*Kōdōkan Jūdō'*s Three Orphaned Forms of Counter Techniques – Part 2: The *Nage-waza ura-no-kata* — "Forms of Reversing Throwing Techniques"

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Authors' Contribution: A Study Design B Data Collection

- C Statistical Analysis
- **D** Manuscript Preparation
- E Funds Collection

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Abstract

Background & Study Aim: The purpose of the present paper is to provide a comprehensive review of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* ["Forms of Reversing Throwing Techniques"], a non-officially accepted *kata* of *Kōdōkan jūdō* made famous by the late Mifune Kyūzō (1883-1965), of which the date of creation has not been previously established, nor under what circumstances it was created or what its sources of inspiration were.

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

Results: In 1903 Mifune entered the *Kōdōkan* and in 1904 he attended Waseda University's Preparatory School for a year. The inspiration for *Nage-waza ura-no-kata* may be traced back to Waseda University, where Takahashi Kazuyoshi was Mifune's contemporary. While Mifune, in combination with an intensive competitive career, also spent time researching new individual throwing techniques, it is Takahashi's research that focused on the concept of *ura-waza* or reverse-throws. On Kanō's invitation Takahashi authored many articles on this topic which appeared in *Yūkō-no-Katsudō*, the *Kōdōkan*'s official magazine. It is likely that drawing from Takahashi's and his own research Mifune completed his *nage-waza ura-no-kata* probably around 1934-1938. The objective of the *kata* is not to copy a supposed gold standard performance that then needs to be evaluated and scored by a jury, but to develop the ability of performing *jūdō* at the supra-mechanical level of *myōwaza* [unexplain-able sophisticated technique], irrespective of differences in minute technical details.

- **Conclusions:** Nage-waza ura-no-kata is an exercise devised by expert-technician Mifune Kyūzō which similarly to katameno-kata complements nage-no-kata and of which the practice is intended to contribute to developing the highest levels of jūdō technical ability.
- **Key words:** history Jigoro Kano judo kaeshi-waza kata Kazuo Ito Kodokan Kyuzo Mifune ura-no-kata ura-waza

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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.

*Kaeshi-waza - r*everse or counter techniques, also called *ura-waza*.

Kata - predetermined and choreographed physical exercises, which together with free exercises (randori), lectures (kõgi) and discussions (mondõ) form the four critical pillars of Kõdõkan jūdõ education.

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

Mifune Kyūzō - a most celebrated *Kōdōkan jūdō* 10th *dan*-holder, born in 1883, died in 1965.

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

INTRODUCTION

In the 1980s video playing and recording devices were introduced into family homes and vastly expanded the plethora of film material to which people could gain access. It is around that time that the author of this paper was informed by the technical director of his jūdo federation of the existence of a 16mm jūdo film which someone just had converted into a videotape. The film in question, recorded in 1955, featured the legendary Japanese jūdo master Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵, a rare Kōdōkan jūdan 十段 (10th degree). Mifune, despite then having been deceased for nearly two decades, continued to appeal to any serious jūdoka, although, very few European jūdoka had actually known or personally ever seen the man while he was still alive. The Japanese government, well aware of Mifune's exceptional skills and accompanying charisma, had arranged for a copy of this film to be available in the cultural departments of its embassies worldwide, from where the film could be borrowed by members of the public. The format the film was made available in was 16 mm film reels which never really was intended as a home use format and which precluded the film becoming a popular jūdo resource. However, the emergence of video would change all that, and it is in this way, long before commercial versions of the film would be released on VHS and DVD, that this author first learnt of Mifune's Nage-waza ura-no-kata 投業裏の形 [Forms of Counter throws], which was demonstrated in the film.

Watching Mifune displaying his jūdo skills which far exceeded any jūdo we had previously witnessed, left a deep impression, and we tried to gain more information about the kata that Mifune was showing in the film. Unfortunately, we were unable to locate anyone in Europe who seemed to have been intimately familiar with this kata, and who could provide instruction in it. However, we found out about the existence of Mifune's famous Canon of Judo, and after some efforts we were able to locate a copy in the possession of an elderly instructor who kindly lent it to us. On February 19, 1987 we received from André H.F. Le Capitaine, the General Secretary of the International Martial Arts Federation - Europe (IMAF-Europe), a photocopy of a book in Japanese [1] that had been presented to him on June 23, 1982, by Satō Shizuya 佐藤静彌 (1929-2011), Kōdōkan 6th dan, at that time the Secretary-General of the worldwide IMAF or Kokusai Budo'in 国際武道院. The book presented by Sato was authored by Itō Kazuo 伊藤四男 (1898-1974), Kōdōkan 9th dan, and devoted to this kata as well as to a newaza 寝技 [mat work] kata of counter techniques. Sato had been

a student of the in 1974 deceased Ito from whom he had personally learnt these two kata. However, even though Sato had continued to teach these kata, we did not personally directly benefit from Sato's knowledge as we were not personally acquainted with him. Therefore, we continued our study and practice from the didactic materials we then had in our possession [2] until we finally met Ochiai Toshiyasu 落合俊保, at that time Kodokan 7th dan (later 8th dan), nephew and former student of the late Kuhara Yoshiyuki 久 原義之 (1906-1985), Kōdōkan 9th dan, who, similarly to Itō Kazuo, was a direct disciple of Mifune and had learnt the nage-waza ura-no-kata directly from Mifune. After Mifune's death Kuhara had continued to teach if in his own Shūdōkan Dōjō 修道館道場 [Practice Hall for the Study of the Way], which is where Ochiai had learnt it from him. Ochiai continues teaching it today in his own Bunkyō-ku dōjō since Kuhara's passing back in 1985.

Today, through the Internet, it no longer is difficult to find recordings of practical demonstrations of nage-waza ura-no-kata, although as of yet not a single demonstration of katame-no-ura-waza is available even on the Internet. However, finding proper information about the contents, background and history of nage-waza ura-no-kata, and certainly about katame-waza ura-no-kata, is difficult. The very limited information that is commonly available in terms of resources, as so often is the case, merely focuses on the mechanical choreographic aspects of the kata 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 both these kata and set these against the background of Kodokan kata, especially given that both kata are still missing from official lists of existing Ködökan kata [3].

It is the purpose of the present paper to provide a comprehensive study of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* and reflect on what extent it has or has not established itself as a common part of *jūdō* practice in Japan and abroad. We aim to address this acute shortage of information regarding this *kata* (This paper will only focus on *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. A complementary paper [part 3] will similarly consider the *katame-waza ura-no-kata*.).

Our research questions are as follows:

- Under what circumstances and by whom was nagewaza ura-no-kata created?
- What are the contents and theoretical foundations of *nage-waza ura-no-kata*?

- Who practices *nage-waza ura-no-kata* and where can it be observed and studied?
- Why is *nage-waza ura-no-kata* so rare and why is it not included in most *kata* records, *kata* teaching curricula and instructional texts?

To address these questions and achieve our purpose, we offer a critical evaluation of the available literature and source material on this *kata*. Rare material drawn from original and reliable sources will also be introduced to support the drawing of definitive conclusions. This paper offers an important contribution to the existing knowledge base of $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$. It has implications for the current $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ syllabus, and also represents the only critical scholarly study of this *kata* in both Western languages and Japanese.

THE OFFICIAL *KATA* OF *Ködökan jūdö vs.* non-official *jūdö kata*

According to the words of Kanō Jigorō-shihan 師 範 [head teacher/principal], the founder of jūdō, the proper study of jūdo must involve both randori and kata [4, 5]. Kata are prearranged and abstract attack/defense choreographic forms, which represent the grammar of jūdo. It is particularly important to realize that some of the more dangerous yet essential techniques in jūdo only exist in the form of kata. During his life Kanō devised five true kata (nage-nokata 投の形 [Forms of Throwing], katame-no-kata 固の形 [Forms of Controlling], go-no-kata 剛の形 [Forms of Correct Use of Force], jū-no-kata 柔の形 [Forms of Non-resistance], and kime-no-kata 極の 形 [Forms of Decisiveness]) and adopted two prior existing ones (koshiki-no-kata 古式の形 [The Antique Forms] and *itsutsu-no-kata* 五の形 [The Five Forms]) from jūdo's two jūjutsu parent schools (Kito-ryū and Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū). Sei-ryoku zen'yō kokumin taiiku 精 力善用国民体育 [National Physical Education based on the Principle of Maximal Efficiency], Kano's last major new jūdo physical education exercise dating from 1924 (finalized in 1927-1928) and originally considered a kihon 基本 [fundamentals] exercise just like ukemi 受身 [breakfalls], now, is also traditionally included in the kata of Kodokan jūdo [6] hence bringing, by the time of Kano's death in May 1938, the total number of Kodokan kata to eight. Later, in 1943 and 1956 respectively, the Kodokan introduced its Self-Defense Methods for Women, called joshi jūdō goshinhō 女子柔道護身法 and a Modern Self-Defense Method, called Kōdōkan goshinjutsu 講道 館護身術, both of which were the result of a concerted effort of two separate committees of Kodokan experts. These two post-Kanō exercises are typically

categorized as *kata*, though the term '*kata*' itself does not feature in their designated official name, hence bringing the total number of *Kōdōkan kata* to ten. Note though that many publications tend to mention a lower number of *kata* as a consequence of either forgetfulness, ignorance, or because *gō-no-kata* largely disappeared from common *jūdō* practice, and because neither *joshi jūdō goshinhō* nor *sei-ryoku zen'yō kokumin taiiku* have ever become part of the standard *jūdō* curriculum outside of Japan. Nevertheless, there do exist ten official *Kōdōkan kata*.

Japanese jūdōka have a somewhat ambiguous attitude towards jūdo kata [7]. On the other hand, since jūdo kata represent the fundamental vet historic grammar of jūdo there exists a narrow view that argues that there can be no new jūdo kata after the death of Kano as they would lack authenticity and authority in the absence of his personal approval; hence, new 'methods', yes, but new 'kata', no. According to Daigo-sensei, Chief-Instructor Emeritus of the Kodokan: "There is no kata after the death of Kanō Jigorō. Sei-ryoku zen'yō kokumin taiiku was never meant to be a kata (solely) for jūdōka but for general physical education (for the general public). Joshi goshinhō is more an application than a set of principles, thus consequently intended to be more practical, which is understandable particularly if we consider the social environment in which it was composed. For the same reason, Kodokan goshinjutsu is not given a suffix of '-kata'." $(...)^1$

This view coexists with an opposing view which considers that jūdo was neither finished nor had reached its limits upon the death of Kanō, so in order to evolve with its time and adequately address any new challenges it might face, new Kodokan kata 'could' be added provided that they receive formal approval by the Kodokan. Intriguingly, history shows that attempts to create and seek official approval from the Ködökan for such new creations were by no means limited to the period after Kano's death. Among these non-official Kōdōkan kata created while Kanō was still alive, gonosen-no-kata 後の先の形 [Forms of Post-attack Initiative Counters] is probably the most well-known example (see part 1 of this paper). Gonosen-no-kata gained popularity in some Western European countries (France, Germany, Netherlands, UK, etc.) mainly because of Kawaishi Mikinosuke's 川石酒造之助 (1899-1969) fondness for demonstrating and teaching this kata, although it is not prevalent in Japan. Other examples, include Uchida Ryōhei's 内田良

¹ Daigo Toshirö. Personal communication; September 12th, 2011; Tökyö: Ködökan Jüdö Institute.

平 (1873-1937) *shōbu-no-kata* 勝負の形 [Forms of Combat] [8], an exercise that never gained many followers and that likely has been largely extinct since Uchida's passing. Another such long existing non-*Kōdōkan kata* that dates from when Kanō was still alive is *nage-waza ura-no-kata*.² This *kata* distinguishes itself among the historic non-official *Kōdōkan kata* by its elegance and fluidity, and the solidity with which *jūdō* principles are expressed in realistic and practical *randori*-like movements. Ōtaki and Draeger commented on the issue of alternative *kata* as follows:

"Different practices and uses for kata have been established by judoists outside of the Kodokan, though the majority of these versions hinge on the unchanged fundamental Principle of Kodokan Judo. These kata can be referred to as private variations patterns. Included here are those which have been developed by qualified Judo teachers; some of these teachers are Kodokan men. Because these kata have definite qualities and characteristics meaningful within the realm of Judo, they are most certainly worthy of preservation and use. Perhaps the best-known example is the Nage Ura no Kata (known also as the Go-no-Sen no Kata), or "Forms of Counterthrowing," originally designed and developed by the legendary Kyuzo Mifune, a late tenth-dan master-teacher of the Kodokan. Other Go-no-Sen no Kata exist, however, and have sound training value; judoists should make every effort to become familiar with them and thereby add to their Judo knowledge. It is not within the scope of this book, however, to deal techni*cally with them.*" (...)³ [9, p. 33].

We note that as with *nage-no-kata*, where *katame-no-kata* was created as a sequel so that the pair would essentially form the *randori-no-kata*, the creation of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* later was followed up by a *katame-waza ura-no-kata* (see part 3 of this paper).

NAGE-WAZA URA-NO-KATA

Nage-waza ura-no-kata means "Forms of reversing throwing techniques". Mifune in two of his major books in the original Japanese language writes the name as

follows: 投業裏の形, using the older kanji 業 for waza, rather than 技. However, in the film Shingi Mifune Jūdan [kanzenhan]: Jūdō no Shinzui 神技 三船十段『完全版』 柔道の真髄 [Mifune 10th dan [complete edition]: The Essence of Jūdō] [10] with the almost identical name as the book [11]⁴, the name of the kata appears slightly different with the term 'waza' having been dropped: nageura-no-kata 投裏の形, which is closer to how Mifune calls his kata in the oldest available source: randori nageura-no-kata 乱取投業裏の形. Exactly why Mifune seems to have insisted on continuing to use the kanji 業, whereas his students mostly used the more common 技 in this context, is a matter of conjecture.

