A Judo that Incorporates Kendo: Jigoro Kano’s Ideas and Their Theoretical Development

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Abstract

Judo’s founder, Jigoro Kano, stated by the end of his life that in the future judo should integrate the principles of kendo (Japanese swordsmanship). He also often mentioned that his vision of ideal judo was present in the extremely fluid randori sparring practices that took place during the early years of judo. These statements will be unexpected for most modern judo practitioners, who practice a competitive judo as a sport and are largely unaware of Kano’s desire to make judo into a practical martial art. Kano’s hope of combining the principles of judo and kendo to make a practical martial art was not realized during his lifetime, but his goal was pursued by his student, Kenji Tomiki. Professor Tomiki defined the principle of kendo as the “technical theory of chop and thrust while avoiding being touched” and worked towards integrating it with judo’s throwing techniques. In particular, he noted that just as the proper moment to begin executing a sword technique is the moment of first contact between attacker and defender, the proper moment to begin executing a judo technique is also the moment of first contact between attacker and defender. Thus, the long periods of slow and indecisive wrestling that occur in modern judo tournaments after competitors have grabbed each other’s uniforms fail to meet Kano’s ideal. Instead, players should grasp lightly, move fluidly, and treat each moment as the moment of initial contact.

Key words: shizen-tai • Ju • tegatana • Tomiki • Koshiki-no-kata • atemi-waza

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Problem Identification

Jigoro Kano, who is recognized as the founder of Olympic Judo, longed for a practical judo that could be used in actual fighting. In concrete terms, Kano demanded that his practitioners apply “The principle of judo” (Judo no Genri) [1] to techniques against an opponent’s chop, thrust, kick, grab, and even attacks with weapons. This is the ideal judo that Kano envisioned. In around 1912, Kano defined the principle of judo as seiryoku-zenyo, i.e. “The most effective way to use the power of the mind and body”, “The principle of maximum efficiency with minimum effort” or “The very best application of energy”. Kano explained that judo is a way to incorporate this principle into all activities of life, which includes martial arts, or how to attack and defend in a bout. Thus, the “principle of judo” simply means the way of life lived in a utilitarian manner. In the Meiji Era (1868–1912) Japanese intellectuals generally learned the social Darwinism espoused by Herbert Spencer as well as utilitarianism so it is likely that Kano was also influenced by these trends, and in turn Kano’s novel thought had to influence jujutsu/judo practitioners. Applying the principle of judo to all martial arts means applying that principle to mute-jutsu (bare hand techniques), ken-jutsu (swordsmanship), bo-jutsu (staff fighting), so-jutsu (spearman ship), kyu-jutsu (archery), naginata-jutsu (Japanese halberd), and others.

This author has previously written that Kano, in his documents, did not refer to the technical principles that are incorporated into all techniques [2]. What did Kano refer to as the technical principle of judo, though? Kano explained shizen-tai (natural posture), how to move, ukemi (break fall), the meaning of ju (flexibility), kuzushi (breaking the opponent’s balance), tsukuri (throwing the
Maa is a popular term in modern kendo. By contrast, Munenori Yagyu, a famous kendo fencer, used the term nojutsu, to discern the distance between two warriors in his document “Heiho-kadensho” of 1632.

The Daito-ryu-aiki-jujutsu that Ueshiba taught is different from modern aikido. The former was a model of jujutsu as regards the variety of forms of combat. Sokaku Takeda taught Daito-ryu-jujutsu to Ueshiba and later changed its name to Daito-ryu-aiki-jujutsu.

Hideichi Nagakura, who was able easily to throw an opponent by using body movement without strength, was called a judo genius because of his proficiency in both randori and kata in the Kodokan. He was awarded 10th dan during his lifetime in 1937.

The aiki-te-nazate that Tomiki refers to does not mean the waza of aikido today but rather the practical atemi-nazate and kansetsu-nazate of aiki-jujutsu and the various other types of jujutsu that Tomiki studied.

The name of Aiki-budo was used in the Kobudai (Ueshiba’s organization in prewar days) as the name of Ueshiba’s aiki-jujutsu after around 1935.

“Ken-no-ki” means the spirit that springs to a Japanese sword.

