

# THE KŌBUSHO: AN OVERVIEW

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ABSTRACT. The late-Tokugawa shogunal martial academy (1856–1867): the swordsmen who staffed its cadres, the schools they carried into it, and the bakumatsu corps into which the cohort dispersed.

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## CONTENTS

1. The Academy	3
1.1. The Kōbusho [講武所]	3
2. The Swordsmen (剣士)	6
2.1. Odani Seiichirō	6
2.2. Sakakibara Kenkichi	7
2.3. Honme Yarijirō	10
2.4. Shimada Toranosuke	11
2.5. Toda Hachirōzaemon	12
2.6. Matsushita Seiichirō	12
2.7. Iba Sōtarō	12
2.8. Mitsuhashi Torazō	13
2.9. Fujita Taiichirō	13
2.10. Matsudaira Chikaranosuke	13
2.11. Kondō Yanosuke	13
2.12. Inoue Hachirō	14
2.13. Imahori [Chiiozō]	15
2.14. Momoi Shunzō IV	15
2.15. Yamaoka Tesshū	16
2.16. Takahashi Deishū	16
2.17. Matsuoka Katsunosuke	18
2.18. Fukuda Hachinosuke	21
2.19. Amano Hachirō	22
3. The Schools (流派)	23
3.1. Tamiya-ryū	23
3.2. Shingyōtō-ryū	23
3.3. Shintō Munen-ryū	23
3.4. Ryūgō-ryū	24
3.5. Chūya-ha Ittō-ryū	24
3.6. Hokushin Ittō-ryū	25
3.7. Kyōshin Meichi-ryū	25
3.8. Fujishin-ryū	26
3.9. Jitokuin-ryū	26
3.10. Hōzōin-ryū	27

3.11. Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū .....	28
3.12. Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū .....	35
3.13. Kitō-ryū .....	36
4. The Bakumatsu Corps (幕末) .....	38
4.1. The Yūgekitai .....	38
4.2. The Seieitai .....	38
4.3. The Shōgitai .....	40
References .....	42

## 1. THE ACADEMY

## 1.1. The Kōbusho [講武所]

*Late-Tokugawa Shogunal Martial Academy*

講武所 A description of the late Tokugawa Kōbusho martial academy, its teachers, levels and related styles.

The Kōbusho ran roughly a decade. Preparations began in 1854 (Ansei 1) under the rōjū Abe Masahiro after Perry, starting with a small drill ground and a facility called the Kōbujō (講武場); it was formally opened as the Kōbusho in the 4th month of 1856 (Ansei 3) at Tsukiji Teppōzu, with master-instructors and kyōju-kata appointed in swordsmanship, spearmanship and gunnery, and with archery, jūjutsu and swimming also taught. It moved to a new site at Kanda Ogawamachi in 1860 (Man'en 1). Then the military-reform pressure toward a Western-style army hollowed out the classical side: archery and jūjutsu instruction were dropped in 1862 (Bunkū 2), and in the 11th month of 1866 (Keiō 2) it was renamed the Rikugunsho (陸軍所), thereafter concentrating on gunnery.

The final dissolution came in the 6th month of 1867 (Keiō 3), when a three-arms officer school was established within the Rikugunsho and the Kōbusho ceased to exist in name and substance.

*Kōbusho Levels*

Regarding levels, the Kōbusho itself did not confer ryūha ranks. The Kōbusho offered instead institutional advancement up its own appointment ladder — closer to an academic-rank progression than to either a school license or a diploma. Below the directors (sōsai) and head (tōdori, Odani), each discipline had one master-instructor (shihan-yaku) with kyōju-kata beneath him.

*Shugyōnin* (修業人 / 修行人) who distinguished themselves in the cross-school bouting the Kōbusho fostered could be promoted to assistant grades — sewa-kokoro (世話心得; administrative care guidelines), sewa-yaku (世話役; administrative liaison role), then kyōju-kata shutsuyaku (教授方出役; instructor dispatch role) and ultimately kyōju-kata. These were bakufu offices carrying stipends and status (Sakakibara's kyōju-kata post came with 100 hyō and a 10-man allowance, and he later rose to shihan-yaku), awarded on demonstrated merit. That appointment ladder — not a paper credential — was the recognition.

Matsuoka Katsunosuke is an example of a Kōbusho shugyōnin appointed by the Kuroda-han, who had first practiced Tenjin Shin'yo-ryū, was promoted to assistant grade in jūjutsu, and went on to found his own Shindō Yōshin-ryū of jūjutsu in Hitachi after the practice of jūjutsu at the Kōbusho ended and he was released from his commission.

Ryūha identity was not dissolved by the institution. The specialist scholarship still catalogs Kōbusho personnel explicitly by school — for instance, the study of Toda Hachirōzaemon's diary listing the kyōju-kata, sewa-kokoro and trainees with their

ryūha (武道学研究 14(2), 1982). So a man was simultaneously “a Jikishinkage-ryū menkyo holder” (his school’s certification) and “a Kōbusho kyōju-kata” or “a Kōbusho sewa-yaku” (his institutional office), and those two were tracked independently.

#### *Military Service*

Many of its instructors and former students were recruited into late Tokugawa elite units such as the Yūgekitai, Seieitai, and Shōgitai.

#### *Kenjutsu Cadre 剣術*

The opening roster of 1856 appointments to the academy instructor cadre are recorded in the Wakadoshiyori Mōshiwatashi (若年寄申渡), in “Ansei 3 Gosho-tsukemen 7” (安政三年御書付面 七), held in the 東京大学 史料編纂所 (Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo) database. There were eleven initial kenjutsu kyōju-kata (剣術教授方; swordsmanship instruction role), with Odani Seiichirō of Jikishinkage-ryū as *tōdori* (頭取; head or chief):

- Toda Hachirōzaemon of Tamiya-ryū
- Matsushita Seiichirō, Iba Sōtarō, and Mitsunashi Torazō of Shingyōtō-ryū
- Sakakibara Kenkichi and Honme Yarijirō of Jikishinkage-ryū
- Fujita Taiichirō of Shintō Munen-ryū
- Matsudaira Chikaranosuke of Ryūgō-ryū
- Kondō Yanosuke of Ittō Chūya-ryū
- Inoue Hachirō of Hokushin Ittō-ryū
- Imahori Chiōzō of Shinkage-ryū

The 4th Momoi Shunzō was added as a kenjutsu kyōju-kata shutsuyaku from 1863.

#### *Sōjutsu Cadre 槍術*

There were ten initial Kōbusho sōjutsu (spear) instructors in 1856. These included Takahashi Deishū who practiced Jitokuin-ryū, who led the department as *shihan-yaku* beginning in 1860 and in Keiō 2 (1866) and held the post of sōjutsu kyōju-tōdori (槍術教授頭取; director of instruction) while he led the Yūgekitai.

Several of the Kōbusho members also were licensed in the Hōzoin-ryū of sōjutsu, famous for its crescent moon kama-yari. Other important sōjutsu approaches favored by the Tokugawa houses included the Kan-ryū kudayari (管槍; tube-spear) of Owari and the 3.6m suyari (素槍; plain spear) Ōshima-ryū of Kii and Kishū.

Beyond the Tokugawa houses, spear ryūha that mattered nationally were Saburi-ryū (佐分利流, a kagiyari/hook-spear line), Fūden-ryū (風傳流) and Taneda-ryū (種田流, another kudayari school).

Of these, Kan, Saburi, Fūden and Hōzōin Takada-ha are the four approaches that survived into present day practice.

#### *Heigaku Cadre 兵学*

Kubota Sugane (窪田清音) was a Kōbusho tōdori and held the shihan-yaku post in heigaku (兵学; military science) rather than in the spear department, though he personally held licences in Hōzōin-ryū (宝蔵院流) and Muhen Mugoku-ryū (無辺夢極流) spear – it is not clear if he taught spear as well as strategy and tactics.

*Jūjutsu Cadre* 柔術

Jūjutsu teachers included:

- Ōkubo Kyūtarō (shihan-yaku)
- Totsuka Hikosuke Hidetoshi (shihan-yaku)
- Muraō Takuzō, kata supervisor (形世話人心得)
- Nakajō Kinnosuke, randori supervisor (乱取世話人心得).

Teaching rosters are said also to have later included Motoyama Shōō and Iikubo Tsunetoshi of Kitō-ryū.

Matsuoka Katsunosuke was enrolled as a trainee, despite having been a menkyo-kaiden and shihan-dai under Iso Mataemon Masatomo of Tenjin Shin'yo-ryū. Kōbusho trainees were selected from skilled martial artists drawn from the hatamoto, gokenin, and the domains.

Jūjutsu instruction at the academy took place between 1860 and 1862 before being discontinued, possibly due to the number of injuries sustained during its practice.

## 2. THE SWORDSMEN (剣士)

## 2.1. Odani Seiichirō

Norn in Honjo, Edo, as the eldest son of Odani Shinjirō Nobutsura.

Odani studied Jikishinkage-ryū under Danno Gennoshin (真帆斎 Shinpansai), and was also accomplished in Hōzōin-ryū sōjutsu and Yoshida-ryū kyūjutsu.

His kinsman Odani Hikoshirō Tadamasu was the eldest son of Odani Heizō Tadanaga, and that man's third son was Kokichi (Saemontarō), the father of Katsu Kaishū.

Odani's military science came from Hirayama Shiryū (平山行蔵 / 子竜), at whose Heigen Sōro academy he was a live-in pupil. The kotobank biography of Hirayama records his two specialties separately: he was especially accomplished in military science of Naganuma-ryū (長沼流) and in Shinkan-ryū kenjutsu. The sword side was distinct — Hirayama studied Shinkan-ryū (真貫流) under Yamada Shōsai (Mohei), founded his own Chūkō Shinkan-ryū, and later renamed it Kōbu Jitsuyō-ryū (講武実用流), the composite system he's usually remembered for. So the military-science tradition Odani absorbed as a live-in pupil at the Heigen Sōro was Naganuma-ryū; his sword was a separate matter, taken in Jikishinkage-ryū under Danno, not from Hirayama's Shinkan line.

One disambiguation: this 長沼流 is the heigaku house in the Naganuma Tansai (長沼澹斎) line and has nothing to do with the Naganuma-ha (長沼派) of Jikishinkage-ryū kenjutsu.

Sources cast Odani as an uchi-deshi whose eyes were “opened to practical martiality” under Hirayama rather than recording a formal Naganuma-ryū licence, so the safe formulation is that his military science derived from Hirayama's Naganuma-ryū — not that he was a lineage holder of that tradition.

Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū was the Numazu domain's jūjutsu — Totsuka Hikosuke Hidetoshi served the Mizuno house of Numazu as jūjutsu shihan and is called the reviver of early-modern randori — and Kashiwazaki was born in Numazu castle, trained under Totsuka, became the domain's shihan-yaku, and served as Totsuka's teaching proxy at the Kōbusho from.

Yōshin Ko-ryū frames the teaching of grappling at Odani's dojo as student-driven: dozens of Odani's swordsmen who wanted jūjutsu training requested instruction from Kashiwazaki, and Aizawa taught the large group with him at the Odani dōjō. Names listed alongside Sakakibara include Amano Shōzō, Kikuchi Tamenosuke, Chūjō and Mitsuhashi.

Sakakibara Kenkichi's biography records that the Odani dōjō had arranged for instruction in Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū from the Numazu-domain jūjutsu instructor Kashiwazaki Matashirō and from Aizawa Katsuyuki, and that Sakakibara learned jūjutsu along with the other pupils.

The Jikishinkage-ryū dōjō was, in other words, a node of Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū transmission, sword and jūjutsu running side by side under one roof. The same account has Aizawa regularly sparring at the Odani dōjō with Iikubo Tsunetoshi, Kanō Jigorō's Kitō-ryū teacher — so the jūdō-genesis world brushes against this room too.

Odani is recorded as having mastered Hōzōin-ryū sōjutsu (宝蔵院流槍術; Hōzōin-ryū spear art) and Yoshida-ryū archery in addition to his Jikishinkage-ryū kenjutsu and the military science from Hirayama. Odani broke the Jikishinkage-ryū taboo on inter-school matches and actively sought them out, albeit with bogu and shinai. He is said to have refused unarmored challenges with bokutō.

Spear was present at the dōjō as something his swordsmen crossed blades against — the same cross-discipline sparring that later produced the celebrated sword-versus-spear bout between Sakakibara and Takahashi Deishū at the 1860 Kōbusho opening. Spear was *formally* taught where Odani and Sakakibara actually worked, since the Kōbusho ran a separate sōjutsu department — just not, on the record, at the private dōjō.

Amano Shōzō (天野将曹, also written 将監) was a Odani-ha fellow-disciple Sakakibara fought and beat inside Nijō Castle in 1863. Mitsuhashi Torazō is named among the swordsmen the Kamezawa-chō Odani dōjō produced, alongside Shimada Toranosuke, Yokokawa Shichirō, Amano and Sakakibara Kenkichi.

## 2.2. Sakakibara Kenkichi

Examining Sakakibara Kenkichi (榊原鍵吉, 1830–1894) and his relation to other famous swordsmen in Japan, including those he worked with at the Kōbusho.

### *Tutelage from Odani Nobutomo*

Sakakibara's sword teacher was Odani Nobutomo (男谷精一郎信友). He entered Odani's Azabu Mamiana dōjō in 1842 at thirteen. Because his family was too poor to pay for the staged licenses, Odani himself prepared and conferred menkyo kaiden on him gratis in 1849. The line he received and carried is the point of interest: sources uniformly call it Jikishinkage-ryū Odani-ha (直心影流男谷派).

Sakakibara's formal training was Jikishinkage-ryū (直心影流) alone, and the biographies actually go out of their way to stress that he declined to train anywhere else. He entered Odani Nobutomo's (男谷信友) dōjō at Mamiana in 1842 at thirteen, and when Odani urged him to transfer to a nearer well-known school — the Genbukan, Shigakukan or Renpeikan — Sakakibara refused, saying that having once entered he would not move elsewhere, and kept attending. Odani granted him menkyo kaiden in 1849. However, the Odani dōjō brought in Numazu-han jūjutsu instructors Kashiwazaki Matashirō (柏崎又四郎) and Aizawa Katsuyuki (藍澤勝之) to teach Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū (戸塚派楊心流), and Sakakibara learned it alongside the other students. This seems to indicate by 1850, any yawara associated to Jikishinkage-ryū itself was no longer a major portion of its curriculum (if it ever existed).

### *Fellow Disciples*

Under Odani, his notable fellow disciples were Shimada Toranosuke (島田虎之助), who was Katsu Kaishū's sword teacher, along with Mitsuhashi Torazō (三橋虎蔵) and Yokokawa Shichirō (横川七郎), and Amano Hachirō (天野八郎), the Shōgitai leader. These are the “great names” he sits beside laterally, through Odani rather than his own dōjō.

