

From the Kōbusho to the Butokukai

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From the Kōbusho to the Butokukai

Japanese Swordsmanship in Transition

Mark Raugas



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Aims and Scope

When writing my book on Kashima-shinden Jikishinkage-ryū heihō kenjutsu, I became intrigued by the lives of the swordsmen that made that tradition famous. Men like Odani, Sakakibara and Shimada played important roles in the late Tokugawa Bakumatsu efforts to teach swordsmanship as part of military instruction and leverage gekiken (inter school fencing) as a means to build martial spirit in an institutional setting. After the Meiji Restoration, Sakakibara and others worked to preserve the swordsmanship of the past, and in doing so adapted their methods to changing times. This work is about the late Edo and early modern institutions surrounding Japanese swordsmanship and the schools and swordsmen that inhabited them. Derived from Japanese language sources, it hopes to provide a view of the people and organizations that led to both modern kendō and the kobudō groups that survived through all these changes.

Recurring through the school entries that follow is one Edo-period vantage in particular: the *Gekiken Sōdan* (撃剣叢談) of 1790, compiled by Mikami Genryū, a samurai of Bizen Okayama who set down the kenjutsu schools and master-houses he saw and heard of while moving between his domain and Edo across the 1760s–1790s. Mikami wrote as a contemporary, and as an outsider to most of the lines he described — neither their heir nor their apologist — so his notices offer an unusually independent window onto how these ryūha were regarded in their own day, before the Meiji reorganizations recast them. I draw on it, together with the older and parallel compilations collated beside

it in the 1915 *Bujutsu Sōsho* — the *Honchō Bugei Shōden* (1716), the *Bujutsu Keifu Ryaku* (1767), and the *Bujutsu Ryūso-roku* — to describe many of the schools met here as the Edo period itself regarded them. (Mikami Genryū 1790; Hinatsu Shigetaka 1716; Author unknown 1767, 1843)

Synopsis

The Kōbusho

The Kōbusho

- **Overview of the Kōbusho** — The Kōbusho was the late Tokugawa martial academy that operated between 1856 and 1867 just before the disestablishment of the samurai (haitōrei 廃刀令, 1876; chitsuroku shobun 秩禄処分) when kenjutsu nearly died. Its senior teachers were instrumental in the later survival of Japanese swordsmanship, which persisted through two separate channels, one civil and one martial, that then later converged: Gekken-kōgyō and the Battōtai.
- **Name Shadowing** — In researching the Kobusho, one complexity came up that was important to distinguish: kenshi with the same last name who were otherwise unrelated figures. There are several Amano and Matsuoka who each led different lives.
- **A Kōbusho roster from 1898** — We then provide details from a Kōbusho (講武所) discipline roster from the Rukugun Rekishi (陸軍歴史 下), koma 96–108.

Bakumatsu Units

- **The Yūgekitai** — Some details on the Yūgekitai and the famous spear and calligraphy master Takahashi Deishū.
- **The Seieitai** — Some details on the Seieitai.
- **The Shōgitai** — Details on the Shōgitai and the Battle of Ueno

Notable Figures — Amano Hachirō, Amano Shōshō, Fujita Taiichirō, Fukuda Hachinosuke, Hakomori Yosaburō Suokuni, Honme Yarijirō, Imahori, Inoue Hachirō, Kobayashi Sadayuki, Kondō Yanosuke, Matsudaira Chikaranosuke, Matsuoka Yorozu, Monna Tadashi, Nakayama Tatsusaburō, Odani Seiichirō, Okumura Sakonta, Shimada Toranosuke, Takahashi Deishū, Toda Hachirōzaemon, Ueda Umanosuke, Yamaoka Tesshū.

The Meiji Transition

Gekken-kōgyō — **Gekken-kōgyō** — Sakakibara Kenkichi began the exhibition matches known as gekken-kōgyō (撃剣興行) in 1873 (Meiji 6) at Asakusa Saemon-gashi; they modeled themselves on sumo promotion and were at first approved by the Tokyo governor Ōkubo Ichio. These matches were eventually banned due to their popularity causing public disorder, possibly much like football (soccer) sports fans at times do today.

The Battōtai — **The Battōtai** — The state channel of the preservation of swordsmanship opens when the Battōtai (抜刀隊; drawn-sword corps) performance at Tabaruzaka in the 1877 Satsuma Rebellion made the police reassess the swordsmanship that had lapsed after the Restoration, after which Kawaji Toshiyoshi wrote the Gekken saikō-ron. This was the catalyst that turned kenjutsu from a dying art into a matter of state.

The Keihōkan and Keishichō — **The Keihōkan and Keishichō** — The commercial and government channels join at the 1879 Keishichō established the gekken sewakari (撃剣世話掛), hiring Kajikawa Yoshimasa, Ueda Umanosuke, and Henmi Sōsuke first, then Shinkai Tadaatsu, Shimoe Hidetarō, and others, who codified the Keishi-ryū kata. Shimoe Hidetarō is a clear human bridge through it all, from the Genbukan to the Keishichō and

introduces Naitō and Monna, who are instrumental in the rise of institutional kendō.

Notable Figures — Henmi Sōsuke, Kajikawa Yoshimasa, Kawaji Toshiyoshi, Sakakibara Kenkichi, Shibata Emori, Shimoe Hide-tarō, Shingai Tadaatsu, Takayama Minesaburō, Tokunō Sekishirō.

The Butokukai

The Butokukai

- **The Dai Nippon Butokukai** — The Dai Nippon Butokukai (大日本武徳会), founded in 1895, is where the two survival channels of the preceding sections — the commercial gekken-kōgyō and the state police-gekken — terminate in a single standardized kendō, and where the office, not license, logic traced through the Kōbusho and the Keishichō reaches its institutional form as a national shōgō (称号) system of grades and titles that led to modern budō.
- **The Budō Senmon Gakkō** — The Budō Senmon Gakkō (Busen) was the Butokukai's teacher-training school, where the centre of gravity of kendō instruction passed from the Keishichō to a formal academy under Naitō Takaharu, and where the interwar generation of masters was formed.

Nativist Shintō — **From Kokugaku to the Ketsumeidan: Nativist Shintō and the Budō World** — How the nativist undertow inside Edo Sinophilia grew through kokugaku — Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane — into the kokutai/Kōdō ideology of Imaizumi Sadasuke and the early-Shōwa nationalist milieu of the Ketsumeidan Incident that the budō world brushed against.

Notable Figures — Chūjō Kinnosuke, Iba Sōtarō, Matsushita Seiichirō, Mitsuhashi Kan'ichirō, Mitsuhashi Torazō, Mochida

Moriji, Naitō Takaharu, Saimura Gorō, Takahashi Hatsuji, Takano Sasaburō, Umezaki Yaichirō, Yamada Jirokichi.

Kobudō Preservation

Kobudō Preservation — **Kobudō Preservation** — Social cohesion played an important role in motivating older factions of martial arts to continue despite the rapid social changes leading up to the mid-twentieth century, especially after the conquest and occupation of Japan.

Notable Figures — Awa Kenzō, Kunii Zen'ya, Nakayama Hakudō.

Select Traditions

Kenjutsu

- **Ittō-ryū** — The Ittō-ryū entry and its vignettes in Mikami Genryū's Gekiken Sōdan (1790)
- **Chūya-ha Ittō-ryū** — A direct lineage of the Ittō-ryū founded by Itō Tenzen Tadanari (styled Chūya), who was granted the founder's surname and jar-splitting sword when his line diverged from the Ono-ha.
- **Hokushin Ittō-ryū** — The rationalized Ittō-ryū offshoot founded by Chiba Shūsaku, whose Genbukan was the largest of the great Edo dōjō and whose streamlined pedagogy shaped modern kendō.
- **Jikishinkage-ryū** — The Kashima-shinden sword line — Edo's most prestigious late-Tokugawa kenjutsu tradition — whose Odani-ha supplied the Kōbusho's founding instructors and carried swordsmanship across the Restoration into modern kendō through Sakakibara Kenkichi's gekiken exhibitions and the police masters who followed.

- **Jūjutsu related to Shinkage-ryū** — A brief discourse on the jūjutsu associated or affiliated with different branches of Shinkage-ryū.
- **Kashima Shin-ryū** — The Kunii-house tradition revived by Kunii Zen'ya, set against its parent streams — Jikishinkage-ryū and the Nen line — through its tengu material and a kata-by-kata comparison.
- **Katōda Shinkage-ryū** — Some historical details of the formation and content of the Kurume-han Shinkage-ryū lineage of Katōda Shinsaku.
- **Kyōshin Meichi-ryū** — The swordsmanship school founded by Momoi Naoyoshi, first to bear the Momoi Shunzō name, whose Shigakukan was prized for poise (*kurai*) as one of the three great Edo dōjō.
- **Musashi-ryū** — Edo-period source material on Musashi-ryū (武藏流) and Enmei-ryū (圓明流), the two-sword transmission, and the competing accounts of the Ganryū and Yoshioka bouts, drawn from the Gekiken Sōdan and the Honchō Bugei Shōden.
- **Ryūgō-ryū** — The composite sword, iai, staff and glaive school founded by Okada Kiryō out of Shingyōtō-ryū, known for its signature shin-cutting (*sune-giri*).
- **Shingyōtō-ryū** — The swordsmanship school founded by Iba Zesuiken, whose headship passed to the ablest disciple and whose Renbukan supplied three of the Kōbusho's kenjutsu instructors.
- **Shintō Munen-ryū** — The swordsmanship school founded by Fukui Hyōemon, spread through Saitō Yakurō's Renpeikan,

favoring heavy decisive cutting and known as “the Saitō of power.”

- **Taisha-ryū** — Edo-period source material on Taisha-ryū (たい捨流), Marume Kurando, the Shinkan-ryū offshoot, and the teachers current at Hitoyoshi and Saga c. 1790, drawn from the Gekiken Sōdan and the Honchō Bugei Shōden.
- **Tamiya-ryū** — The iai and battō tradition founded by Tamiya Narimasa, a student of the progenitor of iai, whose Kubota-ha line served the Kōbusho.
- **Tatsumi-ryū** — The comprehensive Sengoku martial tradition of the Hotta lords of Sakura domain, an Intangible Cultural Property of Chiba Prefecture, through which Tatsumi-ryū entered Meiji police kenjutsu with Henmi Sōsuke.
- **Tsuda Ichiden-ryū** — Tsuda Ichiden-ryū (津田一伝流) a Kurume-han offshoot of Asayama Ichiden-ryū (浅山一伝流).

Sōjutsu

- **Hōzōin-ryū** — The Hōzōin cross-spear tradition, whose Kōbusho line was the Takada-ha and whose founder In’ei learned the sword from Kamiizumi alongside Yagyū Munetoshi.
- **Jitokuin-ryū** — Jitokuin-ryū (自得院流), also called Ninshin-ryū (忍心流), was the hereditary *sōjutsu* art of the Yamaoka (山岡) house.

Jūjutsu

- **From Ming to Meiji: The Declining Status of Chinese Influence in Japanese martial culture from 1600-1900** — One thread that affects multiple articles here, whether on kobudō or Japanese religion, is the early Edo importance of Ming Dynasty

culture in Japan as being desirable as an influence and the mid-to-late Edo scorn for Qing Dynasty China. This is only amplified in Meiji and beyond.

- **Kitō-ryū** — The throw-centric jūjutsu tradition taught at the Kōbusho, source of jūdō's Koshiki-no-kata, and its disputed Chén Yuánbīn origins.
- **Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū** — Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū descends from the Yōshin-ryū grappling stream, but its founding by Iso Mataemon at Kitano Tenmangū is a Tenjin-cult devotional act, not a mountain-Shugendō revelation like Kage-ryū's — the tengu and Kurama material survives only as okuden iconographic residue. Its Chinese-origin legend likewise collapses on inspection to a Nagasaki medical/kappō residue, while the actual technical lineage runs through its own period of inspiration and innovation. Its most consequential figure is Matsuoka Katsunosuke, who on Fujiwara's account was summoned to the Kōbusho in 1860, bested there in randori by Totsuka Hikosuke, and thereafter a student of both lines — out of which he built Shindō Yōshin-ryū in 1864.
- **Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū** — The hard, randori-centric jūjutsu of Totsuka Hidetoshi, a Yōshin-ryū line briefly taught at the Kōbusho, descending through Miura Yōshin from the Chén Yuánbīn tradition.

PART I

The Kōbusho

CHAPTER 1

The Kōbusho

Overview of the Kōbusho

The Kōbusho was the late Tokugawa martial academy that operated between 1856 and 1867 just before the disestablishment of the samurai (haitōrei 廃刀令, 1876; chitsuroku shobun 秩禄処分) when kenjutsu nearly died. Its senior teachers were instrumental in the later survival of Japanese swordsmanship, which persisted through two separate channels, one civil and one martial, that then later converged: Gekken-kōgyō and the Battōtai

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 kyōjukata appointed in swordsmanship, spearmanship and gunnery, and with archery, jūjutsu and swimming also taught. Kōbusho trainees were selected from skilled martial artists drawn from the hatamoto, gokenin, and the domains.

Its leadership were upper-level samurai:

- Ikeda Nagaaki (Nagayasu), Governor of Kai Province, was appointed head of the Shoinban (academic guard) and then president of the Kobusho (military training school). He was involved in the establishment of the Kobusho along with Kugai Masanori and made great contributions. In 1856, he was

appointed caretaker, and in 1860, he was promoted to the rank of advisor to the Kōbusho magistrate.

- Yamaoka Tesshū (山岡鉄舟; NDL portrait), later the founder of Ittō Shōden Mutō-ryū, was among those involved in the academy's instantiation, being hired as a supervising instructor of swordsmanship (*kenjutsu sewa-yaku*, 剣術世話役) in 1856.
- The hatamoto Matsuoka Yorozu (松岡万) is recorded in the Kōbusho fascicle of the Tokyo city history as *Kōbusho-bugyō shihai* (講武所奉行支配), served the Kōbusho magistrate (講武所奉行支配)

One caution in exploring Kōbusho history is in the aliasing of Japanese surnames: several prominent figures have the *same* surname but are very different people. This is compounded by the fact that figures will be sometimes referenced by their adult name, child name, or sword/art name. There are several men named Amano, and Matsuoka Yorozu is a different person than the Matsuoka Katsunosuke of Shindō Yōshin-ryū.

The founding plan is preserved in the *kokoroe-kata taii* (心得方大意; “outline of guiding principles”) that the Kōbujō sōsai submitted to the rōjū for approval, quoted at length in this record (東京市史外編, 講武所, pp. 33–35). It set the institution's ethos as *jitsui no shugyō daiichi* (実意之修業第一; “substance in training first, over outward ornament”) and, notably, prescribed free contest practice (試合稽古) with no fixed *kata* for sword and spear — students of any ryūha bouting together. It also split the enterprise by site: the cramped Yotsuya/Kuichigai-soto ground was assigned to spear, sword and jūjutsu (槍剣柔術); Tsukiji to gunnery, military science, cavalry and swimming (砲術・兵学・

軍馬・水練); and Etchūjima to artillery and mass drill (大筒・人数調練). (東京市 1932)

The school moved to a new, consolidated 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 (Bunk'yū 2), and in the 11th month of 1866 (Keiō 2) it was renamed the Rikugunsho (陸軍所), thereafter concentrating on gunnery.

Its 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.

Below we describe the school's organization, initial instructor cadre, the traditions practiced by its teachers, and what military units instructors and students participated in after it closed.

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 the overall head (tōdori, Odani), each discipline was staffed by a body of kyōju-kata; at the 1856 opening the striking arts were organized as kyōju-kata under a discipline head rather than under a single named master-instructor. The formal titles *shihan-yaku* (師範役; head instructor) and *shihan-yaku-nami* (師範役並; associate) were regularized only later, in the 5th month of 1861 (Bunk'yū 1), after which a discipline could carry more than one — a *shihan-yaku* with one or more *nami* — over the kyōju-kata beneath them.

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-kokoroe* (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.

Grade tracked bakufu status as much as skill. The founding charter (東京市史外編, 講武所, pp. 14–15) reserved the *shihan-yaku* title for distinguished men drawn from the direct bannermen (御旗本; *o-hatamoto*) — roughly twenty per art, serving in pairs at two sites about six days a month — while men of audience-rank and below, sub-vassals and *rōnin* (御目見以下・陪臣・浪人) of note were styled *kyōju-kata*, roughly ten per art; *jūjutsu* specifically was to draw ten bannermen and ten from the lower pool.

The trainee body (稽古人・修行人) was broader still, open to *yoriai*, the guard corps, minor officials, *kobushin*, eldest sons and younger sons and dependents, and *gokenin*-rank group members, with sub-vassals admitted subject to review and men over fifty excused from fixed-day practice but permitted to supervise. The practical consequence recurs below in the *jūjutsu* division: a *baishin* (陪臣; sub-vassal), however skilled, could rise only to *kyōju-kata*, not to the bannerman-only *shihan-yaku* title.

Trainees (*shugyōnin*) were not inventoried in the same manner as instructors and administrators, although in some cases

their enrollment cards survive, as in the case of Amano Shōshō. Even trainees could be quite accomplished martial artists.

This is important to stress. 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), 1981). 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). The two concepts were tracked and regarded separately – a menkyo-kaiden holder in a specific ryūha could be a Kōbusho trainee due to their social status and age compared to the instructors.

Military Service

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

Roster

The diary of Toda Hachirōzaemon records names and schools of many instructors and trainees. He records over 400 entries.¹ (Enomoto Shōji (榎本鐘司), n.d.)

Division	Total	kyōju-kata (教授方) or above	seiwa-kokoro / -suke
Kenjutsu-kata (剣術方)	246	31	92

¹The division rows above sum to 416, not the 434 unique persons Enomoto states — an 18-person gap he does not reconcile (possibly overlapping-category counting or a transcription artifact); the totals should be checked against the original before being relied on.

Division	Total	kyōju-kata (教授方) or above	seiwa-kokoro / -suke
Sōjutsu-kata (槍術方)	132	22	68
Jūjutsu-kata (柔術方)	4	—	—
Kenjutsu + jūjutsu	4	—	—
Sōjutsu + kenjutsu	1	—	—
Unknown (不明)	29	—	—

Only 77 of the 434 persons have an identified school. Cross appointees to more than one section were quite rare, but Jūjutsu-kata appointees were pulled at times into the Kenjutsu-kata. Jūjutsu practice was not initially seen as relevant to the Kōbusho mission.

The compilation is Enomoto's summary of an unpublished conference handout rather than a transcribed roster, so its coverage is uneven — even a documented Kōbusho jūjutsu trainee can be absent: Matsuoka Katsunosuke appears in neither this list nor Toda's diary.² One who does surface is Tamon Masafumi (多門正文), a pupil of Kubota Sugane (窪田清音) appointed *sewa-kokoro* in both kenjutsu and jūjutsu — the very cross-over noted above — who later joined Sakakibara Kenkichi's *gekken-kōgyō*, a direct thread from the Kōbusho into the Meiji gekken revival.

²The counts derive from Enomoto Shōji's 1981 summary (武道学研究 14(2), 1981) of a 434-name compilation (人名一覽) distributed only as a conference handout and never reprinted, resting in turn on the *Rikugun rekishi* 講武所臨時泊番 name list — whose role labels Enomoto flags as frequently erroneous, with one-character (1字違い) name variants between witnesses. The figures are therefore indicative, not a definitive roster.

Details on the Kōbusho roster can be found in the second volume (下巻) of the *Rikugun rekishi* (陸軍歴史, 1889). Student-teacher pairs that demonstrated at its opening, lists of senior instructors and then members of each cadre summarized below can be found in lists. (陸軍省総務局 1889)

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 Mitsuhashi 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 Chiiozō of Shinkage-ryū

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

This same eleven-name roster is reproduced in the present record (東京市史外編, 講武所, p. 33), which confirms Odani as *tōdori*. By the time of Iemochi's 1862 (Bunkyū 2) visit its reward list shows the senior line settled as Odani Seiichirō (男谷精一郎) as kenjutsu *shihan-yaku*, with Toda Hachirōzaemon (戸田八郎左

衛門) and Iba Gunbei (伊庭軍兵衛) as *shihan-yaku-nami* (師範役並) — the later Iba appointee, distinct from the 1856 kyōju-kata Iba Sōtarō of the same *Shingyōtō-ryū* house.³

Toda Hachirōzaemon's diary lists additional schools than those of the instructors above, including 智元今川流 (reading uncertain, possibly Chigen Imagawa-ryū) and Nagasawa-ryū (長沢流).

Sōjutsu Cadre 槍術

There were ten initial Kōbusho sōjutsu (spear) instructors in 1856. The department was led by Takahashi Deishū of Jitokuin-ryū — also transmitted as Ninshin-ryū (忍心流), the Yamaoka-family spear — who became *shihan-yaku* in 1860 (Man'en 1) and in Keiō 2 (1866) held the post of sōjutsu kyōju-tōdori (槍術教授頭取; director of instruction) while leading the Yūgekitai. His birth-name Takahashi Kenzaburō (高橋謙三郎), and later court title Ise-no-kami with the *imina* Masaaki (政晃), are how he appears in the academy rosters.

Beside Deishū, the record's 1862 senior spear line (東京市史外編, 講武所, pp. 132–133) names Katō Heikurō (加藤平九郎) as *shihan-yaku* and Andō Sōbei (安藤惣兵衛) as *shihan-yaku-nami*. The kyōju-kata and *sewa-kokoroe* tier includes Hiraiwa Jirodayū (平岩次郎太夫) — the spear teacher lampooned as “the Akasaka fellow” in a contemporary rakushu (p. 48) — with Komai

³The *Rikugun rekishi* 師範役 register independently corroborates this senior line: 男谷下總守信友 (Odani) as kenjutsu *shihan-yaku* rising to 講武所奉行並, with Toda Hachirōzaemon and Iba Gunbei as *shihan-yaku-nami* (陸軍歴史 下, koma 147–149); on the spear side it likewise carries Katō Heikurō and Andō Sōbei (koma 151). A second bakufu compilation independent of the 東京市史外編 rosters — and one whose 講武所臨時泊番 role labels are known to be error-prone, so used here only where it corroborates.

Hangorō (駒井半五郎) and Yoshida Katsunosuke (吉田勝之助) among the Ansei-period roster.

