusatarō 酒本房太郎 together with Mifune Kyūzō had a profile most suited for having had a major impact on the intellectual and functional contents of *Joshi goshinhō*. Sakamoto was born in 1884, two years after the establishment of the *Kōdōkan*. He entered the *Kōdōkan* in 1905, two years after Mifune. Furthermore, about one year later he started cross-training in *Tenjin Shinyō-ryū jūjutsu* 天神真楊流柔術 [The Divine True Willow School] under Yagi Torajirō¹⁷ 八木寅次郎.

From Yagi Torajirō he received menkyo kaiden 免許皆 伝 [License of Full Mastery] in 1913 after seven years of training. At the time Nangō published his book, roughly a year after the consolidation of Joshi goshinhō, Sakamoto also held 6th dan in Kōdōkan jūdō. Even though in jūdō, Sakamoto was junior to Mifune, Honda and Handa, his mastership in Tenjin Shinyō-ryū jūjutsu certainly provided him with the skills and knowledge necessary to be a major player in the development of tehodoki 手解き and other basic hand release escapes and similar defenses suitable for being developed for or integrated into Joshi goshinhō. Moreover, Sakamoto's crucial role seems confirmed by him figuring as the uke 受 [attacker] in all the pictures of Joshi goshinhō included in Nangō's book (Figure 2).

Sakamoto was promoted to 8th dan in 1955, and subsequently to 9th dan in 1972. Kubota Toshihiro 久保田

¹⁷ The leadership of the *Tenjin Shinyō-ryū* was originally transmitted from father to son. However, the 5th generation Head who at that time was the then current Headmaster Iso Mataemon Masayuki 磯又右衛門正幸, died prematurely and without leaving a male heir. Therefore, the 4th and previous Headmaster Iso Mataemon Masanobu 磯又右衛門正信 with approval of the 3rd Headmaster Iso Mataemon Masatomo 磯又右衛門正智 (thus the elderly grandfather of the one who had passed away) who at that point though of very advanced age was still alive, decided to branch off the school to a sideline, and appointed 4 Heads to protect the school from another potential catastrophic genealogical threat to the school's continued existence. Those new Heads were Tozawa Tokusaburō 戸澤徳三郎 (teacher of *aikidō*'s founder, Ueshiba Morihei 植芝盛平, and of Miyamoto Hanzō 宫本半藏), Fukuda Hachinosuke 福田八之助 (teacher of Kanō Jigorō), Yoshida Chiharu 吉田千春 (co-teacher of the 5th Headmaster Masayuki), Inoue Keitarō 井上敬太郎 (co-teacher of Miyamoto Hanzō, Yokoyama Sakujirō 横山作次朗, Saigō Shirō 西郷四郎 and Tobari Takisaburō 戸張滝三郎, who also had Iso Mataemon Mataichirō 磯又右衛門又一郎 as a teacher, the younger brother of the 4th Headmaster Masanobu), and finally Yagi Torajirō 八木寅次郎 (thus Sakamoto Fusatarō's teacher).



Figure 3. A rare previously unknown picture taken in 1935 depicting a large group of senior Kōdōkan jūdōka. Kanōshihan is in the middle of the second row. To his left are Nagaoka Hideichi 永岡秀一, 9th dan, Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵, 8th dan, then an unknown man, and then, Kawakami Chū 川上忠. To Kanō's right are: Munakata Itsurō 宗像逸郎, 6th dan, Samura Kaichirō 佐村嘉一郎, 8th dan, and Murakami Kunio 村上邦夫. At Kanō's far right on the corner is Takagi Kiyoichi 高木喜代市, 7th dan. In front of Kanō on the first row are four women seated; these are from left to right: Akutagawa Ayako 芥川綾子, Mimura Ryōko [correct kanji uncertain], Noritomi Masako 乗富政子, and Ōsumi Sekiko [correct kanji uncertain]. On the fourth row, to the left of Kanō on the corner is a young Sakamoto Fusatarō 酒本房太郎, 5th dan. [Courtesy of Mōri Osamu 毛利修].

敏弘, current *shihanke* 師範家 [grandmaster] of *Tenjin Shinyō-ryū jūjutsu*, was his student and successor, and taught for two years at Sakamoto's *dōjō* until the latter passed away in 1978.