### *Professional Career*

Odani recommended him in 1856 as one of the founding kenjutsu instructors of the Kōbusho. Sakakibara went on to serve as Kōbusho kenjutsu shihan-yaku and later was the head of the Yūgekitai. He was Tokugawa Iemochi's personal fencing instructor and traveled with him during Iemochi's Kyoto/Osaka period.

From 1856 to 1866 Sakakibara taught at the Kōbusho. The academy opened in Ansei 3 (1856) with Odani Nobutomo as tōdori, and was abolished in the eleventh month of Keiō 2 (1866), absorbed into the Rikugunsho; Sakakibara served there as kenjutsu shihan-yaku, having inherited the Jikishinkage-ryū Odani-ha from Odani Nobutomo.

In 1863 he accompanied the shogun's procession to Kyoto, fighting at Nijō Castle and reportedly cutting down Tosa rōnin at Shijō-gawara. There was a second travel south by sea over the New Year of 1864, returning to Edo in the fifth month of 1864. In 1865 Sakakibara was in the Kansai for the Chōshū campaign, and when Iemochi died at Osaka Castle in the seventh month of Keiō 2 (1866), he returned to Edo.

In Keiō 2 (1866), under the bakufu's military reform, Sakakibara was transferred to Yūgekitai tōdori (head of the Yūgekitai), but soon resigned and set up a dojo at his Shitaya Kurumazaka residence, and devoted himself to teaching swordsmanship. This is around the time the Kōbusho was reorganized into the Rikugunsho. After Iemochi died at Osaka Castle, he had no inclination to serve his successor, Yoshinobu.

In 1868 at the battle of Ueno, Sakakibara did not join the Shōgitai despite repeated invitations, but guarded the Rinnōji-no-miya prince (the later Kitashirakawa-no-miya Yoshihisa), cut down several Tosa samurai, and with a Yamashita bathhouse keeper carried the prince in turns to Mikawajima before returning to his Kurumazaka dojo.

He then followed Tokugawa Iesato as the Tokugawa relocated to Sunpu. The domain itself was created in the fifth month of 1868. On the 24th of the fifth month, Tokugawa Iesato was granted some 700,000 koku in Suruga, Tōtōmi and Mutsu, and the domain was established — the Suruga-Fuchū domain (駿河府中藩; Suruga-Fuchū domain), formed in the fifth month of Keiō 4 (1868), later renamed Shizuoka-han. The grant followed Yoshinobu's confinement after Toba-Fushimi and the Edo Castle surrender, and it came essentially alongside the Battle of Ueno (fifth month, 1868) — so Sakakibara's rescue of the Rinnōji-no-miya prince at Ueno sits just days before the domain was settled.

The physical move came over the following months. Iesato entered the domain about two months before the Sunpu/Shizuoka Gakumonjo opened — i.e. around mid-1868, the academy opening that autumn. Following Iesato, large numbers of former bakufu retainers migrated from Edo to Sunpu, boarding steamships at Yokohama, landing at Shimizu and heading for the castle town — most of them as muroku ijū, relocating without any guarantee of stipend.

In 1869 Sakakibara was in Shizuoka with the Tokugawa relocation; he returned to Tokyo in Meiji 3 (1870), and declined a Meiji-government post as Gyōbushō daikeibu, recommending his brother Ōsawa Tetsusaburō in his place. He returned to Tokyo in 1870.

#### *Gekiken*

The gekiken-kōgyō (官許撃劍興行; “officially-licensed fencing performances”) Sakakibara organized at Asakusa Saemon-gashi, backed by the Tokyo governor Ōkubo Ichio, was modeled on sumo staging — a board ring, east/west sides, three-bout matches, a referee — and was hugely popular before a glut of imitators led to a Tokyo ban that July.

#### *Kobuto-wari*

In the 1887 imperial-viewing kabuto-wari, three men attempted to cut a metal helmet before Emperor Meiji at the Fushimi-no-miya residence — Hemmi Sōsuke and Ueda Umanosuke, both Momoi/Shigakukan men, who failed — and Sakakibara, who cut about three sun five bu into the helmet with a Dōtanuki blade.

#### *Famous Students*

The documented inner circle of Sakakibara as a teacher of Jikishinkage-ryū is very small, even though his Kuruma-zaka (車坂) dōjō was large and the gekiken-kōgyō pulled in impoverished swordsmen at scale. Yamada Jirōkichi (山田次朗吉, 1863–1930), however, is viewed as his successor. On New Year’s Day 1894 Sakakibara conferred menkyo kaiden on him as 15th-generation head and handed over the dōjō; Sakakibara died that September. He wrote the *Nihon Kendō Shi* (1925) and *Kashima-shinden Jikishinkage-ryū* (1929).

In addition to Sakakibara, Yamada Jirōkichi studied kata under the Fujikawa-ha. Shimada Hiroshi’s (島田宏) *Ittokusai Yamada Jirōkichi Den* (一徳齋山田次朗吉伝), published by the Hitotsubashi Kenyūkai in 1931 — the year after Yamada’s death mentions practice under a man named Yamada Hachirō. Ishigaki Anzō later claims in *Gekken-kai Shimatsu* (撃劍会始末, 2000) that Yamada Jirōkichi studied under Saitō Akinobu instead.

Daitō-ryū Aiki-Jūjutsu history mentions Sakakibara. Takeda Sōkaku (武田惣角, 1859–1943), according to his family’s tradition, became a live-in student (uchi-deshi) of Sakakibara in Jikishinkage-ryū in his late teens. Takeda is best remembered as the de facto reviver or founder of Daitō-ryū aiki-jūjutsu. There is little independent verification of his visit there. Aikidō researchers feel his sword work was more influenced by Ono-ha Ittō-ryū and his time in Kuruma-zaka was

spent largely in shiai.<sup>1</sup>

Another famous jūjutsu founder is Matsuoka Katsunosuke (松岡克之助, 1836–1898), whose Shindō Yōshin-ryū (新道楊心流, later written 神道楊心流) jūjutsu influenced Wadō-ryū karate. Matsuoka studied Jikishinkage-ryū kenjutsu under Sakakibara at the Kōbusho.

### *Succession*

The lineage of what is considered today the main line of Jikishinkage-ryū was very likely *almost* broken with the death of its 14th headmaster, Sakakibara Kenkichi. Sakakibara had issued several upper-level licenses in the art over time, but the most likely successor would have been the fellow student of Odani Nobutomo named Shimada Toranosuke (1810–1864) who predeceased him.<sup>2</sup>

Sakakibara’s later life dōjō was famous for sparring and would only do traditional kata practice periodically, or at the very least emphasized it much less than they did jigeiko and shiai.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.3. Honme Yarijirō

Honme Nuijirō (本目縫次郎) recorded in the primary appointment register as Nuinosuke (本目縫之助), elsewhere as Yarijirō (本目鑓次郎), and argued by the *Mata-shichi* blog to be properly Nuijirō (本目縫次郎) — was a Jikishinkage-ryū swordsman attached to the Odani (男谷) house, with the notation *ni-jutsu* (二術; two arts/techniques) marking that he also held a spear post (he is thus one of the few men to appear on both the kenjutsu and the sōjutsu sides of the institute).

He served as *shihandai* (師範代; senior assistant instructor) at the Honjo Kamezawa-chō (本所亀沢町) dōjō of Odani Seiichirō Nobutomo — the proposer of the Kōbusho, thirteenth-generation head of the line and heir to that dōjō from his own teacher Danno Gennoshin (団野源之進; sobriquet Shinpansai, 真帆斎). He is generally identified with the “Honme” of Nagakura Shinpachi’s *Shinsengumi tenmatsu-ki*: in that episode, when Kondō Isami and his companions came to the Odani dōjō for a cross-school bout, Honme, standing in for the house, knocked away Kondō’s *shinai* but, seeing Kondō take an unarmed stance, withdrew with a bow and an acknowledgement of his opponent’s skill.

His tie to the Odani house was by marriage. He wed the eldest daughter of Odani Hikoshirō (男谷彦四郎), while Odani Seiichirō — who married the second

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<sup>1</sup>Some lines of Daitō-ryū claim to preserve portions of Jikishinkage-ryū hōjō, others the use of the heavy furibō used in Jikishinkage-ryū.

<sup>2</sup>The late Iwasa Minoru in the Japanese magazine titled “Budo” viewed Sakakibara’s death as having broken the main Seito-ha line of the art.

<sup>3</sup>Namiki Yasushi maintained that Jikishinkage-ryū had practices such as yawara and sojutsu that were lost over time — telling, because Matsumoto Bizen no Kami was most famously reported as a spearman and other lines of Shinkage-ryū maintain sojutsu at their upper levels of training. This loss may be explained not by neglect of some kind but more likely the specialization that occurred during the Edo period. For example, Odani Nobutomo was also licensed in Hozoin-ryū sojutsu while Shimada Toranosuke practiced Kitō-ryū jujutsu. Odani himself, as well as Sakakibara, practiced Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū at Danno’s school.

daughter, Tsuru, and continued the Odani line — became his brother-in-law; since Seiichirō and Katsu Kaishū (勝海舟) were themselves cousins through the Odani line, Honme stood as a relation by marriage to Katsu as well. His year of birth is unrecorded, but he appears to have belonged to Seiichirō’s and Katsu’s generation: in the eleventh month of Ansei 3 his son Honme Tomigorō (本目富五郎) was already being appointed a Kōbusho kenjutsu *sewa-kokoroe* (世話心得; supervisory assistant), which implies Honme was a good deal senior to Kondō.

Beyond the marriage tie, the spear post and the *Shinsengumi tenmatsu-ki* anecdote, little about Honme is independently documented, and even his name is unsettled; the points above rest on the *Mata-shichi* reconstruction from the appointment record and Nagakura’s memoir rather than on a dedicated biography.

#### 2.4. Shimada Toranosuke

Shimada Toranosuke (島田虎之助, 1814–1852) was born in 1814 to a Buzen Nakatsu-han samurai family, son of Shimada Ichirōemon Chikafusa (島田市郎右衛門親房); from about ten he trained under the domain instructor Hori Jūrōzaemon (堀十郎左衛門) in an Ittō-ryū line (外他/外也一刀流), was unbeatable in the domain by fifteen, and at sixteen went on *musha-shugyō* across Kyūshū. Notably for a swordsman, he was also schooled in letters — he is said to have studied under the Confucian Hirose Tansō at Hita and the Zen monk Sengai Gibon (仙厓義梵) in Chikuzen. He set out for Edo in 1831 at eighteen but did not arrive until 1838, having lingered in Shimonoseki and studied *kangaku* under the fellow Nakatsu scholar Nakamura Ritsuen (中村栗園) at Ōmi Minakuchi along the way.

In 1838 he walked into Odani’s Honjo Kamezawa-chō dōjō, demanded a match, and took a point off him in a three-bout competition; but on becoming a formal pupil (via an introduction from the Jikishinkage-ryū man Inoue Denbei) he found on the rematch he could not touch Odani at all. Within a little over a year he held the *shihan* license and served as Odani’s *shihan-dai*, while also training in Kitō-ryū jūjutsu at Suzuki Seibei’s (鈴木清兵衛) dōjō — the same Kitō-ryū line that later fed Kanō’s Kōdōkan, so the jūjutsu axis from our last exchange recurs here. Shimada is well-known as Katsu Kaishū’s teacher, who later continued his studies with Sakakibara.

At Suzuki’s dōjō he became a fellow student of Katsu Rintarō (the later Katsu Kaishū), and when Odani — Katsu’s cousin — introduced the two, Katsu entered Shimada’s dōjō as his sword pupil. Shimada told Katsu there is “a gentleman’s sword and a small man’s sword,” that dōjō practice alone was not enough — one must pursue learning and Zen to forge the spirit — and even urged him to take up Dutch studies and Western military science. His maxim, “the sword is the mind; if the mind is not correct, neither is the sword; one who would learn the sword must first learn from the mind,” is the seed of the ken-zen line of practice that influenced Yamaoka Tesshū and others. Ōmori Sōgen’s *Ken to Zen* (剣と禪) devotes its eleventh chapter to “the gentleman’s sword” and the 直心-to-person genealogy running through Seizan and Kaishū, i.e. to exactly Shimada’s phrase.

Like Odani (男谷派) and the line Sakakibara continued, Shimada styled his own Jikishinkage-ryū Shimada-ha (島田派); after a Tōhoku musha-shugyō he opened a dōjō at Asakusa Shinbori in 1843, with his elder brother Shimada Kotarō Tomochika (島田小太郎友親) as shihan-dai, and drew a stipend (20-nin fuchi) in connection with the Oshi-han (忍藩) Matsudaira house in Musashi. The Oshi lord during his active years was Matsudaira Tadakuni (松平忠国). Some accounts attach the name of the last Oshi lord, Matsudaira Tadanori (松平忠敬, 1855–1919), but he was born after Shimada’s death in 1852; the firmly datable link is that Shimada’s daughter Kiku later married a Tadanori retainer.

Shimada was ranked with Odani Nobutomo and Ōishi Susumu (大石進, of Ōishi Shinkage-ryū, the long-shinai left-hand-thrust man) as one of the “three swords of the Tenpō era” (天保三劍士).

Shimada died of illness in 1852 at thirty-nine and was buried at Shōjō-ji (正定寺) in Asakusa, his grave inscription written by Odani himself. He predeceased the Kōbusho era entirely, and overlapped Sakakibara at the Odani dōjō only as the senior figure of an earlier cohort (Shimada entered in 1838, Sakakibara in 1842).

This brother Shimada Kotarō Tomochika (島田小太郎友親) served as shihan-dai in his dōjō, but no succession from him is recorded. His known named pupils are the famous Katsu Rintarō (Kaishū) and one Makado Katsusuke (真角勝輔) of Chikuzen. Neither carried a sword transmission forward.

### 2.5. Toda Hachirōzaemon

Toda Hachirōzaemon (戸田八郎左衛門), personal name Tadamichi (戸田忠道), was born in Bunka 10 (1813), the second son of the hatamoto Toda Tadayasu (戸田忠養), lord of Takatsuka village in Atsumi district, Mikawa province. In Tenpō 15 (1844) he became the adopted heir of his elder brother and succeeded to the headship of the house. He trained in Tamiya-ryū (田宮流) under Kubota Kiyotoo (窪田清音), whose Kubota-ha he represented.

Promoted within the Kōbusho, he rose to kenjutsu *shihan-yaku* in Man’en 1 (1860) and to Kōbusho *bugyō* (奉行; commissioner) in Bunkyū 1 (1861). A second Toda — Toda Tadaaki (戸田忠昭) — is recorded as a Kōbusho kenjutsu *kyōjukata* from the same Kubota circle, so the Toda name appears twice in the institute’s kenjutsu staff.

