

Kōdōkan Jūdō's Three Orphaned Forms of Counter Techniques – Part 1: The *Gonosen-no-kata* – “Forms of Post-Attack Initiative Counter Throws”

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Abstract

Background & Study Aim. The purpose of the present paper is to provide a comprehensive study of *gonosen-no-kata* [“Forms of Post-Attack Initiative Counter Throws”], a non-officially accepted *kata* of *Kōdōkan jūdō* made popular in Western Europe by Kawaishi Mikinosuke (1899–1969).

Material & Methods. To achieve this we apply historical methods and source criticism to offer a careful critical analysis of the origin, history and background of this *kata*.

Results. The first verifiable appearance of *gonosen-no-kata* is in 1926 at the occasion of the London *Budōkwaï*'s 9th Annual Display, where it was publicly demonstrated by Ishiguro Keishichi (1897–1974), previously at Waseda University and since 1924 living in Paris. The *kata* builds on intellectual material conceived by Takahashi Kazuyoshi. A 1932 program brochure of an Oxford University Judo Club event is the oldest known source to link Kawaishi and *gonosen-no-kata*. Kawaishi considered *gonosen-no-kata* as the third *randori-no-kata*. Kawaishi's major role in spreading *jūdō* in France and continental Europe between 1935 and 1965, and the publication of his seminal *jūdō kata* book in 1956, connected his name to this *kata* forever.

Conclusions. In the absence of any *Kōdōkan* standard the evolution of the *kata* over the past 75 years has led to substantial variations in the mechanics and approach specific to each country and *jūdō* federation that endorse its practice. It remains questionable whether *gonosen-no-kata* historically has ever been practiced in Japan anywhere, and whether this '*kata*' is anything more than a merely opportunistic name given to a one-time unstructured exercise firstly demonstrated in London during the 1920s.

Key words: *gonosen-no-kata* • history • Jigoro Kano • judo • *kaeshi-kata* • *kaeshi-waza* • *kata* • Kodokan • Mikinosuke Kawaishi • *ura-waza*

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INTRODUCTION

Many *jūdōka* whose *jūdō* roots are located in continental Western Europe are familiar with a *jūdō* exercise called *gonosen-no-kata*. For many of the pioneers of *jūdō* in Europe in the 1950s, who later became authoritative *jūdō* teachers, acclaimed coaches and eminent *jūdō* scholars, *gonosen-no-kata* represented an important building block within their *jūdō* education and an initial step towards understanding *jūdō*'s emphasis on nonviolence and yielding. *Gonosen-no-kata*, an

example of a choreographed *jūdō* form always has had a somewhat unusual profile due to its absence from any major Japanese *jūdō* textbook and the apparent unfamiliarity of senior Japanese *jūdō* masters with it. This intriguing situation has regularly prompted questions about this *kata*'s origin and authorship.

Kōdōkan jūdō, which according to its founder Kanō Jigorō had as its ultimate goal the development of intellectual capacity, developed in Europe as an, in the main, sportified physical activity that was largely decanted of its pedagogical objective and mostly appealed to those

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

Kaesbi-kata – synonym of *kaesbi-waza* (reversing or countering methods), also called *ura-waza*.

Kaesbi-waza – reverse or counter techniques, also called *ura-waza*.

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

Kawaishi Mikinosuke – a Japanese *jūdō* master who was based in France and who is credited with a substantial contribution to the development of *Kōdōkan jūdō* in Western Europe between 1935-1965.

Kōdōkan – the specific name of his school and style of *budō* as given by its founder Kanō Jigorō (1860-1938).

Ura-waza – reverse or counter techniques, also called *kaesbi-waza*.

with modest social background interested in fighting or sports [1, 2]. This development still exerts great influence on how historic or theoretical knowledge of *jūdō* is conveyed. The chief methods to do so have mainly consisted of hearsay, popular unsourced *jūdō* books, and propaganda by *jūdō* federations and hierarchical superiors. The limited information that may have been transferred directly from Japan via visits of Japanese *jūdō* masters or via publications produced by the *Kōdōkan Jūdō Institute* in Tōkyō has hardly been more useful due to translation problems and cultural attitudes that approach *jūdō*'s founder and anyone senior in rank with idolatry rather than critical analysis [3]. In addition to these systematic problems Western *jūdō* researchers face massive challenges due to most historic Japanese *jūdō* texts being long out of print and not being held in any Western library. Add to these concerns that unless one is fluent not only in contemporary Japanese but also in classical Japanese, and also has extensive *jūdō* technical knowledge and teaching experience it is impossible to gain access to so many unknown answers to a myriad of *jūdō* questions, including the origin and authorship of *gonosen-no-kata*, as this paper will show.

Considering these circumstances it is no surprise that what we know, and the reliability of what we know, about *gonosen-no-kata* are equally subject to these concerns. For example, it is commonly accepted that *gonosen-no-kata* was popularized in Europe largely through Kawaishi Mikinosuke 川石酒造之助 (1899-1969), a Japanese *jūdō* master who settled in France and who is credited with having significantly, and actively, contributed to the spread of *Kōdōkan jūdō* in continental Western Europe from about 1935 until the 1960s. Kawaishi left his imprint on European *jūdō* by devising his own reinvented *jūdō* pedagogy and through several extensively illustrated *jūdō* books [4] that were also translated into English and that became learning texts for *jūdōka* and *jūdō* instructors worldwide.

Besides *gonosen-no-kata* being associated with Kawaishi, the very limited information that is commonly available, as so often is the case, merely focuses on the mechanical choreographic aspects of the *kata* hence failing to grasp its essence and making it into a dead copying exercise. Hence, there is a great need to explore the history and essence of *gonosen-no-kata* and set it against the background of *Kōdōkan kata*, especially given that this *kata* is not included in any official lists of existing *Kōdōkan kata* [5, 6].

It is the purpose of the present paper to provide a comprehensive study of *gonosen-no-kata*. Our research questions are as follows:

- When, under what circumstances and by whom was *gonosen-no-kata* created ?
- What are the theoretical foundations of *gonosen-no-kata* ?
- Why is *gonosen-no-kata* so rare and not included in most *Kōdōkan kata* records ?

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 offers an important contribution to the existing knowledge base of *Kōdōkan jūdō*. It has implications for the current *jūdō* syllabus, and also represents the only critical scholarly study of this *kata* in both Western languages and Japanese.

GONOUSEN-NO-KATA IN THE POPULAR WESTERN JUDŌ LITERATURE

A first logical step is to conduct a survey of what *jūdō* books write about the origin of *gonosen-no-kata*. According to the words of Diester [7]:

“Begründet wurde die bekannteste Go-no-sen-no-kata um das Jahr 1917 an der Waseda-Universität in Tokyo. Zu der Zeit war Mikonosuke Kawaishi (1899-1969) dort als Schüler von Kurihara, der Mitglied der Dai Nippon Butokukai (1895 gegründete staatliche Institution zur Erhaltung und Standardisierung der Kriegskünste) war.” (...) [7, p. 2].

[Transl.: The most well-known *gonosen-no-kata* was established around the year 1917 at Waseda University in Tōkyō. At the time, Kawaishi Mikinosuke (1899-1969) was there as a student of Kurihara, a member of the *Dai Nippon Butokukai* (an in 1895 founded state institution for the conservation and standardization of martial arts).]

Ott [8], on the other hand writes:

“Die Go-no-sen-no-kata wurde als Gegenwurfkata an der Waseda Universität etwa 1917 entwickelt. Diese Kata hat in Japan keine große Verbreitung und ist außerhalb Japans wesentlich bekannter. Durch Mikonosuke Kawaishi wurde sie besonders in Frankreich und Europa bekannt. Sie komplettiert gemeinsam mit der Nage-no-kata und der Katame-no-kata die Gruppe der Randori-kata.” [8, p. 1].

[Transl.: The *gonosen-no-kata* was developed as a counter-throw *kata* at Waseda University around

1917. This *kata* has not been widely prevalent in Japan and is much better known outside of Japan. Through Kawaishi Mikinosuke it became especially known in France and Europe. Together with the *nage-no-kata* and the *katame-no-kata* it makes up the group of the *randori-kata*.]¹

The French Jūdō Federation (FFJDA) believes the *kata* is even older:

“D'autres katas pratiqués aujourd'hui en France ont été créés un peu plus tard: Le Go No Sen créé en 1910 au sein de l'université de Waseda, et le Goshin jitsu créé en 1956 par une commission d'experts du Kodokan.” (...) [9, p. 2].

[Transl.: Other *kata* practiced today in France were created later: The *gonosen-no-kata*, created in 1910 at Waseda University, and *Kōdōkan goshinjitsu* established in 1956 by a committee of experts from the *Kōdōkan*.]

Whereas Inogai and Habersetzer [10] estimate *gonosen-no-kata* to be almost a quarter of a century younger than the estimates from the FFJDA:

“Le Gonosen-no-kata, ou forme des contreprises, est un Kata développé en 1933 par le Dojo de l'Université de Waseda, introduit en France par Kawaishi Mikinosuke, (1899-1969), et ne fait pas partie des formes classiques codifiées par l'Institut du Kodokan.” (...) [10, p. 17].

[Transl.: The *gonosen-no-kata*, or forms of counterthrows, is a *kata* developed in 1933 by the *Dōjō* of Waseda University, introduced to France by Kawaishi Mikinosuke (1899-1969), and is not part of the conventional forms as codified by the *Kōdōkan* Institute.]

In summary, according to these authors:

- *gonosen-no-kata* would have been created at Waseda University 早稲田大学 in Tōkyō in 1910, 1917 or 1933 [7-10].
- Kawaishi at that time was at Waseda University as a student of Kurihara [7].
- Kawaishi brought the *kata* to Europe, or at least popularized it [7, 8].
- *gonosen-no-kata* needs to be considered as a non-official *Kōdōkan* part of the *randori-no-kata* [8].

Since none of these authors provide any sources on which they have based their assertions, we either need

to find those sources or confirm or reject them based on primary sources or fact-finding.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF GONOUSEN-NO-KATA

Whilst all these sources assign an important role to Kawaishi in promulgating the *kata*, only one core text explicitly credits Kawaishi as the actual author of the *kata*. The French authors Lamotte and Marcelin [11] who likely published the oldest known instructional text that includes *gonosen-no-kata* write: “Ce KATA n'existe pas au KODOKAN, il a été créé par le Professeur KAWAISHI et fait parti de sa méthode.” [Transl.: This *kata* does not exist at the *Kōdōkan*, and it was created by Professor Kawaishi and made part of his method].

The veracity of this statement raises some logical questions, at least in the context of those authors who suggest that *gonosen-no-kata* was created in 1910, since that would mean Kawaishi would have had to create it at a time he was merely an 11-year old child ...

In trying to solve this problem we posed the question to Kawaishi Norikazu², eldest son of Kawaishi Mikinosuke, who for this occasion also kindly inquired with his mother, Kawaishi's widow:

“J'ai plusieurs fois entendu mon père parler du gonosen no kata comme de son kata. Était-ce parce qu'il l'a lui-même élaboré ? Était-ce parce qu'il a participé à son élaboration ? Était-ce parce qu'il l'a fait pratiquer en Europe et qu'il n'est pas connu au Japon ? Je ne sais pas car à l'époque j'étais bien trop jeune pour lui poser des questions d'histoire du judo.” (...)

[Transl.: I have heard my father on several occasions speak about the *gonosen-no-kata* as his *kata*. Was this because he had developed it himself ? Was it because he was involved in its development ? Was it because he caused it to be practiced in Europe while it is not known in Japan ? I do not know because at the time I was too young to ask questions about the history of *jūdō*.]

We are fortunate that there exists at least one book in which Kawaishi himself —albeit via Jean Gailhat who edited and redacted the book— briefly comments on *gonosen-no-kata*. It is opportune to carefully examine Kawaishi's words before exploring the issue further:

“Le GONOUSEN-NO-KATA est le Kata des contreprises fondamentales du Judo debout. Au Japon, il n'est

¹ The *randori-no-kata* are those *kata* designated by Kanō Jigorō as most beneficial for the development of *randori* skills.

² Kawaishi Norikazu, personal communication, April 8th, 2014.

étudié et pratiqué que dans quelques Écoles et spécialement c'est le Kata caractéristique d'une des plus célèbres universités nippones, l'Université de WASEDA. Il a été créé, voici une quarantaine d'années, par les Maîtres de cette Université et sans doute se pratique-t-il davantage en France et en Europe qu'au Japon même. Tel quel, il complète fort heureusement le RANDORI-NO-KATA. Extrêmement spectaculaire, il peut être démontré au ralenti." (...) [4, p. 105].

[Transl.: The *gonosen-no-kata* is the *kata* of fundamental counters of standing *jūdō* (*tachiwaza*). In Japan it is studied and practiced only in some schools and it is especially the *kata* characteristic of one of the most celebrated Japanese universities, Waseda University. It has been created for about forty years by the Masters of this University and without doubt is practiced more in France and Europe than in Japan itself. Just as it is, it very happily completes the *randori-no-kata*. Extremely spectacular it can be demonstrated in slow motion.].

In this statement Kawaishi provides some indication about the date of creation of *gonosen-no-kata*. Given that the book was published in 1956 and that he labeled the *kata* as being approximately 40 years old, such would imply that *gonosen-no-kata* would have been established around 1917, give or take a couple of years.

Assuming that the text in French is an accurate reflection of what Kawaishi actually said or intended to say, one can see that he believed that *gonosen-no-kata* was indeed a *randori-no-kata*. Perhaps the most important finding is that Kawaishi nowhere claims authorship of the *kata*. The most logical explanation of this is that Kawaishi did not create the *gonosen-no-kata* himself; a more extreme interpretation would be that he did create the *kata*, but for some reason wanted us to believe otherwise. If so, then a credible case must be built to underpin such hypothesis. As to who then actually did author *gonosen-no-kata*, Kawaishi identifies “the masters of this (= Waseda) University”.

Who was Kawaishi Mikinosuke ?

Kawaishi Mikinosuke 川石酒造之助 was born on August 13th, 1899 in 32 Tegara-mura 手柄村, Shikama-gun 飾磨郡, currently Himeji 姫路市, Hyōgo 兵庫県 Prefecture, as the fifth son of Kawaishi Magojirō 川石孫治郎 (1836-1906). Kawaishi's grandfather was called Itō Gihei 伊藤儀平, but upon his death the family name was officially changed into Kawaishi [12].

Kawaishi started *jūdō* at the age of 8 years old [13], although this was probably *jūjutsu*, given the qualifications of his teacher. Kawaishi's teacher was Yoshida Kōtarō 吉田幸太郎 (1883-1966), originally from Miyama-mura³ 美山村, Tamura-gun 田村郡, in Fukushima 福島県 Prefecture. Yoshida held the rank of *Kyōju Daiiri* 教授代理 [representative instructor] in *Daitō-ryū aiki-jūjutsu* 大東流合気柔術, which he had learnt directly from its founder, the legendary Takeda Sōkaku 武田惣角 (1859-1943). It is, however, uncertain that Yoshida taught *Daitō-ryū* to Kawaishi, the reason being that Yoshida was believed to have taken up *Daitō-ryū* himself only at a relatively late age when he was almost 30 years old. In other words, Yoshida would not have known any *Daitō-ryū* for the majority of the time that Kawaishi was his student. However, Yoshida also taught a lesser known Meiji-era family *budō*-system called *Yanagi-ryū* 柳流 [School of the Willow Tree], which his sons later taught under the name *Yoshida-ha Shidare Yanagi-ryū* 吉田派枝垂柳流 [Yoshida-clan School of the Weeping Willow Tree]. Not very much is known about this system other than that it did not utilize any ranks and that it also included weapons, such as *tessen* 鉄扇 [iron fan], *katana* 刀 [sword] and *tantō* 短刀 [dagger].

