

A critical update to earlier research findings about the historical roots of *gonosen-no-kata* – “Forms of post-attack initiative counter throws”

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Abstract

The purpose of the present paper is to provide a critical update to previously published findings about the historical background of *gonosen-no-kata* (“Forms of Post-Attack Initiative Counter Throws”), a non-officially accepted *kata* of *Kodokan judo* that achieved some popularity in select European countries. We applied historical methods and source criticism to newly acquired evidence in this way offering a careful critical analysis of this *kata*’s origin, history and background. Expanding our earlier finding, *i.e.* the *kata*’s first verifiable European appearance in London, 1926, from 1927 onward it was spread throughout Europe by a number of judo teachers of Japanese origin. However, the results of this paper now also lead us to firmly refute the caution we had expressed earlier that *gonosen-no-kata* might well not be of Japanese origin. Indeed, the *kata* shows up for the first time in November 1915 when it is on display as part of the program surrounding the 20th Waseda University Judo Tournament in Tokyo where it was shown by a pair of *judoka*, named Nagae and Endo. From then on, the *kata* was regularly publically demonstrated in Japan at *judo* contests during the *Taisho* era (1912-1926) whenever a team from Waseda University participated. Among its most significant early proponents in Japan were Waseda students Endo Moriya, Ninomiya Sotaro, and Yasuoka Toraki. Waseda University’s former chief-instructors Miyakawa Ikkan (1885-1944) and Takahashi Kazuyoshi (1885-1942), and dedicated student(s), such as Endo Moriya (1896-1950) remain the most likely candidates involved in the creation and development of *gonosen-no-kata*.

Keywords: Combat sports; *gonosen-no-kata*; history; Jigoro Kano; judo; *kaeshi-no-kata*; *kata*; *Kodokan*; Kyuzo Mifune; martial arts; Waseda University.

Una actualización crítica de los resultados de investigaciones anteriores sobre las raíces históricas de la *gonosen-no-kata* – “Formas de contraataque”

Resumen

El objetivo de este estudio es presentar una actualización crítica de los hallazgos publicados anteriormente sobre los antecedentes históricos de la *gonosen-no-kata* (“Formas de contraataque”), una *kata* no aceptada oficialmente del *judo Kodokan* que alcanzó cierta popularidad en algunos países europeos. Se aplicaron métodos históricos y la crítica Fontal a las nuevas evidencias, realizando así un cuidadoso análisis crítico del origen, historia y antecedentes de esta *kata*. Ampliando nuestros hallazgos anteriores, *i.e.*, la primera aparición verificable de la *kata* en Europa en 1926 en Londres, y su difusión a partir de 1927 por toda Europa por varios instructores de judo de origen japonés. Sin embargo, los resultados de este trabajo también nos llevan a refutar firmemente la cautela que habíamos expresado anteriormente de que la *gonosen-no-kata* bien podría no ser de origen japonés. De hecho, la *kata* apareció por primera vez en noviembre de 1915, cuando se exhibe como

Uma atualização crítica dos resultados de investigações anteriores sobre as raízes históricas do *gonosen-no-kata* – “Formas de contra-ataque”

Resumo

O objetivo do presente artigo é fornecer uma atualização crítica às descobertas anteriormente publicadas sobre os antecedentes históricos do *gonosen-no-kata* (“Formas de contra-ataque”), um *kata* não oficialmente aceite do *judo Kodokan* que alcançou alguma popularidade em países europeus selecionados. Aplicamos métodos históricos e de crítica de fontes a provas, recentemente adquiridas, oferecendo assim uma análise crítica cuidadosa da origem, história e antecedentes deste *kata*. Expandindo a nossa descoberta anterior, ou seja, a primeira aparição europeia verificável do *kata* em Londres, em 1926, a partir de 1927 foi difundido por toda a Europa por um certo número de instrutores de judo de origem japonesa. No entanto, os resultados deste trabalho também nos levam agora a refutar, firmemente, a cautela que tínhamos expressado anteriormente de que o *gonosen-no-kata* poderia muito bem não ser de origem japonesa. De

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parte del programa en torno al XX Torneo de Judo de la Universidad de Waseda, en Tokio, donde fue mostrada por una pareja de *judoka* llamados Nagae y Endo. A partir de entonces, la *kata* se demostró regularmente en público en Japón durante las competiciones de judo durante la era Taisho (1912-1926) siempre que participaba un equipo de la Universidad de Waseda. Entre sus primeros y más eminentes defensores en Japón figuraron los estudiantes de Waseda Endo Moriya, Ninomiya Sotaro y Yasuoka Toraki. Los antiguos instructores principales de la Universidad de Waseda, Miyakawa Ikkan (1885-1944) y Takahashi Kazuyoshi (1885-1942), así como estudiantes dedicados, como Endo Moriya (1896-1950), siguen siendo los candidatos que con mayor probabilidad estuvieron implicados en la creación y el desarrollo de la *gonosen-no-kata*.

Palabras clave: Artes marciales; deportes de combate; *gonosen-no-kata*; historia; Jigoro Kano; judo; *kaeshi-no-kata*; *kata*; Kodokan; Kyuzo Mifune; Universidad de Waseda.

facto, a *kata* aparece pela primeira vez em novembro de 1915, quando é exibida como parte do programa do 20º Torneio de Judo da Universidade de Waseda, em Tóquio, onde foi apresentada por um par de *judoka*, chamados Nagae e Endo. A partir de então, o *kata* foi, regularmente, demonstrado publicamente no Japão em competições de judo durante a era Taisho (1912-1926), sempre que uma equipa da Universidade de Waseda participava. Entre os seus primeiros defensores, mais importantes no Japão, encontravam-se os estudantes da Waseda Endo Moriya, Ninomiya Sotaro e Yasuoka Toraki. Os antigos instrutores-chefes da Universidade de Waseda, Miyakawa Ikkan (1885-1944) e Takahashi Kazuyoshi (1885-1942), e alunos dedicados, como Endo Moriya (1896-1950), continuam a ser os candidatos mais prováveis envolvidos na criação e desenvolvimento do *gonosen-no-kata*.

Palavras-chave: Artes marciais; esportes de combate; *gonosen-no-kata*; história; Jigoro Kano; judo; *kaeshi-no-kata*; *kata*; Kodokan; Kyuzo Mifune; Universidade de Waseda.

1. Introduction

Almost a decade ago, in 2015, we published a paper (De Créé, 2015a) that aimed to provide a comprehensive study of *gonosen-no-kata* (“Forms of post-attack initiative counter throws”), a *kata* that is often linked to Waseda University rather than to the *Kōdōkan*, and that by the latter has never been officially accepted as a *kata* of *Kōdōkan jūdō* (Kōdōkan, 1986). We showed that in Western Europe this *kata* was propagated by Kawaiishi Mikinosuke 川石酒造之助 (1899-1969), a Japanese teacher of *jūdō* who after a short stint in Great Britain had settled in France, and who himself was a 1924 graduate from Waseda University’s Department of Political Science and Economics (*Waseda Daigaku Seiji Keizaijaku-bu* 早稲田大学政治経済学部). *Gonosen-no-kata*, an example of a series of choreographed *jūdō* forms (Table 1) always has had a somewhat unusual profile due to its absence from any major Japanese *jūdō* textbooks (Kōdōkan, 1986) and senior Japanese *jūdō* masters’ apparent unfamiliarity with this exercise.¹ This intriguing situation has regularly prompted questions about this *kata*’s origin and authorship.

In our previously published paper (De Créé, 2015a) we aimed to address the following research questions:

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

When conducting our study, it became quickly clear that research into the *gonosen-no-kata* would not be a simple endeavor due to the paucity of original sources, and the apparent absence of references to it in (even historical) Japanese literature. This was and has been the foremost reason as to why suspicion has continued to be raised about its authenticity as a Japanese home-grown *kata*, even though popular *jūdō* literature in the West ubiquitously links –though always without providing any meaningful documentary evidence– the origin of this *kata* to Waseda University in Tōkyō (Diester, 2004, Ott, 2000).

¹ Even the late Matsushita Saburō 松下三郎 (1935-2020) *Kōdōkan* 9th dan, former Director of the *Kōdōkan* Education and Instruction Department, in a personal conversation tended to answer evasively or claimed to have no knowledge whatsoever about this topic, when being confronted with questions about *gonosen-no-kata*, despite overwhelming documentary evidence irrevocably showing that he himself together with the late Watanabe Kisaburō 渡辺喜三郎 (1936-2019), *Kōdōkan* 7th dan, actually publicly demonstrated *gonosen-no-kata* at the occasion of the *Budōkwai* Annual Display 1962 in London [Savage & Jones, 2020, The Budokwai, 1962]. Interestingly, neither Matsushita nor Watanabe ever even were students at Waseda University. Matsushita’s *alma mater* is *Nichidai* 日本大学 [Nihon University], whereas Watanabe graduated from *Chūō Daigaku* 中央大学 [Chūō University], both also in Tōkyō.