Noguchi Takehiko's *Bakufu Hoheitai* (幕府歩兵隊) adds Komai Shizuma, Katsu Yohachirō, Nagao Kōhei and Naoe Kitaemon to the department; the two Komai point to a single hereditary spear house rather than unrelated men.

All four are confirmed in the spear department of the *Rikugun rekishi* 師範役 register, with kanji and appointment dates: Katsu Yohachirō (勝與八郎), 槍術教授方出役奥詰 → *shihan-yaku-nami* (Bunkyū 3); Komai Shizuma (駒井志津摩) → *shihan-yaku* (Genji 1); and Naoe Kitaemon (直江喜多右衛門) and Nagao Kohei (長尾小兵衛) → *shihan-yaku-nami* (Keiō 2) (陸軍歴史 下, koma 148–150). The same register carries both Komai (半五郎 and 志津摩) on the spear side, supporting the single-house reading.

Apart from Deishū's Jitokuin-ryū, this record does not give the spearmen's individual ryūha; those remain to be established from the *bukan* (武鑑) and domain *bungenchō* (分限帳).

Several of the Kōbusho members also were licensed in the Hōzōin-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; tsūshō Gendayū 源太夫) was a Kōbusho tōdori who held the shihan-yaku post in heigaku (兵学; military science) rather than in a weapons department, on the strength of the Yamaga-ryū (山鹿流) strategy he headed. This record catalogs his full art-set (東京市史外編, 講武所, pp. 204–205) as Tamiya-ryū kenjutsu (田宮流剣術), Muhen-mukyoku-ryū sōjutsu (無辺無極流槍術), Nakajima-ryū gunnery (中島流砲術) and Sekiguchi-ryū jūjutsu (関口流柔術) — the last a jūjutsu line held as a subordinate art — so it is unclear whether he taught any of them at the academy alongside his strategy and tactics. Note that the record gives his spear line as Muhen-mukyoku-ryū, not the Hōzōin-ryū attributed to him in some earlier accounts, and that he is a different man from the jūjutsu teacher Kubota Shigekatsu (窪田鎮勝) below.

Jūjutsu Cadre 柔術

Jūjutsu was not part of the original 1856 curriculum; it and archery were added only after the move to Ogawamachi, entering the syllabus around 1860 (Man'en 1) on the reasoning — recorded with some ambivalence in this source — that a bare-handed art had until then been thought unsuited to the battlefield beside the sword, spear and gun.

The documented roster of the division (東京市史外編, 講武所, pp. 92–95, drawing on the *Taisei Bukan* 大成武鑑 and *Fujiokaya Nikki* 藤岡屋日記) records:

- *shihan-yaku* (師範役; head instructor): Suzuki Seibei (鈴木清兵衛) of Kitō-ryū, of *ryōban-kaku* (両番格) rank;

- *shihan-yaku-nami* (師範役並; associate head instructor): Katayama Yajirō (片山彌次郎) of the Shin-ban (新番);
- *kyōju-kata tōdori* (教授方頭取; head of instructors): Totsuka Hikosuke Hidetoshi of Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū (戸塚派楊心流), a retainer of the Numazu-han Mizuno house;
- *jūjutsu-kata kyōju-kata* (柔術形教授方; kata instructor): Ōkubo Kyūtarō (大久保久太郎), of the Shoin-ban (書院番);
- *sewa-kokoroe* (世話心得; assistant): Murayama Eizō (村山栄蔵), of the Shin-ban;⁴
- *randori sewa-kokoroe* (乱取世話心得; free-sparring assistant): Chūjō Kinnosuke (中條金之助), of the Shoin-ban — concurrently a kenjutsu *kyōju-kata*, a cross-appointment grounded in his own Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū *mokuroku* (目録);⁵
- *shugyōnin* (修行人; trainee): Katō Seiichirō (加藤精一郎), of the Ō-ban (大番).

The division is a clean illustration of the status rule set out above. Totsuka, by common account the strongest jūjutsuka of the group, was a *baishin* (陪臣; sub-vassal of the Numazu Mizuno house) and so ineligible for the bannerman-only *shihan-yaku* title; he sat instead at the head of the *kyōju-kata* tier, while the direct bannermen Suzuki and Katayama held the *shihan-yaku* posts.⁶

⁴The Shindō Yōshin-ryū house history (Fujiwara Ryōzō, 1983), p. 80, gives this figure's name as Murao Takuzō (村尾宅蔵) and titles him *kata sewa-kokoroe* (形世話心得; kata supervisor), printing the supervisory grades with 人 (世話人心得) where standard bakufu usage omits it. That name appears in no source outside the house history; the documentary reading Murayama Eizō (村山栄蔵) is followed here, with Murao Takuzō noted as its probable corruption. The same house history lists an Ōkubo Kyūtarō among the *kyōju-kata* — a name the present record independently confirms as *jūjutsu-kata kyōju-kata*.

⁵The cross-appointment is independently supported by the *Rikugun rekishi* roster, which lists 中條金之助 among the kenjutsu 教授方 (陸軍歴史 下, koma 96, 101, 107).

⁶An alternative account makes Kubota Shigekatsu (窪田鎮勝) of Kyūshin-ryū (扱心流) — adopted from the Eguchi house of Higo into the shogunal-retainer Kubota house — the Kōbusho jūjutsu *shihan-yaku* (Japanese Wikipedia, 扱心流; and a bilingual

(Totsuka hikosuke (戸塚彦介), n.d.; Maruyama Sanzō (丸山三造), n.d.)

Taken together, the status ceiling and Chūjō's cross-appointment fix what such an appointment could be: an established *kyōju-kata* drawn into a second art on the strength of a license already held — school first, office second, documented in both directions — never a trainee unlicensed in a discipline installed as an instructor in it, still less delegated to teach beside men of Sakakibara's standing.

Three further figures are placed in the division by other sources but do not appear in this record's roster:

- Fukuda Hachinosuke (福田八之助) of Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū, and Motoyama Shōō (本山正翁) and Iikubo Tsunetoshi (飯久保恒年) of Kitō-ryū are famous teachers who are usually placed at the Kōbusho on the strength of Kanō Jigorō's account of his own teachers, but likely were later Keihōkan figures.⁷
- The Kuroda-han baishin Matsuoka Katsunosuke also does not appear. He may have been conflated with another prominent figure in earlier historical accounts of budō researchers.

Jūjutsu instruction ran from about 1860 (Man'en 1) to 1862 (Bunkū 2). On the sixth of the tenth month of 1862 the division

notice on Shinohara Yasunoshin). This documentary source, which names Suzuki and Katayama with their ranks and the abolition record, does not mention Kubota Shigekatsu in the jūjutsu division at all; the discrepancy is left unreconciled, with the better-documented Suzuki/Katayama reading followed in the main text. He is a different man from the *heigaku* teacher Kubota Sugane (窪田清音). The Shindō Yōshin-ryū house history, for its part, records that the division "initially had no *shihan-yaku*" (当初師範役はなく) — consistent with a Totsuka-centered memory that discounts the two bannerman *shihan-yaku* outside its own lineage.

⁷Fukuda's Kōbusho association rests on the retrospective descriptor "last Kōbusho *shihan*" in Kanō Jigorō's biography rather than on this roster; the *sewa-kokoroe* grade sometimes assigned to him derives from a secondary characterization. (Kanō jigorō (嘉納治五郎), n.d.)

was abolished: the *shihan-yaku* Katayama and Suzuki were reassigned to the two guard corps, and Totsuka received a gratuity of thirty silver pieces and two *jifuku* (時服). This record gives no account of the reasoning behind the closure — unlike archery, whose master petitioned twice for revival — though later school histories attribute it to the injuries, and reportedly deaths, sustained in the division's *randori*.

For jūjutsu Toda's diary identifies 陽春流 (queried as possibly 楊心流, Yōshin-ryū) practised as *randori* and 起倒流 (Kitō-ryū) practised as *kata* — his evidence that the Kōbusho ran both forms of practice.

Sources are tiered by evidentiary weight; encyclopedic and Wikipedia entries are starting points, with the scholarship and monographs recommended for firmer footing on contested points. Full annotated entries — with provenance notes and the pages that draw on each — are in the site source register.

The chief documentary source for the roster and grade detail throughout this page is the Tokyo City municipal history, cited inline by fascicle and page:

The *Rikugun rekishi* corroborates several of the above lines as an independent second witness, cited by *koma* (image sequence), since *per-maki* pagination collides:

Name Shadowing

In researching the Kōbusho, one complexity came up that was important to distinguish: *kenshi* with the same last name who were otherwise unrelated figures. There are several Amano and Matsuoka who each led different lives

Shadow Amano

There are two Amano who are prominently figured in narratives, both of which practiced Jikishinkage-ryū:

- Amano Shōshō (天野将曹) was a well-known student of Odani who fared well in matches against famous swordsmen such as Ōishi Susumu of Yanagawa and later wound up defeated by Sakakibara's two-handed thrust at Nijō castle when he would not yield.
- Amano Hachirō (天野八郎) was the famous leader of Shōgitai (彰義隊) who undertook intense mountain training and died in prison after the battle at Ueno.

Shadow Matsuoka

There are two Matsuoka who are also featured in narratives:

- Matsuoka Yorozu (松岡万) was a shogunal retainer (幕臣), a member of Kiyokawa Hachirō's Torao-no-kai (虎尾の会), one of the rōshigumi (浪士組) *torishimari*, member of the Kōbusho administration, and later commander of the Seieitai (精銳隊). He studied several styles of kenjutsu and after wartime became a tea farmer with other Seieitai members.
- Matsuoka Katsunosuke (松岡克之助) was a bone-setter and doctor in Hitachi, who founded Shindō Yōshin-ryū (神道楊心流) jūjutsu. He is said to have taught his jūjutsu alongside Jikishinkage-ryū kenjutsu and sent his most promising kenjutsu student to another teacher for further instruction.

War histories such as the Shōgitai Senshi and Tōkyō Shishi Gaihen yield two more Matsuoka of note: 松岡平九郎 (Heikurō), named in the assassination of the Shosei-in abbot (frames 52–

53), and a Mito man, 松岡彦郎 (Hikorō) (frames 243–244). It is important to keep these men separate.

Types of Conflation

Family Name

Name collision is a common challenge faced in historical research. For example, in the 1843 Gekiken Sōdan, the famous vendetta swordsman Araki Matauemon Shigekatsu (荒木又右衛門), who assisted Watanabe Kazuma at the Kagiya-no-tsuji / Iga-Ueno katakiuchi (鍵屋の辻, 1634) is related to have been a high disciple of Yagyū Jūbei Mitsuyoshi. That is a *different* person entirely from Araki Mujinsai Minamoto no Hidetsuna (荒木無人斎源秀縄), the founder of Araki-ryū (荒木流). Amano and Araki are both name-collision cases — two distinct men merged by a shared name, whereas we will see

Status Adoption

The case of Matsuoka Katsunosuke is a different axis entirely. There's no exact name-collision; he and Matsuoka Yorozu are easily disambiguated *if you look closely*. In that case, the mechanism is inflation of a documented status — the Kōbusho shugyōnin (jūjutsu trainee) rank retold as an appointment “to teach kenjutsu and sōjutsu” — compounded by details adopted from a more famous individual back to a person in one's own lineage.

Generational Names

There is another distinct case of generational succession names, where multiple individuals adopt the same name as the head of an art. We see this in bakumatsu-period Edo with the various Momoi (Momono) Shunzō who lead Kyōshin Meichi-ryū.

This also occurs earlier in Kyoto regarding Yoshioka-ryū (吉岡流), whose lead adopts the succession name Kenpō (憲法). Anecdotes about Kenpō get conflated into what people wind up thinking are a single person's life. In Kenpō's case, "the Kenpō who fought Musashi," "the Kenpō of the 1612 brawl," and "the founder Kenpō" get fused in popular telling into a single super-swordsman, which are pulled apart clearly in the 1843 Gekiken Sōdan of Mikami Genryū.

A Kōbusho roster from 1898

The *Rikugun rekishi* (陸軍歴史; 陸軍省総務局編, 1889; NDL pid 988906), koma 96–108 = printed pp. 54–79 provides a roster of Kōbusho teachers and trainees. This is the discipline-segregated establishment roster underlying the aggregate figures Enomoto Shōji (1981) drew from the 人名一覽; the *Rikugun rekishi* role labels are the ones Enomoto flagged as error-prone, so treat rank/role attributions here as likely, not final.

Recurring vocabulary (romaji / English)

Roles:

- 頭取 *tōdori* (director) · 師範役 *shihan-yaku* (master-instructor)
- 教授方 *kyōju-kata* (instructor) · 世話心得 *seiwa-kokoroe* (assistant instructor) · 修行人 *shugyōnin* (trainee)
- 出役 *shutsuyaku* (seconded officer) · 教頭 *kyōtō* (head instructor) · 助教 *jokyō* (assistant teacher) · 司令士 *shireishi* (commander)
- 嚮導 *kyōdō* (guide) · 旗手 *kishu* (standard-bearer) · 太鼓打方 *taiko-uchi-kata* (drummer).

Arts:

劔術 *kenjutsu* (sword) · 槍術 *sōjutsu* (spear) · 砲術 *hōjutsu* (gunnery) · 柔術 *jūjutsu* (grappling) · 弓術 *kyūjutsu* (archery) · 騎銃隊 *kijūtai* (mounted-gun corps).

Structure:

大隊 *daitai* (battalion) · 小隊 *shōtai* (platoon) · 上覽見込之者 *jōran-mikomi no mono* (candidates for the shogunal review) · 組合姓名 *kumiai seimei* (paired name-roster) · 扣 *hikae* (supplementary/reserve).

Household/unit:

惣領 *sōryō* (heir) · 養子 *yōshi* (adopted son) · 弟 *otōto* (yr. brother) · 次男/三男/四男/五男 (2nd–5th son) · 厄介 *yakkai* (dependent) · 與頭 *kumigashira* (unit head) · 組 *-gumi* (unit) · 支配 *shihai* (jurisdiction). Guard units: 御書院番 *go-shoin-ban* · 大御番 *ō-goban* · 新御番 *shin-goban* · 小十人 *kojūnin* · 御小性組 *o-koshō-gumi* · 小普請組 *kobushin-gumi* · 富士見御寶藏番 *Fujimi o-hōzō-ban* · 御勘定 *o-kanjō*.

koma 96 (p. 55) — 劔術教授方世話心得組合姓名

Kenjutsu kyōju-kata / seiwa-kokoroe kumiai seimei — paired roster of sword instructors and assistants, presented at the 安政3/1856-11-6 shogunal review.

Matsudaira Chikaranosuke (松平主税助) · Imabori Toyotarō [?] (今堀登代太郎) · Fujita Taiichirō (藤田泰一郎) · Honme Tomigorō [?] (本目富五郎)⁸ · Mitsuhashi Torazō (三橋虎藏) · Chūjō Kinnosuke (中條金之助) · Sawa Hayanosuke [?] (澤隼

⁸It is not clear if Honme Tomigorō (本目富五郎) and Honme Yarijirō (本目鍵次郎, founding list) vs Honme Nagato-no-kami (本目長門守, 組頭 koma 148) are different persons or one person listed under varying names.

之助) · Ono Tetsutarō (小野鐵太郎) · Sakakibara Kenkichi (榊原鍵吉)

koma 97 (pp. 56–57) — 槍術教授方世話心得組合姓名

Sōjutsu kyōju-kata / seiwa-kokoroe kumiai seimei — paired roster of spear instructors and assistants.

p.56: Kondō Kinnojō (近藤金之丞) · Miyagawa Zōsaborō [?] (宮川藏三郎) · Mamiya Tetsushirō (間宮鐵四郎) · Iba Sōtarō [?] (伊庭想太郎) · Hikosaka Yūtarō (彦坂勇太郎) · Toda Hisajirō [Kyūjirō?] (戸田久次郎) · Ueno Shōzaburō [?] (上野正三郎) · Minato Nobuhachirō [Shin] (湊信八郎) · Hikosaka Yōnosuke [Kaname] (彦坂要之助) · Ishizaka Shinzaburō (石坂晉三郎) p.57: Kaji Kotarō (梶小太郎) · Iimuro Magobei (飯室孫兵衛) · Hikita Shōjirō [?] (匹田鐘次郎) · Kondō Eitarō (近藤榮太郎) · Katsu Kenzaburō [Aki] (勝顯三郎) · Komai Ushigorō [?] (駒井牛五郎) · Haruyama Gonroku (春山權六) · Katō Heikurō (加藤平九郎) · Asai Keinosuke (淺井啓之助)

koma 98 (pp. 58–59) — 騎銃隊 教授方 · 世話心得

Kijūtai (mounted-gun corps), *kyōju-kata / seiwa-kokoroe*.

p.58 (read before the header — probably tail of the 槍術 seiwa-kokoroe; verify): Yoshida Katsunosuke (吉田勝之助) · Monna Ainosuke [?] (門奈合之助) · Naitō Einoshin (内藤榮之進) · Tejima Kamenosuke (手島龜之助) · Miura Shinzō (三浦信藏) · Jinbo Yūkichi (神保祐吉) · Harada Shinnosuke (原田信之助) · Iwata Ushitarō [?] (岩田牛太郎) · Ido Kinpei (井戸金平) · Furukawa Fusajirō (古川房次郎) Header pair: Katō Chūzaemon (加藤忠左衛門) · Katō Tomegorō (加藤留五郎) 教授方 *kyōju-kata*: Ōhashi Katsujirō (大橋勝次郎) · Abe Shintarō [阿陪?] (阿部進太郎) · Akai Tōtarō (赤井藤太郎) · Ōkubo Haratarō [Gen] (大久保原太郎) ·

Ogasawara Shizugorō [Sei] (小笠原静五郎) · Tamai Gengorō (玉井源五郎) · Nakane Kurōbei (中根九郎兵衛) · Tatebe Tokujirō (建部徳次郎)

koma 99 (pp. 60–61) — 〔舩福島砲?〕 教師・教授方・世話心得 + 司令士

Gunnery section; the block header 〔舩福島砲〕 likely a unit/weapon designation.

教師 *kyōshi* (master): Nakayama Hatarō [?] (中山旗郎) 教授方 / 世話心得: Kurahashi Ikunosuke (倉橋育之助) · Yamazumi Isonosuke [?] (山角磯之助) · Sunami Naiki [?] (角南内記) · Takeuchi Gorozaemon [?] (竹内五六左衛門) · Tani Kazue (谷主計) · Takenaka Manjuzō [?] (竹中萬壽藏) · Nagata Gōemon [?] (永田郷右衛門) · Kutsumi Onotarō [?] (久津美斧太郎) · Sakai Junnosuke [?] (酒井準之助) · Watanabe Chikara (渡邊主税) · Niwa Gozaemon (丹羽五左衛門) 司令士 *shireishi* (1st–8th battery commanders): Suzuki Zenkichi (鈴木全吉) · Inoue Yasokichi (井上八十吉) · Kishi Masutarō (岸増太郎) · Mamiya Tetsutarō (間宮鐵太郎) · Yokota Tetsunojō (横田鐵之丞) · Onoda Kugijirō [?] (小野田釘次郎) · Fukuchi Utarō [?] (福知右太郎) · Kwarabayashi Rokutarō (瓦林録太郎)

koma 100 (pp. 62–63) — 銃隊 大隊/小隊 *command structure*; 修行人 *begins*

Gun-corps *daitai/shōtai* drill organization; the *shugyōnin* roster opens here.

教授方 Iida Shōzō (飯田庄藏) · 教頭 Ōsawa Nijūrō [?] (大澤仁十郎) · 助教 Kojima Sehei [?] (兒島瀬平) · 世話心得 Hosoi Hachitarō (細井八太郎) 第一小隊司令士 Nagami Gonschirō (永見權七郎) · 第三 Ōkubo Fusanojō (大久保房之丞, *shugyōnin*)

・第四(哨手) Saitō Tatsukichi (齋藤辰吉, shugyōnin) ・第五(旗手) Uemura Kōtarō [?] (植村鑛太郎, shugyōnin) [platoons 2/6 = “同”, names to verify]

koma 101 (pp. 64–65) — 劍術上覧見込之者姓名 / 劍術教授方・世話心得

Kenjutsu jōran-mikomi no mono — swordsmen selected for the shogunal review, plus the sword kyōju-kata and assistants.

p.64 (tail of gun-corps): 第七小隊司令士 Ōta Kinosuke [?] (太田騎之助) ・ Yamazaki Kinkitsu [?] (山崎金橘, shugyōnin) ・ 第八司令士 Takegaki Ryūtarō (竹垣龍太郎) ・ 太鼓打方世話出役 Sekiguchi Yarinotsuke [?] (關口鑓之助) ・ 鼓正 [敏正?]

劍術教授方 *kyōju-kata* [unit tags provisional] :

Name	Parent unit / status
Toda Hachirōzaemon (戸田八郎左衛門)	新御番 土屋兵部組 [?]
Mitsuhashi Torazō (三橋虎藏)	小十人 櫻井藤四郎組
Chūjō Kinnosuke (中條金之助)	御書院番 松平美作守組
Imabori Toyotarō (今堀登代太郎)	小十人 小笠原順三郎組
Sakakibara Kenkichi (榊原鍵吉)	御小性組 赤松左衛門尉組

世話心得:

Name	Parent unit / status
Nakane Yoshisaburō (中根芳三郎)	小普請組
Mamiya Tetsujirō (間宮鐵次郎)	御書院番 大岡豊後守組 惣領

koma 102 (pp. 66–67) — 修行人 (劍術, cont.)

Kenjutsu trainees. Entry = *Romaji* (kanji — parent unit; household status); all readings/tags provisional.

Name	Parent unit / status
Honme Tomigorō (本目富五郎)	御書院番 戸田伊豆守組; 惣領
Kondō Kinnojō (近藤金之丞)	同人組; 鉾之助惣領
Matsudai [?] Ainosuke (松代愛之助 [?])	大御番 松平伊豫守組
Mitsuhashi Tomitarō (三橋富太郎)	同人; 岩次郎養子 [?]
Sawa Hayanosuke (澤隼之助)	小十人 折井市左衛門組
Minato Nobuhachirō (湊信八郎)	御勘定; 五右衛門養子
Ikeda Matsunosuke [?] (池田松之助)	御書院番 一柳播磨守組; 惣領
Hayami Saburō [?] (速見三郎)	小普請組 小笠原順三郎支配; 五郎養子
Nie Kinzaburō [?] (贅金三郎)	御小性組 秋山安房守組; 十郎四男 [further entries continue — verify]

koma 103 (pp. 68–69) — 扣・世話心得・修行人 (劍術, cont.)