Yoshida was a journalist and writer who had graduated from Tōhoku Gakuin University 東北学院大学 in Sendai 仙台市 in 1906, and who also had completed a postgraduate program at Waseda University. Yoshida's link with Waseda may have been instrumental in influencing Kawaishi to later attend the same institution. However, Yoshida was a member of the ultranationalist *Gen'yōsha* 玄洋社 [The Black Ocean Society], a Pan-Asianism group and secret society. This is important to note because several of *Kōdōkan jūdō*'s founder Kanō Jigorō's close associates were *Gen'yōsha* members⁴. However, because of Japan's later involvement in World War II, and its associated atrocities, the *Kōdōkan* would airbrush from history censoring anything that linked such individuals to Kanō and systematically stigmatizing even many innocent people who themselves had some form of relationship with *Gen'yōsha* members, even though they may not all have shared their Pan-Asian ideals.

In April 1914 Kawaishi became a student at the *Himeji Chūgakkō* 姫路中学校 [Himeji Junior High

³ Not to be confused with the villages bearing the same name but located in either Gujō 郡上市, Gifu Prefecture 岐阜県, in Yamagata 山県市, also in Gifu, in Hidakagawa-chō 日高川町, Wakayama Prefecture 和歌山県, or in Ibara 井原市, Okayama Prefecture 岡山県.

⁴ For example, Uchida Ryōhei 内田良平, Miyakawa Ikkan 宮川一貫, etc.

School] until he graduated in March 1919 [12]. While still in high school Kawaishi, in February 1918, apparently obtained the rank of *shodan* [first-degree black belt] in *jūjutsu* at after passing a test held at the *Dai Nippon Butokukai* 大日本武徳会 in Kyōto [Great Japan Military Virtues Association]. After his graduation from high school, Kawaishi then in September 1919 became a student at Waseda University's Department of Political Science and Economics (*Waseda Daigaku Seiji Keizaigaku-bu* 早稲田大学政治経済学部). Apparently, Kawaishi originally planned on enrolling at Kyōto Imperial University (*Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku* 京都帝國大學), which after World War II was renamed as Kyōto University. Unfortunately, at the time of the entrance exams for Kyōto University, Kawaishi was ill with food poisoning and unable to participate. However, because Waseda University, contrary to Kyōto University, also allowed entry into its programs in September and not just in April, Kawaishi chose this option rather than having to wait for another half year before being able to enter Kyōto University⁵.

Kawaishi registered as a member of the *Kōdōkan* in September 1920 and obtained his *jūdō shodan* [first-degree black belt] in January 1921. Six months later in July 1921 he became *nidan* [second-degree black belt], and in December 1922 *sandan* [third-degree black belt].⁶ In March 1924 Kawaishi graduated from Waseda University, and the next month he took up a job in the Financial Department of the Tōkyō City Hall (*Tōkyō shiyakusho zaimu-ka kinmu* 東京市役所財務課勤務). In a 1955 interview Kawaishi points out to have known Kanō during these six years (1919–1924) which he spent in Tōkyō [13]. In October 1924 Kawaishi participated in the *Kōhaku shiai* 紅白試合 [Red and White Contests] and successfully completed the requirements for his *yodan* [fourth-degree black belt] promotion, of which the certificate signed by Kanō⁷ was issued on December 24th, 1924 [15].

The same month Kawaishi left Tōkyō for Kyōto to fulfill his military service with the Second Company of the 10th Battalion at the Kyōto Fukuchiyama

Mines (*Kyōto Fukuchiyama Kōbei* 福知山工兵). The next year he was transferred to the Mobile Troops Company (*Tentai* 転隊) in Okayama, and was honorably discharged in March 1926. Back home in Himeji, Kawaishi left his hometown on May 5th, 1926 for the purpose of studying in the United States. To do so, Kawaishi in Yokohama boarded a ship that left Yokohama Port 横浜港 and Japan on May 17th, 1926. In September of that year Kawaishi started his postgraduate study at San Diego State University⁸ in San Diego, CA [13]. In San Diego Kawaishi was then approached by the local *Nihonjinkai* 日本人会 [Association of Japanese People] with the request to prepare teaching *jūdō* in the evening to the *Nisei* 二世 [Second-generation Japanese immigrants]. In January 1927 he actually started teaching *jūdō* at the occasion of which a major *jūdō* demonstration took place which was attended by the visiting Japanese ambassador to France, Sugimura Yotarō 杉村陽太郎. The event was widely published in the local newspapers and Kawaishi immediately gained local fame [12, 16].

However, in June 1927 after less than a year, Kawaishi dropped out of school for hitherto unknown reasons, and moved to New York where, in September, he enrolled at Columbia University's Institute of Political Science. The same month he founded the New York Judo Club [13, 16, 17] where he started teaching *jūdō*. In New York he became acquainted with the local Japanese ambassador Matsudaira Tsuneo 松平恒雄 (1877–1949)⁹. In March 1930 Kawaishi successfully concluded his studies at Columbia University and graduated with a Master's Degree in Political Sciences [12].

Kawaishi would spend close to five years in the United States, and in May of the next year (1931) Kawaishi left New York and the United States by ship that would

⁸ Some sources —usually in translation— erroneously mention “University of San Diego” instead.

⁹ Matsudaira Tsuneo served as Japan's ambassador to the United States from 1924 to 1928, after which he became Japan's ambassador to Great Britain (1929–1935). It is not unlikely that the parallels in locations chosen by Kawaishi may have some connection to Matsudaira. Tsuneo was also the father of Princess Matsudaira (later Yasuhito Shinnōhi) Setsuko 雍仁親王妃勢津子 (1909–1995), the wife of Prince Chichibu, present in 1926 in London during the first known demonstration of *gonosen-no-kata* by Ishiguro. The ambassador must have had more than just a cursory interest in sport in Japan and *jūdō* given that he held a lecture about *jūdō* and *jūjutsu* before the Japan Society of London on April 8th, 1908, entitled “Sports and Physical Training in Modern Japan”, published in *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, 1907/1909 8: 120. The fact that Kawaishi was able to maintain relationships with such highly ranked Japanese politicians is remarkable in itself. Between 1936–1945, Matsudaira also was the Head of the powerful *Kunai-chō* 宮内庁 [Imperial Household Agency], and shortly after the War, was once considered as a candidate-prime minister.

⁵ Kawaishi Norikazu, personal communication, November 13th, 2014.

⁶ Regrettably, there are, to the best of our knowledge, currently no pictures available of Kawaishi from his days at Waseda in the public domain. We approached the Kawaishi family who confirmed possessing such pictures. These could have greatly facilitated our work by allowing identification of Kawaishi's contemporaries over there, but unfortunately the Kawaishi family much to our regret declined to share any such pictures even for consultation alluding to a potential future book project of their own [Kawaishi Norikazu. Personal Communication, May 5th, 2014].

⁷ For a picture of Kawaishi's *Kōdōkan* 4th dan rank certificate see [7, p. 210].

take him to South America were he wanted to visit Brazil as a tourist [15-17]. Kawaishi arrived on August 31st, 1931 at Belém do Pará, Amazon region, in Brazil, and visited inter alia São Paulo. In September 1931 Kawaishi left South America by ship for London, England, where he arrived on October 1st. Kawaishi would remain in England for four years before moving to France in October 1935, where he would spend the majority of his career serving the development of *jūdō* in France and continental Europe.

With regard to his later *jūdō* ranks, when asked by Picard in 1955 in an interview Kawaishi responds as follows: “*Quand avez vous passé vos différents grades ? Parti au Japon 4° Dan j’ai eu mon 5° Dan en arrivant en France. Puis mon 6° Dan toujours en France. C’est à mon retour du Japon que j’ai eu mon 7° Dan.*” [Transl.: When did obtain your various ranks ? Having departed Japan as a 4th *dan*, I have obtained my 5th *dan* upon my arrival in France¹⁰. I then received my 6th *dan* while still in France. It is upon my return to Japan that I have obtained my 7th *dan*.] [13] (Figure 1). We point out that Kawaishi’s promotion to 7th *dan* on December 25th, 1946 was by the *Dai Nippon Butokukai* in Kyōto, but his rank was recognized by the *Kōdōkan* on May 10th, 1949¹¹.

Kawaishi unfortunately fell ill in 1966 and at 17:25h on January 30th, 1969 he passed away due to the consequences of Parkinson’s disease. He was buried on the cemetery of Le Plessis-Robinson, a commune in the southwestern suburbs of Paris. Later, Kawaishi was jump-promoted posthumously from 7th to 10th *dan* by the French Judo Federation (FFJDA) hence becoming the first person ever to be promoted to the rank of 10th *dan* in *jūdō* by a Western *jūdō* federation and by an organization other than the *Kōdōkan*. We will detail Kawaishi’s *jūdō* career in England and France later in this paper when more relevant for the further context.

Who were the “masters of Waseda University”?

Few, if any publications about *gonosen-no-kata* or Kawaishi identify who these masters of Waseda University could have possibly been, or who Kawaishi might have learnt *jūdō* from at Waseda University. However, Diester is one of the few exceptions, when he wrote that: “At the time, Kawaishi Mikinosuke

¹⁰ Kawaishi obtained 5th *dan* in 1938. Because of the Second World War Kawaishi left France to return to Japan in 1944, but was asked to come back to France in 1948.

¹¹ See Brousse [14, p. 210, note 50]. Per an existing agreement, all original *Butokukai* ranks in *jūdō* issued before the closure of the *Butokukai* in 1947 are eligible for direct recognition by conversion into *Kōdōkan* rank.

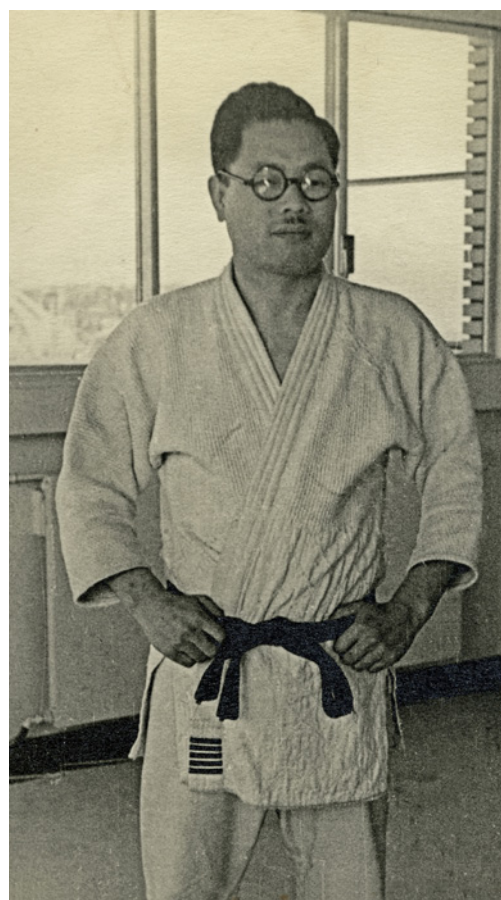


Figure 1. Kawaishi Mikinosuke 川石酒造之助 (1899-1969), here pictured as a *Kōdōkan* 5th *dan* holder around 1935, while wearing a *kuro obi* 黒帯 [black belt]; virtually all of Kawaishi’s later photographs show him wearing a *kōhaku obi* 紅白帯 [red- and white-paneled belt]. This photograph taken in the *jūdō* club located in the Rue Thénard in the Sorbonne district of the 5th *arrondissement* in Paris was kindly provided by Kawaishi Norikazu

(1899-1969) was there as a student of Kurihara” [7, p. 2]. In the absence of any source for that information we should at least verify if this assertion is at all true. We find the answer to that question in an interview which Kawaishi gave in 1955 to Robert Picard and was printed in the French *jūdō* periodical *Judo Presse* [13]. In this interview we note the following question and answer:

“*Nous avons pensé en France que M. Kurihara 9° Dan avait été votre professeur ? Non, nous étions seulement au même collège et M. Kurihara était de 4 ans mon aîné.*” (...)

[Transl.: We have believed in France that Mr. Kurihara, 9th *dan* had been your instructor ? No, we only were at the same secondary school and Mr. Kurihara was 4 years my senior.]

This statement leaves no doubt about the relationship between Kawaishi and Kurihara Tamio 栗原民雄 (1896-1979)¹², but still leaves room for misinterpretation with regard to the meaning of the words “the same secondary school”.¹³ This certainly does not refer to Waseda University, where Kurihara was never a student; in fact, Kurihara never did any university studies anywhere. Rather it refers to their high-school since both Kawaishi and Kurihara came from Himeji 姫路市, Hyōgo Prefecture 兵庫県, and were students at the *Himeji Chūgakkō* 姫路中学校 [Himeji Junior High School], from which Kurihara graduated in March of 1914 prior to entering the *Dai Nippon Butokukai Bujutsu Senmongakkō* 大日本武徳会 武術専門学校 [Martial Arts Vocational School of the Great Japan Martial Virtues Association] or *Busen* in Kyōto, while Kawaishi graduated from the same institution in Himeji in March 1919. In consequence, not only is it impossible that Kawaishi could have learnt *gonosen-no-kata* from Kurihara at Waseda University, but it also makes it impossible that Kurihara could have been one of the “masters of Waseda University” credited with the creation of this *kata*, as he was never there either as a *jūdō* instructor or as a college student.

If not Kurihara, then who were these “masters of Waseda University”? This question is critical, though at the same time also intriguing given that Kawaishi neither in any of the books he wrote nor in any of his published interviews identifies his own teachers at Waseda by name ...

A possible source to find this information might be Shishida and Onozawa who in 1997 published a paper about Waseda University *jūdō* in the *Taishō* 大正時代 period (1912-1926) [18], which is the time window during which, according to all authors except for Inogai & Habersetzer¹⁴ [10], *gonosen-no-kata* would have been created. In their paper, Shishida and Onozawa identify four people: Ishiguro Keishichi 石黒敬七, Ninomiya Sōtarō 二宮宗太郎, Sasahara Itsuo/Iwao 笠原巖夫, and Takayasu Saburō 高康三郎. The connection of these four to Waseda University and the fame they built up had more to do with their *jūdō* contest achievements than with their pedagogical contributions, the one

exception perhaps being Ishiguro. However, Ishiguro Keishichi 石黒敬七 (1897-1974) was merely two years older than Kawaishi and had entered the *Kōdōkan* in 1915. Ishiguro can be seen as a 4th *dan*-holder on a picture with Mifune (1883-1965), 6th *dan* at the time, and other strong fighters, that was taken in 1919 (Figure 2).

While there is no doubt that Ishiguro was a skilled and talented fighter as suggested by his appointment as captain of the Waseda *jūdō* competition squad, he would at that time of his career hardly have been focusing on *kata*, let alone developing a *kata* himself. That generally would not have been the work of a 21-year old, although it is possible that his teachers did involve him in testing out techniques that were part of a *kata* in development and that might have direct application in competition. It is also likely that the *jūdō* careers of Kawaishi and Ishiguro at Waseda overlapped, since Kawaishi was at Waseda from 1919-1924, completed *kōhaku shiai* [Red and White promotion contest] for his 4th *dan* in October 1924, and was formally issued his 4th *dan* on December 23rd, 1924. Therefore chances are that Kawaishi and Ishiguro knew each other or at least met each other in Japan. It is certain that the two of them met again later in 1932 in London (see further). The more relevant question though is knowing that Kawaishi said that *gonosen-no-kata* was developed by his teachers at Waseda University, whether he would have included Ishiguro in that group?

According to Kawaishi Norikazu¹⁵, eldest son of Kawaishi Mikinosuke, the teachers identified by his father as those from whom his father had learnt *jūdō* at Waseda University were Takahashi and Miyakawa; he added that Toku Sanbō 徳三宝 arrived and took over from Miyakawa-*sensei* in 1924, the year that Kawaishi graduated from Waseda University. For that reason, Toku Sanbō was not one of Kawaishi's teachers at Waseda University. Unfortunately, Kawaishi Norikazu was unable to provide us with the first names of these teachers and the corresponding *kana*, without which their identification became virtually more challenging. We note that this information to the best of our knowledge is not available in any published Western language sources either. Furthermore, it pretty much excluded Toku from having been the source or author of *gonosen-no-kata* now that he never was a teacher of Kawaishi. However, an additional question is why Shishida and Onozawa [18], who are both professors at Waseda University and senior *jūdōka*, in their study on *Taishō*-period *jūdō* at Waseda University do not even mention anywhere Takahashi and

¹² Kurihara Tamio upon his death on October 8th, 1979, was elevated by the *Kōdōkan* to the rare rank of 10th *dan*.