Noritomi Masako

In the Western jūdō world Fukuda Keiko has become one of, if not the most famous female jūdōka, associated with the Kōdōkan's Women's Jūdō Department, and this partly due to her very long life and development of women's jūdō in the United States. However, it is Noritomi Masako 綿貫範子 who by many experts is considered the most important historic figure in women's jūdō. This is also affirmed by Fukuda Keiko herself, who was an uke to Noritomi during a famous performance of jū-no-kata at the occasion of the 1964 Olympics jūdō in Tōkyō. Noritomi is the female teacher most remembered by the elderly women of the Kōdōkan joshi-bu. But Noritomi never really taught abroad and passed away before international women's jūdō competitions were created. Because of these reasons it is appropriate to reflect on her background and biographical details.

Noritomi Masako was born on March 4th of 1913 in Ōmuta 大牟田, Fukuoka Prefecture 福岡県 on Kyūshū 九州. She apparently also had family ties to the Sasebo area 佐世保市 in Nagasaki Prefecture 長崎県 on Kyūshū 九州. Noritomi became interested in jūdō in 1925 and decided to visit the dōjō of Machida Hajime 町田一 sensei, then about 80 years of age, and also located in Ōmuta, Fukuoka. Noritomi was the only girl in the dōjō and showed great perseverance. She actively engaged in randori and competition with men. While participating in a Kyūshū tournament Noritomi had been spotted by Samura Kaichirō 佐村嘉一郎, the later Kōdōkan 10th dan, then still a 7th dan-holder, who had suggested she would move to Tōkyō. Neither Noritomi, nor her parents were very keen on the idea of a single, young girl moving by herself all the way up North. Nevertheless, it seems that Samura had informed Kanō already of Noritomi's perseverance and skills, and thus she finally gave in and went to Tōkyō in the spring of 1929.

In May 1929 Samura took Noritomi with him to introduce her to Kanō-shihan during a visit to the latter's Ōtsuka residence in the Bunkyō-ku ward 東京文京区, located next to the Kai'unzaka Dōjō 大塚開運坂 道場.

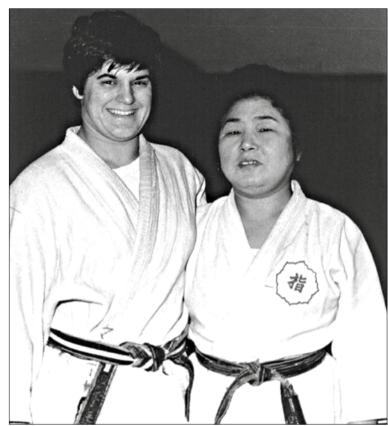


Figure 4. Margot Sathaye (1941–2000) (left) and Noritomi Masako (1913–1982) (right) in a picture from the 1970s taken at the Kōdōkan Joshi-bu.

Noritomi became an uchi-deshi 家弟子 [live-in apprentice] to Kanō, the third female to have been given this honor. Noritomi had been looking forward to be taught by Kanō in person, but was disappointed because she disliked Tōkyō and she was given only limited jūdō practice opportunity. She did enjoy Kanō's personal teaching and mentorship, but this did not amount to much more than irregular personal conversations. Consequently, Noritomi felt lonely and depressed during her first year in Tōkyō and she returned home to Kyūshū several times each time to come back to Tōkyō only with reluctance. It seems that one of her main motivators was to assist Kanō in realizing his view for women's jūdō. Noritomi pointed out that Kano put an emphasis on spiritual development over technical instruction. Noritomi never held shodan in Kōdōkan jūdō and was jump-promoted by Kanō to *nidan* on January 14th, 193418 [30, p. 137]. In November 1935 Kanō promoted her to sandan (Figure 3).

In 1972 Noritomi expressed anxieties regarding the sportification of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ and how it had started deviating from

Kanō's goals and views. One can only wonder how she would have felt if she had continued to live and witness $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ anno 2011 ... Even when Kanō was still alive, $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ had already started deviating from how he had it envisioned [31], and according to Kanō's own words he considered $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ as it still existed in the $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ Joshi-bu towards the end of his life as being the closest to the real $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. The absence of an orientation towards competition and of ignoring the spiritual component of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ while focusing on just fighting, are probably the chief reasons as to why the Joshi-bu continued to preserve a more pure $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ character than anywhere else.