Hikae (supplementary) assistants and trainees.

扣世話心得:

Name	Parent unit / status
Sakakibara Unejūrō [?] (榊原畝十郎)	
Matsuzaki [?] (松崎左衛門)	大林彌七郎養子
Kaneda Einosuke [?] (金田英之助)	御書院番 大岡豊後守組
Katō Genshirō [?] (加藤源四郎)	高木兵部少輔組
Hiraiwa Shichinosuke [?] (平岩七之助)	御小性組 高木兵部少輔組
Toda Hisajirō (戸田久次郎)	酒井肥前守組 [?]
Tsuboi Kumanosuke [?] (坏内熊之助)	御鷹匠頭見習

修行人:

Name	Parent unit / status
Ido Kinpei (井戸金平)	新右衛門三男
Kashiwagi Daisuke [?] (柏木大助)	御目見持格 富士見御寶藏番
Washinosu Tsurutarō [?] (鷺巣鶴太郎)	小普請組 采女支配

Name	Parent unit / status
Yoshimatsu Kametarō [?] (吉松龜太郎)	御書院番 一柳播磨守組養子
Sugioka Shōtarō [?] (杉岡正太郎)	書替奉行 庄左衛門養子
Minobe Tamesaburō [?] (美濃部爲三郎)	御書院番
Kojima Okurokurō [?] (小島澳六郎)	御金奉行 利太夫養子

koma 104 (pp. 70–71) — 槍術上覧見込之者姓名 / 槍術教授方・世話心得

Sōjutsu jōran-mikomi no mono — spearmen selected for the review, plus spear kyōju-kata and assistants.

槍術教授方:

Name	Parent unit / status
Kashiwagi Motosaburō [?] (柏木元三郎)	富士見御寶藏番; 弟
Takahashi Kenzaburō (高橋謙三郎)	御書院番 徳永伊豫守組
Yoshida Katsunosuke (吉田勝之助)	新御番 松平信濃守組
Katō Heikurō (加藤平九郎)	大御番 松平伊豫守組
Iwata Ushitarō (岩田牛太郎)	御書院番 久永石見守組
Sugiura Tetsutarō (杉浦鐵太郎)	大岡豊後守組

世話心得:

Name	Parent unit / status
Katō Chūzaemon (加藤忠左衛門)	小普請組 仙石右近支配
Kishiro Yasutarō [?] (木城安太郎)	同支配
Yamamoto Keijirō (山本敬次郎)	刑部卿殿御小性組
Nomoto Tomegorō [?] (野本留五郎)	物頭兼帶
Komai Kōnosuke [?] (駒井綱之助)	松平美作守組養子
Yamazaki Kenjirō (山崎健次郎)	横田筑後守組
Harada Shinnosuke (原田信之助)	小十人 猪野十郎組
Sugiura Kenjirō (杉浦謙次郎)	大御番 小笠原加賀守組

koma 105 (pp. 72–73) — 修行人 (槍術) + 扣・世話心得

Spear trainees, then supplementary assistants.

修行人: Ido Kinpei (井戸金平 — 小普請組 新笠原彌八郎支配; 三男) · Tomono Kinzaburō [?] (伴野金三郎 — 阿部兵庫支配) · Yabe Katsutarō (矢部勝太郎 — 大御番; 文左衛門養子) · Iohara Kumajirō [?] (庵原熊次郎 — 御書院番; 新之助惣領) · Ikeda Matsunosuke (池田松之助 — 大御番 大久保豊後守組; 惣領) · Tanabe Ginzō [?] (田邊銀藏 — 同; 十左衛門惣領) · Kōno Genjirō (河野源次郎 — 新御番 大久保甚右衛門組) 扣世話心得: Katsurayama Chūjirō [?] (桂山鑄次郎 — 大久保三郎五郎組 與頭) · Tsuchida Namizō [?] (土田並藏 — 新御番 鋏口勘兵衛組) · Naitō Morinosuke [?] (内藤守之助 — 大島源助四男) · Yabe Yūjirō [?] (矢部雄次郎 — 阿部太郎兵庫弟) · Kawakubo Kenzō [?] (川窪賢三 — 松平伊豫守支配) · Nakazawa Ginjirō [?] (中澤銀次郎 — 采女支配) [pairs continue]

koma 106 (pp. 74–75) — 修行人 (砲術) + 講武所師範役 note

Gunnery trainees, then the master-instructor list.

修行人 (砲術) [unit; status provisional] : Furukawa Fusajirō (古川房次郎 — 新御番 土屋兵部組; 鑓之助養子) · Kondō Eitarō (近藤榮太郎 — 小十人 河野權右衛門組; 銃之助惣領) · Naitō Einojō [?] (内藤榮之丞 — 小普請組 大久保源三郎支配) · Kono Takezō [異野竹藏?] (小十人 深津近江守組養子) · Ido Kōhachi [?] (井戸厚八 — 小普請組 新笠原彌八郎支配; 次男) · Nagasaki Kumanojō (長崎熊之丞 — 奥田主馬支配) · Okano Toranosuke (岡野虎之助 — 仙石右近支配)

文久元酉年五月十六日 (1861.5.16): the 諸術師範役 grade names fixed henceforth.

講武所師範役 — 砲術 *Kōbusho shihan-yaku, hōjutsu*: Tazuke Kazue (田付主計) · Shimosone Kinzaburō (下曾根金三郎) · Egawa Tarōzaemon (江川太郎左衛門) · Inoue Sadayū (井上左太夫) · Tazuke Shirōbei (田付四郎兵衛) · Takashima Shirōdayū (高島四郎太夫 = Takashima Shūhan). At the join: Kyōgoku Yonenojō [?] (京極米之丞 — 御書院番 酒井肥前守組; 雄太郎惣領) · Takeuchi Shingorō (竹内新五郎 — 同人組; 十太郎惣領) — verify.

koma 107 (pp. 76–77) — consolidated 師範役 summary

Cross-discipline master-instructor list (劍術 · 弓術 · 槍術 · 砲術); header↔name grouping to confirm from image. Names (large type, reliable):

Katsu Rintarō (勝麟太郎 = Katsu Kaishū) · Nakayama Hatarō [?] (中山旗郎) · Sakakibara Kyōjirō (榊原鏡次郎) · Uemura Tatewaki (植村帶刀) · Iida Shōzō (飯田庄藏) · Yamaguchi [Ōmi-no-kami?] (山口) · Yoshida Naojirō (吉田直次郎) · Shimosone Jirōsuke (下曾根次郎助) · Kimura Tarōzaemon (木村太郎左衛門) · Hiraiwa Jirōdayū [?] (平岩次郎太夫) · Takahashi Kenzaburō (高橋謙三郎) 弓術 *kyūjutsu*: Ogasawara Shōjirō (小笠原鐘次郎) 劍術 *kenjutsu*: Odani Seiichirō (男谷精一郎) — i.e. Odani Nobutomo 男谷信友, Jikishinkage-ryū 13th-gen / Kōbusho tōdori-nami → bugyō, Katsu Kaishū's cousin · Toda Hachirōzaemon (戸田八郎左衛門) 槍術 *sōjutsu*: Iba Gunbei (伊庭軍兵衛) · Imabori Ihoikura [?] (今堀千五百藏) · Matsudaira Chikaranosuke (松平主税助) · Mitsuhashi Torazō (三橋虎藏) · Sakakibara Kenkichi (榊原鍵吉) · Kondō Yanosuke (近藤弥之助) · Imabori Toyotarō (今堀登代太郎)⁹ · Momoi Shunzō (桃井春藏) · Inoue Hachirō (井上八

⁹Is it not clear if Imabori Toyotarō (今堀登代太郎) and Imabori Ihoikura [?] (今堀千五百藏) are distinct men or one person listed under two names.

郎) · Onoda Ichi [?] (小野田市) · Yoshida Tōhachi (吉田東八) · Murakoshi Sanzō (村越三造)

男谷精一郎 = Odani Seiichirō (おだに / Nipponica オダニ). Confirmed here and, in title form, at koma 147 (男谷下總守信友, 師範役→講武所奉行並) — nailing the identity as 13th-generation Odani Nobutomo from a source external to Jikishinkage-ryū.

The two 今堀 (Toyotarō / Ihoikura) again co-occur — standing disambiguation item.

koma 108 (pp. 78–79) — 柔術 + 講武所頭取・出役; 越中島 notice
Jūjutsu roster, plus the director and seconded-officer tier.

柔術 *jūjutsu*: Naoe Kitaemon (直江喜多右衛門) · Komai Shizuma (駒井志津摩) · Nagao Kohei (長尾小兵衛) · Katsu Yohachirō (勝與八郎) · Katayama Yahachirō [?] (片山彌八郎) · Morikawa Kyūemon [?] (森川久右衛門) · Suzuki Seibei (鈴木清兵衛) · Ōkusa Shuzen (大草主膳) 講武所頭取 *Kōbusho tōdori*: Udonō Jūrōzaemon (鵜殿十郎左衛門) 出役 *shutsuyaku*: Hasegawa Kyūz-aburō (長谷川久三郎) · Kubota Sukedayū (窪田助太郎 = Kubota Sugane 清音)¹⁰ Hattori Hikoichirō [?] (服部彦一郎) · Isshiki Nizaemon (一色仁左衛門) · Shōda Kinnosuke (庄田金之助) · Ogura Jūbei (小倉十兵衛) · Sugiura Shume (杉浦主馬)

¹⁰Kubota Sukedayū / Sugane (窪田助太郎) in the 柔術/出役 tier — ties to Enomoto's Tamon Masafumi (多門正文), Kubota's disciple and Kōbusho seiwa-kokoroe in both sword and jūjutsu. 安政5年戊午正月 堀田備中守布達 (1858): establishment of the 深川越中島 講武所附調練場 (gunnery drill ground); 万石以上以下 may apply via 海防掛御目付.

CHAPTER 2

Bakumatsu Units

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 Mitsunashi 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 Kinnosuke and Matsuoka Yorozu 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.

The Seieitai

The *Seieitai* (精銳隊) was a guard corps of Tokugawa direct retainers raised late in Keiō 3 (1867), after the restoration of authority, to protect the retired Tokugawa Yoshinobu.

Formed in the circle around Takahashi Deishū (高橋泥舟) and Yamaoka Tetsutarō, it was commanded by Chūjō Kinnosuke, reckoned a first-rank swordsman, and counted Matsuoka Yorozu among its officers.

When Yoshinobu withdrew to Mito and the Tokugawa house was then removed to Suruga, the corps escorted him aboard the warship Banryū-maru (蟠龍丸) from the Chōshi coast to Shimizu and on to the Hōdaiin (宝台院); once his safety was secured near Kunō it was renamed the Shinbangumi (新番組) and attached to Tokugawa Iesato's Shizuoka domain.

Accounts differ on the nominal headship — variously naming Chūjō Kinnosuke, Yamaoka Tesshū, or Takahashi Deishū, with Matsuoka Yorozu leading a detachment of some fifty men — a spread that most likely reflects overlapping roles of overall organizer, field head, and detachment leaders rather than a single contradiction.

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 shōgun'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 Tokugawa 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 shōgun Tokugawa Iesada from Kaei 7 (1854) as a household martial-arts attendant (*kenjutsu/jūjutsu sewa-kokoro*).¹¹

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 Mitsuhashi Torazō, Chūjō Kinnosuke (Kageaki), and Minato Shinpachirō became *kenjutsu kyōjukata*, forming a major bloc there.¹²

¹¹On 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 shōgun Iesada from 1854, appointment as Kōbusho *kenjutsu kyōjukata* and *jūjutsu randori sewa-kokoro*, 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.

¹²“心形刀流,” Japanese Wikipedia — situates him among the Shingyōtō-ryū Kōbusho instructors (with Mitsuhashi Torazō and Minato Shinpachirō, under Iba Hidetoshi as *shihan-yaku*). <https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/心形刀流>

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

When Tokugawa 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.¹³ 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.

Disbanded as a military body when Iesato became domain governor, the corps turned in the seventh month of Meiji 2 (1869), with his leave, to reclaiming the Makinohara (牧之原) plateau south of Kanaya as the “Kanayahara Reclamation Party” (金谷開墾方).

Under the job-ranked allotment recorded in the *Shizuoka-ken Chagyō-shi* (静岡県茶業史), Chūjō Kageaki held the post of reclamation head (開墾方頭) with 76 chōbu and Ōkusa Takashige (大草高重) the deputy post (開墾方並) with 65 chōbu, against a settler average near 4.8 chōbu; roughly 250 Shinbangumi households — with about 85 Shōgitai remnants — took up some 1,425 chōbu (5,000 hectares), planting the tea for which the plateau became known. Matsuoka Yorozu, by then the domain’s *suiri-rotei-gakari* (水利路程掛; water-and-road commissioner), supported the venture and is named among its backers alongside Katsu Kaishū, Yamaoka Tetsutarō, and Ōkubo Toshimichi. The

¹³“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>

individual settlers' plots and names are preserved in the *Makinohara shizoku kaikonchi ezumen* (牧之原土族開墾地絵図面).¹⁴

The Shōgitai

The Shōgitai (彰義隊, roughly "Corps to Manifest Righteousness") was a pro-Tokugawa militia formed at Edo early in 1868.¹⁵ 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, Tokugawa 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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷

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

¹⁴Shizuoka 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.

¹⁵The interpretation of the Shōgitai as die-hard Tokugawa loyalists whose defeat marked the end of the old regime: M. William Steele, "Apocalypse Now." (Steele, n.d., 1990, 2003, 2024)

¹⁶Yoshinobu'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). (*Shōgitai* (彰義隊), n.d.)

¹⁷Formation 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.

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.¹⁸

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.¹⁹

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 Amano, and left to form the Shinbugun (振武軍), eventually joining Enomoto and fighting at Hakodate, while Amano took command of the Shōgitai.²⁰ (Totman 1980)

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

¹⁸The 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).

¹⁹Initial 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*.

²⁰The 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).

men.²¹

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.²²

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.²³

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.²⁴

This is the same engagement, seen from the other side, in which Sakakibara — having declined the Shōgitai — got the

²¹Strength estimates (≈1,000–2,000; the Ueno monument gives ≈1,500): *Web Rekishi Kaidō; Old Tokyo*; "Battle of Ueno," English Wikipedia (figure uncited on the page — treat as approximate).

²²The 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*.

²³The 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.

²⁴The collection and cremation of roughly 266 Shōgitai dead, and the graves at Entsū-ji and in Ueno Park: *Senseki Kikō* (popular).

prince out to Mikawajima. Amano was captured and died in custody that year; survivors scattered north to Aizu and the alliance or to Hakodate.

CHAPTER 3

Notable Figures

Amano Hachirō

Amano Hachirō (天野八郎, 1831–1868; imina 忠告, reading uncertain — Tadatsugu or Tadatsuge; gō Heishi 斃止), the de facto leader of the Shōgitai (彰義隊), sits in the Jikishinkage-ryū (直心影流) roster of notables alongside Sakakibara Kenkichi.

Local tradition holds that he undertook intense mountain training in the *hōjō* (法定; the foundational Jikishinkage-ryū kata) at Kurotaki-san Fudō-ji (黒滝山不動寺) in Gunma, where austere training retreats continue today. Amano trained at Ryujin Falls, and later Onishi Hidetaka resumed that as a practice.²⁵

Nakabayashi Shinji's Nipponica entry on 直心影流 lists him among Jikishinkage-ryū notables. He is not to be confused with Amano Shōshō (天野将曹 / 将監), the Odani-ha fellow-disciple whom Sakakibara bested at Nijō Castle in 1863.

Origins and Status

Amano was born Rintarō (林太郎), second son of Ōida Kichigorō Tadahiro (大井田吉五郎忠恕; reading uncertain), the village headman (名主) of Iwato village, Kanra district, Kōzuke (上野国甘楽郡磐戸村) — not a hereditary retainer. He studied Jikishink-

²⁵Mount Kurotaki Fudo-ji Temple 不動寺 1267-1 Oshiozawa, 大字 Nammoku, Kanra District, Gunma 370-2801, Japan (5PP2+FC Nammoku, Gunma, Japan) is a location known for its association to Jikishinkage-ryū in the 19th and 20th centuries, centered around it being a location for intense *hōjō* training sessions.

age-ryū (直心影流) from youth in rural Kōzuke. In 1865 he was adopted by an Edo fire-brigade *yoriki* (与力), Hirohama Kinoshin (広浜喜之進); he left that adoption in 1866, then styled himself a bannerman of the Amano house and took the name Amano Hachirō. The Shōgitai record is explicit that he was not in fact a shōgunal retainer (天野は幕臣ではないもの).

The Shōgitai

After the defeat at Toba-Fushimi, Amano joined the bakufu hardliners. When discontented bannermen issued a manifesto and seventeen men of Hitotsubashi connection met at the Myōgaya (茗荷屋) in Zōshigaya on 2/12 (1868), the society that became the Shōgitai took shape, raised to guard the retired Yoshinobu and to police Edo. Shibusawa Seiichirō (渋沢成一郎; cousin of Shibusawa Eiichi) was made head and Amano his deputy (副頭取) — both risen from farmer-headman stock into Hitotsubashi service. The corps swelled past a thousand as masterless samurai and city toughs joined.²⁶

When Yoshinobu withdrew to Mito after the surrender of Edo castle, the moderate Shibusawa wished to abandon Ueno; he clashed with the hardline Amano, left, and raised the Shinbun-gun (振武軍) at Hannō in Musashi (modern Saitama), leaving Amano in command. Amano's authority was real, but his title was not the highest: he stood at *kashira-nami* (頭並), the formal headships resting with Oda'i Kurata (小田井蔵太) and Ikeda Ōsumi-no-kami (池田大隅守). His own *Heikyūroku* records the progression — deputy (副長) at the founding, *tōdori-nami* (頭取

²⁶ A distinctive corps appearance is sometimes described — light-blue *haori*, white Yoshitsune *hakama* (義経袴), red-scabbard swords, and hair dressed “Kōbusho-style.” I have not located a source for this and flag it as unverified.

並) on 3/1, briefly *tōdori* (頭取) on 4/28, and *kashira-nami* (頭並) in the intercalary fourth month — but throughout, in Yamazaki's telling, the real authority in the fighting rested wholly with him. (山崎 有信 1910)

The Battle of Ueno and Capture

The end came at the Battle of Ueno on 5/15 (Keiō 4, 1868), when Ōmura Masujirō's new-government army attacked the Shōgitai entrenched at Kan'eiji and crushed it in a single day. Leading some forty men up to the Sannōdai (山王台), Amano turned and found no one behind him — an episode he recalled in prison:

I came to know the utter softness of the Tokugawa (徳川氏
の柔極まるを知る).

He hid afterward at the house of the gunsmith Sumiya Bunjirō (炭屋文次郎) in Honjo Ishihara. On 7/13 the troops of Inada Kurōbei (稲田九郎兵衛) burst in firing; Amano, at breakfast with Ōtsuka Kakunojō (大塚霍之丞), snatched a sword, sprang to the garden, and ran the roof-tiles “nimble as a monkey.” Unable to seize him, the soldiers fired volleys; a ball struck his forehead and he fell, and only then was he taken.

He was held in the *kyūmonjo* (糺問所; interrogation office) prison for some five months and died there on Meiji 1/11/8 (21 December 1868), aged 38 — of pneumonia by the encyclopedic accounts, simply “of illness” in Yamazaki's. Unpardoned, he was allowed no funeral and was buried in the mass grave at Kozukapara (小塚原); three years later his comrades secretly set a stone above it under the posthumous name Kenshōin Gidō (顕彰院誼道), and in 1890 he was reburied at Entsū-ji (円通寺) in Minami-

Senju, where a monument with a title inscription by Enomoto Takeaki was raised.

The Heikyūroku

During his confinement Amano wrote the *Heikyūroku* (平休録) in one volume — a first-person account and loyalist apologia for the Shōgitai. It opens by declaring the “divine land” a country of loyalty, filial piety, and faith, argues that the rebels hold the young emperor and have falsely branded the submissive Yoshinobu an enemy of the court, and laments the nation’s disgrace; it then narrates the society’s formation — the 2/20 gathering of about a hundred at Honganji, the election of Shibusawa as *taichō* (隊長) and himself as deputy, the adoption of the name, the growth past three hundred, the guarding of Yoshinobu, his own progression through the ranks, and a confrontation with the staff officer Tsuda Sanzaburō — and closes with an organizational roster of the corps and its attached units. The title carries the sense of his *gō*: 斃 “to fall dead,” 休 “to cease” — Yamazaki glosses it as 斃れて止む, a resolve to fight to the death — so the whole reads roughly “record of one resolved to fall and be done.” It is a partisan voice, valuable precisely as the losing side’s own testimony rather than a neutral record; it survives as a standalone work at NDL and is reproduced in full in Yamazaki’s *Shōgitai Senshi*. (天野 八郎 1868)

Family and Status

Amano’s end shows how far social status still governed. Because he had come from a farming family and was not of samurai rank (士分にあらず), no permanent stipend could be settled on his survivors — even after Ishikawa Zen’ichirō (石川善一郎), who had let slip Amano’s hiding place and then repented, arranged for the widow Tsuneko (つね子) and the children to be sent to

Shizuoka for support under Yoshinobu, with Yamaoka Tetsutarō handling it. The Hamamatsu magistrate Inoue Hachirō (井上八郎), who had bought the samurai-status share (士分株) of one Matsumoto Yūichi (松本勇一), out of pity had Amano's son succeed that house — which is why the boy appears as Matsumoto Tokutarō (松本徳太郎) rather than Amano. His self-styled bannerman identity did not descend; the line continued only through a purchased status under another name.

Amano Shōshō

Amano Shōshō (天野将曹, also written 将監) trained in Jikishinkage-ryū under Odani. Accompanying the shogun's 1863 procession to Kyoto, at Nijō Castle he fought and was defeated by Sakakibara Kenkichi. He would not concede out of pride, so Sakakibara knocked him over with a fierce two-handed morote-zuki (諸手突き) thrust.