### 2.6. Matsushita Seiichirō

Matsushita Seiichirō (松下誠一郎) was a Shingyōtō-ryū swordsman who trained under Iba Gunbei (伊庭軍兵衛) at the Renbukan. Beyond his appointment as a Kōbusho kenjutsu *kyōjukata* in Ansei 3 (1856) and his membership in the Iba school, little detail about him is recoverable from the accessible sources; he is one of the more thinly documented of the eleven.

### 2.7. Iba Sōtarō

The Kōbusho’s Iba Sōtarō (伊庭惣太郎) is the ninth head of Shingyōtō-ryū, formally Iba Gunbei Hidetoshi (伊庭軍兵衛秀俊, 1822–1886; sobriquet Jōshinshi,

常心子). Originally a disciple named Haga Sōtarō (塀和惣太郎), he so excelled among the students at the Renbukan that the eighth head, Hidenari, named him heir over his own son, Iba Hachirō, in keeping with the school's practice of merit-based adoption; he duly succeeded as the ninth head and served as a Kōbusho kenjutsu master-instructor. He should not be confused with the tenth head, the homophonous Iba Sōtarō (伊庭想太郎, 1851–1907), who was Hidenari's fourth son. Hidenari's biological son, the celebrated one-armed swordsman Iba Hachirō Hidesato (伊庭八郎秀穎, 1844–1869), fought with the *yūgeketai* (遊撃隊; commando corps) and died in the Boshin War at Hakodate; he is thus the (adoptive) junior of the ninth head rather than his predecessor.

### 2.8. Mitsuhashi Torazō

Mitsuhashi Torazō (三橋虎藏) was a Shingyōtō-ryū swordsman and a nephew of Iba Gunbei. The connection is genealogically pointed: the eighth Iba head, Hidenari, was himself born into the Mitsuhashi (三橋) house — a bakufu accounting family — before being adopted into the Iba line, so Torazō belonged to the headmaster's natal family. Apart from his school, his kinship to the Iba house and his Kōbusho appointment (in the *ko-jūnin*, 小十人, unit under Miyazaki Jirōdayū), the sources provide little further detail.

Mitsuhashi Torazō also appears in Odani's disciple list, yet on the 1856 Kōbusho roster he is registered under Shingyōtō-ryū (心形刀流), so it may be that he was well-known, but more for his expertise in that other tradition.

### 2.9. Fujita Taiichirō

Fujita Taiichirō (藤田泰一郎) was the Shintō Munen-ryū representative among the eleven initial Kobusho instructors. The appointment record places him in the *go-kachi* (御徒; foot-guard) unit under Kajita Gorobei (梶田五郎兵衛). The sources confirm his school and his Kōbusho post but yield essentially no further biographical detail, and he should be treated as poorly attested rather than reconstructed.

### 2.10. Matsudaira Chikaranosuke

Matsudaira Chikaranosuke, personal name Tadatoshi (松平忠敏) and styled Kazusanosuke (上総介), was a son of Matsudaira Chikayoshi (松平親芳), the sixteenth of the Nagasawa Matsudaira house. He learned Ryūgō-ryū from Naoi Hidekata (直井秀堅; also recorded as Naoi Katsugorō, 直井勝五郎), a student of the founder Okada Sōuemon. When the Rōshigumi (浪士組; the masterless-warrior corps that was the forerunner of the Shinsengumi) was organized in Bunkyo 2–3 (1862–63), he was named one of its first supervisors (*rōshi-toriatsukai* / *torishimari-yaku*), though he resigned the post early; the following year he became a Kōbusho kenjutsu *shihan-yaku*.

He was also accomplished in *waka* poetry and is said to have given Katsu Kaishū instruction in verse. After the Restoration he served as a poetry official at the Outadokoro (御歌所; the imperial Bureau of Poetry), and he died in Meiji 15 (1882).

### 2.11. Kondō Yanosuke

Kondō Yanosuke (近藤弥之助) was the Chūya-ha Ittō-ryū representative among the eleven initial kenjutsu instructors at the Kōbusho; the appointment record places him under the supervision of Matsudaira Uneme. The sources are consistent on his school but offer little personal detail, and he is best treated as thinly attested.

## 2.12. Inoue Hachirō

Inoue Hachirō (井上八郎), personal name Kiyotora (井上清虎) and later known by the sobriquet Enryō (延陵), was born in Bunka 13 (1816; 9th month, 16th day) at Nobeoka in Hyūga province, a son of the Nobeoka-domain samurai Inoue Shuzen (井上主膳). His gō was Enryō and he was the son of the Nobeoka-domain retainer Inoue Shuzen.

(Local tradition holds that, because his merchant-family mother could not enter the Inoue household, he was raised at his maternal family’s draper’s shop and made his own way through study and martial training — a colourful account from regional sources that should be taken cautiously.)

He went to Edo and entered Chiba Shūsaku’s Genbukan in 1828, the Hokushin Ittō-ryū head dōjō, reaching full transmission *menkyo kaiden* (免許皆伝). The date of his entry is itself disputed: the Japanese Wikipedia gives Bunsei 11 (1828), whereas the account drawn from the *Inoue Enryō-ō den* (井上延陵翁伝, Katō Shichigorō, 1893) places it at the end of Bunsei 13 (1830), when he came up to Edo from the Osaka residence in the company of a domain official named Ōhara and was introduced to Chiba’s gate — a passage cited in the Chiba scholarship as evidence that the Genbukan was already well known by 1830.

In Kaei 4 (1851) he was invited by the Hida county magistrate Ono Takatomi (小野高福) to Takayama, where he taught swordsmanship to Takatomi’s son, Ono Tetsutarō — the future Yamaoka Tesshū (山岡鉄舟). Tesshū later entered the Kōbusho on Inoue’s recommendation, so the teacher–pupil tie runs directly into the institute. Becoming a bakufu retainer, Inoue held the Kōbusho kenjutsu master-instructorship at associate rank *shihan-yaku-nami* (師範役並; senior instructor rank), then served as director of the *yūgekitai* and as infantry magistrate *hoheibugyō* (歩兵奉行; infantry magistrate); the secondary sources list these offices without securely dating them, so the years should not be treated as fixed. He was on close terms with Kiyokawa Hachirō (清河八郎).

After the Restoration he moved to Shizuoka, serving as Hamamatsu castle-warden *jōdai* (城代; castle deputy/keeper) and Nakaizumi magistrate, where he is credited with public works — including a canal — and a relief program for displaced samurai.

In Meiji 11 (1878) he became head of the Twenty-Eighth National Bank (第二十八国立銀行); in Meiji 16 (1883) he helped, with Yamaoka Tesshū, to back the revival of the Genbukan under Chiba Yukitane (千葉之胤). He died on 2 April Meiji 30 (1897); his grave, formerly in the Ryōin-ji plot at Yanaka, was cleared as unclaimed in 2009.

The fullest biography is Katō Shichigorō’s *Inoue Enryō-ō den* (1893); a modern treatment is Furukawa Hisashi’s *Enryō-den* (延陵伝; Enryō lineage transmission).

### 2.13. Imahori [Chiiozō]

Imahori (今堀), whose given name is written 千五百藏 or 千五百歳 and whose reading cannot be confidently established, but may be Chiiozō, is among the least documented of the eleven initial Kobusho kenjutsu instructors.

He was appointed in the *shinban* (新番; new guard unit/position) unit under Yamaguchi Kanbei. The Wikipedia roster attaches him to 神陰流 (Shinkage-ryū); the *Mata-shichi* blog describes him as a 直心影流 (Jikishinkage-ryū) swordsman “of whom the particulars are unknown.”

If the 神陰流 reading is correct, it would point not to 直心影流 but to the living Bakumatsu Shinkage-ryū that Yamaoka Tesshū received in the same years from Kusumi Kantekisai (久須美閑適齋) — a plausible source-school for Imahori as well. An Imahori Toyotarō (今堀登与太郎) appears among the *sewa-kokoro*e appointed later the same year and is plausibly a relative.

Whether Imahori’s “Shinkage-ryū” denotes a branch of the Kashima / Jikishinkage tradition, a separate Shinkage line or a copyist’s substitution for 直心影流 cannot be settled from the available material, and is left open here.

### 2.14. Momoi Shunzō IV

The fourth head of Kyōshin Meichi-ryū, Momoi Shunzō Naomasa (桃井春藏直正, 1825–1885), was born into the Tanaka (田中) family, a second son of Tanaka Toyotane, a chief retainer (karō) of Numazu-domain; his childhood name was Jinsuke (甚助), his common name Sōhachirō (左右八郎).

“Momoi Shunzō” was the name successively assumed by the heads of the Shigakukan, and Naomasa was the fourth to hold it. After about two years of Jikishinkage-ryū training in Numazu he came to Edo in Tenpō 9 (1838), aged fourteen, and entered the Shigakukan under the third Momoi Shunzō. Earning the first *mokuroku* at seventeen and marked out for his talent, he was taken in as adopted son-in-law.

At seventeen he received the first-transmission catalogue (shoden mokuroku), at twenty-three full transmission (kaiden), and at twenty-five the inner transmission (okuden). In Kaei 5 (1852), at about twenty-seven, succeeded as the fourth head of Kyōshin Meichi-ryū (鏡新明智流).<sup>4</sup>

Under Naomasa the Shigakukan recovered from a period of decline and rose to its lasting fame, counted with the Genbukan and the Renpeikan as one of the three great Edo dōjō. His swordsmanship was the model for the school’s reputation for

<sup>4</sup>The Kyōshin Meichi-ryū was formed by studying Toda-ryū, Ittō-ryū, and Yagyū-ryū and adding new swordwork to them. The founder, [Momoi] Naoyoshi, opened a dōjō at Kayabachō, Nihonbashi. The third-generation Momoi Shunzō Naoo was of extraordinary talent and skill.

*kurai* (位; poise), and he was widely styled the most dignified swordsman of his day — “poise, that is Momoi.”

He came to the Kōbusho later than the original cohort, appointed kenjutsu *kyōjukata* in Bunkyū 3 (1863) — a few secondary accounts give Bunkyū 1 (1861) — and promoted to *shihan-yaku-nami* in Keiō 2 (1866); with the bakufu’s military reorganization he was transferred to a directorship of the *yūgekitai* (遊撃隊), led five hundred men.

In Keiō 3 (1867) he accompanied Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshinobu to Kyoto, and afterward moved to Osaka, where he served at the temporary Tamatsukuri Kōbusho (玉造講武所) as a kenjutsu master-instructor before resigning that eleventh month over an internal dispute.

After the death of Shōgun Iemochi he resigned his gokenin status. In 1868 he renamed the dōjō the Shigakukan (士学館). This was one of the famous [dōjō] of the bakumatsu. Among his students were Takechi Hanpeita Zuizan (武市半平太), the Tosa loyalist leader, who served as head student (*jukutō*) at the Shigakukan and came up to Edo with a party that included Okada Izō. The “four kings” of the Shigakukan, such as Ueda Umanosuke (上田馬之助), also trained under him, along with Sakabe Daisaku, Kubota Shinzō, Kanematsu Naokado, and Henmi Sōsuke.

He passed his last years in the Osaka region and died on 3 December Meiji 18 (1885).

### 2.15. Yamaoka Tesshū

Yamaoka Tesshū wasn’t from a han, so there is no domain school to consult for his early training. Yamaoka was instead a bakufu hatamoto, twice over.

He was born in 1836 in Edo as a son of Ono Asaemon Takafusa, a granary commissioner (*kura-bugyō*) and a roughly 600-koku hatamoto. Tesshū’s mother came from a Kashima Jingū priestly family, the Tsukahara, counting Tsukahara Bokuden among her forebears — so the Kashima sword lineage brushes his maternal line even though his own arts were the Yamaoka Jitokuin-ryū spear and, later, his Ittō-derived Mutō-ryū.

In 1845 his father was made Hida gundai and the boy spent his youth in Hida-Takayama, which matters here: Hida was tenryō — directly bakufu-administered land of some 114,000 koku under a gundai — not a daimyō’s domain. And the house he later married into was no different: the Yamaoka were a small-stipend hatamoto family of 100 bales and five rations, into which he was adopted in 1868 after marrying Fusako, the sister of the spearman Yamaoka Seizan. So at every turn — birth family, formative locale, adoptive family — he sits inside the direct shogunal retainer world, not a han.

### 2.16. Takahashi Deishū

Takahashi Deishū (高橋泥舟; 1835–1903, died at age 69; tsūshō Kenzaburō, imina Masaakira, gō first Ninsai then Deishū). Born the second son of the hatamoto Yamaoka Masanari and adopted into his mother’s Takahashi house; younger brother of the spearman Yamaoka Seizan.

The Yamaoka family spear art was called Jitokuin-ryū (自得院流) sōjutsu, also recorded as Ninshin-ryū (忍心流). Deishū trained under his elder brother Seizan and was praised as reaching divine skill; he became Kōbusho spear instructor at 22 (1856) and shihan-yaku in 1860.

Deishū’s “peerless / divine-skill” reputation was personal brilliance inside a tiny private line, and it reached the historical record through two channels that had nothing to do with a documented school: the Kōbusho, where he became spear shihan-yaku in 1860 and effectively put the Yamaoka family art at the head of the academy’s spear instruction over the body of Hōzōin men, and the bakumatsu political stage, where he stands as one of the “three boats.”

Deishū performed a celebrated bout at the Kōbusho’s reopening when it relocated to Kanda Ogawamachi in early 1860, at an exhibition staged before Shōgun Tokugawa Iemochi and Tairō Ii Naosuke. Deishū faced Sakakibara Kenkichi of Jikishinkage-ryū, Odani Nobutomo’s foremost pupil. By 1860 Odani was the elderly Kōbusho head, the “sword-saint” in his sixties, seated as a dignitary rather than fencing. That was left to Sakakibara and his co-disciples. According to Jiki Shinkage-ryū lore, Deishū first faced Ido Kinpei and beat him using Ido’s own signature leg-entanglement (ashigarami), which brought the house down; he then met Sakakibara — and lost, Sakakibara taking the sword-versus-spear match to general acclaim.

He was born on 17 Tenpō 6 (15 March 1835) in Edo, the second son of the hatamoto Yamaoka Masanari, into a house distinguished for the Jitokuin-ryū (自得院流), also given as Ninshin-ryū (忍心流), spear. The family was a small-stipend bakufu line — he is described elsewhere as the second son of a poor minor official — so this was modest, not grand, samurai circumstance. His names shifted over a life, as was normal: his common/childhood name was Kenzaburō (謙三郎), his imina Masaaki (政晃), his azana Kanmō (寛猛) and his gō first Ninsai (忍歳) and only later Deishū (泥舟); after the Restoration he went by Seiichi (精一). Pikara + 3

The “Takahashi” comes from an adoption: he succeeded on his mother’s side, becoming the adopted heir of Takahashi Kanetsugu. His spear, though, came from the Yamaoka side — he trained under his elder brother Yamaoka Seizan, the family’s prodigy, and was eventually reckoned to have reached “peerless in the realm,” divine-skill level. So a boy from a poor hatamoto house made his name on the spear alone, the basis for the later quip that he “became Ise-no-kami on a single spear.”

