

## The *Kōdōkan jūdō gokyō-no-waza*: Its history and pedagogy†

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### Abstract

This paper aims to describe, contextualize and critically analyze the historical origin and background, circumstances, structure and logic that underpin *Kōdōkan jūdō's gokyō-no-waza* and classification of throws outside of the *gokyō*. To do so, we have applied historical methods and source criticism allowing us to uncover hitherto unknown facts and to offer a critical analysis of the *gokyō's* foundations and previously published hypotheses. With *kata* prior to the creation of the *gokyō* being the only crutch that Kanō's assistants could lean on when having to teach the *Kōdōkan's* exponentially growing number of *jūdō* students, there was a dire need for a didactically organized teaching plan of technical progression. It is to that end that in 1895 some of Kanō's most senior students and himself came up with the *gokyō-no-waza* or "techniques of the five teachings" as their standard syllabus of throwing techniques. Today referred to as the *kyū gokyō-no-waza*, this first syllabus consisted of 42 techniques. In response to the evolution of *jūdō*, a revised syllabus, the *shin gokyō-no-waza* consisting of 40 techniques was launched in 1920 based on the input of six of Kanō's leading students. The techniques within the *gokyō* are organized foremost with attention to being easy for breakfalling. Between 1982 and 2017, the *Kōdōkan* expanded their syllabus to 68 throws by creating two categories of techniques outside of the *gokyō*, i.e. the *habukareta-waza* and the *shinmeishō-no-waza*. In this paper we propose to add a new category of 25 historically documented *jūdō* throws, which we have named the *jidai-okure-no-waza* [obsolete techniques] hence bringing the total recognized *jūdō* throws to 93.

**Keywords:** Combat sports; gokyō; history; Japan, Jigoro Kano; judo; Kodokan; martial arts.

### El *Kōdōkan jūdō gokyō-no-waza*: su historia y pedagogía

#### Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es describir, contextualizar y analizar críticamente el origen histórico y los antecedentes, las circunstancias, la estructura y la lógica que sustentan el *gokyō-no-waza* del *jūdō Kōdōkan* y la clasificación de las proyecciones no incluidas en el *gokyō*. Para ello, se han aplicado métodos históricos y la crítica de las fuentes, lo que ha permitido descubrir hechos hasta ahora desconocidos y ofrecer un análisis crítico de los fundamentos del *gokyō* y de las hipótesis presentes anteriormente en la literatura. Dado que las *kata* anteriores a la creación del *gokyō* eran el único apoyo que tenían los discípulos de Kanō a la hora de enseñar al número exponencialmente creciente de alumnos del *jūdō Kōdōkan*, existía una necesidad acuciante de un plan de enseñanza organizado didácticamente para facilitar la progresión técnica. Con ese propósito, en 1895, algunos de los alumnos más veteranos de Kanō y él mismo idearon el *gokyō-no-waza* o "técnicas de las cinco enseñanzas" como programa estándar de técnicas de proyección. Hoy en día conocido como *kyū gokyō-no-waza*, este primer programa

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#### Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo descrever, contextualizar e analisar criticamente a origem histórica e o contexto, as circunstâncias, a estrutura e a lógica que sustentam o *gokyō-no-waza* do *jūdō Kōdōkan* e a classificação das projeções fora do *gokyō*. Para isso, aplicamos métodos históricos e crítica de fontes, o que nos permitiu descobrir fatos até então desconhecidos e oferecer uma análise crítica dos fundamentos do *gokyō* e das hipóteses publicadas anteriormente. Com os *kata* anteriores à criação do *gokyō* sendo a única muleta em que os assistentes de Kanō podiam se apoiar quando tinham que ensinar o número exponencialmente crescente de alunos de *jūdō* do *Kōdōkan*, havia uma necessidade urgente de um plano de ensino didaticamente organizado de progressão técnica. Foi com esse objetivo que, em 1895, alguns dos alunos mais antigos de Kanō e ele próprio criaram o *gokyō-no-waza* ou "técnicas dos cinco ensinamentos" como seu programa padrão de técnicas de projeção. Hoje conhecido como *kyū gokyō-no-*

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constaba de 42 técnicas. En respuesta a la evolución del *jūdō*, en 1920 se estrenó un programa revisado, el *shin gokyō-no-waza*, que constaba de 40 técnicas, basado en las aportaciones de seis de los principales alumnos de Kanō. Las técnicas del *gokyō* se organizan principalmente prestando atención a la facilidad de la caída. Entre 1982 y 2017, el *Kōdōkan* amplió su programa a 68 proyecciones, creando dos categorías de técnicas no incluidas en el *gokyō*, es decir, el *habukareta-waza* y el *shinmeishō-no-waza*. En este artículo proponemos añadir una nueva categoría de 25 proyecciones de *jūdō* documentadas históricamente, a las que hemos denominado *jidai-okure-no-waza* [técnicas obsoletas], con lo que el total de proyecciones de *jūdō* reconocidas asciende a 93.

**Palabras clave:** Deportes de combate; gokyō; history; Japón; Jigoro Kano; judo; Kodokan; artes marciales.

*waza*, este primeiro programa consistia em 42 técnicas. Em resposta à evolução do *jūdō*, um programa revisado, o *shin gokyō-no-waza*, composto por 40 técnicas, foi lançado em 1920 com base nas contribuições de seis dos principais alunos de Kanō. As técnicas dentro do *gokyō* são organizadas principalmente com atenção para serem fáceis de cair. Entre 1982 e 2017, o *Kōdōkan* expandiu o seu programa para 68 projeções, criando duas categorias de técnicas fora do *gokyō*, ou seja, o *habukareta-waza* e o *shinmeishō-no-waza*. Neste artigo, propomos adicionar uma nova categoria de 25 projeções de *jūdō* historicamente documentadas, que denominamos *jidai-okure-no-waza* [técnicas obsoletas], elevando assim o total de projeções de *jūdō* reconhecidas para 93.

**Palavras-chave:** Desportos de combate; gokyō; história; Japão; Jigoro Kano; judô; Kodokan; artes marciais.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Historically, it is mainly because of the didactical edge over existing *jūjutsu* schools and the versatility and alleged uniqueness of its *randori* 乱取 component that *Kōdōkan jūdō* relatively soon after its inception in 1882 would rapidly gain popularity. *Randori*, a form of free practice was well suited to a martial art that made ample use of throws. Historical contest records from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century show that, contrary to current general understanding, in practice, both members from various *koryū* 古流 [traditional Japanese martial arts] and from *Kōdōkan* regularly competed amongst each other in *shiai* 試合 [contests] tournaments (Kanemitsu, 1958) suggesting that *randori* may well not have been so unique to *Kōdōkan jūdō* as frequently suggested (see further).

To promote his *Kōdōkan jūdō*, Kanō frequently gave lectures and authored articles which were published in various magazines. Irrespective of how he disseminated his ideas, Kanō during his life always emphasized the pedagogical character of *jūdō* (Kanō, 2006). Over time, as his organization grew, and others participated in actively propagating *jūdō*, the public image created of Kanō became increasingly glorified and incontrovertible. To this day, it is still frequently alleged that almost everything in *jūdō* was original and its contents the product solely of Kanō's genius. After the death of Kanō in 1938, and especially after World War II, *jūdō*, already different from *koryū jūjutsu*, now also increasingly became distinct from prewar *Kōdōkan jūdō*.

As a consequence of the Supreme Commander Allied Powers (SCAP) in January 1946 issuing its Directive 550, the *Dai Nippon Butokukai* 大日本武徳会 [Great Japan Martial Virtues Society] was closed by the Japanese Home Ministry Ordinance, and subsequently dissolved (Yamamoto, 1996). The practice of traditional martial arts and teaching of *jūdō* at schools in Japan henceforth was prohibited. In 1948, it became permissible again to teach a form of reinvented *jūdō* upon the *Kōdōkan*'s express willingness and conscious choice in favor of *jūdō* as an athletic and sports activity. At that time, however, the practice of other martial arts with greater military potential was still prohibited (Yamamoto, 1996).

Needless to say that later, when all restrictions were lifted, the gap between *jūdō* and traditional *koryū* martial arts continued to widen (Yabu & Niehaus, 2024). By the end of the 1970s, the majority of *koryū* martial arts that had survived, in addition to maintaining local *dōjō* practice, also loosely joined each other to provide public demonstrations under the common umbrella of cultural organizations, such as the *Nihon Kobudō Shinkōkai* 日本古武道振興会 [Society for the Promotion of the Japanese Classical Martial Arts], the *Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai* 日本古武道協会 [Japanese Classical Martial Arts], or the *Nihon Budō Kyōgi-kai* 日本武道協議会 [Japanese Martial Arts Association]. *Jūdō*,

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



instead, became organized in large national and international sports-oriented organizations, such as the International Judo Federation (IJF) (since 1951); in addition, *jūdō* for the first time featured on the 1964 Olympics in Tōkyō, and has since continued to do so with Mexico 1968 being the sole exception (Niehaus, 2003).

So, while *jūdō* post-World War II, rebooted itself as a modern competitive sport (Okabe, 1957, 1960; Yabu & Niehaus, 2024), neither of the traditional schools of *jūdō* that historically precede the *jūdō* of Kōdōkan (*Jikishin-ryū jūdō* and *Kitō-ryū jūdō*) went through a similar evolution. These traditional schools have attempted to remain true to their cultural heritage. To achieve this, they have remained largely closed off to non-Japanese, and are still practiced only by a very limited number of people, while those practitioners having achieved actual proficiency can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In fact, most of these school's branches are now extinct. The few *koryū* schools that may have survived oftentimes appear to have lost a large part of their original curriculum. For this reason, it is safe to assume that ancient *Kitō-ryū* hardly exerts any influence whatsoever on the way Kōdōkan *jūdō* is still practiced today. Even, *Koshiki-no-kata* 古式の形 [The Ancient Forms], an exercise in full imported by Kanō Jigorō from *Kitō-ryū* into Kōdōkan *jūdō* (Daigo, 2009), is taught today in *jūdō* with little attention for, or understanding of its *Kitō-ryū* foundations, and pedagogical objectives.

Whilst only a limited number of *jūdō* competitors will ever gain champion status, this does not seem to discourage tens of thousands of people to commence and continue *jūdō practice*. Especially, *jūdō*'s didactical curriculum, despite now being over a century old, appears to remain attractive to both adults and children (Kanō, 1984). Kanō reinvented the pedagogy of *jūdō*'s parent schools, through a mixture of keeping, transforming and expanding certain pedagogical ideas. Practically, this means that he kept many techniques after assuring they were sufficiently safe, while he modified or excluded those which he deemed not safe enough (Kanō, 1955, 1984, 2006). But, it is the way how these techniques were to be taught, so the actual didactical aspects, which he altered. Within the didactical curriculum of *jūdō* it is the classification of throws that probably represents the most important part. This part was new, and added an alternative way for teaching throws other than solely through *kata* 形 [forms]. The creation of the so-called *gokyō-no-waza*, represented an important curricular step in improving the didactical component of primitive *Kanō-ryū jūjutsu* and allowing this art to fully mature into Kōdōkan *jūdō*.

What is the Kōdōkan *jūdō*'s *gokyō-no-waza*? The literal translation of the term *gokyō-no-waza* 五教の技 is: "techniques of the five teachings" or "techniques of the five courses of instruction". Using classical *koryū bujutsu* terminology one could say that it represents the *Tora-no-maki* 虎の巻 [The scroll of the tiger] of the study of throwing techniques within Kōdōkan *jūdō* (Kōdōkan 1955, p. 72).<sup>2</sup> A *tora-no-maki* of a *bujutsu* school typically is an official document that acts as the school's or system's reference or code, and that may contain basic principles and regulations of the school. Hence, when the Kōdōkan refers to its *gokyō-no-waza* as its *Tora-no-maki* it emphasizes how much it represents the core of its pedagogy.

This paper investigates the historical roots, development and pedagogical foundations of the *gokyō-no-waza*. However, the term *gokyō-no-waza* as the topic of this paper needs to be understood

<sup>2</sup> In ancient China there existed what is called the *Wu ching ch'i shu* (pīnyīn: *Wújīngqīshū*) 武經七書 or "Seven Military Classics", an anthology of important military texts formalized in 1080 by the Chinese Emperor Shenzong 宋神宗 (1048–1085), 6<sup>th</sup> emperor of the *Sung* (pīnyīn: *Sòng*) 宋朝 dynasty (960–1279). One text amongst others included in these Seven Military Classics is the famous *Sūnzī bīngfǎ* 孫子兵法 [The Art of War] attributed to Sun Wu 孫武 (mostly referred to as Sun Tzu 孫子 (pīnyīn: *Sūnzǐ*) [Master Sun]) and dating from about the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Two other texts included in the Seven Military Classics are the *Lǐu Tāo* 六韜 ["The Six Strategies"], although in more populist lingo sometimes also called "The Six Secret Teachings" [Jpn.: *Roku Tō*], and the *Huáng Shí gōng Sān Lǜè* 黃石公三略 "Three Strategies of Huang Shí gōng", often abbreviated as *Sān Lǜè* 三略 (pronounced in Japanese as *San Ryaku*). Both are attributed to Lü Shang 呂尚, also known as Chiang Tzū-ya (pīnyīn: *Jiāng Zīyá*) 姜子牙 (1128 BC–1015 BC, so he allegedly lived until the age of 113), a top-general during the Chinese *Zhou* 周 dynasty (1046 BC–256 BC). These "Six Strategies" contain six chapters spread over three volumes. These chapters, respectively, are: (1) *Wéntāo* 文韜 [Jpn.: *Buntō*, Civil Strategy], (2) *Wūtāo* 武韜 [Jpn.: *Butō*, Military Strategy], (3) *Lóngtāo* 龍韜 [Jpn.: *Ryūtō*, Dragon Strategy], (4) *Hūtāo* 虎韜 [Jpn.: *Torātō*, Tiger Strategy], (5) *Bàotāo* 豹韜 [Jpn.: *Hyōtō*, Leopard Strategy], (6) *Quǎntāo* 犬韜 [Jpn.: *Inutō*, Dog Strategy]. Chapter 1 and 2 are found in volume I, chapter 3 and 4 in volume II, and chapter 5 and 6 in volume III. The fourth chapter, called *Hūtāo* (in Chinese) or *Torātō* (in Japanese), mainly deals with military command and tactical battlefield principles. Although this book represents the origin of the name *tora-no-maki*, this does not imply that the contents of a *tora-no-maki* is identical to or strongly resembling that of the *Torātō*.



synecdochically meaning that we approach the topic in its widest sense devoting equal attention to all throws within or outside of the *gokyō-no-waza*. Despite virtually every modern learning text on *jūdō* published in the West containing the *gokyō-no-waza*, this is rarely more than a listing of throws accompanied by one or two sentences (Kanō, 1984; Yerkow, 1955). The only exceptions we are aware of are two +25-year old one-page papers by Akiyama (1999, 2000) and a more extensive study by Magara (1992). These studies, however, exist only in Japanese, and do not contain an abstract in English either. Therefore, and in the absence of more easily accessible studies, the main questions that, certainly in the West, have been largely left unanswered are:

- How does the *gokyō-no-waza* need be used?
- Why does the *gokyō-no-waza* contain what it contains?
- Where exactly do specific throws of *Kōdōkan* come from and how have they been changed?
- Why are certain throws not within the *gokyō-no-waza* and how should they be classified?
- Are there any obsolete throws in *Kōdōkan jūdō* that once existed and are now deemed lost?
- Did Kanō really create the *gokyō-no-waza* or the throws included in the *gokyō-no-waza*, and if not, who did?

The purpose of this paper is twofold:

1. To describe, contextualize and critically analyze the historical origin and background, circumstances, structure and logic of the *gokyō-no-waza* and categorization of other throwing techniques within the pedagogy and learning model of *Kōdōkan jūdō*.
2. To contribute to the reader's understanding of the culture and evolution of *Kōdōkan jūdō*.

## 2. Research methodology

This paper represents what originally was an invited lecture for *jūdō* teachers, and that has been a transcribed and converted into a scholarly paper. To do so, the author, aware of the specific challenges, consulted and considered specific guidelines suggested for this purpose by Schrager (2008).

Rather than utilizing a merely anthropological framework we have chosen to apply a more holistic strategy that will approach our research question from a philological, traditional and historical angle because of this combined method's effectiveness in maintaining academic rigor. While not ignoring the cultural-anthropological dimensions, our focus was 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:

- Establishing lineage and form personal connections with key figures in *jūdō* who either had a unique personal connection to Kanō (e.g. the late Fukuda Keiko 福田敬子, *Kōdōkan* 9<sup>th</sup> dan & USA Judo 10<sup>th</sup> dan, and the last living direct student of Kanō between 1935–1938, and granddaughter of Kanō's first *jūjutsu* teacher, from 1877–1879, Fukuda Hachinosuke 福田八之助) or who were considered authorities on the topic of this paper (e.g. the late Daigo Toshirō 醍醐敏郎 (1925–2021), *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> dan, author of a seminal text on *jūdō* throws and their classification, and former Chief Instructor of the *Kōdōkan* (Daigo, 2005)). The author had a unique opportunity to study *jūdō* under six (four of them *Kōdōkan*) 10<sup>th</sup> dan-holders (Kotani Sumiyuki 小谷澄之 (1903–1991), Daigo Toshirō, Ōsawa Yoshimi 大澤慶巳 (1926–2022), Abe Ichirō 安部一郎 (1922–2022), Fukuda Keiko, and Imamura Haruo 今村春夫 (1933–2017)), and several other teachers renown for their profound and versatile *jūdō* throwing skills and knowledge, such as Hirano Tokio 平野時男 (1922–1993) and Marcel Clause (1927–2004), both *Kōdōkan* 8<sup>th</sup> dan-holders.
- Translation, critical and heuristic analysis of original historical Japanese primary sources, such as Kanō's own handwritten notebook (Kanō, n.d.);



- 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;
- Building and maintaining a network with leading Japanese researchers, senior Japanese *Kōdōkan jūdō* experts, and committed Western *jūdō* teachers who have previously authored books and other texts about the *gokyō*, and taught seminars on this topic, such as Vernon A. Borgen (1948–2020) and Willem Visser, in order to learn about alternative viewpoints, evaluate conclusions and elicit comments that assist in further critical analysis.

Our experimental work included researching rare, original documents, critically analyzing, translating and conceptualizing them into their practical meaning. To achieve this, the author had 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. 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], *Sekai jūdō shi* 世界本柔道史 [World history of *jūdō*] [Maruyama, 1967], *Kanō Jigorō Taikei* 嘉納治五郎大系 [Kanō Jigorō Compendium], Morohashi Tetsuji's *Dai Kan-Wa Jiten* 大漢和辞典 [The Great Chinese–Japanese Dictionary] [Morohashi 1983], *Nihon Budō Taikei* (日本武道大系) [Compendium of Japanese martial arts], amongst others. In addition, relevant Japanese language magazines (hard copies) were scrutinized, including the official *Kōdōkan* magazines *Jūdō* (and earlier or later designations, such as *Kokushi* 国士 [The patriot] and *Yūkō-no-Katsudō* 有効な活動 [The efficiency of movement]), *Sakkō* 作興, and other relevant Japanese *būdō* magazines, such as *Hiden Budō & Bujutsu Magazine*, and *Kindai Jūdō* 近代柔道 [Modern *jūdō*]. 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 followed a learning trajectory similar to *jūdō*'s founder Kanō Jigorō, though in opposite direction. Hence, as a scholar and senior *jūdōka* he devoted himself to both *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* (*Bicchū Takao-ha* 起倒流雌雄妙術 [備中高尾派] and *Noda-ha* 野田派).