His bakufu appointment card survives. Its transcription (right to left):

高 貳百俵 本國河内／生國武藏 祖父 天野宗三〔郎〕 松平大炊頭家来 實父 天野〔〇〇〕郎 松平大炊頭家来 天野将曹 當四十五歳 文久三癸亥年九月八日新規被召抱、〔〇〇〕与力格被仰付、一生之内御切米貳百俵被下置、同年 同月十四日劍術教授方被仰付候

Translation:

Stipend (高): 200 hyō (俵; rice bales). Ancestral province (本國): Kawachi (河内). Province of birth (生国): Musashi (武藏). Grandfather: Amano Sōza [burō] (天野宗三〔郎〕), retainer (家来) of Matsudaira Ōi-no-kami (松平大炊頭). Real father: Amano [...] rō, likewise a retainer of Matsudaira

Ōi-no-kami. Name: Amano Shōsō (天野将曹), presently 45. On Bunkyū 3 (癸亥; 1863), 9th month, 8th day, newly taken into direct service (新規被召抱); granted [...] yoriki rank (与力格); given a lifetime rice stipend (一生之内御切米) of 200 hyō; and, in the same year, on the 14th of the same month, appointed swordsmanship instructor (剣術教授方).

His family were baishin (陪臣; sub-retainers) — grandfather and father both served Matsudaira Ōi-no-kami — so, exactly as with Matsuoka Katsunosuke, he rose from a daimyō retainer's house into direct shogunal service, here as a 剣術教授方 with a 200-hyō lifetime (non-hereditary) stipend. That places him in the same Kōbusho-era instructor world as Sakakibara (師範役) and Matsuoka (jūjutsu 教授心得補佐), which is why an Odani-line man of his standing was worth taking on and worth the anecdote.

The card dates his appointment to Bunkyū 3/9 (autumn 1863), but Iemochi's first procession to Kyoto had already ended — he returned to Edo by sea in the sixth month of 1863. A Nijō Castle match in which Amano appears as a serving instructor accompanying the shogun therefore cannot belong to that spring-1863 visit; it fits better with the shogun's later processions, Genji 1 (元治 1; 1864) or Keiō 1 (慶応 1; 1865), by which time Amano was in post and could still be described as a recent appointee.

Also available is a match-meet ledger with Amano Shōsō is one of the kenshi in it. The running head is Kenjutsu shugyō (剣術修行; swordsmanship training), the section is headed Yorihiro kazu shiai shōbu-tsuki (寄人数試合勝負附; “record, with results, of the bouts of the attached men”), dated Kaei yonen gogatsu jūkunichi izen (嘉永四年五月十九日以前; on or before Kaei 4 [1851], 5th month, 19th day), and it closes ijō jūnana shiai (以上

十七試合; seventeen bouts in all). It records a single competition of seventeen bouts held in the summer of 1851.

At age 45 in Bunkyū 3 (1863) on the card he was born about 1819, which makes him roughly 33 in 1851.

His father and grandfather were retainers (家来) of Matsudaira Ōi-no-kami (松平大炊頭); this ledger carries other challengers annotated Ōi-no-kami kachū (大炊頭家中; of the Matsudaira Ōi-no-kami house), which places him in exactly the sub-retainer circle the bakufu card describes. Together, they turn the “newly taken-on, too proud to yield” figure of the Sakakibara anecdote into a documented, competitive swordsman of the Odani circle who was fighting alongside the top Edo names well before 1863 — not a literary foil.

On the field he kept: the “home” side is the great dōjō — Odani (男谷), Chiba (千葉, including Chiba Ejirō 千葉栄次郎), Ōishi (大石, including Ōishi Susumu 大石進 of Yanagawa), Saitō (斉藤, including Saitō Shintarō 斉藤新太郎), and Momoi (桃井) — against guest challengers carrying daimyō-house tags (Akimoto 秋元, Yanagawa 柳川, Hosokawa 細川, Ōi-no-kami 大炊頭). One name to keep separate: a Matsuoka Kitsushirō (松岡橘四郎) also appears here, unrelated to Katsunosuke or Yorozu.

Beside Odani the note reads roughly jūdaime seitō taru [jūichidai] (十代目正統たる [十一代] ; “the tenth-generation legitimate [holder]” [eleventh generation]).

Beside Masui (桺井) a note Yanagi-betsuryū, Okada monte, ashi-uchi nari (柳別流、岡田門弟。足打也; of the Yanagi-betsu line, Okada’s pupil).

Bouts appears to have been scored in gohon (五本; five-point) form.

Reading each pairing as challenger–opponent with the small annotations above the bracket (合打 = aiuchi, a drawn/simultaneous bout; 口打 = kuchi-uchi, likely a scoring/strike notation; 勝負不分 = shōbu wakatazu, no decision; 無 = none/no score), and the point-counts in gohon (五本; five-point) form:

- 七 大石 進 — 五(合打) 天野将曹
- 六 松岡橘四郎 — 五(合打) 齊藤新太郎

Amano Shōsō fought two bouts in this meet, and lost both by the same 5–7 margin.

In the first he took five points against Ōishi Susumu's (大石進) seven, the pairing marked 合打 (aiuchi). Ōishi Susumu of Yanagawa was the celebrated tsuki specialist with the extra-long shinai whose Ōishi Shinkage-ryū grew in fame. A five-against-seven showing against him is respectable.

In the second, marked with the 口打 annotation, he took five against six. So, in Kaei 4 (嘉永 4; 1851) Amano Shōsō, then about 33, was competing directly against the strongest names on the board — Ōishi Susumu (大石進), Saitō Shintarō (齊藤新太郎), Chiba Ejirō (千葉栄次郎), the Momoi (桃井) and Ōishi houses — and holding to within two points of them. That is a serious competitive standing a dozen years before his 1863 direct-service appointment as a kenjutsu kyōju-kata (剣術教授方), and it substantiates why an Odani-line man of his caliber was worth taking on.

It also points to how skilled Sakakibara was, to be able to cleanly knock him down.

Fujita Taiichirō

Fujita Taiichirō (藤田泰一郎) was the Shintō Munen-ryū representative among the eleven initial Kōbusho 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.

Fukuda Hachinosuke

Fukuda Hachinosuke (福田八之助柳儀斎, 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 (福田誠好斎響典), 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 (Bunkū 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.

Hakomori Yosaburō

Hakomori Yosaburō Suokuni (箱守与三郎祐郷) is an Ibaraki area Jikishinkage-ryū teacher to whom Matsuoka Katsunosuke referred Nakayama Tatsusaburō for further instruction.

Basic details on Hakomori Yosaburō are found in the 1915 work 茨城人名辞書いはらき新聞社 編いはらき新聞社 the (Taishō 4) Ibaraki prefectural biographical dictionary — a kana-ordered who's-who of the province, each entry giving native place, birth, career, and tax standing²⁷ :

Hakomori Yosaburō was a man of Sekidate, Kawachi-mura, Makabe-gun — Matsuoka had settled in Ueno-mura, the same Makabe-gun. His imina is given as 祐 followed by an OCR-lost character, consistent with 祐郷. His birth falls around 1837–38 (sixty-seven in 1904, twenty-five or six in the early 1860s). From boyhood he loved gekken; at fourteen or fifteen he entered the school of a Kimura (木村) at Sakuya (作谷), four ri from Sekidate, and trained there daily for seven or eight years, through hard cold and fierce heat, until he mastered the innermost secrets of swordsmanship.

In the Bunkyū years (~1863), aged twenty-five or six, he opened a gekken dōjō at Sekidate and drew many followers. In Meiji 37 (1904), at sixty-seven, he founded a new gekken hall at Shimotsuma, named it the Genbukan (元武館), served as its head, brought in noted swordsmen, and taught the youth of the three districts of Makabe, Tsukuba, and Yūki for eight years. He then handed the Genbukan, building and equipment, to his pupil Nakayama (中山行義) and retired to a quiet life.

²⁷NDL 950464

Hakomori trained under the Kimura family of sword teachers from Sakuya. The Kimura family of Sakuya is also well-attested in the local biography from 1915 (p 396). Kimura Yatayū (木村彌太夫), of Sakuya, Sakuoka-mura, Tsukuba-gun, born Kaei 2 (1849). His family, it says, served for generations as hereditary kenjutsu teachers (家世々劔道[教]師を勤め) and as village heads; they descend from Taira Shigemoto, an ancestor changed the surname to Kimura, and — the key line — by the generation of his father, Kimura Takanobu (高信), the family's swordsmanship greatly flourished.

Yatayū himself carried the martial teaching on after the Restoration, when the arts were in decline. Hakomori's teacher based on the dates of the mens' lives was the father, Kimura Takanobu, in whose generation the family sword “greatly flourished” — with Yatayū (imina Takatoshi, sharing the 高 character) the next-generation continuator.

This is a local Ibaraki line of Jikishinkage-ryū. The 1915 biographical work confirms a local Jikishinkage-family sword world in the province: it records 眞影流 — the standard regional name for the Kashima-shinden line — held at Kashima and licensed at the Tsuchiura Seikensha under Inō Naoyoshi.

The Kinsei Tsuchiura Shōshi (1906) gives the Tsuchiura teaching succession explicitly, and it is a Jikishinkage-ryū succession: it recounts changing the jōdan sword to a seigan guard — a hallmark of the Odani-ha reform of Jikishinkage-ryū — then names the transmitters in order:

1. Yokogawa Shichirō Hiroharu
2. He was followed by one Mori Yōzō
3. Shimada Toranosuke

4. Sasa Hayata a domain samurai who was an Odani disciple
5. Tōyama Kunizō, who trained at Kasama and returned
6. Inō Naoyoshi

Yokogawa Shichirō (横川七郎) Hiroharu was among the distinguished products of the Jikishinkage line, in the specific company of Tokuno Sekishirō and — the operative pairing — as one of the 高弟 (senior disciples) of Odani Seiichirō.²⁸ He was a retainer (家来) of the Odani house under Odani Hikoshirō (男谷彦四郎).

The Tsuchiura line the Ibaraki Jinmei Jisho labeled “眞影流” is, in a source dedicated to Tsuchiura’s own history, the Odani-ha of Jikishinkage-ryū — carried in by a named Odani-gate man, Yokogawa Hiroharu, and running down to Inō Naoyoshi. And the Niihari-gun Annai (1911) fixes the institution around him: the Seikensha, founded 1882 by Sasa Masaō, Shin Isao, Torii Masatake, Kihara Sasuke, and Inō Naoyoshi, with Inō as its head.

This is a documented Odani-ha Jikishinkage-ryū house with a named Edo-line transmitter behind it. Having a strong-local Jikishinkage presence would explain why Matsuoka sends Nakayama where he did. The Ibaraki Jinmei Jisho (茨城人名辞書), compiled and published by the Ibaraki Shimbun-sha in 1915 notes:

1. Shibasaki Tokuzō (柴崎徳藏) of Ishikawa, Sekikawa-mura, Niihari-gun. He entered the Seikensha (靖献社), the gekken society founded by former Tsuchiura-domain samurai, learned there, and received a 眞影流 license from its head, Inō Naoyoshi (稻生尙義).
2. The head of the Tomita house of Tokitsue, whose ancestor Tomita Uneme-no-shō settled there fifty generations back,

²⁸Yokogawa is listed in 名武赤心会著 (1943) published by 中尾五郎, p118.

born Kaei 5 (1852). Broadly accomplished, he “mastered the inner secrets of 眞影流 in the sword” (劍は眞影流奥祕を極め), transmitted Hasegawa-ryū in gunnery, and took a license in archery under the Itō line.

The Tsuchiura Seikensha is an institutional node, and Inō Naoyoshi its licensing head for a local line of Jikishinkage-ryū (眞影流) in the area Matsuoka Katsunosuke lived. Jikishinkage-ryū is written with different kanji at times, based on geographical area. Some Ibaraki area groups seem to have used 眞.

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 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.

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 Kōbusho 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-kokoroe* 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.

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 *hohei-bugyō* (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).

Kobayashi Sadayuki

Kobayashi Sadayuki (小林定之; also given as Seijirō 誠次郎) is the figure who bridges the two halves of the transition that Shimoe does not — the battōtai and the sewakari.

An Utsunomiya-domain samurai who received transmission from Chiba Michisaburō (the same Genbukan line as Shimoe), he served in the Keishichō battōtai in the Satsuma Rebellion, then became a gekken sewakari, and afterward opened the Shiseikan (至誠館) dōjō at Kikukawa-chō in Honjo, Tokyo.

Hokushin Ittō-ryū sources count him, with Shimoe, Naitō, and Monna, among the “four heavenly kings” of Chiba Michisaburō's line. (*Rekishi to enkaku / jinbutsu-den* (歴史と沿革／人物伝), n.d.)

Because he actually fought in the battōtai — which Shimoe did not — he is a clear link from the 1877 corps to the 1879 system.

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.

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 Bunkyū 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).

Matsuoka Yorozu [松岡万]

Matsuoka Yorozu (松岡万, 1838–1891) — *tsūshō* Shōichirō (昌一郎), *gō* Kodō (古道) — was a shogunal retainer (幕臣), a member of Kiyokawa Hachirō's Torao-no-kai (虎尾の会), one of the rōshigumi (浪士組) *torishimari*, and later commander of the Seieitai (精銳隊).

Yorozu is a different person than the jūjutsu teacher Matsuoka Katsunosuke, with whom he is often been conflated: the “松岡昌一郎” recorded in the Kōbusho fascicle of the Tokyo city history as *Kōbusho-bugyō shihai* (講武所奉行支配) is this man, not Katsunosuke.

The reading of his given name is unsettled — the sources closest to him (Ogura Tetsuki's *Ore no Shishō* 『おれの師匠』 and Ōhashi Bishō's memoir) give *Yorozu* (よろず), while regional gazetteers offer *Tsumoru* (つもる) and *Mutsumi* (むつみ) — but *Yorozu* is followed here.

House and Status

This line of Matsuoka was a hereditary bannerman house of falconers (鷹匠; *takajō*), a Fujiwara branch recorded in the *Kansei Chōshū Shokafu* (寛政重修諸家譜). The line entered shogunal service when Matsuoka Takamichi (松岡孝道), a Kishū-han retainer, was taken on as a *takajō* in Kyōhō 2 (1717) and rose to *kumigashira*; the house held a 100-*hyō*, three-man stipend and repeatedly used the graphs 万 and 古 in its names. *Yorozu* was born in the twelfth month of Tenpō 9 (1838) in Edo, son of the *takajō* Matsuoka Daisuke (松岡大助); whether he himself succeeded to the falconer's post is not certain.

Martial Training

Every account agrees Matsuoka was an accomplished swordsman — described as “of hard temperament and much accomplished in the way of the sword” (性剛にして頗る 剣道に達していた) — but the line he trained in is not firmly established, and the sources disagree.

- A *Shinkage-ryū* (新陰流) *mokuroku* survives among his relics at the Matsuoka shrine, implying study in a line under that name, which branch is unclear.
- Tsukamoto Shōichi's *Makinohara Zanshō* (牧之原残照) calls him “a disciple of Odani Seiichirō, Jikishinkage-ryū” (男谷精一郎の門弟・直心影流), but cites no source;

- Fujishima Ikko's *Bakumatsu Kenkaku Monogatari* (幕末剣客物語) makes him a near-*menkyo* pupil of Kondō Yanosuke (近藤弥之助) of Chūya-ha Ittō-ryū (忠也派一刀流), himself a Kōbusho kenjutsu *kyōju-kata* from 1856;
- Ogura's *Ore no Shishō* (おれの師匠) has him taking up Hokushin Ittō-ryū (北辰一刀流) at Yamaoka Tetsutarō's dōjō after the two became associated;
- Ezaki Shunpei's *Nihon Kengō Retsuden* (日本剣豪列伝) says he served no single teacher and styled himself a posthumous disciple of the martial-scholar Hirayama Shiryū (平山子竜; Kōzō 行蔵).

Matsuoka Yorozu is also said to have pursued naginata, iai, and Zen. The defensible statement is that he was a strong, largely self-directed swordsman with attested contact with the Shinkage / Jikishinkage and Ittō lines, but no single documented lineage.

Bakumatsu Career

Matsuoka was a founding member of the Torao-no-kai (虎尾の会), the *sonnō-jōi* society around Kiyokawa Hachirō, and is named among the planners of the 1861 (Bunkyū 1) scheme to burn the Yokohama foreign settlement; he appears on the Zenshōan "Sonnō-jōi-tō Hokki" (尊皇攘夷党発起) roll. Through this period he held a post under the Kōbusho magistrate (講武所奉行支配) — an administrative, not a teaching, appointment, and probably held from before Bunkyū 1, contemporaneous with Yamaoka Tetsutarō serving there as a kenjutsu *sewa-kokoroe*. When the bakufu formed the rōshigumi he became one of its *torishimari* alongside Yamaoka and Chūjō Kinnosuke (中條金之助).

After the Restoration he led the Seieitai (精銳隊; later Shinbangumi), escorting the retired Yoshinobu from Shimizu to the

Hōdaiin with some fifty men, then served the Suruga domain as *suiri-rotei-gakari* (水利路程掛) and joined the Makinohara reclamation with Nakajō, himself a former Seieitai head. He died in 1891 (Meiji 24) and is enshrined at two Shizuoka shrines, among them the Matsuoka / Ikenushi shrine (松岡霊社・池主神社) at Iwata Ōhara.

In 慶喜公伝 卷四 we see written: 「或夜半に、公は松岡萬を以て急に良輔を召されたり、良輔恐懼して是れ必ず重き御咎をや蒙るべき…」 (渋沢 栄一 1918)

One night the lord [Yoshinobu] urgently summoned Ryōsuke by way of Matsuoka Yorozu (松岡萬); Ryōsuke, in dread, [supposed] he must surely be about to receive some grave reprimand...

Shibusawa's authorized life of Yoshinobu puts Matsuoka Yorozu in close personal attendance, carrying the lord's summons at night — the same role he plays in the 彰義隊戦史 vignette where he gallops to fetch Yamaoka for an urgent 御召 (go-meshi; summons). The man summoned here, 良輔, is on the natural reading Sekiguchi Ryōsuke (関口良輔), who stands beside Yorozu on Yamazaki's Seieitai roster.

Two independent works from the 1910s thus place the same small set — Yorozu, Sekiguchi, Yamaoka, Chūjō — around Yoshinobu, which is good mutual corroboration for the Seieitai membership.

In the Tōkyō Shishi Gaihen, frame 98, the one substantive Matsuoka is 松岡昌一郎 (Yorozu's tsūshō), named among direct bakufu appointments “responsive to the times” — alongside the sōjutsu instructor Takahashi Ise-no-kami (高橋伊勢守) and

Yamaoka Tetsutarō (山岡鉄太郎) — in the passage leading into the Shinchōgumi and the Kōbusho.

In the Shōgitai Senshi, the Seieitai material names Yorozu three times as 松岡萬 — in the section-26 roster beside Yamaoka, Sekiguchi Ryōsuke (関口良輔), Ōkusa Takijirō (大草瀧次郎), and Umeda Katsutarō (frame 159); in a narrative where he rides at one in the morning to summon a comrade on the shogun's urgent call (frame 192); and beside Chūjō and Yamaoka with the aside that he was “recently deceased,” gō Kodō (古道), and that a 松岡萬傳 (a Life of Matsuoka Yorozu) stands in the first volume of the Kinsei Ijin-den (近世偉人傳) (frame 36).

Distinguishing from Matsuoka Katsunosuke

Matsuoka Yorozu is a different person than Matsuoka Katsunosuke.

The confusion is intelligible: both men were surnamed Matsuoka, both had Kōbusho connections in the same years, and both ended in Suruga after the Restoration. They are nonetheless distinct. Matsuoka Yorozu was a direct bannerman of a falconer house who held an administrative post under the Kōbusho magistrate and led rōshigumi and Restoration-era guard units; Matsuoka Katsunosuke was a Kuroda-han sub-vassal (陪臣) who trained in jūjutsu as a Kōbusho *shugyōnin* and later founded a Shindō Yōshin-ryū (神道楊心流) in Hitachi.

The identification is fixed by name: Yorozu's *tsūshō* was 昌一郎 — exactly the form in the Kōbusho-magistrate line of the city history — and two 1861 (Bunkyū 1, seventh month) exculpatory statements (弁明書) reproduced in Kuzuu Yoshihisa's *Kōshi Yamaoka Tesshū* (高士山岡鐵舟) are signed jointly “Yamaoka Tetsutarō / Matsuoka Shōichirō.” The command-tier Matsuoka

of the bakumatsu record is therefore Yorozu, and any account placing “Matsuoka” in a Kōbusho command or magisterial role refers to him, not to the jūjutsu trainee.

The administrative placement is from the Tokyo city history (東京市史外編, 講武所, p. 98); the signed *benmeisho* are transcribed in Kuzuu Yoshihisa, *Kōshi Yamaoka Tesshū* (高士山岡鐵舟). Biographical detail follows Gamō Shigeaki’s “Matsuoka Yorozu-den” (松岡萬傳) in *Kinsei Ijin-den* (近世偉人伝, 1878) and Ōhashi Bishō’s “Bakushi Matsuoka Yorozu no Den” (幕士松岡萬の傳, *Dōhōkai-shi*), with house data from the *Kansei Chōshū Shokafu* and the *bukan*. The synthesis draws on Odaka Teruyuki’s multi-part study of Matsuoka (odknobu.hateblo.jp, 2024), which should be treated as a careful secondary compilation.

Monna Tadashi

Monna Tadashi is Naitō Takaharu’s counterpart: the second of the two Mito swordsmen whom Shimoe Hidetarō brought into the Keishichō and who then became a pillar of Butokukai kendō.

He trained at the Mito Tōbukan (東武館) under Ozawa Torakichi, and while Shimoe taught there in 1885–1887 became his student, later reputed to have inherited Shimoe’s Hokushin Ittōryū technique most fully.

In 1887 (Meiji 20) Shimoe called him to Tokyo, secured his Keishichō post, and assigned him to the Tomioka-monzen station alongside himself and Naitō. He served as a gekken sewakari and rose within the force’s kenjutsu establishment.

In 1911 (Meiji 44) he was named — with Naitō Takaharu, Ozawa Ichirō, and Sasaki Masayoshi, all Tōbukan men — to the committee that drafted the Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata (大

日本帝国剣道形), and is recorded among its chief drafting members (shusa-iin 主査委員).²⁹

He rose to the level of Dai Nippon Butokukai kendō hanshi; with Naitō he carried the Hokushin Ittō-ryū / Mito line into the leadership of late-Meiji-to-early-Shōwa kendō.