Table 1. Structural and functional overview of the techniques contained in *gonosen-no-kata* (adapted from De Créé, 2015a)

<i>Gonosen-no-kata</i> – 後の先の形 (Forms of Post-Attack Initiative Counter Throws)
I. <i>Dai ikkyō</i> 第一教 (First group): <i>Ashi-waza</i> 足技 (Leg techniques)
1. <i>Ō-soto-gari</i> 大外刈 → <i>ō-soto-gari</i> 大外刈
2. <i>Hiza-guruma</i> 膝車 → <i>hiza-guruma</i> 膝車
3. <i>Ō-uchi-gari</i> 大内刈 → <i>de-ashi-barai</i> 出足払 †
4. <i>De-ashi-barai</i> 出足払 → <i>de-ashi-barai (hidari)</i> 出足払 (左)
5. <i>Ko-soto-gake</i> 小外刈 → <i>tai-otoshi</i> 体落 ‡
6. <i>Ko-uchi-gari</i> 小内刈 → <i>sasae-tsuru-komi-ashi (hidari)</i> 支釣込足 (左) §
II. <i>Dai nikkyō</i> 第二教 (Second group): <i>Koshi-waza</i> 腰技 (Hip techniques)
7. <i>Kubi-nage</i> 首投 → <i>ushiro-goshi</i> 後腰
8. <i>Koshi-guruma</i> 腰車 → <i>uki-goshi (hidari)</i> 浮腰 (左)
9. <i>Hane-goshi</i> 跳腰 → <i>sasae-tsuru-komi-ashi (hidari)</i> 支釣込足 (左)
10. <i>Harai-goshi</i> 払腰 → <i>utsuri-goshi (hidari)</i> 移腰 (左)
11. <i>Uchi-mata</i> 内股 → <i>sukui-nage</i> 掬投
III. <i>Dai sankyō</i> 第三教 (Third group): <i>Kata-waza</i> 肩技 (Shoulder techniques)
12. <i>Kata-seoi</i> 肩背負 → <i>sumi-gaeshi</i> 隅返 ††

† Several authors here indicate *okuri-ashi-barai* 送足払 as the countering throw. For extensive references, see (De Créé, 2015a). ‡ Some early French authors list *ō-soto-gake* 大外刈 as the initiating throw rather than *ko-soto-gake*. § Some early French authors list *hiza-guruma (hidari)* 膝車 (左) as the countering throw rather than *sasae-tsuru-komi-ashi (hidari)*. || Several authors use the terminology *te-guruma* 手車 as the countering throw. For extensive references, see (De Créé, 2015a). †† Some authors use indicate *seoi-nage* 背負投 or even *ippon-seoi-nage* 一本肩背負) as the initiating throw rather than *kata-seoi* 肩背負. For extensive references, see (De Créé, 2015a).

Our study (De Créé, 2015a), though, was able to show that it was the merit of the late Waseda University *jūdō* instructor Takahashi Kazuyoshi 高橋数良 (1885-1942), (later 8th *dan*), between 1919 and 1921 to have formulated and deepened the theories of counter throws. Takahashi was closely followed by Mifune Kyūzō who made the same research area his interest. Based on the data we were able to uncover at the time, we found that it was London where *gonosen-no-kata* seemed to have appeared for the first time in 1926 when it was demonstrated there by Waseda graduate Ishiguro Keishichi 石黒敬七 (1897-1974) (De Créé, 2015a). We were unable though to establish beyond any doubt whether *gonosen-no-kata* at that point was an actual existing and authentic *kata*, or merely a name adopted by the British to an opportunistic demonstration of random counter throws by Ishiguro Keishichi (*tori*) and a certain “Sukeno” 助野健太郎 (*uke*).² Our study also concluded that there was little doubt that the merit for the historical popularity of this *kata* in Continental Western Europe³ between 1935 and the 1960s was largely Kawashi's, who like Ishiguro also hailed from Waseda University (De Créé, 2015a).

Perhaps the most important consideration expressed in our 2015 study (De Créé, 2015a) was our paper's final sentence which highlighted that our conclusions were not definitive and might need updating or refinement should in future any new sources become available that could shed further light on the remaining missing links.

Precisely because of these reasons it is the purpose of the present paper to provide a critical update to our previous conclusions, based on newly discovered historical evidence and sources that

² The demonstration took place in London in 1926 at the occasion of the *Budōkwaï's 9th Annual Display* in the presence of his Imperial Highness Prince Chichibu-no-miya Yasuhito Shinnō 秩父宮雍仁親王 (1902-1953), the second son of the *Taishō* Emperor 大正天皇 and younger brother of the *Shōwa* Emperor 昭和天皇 Hirohito 裕仁 (1901-1989), and Baron Hayashi Gonsuke 林権助 (1860-1939), who had served as ambassador to the United Kingdom in 1920-1925.

³ The term “Continental Europe” is used to indicate the mainland, excluding islands such as England, whereas the term “Europe” includes offshore islands.

may shed more light on the hitherto unresolved questions surrounding the creation of *gonosen-no-kata*. Our narrowly defined research question is as follows:

- When, under what circumstances and by whom was *gonosen-no-kata* created?

2. Research methodology

Rather than applying a merely anthropological framework we have chosen to apply a more holistic strategy that will approach our research question from a philological and historical angle because of this method's effectiveness in maintaining academic rigor. While not ignoring the cultural-anthropological dimensions, our focus must be to offer a critical-analytical assessment of the data we uncover and not step into the trap of so many published papers that deal with *jūdō* history but that fail to rise above a merely descriptive approach. In brief, key aspects of our methodology are:

- Translation, critical and heuristic analysis of original historical Japanese primary sources;
- Critical analysis of relevant *Meiji*-, *Taishō*- and early *Shōwa*-era comments, notes, explanations and other literature and of rare historic drawings, pictures and film footage;
- Research visits to consult and discuss with leading Japanese researchers and senior Japanese *Kōdōkan jūdō* experts in order to evaluate conclusions and elicit comments that assist in further critical analysis.

Our experimental work consists of researching rare, original documents, critically analyzing, translating and conceptualizing them into their practical meaning. To achieve this, the author has unlimited access to his vast personal private library which has been carefully composed over decades with the help of specialized Japanese old books experts, supplemented by gifts, bequests and aggressive rare book purchases on specialized Japanese auctions, and which includes numerous historical Japanese *jūdō* and *budō* textbooks and encyclopedic works, journals, historical scrolls and other manuscripts. Specialized reference works that were consulted as part of this study, in particular, were: the *Bugei Ryūha Daijiten* (武芸流派大事典) (*Large Encyclopedia of Martial Arts*), *Gendai Jūdō Jinbutsu Sōsho* (現代柔道人物叢書) (*Contemporary jūdō personalities book series*), *Jūdō Daijiten* (柔道大事典) (*Encyclopedic jūdō dictionary*), *Jūdō Meikan* (柔道名鑑) (*Jūdō directory*), *Kanō Jigorō Taikei* 嘉納治五郎大系 (*Kanō Jigorō Compendium*), *Kōdōkan Kōdansha Meibo* 講道館高段者名簿 (*Kōdōkan High-Dan Rank Name Register*), Morohashi Tetsuji's *Dai Kan-Wa Jiten* 大漢和辞典 (*The Great Chinese-Japanese Dictionary*), *Nihon Budō Taikei* (日本武道大系) (*Compendium of Japanese martial arts*), *Waseda Daigaku hyakunenshi* (早稲田大学百年史~第一巻・第三巻) (*Hundred year history of Waseda University – Vols. 1-3*), *Waseda Daigaku Jūdō-bu Hyakunen Shi* (早稲田大学柔道部百年史) (*Waseda University Judo Department 100 year history*), amongst others.

In addition, relevant Western historical *jūdō* magazines, such as *Jiu-Jitsu-Sport (Berlin)*, and numerous volumes of several Japanese language magazines (hard copies) were scrutinized, such as the official *Kōdōkan* magazines *Jūdō* (including all of its previous and later designations, such as *Kokushi* 国士 and *Yūkō-no-Katsudō* 有効の活動), *Sakkō* 作興, and other relevant Japanese *jūdō* magazines, such as *Kindai Jūdō* (近代柔道), and *Waseda Gakuhō* 早稲田学報 (*Waseda School Gazette*). Historical British newspapers, such as the *Buckinghamshire Examiner*, the *West Middlesex Gazette*, and others, were consulted using the digital database of the British Newspaper Archive. In addition, we used our own proprietary digitized archives of Japanese and international scholarly texts, letters, notes and rare manuscripts. Furthermore, the author for the purpose of developing practical, theoretical and scholarly proficiency in *jūdō*, intentionally and spread over decades attempted to match *jūdō* founder Kanō Jigorō's *budō* training trajectory, though in opposite direction. Hence, as a scholar and senior *jūdōka* he devoted himself to the two for *Kōdōkan jūdō* most relevant *koryū* schools, i.e. *Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū* (Former member of the *Ōsaka Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū jūjutsu Tobari Dōjō – Inoue Keitarō-ha* 大阪天神真楊流柔術 戸張道場 (井上敬太郎派) under the late Tobari Kazu-shihan 戸張和, *menkyo kaiden* 免許皆伝 (License of full transmission)) and *Kitō-ryū* 起倒流 (*Bicchū Takao-ha* 備中高尾派 and *Noda-ha* 野田派). Further oral sources that we had access to are listed in this paper's Acknowledgement section.



3. Great Britain as a European breeding place of *gonosen-no-kata*

One of the chapters in our 2015 paper (De Créé, 2015a) on this topic was entitled: “Is Great Britain rather than Japan the birthplace of *gonosen-no-kata*?” At the conclusion of this paper the question remained unresolved. We arrived at this question because the oldest source we previously were able to find that mentioned the term *gonosen-no-kata* and that also referred to an actual formal series of *jūdō* counter throws is an unpublished document, namely the London *Budōkwai’s Dōjō Book* (Budokwai, n.d.). This book contains the program of the *Budōkwai’s 9th Annual Display*, which took place in 1926, i.e. the occasion at which Ishiguro Keishichi (*tori*) and Sukeno 助野 (*uke*) publicly demonstrated a type of exercise consisting of counter throws that within the *Budōkwai* became known as *gonosen-no-kata*.

What we have discovered since, is a number of previously unidentified published historical sources that attest to *gonosen-no-kata* shortly after that 1926 London demonstration quickly becoming a relatively frequent item in public demonstrations, initially performed only by other visiting Japanese *jūdō* masters.

In *The West Middlesex Gazette* of March 19, 1927 (Anonymous, 1927a) the following article appeared under the title “Judo in Ealing – Famous exponents to appear at local display”:

The programme will include Ju-no-kata (form of physical training) by Yukio-Tani and G. Koizumi; Shinri-no-kate [sic!] (theory of Judo) by Yukio-Tani and G. Koizumi; Gonosen-no-kate [sic !] (counter throws) by Y. Sohma and Yukio-Tani; Kime-no-kate (self defense) by Yukio Tani and G. Kuizumi [sic!], and a Judo contest. (...)