In fact, Heita Okabe [3], one of the most prominent of Kano’s students in the early half of the Taisho-era (1912–1929), severely criticized Kano’s concept of judo as follows: There are many ways to apply “The principle of maximum efficiency with minimum effort” in our life. All worthwhile matters would probably be produced by the working of “The principle of maximum efficiency with minimum effort” so this definition is not logical because it has no originality.

Professor Kenji Tomiki [4] thought that Kano’s definition of judo had a problem in his emphasis only on michi (moral principles or humanity) or the spiritual aspect, not on jutsu (art or technique), whereas there is an old proverb Gi-shin-ichinyo (art-mind unity) which means art is one with mind. Tomiki stated that we had to study michi as the subject of ethics because michi was the criteria of an action, and it laid the foundation for a view of life according to a sense of value. On the other hand, Tomiki said, “We should study both jutsu and michi in order to reach the essence of judo.” Tomiki was a man who clearly broke down the “judo principle” (judo genri) in the jutsu into three elements based on Kano’s teachings: the principles of shizen-tai, ju and kazuishi.

In addition, Tomiki boldly referred to “The kendo principle” (kendo no genri) as a requisite for judo that Kano had been longing for [5]. Kano’s first concern was not sport but martial art. Kano defined judo as three methods when he established judo; 1) Slobu-ho: a method that combined the attacks and defences of martial arts; 2) Taikho-ho: a method of physical education; and 3) Shushin-ho: a method of mental training. Even in this case, the foundation of the three methods was naturally the first one that includes various kinds of techniques not only in a bout but also in real fight. Kano stated the following remarkable statement and view in 1918: “In conclusion, I would like to add something taught as kata in kendo into the practice of judo after rebuilding it.”, and “It is considered that kendo should be incorporated into judo as one of the most important requirements after its reconstruction.” Kousuke Nagaki, has paid attention to judo as martial art and written articles about it. But, Nagaki’s research of detailed materials did not refer to these remarks by Kano nor to the concrete technical content that Kano longed for [6,7]. Naoki Murata [8] has not also attacked this subject although he referred to the importance of Kano’s remarks as follows: “People of the next generation have a heavy responsibility”. The absence of this point in the study of jujutsu and judo should be addressed to researchers as a serious and incredible problem. Candidly, one of the reasons why such a situation happened might be that many researchers, who practice sport judo, which does not contain atemi-waza (striking techniques), have had difficulty to practically understand the meaning of his remarks.

On the basis of documents, this author will clarify the phases of theoretical development from Kano to Tomiki. He will do this through the elucidation of the meaning of Kano’s idea of judo by considering Tomiki’s the characteristics of atemi-nazate in the analyses of the Koshikino-kata, and will then offer an opinion on the way that judo or jujutsu should be.

KANO’S IDEA OF JUDO: A JUDO THAT INCORPORATES KENDO

At the very least, not later than the beginning of the Taisho-era (1912), Kano would use the phrase “maximum efficiency with minimum effort” as a fundamental principle of human life. But Kano only gave a theoretical explanation on each occasion. A good example is Kano’s comprehensive historical article The Outline of Kodokan Judo, written between 1915 and 1916. In the section “What is Judo?”, Kano [9] did not identify the principle of offense and defense in judo as a martial art, though he interpreted the meaning of the principle of ju after introducing throwing techniques, pinning techniques and striking techniques. He also introduced natural posture(s); how to grab the collar and sleeve and how to use strength in that case; eye contact and how to move the feet, etc., while having explained the necessity of the principle of judo to understand judo techniques.

Kano [10] stated that in the future judo should combine with kendo to become one while he touched upon the necessity of studying kendo and the relationships between judo and kendo. Kano actually mentioned as follows: “If you use a sword by applying the principle of judo, it becomes kenjutsu, if you use a spear, spearman ship.” Kano’s remarks were not remarkable, at least not in the context of Kano’s aforesaid remarks in 1918. (Tomiki seems to have sometimes visited Kano at the Kodokan headquarters around 1926, when he was the representative of the Waseda University Judo Club for the Tokyo Student Judo Federation. Tomiki also visited just before he left for Manchuria in 1936, after he had become a student of Morihei Ueshiba’s aiki-jujutsu.) So these kinds of remarks by Kano perplexed Tomiki because he had never seen nor practiced such judo like so many other judo practitioners. Thus, Kano urged him to study the meaning of these remarks.