When Kanō-shihan died almost exactly nine years after Noritomi was first introduced to him first in May 1929, she felt as many of us feel who have lost a visionary mentor. Noritomi herself died prematurely at age 69 yrs, on December 12th of 1982 from an unspecified type of cancer¹⁹ (Figure 4). She left her legacy in her self-published book *Joshi jūdō kyōhon* 女子柔道教本 [Textbook of women's *jūdō*], which has become something of a bible

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¹⁸ Noritomi was not the first female black belt in jūdō, which was Ozaki Kaneko 小崎甲子, who was promoted by the Butokukai in 1932 to become the first ever female shodan in jūdō [31,32]. Ozaki entered the Kōdōkan and was 'promoted' to shodan on January 18th of 1933 [33,34]. One year later on January 14th of 1934, Akutagawa Ayako 芥川綾子 and Morioka Yasuko 森岡康子 became the next shodan, while Noritomi that very same day was jump-promoted to nidan.

¹⁹ Noritomi also increasingly showed visible signs representative for someone suffering from Cushing's Syndrome, an endocrine disease characterized by a hypersecretion of cortisol from the adrenals or a tumor.

among elderly members of the *Joshi-bu* now well past their 70s. Unfortunately, the book has been long out of print and was never translated into English or another Western language. Even less commonly known though is Noritomi's obvious connection to *Joshi goshinhō*; she appears as the *tori* "the one who is executing" on all of the pictures included in Nangō's 1944 book on this *kata*. Her *kata* skills must have been outstanding, as affirmed by the many women who were instructed by her. Moreover, she also appears as *tori* in the only older source of *Joshi goshinhō*, *i.e.* the pamphlet *Joshi jūdō goshinhō zuikai* 女子柔道護身法図解 [35] that accompanied the 1943 thin booklet published by the *Kōdōkan* and edited by Nomura Hirokazu 野村竟一 [36].

Of the people mentioned by Nangō and Fukuda of having been involved in the construction of Joshi goshinhō, Noritomi must have been one of the closest to Kanōshihan and his spiritual ideas. Even Kanō must have thought highly of her skills, since he had promoted her already to 4th dan in May of 1937 (she was only 24 years old then) hence putting her way ahead of any other female jūdōka. And in January 1940, at age 26, Noritomi was made the first Joshi 5th dan, a rank she would hold as the only female until 1953 when Fukuda and later Niboshi were equally promoted to 5th dan. Since ranks for females in those days became frozen at 5th dan something quite unthinkable if Kanō were still alive -Noritomi despite her skills, pioneering role, and engagement in jūdō, for more than 30 years did not obtain a higher rank than godan, until finally in 1973 following an international petition to promote Fukuda Keiko to rokudan, she too was elevated to 6th dan. This was the rank which Noritomi still held when she passed away, though the Kōdōkan in December of 1982 would posthumously promote her to 7th dan, which therefore remains her final rank.

However, to remain on track, the key question is whether Noritomi had the practical background or skills to actually devise the techniques of *Joshi goshinhō*? This question boils down to whether Noritomi had any $kory\bar{u}$ background or not, when she took up $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ in 1925 in Kyūshū 九州, which is generally thought as her first involvement in $bud\bar{o}$ of any kind. Although Samura-sensei became a mentor to Noritomi during her initial years in $T\bar{o}ky\bar{o}$, and although Samura had a background in

Takenouchi Santō-ryū jūjutsu²⁰ 竹内三統流柔術, there is no evidence that Noritomi ever got involved in training in this school or was privately taught some of its techniques by Samura Kaichirō.

However, an intriguing and crucial detail is found in Fukuda Keiko's *Born for the mat*:

"Miss NORITOMI, the highest ranking women Judoist, was very small and only five feet tall; she started Jujitsu practice when she was only ten years old and later joined the KODOKAN at the age of eighteen. Through her long experience and skill in Judo, she continuously amazed observers with her very quick body management and her light and easy way of applying techniques". (...) [13, p. 17]

In other words, even though Noritomi, for whatever reason, in her own book does not detail any previous koryū experience, Fukuda Keiko who knew her very well suggests she did have such experience21. It is unfortunate that Fukuda does not elaborate on what jūjutsu school Noritomi may have attended and what level she achieved. Given that according to Fukuda, Noritomi was only 10 years old when she started jūjutsu, and that she joined the Kōdōkan at age 18 years, which probably coincides with when she left Kyūshū to go practice jūdō in Tōkyō in spring of 1929, this would imply that she likely quit koryū no later than 1929. In fact, she might have quit earlier, namely at or before 1925 when she expressed a desire to take up $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ and join a $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ club, which she effectively did when she joined Hajime Machida's dōjō in Ōmuta 大牟田, Fukuoka. It is even possible that she practiced jūjutsu only for an even briefer period. While it is not known what jūjutsu rank, if any, Noritomi might have achieved before she left Kyūshū, her experience probably amounted to 5-8 years. This is certainly enough time to achieve a certain level, although there would obviously be some kind of limit in how far a child or adolescent of less than 18 years of age could advance in terms or rank. More unfortunate perhaps is that Fukuda did not specify, or perhaps know, what ryūha 流派 it was that Noritomi practiced.