There exists no known controversy about the authorship of *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. However, its date of creation has not been accurately established, nor is it well known under what circumstances it was created or what its sources of inspiration were. That being said, *nage-waza ura-no-kata* is generally considered to be the intellectual product of the late Mifune Kyūzō (1883-1965), *Kōdōkan* 10th *dan* and one of the all-time most famous *jūdō* masters. We will now consider if that assumption is correct.

Mifune Kyūzō

Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 is one of the best known jūdōka in history, and his background has been widely detailed in the half a dozen books he authored [12-17] as well as in the numerous publications by others [18-24]. Mifune was born on April 21st, 1883 in Kuji City 久慈市, Iwate Prefecture 岩手県. At age 13 (1896) Mifune graduated from Kuji-chō Jinjōkōtō Shōgakkō 久慈町尋常高等小学校 [Kuji-chō Higher Elementary School], and was sent by his father to Sendai 仙台 to attend junior high school at the Sendai-shi Ritsu Daini Chūgakkō 仙台市立第二中学 校 [Sendai City Second Daini Junior High School]. This is where Mifune in 1897, still 13 years old, came in contact with, and took up, jūdo [12, 23]. During that time Mifune participated in several school jūdo tournaments in which he was very successful. After he graduated, Mifune went to Tōkyō to attend a year at Waseda University's Preparatory School at the (Waseda Daigaku Yoka 早稲田大学予科), prior to his intent to enter the University's normal curriculum. Mifune entered the Kodokan at age 20 on July 26th, 1903, and became shodan 初段 [first-degree black belt] the year after in October 1904 (see [15], p. 74), which is also when he actually entered the university's

 ² "三船久蔵十段創案した形。講道館柔道の正式な形ではない。"
 (...) [Transl.: The kata is an original idea of Mifune Kyūzō, 10th dan. It is not an official Kódókan jūdō-approved kata] [3, p. 238].

³ In this reference Õtaki and Draeger erroneously suggest that gonosen-no-kata and nage-waza ura-no-kata would be identical. In reality these are two different kata. This confusion is quite common in Japan since there likely has never existed any formal exercise called gonosen-no-kata in Japan (see part 1). Therefore, Japanese judðka being confronted with this term for the first time, understand it in its literal sense as describing "a kata of counter throws". However, because nage-no-kata ura-waza does exist and clearly also was created in Japan, the description gonosen-no-kata is usually understood by Japanese jūdőka as referring to nage-no-kata ura-waza.

⁴ Jūdo no Shinzui — Michi to Jutsu 柔道の真髄—道と術 [The Essence of Jūdo. Principle and Technique] from 1965 [11] is a posthumously published expanded memorial edition of the original Japanese version from 1954 Jūdo Kyoten — Michi to Jutsu 柔道 の真髄—道と術 [Canon of Jūdo. Principle and Technique] [12], that was later translated into English and published in 1956 [14].

preparatory program. Mifune's entry into the *Kōdōkan* in itself is the subject of legends. Membership in those days still required a formal *shōkai* 紹介 [introduction] and entrance interview. Since Mifune was not personally acquainted with anybody at the *Kōdōkan* he had to seek the help of a stranger. He decided to directly obtain an introduction from *Yokoyama Sakujirō*, 6th *dan* and the *Kōdōkan*'s senior instructor. So, Mifune went to Yokoyama's house and literally camped on Yokoyama's doorstep until the latter finally agreed to meet with him and listen to Mifune's intentions and desires. After that, Mifune was accepted into the *Kōdōkan* where he quickly progressed [12, 23, 25].

Apparently Mifune was doing more $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ than actual academic study and his father ended his allowance, after which Mifune, then aged 22 (1905), decided to look for a job. He started a newspaper which he built out to a successful enterprise. He finally sold his business with considerable profit, and, instead of entering Waseda University 早稲田大学, he was accepted into Keiō University's graduate program in economics (*Keiō Daigaku Rizaika* 慶応大学理財科). The same year he was also promoted to *nidan* 弐段 [second-degree black belt] after throwing a line-up of eight $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}ka$. Mifune did not successfully finish his academic education and halfway through his studies at Keiō University, he dropped out so he could focus full-time on $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$.

By 1910, Mifune was already a godan 五段 [fifthdegree black belt], and he also was appointed as headjūdo instructor in not less than eleven schools which included Tokyo Daigaku 東京大学 (University of Tōkyō), Nittaidai or Nippon Taiiku Daigaku 日本体 育大学 [Nippon Sports Science University], amongst others. His ascent up the ladder of jūdo seniority has been one of the fastest of all times. Mifune became rokudan 六段 [sixth-degree black belt] in 1917 at age 34 yrs, shichidan 七段 [seventh-degree black belt] in 1923 at age 40 yrs while still competing, and hachidan 八段 [eight-degree black belt] in 1931 at the age of 48 yrs. That same year Mifune together with Kanda Kyūtarō 神田久太郎 (1891-1977) (later 9th dan) appeared as Kanō Jigorō's uke throughout the jūdō book which Kanō published that year5. In 1932, then 49 years old, Mifune was appointed as head-instructor of the Metropolitan Police Jūdō Department. On December 12th, 1937, Kanō Jigorō in person, promoted Mifune, then aged 54, to 9th dan [ninth-degree black belt] [12, 23].

Mifune had been a 9th dan holder for just over seven years when on May 25th of 1945, during Nango Jiro's 南郷次郎 tenure as second Kōdōkan president, he was promoted by to jūdan We also note that Mifune was the first jūdōka be promoted to jūdan by the Kōdōkan under its second kancho (president), and he became one of the youngest (62 yrs) and probably the most famous and longest serving 10th dan ever, until his death at the age of 82 years, on January 27th of 1965 due to a hospital bronchial infection which complicated the consequences of throat cancer for which he had on December 4, 1964 entered Nichidai University Hospital in Chiyoda-ku 千代田区. Upon his death, he was awarded the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 2nd Class (Zuihosho二等瑞宝章). The year before (1964) Mifune had already become a recipient of the Order of the Rising Sun, 3rd Class (Kykujitsu-shō 三等旭日 章). Mifune is buried at the Reien Cemetery 鎌倉霊 園⁶ in Kamakura 鎌倉市 in Kanagawa Prefecture 神 奈川県, about 50 km southwest of Tōkyō.

Yokoyama Sakujirō

Only a single person is officially recognized as Mifune's teacher, and that is Yokoyama Sakujirō 横山 作次郎 (Figure 1(17)). Yokoyama is a crucial figure in the history of *Kōdōkan jūdō*. He is one of the *Kōdōkan*'s original *Shitennō* [Four Heavenly Guardians; lit.: "Four Heavenly Kings"]⁷. Yokoyama was born in Saginomiya-mura 鷺宮村 in Tōkyō in 1864, hence being four years Kanō's junior. As was often the case in those days, Yokoyama was not originally a *Kōdōkan jūdōka*, but a student of *Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū jūjutsu* 天 神真楊流柔術 [The Divine True Willow School] under Inoue Keitarō⁸ 井上敬太郎 (1872-1942) in

⁵ Kanō Jigorō (嘉納治五郎). *Jūdō kyōhon jōkan* (柔道教範 上潘) [A textbook of jūdō]. Tōkyō: Shushiki Kaisha; 1931, p. 1-127 [in Japanese]

⁶ Kamakura's Rei'en Cemetery is a gigantic 550,000 m² cemetery with approximately 41,000 graves that was established in 1965, and where in addition to Mifune Kyūzō also the remains of Japan's first Literature Nobel Prize winner Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成 (1899-1972) were laid to rest. The cemetery is located at Jūniso 512, Kamakura-city, Kanagawa 神奈川県鎌倉市十二所 512, Japan: 35°19'44"N 139°35'6"E.

The Four Heavenly Kings or Guardians of the Four Compass Directions is originally a Buddhist concept, called *Shitennö* in Japanese, *Ssu-T'ien Wang* [Pinyin: *Sì Tiān Wán*] in Chinese, or Maharāja चत्र्महाराज in Sanskrit. In India they were originally called the Deva or Hindu demi-gods that became absorbed as part of Buddhism. It is a popular image in Japan to refer to a tetralogy of four loyal collaborators or supporters, hence why there previously were the four shitenno of Minamoto Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159-1189), and also the four shitenno of Minamoto Yorimitsu 源頼光 (948-1021). The Kōdōkan Shitennō 講道館四天王 were: Saigō Shirō 西郷四郎 (1866-1922), Tomita Tsunejirō 富田常次郎 (1865-1937), Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義韶 (1865-1935), and Yokoyama Sakujirō 横山作次郎 (1864-1914) [25-27]. However, given Saigo's expulsion from the Kodokan and Yokoyama's premature death in 1912, the Shitenno were redefined as the "Second-Generation Shitenno" consisting of: Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義 韶 (1865–1935) (again), now supplemented by Nagaoka Hideichi 永岡秀一 (1876-1952), Isogai Hajime 磯貝-- (1871-1947), and Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965)

Inoue Keitarō was later promoted by Kanō Jigorō to Kōdōkan 8th dan, and was Kanō's third and final *Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū jūjutsu*

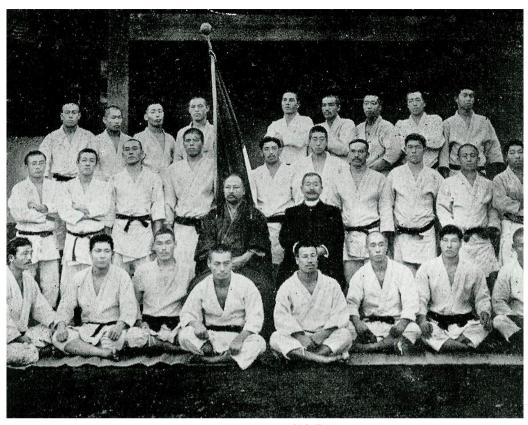


Figure 1(17). Group picture showing the young Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965) holding the flag as winner of the *kōhaku shiai* 紅白試合 [red and white contests]. The strongly built *jūdōka* next to Mifune at the other side of the flag is Toku Sanbō 徳三宝 (1887-1945), another great Japanese *jūdō* champion of the past. On the row in front of Mifune, seated and wearing Western clothes, is Kanō Jigorō, *Kōdōkan shihan*, with the person seated next to Kanō wearing formal Japanese dress being Mifune's own teacher, *Kōdōkan* chief-instructor Yokoyama Sakujirō 横山作次郎 (1864-1912), the *Kōdōkan's* first 7th (and later also the first 8th) *dan*.

the Yushima Tenjin Dōjō 湯島天神道場, which was located in the Northeast of Bunkyō Ward in Tōkyō. Later he would also take up Daitō-ryū jūjutsu 大東 流柔術. Yokoyama, who became nicknamed "Oni Yokoyama" 鬼横山 [Demon Yokoyama]⁹, was a crucial figure in the early battles of the Kōdōkan to establish its reputation [12¹⁰, 23¹¹, 26¹², 28, 29].

Yokoyama Sakujirō entered the Kōdōkan in April

1886. Just one month later he was promoted by Kanō to shodan, and in September of the same year, merely 4 months later to nidan. Again 4 months later, in January 1887 he was promoted to sandan. So yes, in 22 months or less than 2 years Yokoyama went from no grade to 3rd dan. In January 1898, Yokoyama and Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義韶 were promoted by Kanō to the first ever Kōdōkan rokudan-holders, and in October 1904 both became the first two Ködökan 7th dan holders. However, on September 23, 1912 Yokoyama solely became the first ever Kodokan 8th dan holder after he had suddenly fallen gravely ill. Kanō decided to reward Yokoyama by this exceptional promotion on his deathbed for the services he had rendered to the Ködökan. Yokoyama never recovered and at merely 48 years old he passed away the same day he had fallen ill. Hence he never actually wore that rank as it literally was a deathbed promotion [26, 29].

Mifune's teachers, mentors and sources of learning

Mifune in several of his books details how he had become Yokoyama's disciple and what the

teacher under whom Kanō studied for at least five years after the premature deaths of Fukuda Hachinosuke 福田八之助 (1828-1879 or 1880) and Iso Masatomo 磯正智 (ca. 1817-1881), although this is omitted from *Kōdōkan* publications, probably to avoid affecting the prestige of Kanō as *Kōdōkan shihan*. Inoue also was hired by Kanō as *jūjutsu* instructor at the Gakushūn 学習院 [Peers School] between April 19, 1883–March 15, 1886.

⁹ Similar to what is the case with the *Shitennö* [The Four Heavenly Kings/Guardians], although there was one original Oni [Demon], *i.e.* Yokoyama Sakujirö, the title became somewhat inheritable and successive generations of 'demons' existed to indicate an unusually fierce fighter. It is generally believed that the second Oni was Ushijima Tatsukuma 牛島辰熊 (1904-1985), while Kimura Masahiko 木村政彦 (1917-1993) is considered the third and final Oni.

¹⁰ p. 36-39.

¹¹ p. 31-44.

¹² p. 29-36.

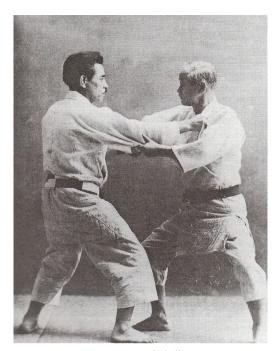


Figure 2(18). Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), then 48 years old and already 8th dan (left) and Kanō Jigorō 嘉 納治五郎 (1860-1938), Kōdōkan shihan 講道館師範 (right) demonstrating jigōtai 自護体 [defensive position].

relationship with his *sensei* was like [12, p. 39-52]. However, exactly what and the extent to which Mifune had learnt from Yokoyama-*sensei* is not known. What is known is that Yokoyama's technical specialty was *yoko-sutemi-waza* 捨身技 [sideways sacrifice throws]. Mifune was just 29 years old and held 5th dan when Yokoyama died in 1912. Surely by that time Mifune was not yet the fully accomplished *jūdōka* he would become.