This paper is organized as follows. We first explain how and why *jūdō* gained popularity, and how its didactical approach kept giving it an edge over traditional martial arts, even after *jūdō* changed following World War II. The way *jūdō* classifies its throws represented and continues to represent an important part of its didactical approach. The Introduction ends with defining many questions that have surrounded the existence and proper use of the *gokyō-no-waza*, and we define the purpose of this paper. We then explain the way we worked to obtain the information necessary to write this paper on the basis of a well-received invited lecture. We felt it useful to elaborate on the historical the roots of Kanō Jigorō's knowledge of *jūdō* throws and underlying principles, such as *kuzushi* or unbalancing, in particular. From there, we continue by explaining how Kanō conceptualized *jūdō*, what he saw as *jūdō*'s purpose, methodology and content. The next chapter explains that even when containing a catalogue of techniques, there is a need to organize these techniques, especially when having didactical objectives with the intention to offer an alternative to *kata*, the major way of teaching in traditional schools of martial arts. We then provide insights into the richness of *Kōdōkan jūdō*'s extensive arsenal of throws, and also provide solid evidence that rather than Kanō allegedly having 'created', he and his students 'compiled' much of the technical contents of *jūdō*. We then describe the content of the *Kōdōkan* teaching syllabus in its early days and how it evolved in time, finally giving rise to the first and second *gokyō-no-waza*. We then make an informed attempt to answer the regularly returning questions about the true authorship of the *gokyō-no-waza*. Creating the *gokyō-no-waza* is one thing, but distributing its contents and its recommended use was a challenge in itself in the days that there was no video or Internet. Hence, we describe the *gokyō-no-waza*'s pedagogical impact on *jūdō*. With only 40 techniques of a much larger plethora of existing throws being included in the *gokyō-no-waza*, the question arises, what about the



throws outside of the *gokyō-no-waza*? We address how the *Kōdōkan* has organized these throws outside of the *gokyō-no-waza* in two additional categories totaling 28 techniques, but conclude that over time there were many other *jūdō* techniques that are now considered obsolete or even forgotten. To protect the *jūdō* syllabus from permanently losing part of its once existing curriculum we therefore propose a new category that includes 25 such techniques. For reasons of completeness, we mention several other systems of classification of *jūdō* throws that were composed for didactical reasons by *jūdō* teachers or scientists, some known very well, some known not so well, none of which in the end gained the same degree of application as *Kōdōkan*'s own *gokyō-no-waza*. Finally, we present our conclusions, limitations and practical applications of this historical overview of *jūdō*'s didactical system of classification of throws.

### 3. The roots of Kanō Jigorō's knowledge of *jūdō* throws and underlying principles<sup>3</sup>

*Kitō-ryū*'s 起倒流 second generation head Terada Kan'emon Masashige 寺田勘右衛門正重 (who later became known under the alias "Terada Mitsuhide" 寺田満英) (1618–1674)<sup>4</sup> was responsible for converting the original *Midare Kitō-ryū* 乱起倒流 into *Kitō-ryū heihō yoroi kumi-uchi* 起倒流兵法鎧組討, a *sōgō-bujutsu* 総合武術 [compound martial art] (De Créé, 2015). Later he founded a new school which he called *Jikishin-ryū jūjutsu* 直信流柔術. Starting in 1724, the name of the art his school taught was changed from *Jikishin-ryū jūjutsu* into *Jikishin-ryū jūdō* 直信流柔道 (Nakajima, 2021, Tōdō & Murata, 1990). *Jikishin-ryū*'s second generation head, Terada Heizaemon Sadatsugu 寺田平左衛門定次, continued employing the name '*jūdō*', and so did the Inoue family when it inherited the *ryū* under Inoue Kuro'uemon Shōei 井上九郎右衛門正永.

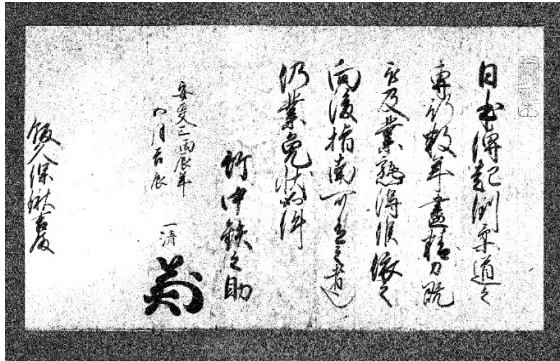
Later on, several competent students of *Kitō-ryū*'s fifth generation head, Takino Sen'emon Sadataka 滝野専右衛門貞高, alias "Yūken" 遊軒 (1695–1762), represented the start of new *Kitō-ryū* branches. One of Takino Yūken's students was Takenaka Motonoshin 竹中元之進, *menkyo kaiden* 免許皆伝 [license of total transmission], who continued teaching what by then had become known as *Kitō-ryū kumi-uchi* 起倒流組討. It is under Motonoshin's son, Takenaka Tetsunosuke Issei 竹中鉄之助一清, the second head of that branch, so by then with others belonging to seventh generation *Kitō-ryū*, that the actual *Takenaka-ha* lineage 起倒流柔道竹中派 commenced (De Créé, 2015). To rephrase this, the *Takenaka-ha* lineage, hence, did not start with the first person named Takenaka, but with the second person bearing that name. It is Takenaka Tetsunosuke Issei who then converted the name of his school branch into *Kitō-ryū jūdō* 起倒流柔道 (Figure 1). His students, such as, notably, Iikubo Kuwakichi 飯久保鋤吉, alias "Kōnen Jūkatsusai" 恒年柔克斎, continued this practice (De Créé, 2015). Other *Kitō-ryū jūjutsu* branches, such as, for example, *Kitō-ryū Noda-ha* 起倒流野田派, which later through its disciples Nagaoka Hideichi-hanshi 永岡秀一範士 [grandmaster], *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> *dan* (1876–1952) and Kanemitsu Yaichihiyōe 金光弥一兵衛 (1892–1966), *Kōdōkan* 9<sup>th</sup> *dan*, would forge and maintain a strong connection with *Kōdōkan jūdō*, did not change the name of their *Kitō-ryū* school's art into '*jūdō*'. However, as was considered a usual historical development in those days, some branches gave rise to other schools, or gave yet another name to their skills. For example, Suzuki Seibei Kuninori 鈴木清兵衛邦教, *menkyo kaiden*, who, similar to Takenaka Motonoshi, was sixth generation *Kitō-ryū*, and who represented the genesis of the *Kitō-ryū Suzuki-ha* 起倒流鈴木派 lineage, started referring to his art as *Jinmu-no-michi* 神武の道 (De Créé, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> The many imprecisions, numerous misspellings, erroneous transcriptions and mistranslations of historical names and terms made by translators in English and French language proceedings and documents distributed at the occasion of the late Daigo Toshirō 醍醐敏郎 (1925–2021), *jūdan*'s 十段 [10<sup>th</sup> *dan*] lectures surrounding *koshiki-no-kata* seminars during the *Kōdōkan*'s International Summer Kata Courses (Daigo, 2009), were hardly helpful to the majority of laypeople, *jūdōka* and *jūdō* teachers, towards grasping the correct historical sequences in the development of *Kōdōkan jūdō* as well as their impact and meaning. This paper attempts to do so in a more accurate way.

<sup>4</sup> There is a disagreement among scholars exactly when and who started *Kitō-ryū*. More specifically, some scholars, including us, count the *Midare Kitō-ryū* as the start of *Kitō-ryū* whereas others do not and hence accept the beginning of *Kitō-ryū* only after the conversion from *Midare Kitō-ryū* into *Kitō-ryū heihō yoroi kumi-uchi* (Oimatsu, 1982; Watatani & Yamada, 1978). Consequently, depending on which of these two options one chooses, the number that is assigned to a specific head of the *ryū* may differ. Those who opine that *Kitō-ryū* started only after the *Midare Kitō-ryū* will regard Terada Kan'emon Masashige as *Kitō-ryū*'s founder and hence first head of the school, rather than referring to him as the second generation head, like we do. This choice evidently will then also affect the numbering of each following generation head.



It is this Iikubo-sensei, student of Takenaka Tetsunosuke Issei-sensei, who was the *Kitō-ryū* teacher of young Kanō Jigorō, and this is the way and reason why Kanō continued employing the term *jūdō*, a term also clearly shown on his own *menkyo* (not *menkyo kaiden*) *kiri-gami*-style 切紙 [cut paper]<sup>5</sup> primary teaching diploma, which he received from Iikubo-sensei in October 1883. It is, hence, complete and utter nonsense that Kanō would have invented the term *jūdō* himself, or that he would have been the first one to refer to his art as *jūdō*. When in 1882, Kanō, on the suggestion of Iikubo-sensei,<sup>6</sup> created his own *dōjō* 道場 [training hall for practice of the way], which he called *Kōdōkan*, he continued practicing and teaching *Kitō-ryū jūdō*. However, according to Kanō's own words,<sup>7</sup> it is at this point that Iikubo gave him the *densho* 伝書 scrolls of his *dōjō*, which Kanō then claimed, essentially provided him with the title of *menkyo kaiden* (Kanō, 1927), circumstances which either unintentionally or intentionally have been obfuscated in *Kōdōkan* milieus.



**Figure 1.** *Kiri-gami* 切紙 [cut paper-type] *menkyo* 免許 diploma of Iikubo Kuwakichi 飯久保鐵吉 alias “Kōnen Jūkatsusai” 恒年柔克齋 (ca. 1831–1885), the (first) *Kitō-ryū* teacher of Kanō Jigorō. The diploma was issued by Takenaka Tetsunosuke Issei 竹中鉄之助一清 in the third year of *Ansei* 安政 (1856), 25 years before Kanō became Iikubo's student. Identically to the *Kitō-ryū menkyo* diploma which Kanō would receive from Iikubo in 1883, the teaching diploma identifies the martial art it credentials as “*Nihonden Kitō-ryū jūdō*” 日本伝起倒流柔道 [Japanese traditional *Kitō-ryū jūdō*].

Iikubo had tasked Kanō with continuing to explore the importance of *kuzushi* with a new group of his own students.<sup>8,9</sup> Kanō simply kept the name of the art he was himself a student in, but changed its predicate from “*Nihonden Kitō-ryū jūdō*” into “*Nihonden Kōdōkan jūdō*” 日本伝講道館柔道 [Japanese traditional *Kōdōkan jūdō*] in this way simply replacing the name of the *dōjō* or school that taught the already existing art of *jūdō*.

<sup>5</sup> A *kiri-gami* or ‘cut paper’ is a diploma-style qualification written on a single piece of paper and differs from more traditional qualifications in the form of a handwritten scroll or *makimono* 巻物. Obviously, having to handwrite a complete scroll for each promotion of every single student takes up an enormous amount of time and work. One also has to consider that in martial arts the majority of students drops out after some time and never makes it to the top qualifications, which may add to the frustration of the teacher if he/she also has to complete full handwritten scrolls for these students’ initial qualifications. Writing and issuing *kiri-gami* takes up considerably less time and work making it a more efficient procedure when having many students...

<sup>6</sup> Iikubo-sensei taught at the *Kōbusho* 講武所, which was the Tokugawa clan’s *budō* training place as well as at the *Eishōji* 永昌寺 temple in Tōkyō, where Kanō had started his *Kōdōkan* school of *jūdō*.

<sup>7</sup> Kanō Jigorō’s literal words were: “この相手の身体を崩してわざをかけることについての話を先生にしたところが、先生のいわれるには、いかにもその通りである。自分はこれから足下に教えるところはない。今後は若いものを相手に、ますます研究をつむがよい。向後自分との乱取は見合せましょう。といわれて、これを限りに乱取を止められたのである。しかし、その後も形を練習してもらいまたいろいろの話を聞いて、得るところ少なくなかった。この事があってまもなく、先生から起倒流の免許状を与えられ、伝書も先生のもっておられたあらゆる物をことごとく授けられここに免許皆伝を、つけたのだ。” (...)

[Translation: I had spoken to *sensei* [note: Iikubo] about breaking down the opponent’s body to apply techniques, and *sensei* said that it was absolutely true. “There is nothing I can teach you from now on. From now on, you should study more with younger opponents. You will no more engage in *randori* with me in the future”. With this, he quit *randori* for the time being. However, I continued to have *sensei* to practice the *kata* with me and listen to his various talks, and I gained a lot from them. Soon after this, *sensei* gave me a license diploma [*menkyo-jō*] to practice the *Kitō-ryū* style, and *sensei* also bestowed on me all the teachings and documents that he possessed, and I was thus granted the *menkyo kaiden* license.] (Kanō, 1927, p. 48)

<sup>8</sup> *Kitō-ryū* delivered most of Kanō’s inspiration for throws and for his concept of *jū yoku gō o sei suru* 柔能く剛を精する [Non-resistance overcomes force], although the latter can be traced even further towards the roots of historic *sumō* 相撲 wrestling. More specifically, Kanō also obtained his concept of *kuzushi* or “breaking balance” from *Kitō-ryū jūjutsu*, where it is dealt with in the traditional *makimono* 巻物 [*scroll*] *Hontai-no-maki* 本體之巻 [Scroll of Proper Body Position] and *Chi-no-maki* 地之巻 [Scroll of the Earth].

<sup>9</sup> Even in classical Japanese *jūjutsu* one is taught how to use to one’s advantage the condition in which the body of an opponent has lost equilibrium, the so-called *kuzure-no-jōtai* 崩れの状態 [state of imbalance]. During dynamic combat situations, this balance is sometimes spontaneously lost by one’s opponent, while at other times one will positively cause the destruction of the opponent’s balance, hence putting him into a particularly vulnerable posture.



It is in this way that the art practiced in Kanō's first *dōjō*, formally called *Nihonden Kōdōkan jūdō* 日本伝講道館柔道, started to be comprehended as '*Kanō-ryū jūjutsu*' 嘉納流柔術; i.e. a *jūjutsu* style, which Kanō then over the next few decades would mold into a concept thoroughly distinctive from *Kitō-ryū*. Later, through Kanō's numerous lectures and writings on the topic and through further developing its own identity as a competitive sports-like form of traditional *jūjutsu*, it started to become commonly known as *Kōdōkan jūdō*, or simply '*jūdō*'.

#### 4. Purpose, methodology and content of *Kōdōkan jūdō*

*Kōdōkan jūdō* 講道館柔道, an abbreviation for what in full is called *Nihonden Kōdōkan jūdō* 日本伝講道館柔道, is a Japanese form of pedagogy, created by Kanō Jigorō 嘉納治五郎 (1860–1938), and based on traditional Japanese martial arts (Kanō, 1889). Since World War II, *jūdō* increasingly has been marketed and been perceived by the majority of its contemporary practitioners as a mere performance or recreational sport (Okabe, 1957, 1960; Yabu & Niehaus, 2024), similar to soccer or baseball. *Kōdōkan jūdō*'s authentic objective though, is to provide its practitioners with a three-pronged education in:

- *Jūdō taiiku-hō* 柔道体育法 [Physical Education]
- *Jūdō shōbu-hō* 柔道勝負法 [Combat]
- *Jūdō shūshin-hō* 柔道修身法 [Morality]

Kanō-*shihan*, concerned about health and well-being in a time and age that antibiotics had not yet been discovered, had come to realize that health could be improved by regularly engaging in physical education (Kanō, 1932). However, while he did not question the effectiveness of the Scandinavian methods-based gymnastics that were practiced in Japan in those days, Kanō became somewhat anxious realizing that all those movements used in gymnastics had no other purpose outside of gymnastics (Kanō, 1932, 2006). This made him wonder: "what if he could create a different, alternative method of gymnastics where the movements used also had a practical application outside of gymnastics?" Secondly, he believed that if such a system could be developed based on authentic Japanese-rooted ideas and movement patterns, it likely would help priming young student practitioners' interest and understanding of Japanese culture. Hence, Kanō-*shihan* believed that traditional Japanese *budō* would offer the material he needed to build such a system, for repeatedly practicing martial arts punches, strikes or kicks in various directions and angles would equal gymnastics practice, but at the same time would double as movements effective in defending oneself, if necessary (Kanō, 1932, 2006). It is precisely for these reasons why *sei-ryoku zen'yō kokumin taiiku* 精力善用国民体育 [national system of physical education based on the principle of best use of energy] is such an important *kata* in *Kōdōkan jūdō* and may be considered as Kanō's *magnum opus*, something on which the Western performance-oriented *jūdō* world has completely missed the ball, as to date this *kata* remains one of the most unpopular and least practiced exercises in *jūdō*.

Equally important to Kanō, in addition to developing a *jūdō* practitioner's physical education and combat ability, was a person's development as a moral being (Kanō, 1932, 2006). Kanō's first book, dating from 1910 entirely dealt with how based on traditional Confucian values young men could be guided into developing themselves into gentlemen of high moral standing (Figure 2) (Kanō, 1910).

To acquire the necessary technical, physical and mental acuity and learn *jūdō* Kanō selected following four pedagogical methods:

- *Randori* 乱捕 [Free or improvisatory exercises]
- *Kata* 形 [Formal exercises]
- *Kōgi* 講義 [lectures]
- *Mondō* 問答 [discussions]

Two of the above methods represent theoretical methods whilst the other two are practical or physical methods. Consequently, the practical study of *jūdō* consists of *randori* 乱取 [free exercise]





and eleven different (*Kōdōkan*) *kata* 形 [predetermined and choreographed physical exercises].<sup>10</sup> The four main technical building blocks of *Kōdōkan jūdō* practice are: *nage-waza* 投技 [throwing techniques], *katame-waza* 固技 [controlling techniques], *atemi-waza* 当身技 [striking techniques to the body's vital points] which are permitted in *kata* only, and *kappō* 活法 [resuscitation methods] (De Créé & Jones, 2009; Kanō, 1931; Kōdōkan, 1955, 1986; Mifune, 1956).



**Figure 2.** Kanō Jigorō's 1910 book *Seinen Shūyō Kun* 青年修養訓 [The teaching of a young man's moral self-improvement], not a jūdō book, but a philosophy of education and etiquette book deeply rooted in Japanese Confucian values. [From the author's private library].

With a strong foundation in *Kitō-ryū jūjutsu*, throwing techniques logically represent an important part of *Kōdōkan jūdō*'s practical syllabus. That Kanō's innovative *jūdō* quickly became popular is obvious from many parameters and anecdotal stories, but the exact reasons may be well less commonly known, certainly in the West. One major and obvious reason was the development of a free practice system called *randori* that *jūdōka* could engage in full throttle with little or no major physical risk. This was a significant difference from what existed as practice forms in traditional *koryū jūjutsu* and weapons systems schools. Neither was the term *randori* new, nor was it invented by Kanō. Even *Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū jūjutsu* 天神真楊流柔術, one of *jūdō*'s two parent schools, had a *randori* component in it. Only ... '*randori*' in *Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū* did not quite mean what it means in *Kōdōkan jūdō*, and simply largely refers to isolated throwing and controlling techniques, something that in this way and by this name was separate from the school's major content and practice of that content, which was *kata*, meaning throws and *atemi* included in prescribed sequences of attack and defense. As to *jūdō*'s other parent school, *Kitō-ryū*, this school, in addition to *kata* comprised alternative training methods, i.e. specifically, *nokori-ai* 残合 (残り合い) and *midare-geiko* 乱稽古 (乱れ稽古) (Tōdō et al., 2017). '*Midare*' is the so-called *kun'yōmi* 訓読み reading [Japanese pronunciation using the native Japanese word that matches the meaning of the Chinese character, so in fact a 'translation'] of the same *kanji* of which the *on'yōmi* 音読み reading [the Sino-Japanese homophonical or 'sound' reading of Chinese *kanji* using approximate Japanese pronunciation on the basis of Japanese consonants and vowels mostly used for foreign loan-words from the older Chinese language] reading is '*ran*' 乱, so the same *kanji* which we find back in *jūdō*'s '*randori*' 乱取り.