¹³ It is indeed important to realize that the French word *collège* means “secondary school”, contrary to the English word ‘college’ which is a post-secondary school that offers courses leading to a degree such as a bachelor's degree or an associate's degree.

¹⁴ The date of 1933 as the potential year of creation of *gonosen-no-kata* is about 15-23 years later than the estimates of most other authors [10, p. 17].

¹⁵ Kawaishi Norikazu, personal communication, April 8th, 2014.



Figure 2. Picture of stalwart Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), 6th dan (later 10th dan) and training partners aside the water well following practice (*Keiko-go no idobata* 稽古後の井戸端) taken in 1919. Individuals depicted on the picture and marked by numbers have been identified as follows: #1: Sakuraba Takeshi 櫻庭武 (1892-1941), 4th dan (later 8th dan), #2: Yoshida 吉田, 3rd dan, #3: Bokuya 牧野, 3rd dan, #4: Nakano Shōzō 中野正三 (1888-1977), 1st dan (later, one day prior to his death, promoted to 10th dan), #5 Mifune Kyūzō, 6th dan, #6: Ishiguro Keishichi 石黒敬七 (1897-1974), 4th dan (later 8th dan), #7: Fujio 藤生, 4th dan, #8: Baba Jukichi/Hisakichi/Toshikichi/Hisayoshi 馬場寿吉 (1894-1952), 4th dan (later 9th dan), #9: Fukui 福井, 4th dan, #10: Matsumoto 松本, 3rd dan, and #11: Funazaki 船崎, 4th dan [From *Yūkō no Katsudō*, June 1919].

Miyakawa; in fact, not even Toku Sanbō is mentioned in their paper? This conflict as to who the crucial figures in Waseda University *jūdō* really were during the *Taishō* period requires further scrutiny.

With regard to Toku Sanbō (1887-1945) the reason for his absence in the paper by Shishida and Onozawa [18] could be explained by the fact that Toku's *jūdō* instructional career seems to have mainly taken place in the *Shōwa* 昭和 period (which started in 1926) rather than the *Taishō* 大正 period (1912-1926) which is what their paper is focusing on. The career of Toku Sanbō, later 9th dan, is well known due to his extensive competitive successes before his affiliation with Waseda, his practices with Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965) and because of his tragic death caused by an air raid in wartime Tōkyō in March 1945 [19, 20]. But who were Miyakawa and Takahashi, identified by us as Kawaishi's teachers at Waseda University?

Miyakawa Ikkan

The only person by the name of Miyakawa who meets the criteria to possibly having been Kawaishi's teacher at Waseda University, is Miyakawa Ikkan 宮川一貫. Miyakawa was born in January 1885 in Fukuoka 福岡市. He studied at the *Fukuoka-ken Ritsushūyūkan Senmongakkō* 福岡県立修猷館高等学校 [Fukuoka Prefectural Shūyūkan High School]. His father Miyakawa Taichirō 宮川太一郎 was a member of the ultranationalist *Gen'yōsha* 玄洋社 [The Black Ocean Society], a Pan-Asianism group and secret society. Young Miyakawa took up *jūdō* in the *Tenshinkan Dōjō* 天真館 in Fukuoka which was led by Uchida Ryōhei 内田良平 (1874-1934), who too was a *Gen'yōsha* member, and later in 1901 the founder of the extremist *Kokuryūkai* 黒龍会 [Black Dragon Society].

Miyakawa became a talented *jūdōka* and well-known rival of the later 10th dan-holder Nakano Shōzō 中野正三 (1888-1977). Miyakawa graduated from high school in Fukuoka in 1905 and stayed for one year longer at the *Tenshinkan Dōjō*. After spending another year training *jūdō* with Nakano he enrolled in Waseda University's Department of Economics from which he graduated in 1911. Afterwards, Miyakawa became a *kōshi* 講師 [lecturer] at Waseda's Jūdō Department and later *shihan* 師範 [head instructor]. Miyakawa remained a *Gen'yōsha* member and became a *Kōdōkan* top-executive (*Kōdōkan Saikō Kanbu* 講道館最高幹部) closely associated with Kanō Jigorō, as was Uchida Ryōhei (Figure 3). Miyakawa subsequently was also elected into parliament where he completed three terms. Increasingly focusing on politics, he was succeeded by Toku Sanbō in 1924 as *shihan* of Waseda University. Miyakawa's final *jūdō* rank was 7th dan. It is probable that in the light of Japan's later involvement in World War II and Miyakawa's and Uchida's ultranationalist sympathies their names have been systematically censored from later *Kōdōkan* publications [Oimatsu 1976] to safeguard the name and myth of moral pureness of Kanō Jigorō. Consequently, Miyakawa's name is remarkably missing from the *Kōdōkan Daijiten* [21], as is Uchida Ryōhei's¹⁶. Miyakawa, similar to Toku Sanbō did not survive the war, and died in March 1944. In any case, there cannot be any doubt that it was this Miyakawa

¹⁶ The name of Miyakawa is also linked to a violent incident that occurred at the *Kōdōkan* after an argument had erupted during a committee meeting. Involved were Miyakawa Ikkan and Uchida Ryōhei's brother Uchida Sakuzō 内田作蔵. The verbal argument quickly escalated and Miyakawa hurled an ashtray in the face of Uchida. Other *Kōdōkan* instructors had to jump in to grab a hold of both men to prevent them from killing one another. Kanō Jigorō also had to personally intervene to persuade Uchida to drop charges against Miyakawa and to not have Miyakawa arrested and sued, so that the latter still could run for parliament. The incident is detailed in Stevens John. *The way of judo: A portrait of Jigoro Kano and his students*. Boston, MA: Shambhala Publications, Inc.; 2013; p. 110-111.



Figure 3. Historic picture showing Kanō Jigorō seated in the back row wearing Western clothes. To his right side are Nagaoka Hideichi 永岡秀一 (1876-1952), and Isogai Hajime 磯貝一 (1871-1947), and to his left, Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義昭 (1865-1935) (all three later 10th dan), and possibly Munekata Itsurō 宗像逸郎 (1866-1941) (later 7th dan). In the front row are, from left to right: the ultranationalist Uchida Ryōhei 内田良平 (1874-1934) (5th dan), Iizuka Kunisaburō 飯塚国三郎 (1875-1957) (later 10th dan), Uchida Sakuzō 内田作藏 (5th dan, brother to Ryōhei), and Miyakawa Ikkan 宮川一貫 (1885-1944) (later 7th dan).

Ikkan who was one of the two teachers to Kawaishi Mikinosuke. To what extent Miyakawa may have been involved in the creation of *gonosen-no-kata*, is another matter which we will address later.

Takahashi Kazuyoshi

As we have already pointed out, Kawaishi's other teacher was another hitherto unidentified person by the name of Takahashi. This can only refer to Takahashi Kazuyoshi 高橋数良¹⁷ (1885-1942), who in addition to Miyakawa Ikkan would become the *jūdō* head-instructor at Waseda University. Takahashi was a student of Yokoyama Sakujirō¹⁸ 横山作次郎 (1864-1912), as was Mifune. Thus Takahashi and

Mifune must have known each other well. In 1906 both Takahashi and Mifune were 3rd dan [3rd degree black belt] holders. Takahashi became a 5th dan in 1916. A group picture of the winning Red Team taken during the April 1919 *Kōhaku shiai* 紅白試合 [Red and White Contests] in presence of *Kōdōkan* dignitaries shows Kanō Jigorō as usual being flanked by his two faithful lieutenants Yamashita Yoshitsugu and Nagaoka Hideichi adjacent to Mifune who is seated next to Toku and Takahashi. Several of the ultranationalists are seated close to Kanō at his other side (Figure 4). In addition to Waseda University, Takahashi was also the *jūdō* head-instructor at the *Rikugun Yōnen Gakkō* 陸軍幼年学校 [School for children of the military] and an instructor at the *Keishichō* 警視庁 [Tōkyō Metropolitan Police] [22] and the *Kōdōkan* [20]. In 1920 Takahashi received the title of *hanshi* 範士 [master] from the *Nippon Butokukai*, which attested to the recognition of his skills. Takahashi's final *Kōdōkan* rank was 8th dan.

Takahashi shared another unfortunate circumstance with the two other Waseda University greats, Miyakawa Ikkan and Toku Sanbō in that he was also killed during the war (1942). Even though it seems that Miyakawa

¹⁷ There was also Takahashi Kizaburō 高橋喜三郎九段 (1887-1981) who entered the *Kōdōkan* in 1910 and was promoted to 9th dan in 1958, and Takahashi Yokichi 高橋兵吉 (1892-1972), who entered the *Kōdōkan* in 1914 and was promoted to 9th dan in 1972. Neither was, however, an instructor at Waseda University, nor are either of them known to have focused on a subject area that would have likely provided a bedrock for *gonosen-no-kata*.

¹⁸ Yokoyama Sakujirō entered the *Kōdōkan* in April 1886. Just one month later he was promoted by Kanō to *shodan*. Because of his fierce reputation as a fighter, Yokoyama became nicknamed "*Oni Yokoyama*" 鬼横山 [Demon Yokoyama]. In January 1898, Yokoyama together with Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義昭 were promoted by Kanō the first ever *Kōdōkan rokudan*-holders, and on September 23, 1912 Yokoyama solely became the first ever *Kōdōkan* 8th dan holder.

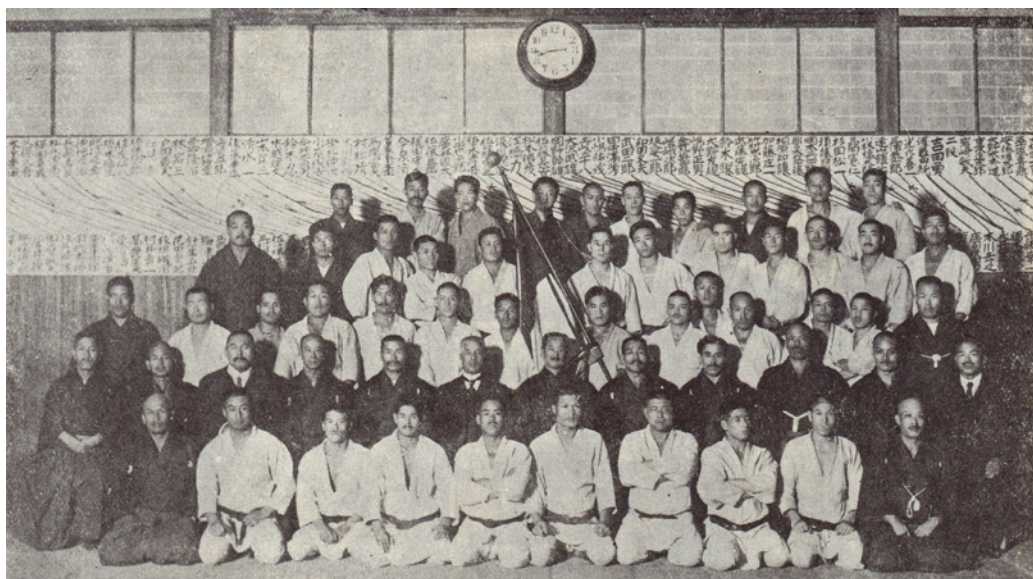


Figure 4. Historic group picture of the winning Red Team (*Kōdōkan yūdansha dai kōhaku sen ni yūshō seru kurenai-gun no mono isamu* 講道館有段者大紅白戦に優勝せる紅軍の者勇) taken during the April 1919 *Kōhaku shiai* 紅白試合 [Red and White Contests] in presence of *Kōdōkan* dignitaries seated on the second row dressed in *haori* 羽織 [Japanese formal dress]. Kanō Jigorō is seated in the middle of the second row flanked by his two faithful lieutenants, Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義昭 (1865-1935) to his right and Nagaoka Hideichi 永岡秀一 (1876-1952) to his left. Next to Nagaoka are Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), 6th *dan* (later 10th *dan*), the robust looking Toku Sanbō 徳三宝 (1887-1945), 4th *dan* (later 9th *dan*). To Kanō's right side, seated next to Yamashita is Uchida Ryōhei 内田良平 (1874-1934), and at the far end, from left to right, are Miyakawa Ikkan 宮川一貫 (1885-1944) (later 7th *dan*) and Takahashi Kazuyoshi 高橋数良 (1885-1942), 5th *dan* (later 8th *dan*).

after 1924 largely followed Kanō Jigorō's example and had mostly withdrawn from practical *jūdō* to focus on a political career, the loss of all three of Waseda's leading instructor staff due to the war must have had a devastating effect on the status of Waseda University's *jūdō*, especially when compared to other strong *jūdō* universities in Tōkyō, such as for example, Meiji University or Keiō University. Without the war, all three *jūdōka* would have likely lived until the 1960s or 1970s and would no doubt have been able to make a lasting impression on the development of postwar *jūdō*. Now their names, except for that of Toku Sanbō have been forgotten in Japan, with the name of Toku not even known by most foreign *jūdōka*.

Ishiguro Keishichi

Ironically, it seems, already a decade earlier Waseda had failed to fully capitalize on several of its other *jūdō* stars. The talented Ishiguro Keishichi 石黒敬七 (1897-1974) who had graduated from Waseda University in 1922, rather than becoming a career *jūdō* instructor at Waseda left the university in 1924 as a 5th *dan* to travel the world. Ishiguro ended up in Paris in December 1924¹⁹ where

he visited his flamboyant artist friend Fujita 'Léonard' Tsuguhara 藤田嗣治 (1886-1968), who had established himself there since 1913 as a celebrated painter [23, 24] (Figure 5). In France Ishiguro developed as a journalist writing articles about Japan and editing a number of magazines such as *La Semaine Parisienne* or *Pari Shūhō* 巴里週報 [The Paris Weekly]²⁰ [24]. At the same time Ishiguro also taught *jūdō* in Paris, for example at the French police, the army and at the Sorbonne, until leaving for Bucharest in Romania in 1932²¹. In this way, Ishiguro was responsible for developing French *jūdō* several years prior to the arrival of Kawaishi in October 1935²². Ishiguro would later on occasions also teach *jūdō* in Germany and England.

²⁰ Its offices were located at 36, Rue du Faubourg St-Jacques, which is located in the *Arrondissement de l'Observatoire* in Montparnasse in 75014 Paris 14e, Ile-de-France.

²¹ Ishiguro stayed in Europe for ten years, but also traveled to Turkey and Egypt [21, p. 33; 25] and his travel stories were published at regular intervals in the *Kōdōkan's* official magazine.

²² Whilst Ishiguro thus left Paris before Kawaishi's, we should not forget that Kawaishi prior to coming to Paris was living in the England, where he had arrived in October 1931 from Brazil after having spent several years in the US. Initially he assisted with teaching at Oxford University. Later he also assisted at the *Budokwai* in London under Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治 (1885-1965), but given frictions and other problems [see 14, p. 209-210 for details] he left there in October 1933. He would also teach at Charles Calkwell's Anglo-Japanese Club with Tani Yukio [14, p. 212].

¹⁹ That same month (December 1924) Ishiguro also had obtained the rank of *Kōdōkan* 5th *dan*.



Figure 5. Historic picture of former Waseda University *jūdō* team captain Ishiguro Keishichi 石黒敬七 (1897-1974) (left) and expatriate Japanese-French painter Fujita 'Léonard' Tsuguhara 藤田嗣治 (1886-1968) (right) in Paris anno 1927.

However, even before Waseda University lost Ishiguro, it had already lost the even more famous Maeda 'Otávio' Mitsuyo²³ 前田光世 (1878-1941) better known under his popular wrestling name "Conde Koma" [20]. Maeda had been at Waseda since 1895, and it actually are his travels and career which inspired Ishiguro to travel abroad too [cited in 14, p. 198²⁴]. In addition, given the devastating 7.9 magnitude *Kantō daishinsai* 関東大震災 or Great Kantō Earthquake which struck Japan on September 1st, 1923, those who could, obviously had additional motivation to leave Japan and build up a new life elsewhere...