Mifune also directly learnt from Kanō as suggested by a number of materials that have survived (Figure 2(18)). In Mifune's writings, Kano-shihan appears to be more of a chairman, a thinker and the person who once founded the school, than an actual teacher active on the *tatami* [12, p. 52-62]; this is an image similar to how the late Fukuda Keiko described her experiences with Kano [30]. Mifune also talks about Isogai Hajime 磯貝一 (1871-1942), 10th dan, and Nagaoka Hideichi 永岡秀一 (1876-1952), 10th dan, whom he recognizes as clearly senior to him, but his reminiscences of both, appear more anecdotal rather than reflections about either of them acting as jūdo teachers. It certainly does not appear as if Mifune considered them as his teachers [12, p. 69-71]. Rather, one can perceive a definite rivalry with Nagaoka during what appears to have been rather fierce randori sessions.

While the paragraphs above attest to Mifune's exceptional career and skills, they do not reveal many clues regarding the origin of his actual technical expertise. Yokoyama, who had been dead since 1912, does not include *kaeshi-waza* in his book, nor is he associated with particular expertise in such techniques, which makes it doubtful that he was the source to Mifune's deeper interest in, and inspiration for, these matters. A major part of Mifune's skills seems to have come from his own research and his intense practice with his most gifted rivals, such as notably the equally legendary though much physically larger Toku Sanbō 徳 三宝 (1887-1945)¹³ (Figure 3(19)).

By 1943 Mifune had already 40 years of $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ experience. He had, or would develop, several $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ techniques, such as notably \bar{o} -guruma $\bar{\nabla} \pi$ [large wheel throw], sumi-otoshi [RK] [corner dropping throw], and tama-guruma $\bar{\Xi} \pi$ [ball wheel throw] [14, 19, 24]. He was also well versed and excelled in kata, way beyond a mere technical performance and understanding. Mifune's creative genius was such that putting him on a par with Kanō, when it came to developing $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ techniques or applying its technical principles, would be no exaggeration.

The intellectual sources of inspiration for nage-waza ura-no-kata

While Mifune nowhere identifies any external source as to his inspiration for nage-waza ura-no-kata 投業 裏の形 [Forms of reverse throwing techniques], this does not mean that such source does not exist. One cannot ignore the potential existence of another kata of kaeshi-waza, namely gonosen-no-kata 後の先の形 [Forms of Post-attack Initiative Counters], the creation of which must have preceded Mifune's ura-nokata (see part 1 of this paper). Mifune, to the best of our knowledge, nowhere dates the creation of nagewaza ura-no-kata. On the other hand, since Mifune is known to have demonstrated this kata to Kanō Jigorō, this implies he must have developed it before Kanō's death in May 1938. It is unlikely though that Mifune would have focused on developing such a kata during the time he was still focusing on jūdo shiai, i.e. before 1925. However, it has been suggested by a number of unsourced publications that gonosen-nokata would have been created between 1910-1917 at Waseda University 早稲田大学 in Tōkyō (see part 1 of this paper series). We know that Mifune was a student in Waseda University's preparatory course in 1904, but that must have been at least a decade

¹³ Toku Sanbö later upon his premature death on March 10, 1945, due to an air raid in war time Tökyö, was promoted to 9th dan [25, 31].



Figure 3(19). Historic picture depicting in the front row, from left to right: Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), 6th dan (later 10th dan) and Toku Sanbō 徳三宝, 5th dan (later 9th dan). In the back row, from left to right, Mifune's uchi-deshi: Itō Kazuo 伊藤四男 (1898-1974) (later 9th dan), Shirai Sei'ichi 白井清一 (1902-1972) (later 9th dan), Sone Kōzō 曽根幸 蔵(1903-1973) (later 9th dan, and also grandfather of the winner of the Second World Championships, Sone Kōji 曽根 康治, in 1958), Kanda Kyūtarō 神田久太郎 (1891-1977) (later 9th dan), Minagawa Kunijirō (?) 皆川 (no further details available), Terayama 寺山 (no further details available), and Kurosu Shunji/Haruji 黑須春次 (1888-1973) (later 9th dan), at *Meiji Daigaku* 明治大学 [Meiji University].

before gonosen-no-kata existed. However, it is likely that Mifune may also later have visited Waseda's $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ department, or, given that his main rival Toku Sanbō became an instructor at Waseda in 1924 [31], Mifune's exposure to gonosen-no-kata could have occurred in this way, provided that the kata actually ever existed in Japan, for which so far there is no evidence (see Part 1).

There is, however, another compelling reason as to why Mifune's inspiration for his *nage-waza ura-nokata* may be found at Waseda University. The main head-instructor at Waseda University in those days was Takahashi Kazuyoshi 高橋数良 (1885-1945)¹⁴ (Figure 4(20)). In 1906 both Takahashi and Mifune were 3rd dan [3rd degree black belt] holders, and both were students of Yokoyama Sakujirō [32]. Mifune's dan-rank evolution would be steeper than that of Takahashi, but that is hardly a factor since the steepness of that evolution was mainly based on competitive results, and Mifune's progression was quicker than nearly everyone else's.

Mifune had become a 5th dan in 1909 whereas Takahashi became a 5th dan in 1916. However, the critical part of information is that Takahashi's specialty was kaeshi-waza or ura-waza¹⁵. In fact, Takahashisensei would become nationally famous for his kaeshiwaza which had become the focus of his research. Between May 1919 and January 1921 not less than 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 Takahashisensei [36-47]. The series dealt with the principles of ura-waza and with specific reverse-throws¹⁶ and his research into ura-waza, hence illustrating Takahashi's expertise in this matter. Takahashi does not mention other jūdo masters as his inspiration, but rather he identifies the legendary sword master Yamaoka Tesshū 山岡鉄舟 (1836-1888), who died when Takahashi was 3 years old, and a number of Japanese historic

¹⁴ In addition to Waseda University he was also the jūdö headinstructor at the Rikugun Yönen 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] and the Ködökan [32] In 1920 Takahashi received the title of banshi 範士 [grandmaster] from the Nippon Butokukai, which attested to the recognition of his skills. Takahashi shared part of his time as a jūdō instructor at Waseda with Miyakawa Ikkan 宮川一貫 (1885-1944) [25, 32-35], later 7th dan, but Miyakawa seems to have been more into newaza 寝技 [groundwork], or at least less directly relevant in the current context; see also part 1 of this paper.

¹⁵ Already before 1920 the terms *kaeshi-waza* [counter techniques] and *ura-waza* [reversing techniques] are used interchangeably.

⁶ The specific throws which Takahashi addresses are *barai-goshi* [36], *tsuri-komi-goshi* [37], *sasae-tsuri-komi-ashi* [39], and *uchi-mata* [40], which coincidentally all appear in *nage-waza ura-no-kata* albeit that *tsuri-komi-goshi* is included in Mifune's *kata* as an incomplete technique referred to as *han-goshi* (see further).



Figure 4(20). Historic picture showing, from left to right: Suzuki Kiyoji 鈴木潔治 (1894-1966) (later *Kōdōkan* 9th *dan*), Nakajima 中島 (first name and further details not available), Takahashi Kazuyoshi 高橋数良 (1885-1942) (later *Kōdōkan* 8th *dan*), and Kawakami Chū 川上忠 (1897-1985) (later *Kōdōkan* 9th *dan*). Both Suzuki and Kawakami were disciples of Mifune Kyūzō. In front of these four gentlemen are two unidentified children. Exact date of the picture is unknown, but it probably dates from the late 1930s.

figures, such as notably Ōkubo Hikozaemon¹⁷ 大久 保彦左久衛門 (1560-1639). It should be noted that while no complete series of 'forms' or '*kata*' is published by Takahashi in *Yūkō-no-katsudō* 有効の活 動 [The Effectiveness of Movement], the *Kōdōkan*'s official magazine of that time, this is also understandable given that Kanō was still alive and the editor-in-chief, it would be unthinkable then for anyone except the *Kōdōkan's shihan* to add new *kata* to the school he founded. In other words, we hypothesize that Takahashi-*sensei*¹⁸ was the most important source to Mifune to complement his own research into establishing his *nage-no-kata ura-waza*.

The authorship of Nage-waza ura-no-kata

Mifune created the Nage-waza ura-no-kata 投業 裏の形 [Forms of reverse throwing techniques]¹⁹. Examination of all sources available, published and unpublished, leave no doubt about this. He had the skills, knowledge, and dynamism, and there is ample evidence of him creating other kata. Despite having no known koryū 古流 ["old school"] or torite 捕手 [naked hand self-defense] experience he also developed his own Mifune Kudan Sōen Goshinjutsu 三船九段創案護 身術 [9th Dan Mifune's personal self-defense], which largely relied on or incorporated koryū techniques. Mifune also was a main collaborator to developing the joshi jūdō goshinhō 女子柔道護身法 [Women's Jūdō Self-defense Methods] on request of Nangō Jirō [30].

¹⁹ See note #2.

¹⁷ Õkubo Hikozaemon is also known under the name Õkubo 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).

¹⁸ In addition to Toku Sanbō and Takahashi Kazuyoshi, there was a fourth person who was considered part of a group of rivals which contained Mifune, and that person was Nakano Shōzō 中野正三 (1888-1977). Nakano was born on January 6, 1988 in Gosenchō 五泉町, in Gosen 五泉市, Niigata Prefecture 新潟県. He entered the Kōdōkan in March 1905, and obtained shodan 初段 [firstdegree black belt] in March 1907. Nakano became very famous for his uchi-mata [inner thigh throw]. He became jūdō head instructor at Nihon University 日本大学 (1910-1929), the Keisbichö 警視 fr [Metropolitan Police] (1910-1933), Keiō University 慶應義塾 (1916-1946), and of the Kōgūkeisatsu 皇宮警察 [Imperial Guard] (1926-1944). Nakano obtained the title of Butokukai hanshi 武德会 範士 [Japan Great Martial Virtues Association master] and was in 1948 promoted to kudan 九段 [9th degree black belt]. He died age 89 yrs on December 22, 1977 and was promoted posthumously to Kodōkan 10th dan. Despite his undeniable technical skills and rivalty

with Toku Sanbō, Takahashi Kazuyoshi and Mifune, it is difficult to link him directly with Mifune as a possible source of inspiration for *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. In addition to being famous for his *uchi-mata*, Nakano was associated with *hane-goshi* 跳腰 [spring-hip throw], *seoi-nage* 背負投 [back-carry throw], and *tsuri-komi-goshi* 釣込腰 [lifting and pulling hip throw] and for having the ability to exert his skills bilaterally. He also advocated to not impose *kumikata* 組力 [gripping] but instead allow the opponent to establish his *kumi-kata* of choice and adapt to it.

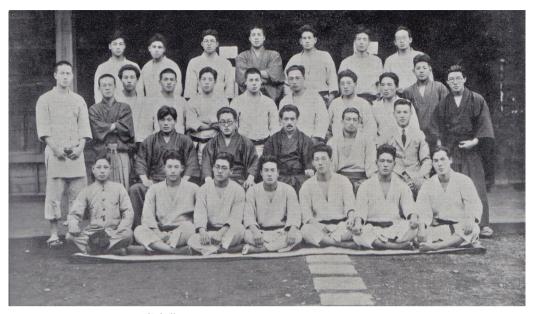


Figure 5(21). Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), then probably in his late forties, still looking extremely vigorous and already a *Kōdōkan* 8th *dan*, is pictured in the center dressed in *haori* 羽織 [Japanese formal dress], with to his left side seated in the second row, Itō Kazuo 伊藤四男 (1898-1974), at that point *Kōdōkan* 6th *dan*, and to Mifune's right side also in *haori*, Hanagiri-*sensei* (wearing glasses), then 6th *dan*, and Shirai Sei'ichi 白井清一 (1902-1972), also in *haori* 羽織 [formal traditional Japanese dress]. Neither Itō, nor Shirai have started wearing their characteristic mustaches yet when this picture was taken at Tōyō University's Jūdō Department 東洋大学柔道部, exact date unknown, probably ca. 1932.

The creation of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* 投業裏の形 at least must date from 1937-1942 or earlier.

In an article from 2000 based on an interview with Satō Shizuya 佐藤静彌, *Kōdōkan* 6th *dan*, and to which he was the sole source, Satō makes the following assertion:

"そして三船久蔵と、その高弟である伊藤四男師 範との協同研究によって編み出されたのが、投技 裏之形である。これは読んで字のごてく投技に対 象する返し技であり。"(...) [19, p.16].

[Transl.: onsequently, that what emerged from the joint research of Mifune and his leading disciple Itō Kazuo-*shihan* was put together to establish the *Kata of Reversing Throwing Techniques*. The meaning of this reading being that one who initiated the attack is being neutralized because the one who is the object of the throwing technique applies a counter throw.]