In any case, given Noritomi's $kory\bar{u}$ experience and her engagement and talent in $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, and her relatively close relationship with Kanō-shihan, she would have been a first choice to be fully involved in the trying out, devising

²⁰ Takenouchi Santō-ryū jūjutsu 竹內三統流柔術 [Litt.: "The Takenouchi school of the Three Traditions"] is a 19th century jūjutsu school that was concentrated in the old Higo 肥後国 province, today's Kumamoto Prefecture 熊本県 on Kyūshū 九州. During the Bakumatsu 幕末 era (1853–1867), Yano Gonnosuke Hirotsugu 矢野権之助広次, son of Yano Hikozaemon Hirohide 矢野彦左衛門広秀 (1798–1867) the 2nd sōke 宗家, joined the Sakushū Haga 作州垪和派竹内流 and Kobayashi-Takenouchi 小林派竹内流 keifu 系譜 or lineages as well as an Araki-ryū 荒木流 lineage to form a single synthesis school. The school quite obviously showed resemblances to Takenouchi-ryū 竹内流. Around the turn of the century there were many of its members who cross-trained in Kōdōkan jūdō, similar to what was the case with many Tenjin shinyō-ryū 天神真楊流, Kitō-ryū 起倒流 and Sōsuishi-ryū 双水轨流 members. One of Takenouchi Santō-ryū jūjutsu remainders in Kōdōkan jūdō are ura-nage 裏投 type of throws.

²¹ Knowledge of eventual involvement of Noritomi in koryū also appears not very well known among those who personally knew her. Michiko Whyman, née Yūki 結城迪子, Kōdōkan joshi 6th dan, °1942, and a former student of Noritomi, in a personal conversation with the authors (d.d. February 28th, 2011) indicated to not be aware of any such further details.



Figure 5. The well-known picture taken September 30th of 1937 with Kanō Jigorō and more than 20 girls and women from the *Kōdōkan Joshi-bu*. Kanō-*shihan* is in the middle of the picture, and to his right, the third woman is the 24-year old Fukuda Umeko (later 'Keiko'). Seated before her wearing traditional *haori* 羽織 [Japanese formal dress] is Handa Yoshimaro 半田義麿, 8th *dan* and at that point about 55 years old.

and practicing of new experimental $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ techniques or applications for women. She would have the right background to liaise and converse with someone who held *menkyo kaiden* like Sakamoto Fusatarō or Samura Kaichirō, or with a $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ genius the likes of Mifune, or with someone like Honda Ariya who in the 1930s was teaching self-defense techniques to women. What we do know for certain is that, in any case, Noritomi in her function as women's $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ instructor seems to quickly having become *Joshi goshinhō*'s foremost advocate and teacher. It is thus particularly regrettable that no footage of her performing this exercise has survived.

Fukuda Keiko

Fukuda Umeko 福田梅子 was born on April 12th of 1913, but for personal reasons later assumed the name Keiko 福田敬子, the only name under which she is commonly known in the United States today or has been known outside of Japan. Fukuda took up jūdō in 1935, and achieved shodan 初段 or first-degree black belt in 1939 (Figure 5). She became a Kōdōkan women's instructor in 1942. By 1953 she had obtained the then highest possible rank for females: 5th dan. After a change in promotion rules she was promoted to 6th dan in 1973. At the time of writing, Fukuda is 98 years old and the Kōdōkan's first and only female 9th dan-holder, a rank the Kōdōkan awarded to her in January 2006. After emigrating to the

United States in 1965, Fukuda-*sensei* established the $S\bar{o}k\bar{o}$ *Joshi Jūdō Club*²² 桑港女子柔道クラブ in San Francisco, CA, of which she has since been the Head Instructor. USA Judo (USJI) on July 28th of 2011 even made her the first and only female 10^{th} *dan*.

No author or source except for Fukuda Keiko herself, includes her name as one of the Joshi goshinhō creators [13, p. 18]. That by 1960, she, together with Noritomi and Niboshi Haruko²³ 仁星温子 would have become the most knowledgeable female teachers of *Joshi goshinhō* is little in doubt. But to extrapolate this to include her as having made a significant technical or structural contribution seems to be stretching it, and prompts some questions. In 1943, Fukuda had merely eight years of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ experience and probably held 3^{rd} dan, and had been only appointed as a women's instructor since one year before. The other people, whose names have been mentioned in the context of creating Joshi goshinhō, had far more jūdō experience, sometimes dozens of years more. The males held jūdō ranks of 6th to 9th dan. Natsume even explicitly pointed out that Joshi goshinhō would have been created by only male instructors:

"Le Goshin Ho fut composés après la mort de Maître KANO par un groupe de professeurs hommes du Kodokan ..."