This brings us to the second major reason as to why *Kōdōkan jūdō* became so popular, which was its systematic organization. This is in shrill contrast to how the technical content and training progress within the majority of *jūjutsu* schools was organized. This may sound simple when expressed in words, but unless one has an extensive background in *koryū bujutsu*, or at least, is

<sup>10</sup> For roughly 63 years there were ten *kata* in *Kōdōkan jūdō* (De Créé & Jones, 2009) although many textbooks or websites may claim there were only seven or eight (Kanō et al., 1999; Kōdōkan, 1986; Maruyama, 1967), a frequently made mistake due to ignoring several *kata* that are now rarely practiced such as, especially, *joshi jūdō goshinhō*, *gō-no-kata* and *sei-ryoku zen'yō kokumin taiiku* (De Créé & Jones, 2009; Kanō et al., 1999; Mifune et al., 1955–56). Alternatively, there might be another, more legitimate, reason for not including certain *kata*, such as when the date of publication of a source or reference text predated the creation of that specific *kata*. Hence, no written piece of work authored by Kanō himself (e.g., Kanō, 1921) could possibly mention *Kōdōkan Goshinjutsu* or *Joshi Jūdō Goshinhō*, considering that they were created and accepted by the *Kōdōkan* only in 1956 and 1943, respectively, so many years after the passing of Kanō-shihan.

familiar with a typical *koryū* curriculum, one might fail to grasp exactly what these words convey. Therefore, elaborating on this issue somewhat, is not redundant.

Those with extensive experience in *koryū* will affirm that simply remembering the content of their school is hard, and this even more so, the more one progresses and the more material one is supposed to remember. This is because nearly all practical skills are learnt through *kata*. While *jūdōka* certainly are familiar with the term *kata*, they may not realize that the methodical and systematic organization of the majority of *kata* of *Kōdōkan* is much clearer than the *kata* of many *jūjutsu* and *koryū* schools are. For example, typical of *Kōdōkan kata* is the transparent structure. Let us consider *nage-no-kata*: five series, each consisting of three techniques; each series consisting of throws that belong to the same category. Just imagine, a *nage-no-kata* without series, and with *te-waza* 手技 [hand throws], *koshi-waza* 腰技 [hip throws], *ashi-waza* 足技 [leg throws], *sutemi-waza* 捨身技 [sacrifice throws] not nicely grouped but performed throughout each other. Add to that, far less returning patterns of movement, and one will understand that such would make *nage-no-kata* far more difficult to remember, learn, and teach than it is today. The reason that it is not, and that the succession of techniques in most *kata* in *jūdō* is relatively easy to remember, is because they are structured so well, which obviously is not alien to Kanō primarily being a pedagogue.

All the techniques used in *nage-no-kata*, or *katame-no-kata*, exist separately in *Kōdōkan jūdō*, and are also taught separately so that they can be freely employed in *randori*, with the sole exception of one or two things.<sup>11</sup> *Kōdōkan jūdō* divides the application of its practical techniques typically into: standing techniques or *tachi-waza* 立技 and ground techniques or *newaza* 寝技. Some groups of techniques can be carried out in either standing or ground *jūdō*, others cannot. For example, *atemi* [strikes to the vital points], *kansetsu-waza* 関節技 [joint locks] and *shime-waza* 絞技 [strangulations or choke holds] may be performed in both standing and on-the-ground *jūdō*. Conversely, (valid, scoreable) throws can only be applied in standing *jūdō*,<sup>12</sup> while *osae-komi-waza* 抑込技 [hold-down techniques] only exist in a *newaza* situation.

## 5. Need for a systematization of *jūdō* throws

Rather than having novice *jūdōka* start with *nage-no-kata* to teach them throwing techniques complete with their walking and attack and defense patterns, it is more effective as a learning experience to start with a single throw that is broken up into pieces, carefully explained, and practiced. Some techniques are easier or more difficult than others (Ikeda Tagusari et al., 2016), some require more advanced fall-breaking skills than others, and some techniques are more demanding in terms of balance and coordination. Considering these varying difficulties Kanō came up with the plan to arrange the throwing techniques in series to facilitate choosing the appropriate techniques to practice proportional to the student's level.

This may be evident for about every *jūdō* practitioner today, but it is not as evident as one may think. All this knowledge about what techniques to teach first to whom, and categorizing and systematizing them was not something that was present from day one. Rather, these are developments that bridged decades.

<sup>11</sup> The *tettsui-uchi* 鉄槌打 or hammer fist blow that appears four times in *nage-no-kata* obviously is an *atemi*, and, for safety reasons, *atemi* are not allowed in *randori*. This is the one thing from *nage-no-kata* that is not separately taught as a *randori* skill, but that is retained in *nage-no-kata* where it serves the purpose of illustrating and practicing the principle of *go-no-sen* 後の先 or post-attack counter initiative. In *katame-no-kata* its final techniques is a leg lock that has been preserved for historical reasons. Leg locks though have long (since 1925) been excluded from permissible techniques in *jūdō randori* and *shiai* 試合 [contest], and the majority of *jūdō* teachers no longer master or teach the *ashi-kansetsu* 足関節 component of *jūdō*. There is an evolutionary tendency in *jūdō* to no longer teach movements that have been prohibited from *shiai* (*kani-basami* 蟹挟 [flying crab scissors], *kote-gaeshi* 小手返 [wrist reversal lock], *kawazu-gake* 河津掛 [leg entanglement throw]) even though in principle they may still be allowed during practice or *randori* (e.g. *kani-basami* and *daki-age* 抱上 [high-lift carry] are valid *randori* techniques, and only prohibited from *shiai*; *kote-gaeshi* and *kawazu-gake* as throws are universally considered excluded from *randori* too due to their considerable risk for serious injury).

<sup>12</sup> Certain throw-like movements can certainly be applied while on the ground, but are then considered either skillful entry into *newaza* 寝技 [ground *jūdō*], or fall within the category of *nogare-kata* 逃方 or turnovers. They are allowed but cannot be awarded a score in *shiai*.



As *Kōdōkan*'s membership exponentially grew it became impossible for Kanō himself to personally teach every student. His relatively important and busy job and his foreign travels by ship increasingly took out so much time that the only way to move forward was for his most senior students to take over and do the majority of the teaching. Logical as that may sound, one should not forget that contrary to today there did not exist any *jūdō* instructor development courses that would teach prospective *jūdō* teachers how to create lesson plans, or basic principles of developmental psychology, motor learning, biomechanics, functional anatomy, physiology, etc. Therefore, the only crutch that Kanō's disciples had to lean on when they were told to start teaching was *kata*, which is a number of series consisting of a limited number (typically ten, in those days) of different patterns with attack and defense.<sup>13</sup>

And, when one looks at the oldest *jūdō kata* that still exists in its original form, *i.e.* the 1887 *gō-no-kata* 剛の形 [Forms of proper use of force], one gets a taste of what the *jūdō* of the early days looked like, how one progressed throughout its techniques, and what kinds of techniques existed (De Crée & Jones, 2009). This is why *gō-no-kata* is so important as an item of cultural heritage in *Kōdōkan jūdō*, and why watching and practicing it will help one understand the enormous transformation *Kōdōkan jūdō* and its syllabus have gone through since *jūdō*'s inception in 1882.

It is against this background and for these reasons that Kanō decided to isolate the whole plethora of loose throwing techniques from *kata* and structure them into categories of increasing complexity to provide teachers with a teaching syllabus other than formally arranged series of *kata*. In this way, Kanō's *Kōdōkan* attempted to ensure that their students would make the best possible progress, by exposing them to techniques appropriate for their level of skill and seniority in terms of complexity and safety. This greatly increased the attractiveness of *Kōdōkan jūdō* over classical *koryū* martial arts. Just imagine, no *gokyō-no-waza* or series of *osae-komi-waza*, *kansetsu-waza* and *shime-waza*, but only 124 *kata* with a complete mix of techniques as is the case in *Kōdōkan jūdō*'s parent school *Tenjin shin'yō-ryū jūjutsu*. If one thinks that studying, mastering and knowing 124 *kata* would present somewhat of a challenge, just consider that *Takenouchi-ryū* 竹内流, a *sōgō bujutsu* 総合武術 or composite martial arts system that in addition to unarmed fighting also has various weapons-based skills, contains more than 600 different *kata*.<sup>14</sup>

## 6. The origin of the *nage-waza* of *Kōdōkan jūdō*

The majority of the classical techniques of *jūjutsu* consisted of

- *Atemi-waza* [strikes and kicks towards the body's vital points]
- *Katame-waza* [control techniques]

A minority of the classical techniques of *jūjutsu* consisted of:

- *Nage-waza* [throwing techniques]

However, one of *Kōdōkan*'s precursor schools, *i.e.* *Kitō-ryū* was different. *Kitō-ryū* in its original form, similar to *Kukishin-ryū* 九鬼神流 [The Nine Gods Divine School], *Takenouchi-ryū*, [The Takenouchi School] *Tenshin Shōden Katori Shintō-ryū* 天真正伝香取神道流 [The-from-the-Gods-Transmitted True Teachings of the Katori-shrine Pure Way School], or *Tsutsumi Hōzan-ryū* 堤宝山流 [The Tsutsumi-Hōzan School], was a *sōgō bujutsu* 総合武術 or comprehensive martial arts school, and besides *jūjutsu*, also contained a number of other skills, such as *bōjutsu* 棒術 [art of staff fighting], *iaijutsu* 居合術 [art of sword drawing], *jinkama* 陣鎌 [sickle], and *yoroi kumi-uchi* 鎧組討 [armored fighting]]. *Kitō-ryū* is characterized by an extensive theoretical underpinning of its martial principles, far more so than one might expect, which, ironically, likely is one of the reasons it appealed so much to Kanō-shihan. Furthermore, its *jūjutsu* and *kumi-uchi* component stood out by the many throws. As

<sup>13</sup> The majority of *jūdō kata* in their original form consisted of only ten patterns. The expansion of *nage*-, *katame*-, and *jū-no-kata* to 15 techniques, dates from later, as does the expansion from *shōbu-no-kata* to the 20 self-defense patterns contained in today's *kime-no-kata*.

<sup>14</sup> While sources differ about the exact number of *kata* or techniques in *Takenouchi-ryū*, it is generally assumed that not all these techniques are still known and taught today. Rather, some are presumed lost due to a variety of reasons. The actual number of techniques still taught today is estimated to be in the order of 150, still a respectable number though.



we know that Kanō even after the foundation of *Kōdōkan* continued teaching *Kitō-ryū* (note that Kanō obtained his *Kitō-ryū* teaching license in October 1883, so a full year after he already had founded *Kōdōkan*), it is no surprise that various of *Kōdōkan*'s throwing techniques found their origin in *Kitō-ryū* (Tōdō et al. 2017).<sup>15</sup>

Even a single *Kitō-ryū* exercise, such as the *Kitō-ryū yoroi kumi'uchi-no-kata* 起倒流鎧組討の形 [*Kitō-ryū* school forms of grappling in armor] which Kanō in *Kōdōkan* preserved –though with several modifications– under the name *koshiki-no-kata* 古式の形, [the antique forms] gave rise to seven *Kōdōkan* throws:

- *Wakare* 分 [sideways separating] originating from *yume-no-uchi* 夢中 [inside a dream], *mizu-guruma* 水車 [water mill], *kuruma-daore* 車倒 [wheel throw], *taki-otoshi* 滝落 [waterfall], *kuruma-gaeshi* 車返 [wheel reversal], and *ryū-setsu* 柳雪 [willow snow];<sup>16</sup>
- *uki-otoshi* 浮落 [floating drop] originating from *hiki-otoshi* 曳落 [drawing drop] and *yūdachi* 夕立 [evening shower];<sup>17</sup>
- *sukui-nage* 掬投 [scooping throw] originating from *ko-daore* 虚倒 [log fall];<sup>18</sup>
- *obi-otoshi* 帯落 [belt drop] originating from *uchi-kudaki* 打碎 [smashing];<sup>19</sup>
- *tani-otoshi* 谷落 [valley drop]<sup>20</sup> originating from *shikoro-gaeshi* 鋤返 [twisting the neck plates];
- *seoi-nage* 背負投 [shoulder-back-carry throw] and/or *seoi-otoshi* 背負落 [shoulder-back-carry drop] originating from *yuki-ore* 雪折 [snow breaks tree branch] (Figure 3).

In addition, *uki-waza* [sideways drop] can be found in *Kitō-ryū*'s *mizu-iri*, although this technique in *koshiki-no-kata* today by *Kōdōkan* instructors, and hence the majority of *jūdō* practitioners, is performed in a wrong and unnatural way with no logical action/reaction and ending in a *yoko-wakare*'s [sideways separating throw] *ma-sutemi* [backside sacrifice throw] variant, flat on the back. We can observe something similar in the *itsutsu-no-kata* [the five forms], which proceeds from *Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū*'s *gohon goku'i kuden* 五本極意口伝 [the five orally transmitted secrets], where *tori* [the one performing] at the end of the third movement is or was supposed to end up on his left side while throwing with *yoko-otoshi*, but which throughout times increasingly has moved towards a *tori* remaining flat on his back while throwing in a *yoko-wakare* movement performed as its *ma-sutemi* variant. Being aware of, and understanding such historical evolutions may importantly assist a serious student of *jūdō* in grasping the *riai* 理合 [harmony of principles] of *kata* sequences in which these techniques are featured.

<sup>15</sup> Tōdō et al. (2017) defines only three *Kōdōkan* techniques being directly derived from *Kitō-ryū*: *yoko-wakare*, *tani-otoshi* and *seoi-nage*. We believe that this conclusion is too narrow.

<sup>16</sup> There is a risk for confusion here. The late Daigo Toshirō-sensei and, subsequently, the *Kōdōkan* have argued that the throw which frequently returns in *koshiki-no-kata* is *yoko-wakare* 横分 [sideways separating], which is categorized as belonging to the *yoko-sutemi-waza* [sacrifice throws on the side]. According to Daigo, *yoko-wakare* can equally be performed flat on the back as a *ma-sutemi-waza* (Daigo, 2005), hence the conclusion that the throw occurring in *koshiki-no-kata* and which is performed with *tori* on his back, equally is *yoko-wakare*. This viewpoint is, however, incorrect. The handwritten notes by Kanō Jigorō dating from 1888 (Motohashi, 2019, p. 149) clearly show that there exist two similar, yet different throws in *Kōdōkan jūdō*, namely, a throw called *wakare* 分 [separating], belonging to the *ma-sutemi-waza*, and a throw called *yoko-wakare*, belonging to the *yoko-sutemi-waza*. Tsumura (2023, p. 54) seems to be in agreement with our opinion. Hence, the throw performed 6 times throughout *Koshiki-no-kata* is identified as *wakare* and not *yoko-wakare*. If *yoko-wakare* appears in *koshiki-no-kata* at all, then it would be in response to *mizu-iri* in its second series, although it is debatable –if performed correctly (!)– whether this throw categorizes as *yoko-wakare* or as *uki-waza*.

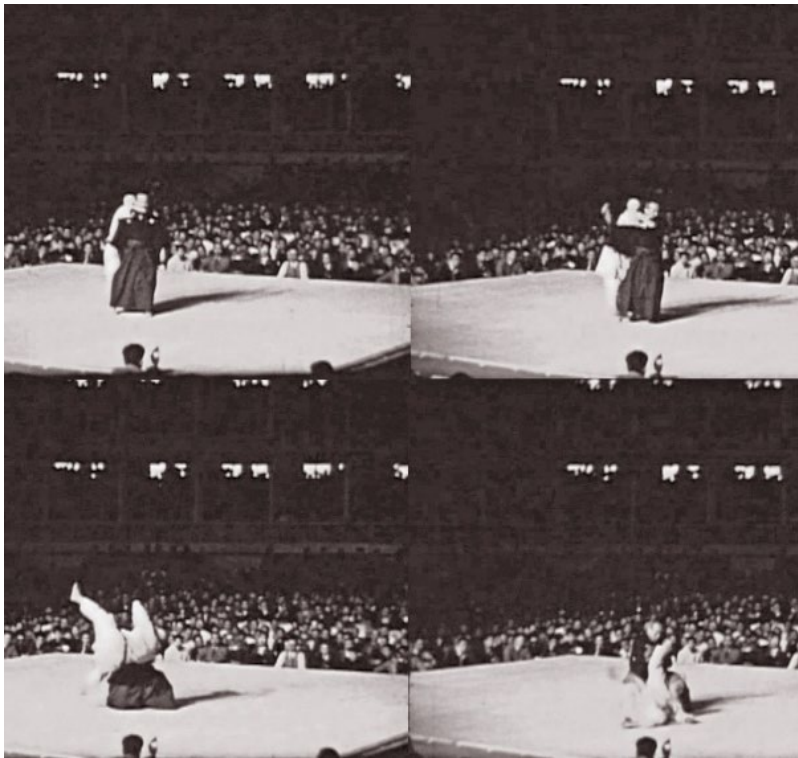
<sup>17</sup> The way *yūdachi* currently is performed and taught by *Kōdōkan* instructors only shows a remote resemblance to *uki-otoshi*, with *uke* [the one undergoing] hardly being truly thrown anymore by *tori* [the one performing]. In the original *Kitō-ryū* form this is an actual and rather hard throw that is pretty challenging to perform correctly.

<sup>18</sup> See Arima (1913), pp. 48–49.

<sup>19</sup> See Arima (1913), pp. 52–53.

<sup>20</sup> The throwing technique *tani-otoshi* in *Kōdōkan jūdō* should not be confused with the *tani-otoshi* in *koshiki-no-kata* as they are two very different techniques. This should not be such a surprise. There are other *bujutsu* schools that contain yet again totally different techniques that are called *tani-otoshi*. Rather, *Kōdōkan*'s *tani-otoshi* is derived from, or at least, far more closely resembles *koshiki-no-kata*'s *shikoro-gaeshi*.





**Figure 3.** Nagaoka Hideichi-hanshi 永岡秀一範士 [grandmaster] (1876–1952), Kōdōkan 10<sup>th</sup> dan, with a background in the Noda-ha 野田派 branch of Kitō-ryū 起倒流 [the School of Rising and Falling], here in 1951 showing *yuki-ore* 雪折 [snow breaking the tree branch], the sixth technique of the second series of *koshiki-no-kata* 古式の形 [the antique forms], the Kōdōkan's modified version of the Kitō-ryū *yoroi kumi'uchi-no-kata* 起倒流鎧組討の形 [forms of grappling in armor]. Nagaoka's *uke* here is Kudō Kazuzō 工藤一三 (1898–1970), 8<sup>th</sup> dan (later, in 1958, 9<sup>th</sup> dan). Note the similarity of *yuki-ore* with Kōdōkan jūdō's *seoi-nage* [back-carry throw] and *seoi-otoshi* [back-carry drop] throwing techniques.

The throwing techniques *sukui-nage* and *seoi-nage* also exist in *sumō* 相撲 wrestling (Figure 4). Other throwing techniques that pre-existed in, and may have been taken from *sumō* are:

- *kinu-katsugi* 衣担 [shoulder mantle carry] (Daigo, 2005, p. 35–36) → *kata-guruma* 肩車 [shoulder wheel];
- *uchi-gake* 大内掛 [inner reap] → *ō-uchi-gari* 大内刈 [major inner reap];
- *nobori-gake* 登掛 [ascending hook] → *ko-soto-gake* 小外掛 [minor outer hook];
- *oe-nage* 負投 → *seoi-nage* 背負投 [back-carry throw];
- *kawazu-gake* 河津掛 [leg entanglement throw];
- *kuchiki-daoshi* 朽木倒 [dead tree drop].

The *Kinu-katsugi* 衣担 [shoulder mantle carry] that gave rise to *kata-guruma* 肩車 [shoulder wheel], according to the late Daigo Toshirō 醍醐敏郎 (1925–2021), 10<sup>th</sup> dan, also existed in *Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū* 戸塚派楊心流 (Daigo, 2005, p. 35–36).

Other techniques that came from *Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū* were:

- *kama-koshi* 鎌腰 [sickle hip] → *ō-soto-gari* 大外刈 [major outer reap] (Figure 5);
- *ashi-harai* 足払 [foot sweep].

**Figure 4.** Depicted is the *sumō* 相撲 throwing technique *nobori-gake* 登掛 [ascending hook] from which Kōdōkan jūdō's *ko-soto-gake* 小外掛 [minor outer hook] was derived. Modified from Draeger (1969).





*Yōshin-ryū* 揚心流, one of the parent schools of *Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū*, is a third school that may have inspired *Kōdōkan*'s shoulder wheel throw:

- *hankai-garami* 樊嚙搦 [throat-enclosing hold throw] → *kata-guruma* 肩車 [shoulder wheel] (Figure 6).