There is no doubt that Itō indeed was a senior and long-time disciple of Mifune²⁰. However, the wording by Satō is not without concerns as it seems to attribute a particularly important role to Itō himself in establishing this *kata*, with little of no foundation. Also referring to Itō as Mifune's "leading disciple" requires some scrutiny. Itō Kazuo was Satō's own teacher, and, particularly, after the death of Mifune, perhaps the most well-known and senior jūdoka in his Kokusai Budo'in 国際武道院 or IMAF.21 A certain exaggeration in Sato's generous words towards Ito is probably not without reason, and meant to give legitimacy to the jūdo component in his independent (to the Kodokan and other Japanese budo national associations) organization which as far as its jūdo component is concerned, was clearly orphaned, after the death of Mifune in 1965. There are certainly a number of facts that are difficult to join with the idea of someone considered the most senior or talented disciple of Mifune. Itō certainly was not most senior in terms of timeline. Mifune's first uchi-deshi was Kurabayashi Tomoji 倉林ともじ, who in 1918 was studying at Tōkyō Nōgyō Daigaku 東京農業大学 [Tōkyō Agricultural University], and who was recommended to Mifune by Nakayama Hakudō 中山 博道 (1872-1958), kendō hanshi 10th dan 剣道範士十 段 [10th degree black belt grandmaster in the way of the sword] [18]. Itō became a disciple of Mifune only in May 1922. Itō neither was the senior disciple of Mifune in terms of age, nor in date when he entered the Kōdōkan (April 1920) (Figure 5(21)).



²⁰ Mifune describes his first meeting with Itō in his Jūdō kaikoroku [12, p. 87-88].

Furthermore, several taped performances of Mifune have survived in which he demonstrates kata. Ito appears in none of them as his uke. All of Mifune's filmed demonstrations of nage-waza ura-no-kata have Shirai Sei'ichi (1902-1972) as his uke. The same applies for all of the filmed demonstrations of Mifune's own goshinjutsu 護 身術 [Self-defense techniques]. A number of filmed demonstrations of itsutsu-no-kata 五の形 [The Five Forms] with Mifune have also survived. In the oldest one (1952) it is Satō Kinnosuke 佐藤金之助 (1898-1972) who appears as Mifune's uke. During the contest day of the Open Class of the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo, Mifune was scheduled to demonstrate the *itsutsu-no*kata, but his frail health prevented him from doing so. Again, Shirai Sei'ichi, 9th dan by then, was scheduled as his uke, not Ito. When Mifune had to be replaced in his role of tori, it is likely that his most senior student would replace him, but again Itō, though 9th dan, was nowhere in the picture, and Mifune was replaced by Suzuki Kiyoji 鈴木潔治 (1894-1966)²² (Figure 4(20)). Whilst Suzuki, Satō and Itō were all promoted to 9th dan on the same day, Suzuki was definitely more senior than Itō being four years older and having entered the Kodokan four vears earlier (1916). Satō Kinnosuke, though born in the same year as Itō, is consistently listed more senior than Ito in Mifune's lists and descriptions, and already entered the Kodokan in 1914, i.e., six years prior to Ito.

If Itô's role in developing *nage-waza ura-no-kata* would have been as significant as Satō claims, one would have expected Itō to act as Mifune's *uke* in at least some of these *enbu* 演武 [public martial exercise of demonstration] or taped demonstrations. This is even more so considering that Shirai was almost a head taller than Itō, whereas Mifune and Itō were about the same height²³ (Figure 6(22)). When Mifune published his large 5-volume oeuvre *Jūdō Kōza* 柔道 講座 [Lectures in *Jūdō*] [17], chapters were assigned to other leading *jūdō* masters (Kudō Kazuzō 工藤一四, 9th *dan*, Samura Kaichirō 佐村嘉一郎, 10th *dan*, etc.) and to his most senior *deshi* including Satō Kinnosuke and Shirai Sei'ichi. Again there was one notable absentee: Itō Kazuo. It is hard to believe that



Figure 6(22). A rare picture of Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), Kōdōkan 10th dan, and his deshi 弟子 [pupil] ltō Kazuo 伊藤四男 (1898-1974), Kōdōkan 9th dan, performing uki-goshi 浮腰 [floating hip throw], the 4th technique of the 3rd series of Nage-waza Ura-no-kata (投業裏の形) [Forms of Counter throws]. Mifune is seen using tai-sabaki 体捌 [body reactions] and his hara 原 [abdominal center] to neutralize ltō's uki-goshi attack, and preparing to pursue with yokowakare 横分 [sideways separation] as a counter throw.

Itô's general absence in any role of significance performed by Mifune is merely coincidental.

As previously indicated, the main expertise in Japan regarding ura-waza was Takahashi Kazuyoshi with whom Mifune was clearly acquainted. Indeed Mifune will likely have practiced new ideas and variations with his deshi, but we have found no evidence to support any claim of a role for Ito in developing nage-waza ura-nokata that would be of more importance than that of any other of Mifune's students and this irrespective of what Satō Shizuya may have claimed. On the contrary, we note that Ito in the foreword to his book on the Judo no nage- to katame-no-ura-waza 柔道の投げと固めの裏技 [Jūdo's throw- an control-reversing techniques] [1] does not claim a role of any importance in the development of nage-waza ura-no-kata to the extent of Sato's assertions. Besides Takahashi Kazuyoshi, the only other people who at the time that Mifune created the kata would likely have had enough seniority and technical expertise to inspire Mifune and with whom he closely collaborated, would have been Toku Sanbō (Figure 3(19)) and Nakano Shōzō, not his own deshi. Given Mifune's personality, it is

²² Suzuki Kiyoji was the jüdö instructor at the Gakushün 学習院 [Peers School] from November 1920 until December 1945, attesting to his importance. The original Suzuki Dõjõ dating from 1925 is still in existence and located at Higashi-chō, Kichijõji 吉祥寺東町 1-4-13, Musashino-shi 武蔵野市 in Tökyö. Suzuki Kiyoji should not be confused with at least two other people bearing the surname Suzuki who also obtained the rank of 9th dan, i.e. Suzuki Takayuki (correct reading of his first name is uncertain and it could also be Takashi, Noriyuki, Kōshi, or Kōji) 鈴木孝之 (1899-1991), 9th dan since 1984, and Suzuki Torimatsu 鈴木鳥松 (1909-1991), 9th dan since 1988.

²³ According to his own description, Itō was 1.60m tall and weighed 60kg: "私は体重60キロ、身長1メートル60 という小軀であったため" [1, p. 3]. Mifune, on the other hand, was "身長159cm、体重 55kg" or 159m tall and weighed just 55 kg.

also highly unlikely he would have accepted much input from people he would definitely consider far junior to himself. Sufficient anecdotes have survived of Mifune lashing out at one of his 8th *dan deshi* telling them to shut up about *jūdō* as according to him they would have neither a clue, nor the ability to begin to understand it ... This is hardly the personality of someone who would consider his students on a peer level allowing them to make suggestions for improvement and the like.

Hence, attribution of the authorship of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* to Mifune is based on evaluating the following considerations:

- The *kata* is introduced to the general *jūdō* public in Mifune's own books. Whilst he does not literally say that it is his own creation, the context of the accompanying guidance gives some indication as to how he arrived at this *kata*.
- The oldest known source mentioning *nage-waza ura-no-kata* is Mifune (see below).
- No other historic *jūdō* master has disputed the claim of authorship.
- Virtually all leading Japanese proponents of this *kata* who continued teaching it after Mifune died in 1965 were either *deshi* or students of Mifune, or students of students of Mifune.
- The specific skills and inventiveness of the choice of counter are reflective of Mifune's stylistic approach to *jūdō*.
- Mifune's creativity towards *kata* is demonstrated by his authorship or co-authorship of several other *kata: joshi jūdō goshinhō*, and in both his own as well as the official *Kōdōkan goshinjutsu*.
- There exist references to Mifune proposing the *kata* to Kanō for inclusion in the *Kōdōkan* curriculum.

Creation and first appearance of *nage-waza ura-no-kata*

To the best of our knowledge Mifune nowhere mentions when exactly he created *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. Dax-Romswinkel suggests that the *kata* probably stems from the 1920s-1930s [48], but this suggestion is not underpinned by any direct evidence. The same author also suggested that *The Essence of Jūdo film*²⁴ from 1955 that was later released on videotape and DVD [10] would be the oldest source mentioning and/or demonstrating the *nage-waza ura-no-kata*:

Die älteste ist wahrscheinlich der berühmte Film von Mifune (engl.: "Essence of Judo"), der Anfang der 1950er Jahre entstanden ist" (...) [48].



Figure 7(23). Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), then still Kōdōkan 9th dan (later 10th dan), and his deshi 弟子 [pupil] Shirai Sei'ichi 白井清一 (1902-1972), then still Kōdōkan 6th dan (later 9th dan), can be seen performing ō-guruma 大車 [major wheel throw], as a way to reverse an obi-otoshi 带落 [belt-control drop throw] attack in the 5th technique of the 1st series of nage-waza ura-no-kata (投業裏の形) [Forms of counter throws]. Note that Shirai is seen grabbing the Mifune's belt from below. In the later 1955 recording [10] Shirai would grab Mifune's belt from the top. Neither is a 'change' and both options are acceptable. Picture is a snapshot from the oldest known recording of nage-waza ura-no-kata and likely dating from between 1937-1942 [49].

[Transl.: The oldest is probably the famous film of Mifune [English: "Essence of Judo"] which was made at the beginning of the 1950s].

This is, however, not correct. Mifune Kyūzō, at the time still 9th dan, also already demonstrated this *kata* with his *uchi-deshi* 内弟子 [in-living disciple] Shirai Sei'ichi 白井清一, who then was still 6th dan, in Kyōto in the film Jūdō Higi – Nihon Butoku (柔道秘技 武徳 日本) [Secret techniques of jūdō and the martial virtues of Japan] [49] (Figure 7 (23)), which although it contains no precise date, is estimated to date from between 1937 and 1942²⁵. This earlier date is consis-

²⁴ Original title: Sbingi Mifune Jūdan [kanzenban]: Jūdō no Sbinzui (神技 三船十段 『完全版』柔道の真髄) [Mifune 10th dan [complete edition]: The Essence of Jūdō] [10].

²⁵ Mifune holds the rank of 9th dan in the film. He obtained this rank on December 12th of 1937. Therefore, the film that includes *nage-waza* ura-no-kata at the earliest can have been made in December 1937.

tent with the fact that Mifune introduced his *kata* to Kanō, the latter who died in 1938, and therefore the existence of a source that may date from before 1938 should not be a surprise. The source mentioned above then also serves to illustrate that Mifune had the time to further refine this *kata* over three decades. That being said, there are no major changes in techniques in later taped (apart from a different counter to \bar{o} -uchi-gari and a switch in the order of two techniques [10]) or printed versions and the *kata* on the old recording clearly appears complete.

Whether the *kata* already existed in the 1920s, as Dax-Romswinkel suggests, in the absence of any further evidence remains the subject of conjecture [49]. In any case, the date provides a coordinate in time to have a closer look at Mifune's activities to see if one can detect a particularly fertile bedrock for the development of such a *kata*. By 1920 Mifune was still a fierce fighter despite his age (37 yrs). It was still common in those days for major competitions to be won by *jūdōka* of similar age ranges, and even while well in his forties and a 7th or 8th *dan*-holder, Mifune is described to have still participated in some *jūdō* competitions.

Nage-waza ura-no-kata contains sumi-otoshi, and we also know that sumi-otoshi was devised by Mifune when he held 7th dan, a rank he obtained in 1917. For that reason, the kata must have been developed later than 1917, and in reality it probably was developed quite a bit later. When Takahashi, between 1919-1921, wrote his series of articles on ura-waza these were about principles and individual ura-waza. If by then an actual ura-no-kata as sophisticated as Mifune's would have existed, it is unlikely that Takahashi would not have mentioned it. In fact, Takahashi does not mention Mifune, which suggests that Takahashi's own research in ura-waza preceded Mifune's interest in and commitment to this concept. Based on these and other factors, we estimate that Mifune completed his nage-waza ura-no-kata somewhere between 1930-1938. Mifune was then between 47-55 years old, an age of sufficient maturity and insight to construct an exercise as sophisticated and accomplished to create a similar kata.

After extensive research we were able to identify one older source by Mifune which provides evidence of him being intellectually occupied with the type of *nogare-kata* 遁れ方 [evasions] to throwing attacks that were so typical for him, and which preceded the application of *kaeshi-* or *ura-waza* in his *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. In fact, this represents the first sign of Mifune being linked to anything with a contextual relationship to *kaeshi-* or *ura-waza*. This document

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was published in the September issue of Jūdo from 1934 when Mifune held the rank of 8th dan, and was entitled: Mifune hachidan waza no setsumei: waza no konponmondai to hanegoshi no nogare-kata 三船八段技 の説明: 技の根本問題と跳腰の遁れ方 [Explanation of technique by 8th dan Mifune: the basic problems of technique and escaping hane-goshi] [50]. This paper is, however, not followed up by any similar articles by Mifune, at least not over the next four years. Eventual later writings by Mifune become somewhat irrelevant since Kanō died in 1938 and he allegedly was shown the kata by Mifune, hence we know it must have existed in 1938. Combining these various facts discussed above, the most precise time estimate we can make is that Mifune's nage-waza ura-no-kata likely was created between 1934 and 1938. We know presently of no source that would allow us to estimate more precisely the time of this *kata*'s date of creation.

Riai and objectives of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* practice

The term *riai* \mathbb{P} 合 [harmony of principles] in Japanese when referring to *budō* in general and the *kata* of *jūdō* in particular, implies adherence to and performance of appropriate action in conformance with combat theory of that discipline and that specific exercise. It means that a *jūdō kata* has to be practiced according to the principles and meaning it aims to convey.

The way the International Judo Federation (IJF) and *Kōdōkan* currently approach *kata* potentially raises similar risks for *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. These approaches have evolved into *kata* being expressed in terms of mistakes and points that are subtracted for deviations from some scripted text or taped performance, and where the ideal is an supposed to be a copy-cat demonstration of a alleged "gold standard". Such approach differs considerably from the aims of *kata* as defined by Kanō Jigorō who considered the objectives of *kata* practice similar to those of *randori* [free improvised exercise], *i.e.* improvement of one's *jūdō* skills and realizing the goals of *jūdō*. Itō Kazuo summarizes these goals as follows:

"柔道の技をひととおり覚えた人にとっては、その上 の技、奥の技、あるいは、それ以上深い技をきわね、 または掘りさげ、自然とその妙味を探究したくなるの は、当然のことであいましょう。"(...) [1, p.3].