About the person of ‘Mr. Sohma’, the newspaper adds:

Mr. Sohma is declared to be one of the most skillful Jiu-Jitsu experts that Japan has produced. He has only recently arrived in England, and is giving Ealing the honour of seeing for the first time a public exposition of one of the wonderful tricks of advanced Jiu-Jitsu involving the application of holds and locks that for hundreds of years have been kept secret from all except a few privileged members of the wrestling community. (...) (Anonymous, 1927a, p. 5)

Whilst the name of Tani Yukio sounds very familiar in the history of *jūdō* in Great-Britain, the same cannot be said of ‘Mr. Sohma’, who according to the above article was Tani’s partner during their demonstration of *gonosen-no-kata*. Another article printed by the same periodical one week later (26 March 1927) (Anonymous, 1927b) also made reference to a ‘Mr. Sohma’ in a report about the 1927 Annual Display of Physical Training performed in front of Councilor J.P. William Hutchings, Mayor of Ealing. It is mentioned that following the ‘Ladies Display’:

An additional source of attraction was the demonstration of Judo by the Principal of the Budo-kwai, Mr. Yukio Tani, one of the experts in the art of the Japanese methods of self-defence, and Mr. Sohma, a new arrival from the ‘Land of the Rising Sun’. Mr. Koizumi, the principal gave a fine demonstration of the effectiveness of self-defence methods by disposing of nine opponents within 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ minutes thus nearly succeeding to perform the feat that Mr. Sohma (for whom he deputised) had promised to attempt. (...) (Anonymous, 1927b, p. 5)

Since modern British *jūdō* history as currently known seems to have forgotten all about this individual it is opportune to provide some basic biographical details here. Sōma Yasuo 相馬安雄 was born in Hotaka 穂高, Azumino City 安曇野市 in Nagano Prefecture 長野県 in November 1900 as the eldest son of Sōma Aizō 相馬愛蔵 and Sōma Kuromitsu 相馬黒光, both farmers. Because of his mother’s impaired health due to the harsh country life, the family moved to Shinjuku in Tōkyō, where Sōma Yasuo in 1925 would enter... Waseda University, where he studied political science. Between 1926-1928, he would travel to England and Germany for a 2-year study period. Upon his return he would become a businessman who held executive positions in Nakamura Food Store company 新宿中村屋.

Considering that this article refers to Sōma as “a new arrival from the ‘Land of the Rising Sun’”, this suggests that he probably arrived in London in early March or perhaps even February 1927. This seems to be confirmed by the Minute Book of the *London Budōkwai*, which mentions that in February 1927, Sōma was elected to the *Budōkwai* Committee. Next, he is mentioned in the March

and June minutes of the Committee meetings. It is indicated in the June minutes that he is leaving the Committee prior to his forthcoming departure (John Bowen, personal communication, 3 June 2020). We assume that this planned departure is for Germany, rather than suggesting his return to Japan. He died in 1957.

The *Kōdōkan Jūdō Institute* records do contain a *jūdōka* with the same name, but the biographical data differ considerably (personal communication *Kōdōkan Jūdō Institute* per Takahashi Machiko 高橋 満智子, 15 Jun 2020). The Sōma Yasuo person contained in their records was born on May 20, 1892 and entered the *Kōdōkan* on July 21, 1918. He obtained the following official promotions in *jūdō*: 1st *Dan*: January 12, 1919; 2nd *Dan*: June 23, 1920; 3rd *Dan*: January 13, 1924; 4th *Dan*: February 16, 1927; and 6th *Dan*: July 29, 1952.

No further information has been retained. Current data in our possession do not allow us to ascertain whether this is one and the same person or two different people, and if so which one was the one who actively participated in *jūdō* events in 1927 in London.

Another British news report this time from August 1930 reads:

A very clever exhibition of Judo (Ju-Jitsu) and Kendo (Japanese fencing) was given by members of the Budokwai, who recently performed at the Champneys garden party. They gave exhibitions of Nage-No-Kata (throws); Gonosen-No-Kata (methods of countering attack); Shinri-No-Kata (theories of throws, method of breaking opponent's balance and utilisation of action); Kendo (Japanese fencing); Randori (locks and holds); and Kime-No-Kata (judo for self defence). (...) (Anonymous, 1930, p. 2)

Rudolf Krotki⁴ in the December 1, 1930 issue of a German monthly martial arts news magazine entitled "Jiu-Jitsu-Sport" (Krotki, 1930) extensively details an overseas trip of the German *jūdō* (in Western publication of those days still frequently referred to as 'jiu-jitsu') team to participate in the First Anglo-German Contest held in England, with contests at the Ealing Judo Club (5 November 1930), Cambridge University Judo Club (6 November 1930), Slough Judo Club (7 November 1930), the London Budokwai (8 November 1930), and the Birmingham Midland Judo Club (10 November 1930):

Trotzdem wir an 5 Abenden und noch zweimal im Klub die gleichen Vorführungen sahen, kam nie das Gefühl der Langweiligkeit auf, immer wieder erfreuten diese Uebungen; es lag sofiel eigenartiger Reiz in ihnen, daß man mit Spannung die einzelnen Vorführungen erwartete. Yukio Tani, Koizumi, Otani, waren so auseinander eingespielt, daß man wirklich von höchster Vollkommenheit sprechen konnte. Mit seltener Veschiedlichkeit, schärfer Eindringlichkeit wurde des Wesentlichste gezeight und aufs beste geklärt und erklärt. Im ganzen eine einzigartige saubere Art in höchster Formvollendung.

Es folgen nunmehr die Japanischen Bezeichnungen und mögen die angegebenen Uebersetzungen zunächst nur dem Ueberblid dienen, in welcher Richtung sich die Vorführungen bewegten:

Shinri-no-Kata (Die Theorie des Judo in Praxis)

Go-no-Kata⁵ (Fünf symbolische Grundbewegungen des Judo)

Gonosen-no-Kata (Angriff und Gegenagriffe)

Nage-no-Kata (15 Grundwürfe)

Kime-no-Kata (Selbstverteidigung)" (...) (Krotki, 1930, p.6)⁶

⁴ Rudolf Krotki was a German *jūjutsu* pioneer who during the 1920s was a teacher at the *Deutschen Hochschule für Leibesübungen* in Berlin, and who authored an early *jūjutsu* learning text entitled "*Jiu-Jitsu – Ein Lehrbuch von Selbstverteidigung und sportlichem Kampf*" [*Jūjutsu – A textbook of self-defense and sport combat*], published in 1926, that was made available again thanks to the efforts of German *budō* researcher Yannick Schulze, who in 2024 published a reprinted version of this book.

⁵ The transliteration "*Go-no-kata*" obviously is an error, and should have been "*Itsutsu-no-kata*" in order to avoid confusion with *Gō-no-kata*, which is an entirely different exercise.

⁶ Translation: Even though we saw the same performances on 5 evenings and twice more in the club, we never felt bored; these exercises were always enjoyable. There was such a strange charm in them that one awaited the individual performances with excitement. Yukio Tani, Koizumi, Ōtani were so well harmonized that one could really speak of the highest perfection. With rare clarity and sharp urgency, the most important things were shown and clarified and explained



These published extracts from historical journals and periodicals show that by 1930 *gonosen-no-kata* had become a regular favorite during public demonstrations of *jūdō*, and to this extent as far as Europe is concerned, was popularized first thanks to Koizumi Gunji, Tani Yukio, and Ōtani Matsutarō. Through this magazine and the experience brought back to Germany by their team, the concept of *gonosen-no-kata* was also introduced in Germany straight from England and perhaps may not have been imported into Germany via Kawaishi in France.

We add that we have been unable so far to establish precisely which exercise was meant by the name *Shinri-no-kata* (The theory of *jūdō* in practice). It also is hitherto unknown whether the name originally in Japanese is written as either: 伸理の形, 審理の形, 心理の形, 真理の形, 心裏の形, or perhaps simply 新理の形, *i.e.* all variations in *kanji* and exact meaning despite their homonymous pronunciations. This '*kata*' may very well have been a self-created exercise by the duo Koizumi/Tani.

In this way we have amply documented the introduction and initial distribution of *gonosen-no-kata* in Europe, which contrary to common belief first took place in the UK rather than in France. Doing so was the merit of various teachers of Japanese origin (Ishiguro, Tani, Koizumi, Sōma, Ōtani, and of course, Kawaishi). However, at that point we still were unable to trace backwards this *kata's* origin, apart from the intellectual bedrock for exploring and training counter throws at Waseda provided by Takahashi Kazuyoshi (Ishiguro, 1952, Takahashi 1920, 1921, Tōkyō Gaigo Jūdōbu Kyoyūkai, 1990). Ishiguro Keishichi, known for his intellectual creativity,⁷ certainly had become a lead suspect as the mysterious creator of *gonosen-no-kata*. However, doubts remained whether before that first 1926 London demonstration this *kata* actually existed and whether its contents was ever intended to be conserved as an actual *kata* and was anything more than merely a name adopted by the British to an opportunistic demonstration of random counter throws by Ishiguro.

4. The true birth place of *gonosen-no-kata* uncovered and proven... finally ...

As much as Great Britain may represent the European breeding place of *gonosen-no-kata*, we are now able to demonstrate that it was not this *kata's* birth place. The turning point in our years-long quest came after we made the bold decision to go almost line per line through the thousands of pages of text contained in roughly 25 years of volumes of the *Kōdōkan's* magazines. It is in this way that we haphazardly discovered *gonosen-no-kata* being mentioned a single time by the *Kōdōkan* in one of the historical issues of its official magazine in 1917 in this way finally offering definitive proof that *gonosen-no-kata* or at least some sort of counter throw exercise did exist in Japan, and this at a significantly earlier date than its first European appearance in London in 1926.