**Figure 5.** Depicted is the throwing technique *kama-koshi* 鎌腰 [sickle hip] from *Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū jūjutsu* 戸塚派揚心流柔術 that gave rise to *Kōdōkan jūdō*'s *ō-soto-gari* 大外刈 [major outer reap].



**Figure 6.** Depicted is the throwing technique *hankai-garami* 樊嚙搦 [throat-enclosing hold throw] from *Yōshin-ryū* 揚心流, one of the potential old *jūjutsu* techniques that may have inspired the creation of *Kōdōkan jūdō*'s *kata-guruma* 肩車 [shoulder wheel].



From *Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū jūjutsu* 天神真楊流柔術, *Kōdōkan jūdō*'s other parent school (in addition to *Kitō-ryū*), the following throwing techniques were imported (Kubota, 1991, Tōdō, 2007), of which three received a new name:

- *tomoe-nage* 巴投 [circle throw];
- *sukui-ashi* スクイ足 → *de-ashi-barai* 出足払 [departing foot sweep];
- *mata-futsu*<sup>21</sup> 股払 → *ō-soto-guruma* 大外車 [major outer wheel];
- *ryō-mune-dori* 両胸捕 → *sumi-gaeshi* 隅返 [corner reversal] (Figure 7);
- *tsūto* 通捕 [arm-blocking throw]<sup>22</sup> → *ippon-seoi-nage* 一本背負投 [back-carry throw];

And, from *Takenouchi Santō-ryū* 竹内三統流 [The Takenouchi Three-Generations School], *Kōdōkan jūdō* imported one of its most spectacular throws:

<sup>21</sup> 'Futsu' is the *on'yomi* 音読み or Sino-Japanese pronunciation of the same *kanji* 払 of which the more common *kun'yomi* 訓読み or native Japanese pronunciation is 'harai'. In this case, the name of the technique, however, is not pronounced as 'mata-harai', but as 'mata-futsu'.

<sup>22</sup> *Tsūto* 通捕 from *Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū* 通捕 is a form of *gyakute-seoi-nage* 逆手背負投, so a form of *ippon-seoi-nage* where *uke*'s arm is held in *ude-hishigi-te-gatame* 腕挫手固 [arm overstretching with hand control] fashion. It is not permitted either during *randori* or during *shiai* under *Kōdōkan* or International Judo Federation Refereeing Rules to throw a person with an armlock applied due to the obvious danger of dislocating the elbow if *uke* either refuses or is unable to jump with in the throw. Today, only in pre-choreographed *kata*, specifically in *Kōdōkan goshinjutsu* 講道館護身術 [Kōdōkan self-defense system], technique #7 – *kakae-dori* 抱取 [seize and hold from behind], is *uke* being thrown out of an *ude-hishigi* 腕挫 [arm overstretching] armlock.

- *ura-nage* 裏投 [rear throw].

**Figure 7.** Demonstration by the late Kubota Toshihiro-shihanke 久保田敏弘師範家 (1937–2013) of the *Tenjin shin'yō-ryū jūjutsu* 天神真楊流柔術 [the Divine True Willow School of *jūjutsu*] throwing techniques *sukui-ashi* スクイ足 [scooping leg], *mata-futsu* 股払 [thigh sweep], and *ryō-mune-dori* 両胸捕 [double-chest grip] that were precursors to the *Kōdōkan jūdō* throws: *de-ashi-barai* 出足払 [departing foot sweep], *ō-soto-guruma* 大外車 [major outer wheel], and *sumi-gaeshi* 隅返 [corner reversal]. From *Jūdō*, vol. 56 (1996, p. 66), with permission.



While some throws may have been imported by *Kōdōkan jūdō* in their entirety, in some cases, a throw may have been adopted by *Kōdōkan* only after modification because of reasons of safety (Tōdō, 2007) or to be brought in line with *Kōdōkan*'s principles of *jū* 柔 [supple yielding] and optimal use of energy and maximal efficiency. Other factors that determined the import or creation of new throwing techniques were facilities and equipment, and contest rules (Akiyama, 1999, Oimatsu, 1976).

It has been suggested before that certain *nage-waza* of *Kōdōkan* may be of Occidental origin. One such eligible example might be *kata-guruma* 肩車 [shoulder wheel], which existed in Western style wrestling under the English name “Fireman’s carry” or was in French referred to as “*le porter à l’épaule*” [carrying him on the shoulder]. Kanō-shihan allegedly developed this throw against his notoriously physically strong lbs 200-weighting sparring partner Fukushima Kenkichi 福島兼吉 (1889–1966), a fisherman’s son, with whom he trained at Fukuda Hachinosuke’s 福田八之助 (1828–1879) *Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū dōjō*. The problem with these arguments is that ... while it has been established that indeed the “fireman’s carry” existed in the West prior to the creation of *Kōdōkan*, the causal relationship between those two findings is partly lacking, the more so as we have shown above that a similar movement also existed in *Yōshin-ryū*, *Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū*, and in *sumō*. In other words,



Kanō had multiple potential sources for this throw at his disposal without needing to dive into Western literature or culture to derive what would become the *Kōdōkan* variant of this throw.

Merely showing that something existed before something else simply is not sufficient as proof that one was derived from the other. Several similar techniques in martial arts, Japanese or Western, were multiple times discovered, deducted or developed independent of each other at different locations and points in time.

In this specific case, there is a likelihood that Kanō got the idea and the technique from *sumō* instead of from Western wrestling, especially since Uchiyama Kiso'ueemon 内山喜惣右衛門, a staff member at the dormitory where Kanō was staying used to be a third-ranked *sumō* wrestler, and Kanō was actively considering asking him for advice on how he could handle Fukushima Kenkichi, and also followed up on the idea. In fact, both men discussed the issue noting that some *sumō* techniques could be more broadly applied in *jūdō*, since unlike in *sumō* where one loses the match if one touches the ground with the knee, this is not so in *jūdō*. The legend then goes that Kanō attempted to apply the advice he had received from Uchiyama during his next fights with Fukushima, but without success. Inspired by the legend of the smaller Ushiwakamaru 牛若丸<sup>23</sup> who defeated the giant warrior monk Benkei 弁慶<sup>24</sup> during the *Genpei Kassen* 源平合戦 [Genpei Wars] (1180–1185), Kanō felt determined to come up with a different solution. Hence, while visiting the Yushima Library 湯島の図書館, which he regularly did after school, he decided to look through English language sports books, and allegedly first spotted the “fireman’s carry” in a book or section on wrestling.

When Kanō then in reaction to Fukushima’s attack with *kuchiki-daoshi* 朽木倒 [dead tree fall], tried out what he had found in the book, Fukushima supposedly uttered the words:

“やあ、まいった、あっと思ったら、かつがれて投げられていた。嘉納さんはすばらしいわざを考え出しましたね。何流ですか。” (...)

[Transl.: Wow! I yield. Before I knew it, I was being lifted off the ground and thrown. You have come up with a wonderful technique. What style is it?]

Kanō then allegedly replied, apparently confirming that he developed the throw himself, as follows:

“いや、失礼しました。何流でもありません。ただ少しくふうしてやっただけなのです。まぐれに勝ったというものでしょう。” (...)

[Transl.: No, sorry. It is not a school style. I just came up with a little ingenuity. I think I just won by chance.]

Whether this is hard evidence that in the end *kata-guruma* entered *jūdō* from Western wrestling is a matter of conjecture; such stories, like the one recited above, are not free of romanticization either, and fact remains that, as we have shown, similar throws were already in existence in various Japanese *jūjutsu* schools. Considering that some of Kanō’s closest students (e.g. Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義韶 [1865–1935]) had a background in *Yōshin-ryū*, where a similar throw also existed, and considering that later when he ran his own *dōjō* Kanō likely would not have been the sole person in *jūdō* to use this technique, it is possible that a *jūdōka* like Yamashita (and others) might well have applied similar techniques using knowledge they already possessed prior to joining the *Kōdōkan*.

On the other hand, it has been sufficiently established that the triple sequence *uki-goshi* [floating hip throw] → *harai-goshi* [sweeping hip throw] → *tsuri-komi-goshi* 釣込腰 [lifting and pulling

<sup>23</sup> Literally meaning “young bull” and being a moniker for the legendary Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (ca. 1159–1189). It *inter alia* is with the exploits and self-sacrifice of this Yoshitsune and Benkei that the concept of *bushidō* 武士道 [the way of the warrior] historically germinates.

<sup>24</sup> Benkei’s full name was Saitō Musashibō Benkei 西塔武藏坊弁慶 (1155–1189), who after killing more than 300 soldiers while defending his master, died standing upright, a way of dying later called *Benkei no Tachi Ōjō* 弁慶の立往生 [Standing death of Benkei]. His unlimited devotion and adherence to *giri* 義理 [sense of duty and honor] shaped some of the values that were incorporated in what later became known as *bushidō*.



hip throw] as also represented in the *koshi-waza* 腰技 [hip throw techniques] series in *nage-no-kata* 投の形 [forms of throws] is original and Kanō's personal application of action/reaction in response to his talented student Saigō Shirō's 西郷四郎 (1866–1922)<sup>25</sup> inventive evasions (Figure 8), first of Kanō's *uki-goshi*, subsequently also of Kanō's initial solution of applying *harai-goshi* in response.

**Figure 8.** Statue of Saigō Shirō 西郷四郎 (1866–1922) in Aizu 会津, Wakamatsu city 若松市, showing his hallmark *yama-arashi* 山嵐 [mountain storm] throw.



One event early in the history of *Kōdōkan jūdō* that significantly boosted its reputation in the world of martial arts was its mythical victories against the Tōkyō branch of the *Yōshin-ryū jūjutsu* school<sup>26</sup> that took place at the *Keishichō* 警視庁 [Metropolitan Police Department] in 1885, 1888, and 1889 (Bennett, 2009, p. 35),<sup>27</sup> and that more or less is romanticized and depicted in Kurosawa's famous 1943 movie *Sugata Sanshirō* 姿三四郎 (Figure 9).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Saigō Shirō's original name was Hoshina Shirō 保科四郎. He eventually made it to *Kōdōkan* 6<sup>th</sup> dan.

<sup>26</sup> This branch at the time was headed by Totsuka Hikosuke 戸塚彦介 (1813–1886) based in Chiba 千葉市, east of Tōkyō, but had satellite *dōjō* in Tōkyō. Since Totsuka died in 1886 he did not live to see the results of the final meeting and the end of the rivalry between the *Kōdōkan* and his school. He was succeeded by his adopted son Hideyoshi (also sometimes pronounced as 'Hidemi') 戸塚英美 (1840–1908).

<sup>27</sup> It has not appeared possible to reconstruct a reliable picture of exactly which tournament took place exactly when and with exactly which participants as sources contradict each other likely mixing up results from one event with those from another. Some sources list the first tournament in 1885, others in 1886. Likely, the first 'police tournament' involving the *Kōdōkan* and the *Totsuka Yōshin-ryū* took place in 1886, but was preceded in 1885 by a 'non-police tournament' involving the *Tenjin Shin'yo-ryū*. It is known though that the 'police tournaments' took place as part of the *Keishichō Bujutsu Taikai* (警視庁武術大会) [Metropolitan Police Department Martial Arts Tournaments] on the initiative of viscount Mishima Michitsune 三島通庸 (1835–1888) prefect of the Tōkyō Metropolitan Police Department between 1886 and 1888. One of these tournaments was the *Yayoi-Jinja Bujutsu Taikai* (弥生神社武術大会) [Yayoi Shrine Martial Arts Tournament]. The reports on the outcome of these tournaments as published by the *Kōdōkan* should be regarded as being of a propagandist nature and having propagandist objectives, and hence may be partially fictitious.

<sup>28</sup> Especially between minutes 32'35" – 35'15". The movie is also known under its English nickname "The Judo Saga".

**Figure 9.** Scene from Kurosawa Akira's 黒澤明 (1910–1998) 1943 martial arts movie *Sugata Sanshirō* 姿三四郎, distributed in the West under the English name “The Judo Saga”, a story based on the persona of Saigō Shirō 西郷四郎 (1866–1922), here shown to the left, played by actor Fujita Susumu 藤田進 (1912–1991).



Throwing techniques which the *Kōdōkan jūdōka* successfully employed during their matches against the *Yōshin-ryū jūjutsuka* were:

- *ashi-barai* 足払 [foot sweep]
- *ko-uchi-gari* 小内刈 [minor outer reap]
- *ō-uchi-gari* 大内刈 [major inner reap]
- *hiza-guruma* 膝車 [knee wheel]
- *yama-arashi* 山嵐 [mountain storm]<sup>29</sup>
- *kaeshi-waza* 帰技 [counter throws]
- *tai-sabaki* 体捌 [evasive body movements]

Whilst the *Kōdōkan* has boasted for about 140 years about this definitive victory, the reality is that this victory is hardly real and fair or much proof of the *Kōdōkan's* superiority ... Many of the *Kōdōkan's jūdōka* who rose to fame afterwards in reality were already proficient *jūjutsuka* hence raising serious questions about whether their victories were really due to their *Kōdōkan jūdō* skills or their preexisting *jūjutsu* abilities. At the least, one has to agree that a number of significant confounding variables may have contributed to their victories. Below, there is a list of participating ‘*Kōdōkan jūdōka*’ (denoted with an \*), and nonparticipating *Kōdōkan jūdōka* who gained considerable fame later, identified with their final *jūdō* rank and their *jūjutsu* origin and background:

- Yamashita Yoshitsugu\*, 10<sup>th</sup> *dan* (< *Yōshin-ryū* and *Kitō-ryū*)

<sup>29</sup> As is known by many mid-level and senior *jūdō* practitioners this throw was made famous by Kanō's prominent student Saigō Shirō 西郷四郎 (1866–1922).



- Nagaoka Hideichi, 10<sup>th</sup> dan (< Noda-ha Kitō-ryū)
- Isogai Hajime\*, 10<sup>th</sup> dan (< Sekiguchi-ryū)
- Samura Kaichirō, 10<sup>th</sup> dan (< Takeuchi Santō-ryū)
- Yokoyama Sakujirō\*, 8<sup>th</sup> dan (< Daitō-ryū aiki-jūjutsu and Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū)
- Saigō Shirō\*, 6<sup>th</sup> dan (< Daitō-ryū aiki-jūjutsu and Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū)
- Inoue Keitarō\*, 8<sup>th</sup> dan (< Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū)
- Tobari Takisaburō\*, 8<sup>th</sup> dan (< Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū)
- Hirose Takeo\*, 6<sup>th</sup> dan (< Yōshin-ryū)
- Noritomi Masako (♀), 7<sup>th</sup> dan (< Kyūshin-ichi-ryū)

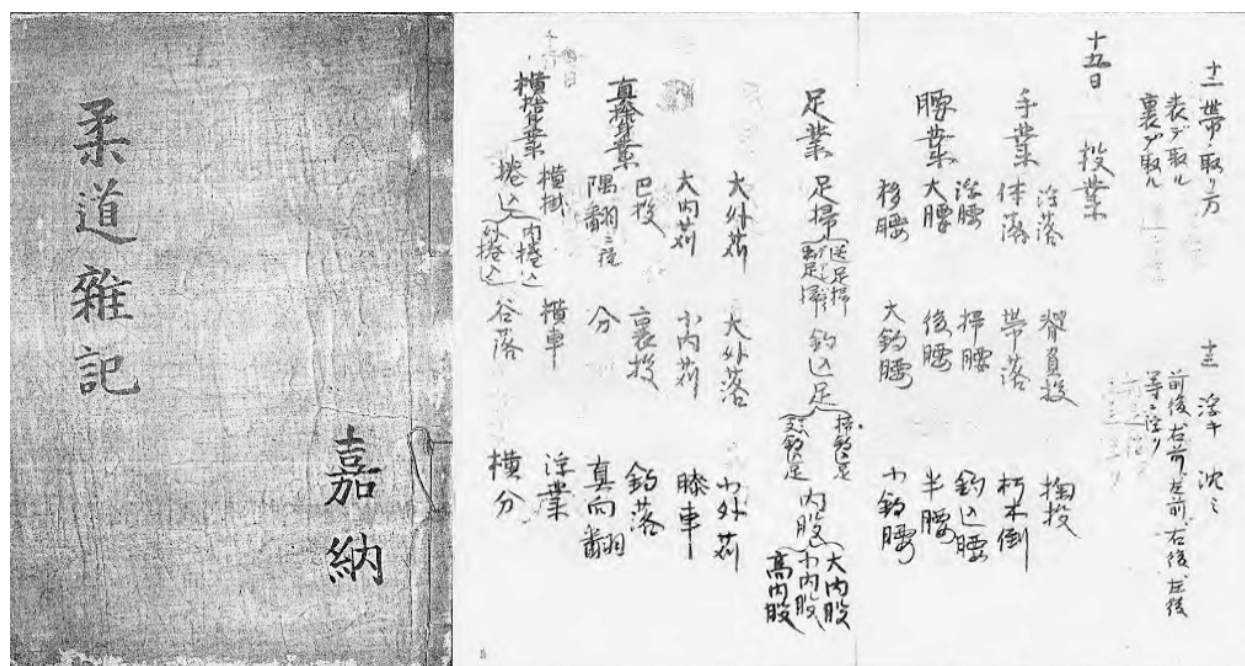
When asked about the techniques that Kanō-shihan used during the early days of Kōdōkan when he himself still participated in *randori*, his senior student Isogai Hajime 磯貝一, 10<sup>th</sup> dan hanshi (1871–1947), replied:

If you ask me what were the major techniques used in the Kōdōkan in the early days of its founding, I would say that Kanō used the *tomoe-nage* of Tenjin shin'yō-ryū and the *yoko-sutemi* of Kitō-ryū, because these were the styles he had studied before establishing his *dōjō*, but he also used the *ō-soto-gari* of Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū, and he developed a reputation for his *uki-goshi*, *harai-goshi*,<sup>30</sup> and *tsuri-komi-goshi*, which is an astonishingly wide range of techniques." (...) (*Jūdō Zasshi* 柔道雑誌 [*Jūdō Magazine*], April 1941)

## 7. The Kōdōkan teaching syllabus of throwing techniques in its early days

According to Kanō Jigorō's own handwritten notes contained in his notebook (Figure 10) and dating from approximately 1888 (Kanō, n.d., Motohashi, 2019), the Kōdōkan teaching syllabus at that point in time contained the throwing techniques displayed in Table 1:

**Figure 10.** Kanō Jigorō's unpublished *Jūdō Zakki* 柔道雑記 [notebook] dating from 1888 showing a handwritten entry of the then existing jūdō throws.



<sup>30</sup> Kanō developed *harai-goshi* [sweeping hip throw] in response to the evasions of his *uki-goshi* [floating hip throw] by his prominent student Saigō Shirō 西郷四郎 (1866–1922).

**Table 1.** Content and classification of *Kōdōkan jūdō nage-waza* 講道館柔道投業 [Kōdōkan jūdō throwing techniques] ca. 1888 according to Kanō Jigorō's handwritten notes (41 Techniques). Modified after Motohashi (2019).