The pivot of his early life — and the hinge that ties him to the other “boats” — was his brother’s death. Seizan died suddenly at twenty-seven (by the dramatic telling, entering the Sumida River while ill to defend his swimming teacher and succumbing to heart failure), and Deishū, who revered him, was said to have been so stricken he nearly took his own life to follow. With the Yamaoka sons all married out to other houses and only the sister Fusako left, it was Deishū — then still Kenzaburō — who arranged for his fellow spear-student Ono Tetsutarō to marry Fusako and be adopted as the Yamaoka heir; that student became Yamaoka Tesshū, and so

Deishū was his brother-in-law. In the split that followed, Tesshū carried on the Yamaoka house name while Deishū kept the spear dōjō — which is how the family spear line stayed with him.

His public career began young: in 1856, at twenty-two, he was selected as a spear instructor at the Kōbusho, the post from which the rest — the shihan-yaku rank, the 1860 exhibition and the bakumatsu drama — followed.

In 1863 he oversaw the Rōshigumi as rōshi-torishimari and was titled Ise-no-kami, and in 1866 he was made head (tōdori) of the newly created Yūgekitai while concurrently heading spear instruction for the unit. The Yūgekitai’s institutional head was Deishū, with Iba commanding in the field.

After Toba-Fushimi he urged Yoshinobu toward submission and guarded him at Kan’eiji, and when Katsu Kaishū chose him as envoy to Saigō, he declined out of concern for Yoshinobu and proposed his brother-in-law Yamaoka Tesshū go to Sunpu instead — the deferral that set up the Tesshū–Saigō talks behind the bloodless surrender. He is one of the “Three Boats of the bakumatsu” with Katsu and Tesshū; Katsu’s famous line was that Deishū “became Ise-no-kami on the strength of a single spear.”

Tesshū, note, was the Ono son adopted into the Yamaoka house as Seizan’s sister’s husband — Deishū’s brother-in-law.

### 2.17. Matsuoka Katsunosuke

Matsuoka Katsunosuke (松岡克之助, 1836–1898), founder of Shindō Yōshin-ryū (新道楊心流, later written 神道楊心流) jūjutsu, was the second son of a Kurodahan (Fukuoka) physician. He studied several martial traditions, becoming licensed in two.

He enrolled in Hōzōin-ryū sōjutsu (宝蔵院流槍術; Hōzōin-ryū spear art) under Komazawa Yoshitsugu (駒沢義次) in the 5th month of 1842 as a young child. This may have been somewhat of a formality, given the size of spear used in the art. He trained into his adolescence and at age 16 received inka (印可; master’s certification seal) in the 5th month of 1852.

He entered the Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū at Kanda Otamagaike in the 1st month of 1853 at age 17, and in the 9th month of 1855 at age 19 received menkyo kaiden from the third head, Iso Masatomo (磯正智), then served as shihan-dai at the Iso dōjō.

Sent by his domain to the Kōbusho as a shugyōnin (修業人; trainee) from January 1860 at age 24, he took a three-bout randori loss to Totsuka (aged 49). This drew him into Totsuka’s orbit as well as that of Sakakibara Kenkichi, more details of which can be found below.

In the 4th month of 1862 (Bunkyū 2) he was made jūjutsu kyōju-kokoroe hosa (柔術教授心得補佐; jujutsu teaching assistant) — “assistant to the provisional jūjutsu instructor,” a junior teaching-aide grade. He trained at the Kōbusho for two years, nine months, six months after reaching the assistant grade.

Matsuoka is also said to have studied Ittō-ryū kenjutsu at the Otamagaike neighborhood Genbukan of Chiba Shūsaku, but this could also have happened at the Kōbusho.

#### *Moving to Ibaraki*

After attending the Kōbusho he left Edo: in the 12th month of 1862 he married into the Ishizuma (石妻 [?]) family of Ueno-machi in rural Hitachi (modern day Ibaraki). This was some distance from Edo: Ueno-machi is not the Ueno ward of Edo, the battle of which would be fateful for Matsuoka later on). He set up as a kanpō and bone-setting doctor, opening a clinic in Ueno-machi.

Once he settled in Hitachi, Matsuoka had no training partners, and examined his martial practice alone — shutting himself in his room after seeing patients to analyze Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū, Totsuka-ha and Jikishinkage-ryū and work out their riai. He founded his own school of jūjutsu in 1864 (元治元年), combining the Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū he had first learned with Totsuka-ha methods and folded in the riai (理合; coordinating principle) of Jikishinkage-ryū he had experienced. He first taught in the courtyard of his medical clinic, attracting fifty students before he was called into bakumatsu service.

#### *Timeline of Later Bakufu Service*

A domain could command a retainer in active service, and the Kuroda did exactly that to Matsuoka, once. In the first month of 1860 Matsuoka was summoned by the Kuroda domain and ordered to become a Kōbusho *shugyōnin* (修業人; trainee/apprentice student). But in the 10th month of 1862, Kōbusho jūjutsu training was abolished and Matsuoka was *released* from his trainee status. Two months later, he married and moved to Hitachi, which was neither in Edo (this is not the Ueno area near Edo) or Kuroda territory – Matsuoka would have been firmly in his new life, except for war.

Matsuoka was indeed recalled, but by the bakufu, not the Kuroda-han of Kyushu. In the 7th month of 1866, he received orders of elevation to bakushin (幕臣登用; shogunal retainer), with the rank sashizu-yaku kakushiki (撒兵指図役格式; “[granted] the standing of an officer of the skirmisher / light-infantry corps”):

- sappei (撒兵; alternatively ‘sanpei’) — the Edo bakufu’s Western-style light infantry, or skirmishers. The bakufu army divided its foot soldiers into line *hohei* (歩兵; infantry soldier) and light infantry, the latter called sappei (撒兵; skirmisher troops), Western-style infantry the Edo bakufu created in the Bunkyū era (1861–64), trained by Frenchmen and posted at the gates of Edo Castle.
- sashizu-yaku (指図役; directing officer) - The standard bakufu-army spelling is 差図役 (same reading and sense, sashizu = “direction, orders”).
- kakushiki (格式; rank and protocol) — “rank, formal standing.” As a suffix to an office it denotes being granted the formal status of that post; so the whole phrase is “with the rank/status of a sappei directing officer,” conferred as part of his elevation to bakushin.

In the bakufu army, sashizu-yaku and sashizu-yaku tōdori were the junior-officer grades, both chronically understaffed. Sashizu-yaku is similar to a platoon leader or company commander in modern military. This was a bakufu military appointment, incompatible with still being under Kuroda command.

In 1867, 2nd–3rd month — the suppression completed, he was ordered to report to Edo Castle, guarded Tokugawa Yoshinobu, and was assigned to the elite Seieitai corps (精銳隊) under Chūjō Kinnosuke that was hand-picked by Katsu to guard the shogun Yoshinobu, who was under house arrest at the Tokugawa family temple of Kan'eiji in Ueno (Edo this time, not Hitachi).

Matsuoka is said to have been shot at the Battle of Ueno in May 1868, and then returned to Hitachi to convalesce instead of traveling with the majority of bakufu retainers (including his Shōgitai comrades) west to Sunpu (Shizuoka).

Interesting and of note is that from 1866 to 1869, while Matsuoka was attached to the Seieitai and then convalescing, his former teacher Sakakibara was doing the exact *opposite*, resigning from bakufu service and refusing to join the Shōgitai corps. Sakakibara was not able to avoid the battle of Ueno, but spent his time protecting prince Rinnōji-no-miya instead of joining his fellow Jikishinkage-ryū colleague Amano in the battle.

#### *Notable Teaching*

Matsuoka had recovered enough to resume his medical practice in April of 1870 and in September of that month his Shindōkan (神道館; alternatively Shintōkan) dōjō was built. He taught thousands of students; one early student that became well-known in kendō circles was Nakayama Tatsusaburō.

The license that attached to Matsuoka's early sword teaching of Nakayama according to Fujiwara (1983) is his own school's betsuden (別伝; separately-transmitted line) menjo. This included:

- kotachi-dori (小刀捕; short-sword capture)
- ōdachi-dori (大刀捕; long-sword capture)
- gokui atemi (極意当身; secret-essence striking)
- kappō (活法; resuscitation) material
- ki-ate (気当; spirit strike technique)

The betsuden was considered by Matsuoka to be the ura-waza (裏技; the “back techniques”) of kenjutsu, and was associated to an upper-level license, although it may also have been awarded to people who only trained in kenjutsu.

Resuscitation appears as earlier as well, given Matsuoka's profession: yūkatsu (誘活; lure-and-resuscitate technique) and eri-kappō (襟活法; collar resuscitation method) already at the entry *kirigami* licence, and kappō plus koppō (骨法; bone methods) at the next *mokuroku* license. Striking appears as the 103 kyūsho (急所; vital points) taught under sappō (殺法; killing methods) at that same level.

#### *Kobusho Training*

The 1983 Shindō Yōshin-ryū Japanese language history states that Matsuoka studied Ittō-ryū and then:

剣術を直心影流の名手・榊原鍵吉友善（三一才）について学ぶことを決意した。 He resolved to study kenjutsu under the Jikishinkage-ryū (直心影流) expert Sakakibara Kenkichi Tomoyoshi (aged 31).

It lists Matsuoka’s *keiko-nakama* (稽古仲間; training companions) as including Chiba Michisaburō (千葉道三郎), Okano Toranosuke (岡野虎之助, 25), Odani Tetsutarō (男谷鉄太郎, 25) and Katō Suterōsaburō (加藤捨三郎, 26).

Matsuoka Katsunosuke (26), on becoming a Kōbusho trainee (修業人, shugyōnin), studied kenjutsu under [the Jikishinkage-ryū expert Sakakibara Kenkichi Tomoyoshi] and jūjutsu under Totsuka Hikosuke Hidetoshi (49) of the Yōshin-ryū (揚心流). The history however *does not* mention Matsuoka having a traditional license in Jikishinkage-ryū; it uses careful language to say he studied under Sakakibara and then taught Jikishinkage-ryū. He likely learned portions of the art during his time at the Kōbusho, similar to how his training under Totsuka was in addition to his earlier jūjutsu studies.

Matsuoka referred the promising Nakayama to a Jikishinkage-ryū teacher to continue his training of that art. He did not appear to issue traditional licenses in Jikishinkage-ryū himself. This appears in keeping with his status as a practitioner of, but not a formally licensed teacher of, Jikishinkage-ryū.

We see the Jikishinkage-ryū matter *ki-ate* listed as a *betsu-den* – an example of an advanced matter of Jikishinkage-ryū he may have learned while at the Kōbusho.

#### *License Structure*

Shindō Yōshin-ryū *kirigami* (切紙) license requires the first two activations, *sasoi-katsu* (誘活) and *eri-katsu-hō* (襟活法), precisely the opening pair of the parent four-article scheme, while the *mokuroku* adds some hundred named *kyūsho* (急所) and holds the death-mode revivals — *san-kappō* (三活法; for drowning, falling, hanging) and *yon-kappō* (四活法; for steam, smoke, cold, blow) — back as *betsuden* (別伝) (Wikipedia contributors 2023).

Matsuoka’s school appears as both 神道揚心流 and 神道楊心流, used interchangeably: the hand-radical 揚 (“raise”) matches the Totsuka-ha 揚心流 / 揚心古流 input, the wood-radical 楊 (“willow”) the parent 楊心流. Its *shin* is 神道 (“divine way”), but the Obata–Takamura offshoot took the homophonous 新道 (“new way”), so the modern Takamura-ha line is written 高村派新道楊心流. All of these romanize as “Shindō Yōshin-ryū”.

#### 2.18. Fukuda Hachinosuke

Fukuda Hachinosuke (福田八之助柳儀齋, 1828–1879) was the second son of Mochida Matsusaburō of Nogami-machi, Chichibu district, Saitama.

After studying Okuyama Nen-ryū (奥山念流) and Kiraku-ryū (気楽流) jūjutsu, he went to Edo in 1844 (Kōka 1) and entered the Kanda Otamagaike dōjō of Iso Mataemon Masatomo (磯又右衛門正智), third-generation head of Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū (天神真楊流).

In 1853 (〔Ansei 5?〕) he succeeded to the name of Fukuda Seikōsai Kyōten (福田誠好齋響典), a gōshi of Hikita village, Tsuga district, Shimotsuke — founder of the Shinmei-tō-ryū (心明当流) kenjutsu — and took the name Fukuda Hachinosuke.

On the sixth day of the tenth month of 1862 (Bun'yū 2) he opened a Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū dōjō at Daiku-chō, Nihonbashi. Kanō Jigorō, founder of Kōdōkan jūdō, entered as his student in 1877 (Meiji 10). He died on the fourteenth day of the eighth month of 1879 (Meiji 12), aged fifty-two.

### 2.19. Amano Hachirō

Amano Hachirō (天野八郎, d. 1868), the Shōgitai (彰義隊) leader sits in the Jikishinkage-ryū roster of notables alongside Sakakibara Kenkichi.

Amano Hachiro conducted intense mountain training of Hōjō at Kurotaki-san Fudō-ji (不動寺) Temple in Gunma, which has continued a tradition of intense training retreats to this day.

His Shōgitai corps affected a deliberate look — light-blue haori, white Yoshitsune hakama, red-scabbard swords and hair dressed “Kōbusho-style.” Amano was born Ōida (大井田), second son of the Iwato village headman in Kōzuke, was briefly adopted into the Hirohama (広浜) fire-brigade house in 1865, and only assumed the hatamoto name Amano — naming himself “Amano Hachirō” — around 1866. Amano studied Jikishinkage-ryū from his youth.

Formed in 1868 by Shibusawa Seiichirō (Shibusawa Eiichi's cousin) and Amano Hachirō to guard the retired shōgun Yoshinobu and police Edo, after discontented hatamoto issued a manifesto and seventeen Hitotsubashi men met at the Myōgaya in Zōshigaya on the 12th of the 2nd month. Shibusawa was head and Amano deputy — both risen from farmer/headman stock into Hitotsubashi service; the corps swelled past a thousand with ex-Shinsengumi remnants and toughs. When Yoshinobu left for Mito after the castle's surrender, the moderate Shibusawa wanted to withdraw from Ueno, clashed with the hardliner Amano, and left to form the Shinbugun in Saitama, leaving Amano to lead. The end came at the Battle of Ueno: on 5/15 (1868) Ōmura Masujirō's new-government army attacked the Shōgitai entrenched at Kan'eiji and crushed it in a single day.