Indeed so, in the February 1917 issue of "*Jūdō*" an anonymously authored text appears under the heading: *Waseda Daigaku Jūdō Taikai* 早稲田大学柔道大会 (contemporary *kanji*: 早稲田大学柔道大会),⁸ meaning "The Waseda University Jūdō Tournament" (Figure 1). The text is a report of the past year's (1916) tournament which took place a couple of months earlier. The text as printed in the original language reads as follows:

十一月五日(大正五年)、早稲田大学柔道部は、同大学道場において、第二十一回大会を挙行した。午前部員の紅白勝負、各各四十有余名、紅大将、依田二段、白大将、秋本二段で、紅白共に元気に奮戦したが、結局引き分けとなった。午後各学校選手を迎えて二本勝負、無段者三十三組の勝負ありて形に移る。

投げの形、荒木栄一郎三段、森傳二段。固の形、田内真能二段、酒巻球三二段。極の形、倉田太一四段、居藤高季二段。柔の形、木下五郎初段、四方鎌次初段。後の先、秋本元男二段、安藤誠一二段。五の形、倉田太一四段、荒木栄一郎三段、

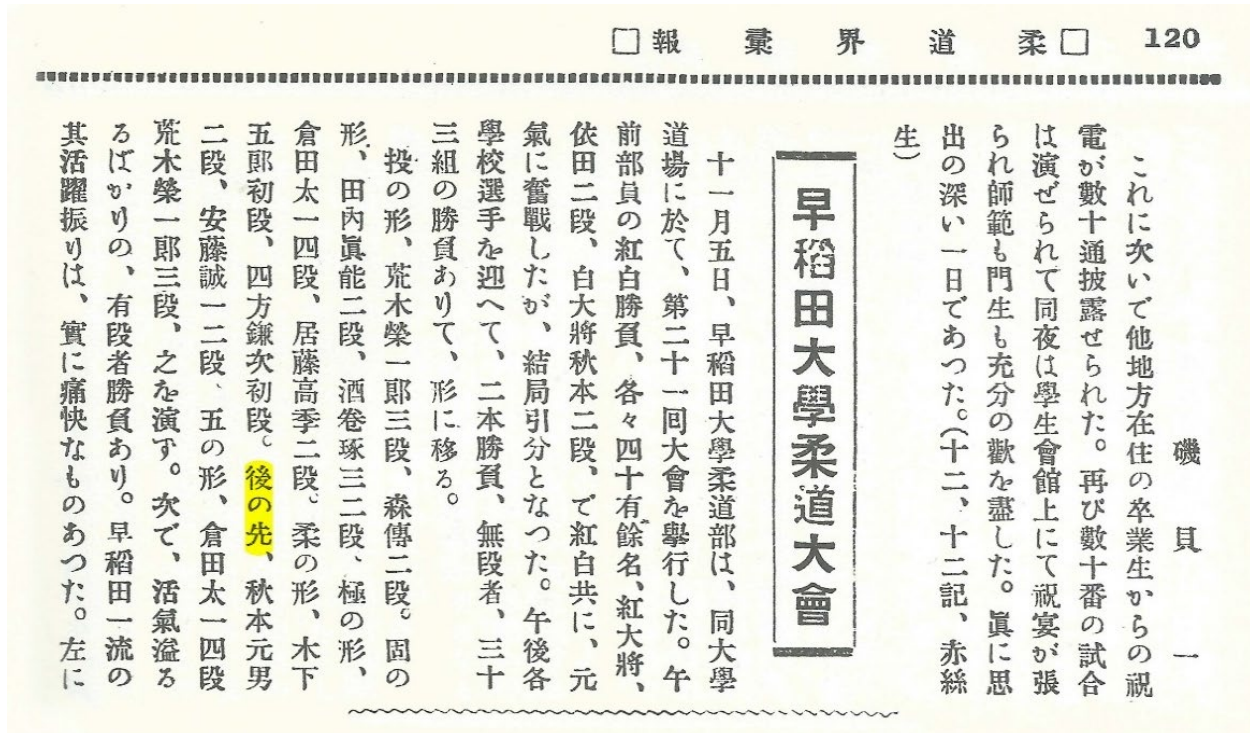
in the best possible way. Overall, a unique, clean style of the highest perfection. The Japanese names now follow and the translations given initially only serve to provide an overview of the direction in which the demonstrations moved: *Shinri-no-kata* (The theory of *jūdō* in practice). *Itsutsu-no-kata* (Five basic symbolic movements of *jūdō*). *Gonosen-no-kata* (attack and counterattack). *Nage-no-kata* (15 basic throws). *Kime-no-kata* (self-defense) (...)

⁷ Ishiguro is typically also credited for having developed the contest application of the form of *uki-otoshi* 浮落 (floating drop) where the opponent is thrown to his front, as opposed to this throw's variety where the opponent is thrown backwards into a corner, commonly known as *sumi-otoshi* 隅落 (corner drop) and developed by the late Mifune Kyūzō, 10th dan.

⁸ Contemporary *kanji* are formally known as *shinjitai* 新字体 and refer to simplified modern *kanji* as opposed to *kyūjitai* 旧字体, which are the traditional forms of Chinese characters used in Japanese writing.

之を演ず。次いで、活気溢るるばかりの有段者勝負あり。早稲田一流の其活躍振りは実に痛快なものであった。左に有段者勝負の結果を挙げん。 (...) (Anonymous, 1917)⁹

Figure 1. Cut-out from the February 1917 issue of the *Kōdōkan's* magazine, *Jūdō* showing the first and only historical reference to *gonosen(-no-kata)* by the *Kōdōkan* in this case relating to a November 1916 demonstration of this *kata*. (Anonymous, 1917, p. 120)



We did notice that contrary to the other *kata* in the list, the entry mentions just ‘*gonosen*’, not ‘*gonosen-no-kata*’. We cannot say for sure if this is coincidence or not. However, it is mentioned among a series of other ‘*kata*’, so at least there is a suggestion that it constitutes a ‘*kata*’. It also could be intentional since the entry appeared in the official *Kōdōkan* magazine *Jūdō* and the *Kōdōkan's* magazine editors might have wanted to be cautious and make a distinction in this way with the other *kata* shown, which were all officially approved *Kōdōkan kata*. Considering that it was a magazine issue from 1917 this also implies that the entry absolutely predates the first appearance of *gonosen-no-kata* in March 1926 in London and hence Europe. These are two important departures from the provisional conclusions we arrived at now almost ten years ago (De Créé 2015a, Savage & Jones, 2020). The new evidence therefore also puts the creation date of *gonosen-no-kata* at the least nine years and four months before its first date of appearance in Europe, *i.e.* November 1916 vs. March 1926. Thirdly, once more the context in which the reference to this *kata* appeared, related to Waseda University in this way adding additional credence to its origin indeed lying at Waseda.

We have not been able to discover further relevant details about the two *jūdōka* (Akimoto Motō, 2nd *dan*, and Andō Sei'ichi, 2nd *dan*) who at this occasion in November 1916 demonstrated *gonosen (-no-kata)*, and if they could in any way be linked to its design or creation.

⁹ Translation: On November 5th, 1916 (*Taishō* 5), the Waseda University Jūdō Club held its 21st tournament at the University *Dōjō*. In the morning, the club members competed against each other in a red and white match with over 40 members each; the red team captain was Yoda 2nd *dan* and the white team captain was Akimoto 2nd *dan*, but the match ended in a draw. In the afternoon, 33 pairs of non-*dan*-holder contestants competed in a two-round tournament, and then the contest moved on to *kata*. *Nage-no-kata* was performed by Araki Ei'ichirō, 3rd *dan* and Mori Den, 2nd *dan*, *katame-no-kata* by Tauchi Manō, 2nd *dan*, and Sakamaki Kyūzō, 2nd *dan*, *kime-no-kata* by Kurata Taichi, 4th *dan*, and Idō Takaki, 2nd *dan*, *jū-no-kata* by Kinoshita Gorō, 1st *dan*, and Shikata Kamatsugu, 1st *dan*, *go-no-sen* by Akimoto Motō, 2nd *dan*, and Andō Sei'ichi, 2nd *dan*, and *itsutsu-no-kata* by Kurata Taichi, 4th *dan*, and Araki Ei'ichirō, 3rd *dan*. Next, there was a lively display of *dan*-holder competitors. The performance by the Waseda top-competitors was very exciting. The results of the *yūdansa* contests are shown on the left. (...)

Next, we carefully re-examined the two earlier volumes of *Jūdō* to verify if *gonosen-no-kata* was mentioned anywhere, which then would indicate it even predated 1916, unfortunately to no avail. We subsequently directed our attention once more to other historical sources related to *jūdō* involving Waseda University. Now, specifically swiping documents that originated in close proximity to 1917, we were able to locate a source with apparent reference to *gonosen-no-kata* that predated 1916.

Indeed so, a text in *Waseda Gakuhō* 早稲田学報 (Waseda School Gazette) of January 1916 (*Taishō* 5) refers to *gonosen-no-kata* having been demonstrated two months earlier in November 1915:

戸塚原頭霜置きそむる十一月七日第二十回柔治大會は開かれぬ。(...)

それより各學校選手對本校選手の三本勝負に移り、午後五時平賀高木兩二段は投の型、高島田内兩二段は固めの型、遠藤永江の兩二段は返しの型を演じ、初段十九組二段十三組の勇壯なる勝負を終り、復に荒木三段芦澤三段の見事なる五人抜試合後、宮川師範の懇篤なる訓話挨拶あつて、來賓、有段者選手諸君に晩。を呈し、散解したるは午後七時なわ章。(...) (Waseda Daigaku Jūdō-bu Hyakunen Shi Henshū I'inkai, 1997, p. 472)¹⁰

We note that in this text the name *kaeshi-no-kata*, written 返しの型 is used. In our opinion, it would be a mistake to argue that this would be a *kata* different from *gonosen-no-kata*, or would represent evidence of the *kaeshi-no-kata* exercise that has popped up in the UK and that is linked to the late Tani Yukio 谷幸雄 (1881-1950).

At the time, we wrote:

This *kata* 形 supposedly would even predate *gonosen-no-kata*. Its distribution would have been continued by Tani's pupil Ōtani Masutarō 大谷増太郎 (1898-1977) (Fromm & Soames, 1982¹¹; *Kaeshi-no-kata*, 2010). Historically this scenario is highly unlikely, not in the least because Tani had no history in *Kōdōkan jūdō* at that time, and he became a black belt in *jūdō* as late as 1920 while living in England. (...)

It is also noteworthy that program brochures of public exhibitions of *jūdō* and *jūjutsu* from those days involving Tani Yukio, Koizumi Gunji and Ōtani Masutarō, regularly contained names of existing *kata*, but accompanied by a description that did not meet the content of those *kata* as they are known, and names of supposed *kata* that have never existed in either *Kōdōkan jūdō* or any known *koryū jūjutsu-ryū* (Oxford University Judo Club, 1932). This suggests either their unfamiliarity with the full *Kōdōkan jūdō* syllabus or reflects their rich fantasy and intent to merely create entertainment. (...)