Group	Sub-group	Technique
<i>Te-waza</i> 手業 [hand techniques]	→	<i>uki-otoshi</i> 浮落 [floating drop], <i>seoi-nage</i> 背負投 [shoulder-back carry throw], <i>sukui-nage</i> 掬投 [scooping throw], <i>tai-otoshi</i> 体落 [body drop], <i>obi-otoshi</i> 帯落 [belt drop], <i>kuchiki-daoshi</i> 朽木倒 [dead tree drop]
<i>Koshi-waza</i> 腰業 [hip throw]	→	<i>uki-goshi</i> 浮腰 [floating hip], <i>harai-goshi</i> 掃腰 [sweeping hip], <i>tsuri-komi-goshi</i> 釣込腰 [lifting and pulling hip], <i>ō-goshi</i> 大腰, <i>ushiro-goshi</i> 後腰 [rear hip], <i>han-goshi</i> 半腰 [half-hip]*, <i>utsuri-goshi</i> 移腰 [shifting hip], <i>ō-tsuru-goshi</i> 大釣腰 [major lifting hip], <i>ko-tsuru-goshi</i> 小釣腰 [minor lifting hip]
<i>Ashi-waza</i> 足業 [leg techniques]	<i>Ashi-harau</i> 足掃 [leg sweep]	<i>Okuri-ashi-harai</i> 送足掃 [send-away foot sweep], <i>de-ashi-harai</i> 出足掃 [departing foot sweep]
	<i>Tsuru-komi-ashi</i> 釣込足 [lift & pull leg]	<i>Harai-tsuru-komi-ashi</i> 掃釣込足 [lifting and pulling leg], <i>sasae-tsuru-komi-ashi</i> 支釣込足 [lifting and pulling leg block]
	<i>Uchi-mata</i> 内股 [inner-thigh]	<i>ō-uchi-mata</i> 大内股 [major inner-thigh throw], <i>ko-uchi-mata</i> 小内股 [minor inner-thigh throw], <i>taka-uchi-mata</i> 高内股 [high inner-thigh throw]
	→	<i>ō-soto-gari</i> 大外薙 [major outside reap], <i>ō-soto-otoshi</i> 大外落 [major outside drop], <i>ko-soto-otoshi</i> 小外落 [minor outside drop], <i>ō-uchi-gari</i> 大内薙 [major inside reap], <i>ko-uchi-gari</i> 小内薙 [minor inside reap], <i>hiza-guruma</i> 膝車 [knee wheel]
<i>Ma-sutemi-waza</i> 真捨身業 [rear sacrifice techniques]	→	<i>tomoe-nage</i> 巴投 [circle throw], <i>ura-nage</i> 裏投 [flip-side throw], <i>tsuri-otoshi</i> 釣落 [lifting drop], <i>sumi-gaeshi</i> 隅翻 (二種) [corner turnover, 2 types]**, <i>wakaru</i> 分 [separating], <i>makkō-gaeshi</i> 真向翻 [opposite flipover]
<i>Yoko-sutemi-waza</i> 横捨身業 [side sacrifice techniques]	→	<i>Yoko-gake</i> 横掛 [side hook], <i>yoko-guruma</i> 横車 [side wheel], <i>uki-waza</i> 浮業 [floating technique], <i>tani-otoshi</i> 谷落 [valley drop], <i>yoko-wakare</i> 横分 [lateral separation]
	<i>Makikomi</i> 捲込 [winding roll]	<i>uchi-makikomi</i> 内捲込 [inside winding roll], <i>soto-makikomi</i> 外捲込 [outside winding roll]

\*The name '*han-goshi*' [half-hip throw] is not a typo. This technique is not the same as *hane-goshi* 跳腰 [spring hip throw], which does not yet appear in the 1888 classification of *jūdō* throws.

\*\*The *kanji* for *sumi-gaeshi* was later changed from 隅翻 into 隅返.

Barely a year later we get another view on the existing throwing techniques within the *Kōdōkan* syllabus when Kanō Jigorō during his famous 1889 lecture before the *Dai Nihon Kyōikukai* 大日本教育会 [Greater Japan Society of Education] shows or refers to the techniques (and their classification) displayed in Table 2.



**Table 2.** Content and classification of *Kōdōkan jūdō nage-waza* 講道館柔道投業 [*Kōdōkan jūdō* throwing techniques] mentioned in Kanō-shihan's 1889 lecture before the *Dai Nihon Kyōikukai* 大日本教育会 [Greater Japan Society of Education] (15 Techniques) (Kanō, 1889, o.c. Niehaus, 2003, p. 317).

Group	Technique
<i>Te-waza</i> 手業 [hand techniques]	<i>uki-otoshi</i> 浮落 [floating drop], <i>seoi-nage</i> 背負投 [shoulder-back carry throw]
<i>Koshi-waza</i> 腰業 [hip throw]	<i>uki-goshi</i> 浮腰 [floating hip], <i>harai-goshi</i> 掃腰 [sweeping hip], <i>tsuri-komi-goshi</i> 釣込腰 [lifting and pulling hip], <i>ushiro-goshi</i> 後腰 [rear hip]
<i>Ashi-waza</i> 足業 [leg techniques]	<i>ashi-harai</i> 足掃 [foot sweep], <i>ko-soto-gari</i> 小外薙 [minor outside reap], <i>ō-soto-gari</i> 大外薙 [major outside reap], <i>uchi-mata</i> 内股 [inner-thigh throw]
<i>Ma-sutemi-waza</i> 真捨身業 [rear sacrifice techniques]	<i>tomoe-nage</i> 巴投 [circle throw], <i>ura-nage</i> 裏投 [flip-side throw]
<i>Yoko-sutemi-waza</i> 横捨身業 [side sacrifice techniques]	<i>yoko-gake</i> 横掛 [side hook], <i>yoko-guruma</i> 横車 [side wheel], <i>uki-waza</i> 浮業 [floating technique]

We note that the number of techniques made reference to in 1889 (15) is considerably less than the number mentioned a year earlier in Kanō's handwritten notes (41). A likely reason is that during his lecture, Kanō only cited a selection of throws in order to illustrate *jūdō*'s best use of energy maxim and its differences with *jūjutsu*, whereas the earlier list included in his notebook likely was intended to be an exhaustive collection of what was in existence at that moment in time.

For a detailed overview of the evolution of *jūjutsu* and *jūdō* throwing techniques during the *Meiji* 明治 [1867–1912] and *Taishō* 大正 [1912–1926] periods, we refer to Uchida and Murata (2018).

## 8. Original contents of the *kata* of *Kōdōkan*

It is clear though that the collections of throws mentioned did not implicitly contain much of a methodical pedagogical learning path, except for the classification in groups of kinds of techniques. Knowing that a certain throw belongs to either *ashi-waza* or *koshi-waza* does little to facilitate the learning of the throw by the student, or help the instructor determine teaching what throw may be appropriate for the level of a particular student.

The main pedagogical learning path available to *jūdō* students prior to 1895 remained *kata*. It needs to be pointed out though that only ten throwing techniques were contained in the original *nage-no-kata* (created ca. 1885), increased to fifteen most likely somewhere in the early 1890's (Figure 11). *Gō-no-kata*, composed in 1887 and having remained unchanged (De Crée & Jones, 2009), contains ten movements of which nine are throws, with two of those throws appearing twice: *seoi-nage* (2x), *ushiro-goshi* (2x), *sukui-nage*, *tobi-koshi*, *uki-goshi*, *ō-soto-otoshi*, and *kata-guruma*. However, of those seven throws three concomitantly already appear in *nage-no-kata*: *seoi-nage*, *sukui-nage/kata-guruma* (depending on the version of *nage-no-kata*), and *uki-goshi*. In other words, of the 41 throws mentioned in 1888 by Kanō, only 18 are integrated in a pedagogical or structural learning model represented by *kata*.

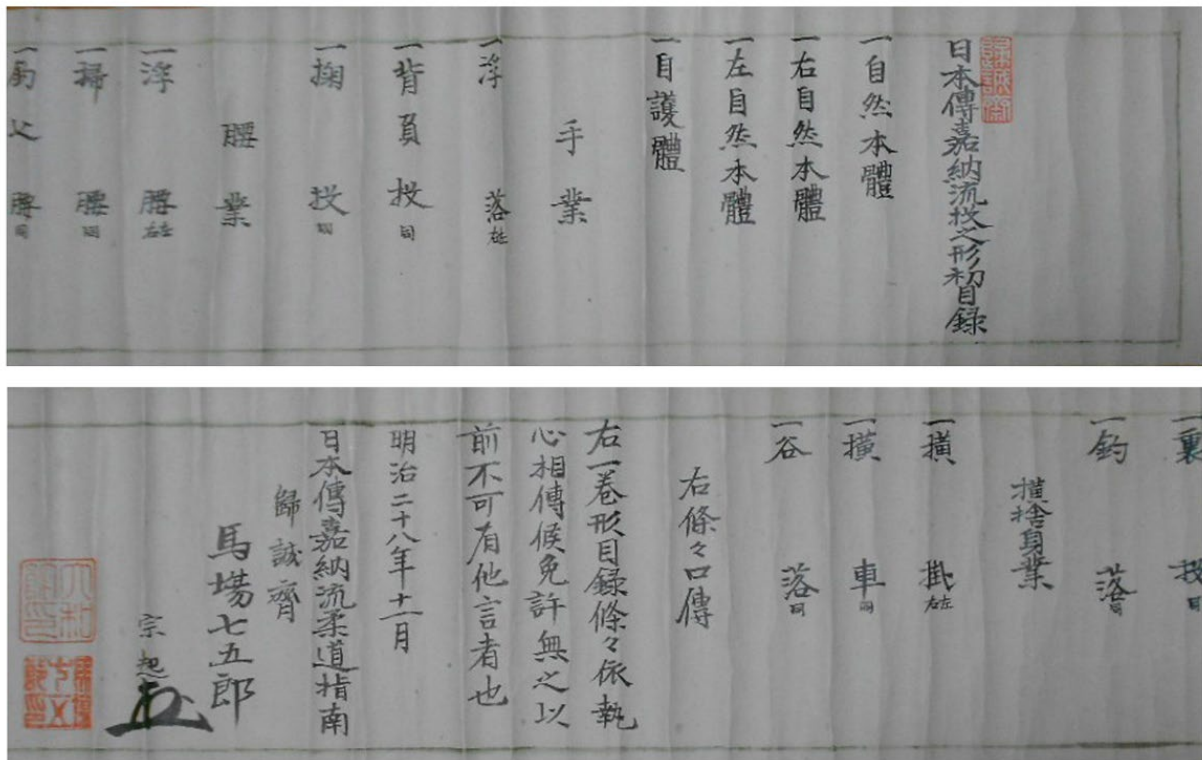
Whilst *nage-* and *gō-no-kata* well serve the broader goal of conveying the importance of: *ma-ai* 間合 [proper distance], *deban* 出端 [moment of opportunity], *kumi-kata* 組方 [gripping], *aite-no-tsukuri* 相手の作 [preparing of the opponent] and *jibun-no-tsukuri* 自分の作 [fitting of the self], *kuzushi* 崩 [unbalancing], *tai-sabaki* 体捌 [body movement], *chōsei* 調整 [coordination], *kake* 掛 [execution], and *zanshin* 残心 [continuation of the spirit], these *kata* do not in themselves so much teach the throw, than that they help understanding its application.

Kanō's star student Yokoyama Sakujirō 横山作次郎 (1864–1912) expressed it as follows:



The *kata* of the *Kōdōkan* are composed for beginners to learn *jūdō* in an easy way, with emphasis on the principles of *jūdō*. Some of them are rarely used. For this reason, the unique techniques of the *kata* are not sufficient for real *randori*. Besides these tricks, there are many that can be put into practice, even if they are not so advanced in theory. These tricks necessary for *randori*, along with the *nage-no-kata* are called *gokyō-no-waza*, and are taught in the *Kōdōkan*." (...) (Yokoyama and Ōshima, 1908, 1915, p. 172)

**Figure 11.** Makimono scroll containing the *nage-no-kata* 投之形 [forms of throwing] issued in the 11<sup>th</sup> month of Meiji 28 [November 1895] by *Nihonden Kanō-ryū jūdō shinan* 日本傳嘉納流柔道指南 [Japanese Kanō School instructor] Ki-sei-sai 歸誠齋 (modern *kanji*: 歸=帰; this is a Confucian pseudonym, not the person's true or birth name) to Baba Shichigorō 馬場七五郎. This version expanded the original 10-technique *nage-no-kata* which remains lost and its contents unknown. Note that in this 1895 version the third technique of the first series (*te-waza* 手業 [hand throws]) still is *sukui-nage* 掬投 [scooping throw], and the last techniques of the fourth (*ma-sutemi-waza*) and fifth series (*yoko-sutemi-waza*) still *tsuri-otoshi* 釣落 [lifting drop] and *tani-otoshi* 谷落 [valley drop], respectively.



## 9. Origin and authorship of the *gokyō-no-waza*

The *gokyō-no-waza* originally was proposed in 1895 and consisted of 42 techniques (Table 3). Its authorship, by the *Kōdōkan* and virtually every populist paperback *jūdō* book, traditionally, has been attributed to Kanō Jigorō, albeit –as usual– without any shred of evidence. Doing so fits well within the quasi-religious cult-like behavior that is shown within the world of *jūdō* towards the figure of Kanō Jigorō,<sup>31</sup> very much like one may notice similar behaviors, for example, in *aikidō* towards its founder Ueshiba Morihei 植芝盛平 (1883–1969), or in other Japanese *budō* towards their founders. This leads to some remarkable conclusions. For example, more than 85 years after the death of Kanō Jigorō there still does not exist even a single critical biography on Kanō, whereas the number of

<sup>31</sup> There appears to be a ubiquitous desire among the majority of martial arts practitioners to elevate their founder to mythical levels, and hence these are often being referred to using terms, such as 'prodigy' or 'genius', even though any evidence of exceptional intellectual capacities is usually lacking. For example, numerous *jūdō* books and research papers refer to Kanō as 'Dr. Kanō' even though the man never in his life or posthumously obtained any doctoral degree either real or honorary from any university either domestic or international. Similarly, a good deal of *jūdō* books claim, falsely, of course, that Kanō would have held the *jūdō* rank of 12<sup>th</sup> *dan*, whereas he never held any *jūdō* *dan* rank. His rank in *Kōdōkan jūdō* was *shihan*, and the majority of his study of other martial arts was limited to academic and intellectual research of martial arts scrolls and writings. Furthermore, there exists no credible record of Kanō ever having defeated any known master of any significant school of *jūjutsu* or other unarmed martial art.



hagiography-like writings are too many to count (Kanō-sensei Denki Hensankai, 1984, Higashi, 1992).<sup>32</sup>

**Table 3.** Content of the first (former) *gokyō-no-waza* [the five teaching principles] “旧五教の技\* (明治28制定)” proposed in 1895 and containing 42 techniques. Partially based on data provided by Kōdōkan (n.d.).

<i>Ikkyō</i> (7 waza) 第1教(7技) [First Group] [7 techniques]	<i>Nikkyō</i> (7 waza) 第2教(7技) [Second Group] [7 techniques]	<i>Sankyō</i> (7 waza) 第3教(7技) [Third Group] [7 techniques]	<i>Yonkyō</i> (10 waza) 第4教(10技) [Fourth Group] [10 techniques]	<i>Gokyō</i> (11 waza) 第5教(11技) [Fifth Group] [11 techniques]
<i>Hiza-guruma</i> 膝車	<i>Sumi-gaeshi</i> 隅返	<i>Okuri-ashi-barai</i> 送足払	<i>Uki-otoshi</i> 浮落	<i>Yoko-guruma</i> 横車
<i>Sasae-tsurikomi-ashi</i> 支釣込足	<i>Ō-goshi</i> 大腰	<i>Harai-goshi</i> 払腰	<i>Uki-waza</i> 浮技	<i>Yoko-wakare</i> 横分
<i>Uki-goshi</i> 浮腰	<i>Ko-soto-gari</i> 小外刈	<i>Ushiro-goshi</i> 後腰	<i>Daki-wakare</i> 抱分	<i>Uchi-makikomi</i> 内巻込
<i>Tai-otoshi</i> 体落	<i>Koshi-guruma</i> 腰車	<i>Ura-nage</i> 裏投	<i>Kata-guruma</i> 肩車	<i>Ko-uchi-gari</i> 小内刈
<i>Ō-soto-gari</i> 大外刈	<i>Seoi-nage</i> 背負投	<i>Uchi-mata</i> 内股	<i>Hikkomi-gaeshi</i> 引込返	<i>Ashi-guruma</i> 足車
<i>De-ashi-barai</i> 出足払	<i>Tomoe-nage</i> 巴投	<i>Obi-otoshi</i> 帯落	<i>Soto-makikomi</i> 外巻込	<i>Seoi-otoshi</i> 背負落
<i>Yoko-otoshi</i> 横落	<i>Tani-otoshi</i> 谷落	<i>Hane-goshi</i> 跳腰	<i>Tsuri-goshi</i> 釣腰	<i>Yoko-gake</i> 横掛
			<i>Utsuri-goshi</i> 移腰	<i>Harai-tsurikomi-ashi</i> 払釣込足
			<i>Ō-soto-otoshi</i> 大外落	<i>Yama-arashi</i> 山嵐
			<i>Tawara-gaeshi</i> 俵返	<i>Ō-soto-guruma</i> 大外車
				<i>Tsuri-komi-goshi</i> 釣込腰†

\*In older publications, such as *Gokyō-no-kaisetsu* (Samura, 1935), the term *kyū gokyō-no-waza* was written using an older *kanji*: 舊五教の技.

†*Tsuri-komi-goshi* was not originally included in 1895, but added later towards the end of the *Meiji*-period (1912).

So, was the 1895 *gokyō-no-waza* really composed by Kanō Jigorō-shihan (1860–1938)? Bennett in a *Kōdōkan*-commissioned edition writes: “When Kano first began work on the *gokyō* syllabus he consulted with some of his stop students such as Yokoyama Sakujirō, Yamashita Yoshitsugu and Nagaoka Shūichi.<sup>33</sup> Consideration of *waza* for inclusion was based on various *nage-waza* from classical *jūjutsu*. He discarded *waza* that were overly dangerous or of no practical value as he formed the syllabus.” (...) (Bennett, 2009, p. 53)

Credible historical documents, including those authored by Kanō’s own former secretary and *jūdō* historian Maruyama Sanzō 丸山三造 (1893–1984) (Maruyama, 1967), even more explicitly confirm Bennett’s suggestion, stating that –as opposed to Kanō– the (true) authors (Figure 12) of the 1895 *gokyō-no-waza* were:

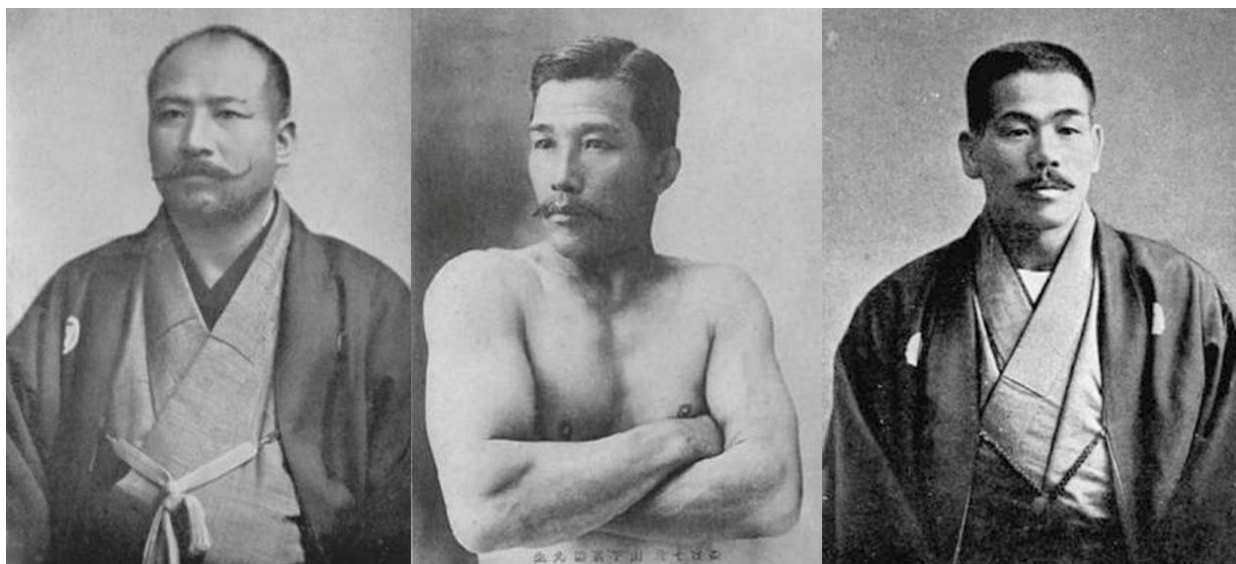
<sup>32</sup> For example, Messner (2023) wrote a multi-part paper under the promising title “Jigoro Kano –Who was he really–” presenting an abundance of cliché’s, but in the end failing to answer the one meaningful question, namely, who Kanō Jigorō really was complete with his failures and vices. One has to go back in time to Okabe Heita 岡部平太 (1891–1966) and Oda Jōin 小田常胤 (1892–1955) to identify rare individuals showing the courage and strength to openly critically approach Kanō’s ideas or decisions (Kudō, 1973; Nagaki, 2008; Okabe, 1957, 1960; Tomozoe, 2011; Yabu & Niehaus, 2024).