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 $^{^{22}}$ Sōkō 桑港 is the old Japanese name for San Francisco, although the word literally means "The Mulberry Tree Harbor". Thus, the name Sōkō Joshi Jūdō Club 桑港女子柔道クラブ simply means "San Francisco Jūdō Club for Women".

²³ From the 1970s to the end of the 1990s Niboshi Haruko (1932–1998) was the senior female at the Kôdôkan's Joshi-bu. Together with Fukuda she was the only Kôdôkan female red belt holder ever. Both were the first females promoted to 8th dan when this rank for women was still designated by a red belt. When Umezu Katsuko 梅津勝子 finally was promoted to Joshi 8th dan in 2006, belt colors for women had been synchronized with those of men, hence why Umezu received a red- and white-panelled belt unlike Fukuda and Niboshi, and has never worn a red belt despite holding the same rank as Niboshi and Fukuda at the time. Niboshi died of cancer in 1998.

[Transl.: "The *Goshinhō* was composed after the death of Master Kanō by a group of male *Kōdōkan* instructors ...".] [25, p. 107].

Of course, to be fair, Natsume Miwako (married, Le Bihan) was not even born when *Joshi goshinhō* was created; she was born only in September of 1946, while Fukuda was already 30 years old and had been doing *jūdō* at the *Kōdōkan* for 8 years.

Whilst Fukuda Keiko was indeed the granddaughter of *Tenjin Shinyō-ryū shihan* Hachinosuke Fukuda 福田八之助, the latter had died at age 52, in 1879, not less than 34 years before Fukuda Keiko was even born (1913)! Fukuda Keiko had zero koryū experience. This is confirmed by herself: "A few months later²⁴, I was given the subject, 'The Difference Between Jujitsu and Judo.' My grandfather was a Jujitsu instructor before I was born; however, this was so long ago, and I had no idea of Jujitsu or the principles of Judo." (...) [13, p. 16]

In the light of both the considerable hierarchical seniority of those surrounding her, as well as her being a woman in the Japan of 1943, and the absence of Fukuda possessing any $kory\bar{u}$ skills, it is highly unlikely that she would have had any significant input on the technical contents of $Joshi \ goshinh\bar{o}$ or the design of its techniques. This is also confirmed in a recent public lecture in which she refers to herself as merely an observer present in the $d\bar{o}j\bar{o}$ while more senior sensei were experimenting with potential techniques for inclusion in $Joshi \ goshinh\bar{o}$:

"I and Noritomi Sensei used to sit in the corner of the dojo so that we could see what they were doing. Mifune Sensei would say, 'What about this? What about that?' And Samura Sensei would respond by saying, 'Okay, let's do it.' That was [how] goshin-ho was developed." (...) [27, p. 5]

However, it is proper to reflect on Fukuda Keiko's potential philosophical influence on the creation of *Joshi goshinhō*.

In 1972, Noritomi definitely considered herself as the only remaining woman who had been taught by Kanō 25 . She did not seem to think of or include Fukuda Keiko in that group though she knew Fukuda very well since Fukuda was her $k\bar{o}hai$ 後辈 [junior colleague]. This is remarkable since four decades later the popular view that Fukuda was Kanō shihan's last and now only living student is widespread and has been extensively marketed



Figure 6. Fukuda Keiko, Kōdōkan joshi 9th dan (USA Judo [USJI] 10th dan), and one of the authors (professor Carl De Crée, 7th dan) demonstrating a goshinjutsu technique at Fukuda's Sōkō Joshi Jūdō Club 桑港 女子柔道クラブ ["San Francisco Jūdō Club for Women"] in San Francisco, CA. (Reproduced by permission of Professor Carl De Crée).

particularly in the North American jūdō world (Note though that this claim in Japan for long has been viewed with discrete skepticism). Equally remarkable is that Noritomi who had become an uchi-deshi of Kanō and had started jūdō almost six years before Fukuda took up jūdō in 1935, points out that there was very little practical and technical instruction from Kano to the point that she even left several times during her first year²⁶ [34, p. 1972]. As Noritomi is referring to her own formative years at the Kōdōkan, starting in 1929, it is therefore even far less probable that Fukuda would have received significant personal practical instruction from Kanō during the last three years of his life. Although many popular jūdō books often allege that a previously healthy Kanō suddenly and unexpectedly died in 1938, the contrary is true. In reality, Kanō towards the last years of his life was weakened, sick and a man in decline. His oldest son Takezoe Rishin, né Kanō, had died in September 1934, and he knew very well that the pedagogical model as

²⁴ Fukuda is referring to the year 1935.