[Transl.: "For people who remember $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ from start to end, there exists the additional dimension to technique, that what is the inexplicable in technique, or possibly the further expertise of timing of technique,

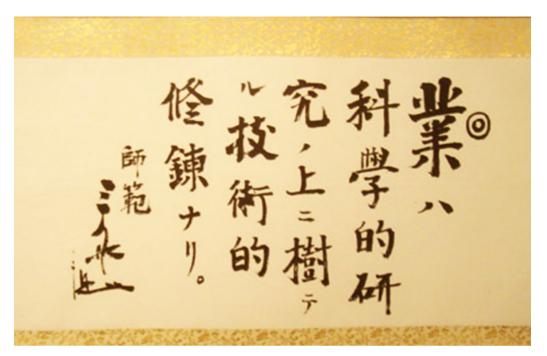


Figure 8(24). *Shodō* 書道 [calligraphy] by Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), Kōdōkan 10th dan. The text, written in classical Japanese, reads: "◎業ハ科學的研究, 上ニ樹テル技術的修錬ナリ。師範三船", which converted into modern Japanese is "◎技は学的研究、上に樹てる技術的 修錬なり。師範三船。", pronounced as "*Waza wa gakuteki kenkyū, ue ni juteru gijutsu-teki shūren nari. Mifune-shihan*", which means "Technique requires scholarly research, that needs to supplement technical practice". This aphorism well reflects Mifune's approach and contributions to *Kōdōkan jūdō*, as he devised several new techniques and *kata* at which he arrived as a result of his own research which he conducted after first thoroughly studying and mastering existing techniques. This calligraphy is held at the *Mifune Jūdan Kinenkan* 三船十段記念館 [Mifune 10th *dan* Museum] in Kuji 久慈市, in the Northeast of Iwate Prefecture 岩手県.

or the hidden core, and one can expect to come across the search for the exquisite and spontaneous."].

"柔道は、あくまでも実践躬行すべきもので、行を積み重ねることによって技が進み、精神修養ができ、みずからの人格の陶治ともなるのです。"(...)[1, p.3].

[Transl.: "In the end, advancing your technique and cultivating your own mind and personal character according to the circumstances should be the principles in *jūdo* that we live according to."].

"そのことによって、いわゆる妙技を得、神技に達し、 無我の境地における「技」の道を切り開くことができ ると思います。"(...) [1, p.4].

[Transl.: "At its ultimate goal, I think that it is about reaching the level of unexplainable, sophisticated technique, and achieving such divine technique becomes possible only when one is able to open up the path towards technique that occurs during a mental state of no-self."]. As one can promptly notice, these *kata*, objectives are very, very different from "repeating an exercise exactly as done (by another) and without supposed mistakes". In fact, no criteria of a mechanical nature are provided, nor anything that is to be expressed in scores. *Myōwaza* 妙技 [unexplainable sophisticated technique] is the goal, not copying something. This is not surprising given Mifune's own famous maxim "*Omyō zai renshin*" 奥妙在練心 [The unexplainable sophisticated technique is the result of training your heart].

Mifune has described the objectives of practicing *nage-waza ura-no-kata* in clear terms: (1) the illustration that $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ is limitless and, (2) the practice of this *kata* serving to illustrate that cardinal principle [15, p. 230] (Figure 8(24)). These aims are very important to understand for the practitioner in order to avoid this *kata* being approached by the same misunderstandings that have clouded the understanding of today's $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ *kata* practice in general. Recall, this is the misplaced idea that *kata* are supposed to be something demonstrated before juries who will then score deviations from



Figure 9(25). Ochiai Toshiyasu 落合俊保, Kōdōkan 8th dan (tori) and Hoshina Makoto 保科素, then Kōdōkan 7th dan (later 8th dan) (uke), showing formal bowing in ritsu-rei 立礼 [bowing in standing position] at the start and finish of nage-waza ura-no-kata (投業裏の形) [Forms of Counter throws] maintaining a modern tatami appropriate distance of 5.45-6m distance. Picture taken during a demonstration as part of a Jūdō Teachers Clinic held on Saturday, February 2nd, 2008 in Norwalk, CA (USA).

a supposed gold-standard with negative marks. As we have explained that has nothing to do with the purpose of *kata*.

TECHNICAL CONTENTS OF NAGE-WAZA URA-NO-KATA

Names of nage-waza ura-no-kata

The oldest source by Mifune dating from 1937-1942 calls this exercise *randori nage-ura-no-kata* 乱取投 業裏の形 omitting the word *waza* [technique] [49]. Why Mifune later dropped the word *randori* is not known, but he certainly considered this *kata* a *randori-no-kata* together with *nage-no-kata* and *katameno-kata*. Perhaps Mifune made the change to avoid a clash with Kanō who apparently did not want to revise the original concept of his *randori-no-kata*. Mifune in all of his publications from the 1950s and later used the name *nage-waza ura-no-kata* or *nageura-no-kata*. It is, of course, also possible the change is merely an artifact without any further meaning.

After Mifune's death in 1965, Itō Kazuo often referred to the *kata* as *nage no ura-waza kenkyū* [1²⁶]. Perhaps Itō's choice was an update in the light of the *kata* not before having been accepted by the *Kōdōkan* and such with the death of Mifune becoming even more unlikely. To that extent it is possible that Itō decided to drop the suffix "*no-kata*" [Forms] in its entirety and settled for simply using "*no-kenkyū*". The most correct way of handling this is to stick with the choice of the exercise's original author and continue to use *nage-waza ura-no-kata* 投業裏の形 [Forms of Reversing Throwing Techniques] and the *kanji* chosen by Mifune.

Reihō in nage-waza ura-no-kata

With regard to the reibō 礼法 [etiquette] in nage-waza ura-no-kata, the position of both partners is reversed when, compared to how it is in the more well-known nage- or katame-no-kata, and thus tori having the shōmen 正面 [main front side] to his right, just like in jū-no-kata, joshi jūdō goshinhō, Kōdōkan Goshinjutsu and koshiki-no-kata. In the day Mifune performed his kata the initial distance between both jūdōka was 4m, as it is shown in the 1955 film [10], whilst in Mifune's oldest known demonstration [49] the distance between both jūdōka is further reduced to only one tatami length). The Kōdōkan's description of the kata also mentions a distance of 2m between both jūdōka:

"技の変化の妙を、15本の形にまとめたもので、練 習すれ場合は、約2mの間隔をとり、受、取、互い に自然本体で相対し、心をこめて礼をした後、互 いに静かんに近寄り、右自然ホ本体に組み、まず 受から動作を開始する。"(...) [3, p. 238].

[Transl.: These refined technical variations are arranged in a series of 15 techniques that are practiced after *tori* and *uke* take up their position at relative distances of approximately 2m while standing in natural *shizen hontai* position facing each other, and after they first sincerely bow to each other calmly

²⁶ Notably on pages 8, 11, and 13.

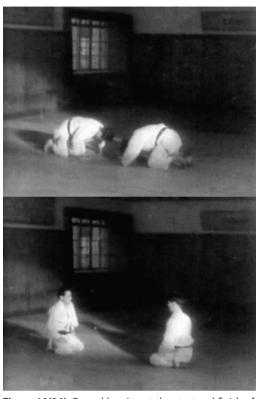


Figure 10(26). Formal bowing at the start and finish of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* (投業裏の形) [Forms of Counter throws] originally is clearly *zarei* 座礼 [bowing in seated position], as shown here by Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), then still Kōdōkan 9th dan (later 10th dan), and his *deshi* 弟子 [pupil] Shirai Sei'ichi 白井清一 (1902-1972), then still Kōdōkan 6th dan (later 9th dan). Note that the way *zarei* in *nage-waza ura-no-kata* at the time also was performed similarly to how it is done today in *koshiki-no-kata* 古式の 形 [The Antique Forms], thus with the toes of both feet still in the *tatami*, buttocks lifted up from the heels. Picture is a snapshot from the oldest known recording of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* and likely dating from between 1937-1942 [49].

approach one another, grab each other in right *shizen hontai*, with *uke*²⁷ now starting the first movement.].

However, 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* 問, the old Japanese measure of surface length commonly used in architecture, in which 1 *ken* is 1.818m or 5.965 feet)²⁸ which was generally imple-

mented after revisions in the 1970s to conform to the large IJF-size *shiai tatami* with the broad red borders. Therefore, in modern versions, such as the one by Ochiai [51], the *kata* performance conforms to the wider distance common in nearly all modern *Kōdōkan kata*, except for *joshi jūdō goshinhō*.

Firstly, both partners make a quarter turn towards the shomen and bow to the shomen. They then turn back and bow to each other. All modern demonstrations of nage-waza ura-no-kata [51-54], as well as those by Mifune in the 1955 film [10] or those by his students Ito [1] and Sugata [55], contrary to nageand katame-no-kata perform ritsu-rei 立礼 [bowing] in standing position] (Figure 9(25)). This perhaps comes across as an inconsistency considering that this kata was intended by Mifune as a randori-nokata and both of Kanō's randori-no-kata make use of zarei 座礼 [bowing in seated position]. Surprisingly, in the oldest known source of nage-waza ura-no-kata which provides a filmed demonstration by Mifune, then still 9th dan, and Shirai, then still 6th dan, and likely dating from between 1937-1942, it is clearly zarei 座礼 at the start and end! The way zarei was then performed in nage-waza ura-no-kata is similar to how it is done today in koshiki-no-kata 古式の形 [The Antique Forms], thus with the toes of both feet still in the tatami, buttocks lifted up from the heels and torso being held somewhat stiffer (Figure 10(26)). It is not known why Mifune, in later publications, elected to no longer perform zarei 座礼 [bowing in seated position], as he nowhere provided any rationale for this amendment. Perhaps this was a conscious choice after him deciding to abandon putting the prefix 'randori' before the name of his kata, but it is also possible that it may just have become a habit to make a less formal bow. In our opinion, considering the character and intent of nage-waza ura-no-kata the formal seated bow would be most appropriate during enbu 演武 [public martial arts demonstrations]. However, we also realize the difficulty that accompanies defending that rationale in the light of the publications and recordings familiar to most people, with showing the contrary.

After completing the bowing procedure both *jūdōka* make one large step forward to each other to signify "opening the *kata*".

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'.



²⁷ It seems that the Japanese description refers to the person initially taking the initiative as *uke*. However, in a *kata* of counter techniques, it is common for the person who takes the initiative to attack to be referred to as *uke*, with the person concluding the counter being referred to as *tori*.

²⁸ 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

Table 1(2). Structural and functional overview of the techniques contained in nage-waza ura-no-kata. After De Crée [2]. NAGE-WAZA URA-NO-KATA

	投業裏の形 [FORMS OF REVERSING THROWING TECHNIQUES]
	I. Dai ikkyō 第一教 [First group]: Te-waza 手技 [Hand-throwing techniques]
	 Uki-otoshi 浮落 → tai-otoshi (hidari) 体落 (左) Ippon-seoi-nage 一本背負投 → yoko-guruma 横車† Kata-guruma 肩車 → sumi-gaeshi 隅返† Tai-otoshi 体落 → ko-tsuri-goshi (hidari) 小釣腰 (左) Obi-otoshi 带落 → ō-guruma 大車
	II. Dai nikkyō 第二教 [Second group]: Ashi-waza 足技 [Leg-throwing techniques]
-	 Okuri-ashi-barai 送足払→tsubame-gaeshi (hidari) 燕返 (左) Ko-uchi-gari 小内刈→hiza-guruma (hidari) 膝車 (左) Ō-uchi-gari 大内刈→ō-uchi-gari-gaeshi 大内刈返‡ Sasae-tsuri-komi-ashi 支釣込足→sumi-otoshi 隅落 Uchi-mata 内股→tai-otoshi (hidari) 体落 (左) \$

III. Dai sankyō 第三教 [Third group]: Koshi-waza 腰技 [Hip-throwing techniques]

Hane-aoshi 跳腰→kari-aaeshi 刈返 11.

- 12.
- Harai-goshi 払腰→ushiro-goshi 後腰 Han-goshi 半腰→utsushi-goshi (hidari) 移腰 (左) 13.
- 14. Uki-goshi 浮腰→yoko-wakare 横分
- Ō-qoshi大腰→ippon-seoi-nage一本背負投 15.

† In the oldest recording of Mifune [49] the order of the second and third technique are switched, with kata-guruma hence preceding seoi-nage. ‡ On Mifune's latest recording which was likely completed after the contents for his books that feature this *kata* were completed, Mifune counters with tomoe-nage [hidari] 巴投 [左] rather than o-uchi-gari-gaeshi 大内刈返 [10]. Mifune's filmed demonstration from 1937-1942 corresponds to how it is described in his books. For this reason, and because Mifune is not known to have ever issued a formal statement that the countering technique should be changed to *tomoe-nage*, this later change is not normally retained) § The oldest available source [49] uses slightly different terminology here mentioning *uchi-mata o sukashi ni tai-otoshi* 内股を際に体落, whereas

later publications by Mifune no longer explicitly mention the word sukashi which indicates that the uchi-mata attack is side-stepped and avoided. $|| \bar{O}$ -soto-gari 大外刈 $\rightarrow \bar{o}$ -goshi 大腰 [added by Itō after #5].