<sup>33</sup> As is often the case, Nagaoka’s first name is a misreading. The correct pronunciation in this case is ‘Hideichi’, not ‘Shūichi’.



- Yokoyama Sakujirō 横山作次郎 (1864–1912), 6<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, first *Kōdōkan* 8<sup>th</sup> *dan*)
- Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義韶 (1865–1935), 5<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, first *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*)
- Nagaoka Hideichi 永岡秀一 (1876–1952), 3<sup>rd</sup> *dan* (later, *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*) (Maruyama, 1967, p. 923)

**Figure 12.** From left to right: Yokoyama Sakujirō 横山作次郎 (1864–1912), 6<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, in 1912, first *Kōdōkan* 8<sup>th</sup> *dan*), Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義韶 (1865–1935), 5<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, in 1935, first *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*), Nagaoka Hideichi 永岡秀一 (1876–1952), 3<sup>rd</sup> *dan* (later, in 1937, *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*), all three contributing authors of the 1895 *kyū gokyō-no-waza*. (From the author's private library).



The contents of the first, now called the old or *kyū gokyō-no-waza* (1895) (see Table 3)<sup>34</sup> was determined by:

- Focus on *nage-waza*;
- Body position during *randori*;
- Training clothing (*jūdōgi*);
- Favorite techniques of the best students.

## 10. Origin and authorship of the 'revised' or *shin gokyō-no-waza*

The *shin gokyō-no-waza* originally was proposed in 1920 and consists of 40 techniques (Table 4). The authorship of this second, revised or new *gōkyō-no-waza* once more by the *Kōdōkan* and the majority of Western *jūdō* books, traditionally, has been attributed to Kanō Jigorō, albeit without any evidence.

<sup>34</sup> We note that the composition of the 1895 *gokyō-no-waza* as explained by Samura Kaichirō 佐村嘉一郎 (1880–1964), 8<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*), in the first part of the long-running official series called *Gokyō no kaisetsu* (see further) published by the *Kōdōkan*, suggests a different organization and composition than the *Kōdōkan* does in more recent publications. Instead of a “7-7-7-10-11” organization, Samura alleges that it had an “8-8-9-8-9” organization (Samura 1935, p. 11–12). To achieve this, some shifts are necessary. Samura, moves *sumi-gaeshi* from the second series to the first series; in the second series he omits *tani-otoshi* completely from the *gokyō*, but moves the first three techniques from the third group (*okuri-ashi-harai*, *harai-goshi*- and *ushiro-goshi*) to the second series (Samura 1935, p. 11–12). Strangely, the first throw of the third group, according to Samura, would be *tai-otoshi* (which already appears in his first group), followed by *harai-goshi* (which he also already moved to the second group) meaning that these two throws each appear twice. This obviously must be a material mistake made during the copy-editing of the article. We assume that this led to further mistakes present, given that *sumi-gaeshi* is also listed twice as he includes this throw in both the first and third series. Furthermore, *uchi-makikomi* and *harai-tsuru-komi-ashi* are completely missing in his version of the former *gokyō*, but instead he includes *ō-uchi-gari* in the fifth group just before *yama-arashi* (Samura 1935, p. 11–12), whereas this throw according to other sources (Magara, 1992; Maruyama, 1967) was not even represented in the 1895 *gokyō*.

**Table 4.** (*Shin*) *Gokyō-no-waza* (1920). Content of the second (new) *gokyō-no-waza* [the five teaching principles] (新五教の技 (大正9年改正) proposed in 1920 and containing 40 techniques (Kanō et al., 1999; Kōdōkan, n.d.; Maruyama, 1967).

<i>Ikkyō</i> (8 waza) 第1教(8技) [First Group] [8 techniques]	<i>Nikkyō</i> (8 waza) 第2教(8技) [Second Group] [8 techniques]	<i>Sankyō</i> (8 waza) 第3教(8技) [Third Group] [8 techniques]	<i>Yonkyō</i> (8 waza) 第4教(8技) [Fourth Group] [8 techniques]	<i>Gokyō</i> (8 waza) 第5教(8技) [Fifth Group] [8 techniques]
<i>De-ashi-barai</i> 出足払	<i>Ko-soto-gari</i> 小外刈	<i>Ko-soto-gake</i> 小外掛	<i>Sumi-gaeshi</i> 隅返	<i>Ō-soto-guruma</i> 大外車
<i>Hiza-guruma</i> 膝車	<i>Ko-uchi-gari</i> 小内刈	<i>Tsuri-goshi</i> 釣腰	<i>Tani-otoshi</i> 谷落	<i>Uki-waza</i> 浮技
<i>Sasae-tsuri-komi-ashi</i> 支釣込足	<i>Koshi-guruma</i> 腰車	<i>Yoko-otoshi</i> 横落	<i>Hane-makikomi</i> 跳巻込	<i>Yoko-wakare</i> 横分
<i>Uki-goshi</i> 浮腰	<i>Tsuri-komi-goshi</i> 釣込腰	<i>Ashi-guruma</i> 足車	<i>Sukui-nage</i> 掬投	<i>Yoko-guruma</i> 横車
<i>Ō-soto-gari</i> 大外刈	<i>Okuri-ashi-barai</i> 送足払	<i>Hane-goshi</i> 跳腰	<i>Utsuri-goshi</i> 移腰	<i>Ushiro-goshi</i> 後腰
<i>Ō-goshi</i> 大腰	<i>Tai-otoshi</i> 体落	<i>Harai-tsuri-komi-ashi</i> 払釣込足	<i>Ō-guruma</i> 大車	<i>Ura-nage</i> 裏投
<i>Ō-uchi-gari</i> 大内刈	<i>Harai-goshi</i> 払腰	<i>Tomoe-nage</i> 巴投	<i>Soto-makikomi</i> 外巻込	<i>Sumi-otoshi</i> 隅落
<i>Seoi-nage</i> 背負投	<i>Uchi-mata</i> 内股	<i>Kata-guruma</i> 肩車	<i>Uki-otoshi</i> 浮落	<i>Yoko-gake</i> 横掛

So, who really authored the *shin gokyō-no-waza* from 1920? Was it Kanō Jigorō-*shihan* (1860–1938) or not? Bennett in a *Kōdōkan*-commissioned edition this time writes: “Kanō again consulted some of the his most prominent students” (...) (Bennett, 2009, p. 56)

Once more, other credible historical documents, including by Maruyama Sanzō 丸山三造 (Maruyama, 1967, p. 923) and later analysis by other scholars (Niehaus, 2003, p. 319) convincingly show that ... the authors (Figure 13) of the 1920 *shin gokyō-no-waza* were:

- Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義韶 (1865–1935), 8<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, first *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*)
- Nagaoka Hideichi 永岡秀一 (1876–1952), 8<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*)
- Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883–1965), 6<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*)
- Oda Jōin 小田常胤 (1892–1955), 4<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, *Kōdōkan* 9<sup>th</sup> *dan*)<sup>35</sup>
- Murakami Kunio 村上邦夫 (18??–1943), 5<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, *Kōdōkan* 8<sup>th</sup> *dan*)
- Hashimoto Masajirō 橋本正次郎 (1892–1948), 9<sup>th</sup> *dan* in 1945

## 11. Pedagogical impact of the *gokyō-no-waza*

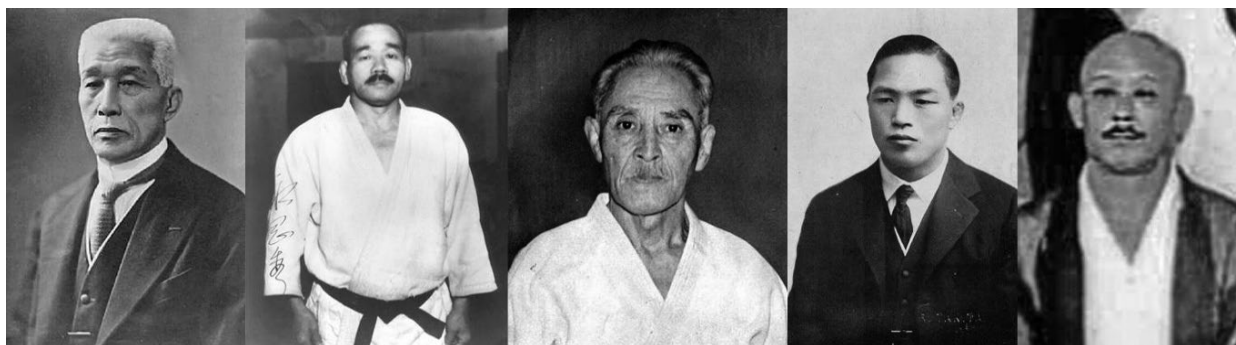
It took time for the 1895 *gokyō* to be implemented as the main teaching tool. This is no surprise as there existed no audiovisual means, centralized organized *jūdō* teachers' education, and the first *jūdō* books were not published until 1903–1904 (Arima, 1904; Uchida, 1903). According to Ikeda:

<sup>35</sup> Oda's 小田常胤 first name is frequently erroneously romanticized as 'Tsunetane'. *Wikipedia* has it wrong when it reverses that reasoning. The *furigana* 振り仮名 [Japanese phonetic reading aid] added to his name in *kanji* by Oda himself as printed in the Japanese version of the books he authored leave no doubt that his first name is 'Jōin' and not 'Tsunetane'. This situation is similar to the in English sources frequently occurring misspelling of the first names of Nagaoka Hideichi (frequently misread as either 'Shūichi' or 'Hidetsugu') and Yamashita Yoshitsugu (frequently misread as 'Yoshiaki'). Sadly, the misspelling occasionally also appears in Japanese language sources.



In 1913, the teaching guidelines for school gymnastics were published in Japan, and a special training for *bujutsu* teachers was held. *Gokyō-no-waza* was presented as the main teaching material of *jūdō*, and teachers all over Japan were informed of this. Therefore, the teaching content of *jūdō* in regular school lessons after the training session used *nage-waza* as the main teaching material, and *gokyō-no-waza* was regarded as a teaching material arrangement of *nage-waza* for gradual instruction. (...) (Ikeda, 2013, p. 159)

**Figure 13.** Five of the six contributing authors of the 1920 *shin gokyō-no-waza*, from left to right: Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義韶 (1865–1935), 8<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, in 1935, first *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*), Nagaoka Hideichi 永岡秀一 (1876–1952), 8<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, in 1937, *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*), Mifune Kyūzō 三船久蔵 (1883–1965), 6<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, in 1945, *Kōdōkan* 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*), Oda Jōin 小田常胤 (1892–1955), 4<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, in 1948, *Kōdōkan* 9<sup>th</sup> *dan*), Murakami Kunio 村上邦夫 (18??–1943), 5<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later, *Kōdōkan* 8<sup>th</sup> *dan*), Hashimoto Masajirō 橋本正次郎 (1892–1948), (later, *Kōdōkan* 9<sup>th</sup> *dan* in 1945). (From the author's private library).



The new 1920 *gokyō* was much more logically structured than the earlier 1895 *gokyō*, easier to understand and follow by both students and teachers and hence would become the foremost pedagogical tool in the progression of learning for *jūdō* students in the Japan of the *Shōwa* era and abroad. Instead of 42 throws, the new *gokyō* would consist of only 40 throws equally divided over five groups. In the revised *gokyō* eight throws from the first *gokyō* of 1895 were discarded, while a further six throws absent from the original 1895 *gokyō* became included: *ō-uchi-gari* [major inner reap], *ko-soto-gake* [minor outside hook], *hane-makikomi* [spring twisting roll], *sukui-nage* [scooping throw], *ō-guruma* [major wheel], and *sumi-otoshi* [corner throw]. The ordering and arrangement of the throws within the groups were also altered. The new *gokyō* was organized in a way that the progression of its throws was primarily based on the degree of difficulty of *ukemi* [break fall] for *uke* [the person 'receiving', so the one undergoing the throwing technique] (Akiyama, 2000). According to current *Kōdōkan kanchō* 館長 [president] Uemura Haruki 上村春樹, 9<sup>th</sup> *dan* (°1951):

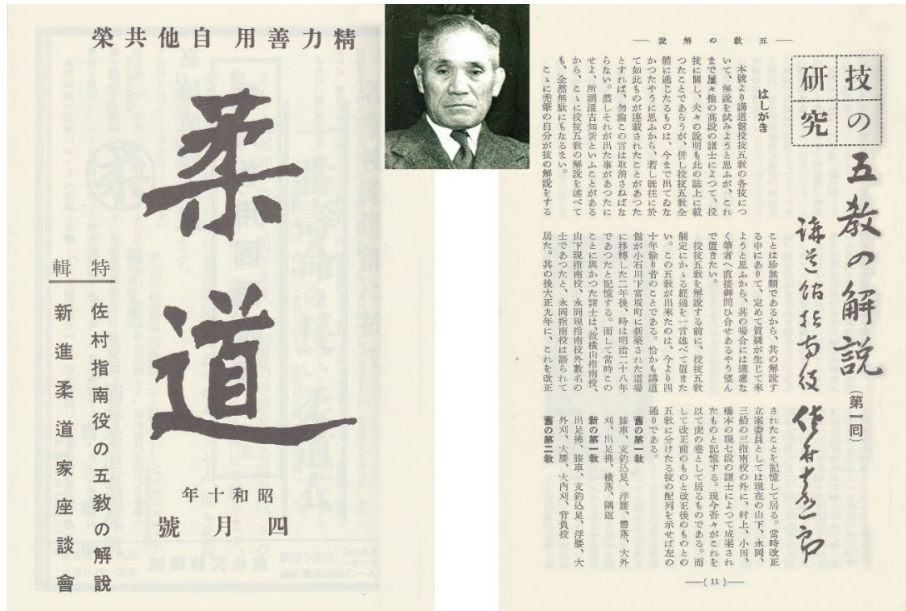
"Among the throwing techniques ('*Nage-waza*') in *jūdō*, there are such techniques as '*seoi-otoshi*' by pulling down the opponent vertically or '*harai-makikomi*' by laying down the body on to the mat while twining the opponent. In practicing these techniques, skills and abilities of the opponent are even more important than those of the one who applies techniques. Young boys and girls or beginners with limited experiences and unmatured physical attributes are not ready to apply the same techniques in the same ways as experienced practitioners with expertise and physical strengths. For each technique, there is a certain step and order to learn it. It has been recorded that the '*Gokyō*,' established in 1895 and revised in 1922 [sic !], had been arranged in the order of:

1. "Techniques easy for '*ukemi*' as the first items,
2. "Techniques easy to apply" the second and
3. "Techniques with less risks and dangers" the third.

At present, '100 *waza*' are arranged by their classifications and we will propose appropriate instruction methods for them, as well." (...) (Uemura, 2024)

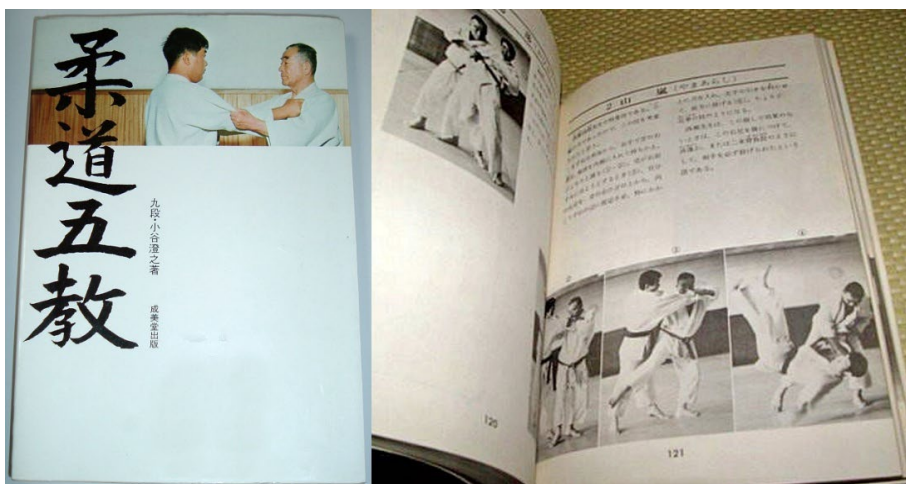
In Japan, the 1920 *gokyō-no-waza* effectively and definitively replaced *kata* as the teaching syllabus of *jūdō* throws. That being said, this evolution took some time in the days when there was no Internet, YouTube, E-mail, fax or other modern means of communication. The beginning of the wider distribution of the new *gokyō-no-waza* and its pedagogy owes much to the famous series of articles under the title *Gokyō no kaisetsu*, authored by Samura Kaichirō 佐村嘉一郎, 8<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later 10<sup>th</sup>

dan) (1880–1964), which started in April 1935 and which appeared monthly in the *Kōdōkan*'s magazine *Jūdō* 柔道 (Figure 14). Each month one or two techniques would be introduced by a prominent *Kōdōkan* expert. The technique would often be shown with several variations, and would be accompanied by explanations and key points. Interesting historical anecdotes often accompanied the more technical descriptions. The series lasted for many years; hence many techniques were discussed more than once to allow for different angles of approach and experiences.



**Figure 14.** First article in the long-running series *Gokyō no kai-setsu* (五教の解説) [Explanation of the five courses of instruction] authored by Samura Kaichirō (佐村嘉一郎) (1880–1964), 8<sup>th</sup> dan (later 10<sup>th</sup> dan), appearing in the April 1935 issue of the *Kōdōkan*'s magazine *Jūdō* 柔道. The picture of Samura was added by us and does not appear in the original article (From the author's private library).

Another major mile stone in the spreading of the *gokyō* was the later (1974) book *Jūdō gokyō* (柔道五教) [Jūdō five courses of instruction] authored by Kanō's direct student Kotani Sumiyuki 小谷澄之 (1903–1991), then 9<sup>th</sup> dan, later 10<sup>th</sup> dan (Figure 15).



**Figure 15.** *Jūdō gokyō* (柔道五教) [Jūdō five courses of instruction], the seminal textbook on the 1920 *shin gokyō-no-waza* author-ed by Kotani Sumiyuki 小谷澄之 (1903–1991), then 9<sup>th</sup> dan, later, in 1984, 10<sup>th</sup> dan. (From the author's private library).

In the West, the evolution was somewhat different. The above-mentioned replacement of *kata* by the *gokyō* never took place for the simple reason that *kata* in the West never had been a major tool for teaching throwing techniques. Rather, *jūdō* in the West had been introduced as the competitive sports form of *jūjutsu*, the latter mainly having been seen as a circus or theatrical act allowing small-built exotic Japanese fighters to defeat big, strong Western boxers and wrestlers (Arrighi, 2012; Brousse, 2005; H, 1907; Preiß, 2012; Schulze, 2023). *Kata* in the West had always been misunderstood as a formal demonstration before an audience usually by Japanese experts, and later as a mandatory examination item to which 1<sup>st</sup> *kyū*-holders were introduced during their ascent towards becoming black belts. A possible additional explanation for this, is that *jūdō* in the West did not really take off until after Kanō in 1926 in Japan had added *kata* to the promotion requirements



for *jūdō dan* ranks (Kudō, 1974).<sup>36</sup> Hence, since the majority of Japanese instructors who visited Europe to spread *jūdō* did so after 1926, this implies that they generally already had been familiarized with the *kata* requirement being imposed as part of their students' black belt promotion test.