Rather, it is likely that the names “*kaeshi-no-kata*” and “*gonosen-no-kata*” both historically refer to one and the same Waseda University-originating *kata*, despite the two today being considered as separate entities in the UK. It is also well possible that this Waseda University-originating *kata* was a looser series of countering techniques that when shown, was not always presented with identical content. Although almost unimaginable in a contemporary *Kōdōkan* or IJF-*kata* context text where the concept of *kata* continuously is and has been heavily subjected to historical reinvention with *kata* being presented as rigid structures from which the least deviation supposedly would be a mistake, in reality *kata* thus including Waseda's *gonosen-no-kata* were never intended that way (Kanō, 1921, 1927). In other words, experimentation, deviation and free expression in *kata* in those days were not perceived as ‘mortal sins’ in line with the distorted view adhered to, or at least practiced by ‘*kata* judges’ in the context of contemporary IJF-style *kata* competition.

¹⁰ Translation: The 20th Jūdō Tournament was held on November 7, when the frost had settled at Totsuka Haragashira. (...) From there, we moved on to a three-way competition between athletes from each school and athletes from our school. At 5 p.m., Hiraga and Takagi, both 2nd *dan*, showed *nage-no-kata*, Takashima and Tauchi, both 2nd *dan* demonstrated *katame-no-kata*, and Endō and Nagae, both 2nd *dan*, demonstrated the *kaeshi-no-kata*. After great matches among nineteen 1st *dan*- and the thirteen 2nd *dan*-holders, followed by the wonderful five-man elimination match by Araki, 3rd *dan*, and Ashizawa 3rd *dan*. Towards the end of the evening Miyakawa-*shihan* gave an impassioned speech and said goodbye to the guests and *dan*-rank holders. The event ended at 7 p.m. (...)

¹¹ pp. 71-72 and 108-109.

Secondly, the January 1916 text in *Waseda Gakuhō* 早稲田学報 (Waseda School Gazette) represents documentary evidence of *gonosen-no-kata* already existing in November 1915, hence ten years and four months predating its first appearance in London. While it still does not specify exactly when it was actually composed, it does give us some indication of its true age. However, cross-referencing this finding with the information contained in “100-year history of the Judo Club of Waseda University”, published in 1997, there is no mentioning of *gonosen-no-kata* in any document contained therein that dates from earlier than 1915.

Regarding the performers of this *kata* at the occasion of the 20th Waseda Tournament in November 1915, we were unable to uncover any further relevant details about Nagae. However, the name Endō refers to Endō Moriya 遠藤盛弥, who was born on September 2, 1896. He eventually reached the rank of 8th *dan* on May 10, 1949 (Personal communication *Kōdōkan* per Takahashi Machiko 高橋 満智子, 10 Feb 2021) (Figure 2). A biography of Endō was included in the article *Endō Moriya-shi o okuro* (遠藤盛爾氏をおくる) (Memorial service for Endō Moriya), published in the January 1950 issue of *Jūdō* (Takahirō Saburō, 1950). However, neither this biography, nor any other document we came across contains any suggestion or reference that he might be linked to inventing or creating *gonosen-no-kata*.

Figure 2. Endō Moriya 遠藤盛弥 (1896-1950), who held 2nd *dan* when in 1915 he demonstrated *gonosen-no-kata* at the (later 8th *dan*)



The 1915 date for *gonosen-no-kata*'s appearance also sheds doubt on Ishiguro Keishichi being actively involved in its creation since at that point in time he was only 17 years of age and entered the *Kodokan* only in April 1915 and did not even obtain his black belt until five days before Waseda University's 20th Jūdō Tournament held on November 7 of 1915 which included a demo of this *kata*. The same reasoning –if there still was any doubt about it– evidently applies to any prior claim of Kawaishi having invented *gonosen-no-kata*, since Kawaishi was two years junior to Ishiguro, and had not even entered Waseda until four years later; when he did so in September 1919; according to these recently discovered Japanese documents referenced earlier in this paper, *gonosen-no-kata* in the meantime was well in existence.

5. The initial spreading of *gonosen-no-kata* in Japan and peripheral geographical regions

It seems to be 1920 which is the year that first efforts were made to spread *gonosen-no-kata* beyond its bedrock at Waseda University. The Waseda School Gazette (*Waseda Gakuhō* 早稲田学報) of July 1920 (Anonymous, 1920) details a trip in May 1920 in which members of the Waseda University Jūdō Club took part and that took them to the *Shihan Gakkō* in Jōju 上州, Maebashi city 前橋市, and *Ueda Junior High School*. A demonstration of *gonosen-no-kata* was included nearly every day, and the *kata* was announced under either the name “*Waseda gonosen-no-kata*” or *Waseda dokutoku no gonosen-no-kata* 早稲田独特の後之先の形 (Waseda Special Forms of Post-Attack Initiative Counter Throws) (Table 2) emphasizing the *kata*'s indelible connection to Waseda University. Performers each time were Ninomiya Sōtarō 二宮宗太郎, 3rd *dan*, Yasuoka Toraki 安岡虎喜, 3rd *dan*.

Their travelogue, translated into English, reads as follows:

At 9:00 a.m. on Wednesday, May 12th (1920), nine members of the Jūdō Club, including Ishiguro Keishichi (4th *dan*), Nakase Naō (3rd *dan*), Ninomiya Sōtarō, Masamura Ginzu, Yasuoka Toraki, Nagashima Yoshio, Ebashi Chikara, Miki Tokuzo, and Sasaki Tōko (2nd *dan*), were seen off by many members of the Alumni Club.

Next, Ninomiya and Yasuoka both 3rd *dan* showed Waseda's unique *go-no-sen-no-kata*, whilst Shōmura, 3rd *dan*'s *harai-goshi*, Nakase 3rd *dan*'s *hane-goshi*, and Ishiguro, 4th *dan*'s *tai-otoshi*, *ko-soto-gari*, etc. were explained. After the lecture, the teachers and students had a tea party for the group at the *dōjō*. As



we left the school, we listened to a bonding song by the students of the school in order to promote friendship between the two schools in the future.

Thursday, the 13th [of May], we all left at 4:00 a.m. Next, Ninomiya and Yasuoka, both 3rd *dan*, showed *Waseda go-no-sen-no-kata*, Nakase, 3rd *dan*, explained *hane-goshi*, and Ishiguro, 4th *dan*, explained about *tsuri-komi-goshi* and others, as well as technical variations.

I woke up at 5:00 a.m. on Friday, the 14th [of May] to a trumpet call from the dormitory. We arrived at Ueda Station at 11:30. At this time, the group found Horiuchi, 3rd *dan*, of the same city and Okazaki Shigeisuke and Sugiyama Kenji, both 3rd *dan*, who had left Ueno last night, in the corridor, looking cheerful and welcoming the students of Ueda Junior High School. I went to the junior high school immediately and started training at 2:00. Next, Nakase, 3rd *dan*, in his *keikogi*, explained the purpose of the pilgrimage at the *dōjō*, Ninomiya and Yasuoka, both 3rd *dan*, showed the *kata* of *Waseda go-no-sen-no-kata*, Nakase, 3rd *dan*, explained *hane-goshi*, Ishiguro, 4th *dan*, explained *ashi-waza*, etc., and Okazaki, 3rd *dan*, gave his impressions of *jūdō* at Ueda Junior High School.

On Saturday, the 15th [of May], I left the museum at 8:30 a.m. and went to the junior high school. It was a pity that we had to skip the explanation of the techniques and the actual demonstration of the *kata* due to the lack of time to carry out the planned activities.

At 6:00 a.m. on Monday, the 17th [of May], from then on explanations were given by Ninomiya and Yasuoka, both 3rd *dan*, on *Waseda's go-no-sen-no-kata*, by Nakase and Ebashi, both 3rd *dan*, on *itsutsu-no-kata*, by Nakase and Sugiyama, both 3rd *dan*, on *kime-no-kata*, and by Ishiguro, 4th *dan*, on *ko-uchi-gari*, and technical variations. We left the school at 3:30 p.m. and departed Ōmachi Station at 4:00 p.m." (...) (Anonymous, 1920)

Table 2. Chronological overview of the oldest documented public performances of *gonosen-no-kata*

Date	<i>Gonosen-no-kata</i> Historical Designation	Performed by	Location	Event	Primary Source
7 November 1915	<i>Kaeshi-no-kata</i> 返し <small>の</small> 型	Endō Moriya 遠藤盛弥, 2 nd <i>dan</i> Nagae 永江, 2 nd <i>dan</i>	Tōkyō	20 th Waseda University Jūdō Club Tournament 第二十早稲田大學 柔道大會	<i>Waseda Gakuhō</i> January 1916
5 November 1916	<i>Go-no-sen</i> 後 <small>の</small> 先	Akimoto Motō 秋本元男, 2 nd <i>dan</i> Andō Sei'ichi 安藤誠一, 2 nd <i>dan</i>	Tōkyō	21 st Waseda University Jūdō Club Tournament 第二十一早稲田大 學柔道大會	<i>Jūdō</i> February 1917
12 May 1920	<i>Waseda dokutoku no gonosen-no- kata</i> 早稲田独特の後之 先 <small>の</small> 形	Ninomiya Sōtarō 二宮宗太郎, 3 rd <i>dan</i> Yasuoka Toraki 安岡虎喜, 3 rd <i>dan</i>	Jōju 上州, Maebashi city 前橋市	Shihan gakkō	<i>Waseda Gakuhō</i> July 1920
13-15 May 1920	<i>Waseda gonosen- no-kata</i> 早稲田後之先 <small>の</small> 形	Ninomiya Sōtarō 二宮宗太郎, 3 rd <i>dan</i> Yasuoka Toraki 安岡虎喜, 3 rd <i>dan</i>		Ueda Junior High School	<i>Waseda Gakuhō</i> July 1920
17 May 1920	<i>Waseda gonosen- no-kata</i> 早稲田後 <small>の</small> 先 <small>の</small> 形	Ninomiya Sōtarō 二宮宗太郎, 3 rd <i>dan</i> Yasuoka Toraki 安岡虎喜, 3 rd <i>dan</i>			<i>Waseda Gakuhō</i> July 1920
9 April 1924	Waseda Daigaku <i>gonosen-no-kata</i> 早稲田大学後 <small>の</small> 先 <small>の</small> 形	Endō Moriya 遠藤盛弥, 4 th <i>dan</i> Kabumoto 株本, 3 rd <i>dan</i>	Tiānjīng 天京 (present Nánjīng 南京), China	Waseda-Tiānjīng Joint Jūdō Tournament*	<i>Waseda Gakuhō</i> September/November 1924