Kano often mentioned that his vision of ideal judo was present in the randori practices during the early years of...
Kano’s remarks clearly show that he wanted to position judo as a martial art that works in a real fight, whilst he also emphasized the importance of two methods, being physical education and mental education. Unfortunately, we cannot find historical sources where a participant fights with an opponent using kicking and striking in a bout between judoka and jujutsuka during the early years of the Kodokan. A bout without atemi-waza might be appropriate to avoid serious injuries if they tried to bring about such an event even in the early or mid Meiji Era. But, even so, the competitors, under the trend of militaristic spirit, would have to apply kazuzhi (Balance-breaking) much more at the very point of grabbing because the currents of the times needed such practicality.

Professor Tomiki, in 1977, shows concrete ways for extending Kano’s above mentioned method in judo as follows: “Almost all ancient schools of jujutsu have tekubi-waza (wrist techniques: kote-gaeshi, kote-hineri, etc.), and atemi-waza (striking and kicking techniques) as well. Grabbing the lapel and sleeve gives a chance to the opponent to apply tekubi-waza or atemi-waza. How do you apply a leg technique (ashi-waza) or a hip technique (koshi-waza) while defending against Tekubi-waza or atemi-waza? The ideal is to apply a leg technique or hip technique at the moment the opponent grabs you, while not allowing an opportunity for the opponent to apply tekubi-waza or atemi-waza [4: 192].”

Tomiki [13] explained that Kano’s remark means that “the kendo principle was incorporated into the judo principle and has brought out the best techniques of judo.” Tomiki wrote down in a diagrammatic chart that the kendo principle consists of netsuke (eye contact), maei (proper distance, position or timing), and how to use a sword, and explained that these principles brought out the best in the techniques of atemi-waza (striking techniques) and kansetsu-waza (joint techniques) when they are applied to the workings of the bare hand [13: 163]. The kendo principle of “how to use the hand” means tegatana (hand blade) that can be applied in a cutting motion, parrying a sword thrust, grabbing, and twisting in the case of being grabbed in a fight. Thus, Tomiki defined the kendo principle as the “technical theory of chop and thrust while avoiding touching” in the chart. According to Tomiki’s own words to this author, he learned Yagyū Shinkage-ryu kenjutsu from Kosaburo Gejo with Morihei Ueshiba in his youth [14]. This includes the techniques and concepts of “Muto-dori”, or the methods of defeating an armed opponent while unarmed. Tomiki’s experience and study might have influenced him to explain that the usage of tegatana accords with the usage of a one handed military sword or a short sword in his article of 1942 [15].
Kano did not always clearly write definite methods, but he of course knew the philosophy of the kendo principle and could at least demonstrate basic methods in this context. The “keage” of the Kime-no-kata that Kano established shows the same philosophy in body movement as when one kicks an opponent. Judoka should pay attention to Kano’s position in the photo (Figure 1) and his left posture in particular while grabbing uke (Person receiving the technique)’s heel. The picture shows us Kano’s notability of defence and offense against atemi-waza.

Kano [12: 54] also stated the following important remarks in around 1927: In judo, practitioners apply not only stabs but also throws and gyaku (e.g. twisting an arm so as to bend it against the normal turn of the joint) so that it is not that they must always perform techniques at a distance from each other like boxing. On one occasion, you approach an opponent to grab the clothes, hand(s), or a neck. But even in this occasion, you must approach in a manner to defend yourself against the opponent’s stab and kick. How to approach the opponent is, on one occasion, (1) that you step forward to his right side whilst you pull the opponent’s right wrist or sleeve. In this case, the opponent can’t attack you because his right hand is controlled by the grabbing. (2) The opponent’s left hand is free to attack, but it is far to reach you so that you are in little danger. The same thing happens to the opponent’s left leg. The opponent’s right leg is located inconveniently because of being much too close together to attack. You should approach an opponent with this way of thinking. You should not approach him imprudently.