In almost every country, at least in Europe, irrespective of whether *jūdō* there had been introduced before or after 1926, there came to exist a clear association between the required study material for each increasing *kyū*- and *dan*-rank and the content of the *gokyō*. Klocke (2009) writes about this:

*Die Gokyo war in Japan weder zu Kanos Zeiten noch danach ein Lehrsystem oder eine Prüfungsvorschrift. Erst in Europa ist aus den fünf Lehrstufen (Gokyo) ein Ausbildungsprogramm in fünf Stufen geworden, in dem jede der fünf Stufen mit einem der farbigen Gürtel gleich gesetzt wurde. Kyu („Klasse, Rang, Ordnung“) und Kyo („Gruppe, Prinzip“) wurden verwechselt oder gleichgesetzt. (...)*

[Transl.: In Japan, neither in Kanō's time nor afterwards was the *gokyō* a teaching system or examination regulation. It was only in Europe that the five teaching levels (*gokyō*) became a training program in five stages, in which each of the five levels was equated with one of the colored belts. *Kyū* ('class, rank, order') and *kyō* ('group, principle') were confused or equated.]

Several prominent Western *jūdō* teachers have made an effort into sensitizing the larger *jūdō* audience for the *gokyō*. For the purpose of the next argument I am limiting references here to a number of teachers who are known to have conducted special seminars on this topic and to have published texts about this topic, such as, *inter alia*: German instructors and authors Wolfgang Weinmann (1934–2017), DDK 8<sup>th</sup> *dan* (Weinmann, 1956), Ulrich Klocke (°1948), DJB 8<sup>th</sup> *dan* (Klocke, 2009), Dutch instructor/coach/author Willem Visser (°1948), IJF 8<sup>th</sup> *dan*, IMAF (the Netherlands) 9<sup>th</sup> *dan* (Visser, 2009–2010), Dutch Olympic and world champion Anton Geesink (1934–2010), IJF 10<sup>th</sup> *dan* (Geesink, 1967), and American instructors Vernon A. Borgen (1948–2020) (Borgen, 2019) and Steven R. Cunningham, PhD (°ca. 1953), both USJA 6<sup>th</sup> *dan* (Cunningham, 1996). Whilst Klocke's, Visser's, and Weinmann's publications show that the *gokyō* clearly represents a classification of throws arranged in a certain way with those of the first group obviously being far easier than those of the fifth group, they seem to suggest that it is far less clear to what extent it also represents a pedagogical system, unless one argues that the pedagogy entirely lies in nothing more or less than the classification itself. Klocke (2009) writes:

*Man hat –vor allem in Deutschland– zu lange geglaubt, dass die Technikauswahl und Reihenfolge der Gokyo eine methodische Reihung sei, also ein Wurf auf den anderen folgen müsse und dabei übersehen, dass dies vielleicht möglich, aber eben nicht notwendig ist, und darüber hinaus die Reihenfolge der Techniken der Gokyo zu Vermittlungszwecken durchaus ausgetauscht werden kann. (...)*

[Transl.: "For too long, people have believed –especially in Germany– that the selection and sequence of techniques in *gokyō* is a methodical sequence, meaning that one throw must follow the other, and have overlooked the fact that this may be possible but not necessary, and that the sequence of the *gokyō* techniques can be changed for teaching purposes."]

Fact remains that the *gokyō* was long misunderstood in the West, not only by equating it to *kyū* or *dan* rank, but also by falsely assuming that its arrangement was (solely) concomitant with the throw being more difficult to perform. Despite this widespread misunderstanding, one serious attempt and a particularly personal and original view on the pedagogical foundation of the *gokyō-no-waza* has been offered by Borgen (2005, 2017, 2019, 2020). According to Vernon A. Borgen, Jr. (1948–2020), his hypotheses on the systematization of the *gokyō* rely on what he had been taught by Steven R. Cunningham, PhD (Cunningham, 1996), who, in turn, was a former *uchi-deshi* [live-in student] to Sone Taizō, 6<sup>th</sup> *dan* (Anonymous, 1972).<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Even the London Budokwai lists only a single promotion to black belt before 1926. 'G. Tanabe', promoted to *shodan* black belt in 1920, the same year that both of the London Budokwai's instructors –Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治 (1885–1965) and Tani Yukio 谷幸雄 (1881–1950)– were jump-promoted from nothing to 2<sup>nd</sup> *dan* by Kanō himself.

<sup>37</sup> Sone Taizō, born in Tajimi 多治見市, Gifu Prefecture 岐阜県, Japan, in 1900 or 1901, was said to formerly having been a direct student of Nagaoka Hideichi-hanshi 永岡秀一, (1876–1952), 8<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*), and Okano Yoshitarō 岡野好太郎 (1885–1967), 5<sup>th</sup> *dan* (later 10<sup>th</sup> *dan*). Sone died in 1972 (Anonymous, 1972).



In brief, Borgen, inspired by a *hiragana* chart in a Japanese language study book (Young & Nakajima-Okano, 1983), hypothesized that the *gokyō* needed to be pictured on a grid, so that the rows and columns –similar to a spreadsheet– showed their relationship to each other. Borgen believed that the rows represented arcs of action: 1-arc throws, 2-arc throws, etc. The columns then allegedly were principles of movement: spiral in (3<sup>rd</sup> *dan*),<sup>38</sup> spiral out (7<sup>th</sup> *dan*), rotation over an oblique axis while pushing (4<sup>th</sup> *dan*), and while pulling (6<sup>th</sup> *dan*), etc. Borgen, referring to Cunningham, felt that: “The *gokyō* was designed as one way to systematically take a beginner through the possibilities in terms of range of motion of both *uke* and *tori*. *Gokyō* is not to teach ‘techniques’ but rather principles of movement through example.” “When we teach the *gokyō*, the techniques are presented as examples of possibilities of how a fighter may operate against an opponent, using their bodies and movement to defeat their opponent.” Borgen, though, seems to build in some sort of *caveat* concerning his hypotheses by stating that in order to understand the organization of the *gokyō* one has to accept a specific way of performing a certain throw: “Third, the techniques have to be done in a specific way to illustrate the principle. Most of the techniques are demonstrated in the way that is common to most judo practice, but a few are different.” (...) (Borgen, 2019, p. 5).

Borgen, undoubtedly, presents an interesting and original theory about the pedagogical foundations of the *gokyō*. Unfortunately, much of Borgen’s hypothesis presents itself in a “Borgen says that Cunningham said that Sone said ...” kind of way, without providing any credible direct writings from Sone himself. In other words, it is impossible to accurately assess how much of what Borgen said or the way in which he said it, is still an accurate reflection of what Sone may have actually expressed or taught. Furthermore, it is highly surprising, to say the least, that we have failed to locate any Japanese author, including renown historical scholars from the days of Kanō, who support the pedagogical foundation of the *gokyō*, as presented by Borgen and allegedly taught so by Sone. It is hard to believe that such unique knowledge about the *gokyō* would have been taught by Kanō only to Sone and to nobody else; yet, it is one of the few potential explanations left in the absence of any other sources or explanation from documented students of Kanō that support the insights which Borgen attributes to Sone, as conveyed to him by Cunningham.

Despite those significant drawbacks, many of Cunningham’s writings on *jūdō*, and its history or philosophy, have been very interesting and valuable, and 25 years ago also were relatively spearheading in a sense that it was rare in those days for Western articles about *jūdō* to contain Japanese references. For Borgen, the *gokyō-no-waza* definitively was a form of pedagogy. However, when I explained to Borgen the reasons why some of hypotheses he proposed could not possibly be correct, he accepted this in a most chivalrous way. Vern Borgen understood that honest non-*ad hominem* critical discourse represents an essential part of our intellectual growth. He believed that victory did not mean, having to be right or win every argument, but instead existed in experiencing intellectual challenges and growth. He desired to hear my candid comments on his hypotheses and our interactions brought him joy and enthusiasm in his final months.

## 12. Reflections on the pedagogical value of the *gokyō-no-waza*

It is difficult to accurately assess the pedagogical value of the *gokyō-no-waza*, especially because the instructor teaching, represents a major confounding variable depending on his or her understanding of the principles of the *gokyō* and his or her technical proficiency in everyone of its throws. *Jūdōka* tend to excel in their *tokui-waza* 得意技 [preferred technique], but very few, if any at all, excel in every or nearly every single technique.

Yiannakis, furthermore, pointed out another aspect that deserves consideration:

Kanō organized the *Gokyō* as a guide to systematically teach the application of principles. He provided a curriculum of specific movement types and operations across increasing levels of complexity. When separate techniques become melded into variants without clear understanding of what has happened, some of that educational benefit is lost.” (...) (Yiannakis, 2011, p. 102)

<sup>38</sup> The Japanese word *dan* 段, in this case, needs to be understood as literally meaning ‘step’ and having no connotation here to *jūdō*’s black belt ranking system.





Kanō-sensei himself was not entirely convinced of the efficacy of the *gokyō* either. The main trigger for his doubts was his dissatisfaction with the level of *jūdō*, specifically the non-application of *Sei-ryoku saizen katsuyō* 精力最善活用 [Optimal use of energy] (usually abbreviated to *Sei-ryoku zen'yō* 精力善用) and *Jū yoku gō o sei suru* 柔能く剛を精する [Non-resistance conquers force], which he observed during the *jūdō* contests and tournaments from the 1930's. This created the necessary doubts within Kanō about the extent to which the *gokyō* was actually fulfilling its purpose.

While this concern to date has never really been alleviated, few people probably still can be bothered considering that *jūdō* now has been wholly converted into a competitive sport complete with professional full-time *jūdōka* for whom winning contests, medals and titles is about the only thing that still matters (Satō, 2013).

Despite their originality we are at this moment in time unable to support the legitimacy of the overall hypotheses that according to Borgen, Cunningham, and, allegedly, Sone, would underpin the pedagogical foundations of the *gokyō*. If any hitherto unknown primary sources and accurate historical references will become available and shed new light on the claims these authors have made, we will be happy to review the conclusions we arrived at in this paper.

### 13. The *gokyō-no-waza-igai-no-waza* [*Jūdō* throws outside of the *gokyō*] – Part 1: the *habukareta-waza* and *shinmeishō-no-waza*

Over time, certainly when *jūdō* evolved towards becoming an international sport, new throwing techniques, though mostly variations on existing techniques, were developed by *jūdō* athletes and *jūdō* teachers, imported from other martial arts, such as sambo,<sup>39</sup> or obsolete and forgotten techniques were dusted off and put to use as a 'secret weapon' or surprise throw by one or another *jūdō* hopeful. Those techniques as a whole are called the *gokyō-no-waza-igai-no-waza* 五教の技以外の技 [techniques outside of the *gokyō-no-waza*].

Unlike what is commonly assumed and stated by the *Kōdōkan* and IJF, the chronologically first such attempt to add a new group or category of throws did not occur by the *Kōdōkan* in 1982. Rather, handwritten notes by Yamashita Yoshitsugu show that already in 1904 (and likely earlier) such an expansion existed and a 6<sup>th</sup> group or '*dai roku kyō*' 第六教 is mentioned (Figure 16). The five previous groups are identical to the 1895 *gokyō* as known, with the exception that *hiza-guruma* [knee wheel] is missing from the first group (totaling six throws in Yamashita's overview instead of seven), as well as *tsuri-komi-goshi* 釣込腰 [lifting and pulling hip throw], which is known to have been added to the old *gokyō* only around the end of the Meiji period (around 1912). As to the contents of Yamashita's sixth group, the seven throws contained therein are: *ō-uchi-gari*, *okuri-goshi*, *han-goshi*, *gyaku-makikomi*, *kubi-nage*, '*idiza-guruma*' [sic!] (→ *hiza-guruma*), *kujiki-taoshi* [sic!] (→ *kuchiki-taoshi*). Hence, it contains four throws (*okuri-goshi*,<sup>40</sup> *han-goshi*,<sup>41</sup> *gyaku-makikomi*,<sup>42</sup> and *kubi-nage*) that are contained in neither the 1895, nor the 1920 official *gokyō-no-waza*. These bring the total number of known *Kōdōkan jūdō* throws as proposed by Yamashita in 1904 to 47.

The more commonly known formal expansion of the *gokyō* system occurred in 1982, when the *Kōdōkan* officially expanded the *shin gokyō-no-waza* by creating two additional groups of 'techniques outside of the *gokyō*'. Although these two *gokyō-no-waza-igai-no-waza* are sometimes nicknamed "the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> group of the *gokyō*" this terminology represents a *contradictio in terminis* given that the word *gokyō* means 'five'. If one truly would want to create a new name that considers this expansion, then the terms '*rokkyō-no-waza*' 六教の技 [techniques of the six courses of instruction]

<sup>39</sup> самбо < *samozashchita bez oruzhiya* (самозащита без оружия) [Russian self-defense without weapons]].

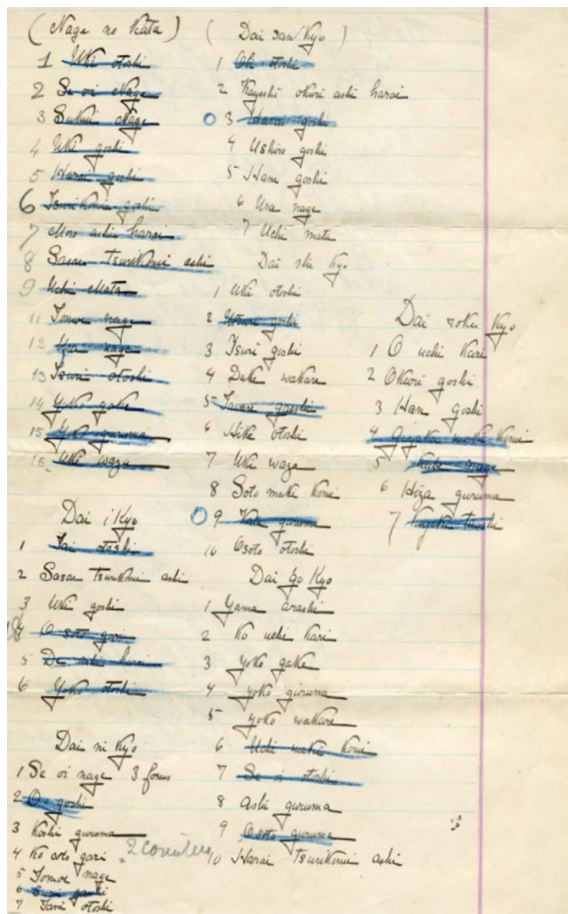
<sup>40</sup> The exact details of the throwing technique *okuri-goshi* 送腰 [sliding hip throw] remain unidentified to date.

<sup>41</sup> It is important not to confuse *han-goshi* 半腰 [half-hip throw] with the more commonly known *hane-goshi* 跳腰 [spring hip throw].

<sup>42</sup> *Gyaku-makikomi* 逆巻込 [reverse twisting roll] is an alternative name for *ude-gaeshi* 腕返 [arm reversing], which even today under current *Kōdōkan* and IJF contest roles still is a considered a scoreable throw on the condition that separation occurs between *tori* and *uke*; if not, it falls in the category of (non-scoreable) 'skillful entry into *newaza*', so a permissible transition from *tachiwaza* [standing techniques] into *newaza* [ground techniques].



or 'nanakyō-no-waza' 七教の技 [techniques of the seven courses of instruction] would make more sense.



**Figure 16.** Handwritten notes by Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義韶 (1865–1935), 6<sup>th</sup> dan (later, in 1935, the first Kōdōkan 10<sup>th</sup> dan), dating from 1904, and showing a pre-1906 composition of the *nage-no-kata* (still having *sukui-nage* as the third, and *tsuri-otoshi* as the twelfth technique) and the classification of throwing techniques based on the 1895 *gokyō*, but divided in six groups (6-7-7-10-10-7 division totaling 47 techniques) rather than just five (7-7-7-10-11 totaling 42 techniques). These notes likely reflect the Kōdōkan teaching syllabus at a point in time between the old and new *gokyō-no-waza* (The original is held in the Special Collections and University Archives of the W.E.B. Du Bois Library of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, to which it was gifted in December 2007 by Ms. Caroline Watson).

So, why have these new names not been chosen? The main reason is that there always is a reluctance to change that what still was approved by Kanō-*shihan* himself. Secondly, unlike the organization and order of the throws in the *gokyō*, the throwing techniques of the two additional groups are not underpinned by any known pedagogical idea, such as progression in difficulty. Hence, why both new groups were given two entirely new proper names (Table 5). The first new group was given the name *habukareta-waza* 省かれた技, which is usually translated as “reinstated techniques” or “preserved techniques”. This translation is, however, inaccurate. Instead, ‘*habukareta*’ comes from the verb *habuku* 省く, which means: to curtail, to eliminate, to exclude, to leave out, to omit. The passive past tense of *habuku* then is *habukareta* or ‘have been excluded’. *Habukareta-waza* therefore means “techniques that have been excluded” or “techniques that have been omitted”. This group consists of the 8 techniques that had been removed from the old (1895) *kyū gokyō-no-waza* when the new *shin-gokyō-no-waza* was created in 1920. In other words, there are 48 different throws when the throws from the 1895 and 1920 *gokyō* are counted together.

In addition, the *shinmeishō-no-waza* 新名称の技 [newly named techniques] category was created and added to recognize standard *jūdō* throws that were not part of the *gokyō*, not even when the throws of both the former (1895) and new (1920) *gokyō* were added together (= 48 techniques, 52, if the four throws mentioned by Yamashita and included in his ‘sixth group’ would be added). When this category was created in 1982, it added 17 additional techniques, effectively bringing the number of *jūdō* throws officially recognized by the Kōdōkan to 65 (40 + 8 + 5). In 1997, the *shinmeishō-no-waza* category was expanded with two additional throws (*ippon-seoi-nage* 一本背負投 [single-point back-carry throw] and *sode-tsuri-komi-goshi* 袖釣込腰 [sleeve-lifting and -pulling hip throw]) hence bringing its total to 19, and the number of officially recognized Kōdōkan throws to 67. In 2017, another update followed, when *ko-uchi-makikomi* 小内巻込 [minor inner twisting roll] again became recognized as a separate technique. This update was somewhat surprising, especially since Daigo Toshirō just years earlier in his function as chief instructor of the Kōdōkan and a leading



authority on the topic had pointed out –and in our opinion, quite rightly so– that *ko-uchi-makikomi* really is a misnomer since it involves no rolling action and hence should be considered as being merely a *henka* 変化 [variation] of *ko-uchi-gari*. This is not the only reasonable concern about the current official *Kōdōkan*-approved list of 68 throws. Not acknowledging that the *te-guruma* 手車 [hand wheel] form whereby the opponent is lifted up high into the air and turned around the arm representing the axis, probably should not be considered as just a form of *sukui-nage* 掬投 [scooping throw], but a separate throw, is another concern.

**Table 5.** *Gokyō-no-waza-igai-no-waza* 五教の技以外の技. Summary table depicting the three groups of techniques outside of the *gokyō-no-waza* totaling 53 documented existing throwing techniques. Currently, only the first (*habukareta-waza*) and second (*shinmeishō-no-waza*) groups, introduced or expanded between 1982–2017, are officially recognized by the *Kōdōkan Jūdō Institute* in Tōkyō.