Monna is thinly documented individually he appears in the sources as a member of the Tōbukan kata-committee group rather than in his own right, so his entry leans on the Tōbukan, Shimoe, and police-history materials.

Nakayama Tatsusaburō

Nakayama Tatsusaburō (中山辰三郎) was an important Shindō Yōshin-ryū (神道楊心流) figure and the teacher of Ōtsuka Hironori (大塚博紀).³⁰ He entered the Shindōkan (神道館) on 10 April 1886. He learned Jikishinkage-ryū (直心影流)³¹ there and Shindō Yōshin-ryū, receiving betsuden from Matsuoka Katsunosuke (松岡克之助).

At age eighteen, his talent recognized, Nakayama entered — on Matsuoka's recommendation — the school of a Jikishinkage-ryū kenjutsu teacher named Hakomori Yosaburō (箱守与三郎祐

²⁹ Kenshi247 is an excellent kendō online resource and has an essay on the Busen

³⁰ The consolidated biography derives entirely from Wadō-/Shindō Yōshin-ryū-side materials — Fujiwara Ryōzō, *Shindō Yōshin-ryū no rekishi to gihō* (神道楊心流の歴史と技法), together with karate and budō periodicals (*Gekkan Karatedō*, *Gekkan Hiden*). The Japanese entry gives the full name as Nakayama Tatsusaburō Yuki-yoshi (中山辰三郎行儀) and records a memorial stele (顕彰碑) in Shimotsuma, Ibaraki.

³¹ Nakayama learned (学ぶ) the Shindō Yōshin-ryū betsuden — kodachi-dori (小刀捕), daitō-dori (大刀捕), atemi (当身), kappō (活法) — as the ura side of swordsmanship.

³² 箱守与三郎祐郷 appears in the source without furigana and as a redlink, so the personal-name element 祐郷 is unread there. I have dropped the provisional “Sukesato” from the running text; Suketo and Sukekuni are equally admissible until a furigana

郷),³² and five years later received a Jikishinkage-ryū license and became Hakomori's shihan-dai.³³

In the autumn of 1898, after Matsuoka died, Nakayama took up Ono-ha Ittō-ryū (小野派一刀流), receiving a kendō license from Takano Sasaburō (高野佐三郎) in September 1906³⁴ and, on Takano's recommendation, becoming kendō teacher at the old Shimotsuma Middle School.

It was much later, in May 1919, that he re-entered the Shindōkan under Inose Motokichi (猪瀬元吉) to study Shindō Yōshin-ryū jūjutsu, in order to qualify for a bonesetting licence. Sources are not consistent on what license he received.³⁵

source surfaces. Per house convention the name is given as romaji (kanji) only, with the reading flagged as open. A targeted exact-string search (箱守与三郎 / 箱守與三郎) returns no independent instances in any martial or general source: Hakomori appears only in this biography and its mirrors.

³³Matsuoka recommends Nakayama outward to Hakomori for Jikishinkage-ryū rather than certifying him in-house, while Shindō Yōshin-ryū is transmitted under Matsuoka directly. Because the source is Wadō-friendly and has every incentive to maximize Matsuoka's credentials, the routing is strong corroboration that Matsuoka at that time held no Jikishinkage-ryū rank-issuing authority, or chose not to exercise it. The corroboration is bounded, however: unlike the Shindō Yōshin-ryū transmission, which independent Wadō sources attest (note 1), the entire sword side — the Jikishinkage-ryū training, Hakomori, the license, and the routing itself — rests on this single source and is otherwise unverifiable (note 3). The routing therefore supports the inference about Matsuoka's issuing authority without independently confirming it. The surname 箱守 is concentrated in the Ibaraki/Tochigi area, consistent with Shimotsuma, so a local teacher of that name is plausible.

³⁴Rendered generically here as a "license." The source describes the 1906 credential with the phrase 特業証書 (kendō tokugyō shōsho in the article), but that phrase is otherwise unattested in indexed Japanese — martial or administrative — and parses only as a generic descriptor ("special-skill certificate"), not a titled license. As it traces to this single source, it is not reproduced as a document type; the actual instrument — an Ono-ha Ittō-ryū license, a Butokukai seirensō (精錬証) or a Meishinkan (明信館) teaching warrant — remains undetermined.

³⁵In September 1920 (the September following his May 1919 re-entry) Nakayama received a jūjutsu jitsugi shōmeisho (柔術実技証明書, "jūjutsu practical-skill certificate"), on the basis of which the Ibaraki prefectural office issued the seikotsushi (整骨師, bone-setter) license. The Shindō Yōshin-ryū certificate seems to be the qualifying document; the seikotsushi license was the professional credential. What varies between accounts is mainly whether these two steps are reported separately or collapsed into one event.

Independent Wadō-lineage sources corroborate the jūjutsu side specifically. The Wadō-ryū Renmei history and the Web Hidden profile of Ōtsuka name Nakayama third-generation head of Shindō Yōshin-ryū jūjutsu (第三世), under whom Ōtsuka trained from April 1905, receiving menkyo kaiden on 1 June 1920 and succeeding as fourth-generation head (第四世).

They add that Nakayama transmitted kenjutsu and Iga-ryū (為我流) jūjutsu alongside Shindō Yōshin-ryū, with full transmission — zenden (全伝; complete transmission) — in each. The sword / Jikishinkage-ryū portion of the biography has no comparable corroboration (see notes 3–4).

Two discrepancies across sources. The nanori is written 行義 by the Wadō-ryū Renmei but 行儀 in the Wikipedia entry (same reading, Yuki-yoshi; different second character). The generation counts also fail to reconcile: the Wadō line numbers Nakayama third and Ōtsuka fourth in the jūjutsu succession, whereas the Wikipedia entry has Matsuoka Tatsuo (松岡龍雄) succeeding to the third generation in 1918. The two even use different counters — 第三世 on the Wadō side, 三代目 in the article — consistent with two parallel reckonings (a Matsuoka-family / Shindōkan headship versus the Ōtsuka–Wadō transmission line) that the available sources do not harmonize. Matsuoka Tatsuo (松岡龍雄) is said to have taken the third generation in 1918.

Odani Seiichirō

Born in Honjo, Edo, as the eldest son of Odani Shinjirō Nobut-sura.

From the 大日本人名辞書 補遺経済雑誌社 編経済雑誌社 of 1896 (koma 794):

男谷誠一郎名は信友幼名を新太郎といひ後ち精一郎と改む文化七庚午年正月元日を以つて生る男谷忠之丞某の長子にして二十歳の時幕府小十人頭男谷彦四郎燕齋の養子と爲る初め團野眞帆齋の門に入り劍法直心影流槍術鎌寶藏院流

Seiichirō Odani (whose given name was Nobutomo; his childhood name was Shintarō, later changed to Seiichirō) was born on New Year's Day in the seventh year of the Bunka era (the *kanoe-uma* year). He was the eldest son of Chūnojō Odani; at the age of twenty, he was adopted by Hikoshirō Ensai Odani, a captain of the *Kojūnin* (a class of shogunal guards). He initially studied under Mahosai Danno, mastering the Jikishinkage-ryū style of swordsmanship and the Hōzōin-ryū style of spearmanship.

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

His kinsman Odani Hikoshirō Tadamasa 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 (平山行藏 / 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 (眞貫流) 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.

Yōshin Ko-ryū frames the teaching of grappling at Odani's dōjō 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 (戸塚派楊心流) from the Numazu-domain jūjutsu instructors Kashiwazaki Matashirō (柏崎又四郎) and Aizawa Katsuyuki (藍澤勝之). 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 Shōshō (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 and Sakakibara Kenkichi.

Okumura Sakonta

Okumura Sakonta (奥村左近太, 1842–1903) was an Okayama Jikishinkage-ryū swordsman who worked out his own two-sword

method and founded Okumura Nitō-ryū (奥村二刀流), and one of the provincial masters who made their name challenging the Metropolitan Police across the great tournaments of the 1880s. He is ranked in the standard lists among the notable Meiji kenshi, alongside Sakakibara Kenkichi, Takayama Minesaburō, Tokunō Sekishirō and Yamada Jirōkichi.³⁶

Born the son of the Okayama-han samurai Okumura Anshin, with the childhood name Torakichi, he entered the Jikishinkage-ryū dōjō of Abe Ugenji at thirteen in 1855, and also trained in Kitō-ryū jūjutsu, Heki-ryū archery, spear, gunnery and horsemanship. From 1859 he made repeated musha-shugyō journeys; after watching Takahashi Senjirō of Tamiya Shinken-ryū wield two swords, he spent some two years working out his own two-sword method, the large sword in the left hand. In 1863 he took menkyo kaiden in Jikishinkage-ryū and founded Okumura Nitō-ryū, and is recorded as having taught both his Bizen Okayama (Kamogata-han) line of Jikishinkage-ryū and his own two-sword style. (Watatani Kiyoshi (綿谷雪) and Yamada Tadashi (山田忠史) 1978; Majima Isao (間島勲) 1996)

His name was made nationally at the Metropolitan Police's national-scale gekken tournament of 8 November 1884, at the Mukōgaoka Yayoi-sha in Hongō, where he lost only to Kuchihara Yoshiji of Ryūgō-ryū while defeating Shinkai Tadaatsu, Matsuzaki Namishirō and Ueda Umanosuke and drawing with Henmi Sōsuke. The next year he won the Kusunoki-kō 550th-anniversary tournament at Minatogawa Shrine in Kobe, beating Takayama Minesaburō, and was given a blade forged by Gassan

³⁶The “notable Meiji kenshi” grouping alongside Sakakibara, Takayama, Tokunō and Yamada is the framing of the standard kengō dictionaries and kendō histories; treat it as a retrospective canon rather than a contemporary ranking. (Majima Isao (間島勲) 1996)

Sadakazu; at the first Dai Nippon Butokukai Butoku-sai in 1895 he lost to Tokunō Sekishirō but was judged especially excellent and awarded the Seirensō (精錬証). He died on 11 January 1903. His line carried on through his son Okumura Torakichi (1878–1971), who inherited both Jikishinkage-ryū and Okumura Nitō-ryū, became a kendō hanshi, and served as kendō instructor to the Imperial Palace Police and at Butokukai headquarters. (Hori Shōhei (堀正平) 1934; Majima Isao (間島勲) 1996)

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. 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* (剣と禅) 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” (天保三剣士).

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.

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 what 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.

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 Kiyooto (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.

His diary survives and has been the subject of Japanese language scholarship by Enomoto Shōji (榎本鐘司), 「戸田八郎左衛門「日記」にみられる講武所武芸教授方、世話心得、修行人人名と流派について」, *Budōgaku Kenkyū* (武道学研究) 14(2), 1981, pp. 11–12. Nanzan University. Enomoto analysed the diary of Toda Hachirōzaemon and produced rosters and counts of Kōbusho instructors and trainees.

Ueda Umanosuke

Ueda Umanosuke (上田馬之助, 1831–1890; imina Yoshitada 美忠) was one of the first three swordsmen hired into the Keishichō gekken sewakari (撃剣世話掛) in 1879 and, before that, the foremost figure of the Kyōshin Meichi-ryū (鏡新明智流) Shigakukan. He should not be confused with the identically named Shinsengumi member, a different man.³⁷

Born into the Hosokawa vassalage of the Higo Shinden domain — his birthplace given as Edo, the domain being resident there — he entered the Shigakukan (士学館) of the fourth Momonoi Shunzō and rose to become its leading swordsman, ranked with Sakabe Daisaku, Kubota Shinzō, and Kanematsu Naokado as one of Momonoi's "four heavenly kings" (桃井の四天王). In 1855 he accompanied Momonoi to a match against the Kurume swordsman Matsuzaki Namishirō, drawing his own bout while his teacher lost — an outcome Matsuzaki noted with respect.

After the abolition of the domains he was making alcohol in Nihonbashi Kakigara-chō when, in 1879, the Keishichō estab-

³⁷The Shinsengumi member Ueda Umanosuke (of Hamamatsu-domain origin, also written 上田馬之丞 / 上原馬之介 / 植原右馬之助) is a wholly separate person; the two are regularly conflated in popular sources and must be kept apart in the register.

lished the gekken sewakari; he was among the first three recruited, with Kajikawa Yoshimasa and Henmi Sōsuke, and — a vendetta-holder who reasoned he must always carry a sword — took the police post at a time when officers were still permitted to be armed. With Henmi and the others he took charge of Keishichō swordsmanship and helped compile the Keishi-ryū gekken and iai forms. In September 1883 he was additionally engaged at the Imperial Household Ministry's Saineikan (濟寧館), and that November he beat Henmi at the Yayoi tournament. In November 1887 he was one of three men — with Henmi and Sakakibara Kenkichi — chosen for the imperial-review helmet-cutting trial (兜割り); Ueda and Henmi failed, and only Sakakibara, using the blade Dōtanuki, succeeded. He died on 1 April 1890.³⁸

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.

³⁸The 1887 helmet-cutting trial at the Fushimi-no-miya residence is the episode most often attached to Ueda; the register carries it also under Sakakibara, whose success with the Dōtanuki blade is the point usually foregrounded, and the roster context of the 1879 first-hire trio (Ueda, Kajikawa, Henmi) is set out in the Keishichō section.

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.

Mutō-ryū and the Shunpūkan

One of the *bakumatsu no san-shū* — the three “shū,” with Katsu Kaishū and Takahashi Deishū — Yamaoka trained in Jikishinkage-ryū, Hokushin Ittō-ryū and Nakanishi-ha Ittō-ryū kenjutsu alongside the Yamaoka Jitokuin-ryū / Ninshin-ryū (自得院流・忍心流) spear. Out of his own practice and Zen training he deepened the Ittō-ryū maxim that “one sword becomes ten thousand and the ten thousand return to one,” proclaimed “no sword beyond the mind” (心外無刀), founded Mutō-ryū (無刀流) in 1880 — full name Ittō Shōden Mutō-ryū (一刀正伝無刀流) — and opened the Shunpūkan (春風館) dōjō in 1882. He set its ideal against the prize-fighting hall: Mutō-ryū swordsmanship does not contend over win-or-lose between self and other, but requires only the forging of the mind, the tempering of technique and the taking of a natural victory — sword and Zen as one (劍禪一如; sword-Zen unity).

That ethos did not mean soft training. The Shunpūkan was known for extraordinarily severe trials — 200 matches in a single day, 600 over three days, or, in the most extreme, the *tachikiri* or

seigan (立ち切り／誓願) of 1,400 bouts over seven days — with spiritual cultivation held as central throughout. Yamaoka taught at the Imperial Household Ministry's Saineikan (済寧館) and ran the Kensō Jūjutsu Eizoku-sha (剣槍柔術永続社), which became a model for the Dai Nippon Butokukai. He was succeeded as second-generation head of Mutō-ryū by Kagawa Zenjirō.

PART II

The Meiji Transition

CHAPTER 1

Gekken-kōgyō

Gekken-kōgyō

Gekken-kōgyō (撃剣興行; exhibition matches), which Sakakibara Kenkichi began in 1873 (Meiji 6) at Asakusa Saemon-gashi, modeled themselves on sumo promotion and were at first approved by the Tokyo governor Ōkubo Ichio. These matches were eventually banned due to their popularity causing public disorder, possibly much like football (soccer) sports fans at times do today.

As the Restoration stripped the swordsmen's livelihood — the dampatsu dattōrei (散髪脱刀令; the 1871 edict permitting the topknot to be cut and the sword laid aside), the chitsuroku shobun (秩禄処分; the abolition of hereditary stipends), and the haitōrei (廃刀令; the 1876 sword-abolition edict) — the men who had taught swordsmanship for a living were left without a trade. The former Kōbusho kenjutsu instructor Sakakibara Kenkichi, taking sumo promotion as his model, conceived of staging fencing as a paying spectacle supported by gate money (kidosen 木戸銭); the Tokyo governor Ōkubo Ichio (大久保一翁) approved it, and the first gekken-kōgyō ran for ten days from the fourth month of 1873 (Meiji 6) at Asakusa Saemon-gashi (浅草左衛門河岸) to overflowing houses. (Nakamura Tamio et al. 1975; Nakabayashi Shinji 1993)

The term gekiken (撃剣) dates at least from the Gekiken Sōdan (撃剣叢談) from Kansei 2 (1790) of Mikami Genryū (三上元龍), a samurai of Bizen Okayama domain (common name Sadayū, 左大夫), which inventoried in its five volumes, the kenjutsu schools and master-houses he saw and heard about while moving between Okayama and Edo across the 1760s–1790s.

Success bred imitation. Sakakibara's gekken-kai (撃剣会) was followed by rival companies until there were dozens of Tokyo venues and touring troupes reached the provinces, the spectacle taking on the apparatus of commercial entertainment — ranked-fighter charts, nishiki-e (錦絵; colour woodblock prints) of star swordsmen, and the addition of naginata and other weapons alongside straight bouts. The boom was short: proliferation lowered quality, the judging was opaque to lay spectators, and some venues were repurposed to draw crowds for political speeches, so several prefectures banned it and interest faded.

The verdict has always been double, and the debate is itself the substance:

1. Contemporaries condemned it as degrading the sword to a sideshow, and a specific technical charge holds that its performative excesses — exaggerated kiai (気合) and the habit called hikiage (引き上げ; disengaging upward after a strike) — left a mark on later kendō.
2. It is also credited with keeping the art's lifeline intact through its leanest years. Takano Sasaburō defended Sakakibara on exactly this ground, holding that it was wrong to disparage a man who was gravely troubled by kenjutsu's decline and who began the exhibitions so that the art would not die out. One source-critical note: Takano's recollection places the start after

the 1876 haitōrei, whereas the documented first kōgyō was 1873 — his account compresses the chronology, a reminder that the “degradation” verdict descends largely from within the kendō tradition that later distanced itself from the exhibitions. (Dōmoto Akihiko, n.d.)

The commercial channel did not stay separate from the state one. Sakakibara sat on the Keishichō panel that later vetted the police fencing instructors, and the Keishi-sōkan (警視總監; Superintendent-General) Mishima Michitsune (三島通庸) is said to have taken capable swordsmen into the force without condition — so the exhibition circuit fed the police adoption that was to give kenjutsu its institutional home.

Further Reading

Ellis Amdur in *Old School* (Expanded Edition) provides essays on the history of Tenshin Bukō-ryū naginata and the transition of martial arts from feudal duty to public competition during the Meiji era. His previous essay *Women Warriors of Japan* documents female participation in gekken-kōgyō (such as the naginata master Murakami Hideo). Due to the interest in this time period among the Kendo community, several extensive research blogs exist, some of which I have recommended earlier.

CHAPTER 2

The Battōtai

The Battōtai

The Battōtai (抜刀隊; drawn-sword corps) was the catalyst that turned kenjutsu from a dying art into a matter of state. In the Seinan Sensō (西南戦争; the Satsuma Rebellion) of 1877, at the Battle of Tabaruzaka (田原坂), the conscript Imperial Army — numerically dominant but manned largely by drafted commoners — struggled against the close combat (hakuhei-sen 白兵戦) of the Satsuma shizoku (士族), who pressed sword charges home. (Ogawara Masamichi 2017)

The Keishitai (警視隊; the police brigade, formally the Detached Third Brigade 別働第三旅団, some 9,500 men under Kawaji Toshiyoshi 川路利良), itself heavily former-samurai, supplied the remedy: Satsuma police officers — Kawabata Tanenaga (川畑種長), Ueda Yoshisada (上田良貞), and Sonoda Yasukata (園田安賢) — proposed drawing the best swordsmen from the police ranks, and Yamagata Aritomo (山県有朋) assented, choosing the name battōtai to mark the unit as police rather than army; roughly 110 men formed the first corps in the third month of 1877, and their charges broke the deadlock and helped take Tabaruzaka.

The composition is where the received narrative and the record part. Popular memory, fed by later reportage, casts the battōtai as a corps of ex-Aizu shizoku avenging the Boshin War (戊辰の

復讐; “the Boshin revenge”); the documented mainstay was in fact Satsuma gōshi (郷士 / 外城士; rural, outer-castle samurai), the confusion arising largely from conflating the battōtai with the much larger Keishitai. (Isamu Tomoyuki 2007)

The ex-Aizu karō Sakawa Kanbei (佐川官兵衛), routinely placed in the battōtai, was in fact in a different police unit and had died before it was formed; the former Shinsengumi swordsman Saitō Hajime (斎藤一; by then Fujita Gorō 藤田五郎, of Mugai-ryū 無外流) did serve.

The consequence for kenjutsu was decisive. The battōtai’s performance reversed the art’s post-Restoration devaluation and reopened it as a state interest, and Kawaji Toshiyoshi set the argument down in his Gekken saikō-ron (擊劍再興論; On the Revival of Fencing), pressing for swordsmanship within the police.

Two years later the Keishichō established the gekken sewakari (擊劍世話掛) system. The episode also passed into the wider culture: Toyama Masakazu’s (外山正一) 1882 poem on the battōtai, set by the French bandmaster Charles Leroux, became the 1885 military song “Battōtai” and then the basis of the 1886 Rikugun bunretsu kōshinkyoku (陸軍分列行進曲; the Army Parade March), still in use.

Poetry

The battōtai poem was authored by Toyama Masakazu (d. 1900)

“Battōtai no shi” (抜刀隊の詩; “Song of the Drawn-Sword Corps”) was published in *Shintaishishō* (新体詩抄; “Selection of New-Style Poetry”), the first anthology of new-style poetry in Japan, in August 1882 (Meiji 15), a joint work of three University of Tokyo professors — Toyama Masakazu (外山正一), Yatabe Ryōkichi (矢田部良吉), and Inoue Tetsujirō (井上哲次郎) —

the battōtai poem being Toyama's, published under his art-name Chūzan Senshi (、山仙士). So it sits at the origin of modern Japanese verse, not only in the war-song repertoire.

Its models were explicitly Western. The preface says that in the West, fierce, rousing songs are sung in war to lift morale — the French singing the Marseillaise in the Revolution, the Prussians “Die Wacht am Rhein” in the Franco-Prussian War — and that the battōtai poem follows that example. Toyama had studied at Michigan just after the American Civil War and drew on American war songs; the four-line refrain repeated each verse follows that Western song form. The French army bandmaster Charles Leroux (シャルル・ルルー) then set it, and it premiered in 1885 (Meiji 18) at the Rokumeikan (鹿鳴館), becoming Japan's first popular hit sung to a Western melody; combined with Leroux's “Fusōka,” it became the 1886 Army Parade March.