Amano died in prison on 8 November 1868, age 38, a few months after the Battle of Ueno.

### 3. THE SCHOOLS (流派)

#### 3.1. Tamiya-ryū

Tamiya-ryū (田宮流) is an *iaijutsu* / *battōjutsu iaijutsu* (居合術 / 拔刀術; the art of drawing and cutting from the scabbard) founded roughly four centuries ago by Tamiya Heibei Narimasa (田宮平兵衛業正), a direct student of Hayashizaki Jinsuke Shigenobu (林崎甚助重信), the figure conventionally regarded as the progenitor of *iai*. Carried into the Kishū Tokugawa house, the line was praised as “the Tamiya of beauty, the Tamiya of poise” (美の田宮, 位の田宮), language that points to its emphasis on refined, composed form rather than overt aggression. The branch directly relevant to the Kōbusho is the *Kubota-ha Tamiya-ryū* (窪田派田宮流) of the hatamoto Kubota Kiyooto (窪田清音), who demonstrated Tamiya-ryū *iai* before Shōgun Tokugawa Ieyoshi in Tenpō 12 (1841) and, when the Kōbusho opened, became a *tōdori* alongside Odani Seiichirō. Kubota was the senior figure of the contemporary martial world — credited with thousands of students in military science and hundreds in the martial arts, and with some 130 specialist works — and his instruction was noted for an unusual stress on *shissō* (疾走; sprinting / rapid movement), so that the swordsman could deliver full power under any condition.

A Tamiya-ryū *iaijutsu* line survives today, transmitted in the Tsumaki (妻木) family and associated with the Kishū / Tamiya Shinken-ryū tradition; the school is represented within the Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai, and the international Tamiya-ryū organizations maintain English-language material.

#### 3.2. Shingyōtō-ryū

Shingyōtō-ryū was founded by Iba Zesuiken Hideaki (伊庭是水軒秀明) and from the second generation was carried by successive heads bearing the name Iba Gunbei (伊庭軍兵衛); a defining feature of the house was that the headship passed not by blood but to the most capable disciple, who was adopted as heir. The eighth head, Iba Gunbei Hidenari (伊庭軍兵衛秀業, 1811–1858), opened the Renbukan (練武館) dōjō in Shitaya in Edo, which was counted among the “four great Edo dōjō” of the late Tokugawa period (alongside the Genbukan of Hokushin Ittō-ryū, the Renpeikan of Shintō Munen-ryū and the Shigakukan of Kyōshin Meichi-ryū). Hidenari is credited with introducing full-contact practice with *shinai* (竹刀; bamboo sword) and *bōgu* (防具; protective armour) into the school, and its austere, old-fashioned rigour drew the attention of the senior councillor Mizuno Tadakuni. Three of the Kōbusho’s eleven kenjutsu instructors came from this single school.

Shingyōtō-ryū survives today only at Kameyama (亀山) in Mie Prefecture, where it was established by Yamazaki Setsuryūken (山崎雪柳軒), a student of the eighth head, who returned home in Genji 1 (1864); the Kameyama tradition is designated an Intangible Cultural Property of Mie Prefecture and Kameyama City. It is represented in the Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai and maintains a Japanese-language website ([shingyoutouryu.com](http://shingyoutouryu.com)); English-language material is limited.

#### 3.3. Shintō Munen-ryū

Shintō Munen-ryū (神道無念流) was founded by Fukui Hyōemon (福井兵右衛門), born in Shimotsuke province in Genroku 13 (1700), who first trained in Ichien-ryū before a long warrior pilgrimage *musha-shugyō* (武者修行; martial arts pilgrimage) and a period of austerities at the Iizuna shrine on Mount Togakushi in Shinano, after which he is said to have grasped the inner principle of the sword and established the school, opening a dōjō at Yotsuya in Edo. The style became widely known through Togasaki Kumatarō Terufusa (戸賀崎熊太郎暉芳) and, above all, through Saitō Yakurō (斎藤弥九郎), whose Renpeikan (練兵館) was one of the great Edo dōjō and whose pupils included many Chōshū men (Katsura Kogorō, Takasugi Shinsaku and others).

Nicknamed “the Saitō of power” (力の斎藤), the school favoured heavy, decisive cutting over light touches — light strikes were not counted as valid — and was known for hard practice with reinforced armour. After the Meiji Restoration the line was carried on by Negishi Shingorō (根岸信五郎) and Nakayama Hakudō (中山博道).

### 3.4. Ryūgō-ryū

Ryūgō-ryū (柳剛流) was founded by Okada Sōuemon Kiryō (岡田惣右衛門奇良, 1765–1826), who was born at Sōshinden in Katsushika district, Musashi province (present-day Satte, Saitama). He first trained in Shingyōtō-ryū under Ōkawara Uzen (大河原右膳) — so that this school is itself an offshoot of the same Shingyōtō tradition that supplied three of the Kōbusho instructors — and after further study of Sanwa Muteki-ryū, Tōgun Shintō-ryū and other lines, devised his own method. The name is traditionally explained by the image of a streamside *yanagi* (柳; *ryū* / *yanagi*) lashed by the wind yet never broken, captured in the saying “no snow-break on the willow” (柳に雪折れなし). Ryūgō-ryū was a composite art transmitting kenjutsu, *iai*, *jōjutsu* (杖術; short-staff) and *naginatajutsu* (薙刀術; glaive), and its signature was the *sune-giri* (脛斬り; shin-cut) — apparently borrowed from the glaive’s low sweeps — together with cutting on the *tobichigai* (飛び違ひ; the crossing pass). The result was a markedly practical method of disabling opponents at the legs while advancing; by the Man’en 1 (1860) martial register it reportedly counted more students than the Hokushin Ittō-ryū. Curriculum levels were simple — *kirigami* (切紙; entry-level transmission certificate), *mokuroku* (目録; catalogue scroll of transmission) and *menkyo* (免許; full transmission license) — and a licensee was free to found a branch, so the school proliferated into many local lines.

Fragments of Ryūgō-ryū survive in regional traditions (for example in former domains such as Sendai and a Tamaru, Mie, line); English-language material is sparse.

### 3.5. Chūya-ha Ittō-ryū

Chūya-ha Ittō-ryū (忠也派一刀流), also called Itō-ha Ittō-ryū (伊藤派一刀流), this is one of the direct lineages of the Ittō-ryū founded by Itō Ittōsai Kagehisa (伊藤一刀斎景久). Its founder, Itō Tenzen Tadanari (伊藤典膳忠也; who later styled himself Chūya), is recorded variously as the son or the younger brother of Ono

Tadaaki (小野忠明; formerly Mikogami Tenzen), the second-generation master who founded the Ono-ha.

Tadaaki is said to have designated Chūya as successor to the orthodox Ittō-ryū, granting him the founder’s Itō surname and the *kamewari-tō* (瓶割刀; “jar-splitting sword”) said to have been used by Ittōsai in some thirty matches; because Tadaaki’s own son Tadatsune (忠常) continued the Ono house, the Chūya / Itō line and the Ono-ha line diverged from this point.

Chūya is described as headstrong, disliking official service and living as a *rōnin* throughout his life. His students seeded several further branches, including Mizoguchi-ha and Mamiya-ha Ittō-ryū. The line is essentially of historical rather than living interest today.

### 3.6. Hokushin Ittō-ryū

Hokushin Ittō-ryū (北辰一刀流) was created by Chiba Shūsaku Narimasa (千葉周作成政), who trained in Ono-ha Ittō-ryū before going to Edo and combining it with his family’s “Hokushin-ryū” (北辰流) into a new method. His Genbukan (玄武館) was one of the great Edo dōjō (with Saitō Yakurō’s Renpeikan and Momoi Shunzō’s Shigakukan), and his reputation rested on a rationalized pedagogy — a “unity of technique and principle” *ji-ri itchi* (事理一致) that paired kumitachi (組太刀; paired forms) with *shinai* sparring, and a streamlined curriculum — by which a student could reportedly accomplish in five years what other schools took ten to teach. The school produced many of the celebrated swordsmen of the period and exerted a lasting influence on the development of modern kendō.

Hokushin Ittō-ryū survives in several lines (including the Mito Tōbukan tradition and the Konishi / Genbukan line) and is comparatively well served by English-language sources. The above summary is derived from Japanese-language sources.

### 3.7. Kyōshin Meichi-ryū

Kyōshin Meichi-ryū (鏡新明智流) was founded by Momoi Hachirōzaemon Naoyoshi (桃井八郎左衛門直由, 1724–1774), the first to bear the name Momoi Shunzō. Originally a retainer of the Yanagisawa house of Yamato Kōriyama, he became a *rōnin* and, after study of Toda-ryū *iai*, Ittō-ryū, Yagyū-ryū and other lines, devised his own school on the basis of a Toda-ryū secret cut, adding elements of Muhen-ryū spear. The name was first written 鏡心明智流 — the *kyōshin* (鏡心; “mirror-heart”) taken from a Toda-ryū form name — and later 鏡新明智流. In An’ei 2 (1773) he opened the Shigakukan (士学館) in a tenement at Minami-Kayabachō in Nihonbashi, Edo; under the second head, Naokazu (直一), the dōjō moved to the Asari-gashi (蜷河岸), by which it was long known. The school nearly foundered under the third head but revived decisively under the fourth, Naomasa, after whom the Shigakukan was counted one of the “three great Edo dōjō.” Its hallmark was *kurai* (位; poise, bearing, dignity) rather than force, summed up in the contemporary tag “poise — that is Momoi” (位は桃井), set beside “technique — that is Chiba” and “power — that is Saitō.”

As a continuous transmission Kyōshin Meichi-ryū did not survive the Meiji period intact, and it is best treated today as a largely historical school; what circulates under the name rests on later reconstruction rather than unbroken lineage, so caution is warranted before describing any present-day practice as the original tradition.

### 3.8. Fujishin-ryū

Fujishin-ryū (不二心流; ふじしんりゅう) is a late-Edo kenjutsu school, and the All-Japan Kendō Federation’s research series on “Bakumatsu village kenjutsu” (幕末在村剣術) devotes its first installment to it. The founder was Nakamura Isshinsai (中村一心齋), originally Nakamura Hachihei (中村八平). His path was unusually colorful: he first studied Asayama Ichiden-ryū, at seventeen entered the Shimabara-domain Hanamura household in Edo as an adopted son-in-law and continued in that school, then around twenty-two — for reasons unknown — feigned madness and deliberately made himself a rōnin. He then made a circuit-pilgrimage (kaikoku shugyō) of the provinces, trained at a Kawara Shōshin-ryū dōjō near Zenkō-ji in Shinano under the name Nakamura Hachihei, and on returning to Edo was taken on as head student (jukutō) of the Shintō Munen-ryū dōjō of Suzuki Onohachirō. That Shintō Munen-ryū connection is why the standard kenjutsu listings place 不二心流 in the Nen-ryū / Munen-ryū cluster.

In Bunsei 1 (1818), at thirty-six, he undertook great austerities on the sacred peak — abstaining from grains, eating wild plants and continuing for a hundred days — and attained the realization “in my heart there is no second/divided mind” (我が心に二心無し), naming his school Fujishin-ryū; he styled himself Fuji Ken’ō (不二剣翁) and opened a dōjō in Edo’s Hatchōbori said to have had two thousand students. So 不二 carries a deliberate double sense: the mountain (Fuji, written 富士 but here 不二) where the insight came, and “non-dual / undivided” — an undivided mind (cf. 一心, echoed in his name Isshinsai). It is a thoroughly Bakumatsu, Edo-and-countryside school, and it spread widely.

The art left transmission documents: the Kumamoto Prefectural Library’s Tomi-naga collection catalogues a Fujishin-ryū heijutsu oboe (不二心流兵術覚; Fujishin-ryū martial arts scroll), with the internal title 發氣不二心流兵術覚, naming Ōkōchi Sōshirō Fujiwara no Naonobu and Ebato Kuninoshin. Second, the line is still transmitted today: the Kokusai Suigetsujuku Bujutsu Association lists Fujishin-ryū kenjutsu (不二心流剣術; Fujishin-ryū swordsmanship) among the traditions it preserves.

This art was an early practice of Kawashima Takashi, of Jikishinkage-ryū. A widely-diffused Kantō village-kenjutsu school is exactly the kind of thing a Chiba (Kazusa/Shimōsa) native would have picked up in early regional training, which fits the stele’s sequence — Ittō-ryū and Fujishin-ryū licenses “in his twenties,” before the Navy, Taiwan and his later Jikishinkage-ryū study under Yamada.

### 3.9. Jitokuin-ryū

Jitokuin-ryū (自得院流), also called Ninshin-ryū (忍心流), was the hereditary *sōjutsu* (槍術; spear art) art of the Yamaoka (山岡) house, a hatamoto/bakushin family of Edo. Its documented life is concentrated almost entirely in the bakumatsu generation, through three connected men, and it is known to the record through them rather than through any transmission history of its own. No well-attested founder or pre-Seizan lineage surfaces.

Yamaoka Seizan (山岡静山, 1829–1855; given name Masami 正視, common name Kiichirō 紀一郎) is the figure who gave the school its reputation. He was reckoned an extraordinary spearman — the encyclopedic entries record a celebrated match against Nanri Kisuke (南里紀介), said to be peerless, that ran some four hours to a draw. He died young, at twenty-seven, in Ansei 2 (1855).

Takahashi Deishū (高橋泥舟, 1835–1903) was Seizan’s younger brother, born into the Yamaoka house and adopted into the Takahashi family, who trained under Seizan and carried the art into officialdom: *sōjutsu kyōjukata* at the Kōbusho from its 1856 founding, *sōjutsu shihan-yaku* from 1860 — the connection that brought this school into your previous question. He is one of the “three boats” of the late bakufu alongside Katsu Kaishū and the third figure here.

Yamaoka Tesshū (山岡鉄舟, 1836–1888), born Ono Tetsutarō, learned the Yamaoka spear under Seizan, and when Seizan died leaving only his sister Fusako (英子) in the house, Tesshū married her as adopted son-in-law and continued the Yamaoka name — which is why he carried the family’s Ninshin-ryū spear, though his lasting fame is as founder of the kenjutsu school Ittō Shōden Mutō-ryū (一刀正伝無刀流).

### 3.10. Hōzōin-ryū

The Hōzōin-ryū at the Kōbusho was the Takada-ha (高田派): the line running from the founder In’ei through his disciple Nakamura Naomasa to Takada Matabei Yoshitsugu, who served Kokura-han, after which a high disciple, Mori-hira Masatsuna, and two others went to Edo and spread the method — which is why the bakumatsu Kōbusho era had many Hōzōin-ryū shihan. They shared the Takada-ha transmission as a common ancestry.