TAKAHASHI KAZUYOSHI AND *URA-WAZA* AND *KAESHI-KATA*

A critical piece of information is that Takahashi's specialty was *kaeshi-waza* or *ura-waza*²⁵. In fact, Takahashi-sensei would become nationally famous for

his *kaeshi-waza* which had become the focus of his research. Between May 1919 and January 1921 twelve different articles appeared in *Yūkō-no-Katsudō* 有効の活動, the *Kōdōkan's* official magazine, all focusing on *ura-waza*, and all authored solely by Takahashi-sensei [26-37]. The articles dealt with the principles or *ura-waza* and with specific reverse-throws hence and his research into this matters hence illustrating Takahashi's expertise in this matter. Takahashi specifically addresses the following *kaeshi-waza* 返し技 or *kaeshi-kata* 返し方 or *ura-waza* 裏技 (the three terms are synonyms): *harai-goshi* 拂腰 [sweeping hip throw] [26] (Figure 6), *tsuri-komi-goshi* 釣込腰 [lifting and pulling hip throw] [27], *sasae-tsuri-komi-ashi* 支釣込足 [blocking lifting and pulling foot throw] [29], *uchi-mata* 内股 [inner thigh throw] [30], and *ashi-waza* 足技 [leg throws] as a whole [28]. In addition, Takahashi also addresses less obvious topics such as whether *sutemi-waza* 捨身投 [sacrifice throws] can be countered [31]. Much attention is devoted to the principles of *kaeshi-kata* or *ura-waza*. Ishiguro, referring to Takahashi's expertise in *ura-waza*, writes: "*Mattaku Takahashi no mae ni Takahashi naku, Takahashi no ato ni Takahashi nashi no kan ga atta.*" (全く高橋の前に高橋なく、高橋の後に高橋なしの観があった) [Indeed, there is no one before Takahashi, and there is no Takahashi after Takahashi]. (...) [59, p. 134].

Even though there are four well-defined examples of *gonosen* 後の先 [post-attack initiative] in Kanō's formal learning plan, *i.e.* in *nage-no-kata* 投の形 [Forms of throwing]²⁶ where *tori* reacts to an attack by *uke*, Takahashi approaches the concept of *kaeshi-* or *ura-waza* as essential to proper *jūdō*. He explains its importance in real fight, and even though Takahashi does not mention other *jūdō* masters as his inspiration, he historically traces back the conceptualization of these principles to the legendary sword master Yamaoka Tesshū 山岡鉄舟 (1836-1888), who died when Takahashi was three years old, and to a number of Japanese historic figures, such as notably Ōkubo Hikozaemon²⁷ 大久保彦左久衛門 (1560-1639).

Tani Yukio's *kaeshi-(no)-kata*

Takahashi's first article in the series talks about *kaeshi-kata* 返し方 [26] (Figure 6). This is important as it provides the answer to yet another major misunderstanding. For decades it has been believed in the West,

²³ Maeda throughout his career adopted various names. His birth name was Maeda Hideyo 前田栄世, which around 1904 he had changed into Maeda Mitsuyo. Later, while being an expatriate in Brazil he used the name "Conde Koma", adopted by Maeda apparently given to him by a Spanish-speaking person while on a ship. He is consequently listed as Conde Koma also in many Japanese publications.

²⁴ Brousse discusses "Maeda Kōsei" [14, p. 198]. This is the same person as Maeda Mitsuyo. 'Kōsei' is a misreading of the *kanji* 光世, which in this case should be read Mitsuyo.

²⁵ Already before 1920 the terms *kaeshi-waza* [counter techniques] and *ura-waza* [reversing techniques] are used interchangeably.

²⁶ Furthermore, the entire *gō-no-kata* [Forms of Proper Use of Force], a 10-technique *kata* developed by Kanō but which is rarely performed today consists of *gonosen* forms

²⁷ Ōkubo Hikozaemon is also known under the name Ōkubo Tadataka 大久保忠教, author of the *Mikawa Monogatari* (三河物語) [Tales from Mikawa] and a Japanese Tokugawa warrior who gained fame in the *Sengoku Jidai* 戦国時代 [the Warring States Period] (ca. 1467-1573).

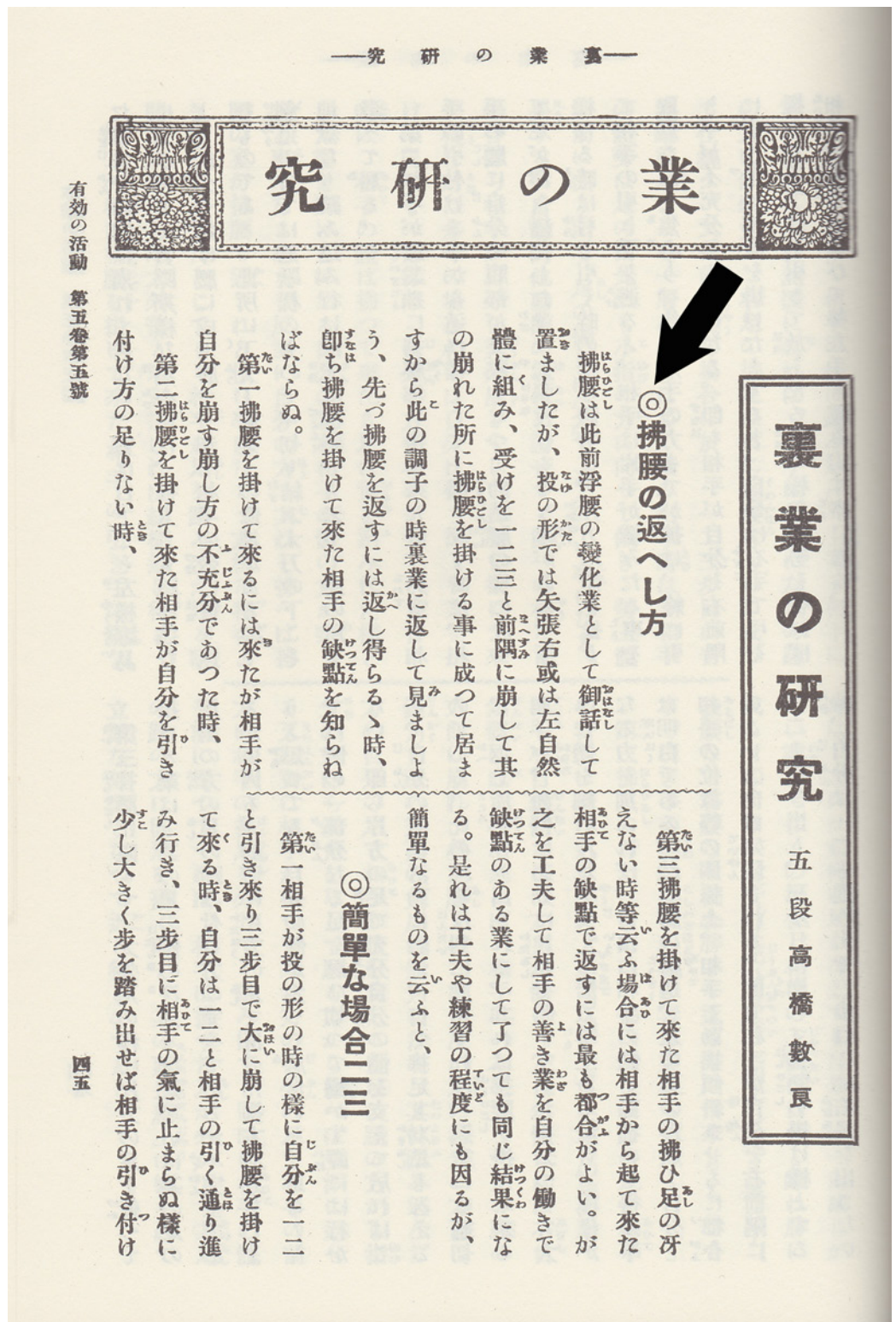


Figure 6. Facsimile of the first page of the first paper by Takahashi Kazuyoshi 高橋数良 (1885-1942), 5th dan (later 8th dan) on the research of reversal techniques (*Ura-waza no kenkyū* 裏業の研究). The first chapter (see the black arrow) is about the *kaeshi-kata* [countering techniques] for *harai-goshi* [sweeping hip throw] and entitled: *harai-goshi no kaeshi-kata* 拂腰の返へし方. The paper appeared in the May 1919 issue of *Yūkō-no-katsudō* (有効の活動) [26].

especially in the United Kingdom, there would exist an actual *kata* 形 [form] called “*kaeshi-kata*” or “*kaeshi-no-kata*”, which allegedly would have been created and/or introduced into the UK by Tani Yukio 谷幸雄 (1881-1950). This *kata* 形 supposedly would even predate *gonosen-no-kata*. Its distribution would have been continued by Tani’s pupil Ōtani Masutarō 大谷増太郎 (1898-1977) [38²⁸, 39].²⁹ Historically this scenario is highly unlikely, not in the least because Tani had no history in *Kōdōkan jūdō* at that time³⁰, and he became a black belt in *jūdō* as late as 1920 while living in England. We are not aware of any authentic historic document in Japanese attesting to such a *kata* 形 ever having existed [5, 6, 41].

In reality *kaeshi-(no)-kata* as proposed by some British authors and *jūdōka* is a misconception by mainly non-Japanese speaking people who misunderstood *kaeshi-(no)-kata* as supposedly being 返し(の)形 [meaning “Forms of counters”] whereas in reality the term was *kaeshi-kata* written as 返し方 which is not a *kata* 形 [form], but a simple reference to *kaeshi-waza* 返し技, just like there is *hairi-kata* 入り方 [entering techniques], *nige-kata* 逃げ方 [escaping techniques], and *nogare-kata* 逃れ方 [escaping techniques], concepts well-known in Japan but of which terminology is not common in *jūdō* outside of Japan. Hence, while Western *jūdōka* were well aware of two homonyms of the word *kata*, i.e. one meaning ‘shoulder’ 肩 (e.g. in *kata-guruma* 肩車 [shoulder wheel] or *kata-gatame* 肩固 [shoulder hold]) and one meaning ‘form’ (e.g. in *nage-no-kata* 投の形 [forms of throws]), they did not realize there also was a third

homonym written 方 in a *jūdō* context and when used as a suffix usually meaning ‘method’ or ‘manner of’. It is also noteworthy that program brochures of public exhibitions of *jūdō* and *jūjutsu* from those days involving Tani Yukio, Koizumi Gunji and Ōtani Masutarō, regularly contained names of existing *kata* but accompanied by a description that did not meet the content of those *kata* as they are known, and names of supposed *kata* that have never existed in either *Kōdōkan jūdō* or any known *koryū jūjutsu-ryū* [42]³¹. This suggests either their unfamiliarity with the full *Kōdōkan jūdō* syllabus or reflects their rich fantasy and intent to merely create entertainment.

THE ORIGIN OF GONOUSEN-NO-KATA

While in the twelve articles published by Takahashi in the *Kōdōkan*’s official magazine between May 1919 and December 1921 no actual complete series of forms or *kata* are published. This is logical given that Kanō was still alive, and it would be unthinkable at that point in time, for anyone except the *Kōdōkan*’s *shihan* to add new official *kata* to the school. Nevertheless, it is only Takahashi-*sensei* that could have been the intellectual basis of what later became known as *gonosen-no-kata*. Takahashi’s concepts probably were also picked up by Mifune Kyūzō to complement his own research into later establishing his *nage-no-kata ura-waza* (see further in Part 2). Mifune, at that point in time was already a 6th *dan* holder and his superb talents well known. However, Takahashi does not mention Mifune’s name anywhere in his articles. For that reason there is no basis to suggest an important input from Mifune in Takahashi’s theories. Mifune in those days rarely wrote in the *Kōdōkan*’s magazines, and the first article by Mifune that contains information that could be considered relevant in the context of *ura-waza*, appeared only in 1934³², thus fifteen years later than Takahashi’s first theories.

Furthermore, given that Takahashi published these articles, which form the theoretical basis for *gonosen-no-kata* (and also Mifune’s later *nage-waza ura-no-kata*) it is highly unlikely that *gonosen-no-kata* would have been created as early as 1910 as suggested by the *Fédération Française de Judo* (FFJDA) [9] or in 1917 as suggested by Diester [7] and Ott [8]. Given the time frame of 1919-1921 during which Takahashi’s articles appeared, *gonosen-no-kata*, if indeed such a *kata* existed, likely would have been created at the earliest

²⁸ pp. 71-72 and 108-109.

²⁹ The supposed *kaeshi-(no)-kata* is still popular among UK *jūdōka* who belong to the British Judo Council (BJC). This is a smaller *jūdō* governing body as compared to the IJF-affiliated British Judo Association (BJA). The BJC today takes a more ‘traditional’ approach to *jūdō*, hence eschewing all of the commercialization present in the BJA. The current president of the BJC is Robin Ōtani, son of its founder, the late Ōtani Masutarō.

³⁰ The Tani family (Tani Yukio, his brother, father, grandfather) all were schooled in *Fusen-ryū jūjutsu* 不還流柔術 under the 4th generation head Tanabe Mataemon 田邊又右衛門 (1869-1946), *menkyo kaiden* 免許皆伝 [license of full transmission] (1886) and later (1927) *jūdō banshi* 柔道範士 (1927), famous for his exceptional *newaza* 寝技 [ground fighting techniques] skills, and for having defeated several strong *Kōdōkan* fighters including Tobari Takisaburō 戸張滝三郎 (1872-1942) and Isogai Hajime 磯貝一 (1871-1947), the later 10th *dan*-holder. Tani also had studied a school that taught a style called *Daitō-ryū jūjutsu* 大東流柔術, hence having almost the identical name than the more famous school called *Daitō-ryū aikijūjutsu* 大東流合気柔術 founded by Takeda Sōkaku 武田惣角 (1859-1943). The *Daitō-ryū* from which Tani Yukio hailed, however, was an offshoot of *Sekiguchi-ryū jūjutsu* 関口流柔術 started by Sekiguchi Jūshin 関口柔心, the 9th *soke* 宗家 [family head] of *Sekiguchi shinsbin-ryū* 関口新心流. Sekiguchi Jūshin was succeeded by Sekiguchi Hanbei (or Manpei) 関口万平, who in turn was succeeded by Handa Yatarō 半田弥太郎 [40, p. 521]. It is Handa Yatarō who ran a very successful *jūjutsu* school in Ōsaka 大阪, where he had Tani Yukio among his students. Handa’s lineage was continued by at least five known students amongst whom also Yamamoto Seizō 山本精三, who had accompanied Tani during his voyage to London but had returned to Japan within a year.

³¹ Also see footnote #42.

³² Mifune Kyūzō (三船久蔵). *Waza no konponmondai to hane-goshi no nogare-kata* (技の根本問題と跳腰の通れ方 [The basic problems of technique and escaping hane-goshi]). *Jūdō* 1934; 5, 9: 33-35 [in Japanese]

somewhere around 1921. If this applies, then it would mean that the *kata* indeed was developed when Kawaishi happened to be a student at Waseda which might explain his strong connection to the *kata*. Kawaishi, then merely a lowly ranked *jūdō* student would likely be too unimportant to make a significant contribution to the creation of the *kata* itself, which is in agreement with his own statements since he never claimed authorship of this *kata* and explicitly attributed it to “the masters of Waseda University” [4, p 105]³³. Regarding the much later date of 1933, as suggested by Inogai and Habersetzer [2007], this prompts the question how, when and where Kawaishi, who at that point was no longer in Japan, would then have learnt it. Rather, 1933 might be the date of creation of Mifune’s *nage-waza ura-no-kata* (see part 2 of this paper), which by some authors has erroneously been referred to as “*gonosen-no-kata*”, hence the confusion. Furthermore, the *Dōjō Book* of Europe’s oldest *jūdō* club, i.e. the *Budōkwaï* in London unequivocally shows that at the occasion of its 9th Annual Display in 1926 the program also contained a demonstration of *gonosen-no-kata* [43]. This makes the *Budōkwaï*’s *Dōjō Book* currently the oldest known source in any language that mentions *gonosen-no-kata*.