Form: shichigochō (七五調; 7-5 meter), six verses, each closing with the same refrain, sung from the government army's (kangun 官軍) standpoint.

The text is public-domain (Toyama died 1900); here are the opening verse, the thematically central second verse, and the refrain, with the remainder summarized. The full six-verse text is on Wikisource.

Verse 1 (吾は官軍...):

吾は官軍我が敵は／天地容れざる朝敵ぞ／敵の大將たる者は
／古今無双の英雄で／これに従うつわものは／共に慄悍決死の
士／鬼神に恥じぬ勇あるも／天の許さぬ反逆を／起こせし者は
昔より／榮えしためしあらざるぞ

“We are the imperial army; our foe are court-enemies (chōteki 朝敵) whom heaven and earth will not abide. Their commander is

a hero without equal in any age, and the men who follow him are, every one, fierce warriors resolved on death — valor that would not shame a demon-god. Yet those who raise the revolt heaven forbids have never, from of old, prospered.”

Note the magnanimity, which is the striking feature: the enemy commander — Saigō Takamori, unnamed — is called 古今無双の英雄 (kokon musō no eiyū; “a hero unmatched in past or present”), and his men 慍悍決死の士 (hyōkan kesshi no shi; “fierce, death-resolved warriors”). A government war song praising the rebels it is marching to destroy.

Verse 2 (皇国の風と...):

皇国の風と武士の／その身を護る魂の／維新このかた廃れたる
／日本刀の今更に／また世に出ずる身の誉れ...

“The way of the imperial land, and the soul that guards the warrior’s own body — the Japanese sword (日本刀, glossed Yamato-gatana), fallen into disuse since the Restoration (維新このかた廃れたる), now once more comes forth into the world: what honor for us who bear it. Foe and friend alike should fall beneath the blade; for one with the Yamato spirit (大和魂), the time to die is now — do not lag behind and be shamed.”

The refrain (repeated after every verse):

敵の亡ぶるそれ迄は／進めや進め諸共に／玉散る剣抜き連れて
／死する覚悟で進むべし

*Teki no horoburu sore made wa / susume ya susume morotomo ni /
tama-chiru tsurugi nuki-tsurete / shisuru kakugo de susumu-beshi*

“Until the enemy is destroyed, advance, advance, all together; drawing our jewel-scattering blades, press on resolved to die.”

Verses 3–6 escalate the battlefield imagery and the loyalty-death exhortation: the “mountain of swords” (剣の山, the Buddhist hell-image) climbed here not to expiate one’s own sin-karma but to punish the rebels (v3); sword-light like lightning and cannon like thunder, corpses piled into mountains and blood run into rivers (v4); amid the rain of bullets, no regret in a loyal death (v5); the loyal name enduring fragrant to later ages, with the warning not to be called a righteous-less dog or slandered a coward (v6).

Toyama’s father, Toyama Chūbei Masayoshi, was a Kōbusho infantry-drill instructor (幕府講武所歩兵指南役) — the poet who monumentalized the drawn-sword corps was himself the son of a Kōbusho man.

CHAPTER 3

The Keihōkan and Keishichō

The Keihōkan and Keishichō

The commercial and government channels join at the 1879 Keishichō established the gekken sewakari (擊剣世話掛), hiring Kajikawa Yoshimasa, Ueda Umanosuke, and Henmi Sōsuke first, then Shinkai Tadaatsu, Shimoe Hidetarō, and others, who codified the Keishi-ryū kata. Shimoe Hidetarō is a clear human bridge through it all, from the Genbukan to the Keishichō and introduces Naitō and Monna, who are instrumental in the rise of institutional kendō.

1868 Keihōkan

There was an earlier, failed police adoption. In 1868 (Meiji 1) the new government's Keihōkan (刑法官; penal-law office) took on martial-arts instructors — for kenjutsu, Hokushin Ittō-ryū's Shimoe Hidetarō (下江秀太郎) and Kyōshin Meichi-ryū's Momonoi Naoyuki (桃井直行); for jūjutsu, Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū's Iso Mataemon (磯又右衛門) and Tani Torao (谷虎雄), and a Yōshin-ryū Totsuka (戸塚英美) – either 戸塚英美 (Hidemi) or the Kōbusho's Totsuka Hidetoshi (英俊).

The 1871 bureaucratic reorganization into the Shihōshō (司法省; Justice Ministry) dismissed them all, and the Keishichō proper was only created under the Naimushō (内務省) in 1874.

Shimoe, described in some detail below, was already a government kenjutsu instructor in 1868, a decade before the sewakari, which deepens his bridge role.

Iso Masatomo's documented government jūjutsu post was this 1868 Keihōkan, not the 1860 Kōbusho as told in some accounts. Descriptions of Kano Jigorō's instructor Fukuda may have historically conflated the Meiji police predecessor with the bakufu academy.

1879 Keishichō

The 1879 establishment of the Keishichō and its school politics.

When the sewakari was set up at the Junsu Kyōshūjo (巡査教習所; patrolman training institute) in 1879, the selection judges were Momonoi Shunzō (桃井春蔵) and Sakakibara Kenkichi (榊原鍵吉). Kawaji Toshiyoshi delivered a formal exhortation there.

Momonoi's role as judge had a lasting effect: the so-called "Momonoi four heavenly kings" (桃井の四天王) — Ueda Umanosuke, Sakabe Daisaku, Kubota Shinzō, and Kanematsu Naokado — made Kyōshin Meichi-ryū (鏡新明智流) the dominant house at the Keishichō, which is why the force still preserves Kyōshin Meichi-ryū forms today even though the school otherwise died out. (*Bakumatsu kara uketsugare genson suru kenjutsu ryūha* (幕末から受け継がれ現存する剣術流派), n.d.)

There is a datable anchor for the roster, an 1888 official list, "警視庁撃剣世話係たりし者及びその階級" (former Keishichō fencing-instructors and their grades), that places five men at the top (second) grade, each with a police-station posting: (*Meiji-jidai no denshō to keishichō-ryū* (明治時代の伝承と警視庁流), n.d.)

- Shingai Tadaatsu

- Tokunō Sekishirō
- Mitsuhashi Kan'ichirō
- Shimoe Hidetarō (下江秀太郎)
- Kanematsu Naokado

The first-hired and senior sewakari include (in the 1888 grade-list):

- Monna Tadashi (門奈正)
- Kobayashi Sadayuki (小林定之)
- Ueda Umanosuke (上田馬之助) — Kyōshin Meichi-ryū (鏡新明智流); one of the 1879 first-hire trio and of the “Momono four heavenly kings”; a celebrated early-Keishichō swordsman.
- Henmi Sōsuke (逸見宗助) — Tatsumi-ryū (立身流); first-hire trio; his prominence drew other Tatsumi-ryū men into the force; documented via the Tatsumi-ryū sources.
- Kajikawa Yoshimasa (梶川義正), the third of the first-hire trio;
- Tokunō Sekishirō (得能関四郎) and Mitsuhashi Kan'ichirō (三橋鑑一郎) — senior sewakari in the 1888 top grade; Mitsuhashi later a Butokukai figure and the witness who named Shimoe the strongest.
- Sakabe Daisaku (坂部大作), Kubota Shinzō (久保田晋蔵), Kanematsu Naokado (兼松直廉) — Kyōshin Meichi-ryū, the remainder of the “Momono four kings” cohort that made that school dominant at the Keishichō. Sakabe and Kubota stand at the top (second) grade of the school.
- Shibata Emori (柴田衛守) and Shingai Tadaatsu (真貝忠篤) — further senior sewakari.

Recruited into the sewakari after the first trio were several Shigakukan men who survive mainly as names in the grade-lists. Sakabe Daisaku (坂部・阪部大作) and Kubota Shinzō (久保

田晋蔵), both of the Kyōshin Meichi-ryū and reckoned — with Ueda — among Momonoi's "four heavenly kings". Kanematsu Naokado (兼松直廉) was placed at the top grade at the Ogawamachi station in 1888, then about fifty (so born c. 1838) and is recorded as the only Keishichō man to fight to a draw at an 1889 tournament. His school is given as Kyōshin Meichi-ryū in the "four kings" grouping but as Tatsumi-ryū in the Dai Nippon Kendō-shi.

The development of Keishi-ryū

The Keishi-ryū kata, in more detail. Because the sewakari came from mixed schools, a unified set — Keishi-ryū (警視流; also 警視庁流) — was compiled and announced at the 1886 (Meiji 19) Yayoi-sai (弥生祭) tournament. Its parts: the kidachi-gata (木太刀形; bokutō forms, also called gekken-gata), ten techniques taken one each from ten kenjutsu ryūha; the tachi-iai (立居合), five iai forms; and a jūjutsu component, Keishi kenpō (警視拳法), of sixteen forms plus seven hayanawa (早捕法; quick-arrest methods) and kappō (活法; resuscitation). These are the forerunner of the Nihon Kendō Kata (日本剣道形) in being a cross-school composite — the same integration logic the Butokukai would apply in 1912, prototyped here a generation earlier.

Because the kata was built for police in Western dress with a sword (洋装帯剣), its movements diverge from the source schools' own kata — a deliberate institutional adaptation, not a loss of transmission. Keishi-ryū is still transmitted by Keishichō kendōka.

Nakayama Hakudō practiced it actively. Note also that a grading system, the gekken kyūi (撃剣級位), was instituted alongside it in 1879 — the same office-and-grade logic (not ryūha license)

that ran through the Kōbusho and points toward the Butokukai's shōgō. (*Kendō no rekishi* (剣道の歴史), n.d.)

National Tournaments

The tournaments, venues, and culture.

The 1885 (Meiji 18) tournament the Keishichō held at Yayoi Jinja (弥生神社) at Mukōgaoka (向ヶ岡) is called the first national-scale kenjutsu tournament. Yayoi became the era's principal gathering-point.³⁹ (*Kendō no rekishi* (剣道の歴史), n.d.)

Under the fifth Superintendent-General Mishima Michitsune (三島通庸, from 1885) came what is called the golden age of Keishichō kenjutsu — matches against other prefectures' swordsmen (Takayama Minesaburō, Okumura Sakonta) and against the Imperial Household Ministry's Saineikan (済寧館) dōjō, and participation in the 1887 tenran kabuto-wari that Sakakibara participated in.

The training culture was notoriously severe — tachikiri-geiko (立ち切り稽古; continuous last-man bouting), with the saying that if you could survive the Keishichō morning practice and get home to breakfast you were a made man.

The young instructors of this milieu — Takano Sasaburō, Takahashi Kotarō, Kawasaki Zenzaburō, Naitō Takaharu, Monna Tadashi — are exactly the cohort that dominated Taishō and early-Shōwa kendō, i.e. the Butokukai/Busen leadership.

Jūjutsu sewakari

The jūjutsu parallel (for the other arc). The jūjutsu sewakari followed four years later, in 1883, after the Keishichō invited the

³⁹The first-national-tournament date alternates between 1884 and 1885 across sources.

Kurume jūjutsuka Shimosaka Saizō and, on his recommendation, Hisatomi Tetsutarō (Shibukawa-ryū), Naka Danzō (Sekiguchi Shinshin-ryū), and the Ryōi Shintō-ryū men Uehara Shōgo and Nakamura Hansuke.

The Kōdōkan (講道館) entered the Keishichō tournament — the episode fictionalized in *Sugata Sanshirō* — where its men fought mainly against Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū and, winning all but a few, secured jūdō's adoption by the Keishichō.

CHAPTER 4

Notable Figures

Henmi Sōsuke

Henmi Sōsuke (逸見宗助, 1843(4)–1894)⁴⁰ was one of the first three swordsmen hired into the Keishichō gekken sewakari (撃剣世話掛) in 1879 and the man through whom Tatsumi-ryū (立身流) entered Meiji police swordsmanship. Yamaoka Tesshū is said to have judged that of the many swordsmen of the day, “only Henmi wields the true sword.”⁴¹

Born a samurai of the Sakura domain, he was the son of Henmi Nobutaka, seventeenth-generation head of Tatsumi-ryū, and trained in the family art — an old style fought with a leather-covered shinai. When the domain, following the spread of shinai-and-armour gekken in Edo, permitted other-school study in 1850 and invited Hokushin Ittō-ryū and Kyōshin Meichi-ryū teachers, Henmi received Kyōshin Meichi-ryū instruction under Ueda Umanosuke. In 1861 he went to Edo — first to the Hokushin Ittō-ryū of Chiba Ejirō, then to Momonoi Shunzō’s Shigakukan, where the grounding of his Tatsumi-ryū training carried him to the position of juku-head in under a year — before returning to serve his domain.

⁴⁰His birth year is given as 1843 (Tenpō 14) or 1834 (Tenpō 5) in available sources.

⁴¹The entry draws on the Japanese Wikipedia article for Henmi and the Tatsumi-ryū Sōhonbu site; the latter is partial to the Tatsumi-ryū role but usefully cites the dated 1888 grade-list and the Keishi-ryū form-by-form adoptions. Yamaoka’s “only Henmi wields the true sword” verdict is a traditional judgment repeated across the popular accounts. (*Meiji-jidai no denshō to keishichō-ryū* (明治時代の伝承と警視庁流), n.d.)

After the Restoration he was working the Yachimata reclamation land when, in 1879, the Keishichō established the gekken sewakari; he was among the first three recruited, with Ueda Umanosuke and Kajikawa Yoshimasa. As one of the central figures of the metropolitan force he took part in compiling the Keishi-ryū swordsmanship, *iai*, and *jūjutsu*, and Tatsumi-ryū technique entered the composite — the wrist-lock throw (巻落) among the sword forms and the “four directions” (四方) among the *iai*.⁴² (*Meiji-jidai no denshō to keishichō-ryū* (明治時代の伝承と警視庁流), n.d.)

In December 1884, when the Shiga governor Kotenda Yasusada brought a body of Kansai swordsmen to challenge the Keishichō and thirty-odd sewakari were beaten in succession by Takayama Minesaburō, it was Henmi who took the final stand, winning from his favoured upper stance with a wrist strike and saving the force’s honour. The Kurume master Matsuzaki Namishirō is separately recorded as having defeated him in an imperial-viewing match. He died in 1894.

Kajikawa Yoshimasa

Kajikawa Yoshimasa (梶川義正) was one of the three swordsmen first hired into the Keishichō gekken sewakari (撃剣世話掛) in 1879, with Ueda Umanosuke and Henmi Sōsuke. His school was Ono-ha Ittō-ryū (小野派一刀流) — not the Kyōshin Meichi-ryū of the two men he was recruited alongside — a point worth holding,

⁴²The exact relation of his two lines — Tatsumi-ryū by inheritance and Kyōshin Meichi-ryū by training — in what he actually taught at the Keishichō is an area other sources might shed further light on.

since the first trio is often taken as a single Shigakukan draft.⁴³

Little of his life beyond the police service is recovered. He was treated at the Keishichō as being of special rank with Ueda and Henmi, and — being markedly the eldest of the group — served as the senior man who presided over and adjudicated matches. He was one of the five sewakari (with Ueda, Henmi, Tokunō Sekishirō, and Shingai Tadaatsu) who framed the Keishi-ryū wooden-sword forms. His birth and death years have not been recovered in the sources used here.

No birth or death dates surfaced during our research on Kajikawa; a domain register or the police histories may supply them. His domain of origin and how an Ono-ha Ittō-ryū man came to be recruited alongside the Shigakukan figures are both undocumented in the sources we had access to.

Kawaji Toshiyoshi

Kawaji Toshiyoshi (川路利良; 1834–1879), tsūshō Shōnoshin (正之進), gō Ryūsen (竜泉), was the first Dai-keishi (大警視; Grand Superintendent, the office now called keishi-sōkan 警視總監) and the effective founder of the modern Japanese police — the “father of the Japanese police” — and thus the institutional architect behind the police adoption of kenjutsu. (Kotobank, n.d.)

Born to a low-ranking yoriki (与力; a quasi-samurai rank below the castle-town gōshi) family of the Satsuma domain at Hishijima near Kagoshima, he studied Shin'ei-ryū (真影流) kenjutsu under Sakaguchi Genshichibei and Chinese letters under Shigeno Yasutsugu. He came to notice in 1864 at the Kinmon

⁴³The Ono-ha Ittō-ryū attribution is from Kajikawa's own biographical article; the school-mixing of the 1879 trio (Ono-ha Ittō-ryū, Kyōshin Meichi-ryū, and — through Henmi — Tatsumi-ryū) is itself the point the composite Keishi-ryū was built to resolve.

no Hen for shooting down the Chōshū commander Kurushima Matabei, served as a Satsuma battalion commander through the Boshin War, and in 1872 was sent to Europe — nominally with the Etō mission — to study Western police systems. On his return he argued for separating judicial from administrative police and, in 1874 (Meiji 7), founded the Keishichō, becoming its first Dai-keishi at forty, still the youngest ever to hold the office. (Kotobank, n.d.)

In the 1877 Satsuma Rebellion he commanded the Detached Third Brigade (別働第三旅団) formed from the Keishitai and directed the battōtai against the army of Saigō Takamori — the patron who had raised him — a duty he framed as public over private.⁴⁴

And in the aftermath, persuaded by the battōtai's demonstration of the sword's continued value, he set the case for police swordsmanship down in the Gekken saikō-ron (撃剣再興論), the advocacy that produced the 1879 gekken sewakari system.

On the Revival of Sword Fighting

A Japanese language article on this work is hosted online at kendo.or.jp. This missive contains three points:

1. Even if one carries a staff for self-defense, if one has no means of defeating the enemy, one will not be able to protect oneself.
2. When dealing with violent and wicked people, if one does not possess well-trained martial arts skills, one will not be able to engage in self-defense combat. This is the reason

⁴⁴Kagoshima Chamber of Commerce page on Kawaji Toshiyoshi, 2026.

why all those who could not apprehend the most vicious bandits in the old Edo period were unable to do so.

3. Since police officers are those who normally put their whole body into dealing with matters on the scene, they should be people who constantly train their bodies like swordsmen.

More information can be found at The Reiwa List of One Hundred Proverbs:

The statue of Kawaji at the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Academy bears the inscription, “Hear without voice, see without form.” The Kendo.org article relates that Kawaji studied Hokushin Itto-ryū under Chiba Shusaku, gaining this teaching from his swordsmanship training.

A line from a poem by one of the “Three Ships of the Late Edo Period” reads, “The greedy heart of man and falling snow, as they accumulate, lose their way.” He considered this his personal motto.

He fell ill on a second European police-inspection tour in 1879 and died that October at forty-six; he was later enshrined at the Yayoi Jinja that became the police swordsmen’s gathering-point.

His early kenjutsu was Shin’ei-ryū (真影流) — read Shinkage-ryū, and distinct from the homophonous Yagyū 新陰流 — which was the Satsuma house-name for Jikishinkage-ryū (直心影流); so his line was not the Jigen-ryū one might assume of a Satsuma man but the Naganuma-ha of Jikishinkage-ryū, which had reached the domain a century before him. That the school reached Satsuma is well grounded: it was carried there by Suzuki Yatōji Fujikata (鈴木弥藤次藤賢), a disciple of the eighth-generation Naganuma Kunisato who moved to Kagoshima and entered

Shimazu service.⁴⁵ Kawaji's own place in that line is thinner-sourced: his teacher is named as Sakaguchi Genshichibei (坂口源七兵衛), and the school literature lists him among Satsuma's practitioners alongside Arima Shinshichi and Makino Nobuaki.

Karukome's study — the standard academic treatment of the school — mentions neither Kawaji nor Sakaguchi, so the personal attribution is plausible rather than confirmed.⁴⁶ What matters here is less the school than what he built from it: because he made a ladder of police posts and a state kata rather than a transmission, he is the intellectual author of the "office, not license" logic that runs through this whole node.

Sakakibara Kenkichi

Summary

Sakakibara Kenkichi (榊原鍵吉) was a Jikishinkage-ryū swordsman of the Odani-ha line who bridged the late-Tokugawa military-training apparatus and the early Meiji effort to keep swordsmanship alive. He trained under Odani Seiichirō Nobutomo (男谷精一郎信友), served as a Kōbusho instructor and later as head

⁴⁵The transmission node is primary-attested. 『三州遺芳 卷四』(渡辺一郎編『武道伝書聚英 第十二集』所収, 宇都宮大学教育学部, 1990, pp. 60–62), as quoted in Karukome's dissertation, has Suzuki Yatōji Fujikata (rendered 鈴木弥藤次藤賢) as a Karasuyama man who studied Jikishinkage-ryū under Naganuma Kunisato in Musashi, then entered Shimazu service under Shimazu Shigehide (a 供目附役 post from An'ei 2, 1773). The school literature instead ties his Satsuma entry to accompanying Takehime's marriage into the Shimazu (c. 1729) — roughly forty years earlier; the primary source governs the point.