Structure and technical contents of nage-waza ura-no-kata and its relationship to nage-no-kata

The structure of Mifune's nage-waza ura-no-kata has obvious parallels with Kanō's nage-no-kata 投の形 [Forms of throwing]. Both contain fifteen techniques, but their organization is somewhat different. Nage-nokata contains five groups (te-waza 手技 [hand techniques], koshi-waza 腰技 [hip techniques], ashi-waza 足技 [leg techniques], ma-sutemi-waza 真捨身技 [back-sacrifice techniques], yoko-sutemi-waza 橫捨 身技 [sideways-sacrifice techniques]) of three techniques, whereas nage-waza ura-no-kata instead contains three groups of five techniques omitting both sutemi-waza 捨身技 [sacrifice techniques] series. This change was unavoidable given that, in general, it is not possible to still counter sutemi-waza with another throw since in most cases the attacker will already be lying on the ground meaning that he no longer can be actually thrown. Only in some rare cases (e.g. tomoenage 巴投 [circle throw] + ko-soto-gake 小外掛 [minor outer hook]) it is possible to counter *sutemi-waza* with another throw before the attacker has landed on the ground with his body. Mifune solved this conundrum by expanding the contents of the three original nageno-kata non-sutemi-waza series from three to five techniques. In this way he was able to maintain the same total number of techniques as contained in nage-nokata. A schematic overview of the structure of nagewaza ura-no-kata is provided in Table 1(2).

One thing that is very noticeable is that, for unknown reasons, Mifune switched the position of koshi-waza and ashi-waza. In nage-no-kata they represent the second and third group, respectively, but in nage-waza ura-no-kata, ashi-waza comes before koshi-waza.

As to the organization of techniques within Mifune's nage-waza ura-no-kata, in general the three techniques of the first three sets of nage-no-kata were retained as attacking techniques. However, the position of each original nage-no-kata technique within the nage-waza ura-no-kata is not entirely consistent. Only in nagewaza ura-no-kata's te-waza, do the first three techniques appear precisely as they do in nage-no-kata. However, even there, at least in the oldest recording available of nage-waza ura-no-kata kata-guruma

precedes seoi-nage [49]. It is not known when and why Mifune in all of his later books and film recordings reversed their order [10, 11, 13, 15]. In the ashi-waza set the original nage-no-kata techniques appear in positions #1, #4 and #5. In the third set (koshi-waza) of nage-waza ura-no-kata the changes are even more pronounced, and the three nage-no-kata techniques then appear in positions #2, #3, and #4, but no longer in the same order; harai-goshi 拂腰29 [sweeping hip throw] now comes in position #2 representing the first koshiwaza technique retained from nage-no-kata, whereas uki-goshi 浮腰 [floating hip throw] instead of coming first now comes in position #4. Tsuri-komi-goshi 釣込 腰 [lifting pulling hip throw] had its name changed to han-goshi 半腰 [semi-hip throw], which is non-standard Kodokan terminology. "Han-goshi" indicates that the hip is not fully inserted and that the person performing it only reaches half of the normal position he needs to effect the throw. So far, no document has been retrieved in which Mifune elaborates about his reasoning for these amendments and why he did not simply maintain the nage-no-kata throws as the first three techniques of each group and in the same order.

There is another major difference as to how some of the techniques retained from nage-no-kata are performed in nage-waza ura-no-kata. In nage-no-kata four techniques are not started with the *jūdōka* taking grips in either shisentai 自然体 [natural stance] or jigotai 自護 体 [defensive stance]. These four techniques are seoinage in te-waza [hand-techniques], uki-goshi in koshiwaza [hip-techniques], ura-nage in ma-sutemi-waza [back-lying sacrifice techniques], and yoko-guruma in yoko-sutemi-waza [side-lying sacrifice techniques]. In all four, *uke* in *nage-no-kata* attacks with *atemi-waza* ≚ 身技 [strikes at the body's vital points] directed at toris head. These atemi-waza are omitted in nage-waza urano-kata likely because it would confound who is the actual attacker (uke, in the kata). Since the last two series of sutemi-waza from nage-no-kata are not retained in nage-waza ura-no-kata the issue only applies to seoi-nage in te-waza (first series) and to uki-goshi in koshi-waza (third series, contrary to nage-no-kata where koshi-waza is the second series). These two techniques in nage-waza ura-no-kata are now performed in a three-step action by uke, before tori counters.

As in *nage-no-kata*, the last technique of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* is also performed in *jigotai* 自護体 [defensive stance]. Contrary to *nage-no-kata* where all techniques that start in *jigotai* end in

sutemi-waza, the one technique in *nage-waza ura-no-kata* to start out of *jigotai* is *ō-goshi* 大腰 [major hip throw] which is countered by another standing throw (*ippon-seoi-nage* 一本背負投 [one-point back-carry throw])³⁰.

All techniques are performed in go no sen 後の先³¹ [post-attack reversing initiative] 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,先の先 [same-time initiative] or *ki no deai* 気の出合 [instinctive response] [56].³²

We note that in Mifune's published film recording [10] which was likely completed after the contents for his books that feature this *kata* [11,13,15] were finished, Mifune counters with *tomoe-nage (bidari)* 巴投(左) rather than \bar{o} -uchi-gari-gaeshi 大内刈返 [10]. Mifune's first known filmed demonstration, that is almost two decades older [49], corresponds to how it is described in his books, *i.e.* with the counter being \bar{o} -uchi-gari-gaeshi (Figure 11(27)). For this

²⁹ In the oldest source available likely dating from 1937-1942 [49] the name of the technique *barai-goshi* [sweeping hip throw] is written with the classical *kanji* 拂腰 rather than with the simplified *kanji* 払腰.

³⁰ This technique is performed somewhat differently by Mifune in the 1955 recording when compared to his 1937–1942 rendition. In the oldest available version, starting from right defensive position (*migi-jigotai*), *uke* brings his left foot forward and while pivoting on the left foot turns in to the front for $\bar{\sigma}$ -goshi [49]. However, in the version recorded almost two decades later, *uke* while standing in right defensive position (*migi-jigotai*), starts walking backwards with his left foot, right foot following, while attempting $\bar{\sigma}$ -goshi, with *tori* taking over the action pushing *uke* further backwards while locking *uke's* right arm hence forcing *uke* to make multiple passes backwards. While these mechanical differences are interesting, they are not of great importance since the mere copying of a *kata* is not the purpose of practicing it, as clearly pointed out by Mifune.

³¹ go no sen 後の先 also sometimes referred to as go-sen no sen 後,先 の先.

³² 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 (1584?-1645), commonly known as Miyamoto Musashi 宮本武蔵: ken no sen 懸の先 [seizing the initiative or "the first strike"], tai no sen 待の先 [same-time initiative], and taitai no sen 待待の先 [accompanying and forestalling] [57, p. 81-84]. In classical martial arts these methods represent koroshite saki o toru höhō 殺して先を取る方法 [Methods to take the initially to execute the kill], which in Ködökan jūdö 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。"(...) [3, p. 273] [transl.: Before the opponent can complete a technique, oneself must take the initiative]. Similarly to so many things in *Kõdõkan* jūdo 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: 神気不動にして、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.

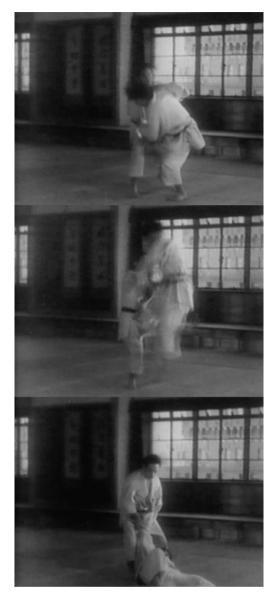


Figure 11(27). Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), then still Kōdōkan 9th dan (later 10th dan), and his deshi 弟 子 [pupil] Shirai Sei'ichi 白井清一 (1902-1972), then still Kōdōkan 6th dan (later 9th dan), can be seen performing ō-uchi-gari-gaeshi 大内刈返 [major inner reap counter], as a way to reverse an ō-uchi-gari 大内刈 [major inner reap] attack in the 3rd technique of the 2nd series of nage-waza ura-no-kata (投業裏の形) [Forms of counter throws]. Note that in the later 1955 recording [10] Mifune would counter with tomoe-nage (hidari) 巴投 (左) [circle throw] instead. It is not known whether this was intended as a formal amendment to the kata. Picture is a snapshot from the oldest known recording of nage-waza ura-no-kata and likely dating from between 1937-1942 [49].

reason, and because Mifune is not known to have ever issued a formal statement that the countering technique should be changed to *tomoe-nage*, this later change is normally omitted. We also note that Itō Kazuo is the only author proposing an extra technique after *uchi-mata* in the second series, hence increasing the number of techniques of this series to six, and the total number of techniques in this *kata* to 16. The sequence he proposes, is a counter to \bar{o} -soto-gari 大外刈 [major outer reaping throw] with \bar{o} -goshi 大腰 [major hip throw] (Figure 12(28)) [1, p. 38]. No other student of Mifune mentions this amendment and there is no trace of any authorization (by Mifune) of such addition in any of Mifune's known publications and writings. Moreover, such addition would distort the mathematical balance of the *kata*. For these reasons, we believe that Itō's suggestion, as valuable and effective as it might be as a technique, should not be retained.

Contrary again to *nage-no-kata*, all techniques in *nage-waza ura-no-kata* are performed to only one side although several of the counters must be performed to the left in response to an initial right attacking throw so as to be effective. *Tori* and *uke* do not switch positions, and after each technique but take up the same position. Similarly, to *nage-no-kata* after concluding each series, *tori* and *uke* return to their starting position (after opening the *kata*), and while facing the outside of the *tatami*, have an opportunity to adjust their clothing, before making half a turn and continuing with the next series, or after the third series, by closing the *kata*.

Closure of the *kata* is, as can be expected, the same as the *reihō* in the beginning but in reverse order.

KEY POINTS REGARDING THE REPOSITIONING OF THE *KUMI-KATA* IN *NAGE-WAZA URA-NO-KATA*

Kumi-kata 組方 [hand grip] change by tori

In several techniques of *nage-waza ura-no-kata, tori* changes his right-hand grip of his right hand from *uke*'s left lapel to *uke*'s left sleeve. When considering the various historic film recordings that exist of Mifune and his students performing *nage-waza ura-no-kata* one might notice different approaches to these changes in *kumi-kata* [58, 59]. The following paragraphs are intended to clarify the meaning of these *kumi-kata* changes and how different expert *jūdō* instructors approached these instances of repositioning the hands in their own way.

Tori changing the grip of the right hand from *uke*'s lapel to gripping the sleeve either "from above" or "from below"

We observed two general ways for *tori* to bring his right hand from *uke's* left lapel to *uke's* left sleeve:

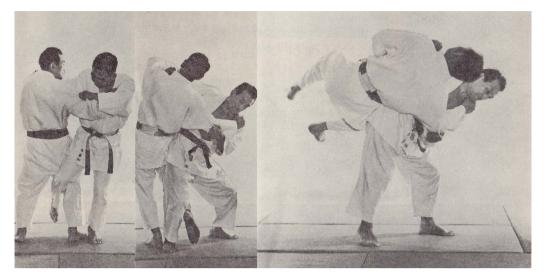


Figure 12(28). The late Itō Kazuo-*sensei* 伊藤四男 (1898-1974), *Kōdōkan* 9th *dan* (*tori*) and Satō Shizuya 佐藤静彌 (1929-2011), *Kōdōkan* 6th *dan* (*uke*) countering *ō-soto-gari* 大外刈 [major outer reaping throw] with *ō-goshi* 大腰 [major hip throw] (From [1, p. 38]). This technique was added by Itō as a "sixth technique" of the third and final series (*koshi-waza* [hip techniques]) of in *nage-waza ura-no-kata* (投業裏の形) [Forms of counter throws] bringing its total number of techniques to 16. This technique does not appear in any of Mifune's writings and is not retained by any other known disciples of Mifune.

there is the "short route" route which involves gripping the sleeve from above either at the height of the *uke*'s left biceps or elbow, and there is the "long route" that requires for *tori* to drop his right hand all the way under *uke*'s left arm to grip *uke*'s left sleeve from underneath [58, 59]. Which one of the abovementioned two options is to be preferred depends on multiple factors:

- Differences in stature between tori and uke.
- Importance of the pulling and lifting effect when considering the specificity of the intended counter technique.
- Sleeve length of uke's uwagi 上衣 [jūdōgi jacket].

If tori is significantly taller than uke, then gripping from above is easier to achieve. If, however, tori is significantly smaller than *uke*, it may be the other way around [58, 59]. If tori elects to grip uke's arm from the underneath, then this will result in tori's arm being in exorotation, which may, by some, be perceived as relatively inconvenient. It is not more inconvenient per se, but it requires higher level of motor skills, *i.e.* having developed excellent ability to use the wrist independently from the arm. In our experience, only the most skilled technical jūdoka have developed such ability. If one does not possess that technical knowhow, then this type of gripping is often perceived as more suitable for lifting. Furthermore, if uke is wearing an uwagi with relatively wide sleeves, then tori, when gripping from underneath, by pronating his right hand can create a handle in order to improve control of his grip on *uke* [58, 59]. This is harder to achieve when gripping from above, which would then require gripping a larger amount of the fabric of the *uwagi* in one's hand.

In the light of these concerns many *jūdōka* might wonder which grip they should choose. This way of thinking, however, is probably not the proper approach, since the purpose of practicing *kata* is improving one's technique it is advisable to practice both alternatives.

Tori changing the grip of the right hand to perform counter-techniques from the right.

When *tori* counters *uke's kata-guruma* 肩車 with *sumi-gaeshi* 隅返, *tori* switches his grip from *uke's* left lapel to *uke's* left armpit after completion of the second step and at the moment when *uke* enters the throw.