Aside from these concerns, another main point of concern remains. While it is thus possible to identify the origin, time frame, and ideas that gave rise to the interest in *kaeshi-waza* and *ura-waza* at Waseda University, we were unable, despite extensive research, to find any trace in any Japanese pre-World War II publication mentioning an actual formal series of exercises called “*gonosen-no-kata*”. Neither Takahashi, nor Mifune seem to have ever used the term “*gonosen-no-kata*” in any of their publications. We also were unable to find any reference to a formal set of twelve counter-techniques anywhere in their articles or books [44–52], or anywhere in the *Kōdōkan*’s magazine or any other Japanese text relating to Waseda University between 1917 and 1935 [53–55]. Even an investigative journalist such as Kudō Raisuke who has been praised for having written one of the very few critical Japanese *jūdō* books that has steered clear of any censoring by the *Kōdōkan* nowhere mentions *gonosen-no-kata* [56–57]. This is unsettling and even though we know that *kaeshi-waza* thus existed in an unorganized way, it gives rise to the question whether

such a *kata* truly was ever created in Japan prior to Mifune’s *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. Certainly, *gonosen-no-kata* as we know it, is so elementary and primitive, even more primitive than the *Kōdōkan*’s old *gō-no-kata* 剛の形 [Forms of proper use of force], that one has a hard time recognizing the signature from someone as sophisticated as those known to have created *jūdō kata*, such as Kanō Jigorō and Mifune Kyūzō.

Gonosen-no-kata is generally accompanied by limited *riai* 理合 [harmony of principles], and seems to serve more as a mnemonic for individual *kaeshi-waza* than as a sophisticated form of principle. In this way it reminds one of the original purpose of the primary 10-technique *nage-no-kata*. If *gonosen-no-kata* was indeed a true *kata*, and neither Takahashi, nor Miyakawa, nor Mifune created it—as suggested by the absence of any reference to it in their writings—then the only other likely source could have been Ishiguro Keishichi who might have compiled and formalized techniques and principles he learnt from Takahashi Kazuyoshi, and perhaps Miyakawa Ikkan, the two leading Waseda University teachers during Ishiguro’s time at his alma mater.

The writings of Ishiguro Keishichi and *gonosen-no-kata*

Without any written sources to support the alternative hypothesis proposed above, any involvement of Ishiguro Keishichi in the creation of *gonosen-no-kata* remains mere speculation. The *Kōdōkan*’s official magazine does contain some articles by Ishiguro but only a couple, and contrary to those of Takahashi, none deals with *kaeshi-waza*. In fact, only one of them deals with *jūdō* technique.

In the May issue of volume 7 of *Yūkō-no-katsudō*, Ishiguro writes about *Waza no kenkyū: Iwayuru kūki-nage no kenkyū* 業の研究: 所謂空気投の研究 [Research into technique: Research into the so-called throw-in-the-void] [*Yūkō-no-katsudō* 1921; 7, 5: 40–43]³⁴. In the August issue of volume 1 of *Jūdō* from 1930 the *Kōdōkan* devotes extensive attention to Ishiguro’s return to Japan: *Ishiguro rokudan nihon ni kaeru* 石黒六段日本に歸る [6th Dan Ishiguro’s homecoming to Japan] [*Jūdō* 1930;

³³ The attribution of authorship to Kawaishi is on account of what probably is the oldest known publication that contains an instructional description for the *kata*, i.e. the French book by Lamotte & Marcelin [11].

³⁴ *Kūki-nage* in *Kōdōkan jūdō* exists in two forms: *sumi-otoshi* 隅落 [corner drop] and *uki-otoshi* 浮落 [floating drop]. It is generally known that *sumi-otoshi* was created by Mifune [57, p. 94, 44, 49, 51]. However, *uki-otoshi*, the second form of *kūki-nage*, is believed to have been developed by Ishiguro. It differs from *sumi-otoshi* by a swinging turn to the front, and is sometimes also referred to as “*mae-sumi-otoshi*” 前隅落 [forward corner drop]. Despite Ishiguro being credited with this invention, *uki-otoshi* as in *nage-no-kata* 投の形 [Forms of throwing] did already exist and was a direct adoption from *koshiki-no-kata*’s 古式の形 [Antique forms] *hiki-otoshi* 引き落 [pulling drop] [see p. 41 of the same reference].

1, 8: 36], and Ishiguro himself writes about his travels to Egypt (*Ejiputo* エジプトだより [News from Egypt] [*Jūdō* 1931; 2, 3: 38-40] and [*Jūdō* 1934; 5, 5: 34-35]) and to Romania (*Rūmania insbō-ki* ルーマニア印象記 [Impressions from Romania] [*Jūdō* 1934; 5, 4: 27-29]), and about *jūdō* in Europe (*Ōshū ni okeru jūdō* 歐洲に於ける柔道 [The *jūdō* in Europe] [*Jūdō* 1933; 4, 7: 32-35]). Ishiguro's writings are similar to what one would expect to find today in a "travel blog". Furthermore, Hatta Ichirō 八田一郎 (1906-1983) reflects about *Ishiguro rokudan to Pari* 石黒六段と巴里 [6th Dan Ishiguro and Paris] in the March issue of *Jūdō* from 1932 [*Jūdō* 1932; 3, 3: 23-25], and a certain S.T. writes about *Ishiguro rokudan chikaku kaeru asa* (石黒六段近く歸朝) [The nearing dawn of 6th dan Ishiguro's homecoming] [*Jūdō* 1933; 4, 5: 23].

Starting in 1934 Ishiguro's contributions to the *Kōdōkan's* magazine seem to sharply increase in frequency, but still there is no obvious trace in them of anything such as *gonosen-no-kata*, or any theories or principles of counter-throwing similar to what Takahashi had extensively written about between 1919 and 1921. Instead, most of Ishiguro's articles remain travel stories about exotic places, such as: *Bakusesshiyu to Mareishi* バクセッシユとマレイシ [Bakseshiyu to Malaysia] [*Jūdō* 1934; 5, 7: 31-32] or journalistic news reports about major *jūdō* contests such as the *Shōwa Tenran Shiai* 昭和天覧試合 [*jūdō* contests in front of the Shōwa emperor].

Ishiguro also published a number of books on *jūdō*, amongst which *Jūdō sono honshitsu to hōhō* (柔道・其の本質と方法) [*Jūdō*: essence and methods] is the oldest and most pedagogically oriented one [58]. However, neither is there any trace of a *gonosen-no-kata* or any similar *kata* under a different name in this text, nor is there in his two subsequent books which focus on the early introduction and development of *jūdō* abroad and his own foreign travel [25, 59].

Is Great Britain rather than Japan the birthplace of *gonosen-no-kata*?

The oldest source we were able to find that mentions the term *gonosen-no-kata* and that also refers to an actual formal series of techniques is an unpublished document, namely the London *Budōkwai's Dōjō Book*, which contains the program of the *Budōkwai's 9th Annual Display*, which took place in 1926 [Budokwai n.d.] in the presence of his Imperial Highness Prince Chichibu-no-miya Yasuhito Shinnō 秩父宮雍仁親王 (1902-1953), the second son of the *Taishō* Emperor 大正天皇 and younger brother of the *Shōwa* Emperor 昭和天皇 Hirohito 裕仁 (1901-1989), and

Baron Hayashi Gonsuke 林権助 (1860-1939), who had served as Ambassador to the United Kingdom in 1920-1925 (Figure 7). A major constraint is that the term is printed in English hence not permitting any definitive conclusions as to the intended meaning of *gonosen-(no-)kata* with the term '*kata*' being written as either 後の先の形 or 後の先の方, which would indicate a totally different meaning.

The logical question that follows next is then: who demonstrated the *kata*? The answer is no surprise: Ishiguro Keishichi (*tori*) and a certain "Sukeno" 助野 (*uke*), who we were unable to further identify. The one conclusion we can make is that Ishiguro Keishichi in 1926 performs and thus knows a *gonosen-no-kata* irrespective of the *kata's* origin. Or more correctly, Ishiguro demonstrated something that by the *Budōkwai* became termed *gonosen-no-kata*. We cannot say for sure though if what demonstrated by Ishiguro was really a previously established choreography or just a random set of techniques which afterwards by others became practiced and demonstrated in the same order. At this point we were unable to further trace backwards



Figure 7. A rare Japanese performance of *gonosen-no-kata* 後の先の形 [Forms of Post-Attack Initiative Counter Throws], in this case by Matsushita Saburō 松下三郎, *Kōdōkan* 5th dan (currently 9th dan) as *tori* 取 [the one defending], and Watanabe Kisaburō 渡辺喜三郎, 5th dan (currently 8th dan), as *uke* 受 [the attacker], at the occasion of the 44th Budokwai Annual Display, held at the Royal Albert Hall, London, on October 21st, 1961. Shown here is the 5th technique where *ko-soto-gake* 小外掛 [minor outer hook throw] is countered by *tai-otoshi* 体落 [body drop throw] [From 60, p. 21, by permission].



Figure 8. Historic picture taken at the occasion of the First International Summer School held August 7-12, 1932 at the Waldstadion in Frankfurt, Germany. The four Japanese *jūdōka* seated in the first row are, from left to right, Ishiguro Keishichi 石黒敬七 (1897-1974), 5th *dan* (later 8th *dan*) at that point stationed in Paris, France, future member of parliament Dr. Kitabatake Kyōshin 北畠教真 (1904-1969), 5th *dan* (later 8th *dan*) at that point stationed in Berlin, Germany, Tani Yukio 谷幸雄 (1881-1950), 2nd *dan* (later 4th *dan*), and Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治 (1885-1965), 4th *dan* (later 8th *dan*, posthumously), both residing in London, UK [from 61, by permission].

its origin, apart from the intellectual bedrock provided at Waseda by Takahashi Kazuyoshi. Ishiguro certainly becomes and remains a lead suspect for the origin of *gonosen-no-kata*, and doubts remain whether before this occasion this *kata* actually existed or whether its contents was ever intended to be conserved as an actual *kata* and was anything more than merely a name adopted by the British to an opportunistic demonstration of random counter throws by Ishiguro.

Kawaishi Mikinosuke's move to Britain and France in the footsteps of Ishiguro Keishichi

When Ishiguro, in 1926, was demonstrating *gonosen-no-kata* in London, Kawaishi was not even in Europe. As we mentioned previously Kawaishi had just graduated from Waseda in 1924 and also obtained his 4th *dan*. He then completed his military service and in 1925 left Japan for the United States, where he first studied for one year at the University of San Diego in San Diego, CA, and afterwards for almost four years at Columbia University in New York³⁵ [13]. Kawaishi would spend close to five years in the United States. From

there he travelled in 1931 to São Paulo, Brazil as a tourist not participating in any *jūdō* activities [13], before leaving for England, where he arrived on October 1st, 1931. Ishiguro, on the other hand, had left Paris for Romania already in 1932, although pictures that were taken during the First International Jūdō Summer School in Frankfurt in August 1932, show him present together with Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治 (1885-1965) and Tani Yukio 谷幸雄 (1881-1950), who were both attending from London (Figure 8).

Even before Ishiguro left for Romania in 1932, he cannot have been in Paris all the time since already in the August issue of *Jūdō* of 1930 the *Kōdōkan* devoted extensive attention to Ishiguro's return to Japan that year³⁶. Furthermore, in 1931 Ishiguro, in the same journal, wrote an article under the title "News from Egypt" clearly indicating that he was not in Paris but in Egypt³⁷, with similar articles about both Romania and Egypt again being published in 1934 suggesting he was in those countries

³⁵ In New York he created the New York Jūdō Club [13].

³⁶ See *Ishiguro rokudan nibon ni kaeru* (石黒六段日本に歸る) [6th Dan Ishiguro's homecoming to Japan] in *Jūdō* 1930; 1, 8: 36 [in Japanese].

³⁷ See *Ejiputo* (エジプトだより) [News from Egypt] in *Jūdō* 1931; 2, 3: 38-40 [in Japanese].



Figure 9. Historic picture taken in 1933 at the *Nichi-ei Jūdō Kurabu* 日英柔道クラブ, better known under its English name “the Anglo-Japanese Jūdō Club” in Notting Hill Gate, London. In the second row seated to Kanō Jigorō’s left side is Kotani Sumiyuki 小谷澄之 (1903-1991), *Kōdōkan* 6th *dan* (later, in 1984, promoted to 10th *dan*); seated to Kanō’s right sight is Takasaki Masami 鷹崎正見 (1900-1976), *Kōdōkan* 6th *dan* (later 9th *dan* posth.) Kanō’s son-in-law and previously a captain of the Waseda *jūdō* team, and Kawaishi Mikinosuke 川石酒造之助 (1899-1969), *Kōdōkan* 4th *dan* (later 7th *dan* and FFJDA 10th *dan* posth.), here still pictured without his characteristic mustache and glasses.

during that year³⁸. This suggests that at least in the early 1930s even though based in Paris, Ishiguro was absent quite a bit.

As to Kawaishi, after arriving in England in October 1931, he participated in *jūdō* practice at Oxford University and used the time to observe *jūdō* classes and become an apprentice *jūdō* teacher [16, 17]. He also started taking academic courses at Oxford University, but news of the Mukden or Manchurian Incident³⁹ [Japanese: *Manshū-jihen* 満州事変;

Chinese: *Liǔtiáohú Shìbiàn* 柳條湖事變] spread throughout Great Britain and the rest Europe resulting in distrust towards the Japanese, and Kawaishi was, or felt, forced to halt his studies. In March 1932, Kawaishi founded the *Nichi-ei Jūdō Kurabu* 日英柔道クラブ in Notting Hill Gate, London, better known under its English name “the Anglo-Japanese Jūdō Club” [12] (Figure 9). Most British and European sources present a different version stating that Anglo-Japanese Jūdō Club was actually founded by Charles Cawkell, and that Kawaishi simply started teaching there [14, p. 212]. British sources indicate that Tani Yukio was already teaching there many years earlier and Ōtani Masutarō had already become Tani’s assistant there as early as 1926. However, in his 1955 interview Kawaishi repeats that he founded the club: “*Ensuite j’ai fondé l’Anglo-Japanese-Judo-Club’ à Londres*” [Transl.: Next, I founded the Anglo-Japanese Jūdō Club in London.] [13]. In October 1932, Kawaishi was promoted to head-instructor of *jūdō* at Oxford University [12].

According to mainly British and French sources, Kawaishi also had become an assistant-instructor

³⁸ See *Jūdō* 1934; 5, 4: 27-29 and 1934; 5, 5: 34-35 [in Japanese].

³⁹ The Mukden Incident refers to a staged political and military event engineered by rogue Japanese members of the military as a pretext for the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, *i.e.* the northeastern part of China. The incident took place on September 18th, 1931, when a Japanese lieutenant by the name of Kawamoto Suemori detonated a small amount of dynamite near the railway in a conspiracy with young Kwantung Army officers. Although the explosion was too weak to destroy the rail track and derail an oncoming train, the Japanese used the event to falsely accuse Chinese dissidents of having tried to murder members of the Japanese Imperial Army. The Japanese then used the false accusation as an excuse for a full-blown invasion of Manchuria leading to its annexation. The event escalated into a major international incident that would result into the diplomatic isolation of Japan and its expulsion from the League of Nations in March 1933. Japanese expatriates also were targeted for acts of antipathy.



Figure 10. Historic picture taken in 1933 in London. Seated to Kanō Jigorō's left side are Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治 (1885-1965), *Kōdōkan* 4th *dan* (later 8th *dan*), Kotani Sumiyuki 小谷澄之 (1903-1991), *Kōdōkan* 6th *dan* (later, in 1984, promoted to 10th *dan*), and Kawaishi Mikinosuke 川石酒造之助 (1899-1969), *Kōdōkan* 4th *dan* (later 7th *dan* and FFJDA 10th *dan* posth.); seated to Kanō's right sight is Takasaki Masami 鷹崎正見 (1900-1976), *Kōdōkan* 6th *dan* (later 9th *dan* posth.), who similarly to Ishiguro Keishichi 石黒敬七 (1897-1974) previously was a captain of the Waseda *jūdō* team, and also winner of the 1930 All-Japan Championships, and since marrying Kanō's daughter Atsuko Takasaki Atsuko 鷹崎篤子 also Kanō's son-in-law.

to Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治 (1885-1965) at the *Budōkwai* in London. There exist pictures that show Koizumi, Kanō and Kawaishi together (Figure 10), and Bowen [61] also refers to the existence of a picture taken at the occasion of a society dinner in London in either 1932 or 1933, showing Ishiguro Keishichi seated with Koizumi Gunji, Tani Yukio, Ernest J. Harrison (1873-1961), and Kawaishi Mikinosuke⁴⁰, demonstrating that at that point in time there was at least some form of social contact between Ishiguro and Kawaishi. Being both Japanese expatriates hailing from the same alma mater, it is reasonable that they felt some connection. It is not known for how long Ishiguro stayed in England, nor if he and Kawaishi did *jūdō* together, but it is also not unlikely.