In’ei learned the sword from Kamiizumi Ise-no-kami alongside Yagyū Munetoshi before working out the cross-spear he became famous for. So, the dominant Kōbusho spear school traces, at its root, straight into the Shinkage-ryū lineage that is the main research interest of this site in Japanese martial arts.

It is not clear if the Kōbusho *sōjutsu* instructors had a single immediate common teacher as the Kōbusho Hōzōin instructors aren’t individually listed as commonly as the kenjutsu instructors.

#### *Curriculum*

Hōzōin-ryū Takada-ha is a living school with a published curriculum. Hōzōin-ryū’s weapon is the *jūmonji kamayari* (十文字鎌槍; cross-bladed sickle-spear) and its use is based around the school’s “cone, entering, sickle” (円錐・入身・鎌) triad through a signature vocabulary of *maki-otoshi* (巻落し; winding-drop technique),

kiri-otoshi (切落し; cutting-drop technique) and suri-komi (摺込み; sliding-press technique), a battlefield art assuming armor, a low stance and fighting against the sword, plain spear, bow and naginata.

The lineage runs from the founder Hōzōin In’ei (胤栄), a Kōfuku-ji monk who studied the sword under Kamiizumi alongside Yagyū Munetoshi, through Nakamura Naomasa to Takada Matabei Yoshitsugu, who — originally from Iga, and also trained in Gotsubo-ryū spear, Anazawa-ryū naginata and Shinkage-ryū sword — entered Ogasawara Tadazane’s service in 1623 and carried the school into Kokura-han, distinguishing himself at the Shimabara siege.

Its present curriculum is the paired-spear set (槍合せの型, yari-awase no kata) in three sections — Omote (表) 14 forms, Ura (裏) 14 forms and Shin-shikake (新仕掛, “new techniques”) 7 forms, totaling 35. Those 35 are what Ishida Kazuto restored out of a historical set of fifty (槍合わせの型五十本; fifty spear-matching forms), the line having nearly lapsed before being preserved through the First Higher School kendō club under Yamazato Tadanori and then returned to Nara in 1976.

Ishida is known to have transmitted only the kata and was not given inka, and did not call himself sōke. This distinction was lost over time as later sōke titles in the Nara revival were adopted. These are a 20th-century continuation rather than unbroken lineage — in contrast to the documented Kokura-han transmission of the school’s earlier centuries. This is similar in spirit to Yamada Jirōkichi declaring there was no longer an Odani-ha and founding a new Seitō-ha of Jikishinkage-ryū in the early 20th century, and then formal Jikishinkage-ryū lineage being revived by Ōnishi after Kawashima Takashi refused Yamada’s request to lead the art.

### 3.11. Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū

*Founding at Kitano Tenmangū: Iso and the giri bind*

The shrine Iso visited to found his art was the Kitano Tenmangū (北野天満宮) in Kyoto, but Iso’s founding story has almost no Shugendō overlay — not merely because of the Edo period founding date, but because the Tenmangū is the wrong kind of shrine for that.

Caught in a giri (義理; social obligation) bind between two teachers, Iso could not found his own art under the Shin-no-Shintō-ryū (真之神道流) name (which would fail his obligation to Hitotsuyanagi 一柳, his Yōshin-ryū teacher) or under the Yōshin-ryū name (which would fail his obligation to Homma 本間, his Shin-no-Shintō-ryū teacher). Iso instead sought neutral sacred ground: he took his inner disciples to Kitano Tenmangū and, at the votive-tablet hall (絵馬堂; ema-dō) before the shrine, devised new techniques and merged the two schools into 124 kata of Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū.

What Iso brought to that merger was a conviction about striking won in the field. On the musha-shugyō (武者修行) that followed his mastery of both parent arts, at the Kusatsu post-station (草津宿) on the Tōkaidō in Ōmi, he and a single disciple, Nishimura (西村), fought off more than a hundred assailants in defence of a third party; in that fight he first grasped the effectiveness of atemi (当身; striking) in

earnest combat, and afterward drilled toward what the tradition calls the *shin-no-ate* (真の当て; “true strike”) — the blow placed on a physiological weak point. It is that realization, rather than any willow observation, that the school’s own later accounts and the standard encyclopedic biographies foreground as the decisive moment, and it is the *atemi-and-kyūsho* emphasis from it that was then built into the new curriculum.

The “Tenjin” of the name is the Tenmangū deity — the deified Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真).<sup>5</sup>

*Tenjin: Sugawara no Michizane and the double-natured kami*

The kami Tenjin (天神) is the deified spirit of Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真, 845–903). Michizane was a Heian scholar, poet and statesman who rose unusually high for his middling birth: advanced by Emperor Uda as a counterweight to the Fujiwara and made Minister of the Right (*udaijin*, 右大臣) by 899 under Emperor Daigo. In 901 Fujiwara no Tokihira accused him of plotting against the throne, and he was exiled to Dazaifu in Kyūshū, where he died in 903 — the episode known as the *Shōtai Incident* (昌泰の変). What made him a kami was what followed: a run of calamities in the capital — Tokihira’s sudden death at thirty-nine, and in 930 a lightning strike on a hall of the imperial palace (the *Seiryōden*, 清涼殿) that killed courtiers — read as the work of his vengeful spirit (*onryō*, 怨霊). To appease him the court restored his rank (923) and later built Kitano Tenman-gū (北野天満宮) in Kyoto (947), enshrining him as Tenjin, a god of sky and storms; the full title was Tenman Dai Jizai Tenjin (天満大自在天神), a deity wielding thunder and storm. Only over time did the thunderous, vengeful aspect soften into the benign kami of scholarship, the deity students still petition for examination success, with Tenmangū shrines now numbering in the thousands. His emblems are the plum (*ume*, 梅) — the *tobi-ume* (飛梅), the “flying plum” of legend said to have flown to him in exile — and the ox. So the deity invoked is double-natured: a thunder-and-vengeance power as much as a patron of letters, which is part of why a martial school could reach for him.

The link to the school is concrete. Iso Mataemon (磯又右衛門, 1790–1863),<sup>6</sup> having mastered *Yōshin-ryū* and *Shin-no-Shintō-ryū*, undertook *seishin tanren* (精神鍛錬; spiritual-physical forging) at Kitano Tenmangū in northern Kyoto and named the school by drawing “Tenjin” (天神) from Michizane enshrined at that shrine, “shin” (真) from *Shin-no-Shintō-ryū* and “yō” (楊; willow) from *Yōshin-ryū*: 天神真楊流. The willow itself is older than Iso — the parent *Yōshin-ryū*’s own

<sup>5</sup>The *Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai*’s telling makes the naming explicit: Iso performed *sanrō* (参籠; ritual seclusion) at Kitano Tenmangū, observed the willow swaying flexibly in the wind (柔軟性; its pliancy) and attained realization, then built the name from “Tenjin” plus the “Shin” (真) of *Shin-no-Shintō-ryū* and the “Yō” (楊) of *Yōshin-ryū*. The wind-willow observation is specific to that account; the *Wadō Renmei* history, the Japanese Wikipedia entry and Kotobank instead make Iso’s defining insight the *atemi* realization from the *Kusatsu* fight and treat Kitano as the site where he combined and named the schools rather than as a willow revelation in its own right.

<sup>6</sup>Iso’s birth year is disputed: the standard figure is Kansei 2 (1790), with 1786 and 1804 also on record; the *Oimatsu* study back-calculated 1804 from a family genealogy (*Oimatsu Shin’ichi*, n.d.). He died in 1863. The earlier draft date of 1787 does not match any of the attested variants.

legend has its reviver Akiyama Shirōbei Yoshimasa (秋山四郎兵衛義昌) performing a hundred-day seclusion at Dazaifu Tenmangū (太宰府天満宮), the other great Michizane shrine, and naming Yōshin-ryū after watching willow shed its snow. Japanese accounts note that because Akiyama's story duplicates Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū technique-names, it may be a later back-formation — but either way, the Tenjin-shrine-plus-willow image is the shared origin signature of the whole Yōshin family.

*The body-knowledge core: atemi, kyūsho, the dōshaku-no-maki*

Marishiten (摩利支天; Skt. Marīcī) is found depicted in upper-level densho of the art. The highest-level scroll of Akiyama Yōshin-ryū involved atemi (当身) and kyūsho (急所; vital-point) targets on the body, and this is carried forward in Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū. The dōshaku-no-maki (胴積之巻) — the vital-points and atemi (当身; strikes to anatomical targets) scroll that is the recognized Yōshin-ryū esoteric core — flows downstream into the Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū Hito-no-maki (人之巻; scroll of mankind). That is a body-knowledge transmission, not Shintō or Buddhist, except that Buddhist elements are often listed on the body diagrams, possibly to signify importance. This is common to several old jūjutsu styles.

The weighting is itself telling. The tradition casts Akiyama as a pediatric physician (小児医師), and Tezuka Masataka's survey treats kappō — resuscitation — rather than any fighting curriculum as the connective tissue running from Yōshin-ryū through Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū and into Kōdōkan judo, with Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū the school in which that resuscitation study was most developed (Tezuka Masataka 2002); Nagaki Kōsuke's two-part study of the school's medical substrate reaches the same conclusion from the founder documents (Nagaki Kōsuke 1984).

The curriculum carrying this material is set out in the school's own 1893 *Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū jūjutsu gokui kyōju zukai* (天神真楊流柔術極意教授図解), the illustrated manual of the fifth Iso Mataemon and Yoshida Chiharu (吉田千春) that Tezuka draws on: the kata begin with *te-hodoki* (手解) and run in fixed order through *idorī* (居捕) and *tachiai* (立合) sets, the *Ten-no-maki* (天之巻) alone holding ten *tachiai* and ten *idorī*, with a *Unjō-no-maki* (雲上之巻) reserved for atemi and kyūsho (Yoshida Chiharu and Iso Mataemon 1893). The resuscitation side is graded in step with the kata as a four-article *kappō* (四ヶ条の活法): *sasoi-katsu* (誘活) conferred on completing *shodan*, *eri-katsu-hō* (襟活法) after *chūdan*, *kin-katsu-hō* (金活法) after the *nagesute*, and *sō-katsu-hō* (総活法) after *gokui-jōdan*, over a *keiraku* (経絡; meridian) and *yakuhō* (薬法; pharmacopoeia) apparatus for treating strikes.<sup>7</sup> Tezuka sets the whole against the older Yōshin-ryū stratum visible in dated densho, notably the Genbun 3 (1738) document of the Kōno Sōan Nyūdō Hiromasa (河野巢安入道弘昌)<sup>8</sup> whose archaic form-names show how little the core set shifted on its way into the late-Edo system.

<sup>7</sup>The same activations surface under variant graphs: where the 1893 manual writes 金活法 (*kin-katsu-hō*) and 総活法 (*sō-katsu-hō*), the Nipponica entry gives 陰囊活 and 惣活 (Shōgakukan 1994).

<sup>8</sup>Tezuka numbers Kōno Sōan the fourth-generation (四世) head; Watanabe Ichirō's Nipponica account instead places him as a pupil in the Miura Jirōbei Nagamasa (三浦次郎兵衛永政) branch, of the Nakatsu domain, and gives only the *nyūdō* name Hiromasa (弘昌) — not the 尚茂 found

*Akiyama or Ōe? The contested founder*

Akiyama himself is contested, with Takahashi Masaru (高橋賢) arguing the real founder of Yōshin-ryū to be the second-generation Ōe Senbei, and Akiyama an embellished or fictional figure (Takahashi Masaru [serialized c. six years; ran into the 2000s, unfinished]). Nagaki Kōsuke (永木耕介) presses the doubt from a different direction: although most sources make Akiyama a man of Hizen Nagasaki, the *Higo Budō-shi* (肥後武道史) domain-teacher genealogy records him as a retainer of the Matsudaira (Asano) lord of Aki (松平安芸守), and the *Seishi Kakei Daijiten* (姓氏家系大事典) and *Geihan Tsūshi* (芸藩通志) place the Akiyama surname natively in Aki (安芸; Hiroshima) rather than Kyushu, so even the founder's home province is unsettled (Nagaki Kōsuke 1982). Wataya Kiyoshi (綿谷雪) separately doubts the China-voyage narrative of Akiyama because overseas travel was then banned (Wataya Kiyoshi and Yamada Tadachi [expanded/revised editions; year-of-edition to be fixed]). A partly fabricated origin legend is the opposite of evidence for a lived Shugendō practice.

*A Kurama substrate behind the Tenjin face*

Tengu (天狗) influence is not the province of weapons traditions like Kage-ryū (陰流) alone. Some grappling styles have clear markers of tengu as important portions of their composition at higher levels of practice, but Chinese medical or anatomical influence seems more prominent than mountain seclusion. This may be due to the time periods in which these arts developed and flourished. The Akiyama Yōshin-ryū (楊心流) has tengu orthography or depictions in its advanced teaching scrolls, but important descendent schools such as the Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū (天神真楊流) of Iso Mataemon Masatari (磯又右衛門正足, Ryūkansai 柳関齋) do not.

The Shugendō register is thin because of the kind of shrine Tenmangū is. It is the urban, civic Tenjin cult of a deified human (a goryō 御霊 turned patron of letters and the arts), not a yamabushi (山伏) mountain like Udo (鵜戸), Kumano (熊野), Hikosan (英彦山) or Kirishima (霧島). Founding at a Tenmangū is a Tenjin-devotional act, categorically distinct from the Shingon/Ryōbu-Shintō (両部神道) mountain Shugendō that produced the Kage-ryū revelation. This holds independent of the date, and the late (mid-nineteenth-century) context then compounds it.

Iso's pressure is social obligation, not the religious or martial anxiety of masha shugyō (武者修行). The "realization" he obtains is naturalistic and pedagogical (the willow's flexibility), thus modern in outlook. The school itself is an urban enterprise — a Kanda Otamagaike (神田於玉ヶ池) dōjō (the Gyokubukan 玉武館), instruction at the Bakufu Kōbusho (講武所), five thousand students, feeding directly into Kanō's Kōdōkan (講道館).

The willow motif is an inherited topos rather than live austerity: it is the older Akiyama Yōshin-ryū origin story, in which Akiyama performed a hundred-day

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in some web bios. The two reckonings of his lineage position remain to be reconciled (Watanabe Ichirō 1994).

sanrō at Dazaifu Tenmangū (太宰府天満宮), saw snow failing to settle on the willow, grasped the yielding principle and devised some three hundred techniques.