Furthermore, depending on the difference in height between *tori* and *uke* a problem may arise in performing *sasae-tsuri-komi-ashi* 支约込足 countered by *sumi-otoshi* 隅落. If *tori* is considerably smaller than *uke*, it is challenging to sufficiently lunge forward to generate enough momentum to successfully perform *sumi-otoshi* [58, 59]. This is particularly so when *tori*'s skills in performing this technically difficult throw are limited. The problem of distance can, however, be successfully overcome by ensuring tight control on *uke*'s *jūdōgi* and optimizing the time of the *kake* [execution phase].

Tori changing the grip of the right hand to perform counter-techniques from the left.

For *tori*, repositioning the right hand in left countertechniques serves two purposes:

- Better control of the pulling action on *uke*'s left sleeve to achieve throws from the left.
- Control to ensure proper *ukemi* [breakfalls] for *uke*.

There are six instances in *nage-waza ura-nokata* where *tori* performs his counter-techniques $(\rightarrow = \text{countered by})$ from the left:

- Uki-otoshi 浮落 → tai-otoshi (hidari) 体落 (左)
- Tai-otoshi 体落 → ko-tsuri-goshi (hidari) 小釣腰 (左)
- Okuri-ashi-barai 送足払 → tsubame-gaeshi (hidari) 燕返(左)
- Ko-uchi-gari 小内刈 → hiza-guruma (hidari) 膝車 (左)
- Uchi-mata 内股 → tai-otoshi (hidari) 体落(左)
- Han-goshi 半腰 → utsushi-goshi (hidari) 移腰 (左)

It is, in this context, opportune to examine the importance of repositioning the hands for each of the above-mentioned counter-techniques.

For the first technique (uki- $otoshi \rightarrow tai$ -otoshi [hidari]) it would easily be possible to perform the counter without *tori* repositioning his right hand from uke's left lapel to uke's left arm (Figure 13(29)). In fact, this is how it often occurs in *randori-geiko* 乱取稽古 [free practice fight] if electing to perform a left throw while maintaining right *kumi-kata* [grip]. Nevertheless, in *nage-waza ura-no-kata* for the sake of *uke*'s safety in performing *ukemi* [breakfalls] and to facilitate this process, *tori's* right hand is repositioned to the lapel as indicated [58, 59].

The more important question is "when exactly in these techniques should the repositioning of *tori*'s right hand occur ?" In the case of uki-otoshi \rightarrow tai-otoshi (hidari) the answer is straightforward. Because the pulling action by *tori* on *uke*'s left arm is crucial to break the balance in countering with *tai-otoshi*, the repositioning must occur before *uke*'s attack. In other words, the repositioning of *tori*'s hands must come no later than during the second *tsugi-ashi* 継ぎ足 [elongated stepping] step.

For the five other techniques to the left, *tori* has the option to reposition his hands either before *uke's* attack (*i.e.* during the second *tsugi-ashi* step), during *uke's* attack (*okuri-ashi-barai*, *ko-uchi-gari*, *han-goshi*), or even after the first phase of the *kake* [execution phase] action of counter-technique has already been completed (*tai-otoshi* \rightarrow *ko-tsuri-goshi* [*hidari*], *uchi-mata* \rightarrow *tai-otoshi* [*hidari*], *han-goshi* \rightarrow *utsushi-goshi* [*hidari*])

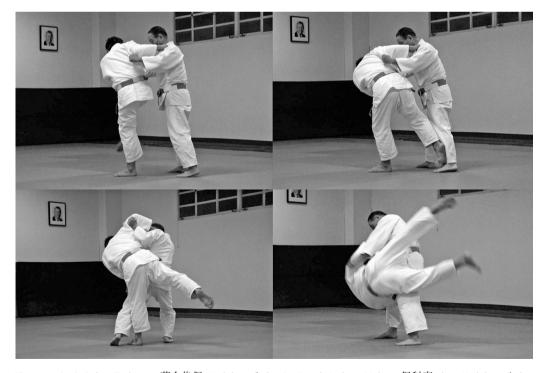


Figure 13(29). Ochiai Toshiyasu 落合俊保, Kōdōkan 8th dan (tori) and Hoshina Makoto 保科素, then Kōdōkan 7th dan (later 8th dan) (uke) showing how to counter an attack with uchi-mata 内股 [inner thigh throw] by tai-otoshi (hidari) 体落 (左) [body drop] in the 5th technique of the 2nd series of nage-waza ura-no-kata (投業裏の形) [Forms of counter throws] during a demonstration as part of a Jūdō Teachers Clinic held on Saturday, February 2nd, 2008 in Norwalk, CA (USA).

[58, 59]. While this is all possible, nevertheless, as a general rule, it is recommended that *tori* consistently repositions his hands during the second *tsugi-ashi* step for these techniques too. This is how Mifune typically performs it in the films that have survived [10, 49]. On the other hand, repositioning the hands only at the very last moment would, perhaps, be more realistic for the purpose of *randori*, but is more difficult to achieve because of the critical timing [58, 59].

Kumi-kata 組方 [hand grip] changes by uke

In principle, *uke's* gripping preceding his attacks, remains standard and consistent, as explained before. However, there are four instances that require some further attention:

- When uke attacks with harai-goshi 払腰 [sweeping hip throw] in the third series of nage-waza ura-nokata, he does so with standard grip, thus without placing his right hand on tori's left shoulder blade as is done in nage-no-kata.
- We have already indicated that when uke attacks with uki-goshi 浮腰 [floating hip throw] in nage-waza ura-no-kata, this is done without a preceding atemi 当身 [attack to the body's vital points] as it is in nage-no-kata. However, there is another difference, since uke during the second phase will now place his right hand on tori's left shoulder blade exactly as is done in nage-no-kata when performing harai-goshi there.
- When *uke* attacks with *kata-guruma* 肩車 [shoulder wheel] we note that, contrary to *nage-no-kata*, this throw is attempted without repositioning his left hand to the inside of *toris* right arm in the second step.
- We also note that in *obi-otoshi* 带落 [belt-control drop] there appear to be two gripping alternatives for *uke*. In Mifune's oldest recording [49] the attacker grabs the belt from below (see Figure 7(23) earlier), but in the later recording [10] *uke* grabs the belt from above, which is also what we observe in Sugata's and in Ochiai's recording [51, 55]. Either option does not significantly alter the essence of technique hence *uke* is at liberty to choose the option he pleases.

LEARNING TEXTS AND MATERIALS FOR *NAGE-WAZA URA-NO-KATA* IN THE SPECIALIZED JŪDŌ LITERATURE

1954 – Mifune Kyūzō – *Jūdō Kyōten — Michi to Jutsu* [13] 1956 – Mifune Kyūzō

- Canon of Judo. Principle and Technique [15] 1965 – Mifune Kyūzō
- Jūdō no Shinzui Michi to Jutsu [11]

Mifune's *Canon of Judo* [15] is one of the world's most famous *jūdō* books. It was published in 1956

and is an English translation of the Japanese text $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ $Ky\bar{o}ten$ — Michi to Jutsu [13], which had been published two years earlier. J $\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ no Shinzui — Michi to Jutsu [11] is a posthumously published revised edition for which the original text was retained but expanded with the news of Mifune's death, funeral and other memorial items. The description and photographs of nage-waza ura-no-kata (referred to as nage-ura-no-kata in these books) is identical in all three. This text is probably the definitive reference standard for the kata given that it represents the words of its creator who is also performing the kata. The role of uke is performed by Mifune's faithful deshi Shirai Sei'ichi, who in 1954 when the book was first published, held the rank of 8th dan.

1970 – Itō Kazuo 伊藤四男

- Jūdō no nage- to katame-no-ura-waza [1]

Itō Kazuo 伊藤四男 was an uchi-deshi 家弟子 [livein apprentice] to Mifune Kyūzō, held the rank of Kodokan 9th dan, and stated that he held an academic doctorate (a D.Sc. or Rigaku hakase 理学博士) [1]. In 1970 he published a book in Japanese devoted to both the nage-waza ura-no-kata and the katame-noura-waza kenkyū. All techniques are demonstrated by Itō-sensei in the role of tori, and Satō Shizuya33 佐藤 静彌, 6th dan as uke. The book has been out of print for quite some time. The photographs are not stellar in quality and because the text is in Japanese only, most Westerners will be just examining the pictures ending up with different interpretations of what exactly is shown. Contributing to this concern is the absence of any photographs of the preparatory steps. Instead, Itō has chosen to only provide pictures of the actual attacking and countering throws. Undoubtedly adding to the confusion are alternative countering options which Ito sometimes provides.

1999 - Kanō Yukimitsu 嘉納行光, et al. - Jūdō Daijiten [3]

The $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ Daijiten contains a detailed description of approximately 1.5 pages long of the various steps in performing *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. The information is largely drawn from the last published version of Mifune's own text [11]. In addition, there is a concise statement of the $K\bar{o}d\bar{o}kan$'s position regarding this *kata* and the goals of the *kata*. The descriptions are not accompanied by any pictures or drawings.



³³ This is the very same Satō Shizuya 佐藤静彌 (1929-2011) who later became celebrated because of his role in the creation (1951) and management of the Kokusai Budöin ~ Kokusai Budö Renmei 国 際武道院•国際武道聯盟, internationally better known under its English name International Martial Arts Federation or its acronym I.M.A.F. Satō-sensei used to be a secretary to the Ködökan's International Department since 1949.

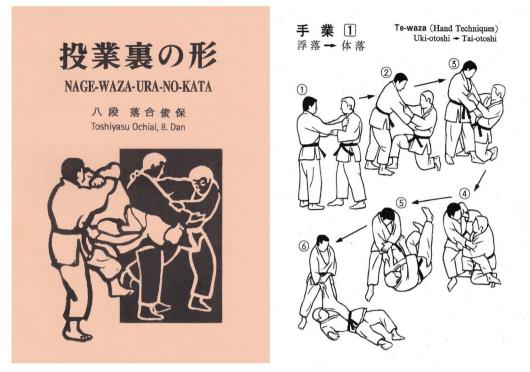


Figure 14(30). Front cover of Ochiai Toshiyasu's 落合俊保 self-published *Nage-waza ura-no-kata* (投業裏の形) [Forms of Counter throws] learning booklet. This booklet contains line drawings of the *kata*, but does not provide any explanatory notes or background. In the past it was distributed at minimal cost [61].

No date – Virgil J. Bowles

– Nage ura no kata (Forms of Counter-Throwing) – Guidelines & General Information [60]

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

2008 – Ochiai Toshiyasu – Nage-waza ura-no-kata [61] Ochiai Toshiyasu, 8th dan, is the nephew of the late Kuhara Yoshiyuki, 9th dan, who was a student of Mifune. Ochiai learnt the nage-waza ura-nokata from his uncle who made a commitment to keep a number of rare and obsolete kata in practice, including this kata and gō-no-kata 剛の形 [Forms of proper use of strength]. Ochiai teaches this kata every year for the Dōyūkai [Association of the Friends of the Way] and prepared a 16-page brochure with black line drawings illustrating each technique (Figure 14(30)). There is no text describing the techniques, background or history in the brochure, which is made available at no cost. For those reasons the brochure represents a good practical quick-reference guide on the tatami rather than a resource for serious research.

2009 – Marco Marzagalli – *I Kaeshi-no-Kata nel Judo* [62]

This Italian author simply copied all the pictures of *nage-ura-no-kata* from the Mifune's Canon of Judo [15] and translated the text from English into Italian. The part that is original is a chapter preceding the *kata* and a chapter at the end of the book where the author comments on the principles of *kaeshi-no-kata* and makes some comparisons with *gonosen-no-kata*. Unfortunately, the comments are all neither referenced nor backed up by literature sources. Additionally, they reflect an absence of knowledge of the Japanese and historic literature. With the sole exception of native Italian speakers who do not understand English, the book is of little interest.

2012 – Norbert Fahrig, et al. – *Lehrhilfe zur*

Prüfungsvorbereitung Nage-waza-ura-no-kata [63] In 2012 Fahrig, and two colleagues, produced a 16-page brochure on *nage-waza ura-no-kata* (in German) for the *Judoverband Sachsen e.V.* of the *Deutsche Judo Bund* [German Judo Federation] to assist its members with the preparation for their 3rd *dan* black belt promotion exam. The brochure seems to consist largely of a compilation of drawings taken from Ochiai [61] and text that shows similarities with text that appears in sources such as Dax-Romswinkel [48, 58, 59], unfortunately all without referencing the original sources ... However, the brochure is freely downloadable from the Internet, and is very clear in its structure making it a useful aid for practice on the *tatami*. Nevertheless, its approach focuses entirely on the mechanics of the *kata*, which sadly is not very much in line with the objectives of Mifune and the *riai* of this *kata*.

2014 - Wolfgang Dax-Romswinkel

-Nage-waza-ura-no-Kata - Teil 1-15 [48]

From February 2013 through May 2014, Wolfgang Dax-Romswinkel published a 15-part article in the German periodical Der Budoka. Dax-Romswinkel is a committed jūdo pedagogue and a knowledgeable and successful kata competitor who is a threefold European champion³⁴ and the 2014 World champion in jū-no-kata. Considering that Germany now is the only country where this kata is an option on the rank promotion program (for 3rd dan), one of the objectives of the text was to provide transparent and tothe-point explanations, with careful attention being paid to a variety of points that otherwise might cause confusion. The text is accompanied by clear, large pictures taken from different angles. Furthermore, Dax-Romswinkel discusses the historic background of some of the throws involved. Particularly valuable is that this text also considers differences which the author observed between the demonstrations by the kata's most knowledgeable performers, i.e. Mifune Kyūzō [10], Sugata Setsuo [55], and Ochiai Toshiyasu [51]. For all these reasons, this is one of the recommended resources, particularly for those practitioners who desire to master the kata beyond its surface.