However, by 1933 frictions had arisen between Kawaishi and Koizumi which, over time, worsened. The frictions are no surprise given that both gentlemen held the same rank (4th *dan*), but neither Koizumi Gunji nor Tani Yukio really did have much of a *jūdō* history, and both had been jump-promoted from nothing to 2nd *dan* by Kanō Jigorō in person during his July 1920 visit. The promotion of Koizumi and Tani was solely motivated by marketing perspectives and awarded for nothing else than for joining the *Kōdōkan*, whereas Kawaishi had real *Kōdōkan jūdō* experience which included 5 years of *jūdō* at a top-*jūdō* university in Japan. Consequently, there is little doubt that Koizumi felt threatened by Kawaishi, to which he responded with a number of territorial strategies.

Following a collision with the law —orchestrated or not— during which Kawaishi was accused of an act of aggression and found in violation of the *Aliens Restriction*

Act, the *Budōkwai* blacklisted and expelled Kawaishi in October 1933, a solution that must have been very convenient for Koizumi who in this way was able to get rid of Kawaishi. Kawaishi continued his teaching activities at the *Anglo-Japanese Club* where Tani Yukio and Ōtani Masutarō also were teaching, however, rumors and a hostile atmosphere against Kawaishi continued being spread by some British *jūdōka*. Kawaishi, deciding it would be better for him to leave the UK, wrote to several European Japanese embassies trying to find opportunities elsewhere to go and teach *jūdō*. The most promising response came from the Japanese embassy in France, which convinced him to leave London for Paris. At that time, the ambassador of Japan to France was Satō Naotake 佐藤尚武 (1882-1971) whose tenure had started in 1933 and would last until his resignation in 1935. In April 1937, he was succeeded as ambassador by Sugimura Yotarō 杉村陽太郎 (1884-1939), who was also an impressive athlete standing 1.85m tall and weighing 100 kg. In addition, Ambassador Sugimura was a *Kōdōkan* 6th *dan jūdōka*, and one may recall that Kawaishi was personally acquainted with him from the times of his *jūdō* demonstration in San Diego in September 1928. So, not surprisingly, Sugimura was a great advocate for the promotion of *jūdō* in France. Unfortunately, for both Kawaishi and French *jūdō*, barely a year later, Sugimura was diagnosed with gastric cancer, and returned to Japan, where he died in March 1939.

Another important role was played by Mirkin, a Jew who invited Kawaishi to teach at the *Club Juif de Jiu-Jitsu* [Jewish Jūjutsu Club] [14, p. 210, 15]. However, Kawaishi's move to France on October 1st, 1935 [Brousse 2005, p. 208] was not a mere private initiative and it has been alleged to have been facilitated by the *Irgun* ארגון [The National Military Organization in the Land of Israel], a secret Zionist paramilitary group operational between 1931 and 1948 [14, p.

⁴⁰ Bowen John. Personal communication, October 19th, 2014.

208]. Hence the Jewish links, also shortly after with Feldenkrais and others, were no coincidence.

Was Ishiguro Keishichi the source to Kawaishi Mikinosuke for *gonosen-no-kata* ?

It is not known whether Ishiguro played any role in recommending Kawaishi for his appointment, nor are we aware of or do any other authors mention, any personal letters or correspondence between Kawaishi and Ishiguro from those days. According to most French sources Kawaishi, in 1937, merged his club with the *Jiu-Jitsu Club de France*, founded by Moshé Feldenkrais and located at 82 Rue Beaubourg in Paris. However, some Japanese sources provide a somewhat different version saying that the *Ishiguro Dōjō* 石黒道場 previously was housed there and that Kawaishi started teaching in this *dōjō* already in October 1935 when it was run by Feldenkrais [12], and that the club thus was not founded by Feldenkrais but by Ishiguro.

As to Ishiguro and Kawaishi, the two did meet in London in 1932 or 1933, but what was transmitted between them in terms of *jūdō* is not known. However, Kawaishi's widow confirmed that Ishiguro and Kawaishi were indeed friends dating back to their time at Waseda, and that the two had a *senpai-kōhai* 先輩後輩 [senior/junior] relationship⁴¹. This is the point where the trail of a possible link between Kawaishi/Ishiguro and *gonosen-no-kata* runs cold for now.

The oldest document known to us that links Kawaishi and *gonosen-no-kata* is of British origin, and is the program brochure of the international *jūdō* meeting between the *Oxford University Judo Club* and a German team which took place on Tuesday, November 29th, 1932. This document lists the 7th event of the evening as “*Exhibition—Go-no-sen-no-kata—Throws and Counter Throws. M. Kawaishi and M. Otani*” [42]⁴².

The term *gonosen-no-kata* does not feature in France, or in any connection with Kawaishi, until in the late

1930s. To the best of our knowledge, the first such incidence in a French newspaper is an article published in *Le Matin* of January 30th, 1938, which discusses a public demonstration in which Sugimura Yotarō 杉村陽太郎, the ambassador to Japan in France, also participated. The article says that Kawaishi and his students demonstrated, in addition to the *nage-no-kata*, and the *newaza-no-kata*, also “*le sono-senbo-kata (qui est le ‘contre’ de la boxe ou la ‘parade’ de l’escrime) et le newaza randori*” [Transl.: the *sono-senbo-kata* (which is the counter against boxing or the ‘parade’ of fencing and *newaza randori*.)] [62]. As there does not exist any Japanese expression “*sono-senbo*”, certainly not one that even remotely would refer to boxing, and given similarity in wording, one may safely assume that what is being referred to here is in fact *gonosen-no-kata*.⁴³ As this was only a newspaper article it was soon forgotten. On the other hand, a more lasting impression was left by the first edition of Feldenkrais' 1941 book [63, p. 13], which mentions *gonosen-no-kata* even though it does not explain it. The book became the reference for many early *jūdōka* in France and Europe.

However, one cannot conclude from not having found sources that associate Kawaishi with *gonosen-no-kata* and that date from before 1932, that Kawaishi had not yet learnt the *kata*. After all, a plausible explanation is that the level of Western *jūdōka* in the 1930s was simply far too low for *gonosen-no-kata* or other more advanced *kata* to be put on the curriculum. One should not forget that *gonosen-no-kata* in France was only required for promotion to 3rd *dan* black belt under Kawaishi, and Maurice Cottreau, the first person to obtain a 1st *dan* black belt in France, only did so on April 20th, 1939. So, there was no need to teach the *gonosen-no-kata* until 1942 when Jean de Herdt became the first 2nd *dan* black belt in France. Besides, Kawaishi in the 1930s may also not have had sufficiently skilled Western partners to demonstrate the *kata* with hence preserving *gonosen-no-kata* for rare demonstrations with other Japanese *jūdōka* (Figure 11).

⁴¹ Kawaishi Norikazu, personal communication, November 13th, 2014.

⁴² This program brochure suggests a rather liberal use of names with regard to formal exercises demonstrated by Japanese *jūdō* and *jūjutsu* instructors in the Britain in those days. For example, the program also mentions *kime-no-kata* 極の形 [Forms of Decisiveness], which it describes as “Self-Defence against attack with knife, pistol, stick, etc.” by Tani Yukio and Koizumi Gunji; yet, there are no pistol and stick in *Kōdōkan's kime-no-kata*. The program brochure also mentions an exhibition of something called “*shinri-no-kata*”, which it describes as “locks, holds, methods of strangling, etc.” *Kōdōkan's* Forms of Control Techniques are, however, called *katame-no-kata* 固の形, and no exercise with the name *shinri-no-kata* has ever existed in *Kōdōkan jūdō*. No *kanji* are provided but *shinri-no-kata* likely would be written as either 心理の形 [Forms of principles of vitality] or 真理の形 [Forms of truth]. Again Tani Yukio and Koizumi Gunji were the performers, of something that seems to have been personal creations.

TECHNICAL CONTENTS OF GONosen-NO-KATA

The meaning of the concept “*go-no-sen*” as part of the “*mitsu-no-sen*”

These *mitsu-no-sen* 三つの先, or three different modes of attack, reflect those believed to have been defined by the legendary swordsman Shinmen Musashi no Kami Fujiwara no Genshin 新免武蔵守 藤原玄信

⁴³ We assume that because the words boxing and fencing are present there, that someone also demonstrated *kime-no-kata* and that the journalist is mixing up *gonosen-no-kata* and *kime-no-kata*.

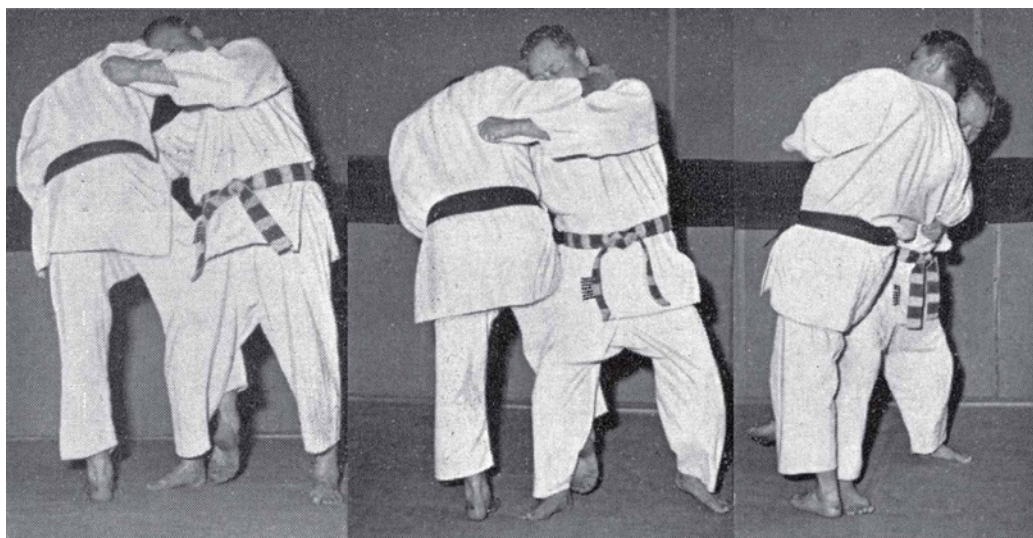


Figure 11. The first technique of *gonosen-no-kata* 後の先の形 [Forms of Post-Attack Initiative Counter Throws], i.e. *ō-soto-gari* 大外刈 [major outer reap] is seen being countered by *ō-soto-gari* 大外刈. *Uke* 受 [the attacker] in this picture, wearing a black belt, is Henri Courtine (born 1930), *Kōdōkan* 6th dan since 1968 and currently FFJDA & IJF 10th dan. *Tori* 取 [the one defending] and wearing a *kōhaku obi* 紅白帯 [red- and white-paneled] belt, is Kawaishi Mikinosuke 川石 酒造之助 (1899-1969), *Kōdōkan* 7th dan and posthumous FFJDA 10th dan. Picture taken in the 1950s.

(1584?-1645), commonly known as Miyamoto Musashi 宮本武蔵, namely: *ken no sen* 懸の先 [seizing the initiative or “the first strike”], *tai no sen* 待の先 [same-time initiative], and *tai-tai no sen* 待待の先 [accompanying and forestalling] [64, p. 81-84]. In classical martial arts these methods represent *koroshite saki o toru hōhō* 殺して先を取る方法 [Methods to take the initiative to execute the kill], which in *Kōdōkan jūdō* more mildly is expressed as *saki o toru* 先を取る [taking the initiative], which is explained as: “相手が仕掛けてくる前に、自分から仕掛けること。” (...) [21, p. 273] [transl.: Before the opponent can complete a technique, oneself must take the initiative]. Similarly to so many things in *Kōdōkan jūdō* the application of these principles in unarmed fighting is not an original idea from Kanō but taken from *Kitō-ryū jūjutsu* 起倒流柔術, where it is proposed that: 神氣不動にして、敵に対すれば、敵は気をのまれて迷う。[transl.: Only the maintaining of an immovable spirit when facing an opponent will make the enemy’s spirit lose focus.]. These methods transcend the mechanical dimension and are rather a matter of *saki o toru toki no kokorogamae* 先を取るときの心構え [mental attitudes at the occasion of taking the initiative], hence why *mushin no sen* 無心の先 [initiative associated with a mind free of any obstructive thought] is essential to properly apply these methods.

All techniques in *gonosen-no-kata* are performed in *go no sen* 後の先⁴⁴ [post-attack countering initiative]

⁴⁴ *go no sen* 後の先 also sometimes referred to as *go-sen no sen* 後の先の先.

or *ōji-waza* 応じ技 [proportional response depending on what was initiated] fashion. This contrasts with the two other forms of attack initiatives generally recognized in *Kōdōkan jūdō*, i.e. *sen no sen* 先の先 [initial initiative] sometimes also referred to as *shikake-waza* 仕かけ技 [starting techniques] and *sen-sen no sen* 先の先 [same-time initiative] or *ki no deai* 気の出合 [instinctive response] [65].

We note that there are also four well-defined examples of *gonosen* 後の先 [post-attack initiative] in Kanō’s formal learning plan, i.e. *seoi-nage* 背負投 [back- and shoulder carrying throw], *uki-goshi* 浮腰 [floating hip throw], *ura-nage* 裏投 [reverse throw] and *yoko-guruma* 横車 [side wheel] in *nage-no-kata* 投の形 [Forms of throwing] where *tori* reacts to an attack by *uke*, and another ten examples in the today rarely performed *gō-no-kata* [Forms of proper use of force] [66].

Recently, several German authors in their publications on *gonosen-no-kata* have elaborated somewhat about the concept of *gonosen*, emphasizing that this is what the *kata* is aiming to teach as opposed to the concept of *sen-no-sen* [7, 67]. This is historically, however, not certain at all. In the writings of Takahashi that underpin this *kata*, the terms are not used, and the term is actually very little used by Japanese *jūdō* authors from the *Taishō* era (1912-1926). It has not been established at all that the name of this *kata* is the result of a careful choice, or was in anyway intended to contrast the approach to its techniques with

a *sen-no-sen* approach. Arguing now that performing the techniques as *sen-no-sen* would be fundamentally wrong is turning things around. This is especially so as the name *gonosen-no-kata* cannot be found in any Japanese historic publication, it may well be that the name was informally assigned later and without much thought, as an alternative to something that might be otherwise be called “*randori-nage-waza ura-no-kata*” (the original name of another *kata* proposed by Mifune in the 1930s) or “*kaeshi-waza-no-kata*”. If so, it may very well be that the techniques in what now is known as *gonosen-no-kata* used to be performed as *sen-no-sen*. However, *sen-no-sen* requires a higher degree of skill than *go-no-sen* (see part 2). In any case, the purpose of *kata*, similar to the purpose of *randori* is to improve one's *jūdō* [68, 69] and not to superficially copy mechanical patters. Therefore, if someone masters the techniques of *gonosen-no-kata* performed in *gonosen* manner there should be no objection whatsoever to also practice them in *sen-no-sen* in order to further one's *jūdō* skills, despite the now obvious conflict with the current, linguistically somewhat strange and perhaps even questionable name of this ‘*kata*’.

Riai and objectives of gonosen-no-kata practice

The term *riai* 理合 [harmony of principles] in Japanese when referring to *budō* in general, and to the *kata* of *jūdō* in particular, implies adherence to, and performance of, appropriate action in conformance with the combat theory of that discipline and that specific exercise. It means that *jūdō kata* have to be performed according to the principles and meaning they aim to convey.