A kendo fencer attacks an opponent and defends himself from stabbing and cutting from all directions with only a sword. The kendo fencers practice how to cut and stab and devise maai. The meaning of Kano’s remarks is that judoka should incorporate the concept of maai from kendo while using it to defend against atemi-waza (striking and kicking). The underlined part that this author noted in the previous paragraph has symbolized Kano’s spirit. Our observation is that such instruction has been unnecessary for modern practitioners to learn who are practicing judo in competition as a sport event. This author has almost never seen documents analysing these remarks from Kano even though his explanation goes into concrete detail.

We will now examine how Tomiki furthered Kano’s ideas in the following chapter, after understanding an interesting event that elucidates this issue.

Professor Tomiki, later in his training, seems to have completely acquired this type of skill that was demonstrated by Kano. Tadayuki Sato who practiced judo since boyhood witnessed Tomiki’s demonstration and heard his explanation at the beginning of the summer camp of the Waseda University Aikido Club in Ayabe in Kyoto in 1979. According to Sato, Tomiki grasped Sato’s front lapels together by a hand and asked him to strike or kick him. Sato was unable to strike or kick because Tomiki pushed him backwards at the moment Sato tried to strike. Needless to say, Tomiki’s grasp was soft and his pushing motions were strong. This is just an example of the workings of the tegatana that Tomiki explained. A tegatana is a stretched hand that incorporates a sword. A practitioner should attack and defend an opponent by using the tegatana while maintaining the centreline of the body. In that case, Tomiki attacked and defended simultaneously by using his tegatana to push Sato backwards instead of using a sword. Tomiki stated that Kano demonstrated it this way at the time.
**Professor Tomiki’s Analysis of Kano’s Thoughts**

Tomiki [13: 159] explained that the characteristics of atemi-waza and kanetsu-waza include not only techniques in case of being grasped but also in case of defending against chops, stabs, and kicks from a distance because they were created by incorporating the kendo principle into the judo principle. Tomiki’s commentary comes from the historical and theoretical study of jujutsu in the Meiji and Edo eras and practicing Dai-ryu-aiki-jujutsu in particular under Morihei Ueshiba’s guidance starting in 1927. The Dai-ryu-aiki-jujutsu that Ueshiba taught is different from modern aikido. The former was a model of jujutsu as regards the variety of forms of combat. Tomiki respected Ueshiba because he had acquired practical skill in actual fighting.

Tomiki improved the explanation of atemi-waza that Kano taught, through his analysis of the Koshiki-no-kata and Itsutsu-no-kata. Koshiki-no-kata is the name of the kata that was handed down through the Takenaka group of Kito-ryu(-jutso). Kano learned it from the master Kenen (or Tsuneuki) Ikubo, and later Kano received full master ship in Kito-ryu from Ikubo, then he decided to hand it down as the Koshiki-no-kata in the Kodokan because Kano highly valued it technically and theoretically from an educational viewpoint. Sumiyuki Kotani, 10th dan in judo, and Tadao Otaki, 9th dan in judo, wrote a technical text book “Saishin judo-no-kata zen” (All of the Latest Judo Kata) in 1971. Kotani in particular was such a prominently strong and skillful judoka in the prewar period, Kano made Kotani accompany him on a trip abroad in 1933. In the book they sometimes suggested that they learned this kata from Hideichi Nagaoka, who had also practiced Kito-ryu-jujutsu in Okayama before his 1893 entrance into the Kodokan and who later became a 10th dan of great authority. We will examine how Tomiki systematized Kano’s thoughts through examination of two important techniques in the first half of Koshiki-no-kata of the book. The supposition of this kata is that two practitioners are wearing armor, so their movements become sluggish.

(1) Mizu-nagare (No.5)

Kotani and Otaki [17] explain the procedure of the technique mizu-nagare in detail as follows:

(A) [The assumption is that uke (attacker) has a knife in his right hand] Uke advances the left foot widely, extends the left hand up with the palm down, and tries to grab tori (Person performing a technique)’s lapel from the front. Uke avoids uke’s attack by bending the body backwards, while stepping with the right foot slightly backward and pulling in the chin.

Such an attack is considered to be an atemi-waza because being grabbed means the moment of death by the knife.