2014 – Benjamin Rott et al. – *Judo-Nage-waza-ura-no-kata* [64]

Rott et al. in 2014 published a 20-page brochure on nage-waza ura-no-kata in German which is freely available for downloading from the Internet [64]. The text and information seems to be largely drawn from the series of articles by Dax-Romwinkel [48] although only Mifune's film [10] and his Canon of Judo in English [15] and German appear as references. However, rather than pictures, new line drawings were made which allow techniques to be explained on a limited paper surface, and which are not hampered by shadows and poor lighting conditions. The structure of the brochure is clear and to the point which makes it a useful aid for practice, although it focuses only on the mechanics of the kata and in this way it too fundamentally differs from the objectives of Mifune and the riai of this kata.

³⁴ 2013, 2014 and 2015.

AUDIOVISUAL INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS FOR NAGE-WAZA URA-NO-KATA

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

1937/1942 – Mifune Kyūzō – Jūdō Higi – Nihon Butoku [DVD] [49]

This recording is no doubt the best available recording of the *kata*, at that time still called *randori-nageura-no-kata*. In this rare recording Mifune was at the zenith of his abilities and being between 54 and 59 years old. In the film one notes the more logical seated bow at the beginning and end of the *kata*, which for reasons not known, did not appear in the later version. The techniques are as described in the *Canon of Judo* hence without the substitution of the \bar{o} -*uchigari-gaeshi* by *tomoe-nage* as a counter to \bar{o} -*uchi-gari*. Mifune then still a 9th *dan* performs all techniques with his faithful *deshi* Shirai Sei'ichi, then still 6th *dan*, acting as his *uke*.

1955 – Mifune Kyūzō – *Shingi Mifune Jūdan [kanzenhan]: Jūdō no Shinzui* [16mm, VHS or DVD] [10]

This recording is the most famous. As part of a 1955 film project, published on DVD in 2005, Mifune demonstrated nage-waza ura-no-kata, itsutsu-nokata, and his personal goshinjutsu. Mifune at this point in time the most famous jūdo 10th dan ever, is about 72 years old, but still remarkably energetic. In terms of swiftness, speed and timing the performance is hardly less impressive than the less wellknown one, taped almost two decades earlier. Again, his uke is his faithful deshi Shirai Sei'ichi, by then 8th dan. In this film the initial and final bow are standing, which is how it has since been performed by others, but it remains unclear if this is perhaps a mistake, or conscious choice and, if so, why? Likely this is because kata were never intended to become overstandardized as they often appear today, and the type of bowing hence was chosen proper for the occasion. One also notes the substitution of *ō*-uchi-gari-gaeshi for tomoe-nage as a counter to o-uchi-gari, for which no known explanation by Mifune has survived, making it unclear if he was either just improvising due to a lapse in memory or was experimenting with the idea of making an amendment to his kata. Therefore, people using this film as a learning tool should be aware of this difference and should probably adhere to the earlier counter as documented in several of Mifune's books [11, 13, 15] and his earlier recording which has survived [49].



Figure 15(31). Sugata Setsuo 姿節雄 (1917-1999), later 9th dan, deshi of Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), Kōdōkan 10th dan, and since 1951 Mifune's successor as *shihan* [head teacher] of the Jūdō Department of Meiji University, here pictured during practice at the *Chika Dōjō*, unknown date. Against the wall one can see a *kakejiku* 掛け軸 [hanging scroll] calligraphed by Mifune with his famous maxim: Ōmyō zai renshin 奥妙在練心 [The unexplainable technique is the result of training the heart].

1985 – Ochiai Toshiyasu – Nage-waza ura-no-kata [DVD] [51]

Ochiai Toshiyasu, then still 7th dan, and the nephew of the late Kuhara Yoshiyuki, 9th dan, gave a public demonstration of the nage-waza ura-no-kata at the Kodokan at the occasion of one of the Doyukai 道友会 tournaments. His uke is Taniguchi Yutaka 谷口豊, then still 4th dan. As in the later Mifune recording [10], the initial and final bow is made in standing position. In general, Ochiai's demonstration appears more rigid and less fluid than the one by Mifune himself, but this criticism applies to all performances of this kata by people other than Mifune. The demonstration nevertheless remains much better than all of the amateur demonstrations of this kata that are available at this point in time on the Internet via channels such as YouTube. Similarly to the other recorded demonstrations, neither are technical explanations provided about how to perform the kata, nor is there slow motion, or multiple-angle camera work.

No date – Sugata Setsuo – *Nage-waza ura-no-kata* [non-commercial DVD] [55]

The late Sugata Setsuo (姿節雄) (1916-1999), 9th dan, in 1951, ten years after he had entered Meiji

University and had become an *uchi-deshi* [live-in disciple] to Mifune (Figure 15(31)), became the successor to Mifune as head teacher of the university's *jūdō* department [65]. During his life Sugata, similarly to Kuhara Yoshiyuki and Itō Kazuo, kept this *kata* of his legendary former teacher alive by teaching and demonstrating it. This demonstration is present together with Ochiai's demonstration on a later edition of Ochiai's DVD [51]. Technically, the performance by Sugata is similar to the one by Ochiai, and also appears more rigid and less fluid than those by Mifune himself. The *uke* to Sugata Setsuo is Hara Yoshimi 原吉実, at the time *Kōdōkan* 6th *dan* (Figure 16(32)).

No date – George Parulski – The Judo of Isao Obato - Lost Kata of Judo – vol. 2 [66]

This CD-ROM among a selection of combinations of throws and counters, also includes *gonosen-no-kata* and *nage-waza ura-no-kata* which Parulski claims to have learnt from the mysterious "Obato Isao", of which the existence and relationship to Mifune has been doubted by scholars and *budō* practitioners [4]. The CD-ROM was on the market long before *YouTube* was created and when most *jūdō* visual media only existed on old film reels and VHS tapes. At that time this product



Figure 16(32). Sugata Setsuo 姿節雄 (1917-1999), 9th *dan*, former chief-instructor of the Meiji University Jūdō Department and former *deshi* of Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 here performing the role of *tori*, and Hara Yoshimi (原吉実), 6th *dan* in the role of uke, demonstrating the fifteenth and final technique of *nage-waza ura-no-kata*, *i.e.* ō-goshi 大腰 [major hip throw] countered by *ippon-seoi-nage* 一本背負投 [single-point back-carry throw]. Picture is a snapshot from an undated recording of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* by Sugata Setsuo [55].

was the only one on the market that permitted the *jūdō* public to see some unusual *jūdō* techniques on one's home computer. The impact of the CD-ROM quickly declined when much higher-quality *kata* DVDs were published by the *Kōdōkan* even though none of these contained Mifune's *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. The *Kōdōkan kata* DVDs nevertheless set the bar of *jūdō* customers' expectations much higher and impossible to reach for Parulski's technically sub-standard *nage-waza ura-no-kata* rendition. For these reasons it is hard to recommend this product given that there are currently much better demonstrations of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* available for free on the Internet.

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 *nage-waza ura-no-kata* may be available too [52-54, 67-69], which even though they may not all be of reference standard may still provide an inspiration of which *jūdōka* who learnt *kata* in the traditional way decades ago could have only dreamt of.

Nevertheless, taking into account the considerable flaws in several of these video clips, we would like to emphasize the need for guidance from a $j\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ instructor who him-/herself was properly instructed in this *kata*, since many essential points of the *kata* might otherwise escape the untrained eye.

INSTRUCTION AND AVAILABILITY OF *NAGE-WAZA URA-NO-KATA* INSTRUCTORS AND POPULARITY OF THE *KATA*

We could not find any evidence in the literature of *nage-waza ura-no-kata* ever having been a popular *kata* outside the group of people who as *jūdōka* are or consider themselves to be to some degree direct or indirect descendents of Mifune (Figure 17(33)). Despite the merits of Mifune's *kata*, probably contributing to its lack of popularity is that it currently is not considered an official *Kōdōkan kata* [3, p. 238] and consequently does not ordinarily appear in *dan*-rank promotion exam requirements. This is hardly a surprise if one considers that even the *kata* which were or are official *Kōdōkan kata* (*jūdō joshi goshinhō, sei-ryoku zen'yō kokumin taiiku*, *gō-no-kata*) but are absent from any official *dan*-rank



Figure 17(33). Historic group picture taken at the *Bunbukan Shimamura Dōjō* 文武館 嶋村道場, located in Tōkyō Kitaku 東京都北区神谷, in the 1950s. Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883-1965), *Kōdōkan* 10th *dan*, is seated on a chair in the center of the front row, with the club's second-generation head-instructor Shimamura Takehisa-*sensei* 嶋村武久 to his right sight. In the front row, third from the left, seated in *seiza* 正座 [seated position on the knees] is Shirai Sei'īchi 白井清一 (1902-1972), 8th *dan* (later 9th *dan*). The nearly bald person, standing, fourth from the left is Ōtaki Tadao 大 滝忠夫 (1908-1992), 8th *dan* (later, in 1981 promoted to 9th *dan*). Prominently written on the wall to the right, we can see the text written in Japanese: "Nage-waza ura-no-kata, tori: Mifune Kyūzo-sensei, Kōdōkan jūdan; uke: Shirai Sei'īchisensei, Kōdōkan hachidan".

promotion program equally lack popularity. In Germany, *nage-waza ura-no-kata* is now part of the rank promotion requirements for 3rd *dan*³⁵, where it replaced *gonosenno-kata* [48, 70]. Since then, regular *kata* seminars have been held in which *nage-waza ura-no-kata* has been featured [71, 72], which, at least in Germany, has led to an increase in popularity of this *kata*. This is no surprise either, but it raises the question to what extent the objectives of most *jūdōka* are anywhere near Kanō's objectives for recommending the study of *kata* [5, 73].

Nage-waza ura-no-kata has also been the topic of a *kata* seminar in the Netherlands taught by Wolfgang Dax-Romswinkel [74]. In February of 2008, a Teachers Clinic that *inter alia* featured *nage-waza ura-no-kata* taught by Japanese expert Ochiai Toshiyasu, 8th *dan*, was held in the US in the Los Angeles area (Norwalk, CA), and the author of this paper has taught the *kata* at federal *jūdō* seminars in him home country.

Apart from the concern expressed above, it is likely that interest for the *nage-waza ura-no-kata* would further increase if it would be recognized by the *Kōdōkan* as one of their fundamental *kata*. Why precisely this has not happened has remained the subject of speculation but usually involves making reference to Kanō Jigorō. There are two circulating versions. One version argues that Kanō was displeased with the *kata* when Mifune demonstrated it for him, likely because one could argue that this particular *kata* more serves the purpose of developing pure technique rather than one of Kanō's primarily pedagogical aims³⁶. The second version asserts

³⁵ for which in Germany, alternatively, the *jūdôka* has the option to demonstrate *kime-no-kata* [48].

³⁶ There are other reasons why one could imagine Kanō having concerns about Mifune's *kata*. For example, it remains unresolved to date why Mifune included all techniques of *nage-no-kata* in his *nage-waza ura-no-kata* but changed their order. This would likely be hard for Kanō to justify as it could be considered as questioning the order of techniques in the *Kōdōkan's nage-no-kata*. Mifune's chosen order of techniques also does not follow either the 1895 or the 1920 *gokyō no waza* 五教の枝 [The Five Groups of Techniques], and the rationale that underpins his chosen arrangement of techniques remains unknown. It seems to us that Mifune's *kata* certainly could be performed with those techniques retained from *nage-no-kata* appearing at the start of each series and in the same order, which makes Mifune's persistence in keeping the order

that Kanō was in the process of considering accepting the kata as a new official Kodokan kata, but passed away before he could do so. Both arguments remain unsubstantiated as there are no known written or recorded sources either by Kanō or Mifune that specifically attest to this situation, nor by any of their direct students. Rather, both arguments seem to be the result of hearsay and conjecture. Given that the Kodokan has not one being Kodokan goshinjutsu approved in 1956- it appears unlikely that the Kodokan would anytime soon add Mifune's kata to the list of the existing ten Kodokan kata. This should, however, not be felt as preventing us from welcoming and practicing nage-waza ura-no-kata. After all, we also do not exclude most newly invented nage-waza [throwing techniques] and katame-waza [controlling techniques], as long as they adhere to jūdo's principles and, if relevant, the refereeing rules.

CONCLUSIONS

Research into the nage-waza ura-no-kata is not a simple endeavor due to the paucity of sources, most of which exist in Japanese only and have long been out of print. The author of this paper, advocates the practice of nage-waza ura-no-kata, and does so for all of the reasons explained above, as well as because believing that in a time when the message, aims and principles of Kano's jūdo under have become increasingly diluted in the light of the ever increasing emphasis on jūdo as a performance sport and popular media circus, nage-waza ura-no-kata helps explaining and restoring what jūdo is and was about. In that context, it cannot be emphasized enough that the object of this kata is not to copy some supposed standard or recommended version, or to simply meet a number of mechanical criteria. Mifune himself has clearly stated that instead, its objective is myōwaza 妙技 [unexplainable sophisticated

of techniques in *nage-waza ura-no-kata* as they are, even more intriguing. As far as we know Mifune between the 1930s and his death only changed the order of *seoi-nage* and *kata-guruma* which in the oldest available version still appeared in reverse order.

technique], which is a goal of a much more elevated level. One could without much reservation say that in all known taped demonstrations Mifune himself is the only one reaching this level, hence attesting to is difficulty. It is the level where mechanics are transcended by spiritual principle to the extent that it flows out itself, assumes the rhythm of the opponent who will feel like he is fighting his own shadow.

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. Kādākan*) 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.

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