⁴⁶Kawaji's own link to the line is tertiary — the school-side 直心影流 literature and his own biographical article — and Karukome's 2013 dissertation, which does treat Suzuki as a match-opponent of Fujikawa Chikayoshi, names neither Kawaji nor his teacher. The teacher-name also varies: the Kawaji article gives 坂口源七兵衛 (Genshichibei), while the school literature names the Satsuma Jikishinkage master 坂口兼儔・作市 (Kanetomo/Sakuichi) — the same Sakaguchi house, but one man or kin is unresolved. Karukome's 2020 monograph synopsis, unlike the dissertation, name-checks the Satsuma figures including Kawaji, so the downstream confirmation may lie there.

of the Yūgekitai, and after the Restoration organized the gekiken-kōgyō (撃剣興行; officially-licensed public fencing exhibitions), the institutional link most relevant to this register's Meiji-bridge material. (*Sakakibara kenkichi* (榊原鍵吉), n.d.-a)

Names and readings

The formal given name (*imina*) is Tomoyoshi (友善), attested with reading ともし; the calling name (*tsūshō*) is Kenkichi (鍵吉). No *azana* or *gō* is attested — the frequently cited “saigo no kenkaku” (最後の剣客) is a byname. The *kaimyō* in the front matter rests on a single non-reference source and its reading is unverified.⁴⁷ (*Sakakibara kenkichi* (榊原鍵吉), n.d.-b)

Training under Odani; the yawara question

He entered Odani's Azabu Mamiana (麻布狸穴) dōjō in Tenpō 13 (1842) at thirteen. When Odani urged him to transfer to a nearer major school — Genbukan (玄武館), Shigakukan (士学館), or Renpeikan (練兵館) — he refused, and Odani conferred *menkyo kaiden* (免許皆伝) on him gratis in Kaei 2 (1849), bearing the costs because of the family's poverty. His sword training was Jikishinkage-ryū alone. He did, however, learn Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū (戸塚派楊心流) jūjutsu at the same dōjō, taught by the Numazu-han instructors Kashiwazaki Matashirō (柏崎又四郎) and Aizawa Katsuyuki (藍澤勝之). That the Odani dōjō imported jūjutsu instruction rather than transmitting its own is the evidentiary point: it suggests Jikishinkage-ryū itself retained little *yawara* (柔; grappling) in its curriculum by mid-century — an inference developed in §9. (*Jikishinkage-ryū* (直心影流),

⁴⁷ *Kaimyō* 義光院杖山倭翁居士 and burial temple appear in JA Wikipedia only; the reading (esp. 倭翁) is unconfirmed.

n.d.; *Totsuka hikosuke* (戸塚彦介), n.d.; *Totsuka yōshin-ryū founders' graves* (戸塚彦介英俊の墓), n.d.)

Fellow disciples

Laterally, through Odani rather than his own dōjō, he sits beside Shimada Toranosuke (島田虎之助; Katsu Kaishū's sword teacher), Mitsuhashi Torazō (三橋虎蔵), Yokokawa Shichirō (横川七郎), and Amano Hachirō (天野八郎; the Shōgitai leader) []. (*Shimada toranosuke* (島田虎之助), n.d.; *Watanabe Ichirō* (渡辺一郎); n.d.)

Kōbusho service and bakumatsu career

Odani recommended him as a founding Kōbusho kenjutsu instructor in Ansei 3 (1856); the academy opened under Odani as tōdori and was abolished in the eleventh month of Keiō 2 (1866), absorbed into the Rikugunsho (陸軍所). The reference dictionaries give his grade as kyōju-kata (教授方) rising to shihan-yaku nami (師範役並) with ryō-goban jōseki (両御番上席) in Genji 1 (1864).⁴⁸ He became Tokugawa Iemochi's personal fencing instructor and rose to ninomaru rusui-yaku kaku (二ノ丸留守居役格).

He accompanied the shōgun's Kyoto procession in 1863 (reportedly cutting down Tosa rōnin at Shijō-gawara), was in the Kansai for the Chōshū campaign in 1865, and returned to Edo when Iemochi died at Osaka Castle in the seventh month of Keiō 2 (1866) []. Transferred to Yūgekitai tōdori (遊撃隊頭取) under the military reform, he soon resigned and opened a dōjō at his Shitaya Kurumazaka (下谷車坂) residence. At Ueno in

⁴⁸ kyōju-kata (1856) → shihan-yaku nami + ryō-goban jōseki (1864); the Jekyll entry summarizes this as "shihan-yaku" (*Sakakibara kenkichi* (榊原鍵吉), n.d.-a).

1868 he did not join the Shōgitai but escorted the Rinnōji-no-miya prince Kōgen (輪王寺宮公現入道親王, later Kitashirakawa-no-miya Yoshihisa) to safety at Mikawajima (三河島), carrying him by turns with the bathhouse-keeper Echizen-ya Sahei (越前屋佐兵衛). He then followed Tokugawa Iesato to Sunpu (later Shizuoka-han), returned to Tokyo in Meiji 3 (1870), and declined the Gyōbushō daikeibu (刑部省大警部) post, recommending his brother Ōsawa Tetsusaburō (大沢鉄三郎) instead. Sugimura Gitarō (杉村義太郎) (n.d.; *Sakakibara kenkichi* (榊原鍵吉), n.d.-a; *Shōgitai* (彰義隊), n.d.)

Teaching

Sakakibara's time in the early 1860s was spent teaching at the Kōbusho. Sakakibara held no private dōjō during his shogunal-guard years. He accompanied Iemochi to Kyoto in Bunkyū 3 (1863). Sakakibara opened his own dōjō — at Shitaya Kuru-mazaka (下谷車坂) — in the eleventh month of Keiō 2 (1866), upon resigning when the Kōbusho was reorganized into the Rikugunsho (陸軍所).

Before 1866, Sakakibara's teaching platform was his Kōbusho office (kyōju-kata 教授方, later shihan-yaku 師範役) itself, not a private school. After 1866 he held the dōjō but had left shogunal service now that Iemochi was dead.

The Jikishinkage-ryū private dōjō of that earlier time was not Sakakibara's but instead Odani Seiichirō's (男谷精一郎). In Odani's absences it was run by his shihan-dai (師範代) Honme Yarijirō (本目鑑次郎) — himself a Kōbusho Jikishinkage-ryū kyōju-kata level instructor. Odani's dōjō was at Azabu Mamiana (麻布狸穴) only from its founding in Bunsei 6 (1823); on his teacher Danno Mahosai's death he was given Danno's dōjō at

Honjo Kamezawa-chō (本所亀沢町) and moved there in Ansei 5 (1858).

Through the Kōbusho years the Odani dōjō — the Honjo dōjō that Britannica calls the most prestigious of the bakumatsu, producing Shimada Toranosuke, Mitsunashi Torazō, Yokokawa Shichirō, and Sakakibara — was at Kamezawa-chō. Sakakibara's school came later. (Nakamura Tamio (中村民雄) 1996; Nakamura Tamio 1999)

Gekiken-kōgyō

In Meiji 6 (1873) he founded the officially-licensed gekiken-kōgyō at Asakusa Saemon-gashi (浅草左衛門河岸), backed by the Tokyo governor Ōkubo Ichio (大久保一翁) and modeled on sumō staging — a board ring, east/west sides, three-bout matches, a referee. It was hugely popular until a glut of imitators drew a Tokyo ban that July. (*Sakakibara kenkichi* (榎原健吉), n.d.-b; Nakamura Tamio (中村民雄), n.d.)

Kabuto-wari

At the imperial-viewing kabuto-wari (兜割り; helmet-cutting) held in 1886 or 1887 at the Fushimi-no-miya (伏見宮) residence, three men attempted to cut a metal helmet before Emperor Meiji: Hemmi Sōsuke (逸見宗助) and Ueda Umanosuke (上田馬之助), both Shigakukan (士学館) men, failed; Sakakibara cut roughly san-zun go-bu (三寸五分; ≈ 10.6 cm) into the helmet with a Dōtanuki (同田貫) blade.⁴⁹ (*Sakakibara kenkichi* (榎原健吉), n.d.-b; Nakabayashi Shinji (中林信二), n.d.)

⁴⁹1886 (Meiji 19) in the Kōdansha Nihon Jinmei Daijiten portion of (*Sakakibara kenkichi* (榎原健吉), n.d.-b); 1887 (Meiji 20) in the Nipponica portion and in the signed Nakabayashi article (Nakabayashi Shinji (中林信二), n.d.). Left open.

##8. Students, transmission, and succession

The documented inner circle of Sakakibara is small despite the scale of the Kurumazaka dōjō and the gekiken-kōgyō.

Yamada Jirōkichi (山田次朗吉, 1863–1930; art name Ittokusai 一徳斎) is the successor: on New Year's Day Meiji 27 (1894) Sakakibara conferred menkyo kaiden on him as 15th-generation head and handed over the dōjō, dying that September. Yamada also trained kata under the Fujikawa-ha (藤川派); a second teacher is variously given as “Yamada Hachirō” or Saitō Akinobu (斎藤鑑信). (Shimada Hiroshi (島田宏) 1931; Ishigaki Yasuzō (石垣安造), n.d.)

Takeda Sōkaku (武田惣角) is claimed by family tradition as an uchi-deshi, but this is weakly corroborated and his sword work is more plausibly Ono-ha Ittō-ryū (小野派一刀流); recorded here as contested, not attested transmission — his life and Daitō-ryū transmission are treated definitively by Ellis Amdur and the late Stanley Pranin.⁵⁰ (Ikezuki Ei 2015; Amdur 2018b, 2018a, 2014, 2016; Pranin 1996)

By the main-line reckoning Sakakibara is the 14th head, and the line was very likely *almost* broken at his death — the natural successor would have been Shimada Toranosuke (1810–1864), who predeceased him. Yamada Jirokichi carried the line forward.⁵¹

⁵⁰Some Daitō-ryū lines claim to preserve portions of Jikishinkage-ryū hōjō (法定), others its heavy furibō (振り棒; swinging staff). On the Saigō Tanomo route see (Pranin, n.d.); note Saigō Tanomo is now doubted to have practiced budō.

⁵¹Iwasa Masaru holds that Sakakibara's death broke the main Seitō-ha line (Iwasa Masaru 2005). Source is the 2005 book (Budō Shinkōkai), not a magazine; % VERIFY the page for this specific claim (the p. 18 chart supports the 宗家/別家 labels).

Jigeiko Focus

His later dōjō was known for sparring — jigeiko and shiai — with only periodic kata practice, as the MFA's *Gekkenka* print attests. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, n.d.)

Jikishinkage-ryū at this time is chiefly a sword art increasingly focused on shiai, with Odani also licensed in Hōzōin-ryū sōjutsu (槍術; spearmanship), Shimada Toranosuke practiced Kitō-ryū jūjutsu, and both Odani and Sakakibara took Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū at Danno's (団野) school.⁵²

One line of contemporary practice has an old schedule from Sakakibara's dōjō, that lists Hōjō practice as occurring once a month.

Death and burial

He died 11 September 1894 (Meiji 27) of kakke shōshin (脚気衝心), kyōnen 65, and was buried at Yotsuya Saiō-ji (四谷西応寺); the grave is a Shinjuku-ku designated historic site.

Shibata Emori

Shibata Emori⁵³ (柴田衛守, 1849–1925) was the fifteenth sōke of Kurama-ryū (鞍馬流) — an Edo sword line named for the mountain north of Kyoto and traced to Ōno Shōgen (大野將監) in the Tenshō era (1573–92), a Keishichō gekken instructor of forty-seven years' service, and — before Nakayama Hakudō — its chief kendō instructor; his Kurama-ryū form entered the Keishi-ryū

⁵²The specialization reading is attributed to Namiki Yasushi (並木靖, 1926–1999). Matsumoto Bizen-no-Kami was most famously a spearman, and other Shinkage-ryū lines retain sōjutsu at upper levels — consistent with loss-by-specialization.

⁵³His given name is read Emori (え も り) not “Morimori”.

composite, which places him beside Henmi and the Shigakukan men as a swordsman whose own school fed the police kata.⁵⁴

Born the eldest son of the Shibata house, direct retainers of the shogun from Mikawa, at Yotsuya Nakadono-chō in Edo, he learned Honshin Kyōchi-ryū (本心鏡知流) spearmanship from his father Masao, a bakufu sōjutsu instructor. At eight he entered the Kurama-ryū of its fourteenth head Kaneko Sukesaburō, trained also under the son Kumaichirō, and took full transmission at eighteen; he then studied Chūya-ha Ittō-ryū (忠也派一刀流, a sub-line of Ono-ha Ittō-ryū) under Mamiya Tetsujirō, a former Kōbusho instructor, and was in time licensed in it, adding jūjutsu and rope-binding. In the 1877 Satsuma Rebellion he served as an army nursing chief. (Shūseikan, n.d.)

In December 1879 he took a gekken-sewakari post at the Keishichō's Yotsuya station and opened a dōjō at Yotsuya Tansu-machi, which Katsu Kaishū named the Shūseikan (習成館) and for which he wrote the plaque. Around 1886 his Kurama-ryū form *henka* (変化) was adopted into the Keishi-ryū wooden-sword kata. He served the metropolitan force for forty-seven years, rising to chief kendō instructor — the post's holder immediately before Nakayama Hakudō — and in 1915 received the kendō hanshi title from the Dai Nippon Butokukai. He is remembered as the reviver of Kurama-ryū. He died in 1925 at seventy-six; the headship passed to his son Susumu as sixteenth sōke, and the Shūseikan line continues.⁵⁵

⁵⁴The entry rests on the Japanese Wikipedia article for Shibata and the Shūseikan dōjō's own history page, which agree on the Kurama-ryū headship, the forty-seven-year Keishichō service, the chief-instructorship before Nakayama, and the 1915 hanshi. His third-grade placement in the 1888 register (rank of assistant inspector) sits below Tokunō and Mitsuhashi but within the same senior body. (Shūseikan, n.d.)

⁵⁵That a Kurama-ryū form was taken into the Keishi-ryū is the detail that lifts Shibata above a roster name: like Tatsumi-ryū through Henmi and Kyōshin Meichi-ryū through

The exact date his Kurama-ryū henka was fixed into the Keishi-ryū, as against the 1886 promulgation of the composite as a whole, is given only approximately and could be sharpened from police histories.

Shimoe Hidetarō

Shimoe Hidetarō (下江秀太郎; 1848–1904. imina Tsuneaki (恒明) is the human conduit by which the Genbukan's Hokushin Ittō-ryū (北辰一刀流) passed into the Meiji police and thence to the Butokukai's Mito leadership. Known as "Shuzaya no Shū" (朱鞘の秀; "Shū of the vermilion scabbard") and "Oni-Shū" (鬼秀; "Demon Shū"), and reckoned the foremost thrust (tsuki 突き) master of his day, he held the Dai Nippon Butokukai seirensō (精錬証).

Born a samurai of the Utsunomiya domain, son of Shimoe Tsunesada, he first learned Hokushin Ittō-ryū from his father, then in 1858 (Ansei 5) entered the Genbukan (玄武館) under Chiba Ejirō (千葉栄次郎); after Ejirō's death in 1862 he continued under the younger brother Chiba Michisaburō (千葉道三郎) and did musha-shugyō across the Kantō. At nineteen, in 1866 (Keiō 2), he became the Genbukan juku-head (塾頭); the Utsunomiya lord, pleased that so young a man held the post, presented him a vermilion-scabbard daishō, whence his nickname. In 1867 he returned home as domain kenjutsu instructor.

His first government post prefigures the later one and ties directly to the police prehistory. In 1868 (Meiji 1), when the new government abolished the Edo machi-bugyō and set up the taiho

the Shigakukan men, his school is one of the identifiable strands in the police composite, and his tenure as chief instructor before Nakayama Hakudō marks the institutional hand-off from the Meiji sewakari generation to the Taishō–Shōwa kendō establishment.

(逮部; arrest bureau) under the Gyōbushō (刑部省), Shimoe was chosen as one of its kenjutsu instructors and promoted to taihō gochō (逮部伍長); he received the Hokushin Ittō-ryū menkyo in 1870. When the 1871 reorganization folded the Gyōbushō into the Shihōshō (司法省), he took a brief judicial post, then resigned and withdrew to Kanuma in Tochigi. He was thus already a police-predecessor instructor a decade before the sewakari, and among those swept out in the 1871 false start.

The bridge proper begins in 1879 (Meiji 12): he returned to Tokyo, joined the Keishikyoku as a fourth-class patrolman, and became a gekken sewakari (擊劍世話掛). His instruction was punishing enough to draw formal complaints that it was wrecking officers' health — his one-handed thrust, thrown with a casual remark, left men unable to swallow without pain for days; his dō-uchi (胴打ち; trunk-strike) cut like a razor; his jōdan kote-uchi (小手打ち; wrist-strike) sent recipients running the floor in pain. In 1882 he won a tenran-shiai (天覧試合; match in the imperial presence), defeating Maeda Tadataka, a Yamaoka Tesshū disciple fielded by the Kunaishō (宮内省).

He left the Keishichō abruptly in 1884, his severity blamed, and returned to Kanuma — where the touring Naitō Takaharu stopped and received brief instruction, the first of their contacts. In 1885 the Ibaraki police chief Takeuchi Toshisada engaged him for the prefectural police and prison, and he also taught at the Mito Tōbukan (東武館), where he met Monna Tadashi (門奈正), later said to have inherited his technique most fully.

The decisive moment is 1887 (Meiji 20). When Takeuchi left Mito, Shimoe rejoined the Keishichō as gekken sewakari at the Tomioka-monzen station; that year he called Monna to Tokyo,

secured his Keishichō post, and assigned him to his own station, and when Naitō came to Tokyo the same year — beating the sitting sewakari before being taken on — Shimoe assigned him there too. Both men who would become the Butokukai's Mito kendō leadership thus entered the force under Shimoe's hand and at his station: the concrete mechanism of the Genbukan-to-Butokukai transmission, and the reason he anchors this section rather than merely appearing in it.

In 1890 he beat Henmi Sōsuke at the Keishichō spring tournament and opened his own dōjō, the Enbukan (演武館), at Hongoku-chō in Nihonbashi, whose renown Takano Shigeyoshi's *Kendō ichiro* recalls drawing noted swordsmen to Nihonbashi. His Keishichō swordsmanship was among what the Kurume master Matsuzaki Namishirō measured himself against when he challenged the Tokyo police. Following Takeuchi, he served as gekken instructor to the Aichi (1898) and then Miyagi (1899) prefectural police, moving to Sendai and also teaching the Army's Second Division, his eyesight failing by then; he died in Sendai in 1904. Asked by Hori Shōhei, author of the *Dai Nippon Kendō-shi*, whether Shimoe had been strong, Mitsuhashi Kan'ichirō answered that Shimoe was the strongest of them all. (Takano Shigeyoshi, n.d.; Hori Shōhei 1934)

Hokushin Ittō-ryū sources group him as one of the “four heavenly kings” of Chiba Michisaburō's line, with Naitō, Monna, and Kobayashi Sadayuki. The 1903 match with Takeda Sōkaku (武田惣角), in which Shimoe is said to have lost or drawn, is a Daitō-ryū house tradition, uncorroborated outside it and contested in outcome — hold it as a flagged claim, and note it for the aiki essay, where you are already handling Daitō-ryū transmission claims. The account leans on the Shimoe Wikipedia entry; the two named

citable anchors are Takano Shigeyoshi's *Kendō ichiro* and Hori Shōhei's *Dai Nippon Kendō-shi*, which should carry the reputation and bridge claims in print. (*Rekishi to enkaku / jinbutsu-den* (歴史と沿革／人物伝), n.d.)

Monna Tadashi (門奈正) was Shimoe's foremost heir, brought into the Keishichō with Naitō in 1887, of the Mito Tōbukan Hokushin Ittō-ryū line, later a Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata committee member (1911) and Butokukai kendō hanshi. He is Naitō's twin in the Mito-to-Butokukai leadership.

Shingai Tadaatsu

Shingai Tadaatsu (真貝忠篤, 1842–1920) was a Keishichō gekken instructor and Butokukai hanshi of the Kubota-ha Tamiya-ryū (窪田派田宮流), reckoned in his last years one of the “three elders of the Tokyo kenjutsu world” alongside Tokunō Sekishirō and Negishi Shingorō.⁵⁶

Born the seventh son of a Mino Ōgaki-domain samurai at the domain's Edo residence, he entered the Kubota-ha Tamiya-ryū of Shimamura Yūyū at twelve; orphaned at seventeen, he trained on while working as a menial, in time surpassed his teacher, and took a character from the teacher's name to restyle himself Torao. He followed the Ōgaki domain through the Boshin War and later served in the Owari domain's Kijun Seiki-tai; the campaign also cost him his nose to disease. After the war he was kenjutsu master at the Owari domain school, the Meirindō, and after the abolition of the domains he lived by gekken exhibition.

⁵⁶The entry rests on the Japanese Wikipedia article for Shingai, corroborated by the Tamiya-ryū article for the “three elders” grouping and the Kubota-ha lineage. The surname reading is unsettled — Shingai (しんがゐ) in his own article, Magai (まがゐ) in some popular accounts; “Shinkai” is a mis-reading to avoid.

Around 1882–83 he took a post as a Keishichō gekken sewakari, and went on to serve as kendō master to the Imperial Household Ministry’s Palace Police, the Gakushūin, and Keiō. In 1908 he received the hanshi title from the Dai Nippon Butokukai, and he sat on the committee that framed the Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata. He died in 1920, felled by a cerebral hemorrhage on his way to the Saineikan dōjō and carried home to Yotsuya; his grave is at Aoyama.⁵⁷

Takayama Minesaburō

Takayama Minesaburō (高山峰三郎, 1835–1899) was a Jikishinkage-ryū swordsman of the Ōzu domain in Iyo, best remembered for defeating thirty-six of the Metropolitan Police’s fencing instructors in succession — one of the provincial masters who, like Okumura Sakonta, made their name challenging the Keishichō across the great tournaments of the 1880s, and among Matsuzaki Namishirō’s recurring rivals.⁵⁸

Born into a family of Ōzu-han Confucianists, he was taken to Edo as a boy, first studied Jikishinkage-ryū under Fujikawa Sadachika (藤川貞近)⁵⁹, trained further in two Ittō-ryū lines⁶⁰, and entered Momoi Shunzō’s Shigakukan; later, in Kyoto, he

⁵⁷The Kubota-ha of Tamiya-ryū descends through the bakumatsu authority Kubota Sunee (窪田清音), a Kōbusho head, so Shingai carries a line with its own institutional weight into the Meiji police — a point that could be developed against the Kōbusho material elsewhere in the register.