Kawaishi in his pedagogical approach lists seven *kata* and labels *gonosen-no-kata* as “the third *kata*” immediately following *katame-no-kata* 固の形 [Forms of control] and preceding *kime-no-kata* 極の形 [Forms of decisiveness]. Kawaishi gives a clue about the *riai* of *gonosen-no-kata* by the following statements:

“*Tel quel, il complète fort heureusement le randori-no-kata.*” (...) [4, p. 105].

[Transl.: Just as it is, it very happily completes the *randori-no-kata*].

In this way the *gonosen-no-kata* clearly fits in a *randori*-objective strategy and should thus be performed with attention to the same points as the other *randori-no-kata*⁴⁵. These points are: *kuzushi* 崩し [breaking the

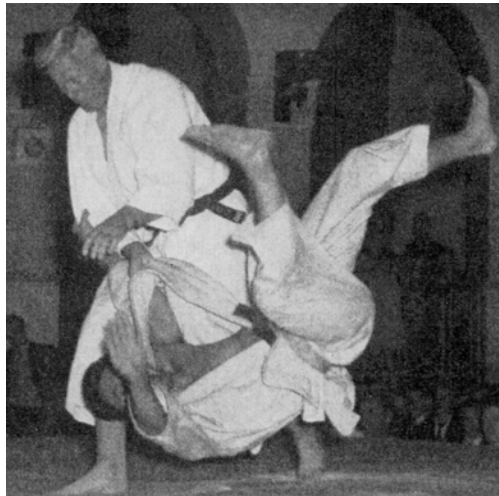


Figure 12. This picture shows the late Trevor P. Leggett (1914-2000) as *tori* 取 [the one defending] and Geoffrey ‘Geoff’ R. Gleeson (1927-1994) as *uke* 受 [the attacker] during a public demonstration of *gonosen-no-kata* 後の先の形 [Forms of Post-Attack Initiative Counter Throws] probably in 1956 in London. The technique shown is likely *koshi-guruma* 腰車 being countered by *uki-goshi (hidari)* 浮腰 (左).

balance], *tsukuri* 作り [preparation], *kake* 掛け [execution], and control; in addition, all techniques should be performed with the necessary realism (Figure 12), and adhere to *Kōdōkan jūdō*'s fundamental principle of maximal efficiency. To learn more about the *riai* of the *randori-no-kata*, we refer to reference [70].

Proper *randori* indeed does not consist of merely applying single techniques, but of efficiently applying action/reaction with an empty mind hence incorporating combinations of techniques and counters to one's opponent's techniques. By frequently practicing *kata* of counter techniques one makes counter techniques second nature, and learns to instinctively apply them in a *randori* situation when the occasion arises. To achieve this goal it is, however, necessary that the *kata* is practiced in a realistic way and not in a superficial, merely aesthetic and mechanistic way as is common today in the *Kōdōkan*'s approach to *kata*, which has led to “dead *kata*” instead of “living *kata*” (*ikimono* 生物).

Different from how the classical *randori-no-kata* are typically performed Kawaishi notes: “*Extrêmement spectaculaire, il peut être démontré au ralenti.*” (...) [4, p. 105] [Transl.: It can be demonstrated in slow motion to make it extremely spectacular].

Kawaishi's rationale for including this statement in his book is not known, but it fits in the development that the *Kōdōkan* underwent in its approach towards *kata* during the last years of Kanō Jigorō's life, *i.e.* an increasing

⁴⁵ The classical *randori-no-kata* in *Kōdōkan jūdō*, as formulated by Kanō Jigorō, consist of *nage-no-kata* and *katame-no-kata*.

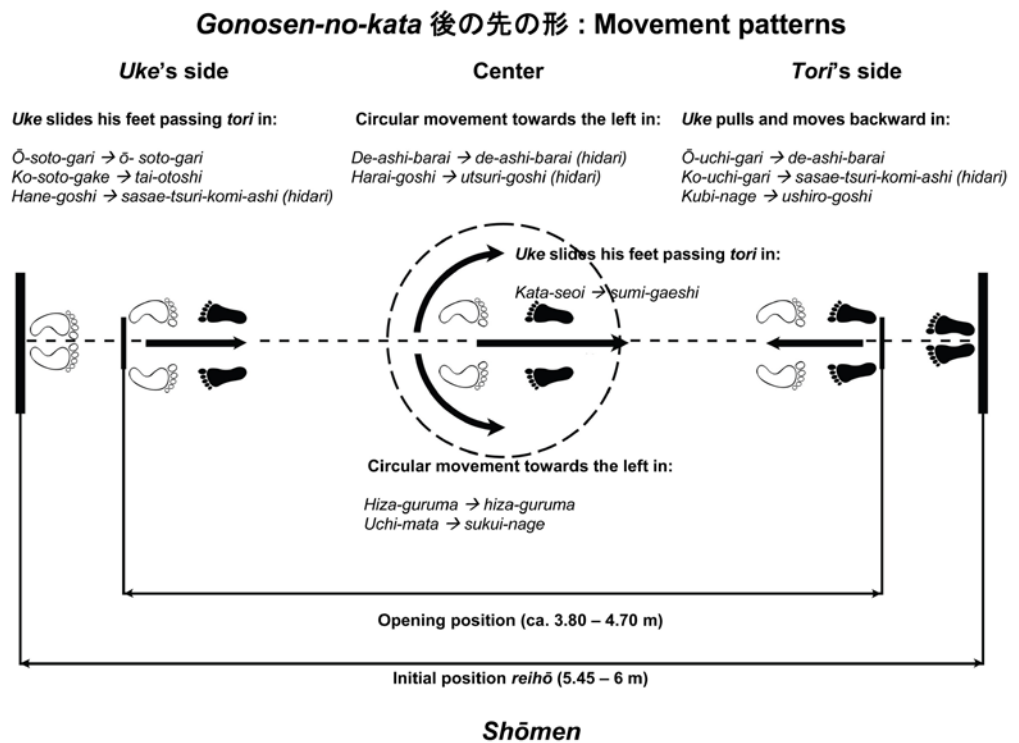


Figure 13. Schematic representation of the movement patterns and spatial orientation of *gonosen-no-kata* 後の先の形 [Forms of Post-Attack Initiative Counter Throws] (translated and modified after Dax-Romswinkel [67, p. 11], by permission of the author).

aesthetization at the expense of efficiency and *budō*. This development parallels *Kōdōkan jūdō*'s own development from a *budō* towards a sport, as discussed elsewhere [1, 2]. As Niehaus [71] points out, by 1927 Kanō's approach to *kata* had become one that considered *kata* as merely *hyōgenshiki* 表現式 [forms of expression], and by 1929 Kanō's approach had evolved with *kata* having further deteriorated⁴⁶ to nothing more than *buyōshiki* 舞踊式 [forms of dancing] completely depleted of any martial arts spirit or practical use. Ironically, *Kōdōkan jūdō kata* already then were subject to the same criticisms as many classical *jūjutsu* schools during the *Meiji* 明治時代 period (1868-1912), where their practitioners no longer had any real battlefield experience and their art had deteriorated to an unrealistic and merely artistic display largely useless for real self-defense.

It is hence important that practitioners realize that *Kōdōkan kata* were never originally intended for demonstration. Demonstration of *kata* should be nothing but an application in selected circumstances. The purpose of any *kata* is to improve one's own *jūdō*, this in combination with *randori*, which makes the

practice of both essential to evolve in *jūdō* [68, 69]. Hence *kata* should be practiced with the necessary vigor and realism. However, Kawaishi deserves that his book and the remark in question be read correctly. In that respect, Kawaishi nowhere says that one HAS TO perform *gonosen-no-kata* in a slow motion; this is merely an option, likely reserved for *enbu* 演武 [public military demonstrations], and under normal circumstances, *gonosen-no-kata* should be performed as realistic as possible.

Reihō in gonosen-no-kata

With regards to the *reihō* 礼法 [bowing procedures] in *gonosen-no-kata*, the position of both partners is identical to how it is in the more well-known *nage-no-kata*, and thus with *tori* having the *shōmen* 正面 [main front side] to his left. The oldest known instructional text of *gonosen-no-kata* by Lamotte & Marcelin [11] indicates that historically the starting distance between both *jūdōka* was 2.50m: "*Au début du KATA, UKE et TORI se font face à 2m50 environ l'un de l'autre, TORI ayant le public ou le juge à sa gauche, UKE à sa droite.*" (...) [Transl.: At the start of the *kata*, *uke* and *tori* face each other at a mutual distance of 2.50m, with *tori* having the audience or judge to his left, while *tori* having them to his right].

⁴⁶ We deliberately chose to use the verb 'deteriorated'. The term is not used by Niehaus [71].

It is only logical in accordance with the majority of *Kōdōkan kata* to adjust this distance to 5.45m (derived from the original Japanese norm of 3 *ken* 間, the old Japanese measure of length of surfaces commonly used in architecture in which 1 *ken* is 1.818m or 5.965 feet)⁴⁷ which was generally implemented after revisions in the 1970s to conform to the large IJF-size *shiai tatami* with the broad red borders (Figure 13).

Firstly, both partners make a quarter turn and bow to the *shōmen*. They then turn back and bow to each other. There is no known instructional text of *gonosen-no-kata* older than the one by Lamotte & Marcelin [11]. Assuming that therefore this text is the closest to how *gonosen-no-kata* was originally performed, bowing is identical to that in *nage-no-kata*, thus also including *zarei* 座礼 [seated bow] towards each other: “*Dans cette position tous deux font le salut fondamental, se relève et TORI vient saisir UKE en prise fondamentale de travail debout. UKE le tient de même.*” (...) [Transl.: In this position the two make the fundamental bow and get up, and *tori* advances to grab *uke* in standing fundamental position, with *uke* doing the same].

However, Kawaishi in his publication dating from six years later adds that: “*it is, moreover, sometimes admissible for tori and uke to salute each other standing*” [4, p. 114]. As standing bows are considered less formal, application of Kawaishi's words means that during simple practice standing bow is appropriate, but formal demonstrations would normally call for a seated bow. This is also the most logical and in agreement with other *randori-no-kata*, but also with Mifune's original version of *nage-waza ura-no-kata*, another *kata* of counter techniques, dating from the 1930s.

That being said, the standard applied in virtually all modern demonstrations of *gonosen-no-kata* in most countries where *gonosen-no-kata* is still commonly practiced, including the Czech Republic [72], Finland [73], France [10], Germany [7, 8, 67, 74-78], Italy [79], the Netherlands [80-82], and the United Kingdom [38, 83], uses *ritsu-rei* 立礼 [bowing in standing position].

After completing the bowing procedure both *jūdōka*

make one large step forward to each other to signify “opening the *kata*”, and walk towards each other to meet in the middle (Figure 13). Kawaishi points out that “displacements should be made with slow steps, the feet slightly brushing the mat” [4]. Upon meeting each other *tori* and *uke* hold each other in *shizen-bontai* 自然本体 [fundamental natural posture]. *Tori* then advances his right foot a half pace and thus places himself in *migi-shizentai* 右自然体 [right natural position] [4].

As *gonosen-no-kata* is not accepted as an official *kata* by the *Kōdōkan* [5, 6], and as the *kata* has undergone a substantial and different evolution in the countries where it has been practiced for half a century or more, there is no universal or standardized method of performing *gonosen-no-kata*. Considerable latitude in this *gonosen-no-kata* is commonly accepted, with the one caveat being that particularly when performed for *dan*-rank promotion tests, specific countries may have specific requirements. For that reason, the reader is encouraged to inform her-/himself about the standards in use in her or his country. The following references may be helpful in doing so, with particular emphasis on consulting the most recent reference:

- Czech Republic [72],
- Finland [73],
- France [10],
- Germany [7, 8, 67, 74-78],
- Italy [79],
- the Netherlands [80-82],
- United Kingdom [83, 84],
- United States [85, 86].

Among the different variants of *gonosen-no-kata* we see practiced today⁴⁸, there are those where:

- *Uke* attempts to throw *tori* at normal speed, but *tori* counters immediately at normal speed.
- *Uke* first throws *tori* at normal speed, after which *uke* attempts to throw again at normal speed, but *tori* counters at normal speed.
- *Uke* first throws *tori* at normal speed, after which *uke* attempts to throw again in slow motion but *tori* counters both in slow motion (demonstrating the precise counter technique) and then at normal speed.
- Other possible mixtures of slow-motion and normal speed throws, attacks and counters.

Additional degrees of freedom observed in contemporary demonstrations according to standards of different countries⁴⁹ may include those where:

⁴⁷ In the West it is generally believed that the starting distance in *kata* is 6m, but this is actually not quite correct. This error was caused as a consequence of using the number of *tatami* in-between, because Japanese *tatami* are typically 1.82m, while Western *tatami* are 2m in length. When counting 3 *tatami* this causes a difference of approx. 54cm. But, since practically it is helpful to be able to quickly count *tatami* when determining distance rather than having to take a tape measure, the error has remained in place and Western publications therefore will usually continue claiming that the starting/ending distance in *kata* should be ‘6m’.

⁴⁸ Jones Llyr C. Personal Communication, October 25th, 2014.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

- The techniques are demonstrated either statically or on the move.
- *Tori* and *uke* change their position relative to the *shōmen* after each throw/counter pair.
- *Tori* and *uke* pause to tidy and adjust their *jūdōgi*, e.g. after a set of 3 counters.

If, however, the oldest version currently known is the most authentic, then we know that really:

“Toutes ces prises se pratiquent suivant un rythme uniforme la prise étant portée à fond sans hâte et de façon très détachée la contreprise étant très rapide. Les chutes doivent être semblables à celles dus 1er KATA.” (...) [11].

[All these techniques are practiced in a uniform rhythm with the technique being performed completely and unhurried and in a very detached way, with the counter technique being performed with great speed. The falls must be similar to those in the *nage-no-kata*].

Structure and technical contents of *gonosen-no-kata*

A schematic overview of the structure of *gonosen-no-kata* is provided in Table 1. *Gonosen-no-kata* consists of twelve standing attacking throws by *uke* which each time are countered with another standing throw by *tori*.

There is some debate as to whether *gonosen-no-kata*

should be considered as consisting of different series, particularly because the classes to which the throws belong are divided unevenly: throws #1-6 are *ashi-waza* [leg throws] (Figure 11), throws #7-11 are *koshi-waza* [hip throws] (Figure 14), and throw #12 belongs to *kata-waza*⁵⁰ [shoulder throws]. However, the wording used by Lamotte and Marcelin [11] suggests that these are indeed separate series although contrary to *nage-no-kata* no interruption is made between these series:

“Il se compose de douze Contreprises sur des attaques fondamentales effectuées sans arrêt entre les différentes séries de projections.”

[Transl.: It is composed of twelve counter throws to fundamental attacks performed without any stop between the different categories of throws].

Contrary to *nage-no-kata*, all techniques are performed to only one side. *Tori* and *uke* do not switch positions, and after each technique take up the same position. At the end of the twelve techniques, similar to *nage-no-kata*, *tori* and *uke* return to their starting position after

⁵⁰ The Kawaishi-system uses an extra category (*kata-waza* or shoulder throws) of standing throws, when compared to the traditional *Kōdōkan* didactic categories (*ashi-waza*, *koshi-waza*, *te-waza*, *ma-sutemi-waza*, *yoko-sutemi-waza*). In the *Kōdōkan* didactic system shoulder throws are a part of the *te-waza* or hand throws. Kawaishi also does not split up *sutemi-waza* into *ma-sutemi-waza* and *yoko-sutemi-waza*. So in the end the number of categories is the same, but the names of the categories are not identical in both systems.

Table 1.1: Structural and functional overview of the techniques contained in *gonosen-no-kata*.