The documented esoteric substrate runs through Kurama, as do many arts, not through any Tenmangū. Yōshin-ryū carries a tradition placing its remote ancestry with Kiichi Hōgen (鬼一法眼) and Minamoto no Yoshitsune (源義経) and drawing its lineage from the martial arts of Kurama, and offshoots such as Kurama Yōshin-ryū (鞍馬楊心流) explicitly claim Kurama-martial origin. This is similar to many other subsequent arts. Kurama is the tengu mountain par excellence — Sōjōbō's (僧正坊) instruction of Ushiwakamaru (牛若丸) — and its own cult is esoteric: the Sonten (尊天) of Kurama is a trinity of Senju Kannon (千手観音), Bishamonten (毘沙門天) and the Gohō Maō-son (護法魔王尊), figured as moon, sun and earth, the last of these the tengu-king figure.

The public, named patron is the respectable Tenjin (Michizane) cult, exactly the legitimating face an urban late-Edo school presenting at the Kōbusho would want. The inherited Kurama-tengu narrative sits in the okuden of the art as an iconographic residue from the older stream — an esoteric warrior substrate behind an exoteric Tenjin face. The Kurama / Yoshitsune / Kiichi Hōgen tengu ancestry is the school's own documented tradition, but not verifiable.

From Aisu Ikōsai at Udo (c. 1500, a lived Shingon-Shugendō mountain revelation with tengu as a transmission event) to Iso Mataemon at Kitano Tenmangū (c. 1830, a Tenjin-cult devotional founding with tengu surviving only as okuden iconography), the esoteric register thins from practice to literary-pictorial residue, tracking exactly the institutionalization of these legends as being what is expected of arts, rather than what makes them unique.

The Kiichi Hōgen / Yoshitsune / Kurama remote-ancestry tradition belongs to the Yōshin-ryū stream as a whole, with the offshoot Kurama Yōshin-ryū making the Kurama-martial origin explicit. Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū descends straight from that stream and carried the parent corpus forward fairly intact — the *shizuma-no-maki* (静間之巻; reading tentative) form-names pass into the late-Edo jūjutsu system almost unchanged (Ōe Senbei [undated; pre-TSR Yōshin-ryū]). So at minimum the Sōjōbō/Kurama motif is upstream substrate, inherited alongside the kyūsho nomenclature, not conjured by Iso Mataemon's circle.<sup>9</sup>

*Curating the pedigree: the Tōryū Taii-roku*

Early-to-mid Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū practitioners were demonstrably curating the school's pedigree in precisely the window of time in which a tengu-centric overlay or gloss would be plausible. The Tōryū Taii-roku (当流大意録), a mid-nineteenth-century Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū text, is where the Akiyama / China-voyage / Dazaifu-Tenmangū willow story is worked up. A school producing that kind of origin document is editing its lineage, not passively transmitting it.

<sup>9</sup>We see a similar emphasis placed in the Kashima Shin-ryū, which might indicate a Yōshin-ryū origin to its jūjutsu (possibly derived from an art named Myōdō-ryū 明道流).

If early Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū foregrounded or re-elaborated Kurama tengu iconography (such as Sōjōbō) while compiling its own okuden densho, that is prestige-borrowing — dignifying a school whose actual founding was a naturalistic willow-observation with a Kurama-tengu descent.<sup>10</sup>

It is also well after the time that the popular Yagyū Shinkage-ryū utilized images of tengu in its *emokuroku* (絵目録) and the Edo-period tengu compilation and “ranking” was available.<sup>11</sup>

#### *The China-voyage Legend*

Akiyama, a Japanese physician, supposedly sailed to China and learned a few techniques and resuscitation methods from a Chinese physician (唐人博転; Hakuten, reading uncertain) before the Dazaifu Tenmangū seclusion.

The fullest form of the narrative comes from the Tōryū Taii-roku (当流大意録), a mid-nineteenth-century Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū text, and runs as follows: Akiyama Shirōbei (秋山四郎兵衛), a physician, crossed to China for medical training (医術修行), and there studied under a Chinese man called Hakuten (博転; reading uncertain), from whom he received jūjutsu san-te and kappō nijūhachi-te — three jūjutsu (柔術) techniques and twenty-eight methods of kappō (活法; resuscitation). Back in Japan he taught these, but the handful of techniques was too meager to attract students, so he secluded himself for a hundred days at Dazaifu Tenmangū (太宰府天満宮); observing that snow would not pile up on the willow (楊) — the supple branch sheds the load the rigid one would snap under — he grasped the essence of yielding, expanded the art to 303 techniques (三百三手) and named it Yōshin-ryū (楊心流; “willow-heart school”) (Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū (compiler unknown) [mid-19th century] ).

Akiyama learned three combat techniques against twenty-eight resuscitation methods. The substance is the sakkatsu-hō (殺活法; “killing-and-reviving methods”) — kyūsho (急所; vital-point) knowledge and its medical counterpart, the reviving techniques. This is exactly the body of learning Yōshin-ryū became famous for and propagated downstream; the kyūsho nomenclature of modern budō — names such as suigetsu (水月), jinchū (人中) and murasame (村雨) — largely descends from it by way of the Kōdōkan. Parallel transmissions survive and are evidenced by the early licenses awarded by Matsuoka of Shindō Yōshin-ryū (神道揚心流).

The same graded ladder survives in Shindō Yōshin-ryū, the line Matsuoka Katsunosuke (松岡克之助) built in 1864 out of Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū — learned under the third head Iso Masatomo (磯正智) — together with Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū (戸

<sup>10</sup>Kiichi Hōgen and Sōjōbō are two faces of the same Kurama-Yoshitsune transmission legend, so a specific *Sōjōbō* emphasis (as against the Kiichi-Hōgen/Yoshitsune framing) could itself be the later inflection.

<sup>11</sup>A potential research direction would be to contrast Ōe Senbei's *Shizuma-no-maki* at the Nagasaki Prefectural Library and the 1670 Ōe densho with its *Kagami-no-maki* (鏡之巻) kyūsho genealogy at the Kumamoto Prefectural Library (Ōe [given name unverified] 1670). If they contain tengu imagery, then the later material would be an inheritance; if not, then post-1830 Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū scrolls would be their own overlay.

塚派揚心流). A mid-Edo offshoot reproducing the same kappō-by-grade structure is further evidence — with Tōdō Yoshiaki’s reading of the school’s atemi as a medical system grounded in an internal-organ model (Tōdō Yoshiaki 1977) — that the transmitted core was the medical and anatomical apparatus, not the founding legend. In the art’s own words, “Chinese transmission” is far more a medical/resuscitation acquisition than a fighting curriculum, with the actual fighting system credited to the domestic willow revelation rather than to China.

There are competing narratives as well:

- The Bujutsu Ryūso-roku (武術流祖録, 1843) gives the same 3-plus-28 content but has him learn it from a martial official (武官) resident in Hizen Nagasaki (肥前長崎), with no voyage, before the Tenmangū seclusion, and a total of 300 seizing techniques (Author unknown 1843).
- Matsumiya Kanzan’s (松宮觀山) Jūjutsu-ki (柔術記, 1700s) inverts the sequence — the Tenmangū willow-dream of an old man bearing snow-laden willow comes first, and only afterward does he acquire twenty-five sakkatsu forms (殺活二十五勢) from a foreign visitor (蕃客) on Japanese soil (Matsumiya Kanzan [early-to-mid 18th century]).
- A deeper pseudo-genealogy in the *Yōshin-ryū Sakkatsu-nihō* (楊心流殺活二法) traces the reviving art from the Zhou-era physician Bian Que (扁鵲; Biǎn Què) through a retainer of Wei’s Cao Cao (曹操; Cáo Cāo) named Bukan [reading/identity uncertain], whose Dōshaku-no-maki (胴積之巻; a vital-point chart) was received at Nagasaki.
- The Kurama Yōshin-ryū licence drops China entirely, having Akiyama receive an eight-volume tiger scroll (八巻の虎之巻) from the treasure house of Kuramayama (鞍馬山) — the tengu version we discussed.

*Sakoku, Chén Yuánbīn, and the prestige of a Míng pedigree*

Maybe the tengu origin is the most plausible. Tokugawa Sakoku’s (鎖国) prohibition on Japanese going abroad or returning (the 1635 edict, hardening to 1639) bites on the *Akiyama-sailed-to-China* claim — which is precisely where Wataya Kiyoshi aimed it — but it has no purchase on Chén Yuánbīn (陳元贊; Chin Genpin), who was resident in Japan and whose movement was inbound and took place before 1635.

The oldest documented jūjutsu line, Takeuchi-ryū (竹内流), dates to 1532, well before Chén Yuánbīn and Akiyama — and Takahashi is the same researcher who reads Akiyama as a fictional founder, with Ōe Senbei the real founder of Yōshin-ryū.

In early Edo, claiming a Ming-dynasty pedigree carried more prestige than naming a domestic teacher, a borrowing pattern common in koryū. The same commentary explicitly likens it to Jikishinkage-ryū (直心影流), which in the Edo period surfaced the nittō (入唐; journey to Ming China) travels of Ogasawara Genshinsai (小笠原源信齋) while *at the same time* projecting its founder back into the Sengoku, via the Matsumoto retrojection.

How does Kurama-dera fit in?

Giving Kurama priority is a confirming piece rather than a lever used to establish an argument. A school carrying both a domestic Yoshitsune/Kurama descent *and* a foreign China descent is displaying competing prestige-narratives, not a transmission record. The existence of the robust Kurama alternative shows the China story was never load-bearing.

The travel ban, plus the prestige-borrowing pattern, plus Takahashi’s analysis, in combination weaken the Chinese-origin claim for Yōshin-ryū.

The combat-transmission claim collapses while a narrower medical residue survives. Nagasaki was the one channel of Sino-Japanese contact left open under sakoku, so the part of the Akiyama legend that is actually plausible is not that he learned jūjutsu in China but that he absorbed Chinese-style resuscitation/kappō (活法) and medical framing from the Chinese presence in Nagasaki. That medicine-not-method distinction is the defensible core; the tengu/Kurama material and the native Sengoku grappling substrate carry the actual technical lineage. The China-voyage claim itself rests **solely** on the Tōryū Taii-roku — the parallel Bujutsu Ryūso-roku (1843) has Akiyama learn from a military officer resident in Nagasaki, not in China.

*The two streams meet: Kōbusho randori*

Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū’s presence at the Kōbusho was through its practitioners training there as *shugyōnin* (修行人) rather than through holding that headship. There, however, the two streams of Yōshin-ryū met, in randori.

The clearest instance: Matsuoka Katsunosuke (松岡克之助), one of the founder Iso Mataemon Masatari’s senior men, was summoned as a Kōbusho *shugyōnin* in 1860, grappled Totsuka Hikosuke (戸塚彦介) in randori (乱捕) and lost two of three, and thereafter took Totsuka as a second teacher and cross-trained in the Totsuka-ha (戸塚派), later creating his own approach, Shindō Yōshin-ryū.

Grappling being concerned with anatomy, the later emphasis of Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū and its descendent Shindō Yōshin-ryū on atemi and resuscitation is congruent with a medical or anatomical influence, which would have been located in Chinese medical practices, possibly to be found in Nagasaki.

No travel to China is required to sustain that influence; but if direct Ming transmission was of political benefit when founding these approaches, given the culture at the time, then it is not surprising those arguments and narratives would have been adopted — just as it was socially congruent for Kanō to later deny those influences.

### 3.12. Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū

Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū jūjutsu was taught at the Kōbusho and lasted only about a year and five months before being dropped.

Totsuka Hikosuke Hidetoshi (戸塚彦介英俊, 1813–1886; gō Isshinsai), born in Edo Nishikubo, became head of the Kōbusho jūjutsu instructors. His prominence gave Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū its name. In 1837 restored the old name “Yōshin-ryū”

and is called the father of early-modern randori. Totsuka served the Numazu-han Mizuno house as jūjutsu instructor. He entered Numazu-han service under Mizuno Tadanaga in 1830, and in 1860 was appointed jūjutsu kyōju-kata at the Kōbusho. When the Mizuno relocated to Kazusa Kikuma at the Restoration he moved to Bōsō, becoming a Chiba-prefecture jūjutsu instructor in 1885.

Totsuka-ha was the hard, randori-centric school of its day. Totsuka himself was a big man (178 cm, 86 kg) whose rough training was famous across Edo.

Hikosuke was appointed jūjutsu teaching head (教授方頭取) in 1860 at the Kōbusho on the fourteenth shōgun Tokugawa Iemochi’s recommendation, moving his dōjō to Atagoshita with a reported 1,600 entrants.

Kōbusho randori routinely produced injuries — there are accounts of a man dying from a chest kick and a large man choked unconscious who didn’t revive. The randori system Hisatomi Tetsutarō compiled from Totsuka’s teaching held 56 techniques across four categories — throws (nage), chokes (shime), holds (katame) and joint locks (kansetsu).

The Totsuka line’s proper name is simply Yōshin-ryū and it styled itself Yōshin-koryū (楊心古流; “old Yōshin-ryū”) to claim seniority over the Akiyama Shirōbei (秋山四郎兵衛) line of yawara practice.

Yōshin-koryū derives from the Chén Yuánbīn line through Miura Yōshin (三浦楊心), a Hizen-Nagasaki physician of the early Tokugawa period; its reviver (中興の祖) was Egami Takesune (江上武経; also read Egami Kanryū 江上觀柳), who ran a dōjō in Edo at Shiba Akabane (present Mita); and from Egami it passed through an eighth-generation master, Totsuka Hidesumi (戸塚秀澄), to his son Totsuka Hikosuke Hidetoshi (戸塚彦介英俊, 1813–1886), after whom the Totsuka-ha prefix is named.

There is a name wrinkle along the way: Hikosuke’s father, Totsuka Hikoemon, had called the school Egami-ryū (江上流) in homage to his teacher but by Hikosuke’s generation the name was restored to Yōshin-ryū.

### 3.13. Kitō-ryū

Kitō-ryū (起倒流) was taught at the Kōbusho (講武所) by Motoyama Shōō (本山正翁) and Iikubo Tsunetoshi (飯久保恒年) — the latter was later best known as Kanō Jigorō’s (嘉納治五郎) teacher.

Motoyama Shōō was a Kōbusho Kitō-ryū jūjutsu kyōju-kata (教授方; instructor) at the bakumatsu and the father of Kanō Jigorō’s Tokyo University classmate Motoyama Masahisa (本山正久 [reading tentative] ); it was Motoyama who introduced Kanō to Iikubo.

Iikubo Tsunetoshi (common name Kuwakichi, 鋤吉) was Edo-born, learned Kitō-ryū from youth under Takenaka Tetsunosuke (竹中鉄之助) as his senior disciple, opened a dōjō at Azabu Higakubo (麻布日ヶ窪) and likewise served as a Kōbusho kyōju-kata; after the Restoration he followed the Tokugawa to Shizuoka, then returned to a post in Tokyo. He received his license in 1856 and was Kanō’s last

jūjutsu teacher. Iikubo also regularly cross-matched with Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū (戸塚派楊心流).