<i>Habukareta-waza</i> 省かれた技 (8技) [Techniques Previously Excluded from the <i>Gokyō</i> ] (8 Techniques)	<i>Shinmeishō-no-waza</i> 新名称の技 (20技) [Newly named techniques] (20 Techniques)		<i>Jidai-okure-no-waza*</i> 時代遅れの技 [Obsolete techniques] or <i>Wasurerareta gihō*</i> 忘れられた技法 [Forgotten techniques] (25 Techniques)	
<i>Obi-otoshi</i> 帯落	<i>Morote-gari</i> 双手刈	<i>Hane-goshi-gaeshi</i> 跳腰返	<i>Dai-sharin</i> 大車	<i>Obi-goshi</i> 帯腰
<i>Seoi-otoshi</i> 背負落	<i>Kuchiki-taoshi</i> 朽木倒	<i>Kani-basami</i> 蟹挟	<i>Daki-age</i> 抱上	<i>Okuri-goshi</i> 送腰
<i>Yama-arashi</i> 山嵐	<i>Kibisu-gaeshi</i> 踵返	<i>Ō-soto-makikomi</i> 大外巻込	<i>Daki-sutemi</i> 抱捨身	<i>Ō-yoko-wakare</i> 大横分
<i>Ō-soto-otoshi</i> 大外落	<i>Uchi-mata-sukashi</i> 内股すかし	<i>Kawazu-gake</i> 河津掛	<i>Gansek-otoshi</i> 岩石落	<i>Seoi-age</i> 背負上
<i>Daki-wakare</i> 抱分	<i>Tsubame-gaeshi</i> 燕返し	<i>Harai-makikomi</i> 払巻込	<i>Gyaku-makikomi</i> 逆巻込	<i>Tama-guruma</i> 球車
<i>Hikikomi-gaeshi</i> 引込返	<i>Ko-uchi-gaeshi</i> 小内返し	<i>Uchi-mata-makikomi</i> 内股巻込	<i>Hane-seoi-nage</i> 跳背負投	<i>Te-guruma</i> 手車
<i>Tawara-gaeshi</i> 俵返	<i>Ō-uchi-gaeshi</i> 大内返	<i>Sode-tsurikomi-goshi</i> 袖釣込腰	<i>Han-goshi</i> 半腰	<i>Tobi-goshi</i> 飛腰
<i>Uchi-makikomi</i> 内巻込	<i>Ō-soto-gaeshi</i> 大外返	<i>Ippon-seoi-nage</i> 一本背負投	<i>Hikōki-nage</i> 飛行機	<i>Tonbō-gaeri</i> 蜻蛉
	<i>Harai-goshi-gaeshi</i> 払腰返	<i>Obi-tori-gaeshi</i> 帯取返	<i>Kinu-katsugi</i> 衣担	<i>Tsuri-otoshi</i> 釣落翻
	<i>Uchi-mata-gaeshi</i> 内股返	<i>Ko-uchi-makikomi</i> 小内巻込	<i>Kote-gaeshi</i> 小手返	<i>Ushiro-guruma</i> 後車
			<i>Kubi-nage</i> 首投	<i>Wakare</i> 分
			<i>Makkō-hirogaeri</i> 真向翻	<i>Yoko-tomoe-nage</i> 横巴投
			<i>No-waki</i> 野分	

\*Not an officially approved category by the *Kōdōkan Jūdō Institute*. *Kote-gaeshi* was not merely a wrist lock, but a scoreable *jūdō* throw (Munekata, 1913, p. 112).

However, our purpose was not to provide a teaching document for every single existing *jūdō* throw, but to examine the pedagogical foundation of the *gokyō*, and by extension, any eventual other *Kōdōkan* learning system for *jūdō* throws. It does not seem that pedagogical motives significantly infused the choice of throws contained within the *habukareta-waza* and *shinmeishō-waza*, nor how they are ordered, and it is hard to see how their organization would facilitate mastering the throws these two categories contain.



#### 14. The *gokyō-no-waza-igai-no-waza* [*jūdō* throws outside of the *gokyō*] – Part 2: the *jidai-okure-no-waza* [obsolete techniques] or *wasurerareta gihō* [forgotten techniques]

For reasons of completeness, it is necessary to add that among the *gokyō-no-waza-igai-no-waza* 五教の技以外の技 [techniques outside of the *gokyō-no-waza*] there clearly exist other *jūdō* throws (see Table 7), irrespective of whether the *Kōdōkan* or IJF officially recognize them or not. Our previous research has repeatedly shown that either organization today hardly deserves to be considered as the ultimate authority on *jūdō* because of their politics fusing their academic staleness, their lack of depth and absence of critical analysis. We term these throws *jidai-okure-no-waza* 時代遅れの技 [obsolete techniques] or *wasurerareta gihō* 忘れられた技法 [forgotten techniques].

When considering *jūdō* throws that are outside the *gokyō-no-waza*, but equally outside of the *habukareta-waza* and *shinmeishō-no-waza*, we did not include the following techniques, *inter alia* retained in Kawaishi's "*Ma méthode de judo*" [My method of *jūdō*] (Kawaishi, 1960) in the *jidai-okure-no-waza*, because rather than representing separate techniques, they are merely different names for already existing and now under a different terminology recognized techniques, *i.e.*: Kawaishi's: *soto-gake* 外掛 [outer hook] (= *ō-soto-gari*),<sup>43</sup> *kata-seoi* 肩背負 [shoulder-back carry] (= *ippon-seoi-nage*), *seoi-nage* 背負投 [back-carry throw] (= *morote-seoi-nage*), *hidari-kata-seoi* 左肩背負 [left shoulder-back carry] (= *ippon-seoi-nage*, left version), *kūki-nage* 空気投 [air throw] (= *uki-otoshi*), *hiji-otoshi* 肘落 [elbow drop] (= *uki-otoshi/sumi-otoshi*), *mochiage-otoshi* 持上落 [lifting drop] (= *daki-age*), *kata-ashi-dori* 片足取 [single-leg grab] (= *kuchiki-taoshi*), *ryō-ashi-dori* 両足取 [double-leg grab] (= *morote-gari*), and *maki-tomoe* 巻巴 [rolling circle throw] (= *tomoe-nage*).

Neither are we including here anything from the so-called "*Shin-kokusai-shiai-waza*" [New international competition techniques], proposed in 2005 by the late Roy Inman, OBE (1946–2015), IJF 9<sup>th</sup> *dan*, and during life a celebrated *jūdō* coach. Inman believed it was time to name all sorts of technical variations and deviations of *jūdō* throws which athletes regularly made use of to score during modern international *jūdō* contests (Inman, 2005). Despite possessing only a modest command of the grammar of his own native language, Inman apparently felt it justified to invent and assemble terms in Japanese, even though he did not master that language. The result was a monstrosity, a heap of painfully embarrassing grammatical blunders that was soon to be forgotten by the *jūdō* world, except for, perhaps, a handful of British *jūdō* chauvinist diehards. The majority of actual techniques it included simply were existing *henka* 変化 [variations] of other throws that are not considered to have a separate name. For example, Inman used the terms *soto-kibisu-gaeshi* [outer heel reversal] and *uchi-kibisu-gaeshi* [inner heel reversal], whereas both are properly called simply *kibisu-gaeshi* [heel reversal] (Inman, 2005). In other cases he attempted to assign a name to a throw apparently unaware that the throw already had been having a different name commonly known in Japan. An example of this is Inman's '*ryō-hiza-seoi-otoshi*', a bizarre name for a throw which properly is named *suwari-seoi-otoshi* 座背負落 [sitting-back drop]. The following are some of the most horrendous and nonsensical names in Inman's list (Inman, 2005): '*kata-hiza-te-ouchi-gake-ashi-dori*' or '*morote-kata-sode-tai-otoshi*', etc.

On the other hand, the list of *jidai-okure-no-waza* 時代遅れの技 [Obsolete techniques] or *wasurerareta gihō* 忘れられた技法 [Forgotten techniques] we propose, contains 25 genuine *jūdō* throws, which we feel justified being considered as separate throws. Some of these are still commonly known among veteran *jūdōka* and *jūdō* teachers, but forgotten or omitted from inclusion in the *shinmeishō-no-waza*, such as, *yoko-tomoe-nage* 横巴投 or *te-guruma* 手車 [hand wheel]; others are considered obsolete, such as *tsuri-otoshi* 釣落 [lifting drop], or are techniques that always have been extremely rare, such as *hane-seoi-nage* 跳背負投 [spring-back-carry throw] or *uchi-guruma* 内車 [inner wheel]. The *jidai-okure-no-waza* list has no pedagogical foundation when it comes to the order of techniques contained therein. There is no connection with an underlying system to facilitate the teaching or learning of these techniques. The list's purpose is limited to merely classifying and registering these

<sup>43</sup> Under *Kōdōkan* terminology all major outer leg sweeps exercised on a single leg are termed *ō-soto-gari* irrespective of whether the leg is actually being swept ('*ō-soto-harai*'), reaped ('*ō-soto-gari*'), or hooked ('*ō-soto-gake*', '*soto-gake*'). The sole exception is *ō-soto-otoshi* [major outer drop] because rather than being actually thrown, *i.e.* the action results in *uke* being fully lifted off the *tatami*, *uke* is being 'dropped' and remains in contact with the *tatami* at all times.



techniques and preventing their names from becoming really lost. Taking into account these techniques brings the total of properly named and historically documented *jūdō* throws to 93, irrespective of whatever the *Kōdōkan* or IJF may claim.

## 15. Alternative systems of organization of *Kōdōkan jūdō* throws

The *kyū gokyō-no-waza* of 1895 is not the oldest pedagogical system of organization of *Kōdōkan jūdō* throws that existed separate from *kata*. The oldest technique classification system in *Kōdōkan* (Yokoyama & Ōshima, 1908, p. 9) organized *tachiwaza* [standing] techniques is as follows:

- *Taosu koto* 倒す事 [Throwing techniques]
- *Otosu koto* 落とす事 [Dropping techniques]
- *Uchi tsukeru* 打付ける [Striking techniques]

Critique: Our main critique on this system is that it only had a weak pedagogical foundation, and organizing techniques in this way contributed very little to facilitating their learning.

Later systems organized *jūdō* throws according to the type of *waza*. The *Kōdōkan* started using the following easy to follow system which is in existence to date:

- *Ashi-waza* 足技 [Leg techniques]
- *Koshi-waza* 腰技 [Hip techniques]
- *Te-waza* 手技 [Hand techniques]
- *Ma-sutemi-waza* 真捨身技 [Rear sacrifice throws]
- *Yoko-sutemi-waza* 横捨身技 [Side sacrifice throws]

Kawaishi Mikinosuke 川石酒造之助 (1899–1969) slightly adapted the above system by adding a category of shoulder throws and reducing the sacrifice throws to a single category. In addition, he started referring to throwing techniques using numbers (Kawaishi, 1960). This system was popular in several Western European countries (France, Belgium, the Netherlands, etc.) during the 1950's:

- *Ashi-waza* 足技 [Leg techniques]
- *Koshi-waza* 腰技 [Hip techniques]
- *Te-waza* 手技 [Hand techniques]
- *Kata-waza* 肩技 [Shoulder throws]
- *Sutemi-waza* 捨身技 [Sacrifice throws]

Critique: Both the above-mentioned obsolete *Kōdōkan* system and the one used by Kawaishi are perhaps more of a system of organization and understanding than a true didactic system.

Among the other classification systems according to the type of *waza*, we note the one implemented by Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治 (1885–1965), of which the use largely seems to have been restricted to Great-Britain:

- *Kuruma-waza* 車技 [Wheel techniques]
- *Tenbin-waza* 天秤 [Balance techniques]
- *Tsumazukase-waza* 躓かせ技 [Trigger techniques]

Likely less well known is the classification system proposed by Fujiwara Toyosaburō 藤原豊三郎<sup>44</sup>:

- *Ateru-waza* 当てる技 [Striking techniques]

<sup>44</sup> Fujiwara Toyosaburō's system shows considerable similarities to the classification proposed by Geesink (1967).



- *Karu-waza* 刈る技 [Reaping techniques]
- *Harau-waza* 払う技 [Sweeping techniques]

A number of authors attempted innovative approaches<sup>45</sup> by emphasizing what they believed to be the scientific or biomechanical foundation of throws. Gleeson came up with the following system consisting of five categories:

- Lifting techniques
- Rotation techniques
- Pure rotation techniques
- Transport techniques
- Trick techniques

Critique: Gleeson, one of Britain's past best technicians and inspired by his teacher Trevor P. Leggett, though arguably not reaching quite the same intellectual heights, was well known for his creativeness in many ways. In the end, though, Gleeson's proposed system turned out to offer only a very limited additional contribution. To put it simple, Gleeson never showed how his classification facilitated his students developing motor skills, and his approach was far less supported by science than suggested by the names of the categories he proposed.

Probably the two best well known scientific and biomechanical classification systems are those separately proposed by the late Ashida Sachio 芦田幸男, PhD (1924–2009), USJF 9<sup>th</sup> *dan*, *Kōdōkan* 8<sup>th</sup> *dan* (vectorial system):

- Lifting and pushing
- Lifting and rotation

and by Italian biomechanist Attilio Sacripanti, FIJLKAM 7<sup>th</sup> *dan*:

- Throws based on the principle of a simple couple of opposite forces causing a turning effect of moment called a torque about an axis which is perpendicular to the plane of the forces
- Physical lever techniques (Sacripanti, 1987, 2010, 2012)

Critique: Whilst, no doubt, understanding the biomechanical principles of a throw assists the instructor in understanding the difficulties his/her students are facing or why a throw might fail in competition, it remains unclear though whether a correct scientific explanation translates into a more effective experience of learning *jūdō* throwing techniques. After all, even if the instructor succeeds in accurately conveying the underlying physics, the student still has to translate that intellectual knowledge into movement ability, motor skill and strategic application.

## 16. Conclusions

### *Summary of research findings*

Many *jūdō* techniques originate in *jūjutsu*, but have been refined or modified for safety and efficiency, though more recently others have been newly developed or imported from other combat sports, in order to potentially increase a competitor's scoring chances during *jūdō* contests. In the beginning years of *Kōdōkan jūdō*, soon after Kano due to his many other professional chores had to delegate teaching his increasing number of students to his assistants, there was a dire need for a didactically organized teaching plan of technical progression. In response, in 1895 the *gokyō-no-waza* or "techniques of the five teachings" was created as *jūdō*'s standard teaching syllabus of throwing techniques. In 1920, a revised version, the *shin gokyō-no-waza* consisting of 40 techniques was launched, its techniques organized according to increasing difficulty of breakfalling. This is the *gokyō*'s main pedagogical purpose. Hypotheses put forward by other authors suggesting alternative pedagogical foundations or objectives of the *gokyō*, such as notably the one by the late Vernon Borgen

<sup>45</sup> For a more in-depth comparison of some of these different classifications, see De Crée & Edmonds (2012), and Sacripanti (2010).



allegedly based on teachings by Steven R. Cunningham and Sone Taizō, though interesting and original, in the absence of any verifiable primary sources lack substance and remain unconvincing.

Considering that Kanō-sensei himself became dissatisfied with the lack of application of his ‘optimal use of energy’ and ‘non-resistance conquers force’ principles, which he observed during the *jūdō* tournaments, doubts about the effectiveness of the *gokyō-no-waza* in fully realizing its learning objectives persist. The *habukareta-waza* and the *shinmeishō-no-waza* categories, which the *Kōdōkan* added between 1982 and 2017 as two categories of techniques outside of the *gokyō*, expanded its syllabus of *jūdō* throws to 68. Realizing though that many historically documented *jūdō* throws were still missing, we proposed to add a category of throws (currently 25) which we called *jidai-okure-no-waza* [obsolete techniques] or *wasureta gihō* [forgotten techniques], which effectively brings the total of *jūdō* throws to 93.

### *Practical applications of this study*

*Jūdō* teachers having a certain depth of knowledge of the throwing techniques within and outside of the *gokyō*, and above all, of its logic and meaning, may benefit from having the information provided in this paper in one place. They may find it helpful to learn about modern throws’ historical origins, and about the richness of *jūdō*’s full curriculum of throws of which only a limited number is still frequently used in modern *jūdō* competition. From time to time, long forgotten techniques may draw attention when suddenly *jūdō* champions introduce them as an ‘innovative’ and successful technique during a *jūdō* championship. Such was the case, when Belgian former junior world champion (Rome, 1986) and senior European half-middleweight champion (Ostend, 1997) Johan Laats repeatedly took out well-known and strong adversaries using *tama-guruma* 球車 [ball wheel], at that time wrongly considered ‘newly invented’ and hence regularly referred to with the misnomer “the Laats *yoko-otoshi*”. It is, however, not within the purview of this paper to function as a practical technical learning or coaching tool. Hence, readers desiring more technical details about the individual throws contained in the *jidai-okure-no-waza*, given the unfamiliarity of the average *jūdō* student and instructor with these techniques and the paucity of sources available, are being referred to elsewhere (Arima, 1908; Koizumi, 1960; Mifune, 1956, 2005; Sasaki, 1907; Tsumura, 2023; Van De Walle, 1993).<sup>46</sup>

### *Study limitations*

Although this paper integrates both traditional and historical perspectives, each approach presents inherent limitations. Traditional perspectives are often foundational and nearly unavoidable when conducting innovative and critical historical research on *jūdō*. Direct access to living witnesses or the unearthing of previously unknown primary sources frequently rely on lineage and connection, which not only facilitate access but also serve to establish authenticity (Zhang, 2024).

- *The historical imperative and its challenges:* The historical perspective, conversely, strives for objectivity. Historical studies are invaluable for recognizing shared patterns and processes within traditional Japanese martial arts, allowing researchers to discern potentially unexpected and informative cross-pollination, influences, and origins. However, the historical approach often creates a significant disconnect from traditional narratives, which may be closer to folklore than to verifiable history. Consequently, the historical perspective may tempt some researchers to prematurely discount the traditional point of view as unreliable. This tendency can inadvertently elevate the perceived accuracy of the historical account, an assumption that is not necessarily warranted (Zhang, 2024).
- *Limitations of the traditional approach:* The primary limitation of the traditional approach is that the information relied upon to establish lineage and authenticity is often skewed by ‘fame’. Highly

<sup>46</sup> Arima (1908, p. 83 & Figure 49) and Sasaki (1907, p. 93–94) describe and show *tsuri-otoshi*. Mifune (1956) provides technical details about such throws as: *daki-sutemi*, *ganseki-otoshi*, *tama-guruma*, *tobi-goshi*, and *ushiro-guruma*, whilst Tsumura (2023) gives further insight into: *tsuri-otoshi*, *wakare*, and *ō-yoko-wakare*. *Hane-seoi-nage* was developed by the late Kawakami Chū 川上忠 (1897–1985), 9<sup>th</sup> dan, while Koizumi Gunji 小泉軍治 (1885–1965), 8<sup>th</sup> dan kept *dai-sharin* in his *jūdō* teaching syllabus (Koizumi, 1960, p. 50). *Hikōki-nage* is dealt with by Van De Walle (1993). Furthermore, Blanchetête (2003) devotes attention to more than a dozen today rarely used and obsolete *jūdō* throws. The technical details and historical background of all 25 techniques of the *jidai-okure-no-waza* are discussed in detail by De Créé (2015).

regarded masters and styles inherently dominate the field, yet this reputation is neither a truly reliable nor an absolute indicator of skill or the quality of information (Lyotard, 1989; Zhang, 2024).

- *Limitations of the historical approach*: The constraints of the historical approach to *jūdō* research also remain significant. Since Kanō Jigorō is deceased, a direct critical interview to sort out apparent contradictions is impossible. Furthermore, the existing body of both Japanese and non-Japanese historical research suggests that few *jūdō* scholars appear willing to critically interview or approach respected, elderly Japanese *jūdō* masters. This reluctance is likely due to the fact that the prestige of establishing a connection to these individuals, and the potential associated benefits, in their personal view often outweigh the objective research imperative (Zhang, 2024). Even when primary sources are available, researchers frequently lack access to Kanō's original intent or his underlying motivations for his actions and writings. Instead, researchers are often subject to single points of view articulated in texts and writings that are frequently incomplete or anecdotal (Zhang, 2024). Given the inherent subjectivity within the language of *jūdō* and Japanese martial arts generally, many historical accounts are no more demonstrative than traditional explanations. Thus, we must acknowledge that a complete picture of the past may be unattainable, a concern, it should be noted, that continues to apply to the study of history in all its forms (Lyotard, 1989; Zhang, 2024).

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## Authors' biographical data

Carl De Crée (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 research on jūdō since 1981. He is a graduate of the first cohort of the University of Rome's unique Master's degree program in Teaching and Coaching 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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 Tobari Kazu-shihan, and the first and only non-Japanese ever to hold *menkyo* in Kitō-ryū. E-mail: [prof.cdecree@earthlink.net](mailto:prof.cdecree@earthlink.net)



## Appendix 1: References with original Japanese script

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## Appendix 2: Audiovisual resources

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