(B) Uke pursues tori and still tries to grab tori’s lapels by extending the left arm. Uke leans instantly forward because of tori’s avoidance. Not to miss a great opportunity, tori raises his right hand while turning the palm upward, and grabs uke’s left hand from the lower side and little finger side, pulling his arm up [Figure 2], at the same time, tori touches uke’s left arm with left hand while raising his left hand to the front, Tori then pushes around uke’s left elbow up using the palm of tori’s left hand, and then, pulls down by using both hands effectively.

It is not easy to grasp the essence of the techniques because the reasons for each action are not explained there, though their explanation is very detailed and suitable. It is regrettable that the explanation fails to incorporate Kano’s viewpoint on kendo.

Fortunately, Tomiki explained that the secret essence of mizu-nagare exists in “pull it up”. Precisely Tomiki lays emphasis on “pull uke’s left hand up”, while standing in front of uke’s face concurrently. In this phase, tori defends against uke’s attack in an instant both by uke’s hand and tori’s hand, and simultaneously, breaks uke’s balance unconsciously. In kendo, two practitioners both seriously strive to place their swords in the centreline in order to defend and attack at the same time. It is for this reason that a major characteristic of Japanese martial arts is the aphorism known as “Kou-bou-ichinyo”, the oneness of offense and defence. This means that a Japanese sword has two roles as both a sword and a shield. The significance of Tomiki’s remark that “the kendo principle was incorporated into the judo principle and brought out the best techniques of judo” lies in the usage of tori’s right hand. This usage is called tegatana (hand blade), and literally means a hand-sword, i.e. a hand that becomes a sword. The concept and development of tegatana is Tomiki’s advancement and implementation of Kano’s ideas.

(2) Kodaore (No. 7)

Let me discuss minutely the procedure of this kata by dividing it into five parts. Kotani & Otaki’s detailed explanation is as follows [17: 275-77]:

(A) Tori stabs uke’s uto (between one’s eyes) by extending the right tegatana forward while stepping in with Tsugi-ashi (Walking by bringing one foot up to another) starting with
the right foot. Uke avoids Tori’s right handed stab by way of the following process: by turning the face and twisting the body to the right, raising the right hand up in front with the side of the little finger up and the back of the hand on the near side, avoids tori’s right-handed stab by wielding and diverting tori’s right hand. Continuously, uke pulls tori’s right hand by his right wrist after grabbing it, and breaking tori’s balance towards tori’s front.

What has to be noticed in this part is that this kata is started by tori’s attack to the face. The extended tegatana is interpreted as the symbol of atemi-nazwa. Thus, uke has to first avoid the attack before grabbing tori’s right wrist. The difficulty for a normal judoka in the present day might be in how to grab tori’s wrist while wielding and diverting his energy, because it is virtually impossible to practice in such a way in modern (randori) judo.

Kotani & Otaki write:

(B) Uke steps into the front of tori, and places uke’s left hand deeply into tori’s back from the outside of tori’s right hip, and carries tori’s body on uke’s left hip, adhering close to him. Thus, uke tries to throw tori by the left hip technique.

(C) In an instant, tori breaks uke’s balance by pushing towards tori’s right rear corner by way of the following process: Tori extends the right arm up while his right wrist is being grabbed by uke, at the same time, tori touches part of his elbow on uke’s face. On the other hand, tori touches the left palm on the front of uke’s obi and after raising the hand up, places his right front hip on uke’s left rear hip while turning the posture to jigo-tai (defensive posture with low center of gravity), and pushing uke’s face increasingly with tori’s right arm while holding uke’s body and bringing it closer.

The important point of this part is the extending of tori’s arm while stepping forward. Tori’s touching of uke’s face is a modification of atemi-nazwa or stabb ing, because tori breaks uke’s balance only by touching with tegatana while moving forward.

(D) Taking this position, uke tries to recover from a position of inferiority while he retreats backward by tiny tsugi-ashi steps from the right foot. Tori continues to step forward in accord with uke’s retreat while working both hands harder, not giving any slack to uke, then tori severely breaks uke’s balance backward.

The important thing is that tori breaks uke’s balance by two actions: “touching” and “moving” with tori’s body by seizing the moment of uke’s balance breaking. Touching should be considered as the origin of striking or chopping. In kendo, a man who is touched by a sword loses so he must try to avoid being touched by the opponent either by using the sword and/or body movement (taisabaki). In the case of jujutsu, which is not mainly intended for killing but rather for capturing, nevertheless, it remains that touching is always decisive but both toppling and controlling after touching are important. It is considered that there is the principle of atemi-nazwa in jujutsu. We can see here the study of the relationship between “touching” and atemi-nazwa and Tomiki’s insight.