*Chén Yuánbīn*

Chén Yuánbīn (陳元贇; Chin Genpin) was a late-Ming literatus who came to Japan and lodged at the Kokushō-ji (国昌寺) in Azabu (麻布) around 1625–27, where the temple record says he conveyed something of Chinese grappling to three rōnin (浪人):

- Fukuno Shichirōemon Masakatsu (福野七郎右衛門正勝)
- Isogai Jirōzaemon (磯貝次郎左衛門)
- Miura Yojiemon (三浦与次右衛門)

That thread of instruction then runs into Ryōi Shintō-ryū (良移心当流) and Kitō-ryū (起倒流), commemorated on the 1779 Kitō-ryū kenpō stele at Atago Jinja (愛宕神社).

The researcher Takahashi Masaru (高橋賢) argues Chén’s martial transmission is a later fiction, claiming that Fukuno’s Ryōi Shintō-ryū densho are identical in content both before and after his supposed encounter with Chén. At both points the school is *yoroi-kumiuchi* (鎧組討; armored grappling), which is assumed to have little technical overlap with Chinese *kenpō* (拳法; boxing). Older records describe Chén *talking about* Chinese seizing-techniques, not necessarily teaching them directly.

Kitō-ryū is the school behind judo’s Koshiki-no-kata (古式の形; “ancient forms”), and the contrast between throw-centric Kitō-ryū and the atemi-and-grappling of Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū (天神真楊流) is what pushed Kanō toward his synthesis. Kanō Jigorō rejected the Chinese-origin thesis of older Japanese yawara (柔). This is in keeping with the sentiment of his era. He believed the Takenouchi-ryū (竹内流), not Chén Yuánbīn, was the likely origin of Japanese formalized grappling.

#### 4. THE BAKUMATSU CORPS (幕末)

##### 4.1. The Yūgekitai

The Yūgekitai (遊撃隊頭取), formed on 22 October 1866 out of former Kōbusho instructors (after its abolishment) and okuzume bakushin. It had as its tōdori the spearman Takahashi Deishū and the swordsmen Sakakibara Kenkichi and Mitsuhashi Torazō.

The Yūgekitai grew out of the okuzume-shū (the shōgun's personal guard): Iba Hachirō was promoted at 21 from Kōbusho swordsman to okuzume, and the okuzume were then reorganized into the bakufu Yūgekitai, which fought at Toba-Fushimi.

Figures like Chūjō and Matsuoka went into the Seieitai.

After Toba-Fushimi the corps went to Kisarazu, drew in Jōzai-han lord Hayashi Tadataka, took the Futtsu jin'ya, then campaigned through Izu, Kōfu and Numazu, where it reorganized.

When the Shōgitai opened the Battle of Ueno on 15 May 1868, the Yūgekitai moved in concert, trying to hold the Hakone barrier against the Odawara-han troops; Iba was shot in the hip at Sanmaibashi and lost an arm, then went north to join Hijikata, and died at Hakodate at 26. Field leadership ran through Iba Hachirō and Hitomi Katsutarō. Iba was the heir of the Shingyōtō-ryū Renbukan, son of Iba Gunbei.

##### 4.2. The Seieitai

The Seieitai (精銳隊; select or elite corps) was an elite bakufu bodyguard corps raised at the very end of the Tokugawa period specifically to protect the last shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu.

It was a hand-picked bodyguard for Yoshinobu (Katsu Kaishū's selection, under Chūjō as the foremost swordsman of the day), drawn from skilled bakushin and Kōbusho men, and later reconstituted as the Shinbangumi (新番組). It belongs to a tier the Keiō reforms deliberately created. When Yoshinobu's reforms from 1866 dissolved or shrank the old-style organizations such as the Ōban, the ablest of the surplus personnel were folded into the army as units of praetorian character (親衛隊的な性格; elite guard character): the Okuzume-jūtai (奥詰銃隊) and the Yūgekitai (遊撃隊, the successor to the okuzume inner guard). The Seieitai is of that same family: a guard close to the shogun's person, formed from the best of the dissolved guards plus the old Kōbusho academy's sword and spear masters. The academy was effectively the recruiting pool for this guard tier, which is why the same handful of names keeps reappearing in the units' rosters.

After Yoshinobu's Taisei Hōkan (大政奉還, return of governing authority to the throne) in Keiō 3 (1867), Katsu Kaishū and others, fearing for Yoshinobu's safety, organized the Seieitai to guard him, and Chūjō Kinnosuke Kageaki was selected as

its head as the foremost swordsman of the day. It was a hand-picked unit of skilled bakufu retainers.

Chūjō Kinnosuke Kageaki (中條金之助景昭, 1827–1896) was the son of a *koshōgumi* hatamoto, trained in Yamaga-ryū, Shingyōtō-ryū and Hokushin Ittō-ryū, served the 13th shogun Tokugawa Iesada from Kaei 7 (1854) as a household martial-arts attendant (*kenjutsu/jūjutsu sewa-kokoroe*).<sup>12</sup>

He became a *kenjutsu kyōjukata* at the Kōbusho after it opened, associated with its Shingyōtō-ryū (心形刀流) contingent. At that time at the Kōbusho, the 9th-generation Iba Hidetoshi was *kenjutsu shihan-yaku*, and from this school Mitsunashi Torazō, Chūjō Kinnosuke (Kageaki), and Minato Shinpachirō became *kenjutsu kyōjukata*, forming a major bloc there.<sup>13</sup>

In Bunkū 2 (1862) he became a superintendent of the Rōshigumi alongside Yamaoka Tesshū, and afterward held oversight posts over the Shinchōgumi.

Chūjō studied Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū under Totsuka Hikosuke. That shared Totsuka/Yōshin-ryū lineage is a plausible reason Matsuoka ended up assigned under Chūjō in the Seieitai in 1867, beyond their both being bakushin swordsmen.

When Yoshinobu withdrew from Edo, his escort to Mito in the fourth month of 1868 was provided by Seieitai and Yūgekitai men, among them Chūjō Kageaki and Takahashi Deishū.<sup>14</sup> The unit then accompanied the Tokugawa house to Sunpu (駿府, modern Shizuoka).

Chūjō led the Seieitai — later the Shinbangumi (新番組) — and their families, some two hundred people, to Sunpu; one account puts the escorting “bakufu elite” at around three hundred.

Having lost their stipends and status with the Restoration, the corps famously became the pioneers of the Makinohara tea plantation: Chūjō Kageaki, following Yoshinobu to Sunpu, resolved together with the guard corps to develop the then-bakufu land of Makinohara, beginning in Meiji 2 (1869) on some 1,400 hectares — trading the sword for the hoe, eventually turning the barren upland into a

<sup>12</sup>On Chūjō’s biography: “中條金之助,” Japanese Wikipedia — core account of 1827–1896, training in Yamaga-ryū / Shingyōtō-ryū / Hokushin Ittō-ryū, service to the 13th shogun Iesada from 1854, appointment as Kōbusho *kenjutsu kyōjukata* and *jūjutsu randori sewa-kokoroe*, the 1862 move to the Rōshigumi with Yamaoka Tesshū and later Shinchōgumi oversight, and the Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū study under Totsuka Hikosuke (<https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/中條金之助>); and the Shimada City Tourism Association, “中條金之助景昭の像,” a narrative sketch tying together the Iesada service, the Kōbusho post, selection as head of the Seieitai, and the Makinohara venture.

<sup>13</sup>“心形刀流,” Japanese Wikipedia — situates him among the Shingyōtō-ryū Kōbusho instructors (with Mitsunashi Torazō and Minato Shinpachirō, under Iba Hidetoshi as *shihan-yaku*). <https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/心形刀流>

<sup>14</sup>“徳川慶喜,” Japanese Wikipedia — the 1868 escort of Yoshinobu to Mito by Seieitai and Yūgekitai men (Chūjō Kageaki, Takahashi Deishū). <https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/徳川慶喜>

tea garden of over 5,000 hectares, on the proposal of Yamaoka Tesshū and Katsu Kaishū.<sup>15</sup>

### 4.3. The Shōgitai

The Shōgitai (彰義隊, roughly “Corps to Manifest Righteousness”) was a pro-Tokugawa militia formed at Edo early in 1868.<sup>16</sup> It is distinct from the Seieitai — different origins, different leadership, opposite fate. It is the fighting group Sakakibara Kenkichi was invited to join during the battle of Ueno.

After defeat at Toba-Fushimi, Yoshinobu returned to Edo, and on 11 February 1868 he declared submission to the new government, and the next day entered confinement at Ueno’s Kan’ei-ji.<sup>17</sup> Bakushin and Hitotsubashi-house retainers who rejected that submission organized in response; the corps was formed in 1868 to guard Yoshinobu, and it received from the bakufu the duty of policing the city of Edo.<sup>18</sup>

Its *tōdori* (頭取; head or chief) was Shibusawa Seiichirō (渋沢成一郎, also Kisaku 喜作), a cousin of Shibusawa Eiichi, with Amano Hachirō (天野八郎, 1831–1868) as deputy; neither was a hereditary bakushin — both had risen from farming or village-headman backgrounds into Hitotsubashi or bakufu service — and the name “Shōgi” expressed the aim of making the great cause manifest, seeking Yoshinobu’s reprieve and restoration, and fighting if the new government would not grant it.<sup>19</sup>

The old bakufu’s submission faction tried to manage the militia by recognizing it and giving it city-patrol duties, and it first placed its headquarters at Hongan-ji, then moved to Ueno — to Kan’ei-ji, the Tokugawa family temple, where it rallied around the Rinnōji-no-miya Kōgen Nyūdō Shinnō.<sup>20</sup>

After the bloodless surrender of Edo Castle on 11 April 1868 and Yoshinobu’s removal to Mito, Shibusawa argued for withdrawing from Ueno, clashed with

<sup>15</sup>Shizuoka Prefecture, “牧之原開拓” — the bakushin guard corps escorting Yoshinobu to Sunpu and the Meiji 2 (1869) Makinohara reclamation under Chūjō Kageaki; and the Ichikawaen Tea Museum, “徳川家と縁の深いお茶の国,” on the Seieitai’s renaming as the Shinbangumi and the corps’ transition into the Makinohara tea pioneers.

<sup>16</sup>The interpretation of the Shōgitai as die-hard Tokugawa loyalists whose defeat marked the end of the old regime: M. William Steele, “Apocalypse Now.”

<sup>17</sup>Yoshinobu’s declaration of *kyōjun* (恭順; submission/compliance) on 11 February 1868 and his confinement at Ueno Kan’ei-ji the following day: 「彰義隊」, Japanese Wikipedia; corroborated by 「上野戦争」, *Kokushi Daijiten* (JapanKnowledge).

<sup>18</sup>Formation of the corps by Shibusawa Seiichirō (渋沢成一郎; also Kisaku 喜作) and Amano Hachirō (天野八郎), and its bakufu-assigned Edo city-patrol duty (江戸市中取締; Edo city patrol duty): 「彰義隊」, Japanese Wikipedia.

<sup>19</sup>The leaders’ non-hereditary (farming / village-headman) origins, and the meaning of the name 彰義 — to make the great *taigi* (大義; righteous cause) manifest, seeking Yoshinobu’s reprieve and restoration: leadership corroborated by 「上野戦争」, *Kokushi Daijiten*; the gloss and aim from *Web Rekishi Kaidō* (popular).

<sup>20</sup>Initial headquarters at Asakusa Hongan-ji, the move to Ueno Kan’ei-ji and the rallying around the Rinnōji-no-miya Kōgen Nyūdō Shinnō: 「上野戦争」, Japanese Wikipedia; 「上野戦争」, *Kokushi Daijiten*.

Amano, and left to form the Shinbugun (振武軍), eventually joining Enomoto and fighting at Hakodate, while Amano took command of the Shōgitai.<sup>21</sup>

The hardliners who remained were joined by Shinsengumi remnants and stayed at Kan'ei-ji under the banner of protecting the Rinnōji-no-miya and the Tokugawa mausolea. The unit's dress and bravado briefly made it fashionable in Edo; estimates of its strength range from over a thousand to around two thousand men.<sup>22</sup>

On the Battle of Ueno (上野戦争): the Shōgitai refused the order to disband and refused to return the Rinnōji-no-miya to Kyoto, repeatedly clashing with and killing government soldiers, so that the new government's authority in the city sank to the point that some leaders even proposed abandoning Edo Castle.<sup>23</sup>

The high command then resolved to destroy it: on the 15th of the fifth month, following Ōmura Masujirō's plan, Satsuma troops attacked frontally from the Kuromon while Chōshū struck from the Hongō Dangozaka direction and others closed in, annihilating the Shōgitai in a single day, after which the Rinnōji-no-miya escaped and later became the nominal head of the Ōuetsu Reppan Dōmei.<sup>24</sup>

This was 4 July 1868, with Saigō Takamori leading the Satsuma assault at the gate, and Hizen's Armstrong guns firing across Shinobazu Pond. Some 266 bodies were afterward gathered and cremated, which is why the Shōgitai graves stand both in Ueno Park and at Entsū-ji.<sup>25</sup>

This is the same engagement, seen from the other side, in which Sakakibara — having declined the Shōgitai — got the prince out to Mikawajima. Amano was captured and died in custody that year; survivors scattered north to Aizu and the alliance or to Hakodate.

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<sup>21</sup>The split — Shibusawa's departure to form the Shinbugun (振武軍), Amano's assumption of command and the adhesion of Shinsengumi remnants: 「上野戦争」, Japanese Wikipedia; *Senseki Kikō* (popular).

<sup>22</sup>Strength estimates ( $\approx 1,000$ – $2,000$ ; the Ueno monument gives  $\approx 1,500$ ): *Web Rekishi Kaidō*; *Old Tokyo*; “Battle of Ueno,” English Wikipedia (figure uncited on the page — treat as approximate).

<sup>23</sup>The refusal to disband, the refusal to return the prince to Kyoto and the consequent collapse of government authority in Edo (to the point that abandoning Edo Castle was mooted): 「上野戦争」, *Kokushi Daijiten*.

<sup>24</sup>The Battle of Ueno on Keiō 4 / 5 / 15 (= 4 July 1868): Ōmura Masujirō's plan, the Satsuma frontal assault under Saigō Takamori, Chōshū's flanking from the Hongō Dangozaka direction, the single-day rout and the Rinnōji-no-miya's escape to become nominal head of the Ōuetsu Reppan Dōmei: 「上野戦争」, *Kokushi Daijiten*; the Gregorian date, Saigō's role and the Hizen (Saga) Armstrong guns firing across Shinobazu Pond from “Battle of Ueno,” English Wikipedia.

<sup>25</sup>The collection and cremation of roughly 266 Shōgitai dead, and the graves at Entsū-ji and in Ueno Park: *Senseki Kikō* (popular).

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