7 January 1926	<i>Gonosen-no-kata</i>	Ishigurō Keishichi 石黒敬七 (1897-1974), 5 th <i>dan</i> Sukeno	Stadium Club, Holborn, London	London Budokwai 9 th Annual Display	<i>London Budokwai First Minute Book</i> (1918-1932)
22 March 1927	<i>Gonosen-no-kata</i>	Sōma Yasuo 相馬安雄 (1892-?), 4 th <i>dan</i> Tani Yukio 谷幸雄 (1881-1950), 2 nd <i>dan</i>	Ealing Gymnasium, UK	Annual Display Ealing Borough Gymnastic Club	<i>The West Middlesex Gazette</i> 19 March 1927
July 1930	<i>Gonosen-no-kata</i>	Budokwai members	UK	Champneys Garden Party	<i>Buckinghamshire Examiner</i> 1 August 1930
5-10 November 1930	<i>Gonosen-no-kata</i>	Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治 (1885-1965), 4 th <i>dan</i> , Tani Yukio, Ōtani Masutarō 大谷増太郎 (1898-1977)	<i>Dōjō</i> in London, Cambridge, Slough, & Birmingham, UK	Ealing Judo Club, Cambridge University Judo Club, Slough Judo Club, Budokwai, Birmingham Midland Judo Club	<i>Jiu-Jitsu-Sport, Berlin</i> 1 December 1930
7-12 August 1932	<i>Gonosen-no-kata</i>	Ishiguro Keishichi, Koizumi Gunji, Tani Yukio	Waldstadion, Frankfurt, Germany	First International Summer School	
28 November 1932	<i>Gonosen-no-kata</i>	Kawaishi Mikinosuke 川石酒造之助 (1899-1969), 4 th <i>dan</i> Ōtani Masutarō	Oxford, UK	Oxford University Judo Club	<i>Oxford University Judo Club Programme</i> , 28 Nov. 1932

*In the presence of 2,000 people amongst whom Japanese, Chinese, American, British, French, and Italian spectators see (Waseda Daigaku Jūdō-bu Hyakunen Shi Henshū I'inkai, 1997, p. 372).

Especially the name of Ninomiya stands out. Despite most Westerners likely being unfamiliar with the name, Ninomiya was not a nobody hence why a closer look at his biographical profile is merited in the historical context of *gonosen-no-kata*.

6. Ninomiya Sōtarō, a stalwart in Waseda University's *jūdō* history

Ninomiya's name is inextricably linked to Waseda. Whilst the name Waseda University is known by many *jūdōka*, few *jūdōka* are aware of the origin of its name and fame. In March 1897, when the school was still a *Tōkyō Senmon Gakkō*, the famous Yokoyama Sakujiro 横山作次郎, then 5th *dan*, was invited as a teacher under the sponsorship of Kanō Jigorō himself. In the middle of the second half of the 1800s, two of the best *jūdōka* in the world, Maeda Mitsuyo 前田光世 (1878-1941) and Satake Nobushirō 佐竹信四郎 ¹² (exact date of birth unknown – died, 11 May 1936), 4th *dan*, were born, and later became Waseda University students and importantly contributed to the spread of *jūdō* overseas and to the international fame of Waseda as a breeding place for superb *jūdō* fighters. It is considered the merit of especially Miyakawa Ikkan 宮川一貫 (1885-1944) (later 9th *dan*)¹³, the *jūdō* head-instructor at Waseda University at the time, to have produced such famous *jūdōka* as Ishiguro

¹² Satake was probably born around 1880. He entered the *Kōdōkan* in May 1892, graduated from Waseda University's Department of Japanese Language and Politics in 1904, and primarily was a *sumō* wrestler. He obtained the rank of 5th *dan* in *Kōdōkan jūdō*. His name by most Western language sources is mispronounced as Satake 'Soshihiro'. Like Maeda Mitsuyo, Satake later became a Brazilian citizen and changed his first name into Antônio.

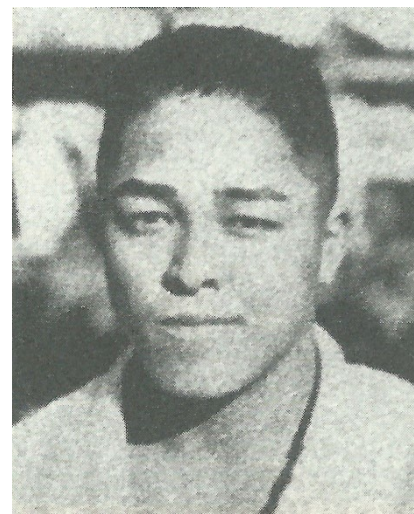
¹³ For a biography of Miyakawa Ikkan, see De Créé, 2015.



Keishichi, Kasahara Iwao¹⁴ (later 8th *dan*), Kawaishi Mikinosuke (later 7th *dan*), and also... Ninomiya Sōtarō (Hata & Takimoto, 1954, Murai, 1997) (Figure 3).

Ninomiya was born in Kanagawa Prefecture ca. 1902 and became a 3rd *dan* while still in Yokohama Junior High School –an unprecedented achievement at that time– and was unbeatable in the All Japan Secondary School Tournament. Ninomiya’s teacher at junior high school was Igarashi Chūgo, 5th *dan*, a master in *newaza* hailing from *Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū jūjutsu*. Hence, as was not uncommon with many skilful *jūdōka* of that era Ninomiya came to *jūdō* with a background in *jūjutsu* and particularly excelled in *shime-waza*, especially *kata-jūji-jime*, although he also favored the arm bar *jūji-gatame*. However, his teacher gave him outstanding skills in both *newaza* and *tachi-waza*, hence Ninomiya also possessed a superbly effective *ō-uchi-gari*, *hane-goshi*, and *uchi-mata*. Ninomiya later became a student of Yokoyama Sakujirō 横山作次郎 (1864-1912), and at the *Kōdōkan* he regularly trained with such exponents as Mifune Kyūzō (1883-1965), Nakano Shōzō 中野正三 (1888-1977), Toku Sanpō 徳三宝 (1897-1945), and Takahashi Kazuyoshi 高橋数良 (1885-1942).

Figure 3. Ninomiya Sōtarō 二宮宗太郎 (born ca. 1902-date of death unknown), 3rd *dan* (later 8th *dan*).



Ninomiya Sōtarō, having rapidly climbed up to 5th *dan* (later 8th *dan*) was said to be “the strongest fighter since the beginning of Waseda University” (Hata & Takimoto, 1954, Murai, 1997). He is known as the winner of the first *Meiji Jingu* Tournament (youth division) held in November 1924. At that time, Ninomiya in the final two matches defeated Hamano Shōhei 浜野正平¹⁵ (Meiji University) by pulling him into his favorite *newaza* and defeating him with the arm bar *jūji-gatame*, and also defeated Takasaki Masami¹⁶ 鷹崎正見 of his own *alma mater* (Waseda University) by *tomoe-nage* (Yoko’o, 1997). He won all of his bouts by *ippon*, using a variety of techniques, including *uchi-mata*, *kata-jūji-jime*, *hane-goshi*, and *ō-uchi-gari*, and made his name known throughout Japan (Yasuda, 2012).

Ninomiya was a true “*jūdō* demon” just like his teacher Yokoyama, and never forgot his original intentions even when training with lower level *jūdōka* at Waseda University; he was known for taking each and every bout as a serious competition. He never refrained from training with his seniors at the *Kōdōkan*, such as Mifune, Nakano, Toku, and Takahashi, and worked hard for two or three hours without rest. This is why in a match he would go on the offensive, attacking without pausing for breath, whether he was standing or lying down.

Ninomiya then at the *Butokusai* 武徳祭 Festival in Kyōto on May 5, 1925, challenged the *Busen*’s own Kurihara Tamio 栗原民雄 (1896-1979), later posthumously promoted to 10th *dan*. The *Butokukai* 大日本武徳会 had refused to participate in the *Meiji Jingu* Tournament from the standpoint that “*jūdō* was not a competition”. Ninomiya was curious to see what kind of *jūdō* the *Butokukai*, which claimed that it was not a competition, was really doing. The *Butokukai*, however, refused the challenge on the grounds that there was not a single student at the *Busen* who could compete with Ninomiya. Kurihara Tamio, a *Busen* instructor¹⁷, overheard this and said, “If you refuse, it will seem

¹⁴ Also known as Sasaki Itsuo.

¹⁵ Hamano Shōhei 浜野正平 (1899-1974), later 9th *dan*, built out an impressive *jūdō* career in service of both the *Kōdōkan* and the *All Japan Jūdō Federation*. He is particularly known for his contribution to the international spread of *jūdō*, for his role in the selection of Japan’s national *jūdō* team members in the 1960s and early 1970s and for having enhanced the *jūdō* skills level in the Soviet Union.

¹⁶ Takasaki Masami 鷹崎正見 (1900-1976), *Kōdōkan* 6th *dan* (later 9th *dan* posth.) Kanō’s son-in-law and previously a captain of the Waseda *jūdō* team.

¹⁷ *Busen* 武専 is an abbreviation of *Budō Senmon Gakkō* 武道専門学校 [Vocational School of Martial Arts]. It was a school based at the *Butokuden* 武徳殿 [Hall of Martial Virtue] training hall (constructed in 1895) in Kyōto. After the *Dai Nippon Butokukai* 大日本武徳会 was established under the authority of the Minister of Education to train young men and women in Japanese martial arts, a division was created to form *bujutsu* instructors. This division, created in 1905 was called the

as if there is not a single person in Kyōto who is capable. So, I will go. It is the etiquette of the martial arts to accept an offer of a match. I am fighting for the honor of the *Busen* and the *Butokukai*”, he said, convincing those who opposed him. “Whether the *Kōdōkan* 5th *dan* or the *Butokukai* 5th *dan* instructor wins”, the match between Ninomiya and Kurihara would become a sensation among *jūdōka* throughout the world (Yasuda, 2012).