²⁵ Kudō Kazuzō 工藤一三, 9th dan (1898–1970) had died in 1970, but Kotani Sumiyuki 小谷澄之, 10th dan, born in 1901, would live until October 19th of 1991. Kotani, by most Japanese researchers is often considered to have been the last living disciple of Kanō whose practical jūdō instruction directly from Kanō is well documented. However, even that is incorrect since Kotani was outlived by Mochizuki Minoru 望月稔 (April 7th, 1907 – May 30th, 2003).

²⁶ 1929

he had intended for jūdō was failing. Additionally, the disputes with the Dai Nihon Butokukai 大日本武德会 [Greater Japan Martial Virtues Society] in Kyōto regarding the authority of issuing jūdō ranks, and several other sore points added significant additional stress. Moreover, Kanō likely was suffering from kidney stones, and correspondence of those years shows that at different occasions he cancelled several important meetings because of 'exhaustion', a term which possibly served as a euphemism for unspecified health problems.

Thus, in 1943 at the time of its creation, it is very unlikely that Fukuda would have already mastered sufficient skills to have exerted a significant effect on the structural and functional development of the techniques of Joshi goshinhō, particularly as it contained techniques which even did not exist in Kōdōkan jūdō previously. However, Fukuda was exposed to the spiritual ideas of Kanō either through himself or Noritomi. As a young woman, Fukuda might well intuitively have had some realistic thoughts about the sort of attacks of which she might be the victim of. This certainly could have prompted her to be an avid practitioner of the techniques of Joshi goshinhō at the earliest or perhaps even at the developmental stage; additionally, she could have well have practiced these vigorously and often with Noritomi. Fukuda's major contribution though is that half a century later and until this very day, she is likely the most senior practitioner of the Joshi goshinhō (Figure 6). The impairments that come with advanced age no longer allow her to actively practice such exercises herself. However, Fukuda's mere physical presence, dedicated as always, even when sat in a chair or wheelchair, represents an important stimulus, and her keen eye will catch almost any mistake. In this way, Fukuda-sensei remains the most important force in propagating kata and traditional women's jūdō in the United States, making her contributions to women's jūdō quite substantial [37].

Miyagawa Hisako

Similar to Watanuki Noriko, the importance of Miyagawa Hisako 宮川久子, née Ōba 大場久子, was likely far more crucial to establishing the *Joshi-bu* and in developing women's $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ than in any true involvement in the structural and functional creation of *Joshi goshinhō*. Miyagawa was perhaps born in or around 1877. Bennett lists the following quote by Miyagawa:

"Just before my graduation [from college] I thought that it would be a good idea to improve my physical and mental strength in order to teach more effectively. I particularly wanted to develop a strong spirit, and despite my hectic study schedule, I thought I could achieve this by learning traditional Japanese bushidō. Although I had never heard of any women training in judo then, I requested instruction from Master Kanō at the dōjō in Kōjimachi with some others of a similar mind. Master Kanō did not agree straight away but informed us he would discuss our requests with his wife. It wasn't long before he gave us his consent to train." (...) [30, p. 129]

Bennett states that Miyagawa graduated in March 1900, implying that she probably would have started jūdō sometime in 1899 or 1900. It is interesting that Miyagawa is approaching $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ or her interest to learn $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ not from a self-defense goal, but rather seems to be driven by educational needs. As such it is easy to picture her as being mentally on the same wavelength as Kanō. At the same time though, it adds greater doubt about her having a significant involvement in creating a self-defense-oriented exercise like *Joshi goshinhō*. Bennett also correctly points out the low social position of women in those days, which as well as illustrating Kano's progressive thinking, also indicates that it would have been unlikely that a lowly ranked woman would have argued how to establish a kata with the likes of experienced and high-ranked dominating jūdō exponents like Mifune, Sakamoto, Handa, and Honda. But to be fair, we have to reconsider this situation 43 years onwards, because that is how long it would take before Joshi goshinhō would end up on the drawing tables.