Even though tori’s katsuzuki is successful, uke is wearing armour and is still heavy to topple. We can understand in the text that tori uses the weight of the armour along with the force of gravity. But though tori has to be relaxed when he changes an action, the relaxation or yarawami or fa, namely, the old Japanese wisdom of jujutsu, is not written here. Tomiki later created gusuku-game-ate, as an atemi-nazwa in jujutsu from this kata [18].

There is the same principle of atemi-nazwa in Tai (No. 1 of Koshiki-no-kata) as Kodaore. The difference between them is whether or not there is atemi-nazwa kind of action when approaching at the beginning. That is why I took up Mizu-nagare and Kodaore for discussion here.

The following remarks that Kano [11: 2–4] made in 1930 show that there are two types of judo (1) the method for beginners and (2) judo performed from a distance as the method for seniors: You ought to grab the opponent’s practice suit, not strongly, but by fingers, lightly. I taught that in practice you grab the opponent’s lapel by one hand and the sleeve by one hand. However, that method is just for beginners. You ought not to grab the suit by only one predetermined way.

In the world of judo, instructors emphasize the importance of shizen-tai (natural posture). On the other hand, everyone knows that it was very difficult to see shizen-tai in many bouts of the 2012 Olympic Games in London. Is it because the true importance of shizen-tai could be understood only in Kano’s context? Tomiki’s remarks [4: 192] express the reason: Acting on Kano’s instruction, judo practitioners should always keep shizen-tai that can be easily changed by leaving the opponent even though you practice judo while holding onto the suit.

**Tomiki’s Systemization of Kano’s Thoughts**

Tomiki [18: 24–69] introduced the “Judo principle” by integrating Kano’s various teachings into his first
postwar book “Judo Taiso: The Methodology of Aiki-no-waza by applying the Judo Principle”. That principle is divided into the aforementioned three parts: shizen-tai, kuzushi, and ju. Tomiki explained sen (the first move), metsuke (eye contact), kamae (posture with readiness for either peace or war) as the technical terms of kendo as well as other teachings like rei (courtesy), shisei (posture), shintai (how to move feet) at paragraph 1 of chapter 2, “the principle of natural posture”. Tomiki referred to tegatana in the section Kamae. In chapter 4 which is entitled “The explanation of Aiki-no-waza by applying the Judo Principle”, Tomiki created the system of Aiki-no-waza by applying the Judo Principle in the following order (Table 1).

In 1965, Tomiki [19] introduced Kano’s aforementioned thesis: “If you use a sword by applying the principle of judo, it becomes kendo.” It seems to be in 1975 when Tomiki first used the term “The Kendo principle.” As mentioned above, Tomiki [13: 155–166] subsequently gave a detailed explanation of “The judo principle” and “The kendo principle” with its contents: metsuke, maai and how to use a sword. But, how are these three integrated into the principle? Kano [10: 5] stated that in the future judo should combine with kendo to become one. That means Kano understood the necessity of studying kendo and the relationships between judo and kendo. Kano wouldn’t mention definite methods in this context, but in around 1927 he created a kata as gymnastics, which is called “Seiryoku-zenyo-kokumin-taiiku”. The first part of this kata consisted of 28 solo techniques of atemi-waza. They seem to have been created by emphasizing the basics of karate in Okinawa, and under Kano’s intention of popularizing it as a “national method of physical education (Kokumin Taiiku)”. It seems that Kano tried to cover up the weakness of judoka, who already lost their practical nature, both by the practice of this kata and the practical attitude that is produced in the process of the practice.

Table 1. The explanation of Aiki-no-waza by applying the Judo Principle.