The referee would be Isogai, 8th *dan* (later 10th *dan*), a heavyweight in the *Butokukai*. In the presence of His Imperial Highness the Prince Regent (the future *Shōwa* Emperor), 16 *kendō* and 27 *jūdō* matches were held, with all eyes on the final *jūdō* match between Kurihara Tamio and Ninomiya Sōtarō. The *Butokuden* was packed to capacity to watch this match.

Kurihara was 30 years old, 160 cm, 75 kg, and Ninomiya was 24 years old, 160 cm, 80 kg. The two men braced themselves as the voice said, ‘*hajime*’. Their spirits were like sparks. They had heard of each other, but this was literally their first encounter. Ninomiya was a master of *uchi-mata*, *ō-uchi-gari*, and right *tomoe-nage* from the right side of his body, and in *ne-waza* he was an expert of *kansetsu-waza*. Kurihara excelled at *tsurikomi-goshi*, *ko-uchi-gari*, and *tomoe-nage*, and in *newaza* was skilled at *osae-waza*, *kansetsu-waza*, and *shime-waza*.

Until the seventh minute, the two players were measuring each other up, and no technique resulted in any score. In the eighth minute though, Ninomiya pulled Kurihara down, and followed up with *hikkomi-gaeshi*, which turned into a *tomoe-nage*. Kurihara responded by jumping up as an evasive action that while in the air continued into a counterattack with a *yoko-shihō-gatame*. Ninomiya withstood the hold and counterattacked with a *hiza-gatame* variation. Kurihara was also able to hold out and went for *ude-garami*. However, Ninomiya who too was an expert in *ude-garami*, was able to block the technique, escape and get up again. Kurihara then again went for a *tomoe-nage* and followed up with *ude-hishigi-jūji-gatame*, but Ninomiya attacked with the same technique. Without any time to breathe, the battle continued for 30 minutes. Referee Isogai then declared the bout a draw with no winner. This was a great match, and the two fighters became famous. (...) (Yasuda, 2012)

Ninomiya Sōtarō made a name for himself as a graduate of Waseda University by serving as a captain of the *Mantetsu* team¹⁸ in a match between the *Tōkyō Gakujuren* and *Mantetsu* (Figure 4), but there is no record of him losing a match.

He sometimes showed his face at the Waseda University *dōjō* until around 1961 or 1962, and I still remember that he taught those who lacked *newaza* skills. He seemed to be particularly good at *kansetsu-waza*, and I recall that despite his advanced age at the time, he was able to score by arm bar in an instant against one of the regular active students. He was an unparalleled expert formed at Waseda University” (...) (Yoko’o Kazuhiko 横尾一彦, class of 1961) (...) (Yoko’o, 1997)

In the September-November 1924 issue of *Waseda Gakuhō* (Waseda School Gazette) another entry for *gonosen-no-kata* is found, now in association with Waseda Jūdō Club’s grand tour of Manchuria, Korea and China:

インターバルが 10 分間あつて後鷹崎、桜井両 4 段、古式之形を演じて莊嚴なそして落ちついた処を見せた。最後に早稲田大学後の先の形を校友遠藤盛弥 4 段、株本 3 段と共にやった。流石に昔の稽古の形が未だに崩れず遠藤 4 段の鮮かな実の入った型を見せて貰って吾々も嬉しかった。最後に鷹崎 4 段の五人掛をやって見事にこれを抜き放ち、外人連の肝を寒からしめた。そしてこの盛大なる大会は極めて静肅に然も盛大に有意義にこれを終ることを得た。米国駐屯軍司令官、仏国司令官が流汗瀧の如き吾々に握手を求めに来た。 (...) (Takasaki, 1997)¹⁹

Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo 武術教員養成所 went through a number of changes to eventually lead in 1912 to the *Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō*. Its inaugural class graduated in March 1914 and the school was renamed in 1919 to *Budō Senmon Gakkō* or *Busen*. The school was known for producing high-spirited and competent Japanese martial arts instructors some of whom later end up in the West, where they left a deep impression.

¹⁸ *Mantetsu* 満鉄 (literally, Manchurian Iron) is an abbreviation of *Minamimanshū Tetsudō Kabushikigaisha* 南滿州鉄道株式会社 (The South Manchuria Railway Company, Ltd.) which was operational between 1906-1945.

¹⁹ Translation: After an interval of 10 minutes, Takasaki and Sakurai, both 4th *dan*, performed the *koshiki-no-kata*, showing a solemn and calm atmosphere. At the end, Waseda University’s *go-no-sen-no-kata* was performed together by my schoolmates Endō Moriya, 4th *dan*, and Kabumoto, 3rd *dan*. We were happy to see the traditional form of practice and *kuzushi* of Endō, 4th *dan*, and his vivid and realistic *kata*. Finally, Takasaki, 4th *dan*, took on five men, which he successfully pulled



This time, it was not Ninomiya, but Endō Moriya again whose name was particularly associated with *gonosen-no-kata*. He is the same person involved in the oldest (1915) entry of *gonosen-no-kata* which hitherto we have been able to locate (Table 2). So far though, further evidence of him potentially having been involved in the design of development of this *kata* still is lacking. Whereas both Endō Moriya and Ninomiya played a crucial role in the spread of *gonosen-no-kata* in Japan the smoking gun linking either of them to the actual invention of this *kata*, remains missing. Given that we are now able to show the *kata*'s existence as early as 1915, we also have to be mindful that it would have taken at least some time to conceptualize the *kata* and practice it before being ready to put it on the program for public display in November 1915. Exactly how much time went into the preparation we do not know. Despite Ninomiya's crucial role in spreading *gonosen-no-kata* in Japan and peripheral regions in the early 1920's, we have to consider that he was born only around 1902,²⁰ and therefore would not even be at Waseda for years to come

Figure 4. Historical group picture featuring Ninomiya Sōtarō 二宮宗太郎 (born ca. 1902-date of death unknown), 5th *dan* (later 8th *dan*) holding the flag as captain of the winning Manchurian Army Jūdō Team against the Korean Army Jūdō Team in 1925



For these reasons we do not currently see any reasons to revise the part of our previously published conclusion (De Créé, 2015a) about the likely involvement of Waseda *kaeshi-waza* expert Takahashi Kazuyoshi 高橋数良 (1885-1942) in the development of *gonosen-no-kata*. However, the new findings are suggestive of both Endō Moriya²¹ –who must have been about 6 years senior to Ninomiya and therefore already present at Waseda years earlier– and the then chief-instructor Miyakawa Ikkan 宮川一貫 (1885-1944) (later 9th *dan*) of having been instrumental in helping Waseda's *gonosen-no-kata* project come to fruition.

7. The fate of *gonosen-no-kata* in Japan and abroad

So, what happened to *gonosen-no-kata*? Why did it disappear from practice in Japan? How come that even senior Japanese *kata* experts in and outside of the Kōdōkan tend to deny *gonosen-no-kata*'s existence and Japanese origin?²²

It is at present not possible to establish beyond speculation precisely when and why *gonosen-no-kata* has gone in decline in Japan, but it may have coincided with the development and

off, chilling the hearts of the foreign residents. The grand tournament ended very quietly, but with great significance. The U.S. garrison commander and the French commander came to shake our hands, sweating like waterfalls.

²⁰ As to when and under what circumstances Ninomiya died seems to be unknown. Ninomiya, oddly, is listed in neither the in 2000 published *Kōdōkan New Japanese-English Dictionary of Jūdō* (Kanō, 1999) nor the 1996-published *Gendai Jūdō Jinbutsu Sōsho* 現代柔道人物叢書 (*Contemporary Jūdō Biographies*) (Kudō, 1996), an in authoritative 19-volume biographical jūdō encyclopedia. Earlier in this paper we cited from an account provided by one of his former associates mentioning about Ninomiya that “He sometimes showed his face at the Waseda University *dōjō* until around 1961 or 1962...” (Yoko’o, 1997). That being said, we also consulted the 1965 *Kōdōkan High-dan Holders Directory* (Kudō, 1965) and noticed that, despite Ninomiya holding the rank of 8th *dan*, his name once more is absent from this edition too. This could suggest that he likely may have died between 1962-1965, unless there is another explanation for his absence from this publication. We lack the evidence to conclude whether the absence of Ninomya’s name here is either mere oblivion or intentional.

²¹ Endō Moriya collapsed on November 2, 1950, after entering the *jūdō* club and suffering a cerebral hemorrhage. He passed away a week later. Although his obituary lists him as having been 61 years of age (Takahirō, 1950), considering his year of birth (1896) as registered with the *Kōdōkan*, he must instead have been 64 years old. Alive, he held a senior director position in the shipping industry. None of his obituaries we saw made any reference to *gonosen-no-kata*. His final *jūdō* rank was 8th *dan*, obtained on May 10, 1949.

²² See note #1, for an example.

introduction of Mifune Kyūzō's own *kata* of counter throws, the *nage-waza ura-no-kata* 投業裏の形 (De Créé, 2015b). This *kata*, launched likely in the 1930s, clearly is more dynamic and sophisticated than Waseda's *gonosen-no-kata*. Furthermore, one should not underestimate Mifune's personal charisma, impact and position at the *Kōdōkan*, which well might have blown away any competing initiative... To put it simple, even though Mifune's *kata* of counter throws was never officially approved by the *Kōdōkan*, it still pretty much signified the *coup de grâce* to *gonosen-no-kata*, of which the display and popularity seem to have faded in Japan around the middle of the 1930s.