Yasuda Chikako²⁷ 安田周子, who on March 2nd of 1904 went to ask Kanō to accept her as a student, writes:

"Early in the morning of August 2, 1905, he [Kanō] directed me to climb Mt. Fuji to assess the positive effects judo was having on my physical and mental strength. Eleven others also went, including women such as Ōba Hisako, Baron Tsuchiya's daughter and Okada Asako. In addition, the wife of Yahagi Eizō (a professor at Tōkyō Higher Normal School) and six men were also in our group."

The next day many people came to training. Master Kanō said to all that gathered, 'Through the journey to the summit of Mt. Fuji, it is now very obvious to me that judo has indeed proved its worth in benefitting women's health. Yasuda [Noriko] and Ōba [Hisako] have no respiratory difficulties at all, and this verifies that judo enhances the physical wellbeing of women too.'

When Ōba and I heard this we were so pleased that we completely forgot our aches and pains." (...) [30, p. 133]

Accordingly, there is no doubt that Õba Hisako (later Miyagawa Hisako) was thus a very early female student of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, long before the creation of the $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$ Joshi-bu on November 9th of 1924. It is unclear how long she remained an active student of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ and at what frequency she practiced.

²⁷ The *kanji* for 'Chikako' 周子 in Bennett's book [30, p. 130] are misread as 'Noriko', which is an existing and more common pronuniciation hence the understandable mistake; Fukuda Keiko, on the other hand, refers to her by yet another name, Yasuda 'Kinko' [13, p. 15]

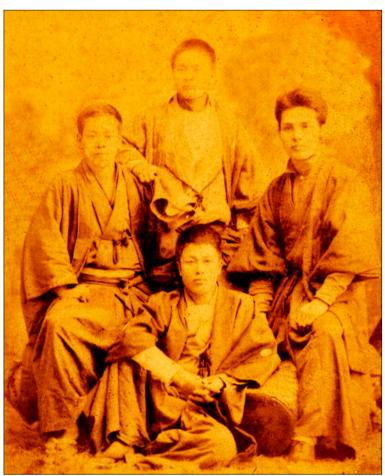


Figure 7. From left to right: Munakata Itsurō 宗像逸郎 (December 10th, 1866 – May 13th, 1941), later 7th dan, Ōkura (later 'Honda') Masujirō 大倉本田增次郎 (November 29th, 1866 – November 25th, 1925) (seated), Saigō Shirō 西郷四郎 (February 4th, 1866 – December 22nd, 1922), later 6th dan (posthumous) (standing), and Amano (later 'Nakajima') Genjirō 尼野中嶋源二郎 (Biographical data not available). Picture taken around 1885 at the Kōbunkan 弘文 館, a Neo-confucianist school. All four were born in 1866 and had enrolled as students at the Kōbunkan in the Jinbōchō 神保町 area near the Kōdōkan, where Kanō Jigorō in March 1882 had started an English language instruction program. They were also among the earliest jūdō students of Kanō Jigorō at the Kōdōkan.

The school system certainly was one way through which women distributed their interest to taking up $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ or self defense. Ōba Hisako writes:

"Master Kanō sometimes taught us directly but we received most of our tuition from Honda Ariya and Honda Masajirō²⁸ (Figure 7). Before long some ladies from the Kazoku Women's Higher School came to train with us, and I also remember four other ladies who received recommendations to start". (...) [30, p. 129–130)

Next to the reference to *Kazoku Women's High School*, Öba Hisako (later Miyagawa Hisako) who was a professional teacher, would later become Head Mistress of *Ö'in Chūgakkō Kōtōgakkō 桜*蔭中学校·高等学校 [Tōkyō Ö'in Women's Middle School and Vocational School], established in 1924 the Bunkyō district, Tōkyō, the same district as the *Kōdōkan*. In this role she purportedly remained an outspoken advocate for women's *jūdō*. She was the first one to receive a special honorary *shodan* from Kanō Jigorō on February 21st of 1936, when Kanō had decided to honor those women who were the earliest