GONOUSEN-NO-KATA 後の先の形 [FORMS OF POST-ATTACK INITIATIVE COUNTER THROWS]	
I. Dai ikkyō 第一教 [First group]: Ashi-waza 足技 [Leg techniques]	
1.	Ō-soto-gari 大外刈 → ō-soto-gari 大外刈
2.	Hiza-guruma 膝車 → hiza-guruma 膝車
3.	Ō-uchi-gari 大内刈 → de-ashi-barai 出足払†
4.	De-ashi-barai 出足払 → de-ashi-barai (hidari) 出足払 (左)
5.	Ko-soto-gake 小外刈 → tai-otoshi 体落‡
6.	Ko-uchi-gari 小内刈 → sasae-tsuri-komi-ashi (hidari) 支釣込足 (左) §
II. Dai nikkyō 第二教 [Second group]: Koshi-waza 腰技 [Hip techniques]	
7.	Kubi-nage 首投 → ushiro-goshi 後腰
8.	Koshi-guruma 腰車 → uki-goshi (hidari) 浮腰 (左)
9.	Hane-goshi 跳腰 → sasae-tsuri-komi-ashi (hidari) 支釣込足 (左)
10.	Harai-goshi 払腰 → utsuri-goshi (hidari) 移腰 (左)
11.	Uchi-mata 内股 → sukui-nage 掬投
III. Dai sankyō 第三教 [Third group]: Kata-waza 肩技 [Shoulder techniques]	
12.	Kata-seoi 肩背負 → sumi-gaeshi 隅返††

† Several authors here indicate *okuri-ashi-barai* 送足払 as the countering throw [11, 67, 74-76, 79, 81, 82, 85].
‡ Lamotte & Marcelin [11] list *ō-soto-gake* 大外刈 as the initiating throw rather than *ko-soto-gake*.
§ Lamotte & Marcelin [11] list *hiza-guruma (hidari)* 膝車 (左) as the countering throw rather than *sasae-tsuri-komi-ashi (hidari)*.
|| Several authors use the terminology *te-guruma* 手車 as the countering throw [11, 67, 74-76, 79, 81, 82, 85].
†† Some authors use indicate *seoi-nage* 背負投 [11, 67, 74-76, 79, 85] or even *ippon-seoi-nage* 一本肩背負 [81, 82] as the initiating throw rather than *kata-seoi* 肩背負.



Figure 14. The tenth technique of *gonosen-no-kata* 後の先の形 [Forms of Post-Attack Initiative Counter Throws], i.e. *harai-goshi* 払腰 [sweeping hip throw] is seen being countered by *hidari-utsuri-goshi* (*hidari*) 移腰 (左) [left transferring hip throw]. *Uke* 受 [the attacker], in this picture wearing a *kōhaku obi* 紅白帯 [red- and white-paneled belt], is William 'Billy' Cusack (born 1966), *British Judo Association (BJA)* 6th *dan* since 2005. *Tori* 取 [the one defending] and wearing an *aka-obi* 紅帯 [red belt], is Dr.h.c. George Kerr, CBE (born 1937), at the time *BJA* 9th *dan* and since February 2010, *International Judo Federation (IJF)* 10th *dan*. Picture was taken in December 2005, courtesy of David Finch, copyright 2005, www.judophotos.com, all rights reserved.



Figure 15. Outtake from the *gonosen-no-kata* 後の先の形 [Forms of Post-Attack Initiative Counter Throws] chapter in Kawaishi Mikinosuke's 1956 seminal text *Les Katas Complets de Judo* [The Complete Kata of Jūdō], in which line drawings and text are used to provide a tutorial of the *kata*. Shown here is how to counter the second technique i.e. *hiza-guruma* 膝車 [knee wheel] by *hiza-guruma* (From [4, p. 108], by permission).

opening the *kata*, and while facing the outside of the *tatami* have an opportunity to adjust their clothing, before making half a turn and close the *kata* by stepping back, right foot first, then left foot. Final *reihō* of the *kata* is, as can be expected, the same as the *reihō* in the beginning but in reverse order.

LEARNING TEXTS AND MATERIALS FOR GONosen-no-KATA IN THE SPECIALIZED JŪDŌ LITERATURE

1950 – Marius Lamotte & J.R. Marcelin
– *Manuel complet de judo et jiu-jitsu, tome IV* – [11]

This 1950 booklet, probably the oldest one to describe

gonosen-no-kata in some detail and is mentioned here merely because of historic reasons. There are some deviations in names of techniques, possibly errors (for example, *ō-soto-gake* instead of *ko-so-gake*), and the line drawings are primitive and too limited to substantially facilitate learning. The booklet has long been out of print and exists in French only. The information it contains is unreferenced.

1956 – Mikinosuke Kawaishi

– *Les Katas complets de judo* [4]

1957 – Mikinosuke Kawaishi

– *The Complete 7 Katas of Judo* [84]

Kawaishi's book is probably the best-known text for *gonosen-no-kata* and remains one of the most famous general *kata* books partly because of the translation into English which enormously expanded the target area and audience of this book, originally in French. The book contains line drawings and limited text that only deal with the mechanics of *gonosen-no-kata* (Figure 15). Given that the *kata*'s origin has been associated with Waseda University, of which the author himself was a graduate, the book has long had a high degree of impact with reference to this *kata*. This result is further amplified because virtually all *gonosen-no-kata* knowledge in Europe can be traced back to Kawaishi. Whether the book is ideally suited for modern learning is another question. With the technology currently available many readers will expect higher didactic standards and more background, but set back in the 1950s the book clearly filled a void. All information in the book is unreferenced.

1967 – Bruce Tegner

– *Judo: Beginner to Black Belt* [86]

The Tegner book, published in the U.S. has a demonstration of *gonosen-no-kata* by Elise Simmons (*tori*) and Robert Simmons (*uke*). Only the mechanical

details of the *kata* are presented and the book is unreferenced.

1974 – François Van Haesendonck – *Judo. Encyclopedie in beeld* [87]

The Van Haesendonck book was immensely popular in Belgium and the Netherlands in the 1970s and 1980s and has known many reprints. The book seems to have taken Kawaishi's books as an example, but the author carefully put things together so that where Kawaishi needed several volumes to communicate his information, Van Haesendonck [87] was able to do so in a single volume. To do so, the author put many more techniques on one page and omitted text that he felt was not necessary. The most important difference is that the author made great effort to stick with *Kōdōkan* methodology and naming, while also including the Kawaishi syllabus and approach. In this way the book aimed at both instructors who had started *jūdō* before its unification into federations when people were still graded black belts by a handful of Japanese instructors (Kawaishi Mikinosuke, Koizumi Gunji, Hirano Tokio, and others), and the modern *jūdōka* who grew up after the influence of *Butokukai*-educated *sensei* had started waning and *Kōdōkan* terminology became universally used. The *gonosen-no-kata* part consists merely of line drawings and a list of techniques. All information in the book is unreferenced.

1985 – George Parulski – *Black Belt Judo* [88]

In the book *Black Belt Judo* [88], published under the auspices of the now defunct *American Society of Classical Judoka*, George Parulski Jr. presents a summary description of the *gonosen-no-kata*. The content is not quite up to expected standards and all information in the book is unsourced.

1988 – Peter Volkmann – *Gonosen no Kata. Die klassischen Kontertechniken* – [75]

2003 – Peter Volkmann – *Gonosen no Kata. Die dynamischen Gegenwürfe* – [76]

Since many years Volkmann has brought a series of unpretentious *kata* instruction booklets to the German *jūdō* public. One of these booklets focuses on *gonosen-no-kata*. The booklet contains line drawings and limited text. The booklet has gone through many reprints, and is an option for the practical *jūdōka* with limited financial means even when one's knowledge of German is limited or absent. All information in the book is unreferenced.

1990 – Josef Balcar & Josef Březina – *Trenér juda: Gonoseno-katan a Kime-no-kata* [72]

The language (Czech) will likely be the major hurdle that this book faces in being considered as a likely

option by most of the non-Czech-speaking *jūdō* audience.

2005 – Heikki Lähteenkorva & Tom Pahlman – *Gonosen no kata* [73]

The language (Finnish) will likely be the major hurdle that this book faces in being considered as a likely option by most of the non-Finnish-speaking *jūdō* audience.

2007 – Inogai Tadao & Roland Habersetzer – *Judo Kata. Les formes classiques du Kodokan* [10]

Although this book briefly describes what *gonosen-no-kata* is about, it provides neither an overview of the techniques, nor any pictures or drawings or detailed text. As such there is no basis to recommend this book for the study of this particular *kata* as by its title it already made clear it is focusing on *Kōdōkan*-accepted *kata*.

2008 – Chris de Korte & Edgar Kruyning – *Busen judo kata* [80]

While the text in the *gonosen-no-kata* chapter remains limited, it is probably the best chapter of an otherwise unremarkable book. Contrary to many books that talk about *gonosen-no-kata*, there are no blatant errors in the description of this *kata* in this book. The book contains sequential pictures of the *kata* that are amongst the clearest of any book that contains *gonosen-no-kata*, and the book uses the original names as contained in Kawaishi [4]. *Gonosen-no-kata* is not demonstrated by the two authors of this book, but by Dutch *jūdō* instructors Piet de Jong, JBN⁵¹ 6th dan, and Gé van den Elshout, JBN 7th dan. Following the introductory text to this chapter, there are additional explanations which accompany the sequential pictures in black and white of all techniques of this *kata*. The performance shown in the pictures seems to be one of the most solid available, hence prompting us to recommend this book for its chapter on *gonosen-no-kata*, even though we feel that such recommendation cannot be sustained for several of the other chapters or the book in general.

2009 – Marco Marzagalli – *I Kaeshi-no-Kata nel Judo* [79]

The interesting characteristic of this Italian book is that in addition to *gonosen-no-kata* it also contains Mifune Kyūzō's *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. Those chapters are preceded by a section in which the author comments on the principles of *kaeshi-no-kata* (meaning here in general "those *kata* that deal with counters"). After having

⁵¹ JBN: *Judo Bond Nederland* = Dutch Judo Federation.

discussed both *kata* separately the book has an extra chapter in which it compares both *kata*. Unfortunately, the comments are all unreferenced and not backed up by any literature sources and the absence of knowledge of the Japanese and historic literature is sometimes troublesome. With the sole exception of native Italian speakers who do not understand English, the book is of little interest.

2012 – Bern Linn – Judo Kompakt [89]

This book only contains a list of *gonosen-no-kata* techniques and therefore cannot be considered or recommended as an actual learning text for this *kata*.

No date – British Judo Association – *Gonosen-No-Kata* [83]

The British Judo Association's (BJA) Technical Grading Syllabus directed by the late Roy Inman (1946–2015), then BJA 8th *dan* (later, since 2013, 9th *dan*) also contains a *gonosen-no-kata* photographic guide. There is no accompanying text. The pictures are taken by British expert photographer Bob Willingham and crisp. Unfortunately, the *uke* [attacker] is each time inappropriately wearing a blue colored instead of a white *jūdōgi*, despite this clearly not being an International Judo Federation (IJF) contest event. Performers differ per pictures, sometimes being all-male, all-female or mixed-gender couples. The quality of the technical performances displaying is mediocre at best often displaying poor body shown, poor control, and the technique being entirely questionable with a jumping partner. For this reason the guide certainly can serve as a mnemonic but hardly as a technical example.

No date – Virgil J. Bowles – *Gonosen no Kata (Forms of Counters) – Guidelines & General Information* [85]

This is a 4.5 page freely downloadable set of brief instructions that are not accompanied by pictures or drawings. The explanations, which were written down by the late Virgil Bowles, USJA 8th *dan*, are basic and there is no historic background or information about the *kata's* *riai*.

AUDIOVISUAL INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS FOR GONOUSEN-NO-KATA

The following are the limited audiovisual materials on *gonosen-no-kata* that are, or at some point in time, were available.

n.d. – George R. Parulski – *The judo of Isao Obato. Lost kata's of judo – vol. 2* [CD-ROM] [90]

This CD-ROM at one point in time filled a void, in particular in the days prior to YouTube, and it

offered the first option to view some rare *kata* such as Mifunes' *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. Unfortunately all demonstrations are substandard both in terms of technique and *riai*, and some of the information provided is rather questionable. We would be hard-pressed to come up with any valid reason to recommend this product in the light of much more valuable performances being available for free on the Internet.

1997 – Wolfgang Dax-Romswinkel & Gerhard Steidle – *Gonosen-no-Kata* [VHS] [91]

Although now almost two decades old, considerable didactic thought went into this video production, which is only available on VHS. The video tape is accompanied by an excellent script [67]. Wolfgang Dax-Romswinkel is a well-known German *jūdō kata* educator and the 2014 World and 2013/2014/2015 triple European champion in *jū-no-kata*. Although the *kata* follows the so-called "German standard" for *gonosen-no-kata*, its merit is the dedication of its authors to make the viewer understand. The script contains useful diagrams and a frequently asked questions section to help achieving that goal. Because of these reasons this recording is recommended even though the picture quality is not comparable to modern high-definition digital DVD quality.

Internet sources

Today, it has become possible for almost anyone with a decent Internet connection to access relevant materials. Sometimes, free video clips of specific *kata* including *gonosen-no-kata* may be available too [78, 82], which, even though they may not all be of reference standard, still provide an inspiration of which *jūdōka* who learnt *kata* in the traditional way decades ago could have only dreamt of.

INSTRUCTION AND AVAILABILITY OF GONOUSEN-NO-KATA INSTRUCTORS AND POPULARITY OF THE KATA

Perhaps somewhat ironically, the relatively primitive *gonosen-no-kata* historically has gained much more popularity than the considerably more sophisticated *nage-waza ura-no-kata* despite pursuing some of the same objectives. The reason is quite simple: ever since Kawaishi Mikinosuke in France started issuing black belt ranks, *gonosen-no-kata* was a mandatory part of the third *dan*-rank promotion exams. While many countries which later became influenced by *Kōdōkan*-designated instructors, such as, for example, Abe Ichirō, (as could be expected) promptly did away with this *kata* of obscure origin a long time ago, other federations that remained longer under Kawaishi's influence preserved the *kata* as part of their *dan*-rank promotion exam

requirements. This was the case in France, in Germany, and the Netherlands, but remarkably also in the United Kingdom, where *gonosen-no-kata* was recently incorporated into the British Judo Association's syllabus for Technical Dan Grade Promotion even though Kawaishi historically had little or no influence there due to the strong Koizumi Gunji/Tani Yukio domination of British *jūdō*. Towards the future it is likely that *gonosen-no-kata* will face an uphill battle due, in part, to its questionable origin but also due to the availability of better alternatives. This prediction can already be observed in Germany, where *nage-waza ura-no-kata* replaced *gonosen-no-kata* and is now part of the rank promotion requirements for 3rd dan⁵² [92].

Current evolution of *jūdō* and senior *jūdōka* being better acquainted with the official *Kōdōkan kata* has caused a sharp decrease in number of *kata* seminars devoted to *gonosen-no-kata*. In time this will also lead to a reduction in instructors still competent in *gonosen-no-kata*. Appreciation of any such evolution should consider the questions that remain about its authenticity. In any case, it is unlikely that the disappearance of *gonosen-no-kata* will significantly impair the goals it is trying to achieve, as long as it is replaced by *nage-waza ura-no-kata* or the regular practice of counter throws in non-*kata* form.

CONCLUSIONS

Research into the *gonosen-no-kata* is not a simple endeavor due to the paucity of original sources, and the absence of any reference to it in (even historic) Japanese literature continues to raise suspicion about its authenticity as a Japanese home-grown *kata*. It is the merit of the late Waseda University *jūdō* instructor Takahashi Kazuyoshi who formulated and deepened the theories of counter throws between 1919 and 1921 before Mifune Kyūzō also started to make the same area his interest. *Gonosen-no-kata* appears for the first time in London in 1926 when it is demonstrated there by Waseda graduate Ishiguro Keishichi. However, it cannot be established beyond any doubt whether *gonosen-no-kata* at that point was an actual existing and authentic *kata*, or merely a name adopted by the British to an opportunistic demonstration of random counter throws by Ishiguro. On the other hand there is no doubt that the merit for the historic popularity of this *kata* in Western Europe between 1935 and the 1960s is entirely Kawaishi's, who like Ishiguro also hailed from Waseda University (Figure 16). The conclusions of this study are not definitive and they may need to be updated or refined should in future

any new sources become available that could shed further light on the remaining missing links.

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.

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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COMPETING INTERESTS

The author declares having no competing interests.

⁵² for which in Germany, alternatively, the *jūdōka* has the option to demonstrate *kime-no-kata* [92].



Figure 16. The Waseda University *jūdō dōjō* located on the Nishi-Waseda campus on the first floor of Building #17 in the Shinjuku ward of Tōkyō (〒169-8050 東京新宿区西早稲田1-6-1) in January 2006.

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