However, in the West the situation evolved quite differently. Specifically, *gonosen-no-kata* in the West was never replaced by Mifune's *nage-waza ura-no-kata* on a significant scale.²³ The reasons are simple. At least three of the Japanese teachers in Europe, who were associated with propagating *gonosen-no-kata* in the 1930s, permanently settled in Europe, and held a tight grip over their followers' *jūdō* curriculum and standards (Bowen, 2011), meaning: they continued teaching and preserved the practice of *gonosen-no-kata* for decades to come; Koizumi Gunji (GB) died in 1965, Kawaishi Mikinosuke (France) in 1969, and Ōtani Masutarō in 1977. Yet, Mifune's *nage-waza ura-no-kata* remained unknown in Europe until people became acquainted with his *Canon of Judo – Principle and Technique* of which the first edition of the translated English version was published in 1956 (Mifune, 1956). But even then, *jūdōka* did not *en masse* start to practice *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. Why not? Well, in the early 1960s the average level of Western *jūdōka* was still too low for craving more exotic or uncommon *kata* when for the large majority mainstream *jūdō* was still full of secrets, even though it is true that at least in Great Britain the duo Koizumi/Tani did not shy away from fabricating some peculiar, and perhaps rather 'unnecessary' *kata* of their own. The difference though was: Koizumi/Tani were present in Great Britain, Mifune was not and never resided outside Japan. Besides, why would foreign *jūdōka* put time in practicing a *kata* such as *nage-waza ura-no-kata*, which was not on the exam program for any black belt *jūdō* rank in the West, whereas other *kata* they still struggled with, were? Finally, the *Canon of Judo* only offered still photographs, which is a tool of limited use, particularly when dealing with a *kata* one has never even seen being practiced live. For this, one had to be patient for at least another two decades.^{24,25}

These are the reasons that, in spite of the materials published by Mifune and the efforts by IMAF's Satō Shizuya, *nage-waza ura-no-kata* despite its much higher sophistication, to date has not generally replaced *gonosen-no-kata* practice outside Japan. Although the Japanese proponents of *gonosen-no-kata* in Europe have now long passed, some countries, such as Great Britain more or less keep it "on life support" by leaving it in their *dan* rank promotion syllabus (British Judo Association, n.d.). It is this combination of factors that also explains why the phenomenon of *gonosen-no-kata* still being practiced, is limited to only select European countries (France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands). Conversely, in Belgium, for example, the *kata* has long disappeared from practice. This

²³ Germany probably is the sole exception in Europe where a significant effort was made to voluntarily substitute *nage-waza ura-no-kata* for *gonosen-no-kata* as part of the exam program for promotion to certain black belt ranks (Dax-Romswinkel, 2013-2014).

²⁴ I recall my own first encounter with *nage-waza ura-no-kata* when I found out in the early 1980's that Japan had started distributing to the culture department of many of its embassies abroad a 16mm film reel featuring the now famous *Shingi Mifune Jūdan* 神技三船十段 (Superhuman Mifune, 10th *dan*) movie. However, it was not until the late 1990's when this movie was released on VHS video (and later on DVD) that it entered homes and drew the admiration of *jūdōka* worldwide, although only a very small minority converted that admiration into practice.

²⁵ There had been an alternative way of access to Mifune's *kata* due to the efforts made by International Martial Arts Federation (*Kokusai Budō'in – Kokusai Budō Renmei* 国際武道院・国際武道連盟) secretary-general (and later director) Satō Shizuya 佐藤静彌 (1929-2011), IMAF 9th *dan jūdō*. Satō devoted his life to the worldwide promotion of Japanese martial arts, and *inter alia* thanks to his relationship with Itō Kazuo, *Kōdōkan* 9th *dan*, a former student of Mifune, became himself proficient both as a practitioner and teacher of *nage-waza ura-no-kata*. Although Satō during his foreign visits, when his age still permitted to do so, regularly demonstrated and taught this *kata*, his efforts faced considerable adversity. For one, *jūdō* within IMAF operated outside the confines of both the International Judo Federation and the *Kōdōkan*. The result was that most national *jūdō* federations prohibited their members of participating in IMAF *jūdō* seminars. Therefore, oftentimes a country's best technical or highest qualified *jūdō* experts were absent from these IMAF seminars. Hence, when Satō did demonstrate *nage-waza ura-no-kata* abroad he was often forced to choose as his *uke* [undergoing practice partner] an ill-prepared foreign *jūdōka* of limited technical abilities. The rare and quite difficult to obtain amateur film recordings (no official videos on this topic were ever released by Satō) of such events which we had a chance of studying, for this reason show regular mishaps, and a disabling nervousness on part of the confused *uke*. Apparent communication issues due to language limitations obviously did not help either.



too is no surprise, since Belgium in the person of Abe Ichirō 安部一郎 (1922-2022) between 1953-1968 had a relatively conservative and rigorous *Kōdōkan*-affiliated technical director, who quickly did away with the Kawaiishi-style *jūdō*, including... *gonosen-no-kata*.

8. Conclusion...

The results of this paper refute our 2015 caution that *gonosen-no-kata* might not be of Japanese origin. Based on firm, though difficult to uncover evidence, we showed that this *kata* did exist in Japan more than a decade before its introduction in the West at the occasion of a public demonstration in London in 1926. Almost as a proverbial illustration of *the mountain labors and brings forth a mouse* our extensive research into this topic in the end shows that in accordance with what is mentioned in so many popular texts (albeit without any evidence) (Diester, 2004, Ott, 2000), *gonosen-no-kata* indeed originates at Waseda University in Tōkyō.

In strict contrast with a single 1917 reference in the *Kōdōkan*'s magazine *Jūdō* and completely at odds with frequently heard assertions made by contemporary senior Japanese *jūdōka*, *gonosen-no-kata* together with standard *Kōdōkan kata* regularly featured on the program and was publically demonstrated during competitive *jūdō* meetings in Japan and peripheral regions during the *Taishō* era (1912-1926) whenever a *jūdō* team from Waseda University participated. *Gonosen-no-kata*'s most significant early proponents in Japan, and predating Ishiguro Keishichi, were Waseda students: Akimoto Motō, Andō Sei'ichi, and especially Endō Moriya, Ninomiya Sotarō, and Yasuoka Toraki (Table 3). *Gonosen-no-kata*'s primary advocates in Europe (from 1927 onward) were select *jūdō* teachers of Japanese origin: Sōma Yasuo, Koizumi Gunji, Tani Yukio, Ōtani Masutarō, and subsequently Kawaiishi Mikinosuke.

Table 3. Chronological overview of the first documented public performances of *gonosen-no-kata* sorted per country and performer.

First public <i>Gonosen-no-kata</i> performances	
Performers	Remarks
ASIA	
JAPAN	
Endō Moriya 遠藤盛弥, 2 nd dan (1915, 1924)	= First known public performance
Nagae 永江, 2 nd dan (1915)	First name unknown
Akimoto Motō 秋本元男, 2 nd dan (1916)	
Andō Sei'ichi 安藤誠一, 2 nd dan (1916)	
Ninomiya Sōtarō 二宮宗太郎, 3 rd dan (1920)	
Yasuoka Toraki 安岡虎喜, 3 rd dan (1920)	
Kabumoto 株本, 3 rd dan (1924)	First name unknown
CHINA	
Endō Moriya 遠藤盛弥, 2 nd dan (1924)	
Kabumoto 株本, 3 rd dan (1924)	
EUROPE	
UK	
Ishigurō Keishichi 石黒敬七, 5 th dan (1926)	= First known European performance
Sōma Yasuo 相馬安雄, 4 th dan (1927)	
Tani Yukio 谷幸雄, 2 nd dan (1927, 1930, 1932)	
Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治, 4 th dan (1930, 1932)	
Ōtani Masutarō 大谷増太郎 (1930)	
Kawaiishi Mikinosuke 川石酒造之助, 4 th dan (1932)	
GERMANY	
Ishigurō Keishichi 石黒敬七, 5 th dan (1932)	
Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治, 4 th dan (1932)	
Tani Yukio 谷幸雄, 2 nd dan (1932)	
FRANCE	
Kawaiishi Mikinosuke 川石酒造之助, 4 th dan (1935)	

None of the newly discovered documents discloses anything about the historical consistency of *gonosen-no-kata*'s content or its creation, hence preventing us from assessing whether its content changed at any point during the *Taishō* era. That being said, Waseda University's former chief-instructors Miyakawa Ikkan and Takahashi Kazuyoshi, and their dedicated student(s), such as Endō Moriya remain the most likely candidates for the creation and development of the *gonosen-no-kata*.

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Notes

1. 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 historical figures.
2. For absolute rigor, long Japanese vowel sounds have been approximated using macrons (e.g. *Kōdōkan*) in order to indicate their Japanese pronunciation as closely as possible. However, when referring to or quoting from Western literature, the relevant text or author is cited exactly as per the original source, with macrons used or omitted accordingly.

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²⁶ See Appendix 1 for the original Japanese scripts.



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Carl De Créé (Belgium) is a Full Professor of Medicine (Exercise Endocrinology & Sports Medicine) and a university executive administrator. In addition, he also is a senior scholar in Chinese and Japanese Studies and has conducted on *jūdō* since 1981. He is a graduate of the first cohort of the University of Rome's unique Master's degree program in *Jūdō*, and one of only a few *jūdō*-experts holding the European Judo Union *Level-6 Specialized Judo Teacher & High-Performance Coach* qualification. He also holds double Trainer-A qualifications in both *jūdō* and *jūjutsu* from the Flemish Trainer School, and an *International Judo Coach* qualification and a *Judo Master Teacher Class A Certificate* from USA Judo. He has previously resided in Japan and has studied *jūdō* with, *inter alia*, the late Felix De Smedt, Marcel Clause, Hirano Tokio, Fukuda Keiko, Imamura Haruo, Abe Ichirō, Daigo Toshirō, and Ōsawa Yoshimi, and with Ashida Kunio, Kurimura Yōji, Ochiai Toshiyasu, Okano Isao, Tokuyama Misao, and Tsuji Yoshimi. He holds an 8th *dan* black belt in *jūdō* and the title of *kyōshi*. He is a former student in the Inoue Keitarō-lineage of *Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū jūjutsu* under the late Tobaru Kazu-*shihan*, and the first and only non-Japanese ever to hold *menkyo* in *Kitō-ryū*. E-mail: prof.cdecree@earthlink.net



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