²⁸ Honda Masujirō 本田增次郎 born on November 29th of 1866 in Mimasaka 美作市, Okayama Prefecture 岡山県, studied English in the school where Kanō Jigorō was principal. 'Masajirō' as it appears in the quote is a misspelling of his first name, which is correctly read as 'Masujirō'. Honda later became an Instructor of English at various schools of different levels all the way up to Tōkyō Foreign Language School and Waseda University. Several sources indicate that he took up jūdō around 1899. However, this is obviously wrong as there exists a by Kanō Jigorō signed menjō 免状 [certificate] issued in February of 1887 (Meiji 20) at the occasion of completion of that year's Kangeiko 寒椿古 [Mid-winter training] to Ōkura Masujirō 大倉槽次郎, the birth name of Honda Masujirō before his adoption, and this certificate lists him as being already a 3rd dan-holder! In any case, around 1906 he was a professor at the Tōkyō Shihan Gakkō 東京師範学校 [Tōkyō Higher Normal School] where Kanō Jigorō was principal. Like Kanō, Honda is often considered an educator. Since 1919 he was a contributor to the Japan Times. In 1922 he became a writer for the Imperial Household Agency. His work led to some international travel including trips to China, Europe and the U.S. In 1911 he was awarded a Doctorate Honoris Causa in Humane Letters (Litt. D.-H.C.) by Trinity College in Harford, CT. He died on November 25th of 1925, four days short of his 59th birth-day, after sustaining several health impairments. He was early advocate of women's education and rights.

pioneers of women's jūdō and who had started before the Kōdōkan Joshi-bu was created in 1924. At the point of this special promotion, Hisako, by then only known under her married name 'Miyagawa', was 59 years old. The fact that only then she became a shodan 初段 [firstdegree black belt] suggests that she was no longer physically active as a jūdōka. Given this consideration, it is therefore also unlikely that when Joshi goshinhō was created seven years later, when she would have been approximately 66 years old, that she would have played a significant role in its formulation. Like with Watanuki Noriko, her name being explicitly mentioned by Nangō Jirō in the preface of his book is probably more of an honorary acknowledgement for her entire contributions to women's jūdō than a specific acknowledgement for her supposed technical input into *Joshi goshinhō*.

We therefore believe that there are considerable indications that those who truly authored *Joshi goshinhō* were likely Noritomi Masako, Sakamoto Fusatarō, Mifune Kyūzō, Samura Kaichirō, and Honda Ariya. They had the knowledge, skills, seniority and perseverance and profile to be up to this task.

CONCLUSIONS

Joshi goshinhō is still an official kata of Kōdōkan despite it being often ommitted from recent kata listings. The creation of Joshi goshinhō was ordered by Nangō Jirō, who led the Kōdōkan after Kanō Jigorō's death in 1938. Joshi goshinhō was completed in 1943 and was likely conceived by Noritomi Masako, Honda Ariya, Mifune Kyūzō, Sakamoto Fusatarō, and Samura Kaichirō, despite it often being attributed to a group of collaborators as large as eight or ten people. To understand Joshi goshinhō's contents and aims it is necessary to put it in the right context, i.e., part of a physical education system intended to improve the health of females in a time when fitness equipment was not generally commercially available, when women in Japan were not yet emancipated, and when antibiotics29 and modern medicine were still largely in developmental stages. The advantage of jūdō was that unlike other forms of calisthenics and gymnastics it could be readily adapted in daily life situation as a simple and basic form of self-defense.

Thus, despite *Joshi goshinhō* likely not being an exhaustive or complete system of self-defense, it deserves a worthy place in contemporary women's (and men's) $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. As a series of technical skills rather than a ceremonial performance exercise it helps to install self-confidence,

situational awareness and mastery of simple escape and *tai-sabaki* skills which may be effectively combined with *randori*, *nage-waza* or *katame-waza* techniques during an emergency situation³⁰.

Joshi goshinhō also remains a valuable historic link to what $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ was like in the immediate aftermath of the death of Kanō-shihan. Today, in the 21^{st} century where novice $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$ are totally ignorant of what $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is truly about having come to think that it equals the bizarre competition-oriented and medal-obsessed activity marketed by the IJF [3], preserving these exercises is more necessary than ever. Unfortunately, just the authors' enthusiastic plea for the continuing existence and preservation of Joshi goshinhō may not be enough. The tragic consequence is that much of the knowledge about $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ that is commonly promulgated and understood, is fundamentally wrong and distorted.

 $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$ who dedicate their life to $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ have a right to a critical analytical approach to $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$'s history in its every aspect even if that demands a need for accountability and self-critique. Pursuing this goal is an integral part of the pedagogical aims of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ as defined by its creator in an attempt to make us all better humans of all of us.

Notes

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

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²⁹ Only with antibiotics is it possible to effectively treat the otherwise debilitating and potentially lethal consequences of serious venereal diseases such as syphilis, which an early 20th century victim of rape could have realistically ended up with.

³⁰ Somewhat simplistic applications of escape techniques combined with more mainstream jūdō techniques were shown during the IJF's Self-defense Conference in Santo Domingo in October 2006 [38].

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