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This table was drawn up from Kenji Tomiki’s book “Judo Taiso” (1954 [18].
Tomiki [15: 4] remarked in his famous thesis “The systematic study of techniques while maintaining distance in judo: The principles of judo and the techniques of Aiki-budo” of 1942 that judo includes “Ken-no-ki” (Ki of a Japanese sword) and “Ju-no-ri” (the principle of judo), and emphasized that the essence of judo is just to understand these two fundamental principles of Japanese budo through practice. He also introduced the basic theory of judo techniques performed from a distance. Tomiki [15: 82] wrote as follows: In boxing or karate, the procedure and method of the practice were systematized from the understanding that chop and thrust were the primary consideration. In judo, however, they were systematized from the understanding that the primary consideration was that one toppled the opponent by the least movement by pushing on his body after having already broken his balance. Even if the results of the thrusting and toppling in judo were the same as those of boxing and karate, they were completely different in the form, contents and nature. Thus, in judo, practitioners should practice techniques of chop and thrust based on the principle of the throwing technique.

Tomiki did not refer to karate despite his study of karate in the days when he was in Manchuria. But, in around 1975, Tomiki told to this author that there was a structural difference between karate judo and karate. Tomiki, as Kano’s student, never criticized Kano’s achievement even in his postwar articles, but he clearly recognized the limits of Kano’s study, and thought that it should have been his pupil’s duty to advance Kano’s thoughts.

Tomiki commented to Tadayuki Sato in their conversation when he was invited to Tomiki’s house after Tomiki’s leaving the hospital in 1978, one year before Tomiki’s death.

- **Tomiki**: “Sensei Kano composed “Seiryoku-zenyo-kokumin-taiiku” but it is incomplete as a training method for atemi-waza. If one makes a man really stab and chop, a man has to stab and chop, like karate, with hip power and with jigo-tai. To my regret, Sensei Kano’s experience was lacking and his study was insufficient. There is a difference in the fundamental structure in atemi-waza between karate and jujutsu.

- **Sato**: Didn’t Sensei Kano also have the experience of training atemi-waza in jujutsu?

- **Tomiki**: The atemi-waza Kano learned is the atemi-waza in jujutsu. So it is effective if one applies “me-tsubushi (throwing something into opponent’s eyes)” or “suri-age (a kind of me-tsubushi) while moving with shizen-tai. In jujutsu, one attacks a vital point by atemi-waza, and lastly topples an opponent and controls him. That is jujutsu. The Karate that one practices mainly with jigo-tai has a different fundamental structure.

**Conclusions**

The purpose of this study was to clarify the phases of theoretical development from Kano to Tomiki. It should be concluded, from what has been said above, that:

1. Kano’s many remarks clearly show that he wanted to position judo as a martial art that works in a real fight. Kano had a bold idea of the consolidation of judo and kendo but did not show how kendo to be brought in judo. Tomiki defined the kendo principle as the “technical theory of chop and thrust while avoiding touching”, and clearly advanced Kano’s idea.

2. Tomiki explained that the characteristics of atemi-waza and kansetsu-waza include not only techniques in case of being grasped but also in case of defending against chops, stabs, and kicks from a distance, and improved the explanation of atemi-waza through his analysis of the Koshiki-no-kata. Applying tegatana to analyze judo techniques is also Tomiki’s advancement and implementation of Kano’s ideas, and Tomiki’s analysis of characteristics of “touching” in Kodaire showed a revolutionary discernment.

3. Kano tried to cover up the weakness of judo, who had already lost their practical nature, both by the practice of “Seiryoku-zenyo-kokumin-taiiku”, which seems to have been created by emphasizing the basics of karate in Okinawa. Tomiki systematized Kano’s idea through emphasizing that judo practitioners should practice techniques of chop and thrust based on the principle of the throwing technique.

What is the way that judo or jujutsu should be? Kano practiced two different types of jujutsu: Tenjin-Shitoyo-ryu and Kito-ryu, and studied many documents on jujutsu. The founding of judo was certainly considered an almost complete work, but the same cannot be said for the founding of a judo that incorporates kendo. Tomiki was able to develop a judo that incorporates kendo through studying the use of tegatana, as learned through Ueshiba’s style of Daito-ryu-aiki-jujutsu, which is different to the type of jujutsu that Kano practiced. This fact suggests that we should study old styles of jujutsu like aiki-jujutsu and imitate Kano’s enthusiastic attitude for studying older martial arts. How should we think of Kano’s dream of his ideal judo, though? This author conclude that we should put forth a steady effort to study and create the second type of judo that may be called “A Judo that incorporates Kendo” through the study of jujutsu.
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