⁵⁸The “thirty-six in succession” feat is the anchor of his reputation in the kendō histories; the parallel account in the Henmi Sōsuke record gives the number of Keishichō men beaten in the 1884 Kansai challenge as “thirty-odd,” so treat the round figures as the sources leave them. (Hori Shōhei (堀正平) 1934)

⁵⁹the Sōtairoku grave register for the Numata-han (soutairoku.com, 2-25_numata) records Fujikawa Sadachika (藤川貞近, d. 1862) as a Numata-han samurai and swordsman buried in Bunkyo-ku — the same house and burial ward as Fujikawa Chikayoshi (藤川近義, d. 1798), whom it names 藤川派の祖, founder of the Fujikawa-ha. That places Sadachika within that branch, so Takayama’s first training was Fujikawa-ha.

became head instructor at the thousand-strong dōjō of Toda Isshinsai (戸田一心齋). In the Meiji period he served as a Shiga Prefecture police inspector (keibu, 警部). (Majima Isao (間島勲) 1996)

In December 1884 he led the body of Kansai swordsmen the Shiga governor Kotenda Yasusada brought to challenge the Keishichō, beating some thirty of its instructors in succession before Henmi Sōsuke took the final stand — the feat for which he is chiefly remembered. He was beaten by Okumura Sakonta at the 1885 Kusunoki-kō tournament at Minatogawa Shrine, and his long contest with Matsuzaki runs through the accounts of the period. (Hori Shōhei (堀正平) 1934; Majima Isao (間島勲) 1996)

Tokunō Sekishirō

Tokunō Sekishirō (得能関四郎, 1842–1908; imina Michihisa 通久) was a Keishichō gekken instructor who received both the first seirensō and the first hanshi title from the Dai Nippon Butokukai, and was reckoned the foremost of the “three elders” of the Tokyo kendō world. His swordsmanship was Jikishinkage-ryū of the Naganuma line — which places a second Naganuma-ha figure, after Kawaji, at the heart of the Meiji police layer.⁶¹

Born the son of a samurai of the Numata domain, he entered at fifteen (1856) the Shiba-Atagoshita dōjō of the domain’s Jikishinkage-ryū instructor Naganuma Masasato (長沼恂郷, also

⁶⁰The two specific Ittō-ryū lines he trained in are unnamed here and should be fixed from a biographical dictionary.

⁶¹The Naganuma-ha of Jikishinkage-ryū is the same broad school this register otherwise follows, but a distinct sub-line from the Odani-ha / Fujikawa-ha; Tokunō and Kawaji together give the police layer two Naganuma-ha swordsmen, which is worth noting against the assumption that the Keishichō drew only from the sword schools popular in Edo.

written 恂教; *gō Shōbee*, 笑兵衛; d. 1865), took full transmission (menkyo kaiden) at twenty-one in 1862, and after his teacher's death studied under the son, 可笑人 (*Kashōjin*), serving as juku-head of the Naganuma dōjō. After the abolition of the domains he became a city warden in Tokyo, and in 1880 was taken into the Keishikyoku as a guard-officer (警衛掛); as a gekken sewakari he joined in compiling the Keishi-ryū. His match record ran strong through the 1880s, including an 1882 imperial-review win. He met Matsuzaki Namishirō twice in 1884 — a draw at the Imperial Household Ministry's Saineikan and a win over him at the Mukōgaoka Yayoi-sha tournament on 8 November (Meiji 17); no source records the reverse result.⁶²

At the first Butoku-sai great embukai in 1895 he defeated Okumura Sakonta and was awarded the first seirenschō (精錬証); across the following annual meetings he was never beaten, and in 1903 he received the Butokukai's first hanshi (範士) title. In his last years he was named foremost of the "three elders of the Tokyo kendō world" (東都剣道界の三元老), the other two being Shingai Tadaatsu (真貝忠篤) and Negishi Shingorō. On an early morning in July 1908 he took his own life at home by cutting his throat — leaving no note, the act was ascribed to the stroke he had suffered that spring — at the age of sixty-seven.⁶³

⁶² Anchor this bout by its date — Meiji 17, 8 November 1884 — not by an ordinal. The secondary literature disagrees on the numbering of the Yayoi-sha meets (the same 8 Nov 1884 tournament is called both the 2nd and the 3rd), and the Keishichō budō history separately calls the 1885 Yayoi meet "the first national kenjutsu tournament," which cannot be squared with 1884 already being a *zenkoku* (全国) event. That Okumura Sakonta's record lists five individually named opponents at this one meet (one loss, one draw, three wins) shows it was decided by direct head-to-head bouts, so the win over Matsuzaki is a real result, not a bracket artifact.

⁶³ The seppuku is reported consistently — the blade wiped and returned to its sheath before death — but the cause is given as uncertain, most often attributed to the stroke of that spring; treat the "no reason known" framing as the sources leave it rather than resolving it.

The Naganuma-ha teacher's name is written both 恂郷 and 恂教 (gō 笑兵衛 Shōbee); the Sōtairoku grave register for the Numata-han (soutairoku.com, 2-25_numata) reads 恂郷 as Masasato and gives his death as 1865, three years after Tokunō's menkyo kaiden. The son he continued under, 可笑人 (Kashōjin), is Naganuma Michisato (称郷, d. 1895), last head of the 正兵衛家 branch. This identifies Tokunō directly with that branch-house line as both pupil and successor.⁶⁴

The Keishichō put Sakakibara Kenkichi in charge of vetting the first *gekken sewakari* recruits (1879), and the Meiji-16 intake that brought in Tokunō and Shimoe Hidetarō went on to codify the Keishi-ryū *gekken kata*.

⁶⁴ the Sōtairoku grave register for the Numata-han (soutairoku.com, 2-25_numata) gives 恂郷 as まさと (Masasato, d. 1865) and 称郷 as みちさと (Michisato, d. 1895), which fixes the two readings and fits this career — the first teacher dying three years after the menkyo kaiden. 恂教 remains an attested alternative writing of the first name, and 笑兵衛/正兵衛 still want a primary check. Two cautions on that register: it gives 恂郷 and 万郷 the same reading まさと, possibly a transcription artifact, and it places 直郷 in 栃木県沼田市 when Numata is in Gunma.

PART III

The Butokukai

CHAPTER 1

The Butokukai

The Dai Nippon Butokukai

Founding

The Dai Nippon Butokukai was established in Kyoto in April 1895 (Meiji 28), its stated purpose to encourage budō, cultivate martial virtue (butoku 武徳), and rouse the national spirit; an imperial endowment of ¥20,000 followed in 1909 (Meiji 42). The first Butoku-sai (武徳祭) that year conferred the earliest seirenschō (精錬証), among them Matsuzaki Namishirō, Okumura Sakonta (奥村左近太), and Tokunō Sekishirō (得能関四郎).⁶⁵ (Dai Nippon Butokukai Budō Senmon Gakkō 1927)

From Jikishinkage-ryū, Naganuma Kazusato (長沼和郷) of Mino-Kano Domain (幕末に直心影流を修行し) is said to have been awarded a kendō *hanshi* (武徳会から剣道範士号) in 大正 14 年 (1925 年).

The Shōgō System

The Butokukai's ranking machinery is the terminus of the arc's through-line. It began with the single seirenschō, added the *hanshi* (範士) and *kyōshi* (教士) titles around the years 1902 to 1903, and

⁶⁵The 1927 handbook is the school's own chronology — primary for the founding date, purpose, and 1909 endowment, but silent on founding governance (first president, patronage, the Heian-sentō 1100th-anniversary context). Please consult Gainty, *Martial Arts and the Body Politic in Meiji Japan* or a Butokukai general history for more details on its founding.

the *renshi* (錬士) title in 1934. This is a conferred national title graded by a central body — the same office-and-grade principle as the *Kōbusho* appointment ranks and the *Keishichō gekken kyūi* (撃剣級位), not a *ryūha* transmission — now detached from any single school and administered nationally.

The 1927 *Busen* handbook shows this system in full administration: a fifteen-step *dan/kyū* ladder (*jūdan* 十段 down to *gokyū* 五級), the titles *hanshi*, *kyōshi*, and *seirensō* held by examiners, and the examination and local-review (*chihō shinsakai* 地方審査会) procedures that governed grading. (*Dai Nippon Butokukai Budō Senmon Gakkō* 1927)

The Butokuden and the Honbu Teaching Staff

When the *Butokuden* (武徳殿) was completed in Kyoto in 1899, the *Butokukai* named five men to its teaching staff — *Okumura Sakonta*, *Mitsuhashi Kan'ichirō* (三橋鑑一郎), *Naitō Takaharu* (内藤高治), *Sasaki Masayoshi* (佐々木正宜), and *Koseki Norimasa* (小関教政) — the step that began converting the *honbu* from a tournament site into a teaching institution. The accompanying recruiting telegram to *Naitō* is flagged in his own entry as traditional embellishment and is not treated here as documentary.

The Busen

The teaching institution proper evolved through four names, and its own chronology corrects the common conflation of the 1899 *honbu* appointment with the founding of the training school. The *Butokukai* formally established the *Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo* (武術教員養成所) — a teacher-training institute for *kendō* and *jūdō* — on 1 October 1905 (Meiji 38), six years after the 1899 *Butokuden*

staffing. The institute was reorganized as the short-lived Butoku Gakkō (武徳学校) in 1911, chartered under the Senmon Gakkō-rei as the Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō (武術専門学校) in January 1912, and finally renamed the Budō Senmon Gakkō (武道専門学校, “Busen”) in February 1919. (Dai Nippon Butokukai Budō Senmon Gakkō 1927)

That last renaming is telling: the school became a *budō* rather than a *bujutsu* school in Taishō 8, the same year the Butokukai unified the terms kenjutsu and gekken under the single name kendō. The disciplinary relabeling and the institutional one are a single movement.

Naitō served as chief kendō instructor and formed the inter-war generation, including the future tenth-dan holders Mochida Moriji (持田盛二) and Saimura Gorō (齋村五郎). That interwar-generation detail is developed in the Busen section, so as not to duplicate the Naitō and Chiba entries; this section carries only the institutional placement.

The 1911 Kendō-kata

An intermediate step preceded it: in 1906 a body of the first-generation hanshi — Mitsuhashi Kan’ichirō and Watanabe Noboru among them — framed a Dai Nippon Butokukai kenjutsu-kata (大日本武徳会剣術形), the immediate forerunner from which the 1911 committee worked.

In 1911 a committee including Monna Tadashi (門奈正), Naitō Takaharu, Ozawa Ichirō (小澤一郎), and Sasaki Masayoshi drafted the Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata (大日本帝国剣道形). The standardized forms then promulgated in 1912 as the Butokukai consolidated the many shinai-kenjutsu lines into one kendō. This is the same cross-school integration logic the Keishi-

ryū kata prototyped a generation earlier: the police composite of 1886 is the forerunner of the national composite of 1911–12.

The 1919 Unification

In 1919 (Taishō 8) the Butokukai unified the terms kenjutsu and gekken under the single name kendō, completing the disciplinary relabeling that ran parallel to the school's own renaming that year. The reform was pan-disciplinary rather than kendō-specific: the same jutsu→dō (術→道) relabeling recast jūjutsu as jūdō and kyūjutsu as kyūdō, and the Butokukai promulgated a standardized form for each art, not only the sword. For archery it issued the Dai Nippon Butokukai kyūdō yōsoku (大日本武徳会弓道要則) and a unified shooting form (武徳会形), codified — in the words of a contemporary manual — to unify shooting technique (shakei tōitsu 射形統一): the archery analogue of the 1911 kendō-kata, so that the same single standardized art emerged from many older lines here as with the sword. (Kyūdō Kyōiku Kenkyūkai 1933)

The archery case shows how thin that imposed unity was. The surviving schools fell into two currents — the ceremonial Ogasawara-ryū (小笠原流), the 礼射 tradition of front-raising (正面打起し), and the practical Heki-ryū lineages (印西派, 雪荷派, 竹林派), the 武射 tradition of oblique-raising (斜面打起し) — with the modern Honda-ryū (本多流), drawn from the Heki Chikurin-ha and adopting front-raising, dominant in the university-and-Butokukai era. When representatives met at headquarters in 1934 (Shōwa 9) and enacted the Kyūdō Yōsoku after fierce debate, it drew sustained criticism, was mocked in the press as a “chimera shooting method” (鵜的射法), and was superseded in 1944 by a Kyūdō Kyōhan (弓道教範) that re-admitted both the front-

and oblique-raising methods; genuine standardization — the 射法八節 — came only after the war under the Nihon Kyūdō Renmei from 1949. Heki-ryū's own transmission is followed in the Kawashima Takashi entry, the register's one practising archer. (*Kyūdō no rekishi* (弓道の歴史), n.d.)

Iai underwent the same gathering. The draw (*battōjutsu*, later *iaidō*) traces in its dominant tradition to Hayashizaki Jinsuke Shigenobu (林崎甚助重信, trad. 1542–1621), born in Hayashizaki village in Dewa, whose Shinmusō Hayashizaki-ryū stands at the head of most surviving iai — the Musō Jikiden Eishin-ryū (無双直伝英信流), Tamiya-ryū (in the Select Traditions), Mugai-ryū (無外流) and their kin — a Dewa-centred network whose Kumano-Shugendō colouring the received tradition, following the *Honchō Bugei Shōden*, largely smoothed away. These lines entered the Butokukai's orbit as the other arts did, and the sword-drawing curricula the modern federations carry forward descend from that older network rather than from any Butokukai invention. (Hinatsu Shigetaka 1716)

Colonial and Overseas Honbu

The Butokukai's reach extended into the empire through full colonial headquarters, not mere branches: a Taiwan honbu (台灣本部) was established in April 1906 (Meiji 39), one of three colonial honbu alongside the later Manchuria and Korea bodies, and its machinery ran on the police — prefectural and local governors headed the branches, and solicitation was carried mainly by police officers. In the colony this is more than a funding detail: kendō diffused through the police-and-school apparatus that was the instrument of colonial control. The Butokukai's own headquarters register turns that from inference into a roster. Taiwan

addresses occur in it on the order of three hundred and thirty times, spread across the island — Tainan, Taihoku, Taichū, Kīrun, Takao, Karenkō, Penghu, Taitō — and the striking feature is not the number but the uniformity of the employers behind it: the entries are overwhelmingly police-attached, to a 警察署 (police station), a 州警務部 or 警務課 (prefectural and sectional police affairs), and to the Governor-General's own 臺灣總督府警察官練習所, the police training institute. Title-holders in the colony sat inside the policing apparatus as a matter of course, which is a different and harder claim than kendō merely spreading through institutions that happened to be official.

The same pattern holds for the bow, where it can be counted from the other end. Sakai Hikotarō (酒井彦太郎, 1867–1951), the Heki-ryū Sekka-ha (雪荷派) teacher who carried kyūjutsu to the colony, left a disciple register (門人名簿) recording **515 disciples in Taiwan against 104 in the mainland prefectures and 5 in Korea and Manchuria** — 619 in all.⁶⁶ A provincial line of Japanese archery acquired five times as many students in one colony as in the home islands, and did so through the same police-and-school channels. Kyūdō's colonial diffusion is thus not a footnote to the kendō story but a parallel case with a register behind it.

What practice at a colonial Butokuden actually looked like is attested photographically. An interior view of the first-generation Tainan Butokuden has been matched, by its ceiling and window forms, to a family-held group photograph of kenjutsu practice with a *furibō* (振り棒) — the swinging bar characteristic of

⁶⁶Matsuo Makinori (松尾牧則, International Budo University) and Goga Tomotsugu (Tsukuba), 48th Annual Conference of the Japanese Academy of Budo (2015), abstract IA-2, p. 16 (Matsuo Makinori and Goga Tomotsugu 2015) — a research program on colonial-Taiwan kyūdō, working from Sakai's disciple register. The Butokukai HQ register counts are from the register itself.

Jikishinkage-ryū — placing that training inside the Butokuden itself.⁶⁷ A koryū tradition was being practised in the colony's official martial hall, under the same roof the police apparatus used for kendō.

The individual case behind these findings, Kawashima Takashi — licensed by Sakai, the first man to enroll at Tainan, and a kendō instructor at the police normal school — is treated at length elsewhere.

Other Figures

The lineage of Kanji Kato has been passed down to the Nihon Budo Shurenkai in Ibaraki; the Nihon Dento Bunka Hozonkai (under Ichiei Shiina); the Kodokai Kendo Dojo (affiliated with Ningen Zen) in Chiba; and the Hojinkan Dojo in Hiroshima.

The lineage of Hidetaka Onishi has been passed down to the Shinkage-ryū Hyakurenkai, the Hoteikai, the Takasaki City University of Economics Kendo Club, and other locations.

The lineage of Sogen Omori has been passed down to the Kohuin Tesshukai and the Kozayama Dojo in Ibaraki.

Additionally, Sakonta Okumura—who trained in the Shinkage-ryū tradition of the Bizen-Okayama-Shinden Domain (Kamogata Domain) and founded the Okumura Nito-ryū style —taught both Shinkage-ryū and Okumura Nito-ryū.

There is also the lineage of Madoka Toyama, who transmitted the Shinkage-ryū style of the Harima-Tatsuno Domain.

⁶⁷Matsuo Makinori (松尾牧則, International Budo University) and Goga Tomotsugu (Tsukuba), 48th Annual Conference of the Japanese Academy of Budo (2015), abstract IA-2, p. 16 (Matsuo Makinori and Goga Tomotsugu 2015) — a research program on colonial-Taiwan kyūdō, working from Sakai's disciple register. The Butokukai HQ register counts are from the register itself.

Kazusato Naganuma emerged from the Naganuma family of the Mino-Kano Domain—a family of instructors (specifically, the line of Tokusato, the biological son of Kunisato Naganuma). Kazusato Naganuma trained in Shinkage-ryū during the Bakumatsu period and was awarded the title of Kendo Hanshi by the Dai Nippon Butoku Kai in 1925.

The Budō Senmon Gakkō

With the Budō Senmon Gakkō — the “Busen” — the centre of gravity of kendō instruction passed from the Keishichō, where the sewakari had gathered the sword schools in the 1880s, to a formal academy that trained the teachers of the next generation. Its institutional founding, name-changes, and place in the Butokukai are set out in the Butokukai section; what follows is the school’s own chronology and the generation it produced.

Chronology

Drawn from the school’s own 1927 handbook, the *ichiran* (一覧): (Dai Nippon Butokukai Budō Senmon Gakkō 1927)

- 1905 (Meiji 38) — the Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo (武術教員養成所) is established in Kyoto, teaching kendō and jūdō with general subjects; Naitō Takaharu is its chief kendō professor.
- 1909 (Meiji 42) — an imperial endowment of ¥20,000 toward founding a proper school; the first graduates go out as budō teachers across the country.
- 1911 (Meiji 44) — the Yōseijo is abolished and reorganised as the short-lived Butoku Gakkō (武徳学校).
- 1912 (Meiji 45) — chartered under the Senmon Gakkō-rei as the Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō (武術専門学校).

- 1914 (Taishō 3) — graduates authorised for employment as gekken or jūjutsu teachers at normal and middle schools; a two-year research course added.
- 1919 (Taishō 8) — renamed the Budō Senmon Gakkō (武道専門学校) — a *budō* rather than a *bujutsu* school, in the same year the Butokukai unified kenjutsu and gekken under the name kendō.
- 1921 (Taishō 10) — graduates awarded the title budō gakushi (武道学士).
- 1946 (Shōwa 21) — the Butokukai is dissolved by order of the Occupation, and the school with it.

The interwar generation

The Busen is where the Hokushin Ittō-ryū cohort that had passed through Keishichō gekken — chiefly Naitō Takaharu — reproduced itself as a teaching lineage. Naitō served as chief kendō professor from the 1905 founding onward, and the first-term students who entered under him in 1906 included both of the men later reckoned among the “sword-sages of the Shōwa era”: Mochida Moriji and Saimura Gorō, each of whom would in 1957 receive one of the five kendō tenth dans ever awarded. Mochida was further ranked one of the institute’s “three brave youths” (三勇士), with Hori Shōhei and Ōshima Jikita.

The through-line of the register’s arc closes here. The severe tachikiri culture of the Keishichō morning practice, the cross-school composite of the Keishi-ryū, and the standardised Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata of 1911 all fed into a single institution whose graduates became the kendō masters of the Taishō and early-Shōwa era — so that the “office, not license” logic traced

from the Kōbusho through the police issued, finally, in a school that conferred a national qualification to teach.

CHAPTER 2

Nativist Shintō

From Kokugaku to the Ketsumeidan: Nativist Shintō and the Budō World

Across the Edo period the nativist undertow inside high Sinophilia — the *ka-i hentai* (華夷変態) sense that civilization itself had migrated, leaving Japan the truer heir of the Middle Kingdom (中華) — grew through *kokugaku* into a full ideological program, and from there into the kokutai nationalism of the early-Shōwa decades that the budō world brushed against. This piece traces that arc. For how it bears on the dating of Chinese-origin claims in the martial schools, see From Ming to Meiji; for one budōka formed by its endpoint, see Kunii Zen'ya of Kashima Shin-ryū.

Nativist Shintō Thought

Motoori Norinaga (本居宣長, 1730–1801) gave kokugaku (国学; “national learning”) its mature form as a philological recovery of antiquity, above all in the Kojiki-den (古事記伝), his decades-long commentary on the Kojiki. Its polemical core is the rejection of karagokoro (漢意; “the Chinese mind”) — the rationalizing, moralizing Confucian-Buddhist cast of thought — in favor of a native magokoro (真心; “true heart”) recoverable from the oldest texts.

He held that the contrived “Way” of the Confucian sages was an artificial human device for governing a badly-ordered society,

whereas Japan, under the imperial line descended from Amaterasu, was naturally well-ordered and needed no explicit moral teaching, no kotoage (言挙げ; “explicit moralizing assertion”). His literary theory of mono no aware (物の哀れ; “the pathos of things”) rehabilitated feeling over didacticism as the authentic register of Japanese sensibility.

On religion he was a literalist about the age of the gods and counseled humility before kami whose workings exceed human reason; and his view of death was bleak — the dead go to the polluted Yomi (黄泉) regardless of merit, to be grieved honestly rather than consoled by foreign doctrines. His program was scholarly, aesthetic, and devotional more than political.

Restoration Shintō

Hirata Atsutane (平田篤胤, 1776–1843), who styled himself Norinaga’s posthumous disciple, radicalized this into fukko Shintō (復古神道; “Restoration Shintō”) — a systematic theology and cosmology with a devotional and activist charge.

Hirata foregrounded a creator principle in Ame-no-Minakanushi (天御中主神) and the zōka no sanshin (造化三神; “three deities of creation”), giving kokugaku a more structured, near-monotheistic cosmogony. His decisive break with Norinaga was the afterlife: against the bleak Yomi, he taught a hidden world, kakuriyo (幽冥界; “the unseen realm”), ruled by Ōkuninushi (大国主), where souls are judged and from which the dead continue to watch over the manifest world — a consoling, salvation-oriented doctrine that openly absorbed Christian and other foreign materials while claiming to recover the pure native truth.

He paired this with a supremacist comparativism, treating the myths of China, India, and the West as corrupted dialects

of an original Japanese revelation, and with a populist, ritually practical Shintō aimed at ordinary rural people rather than elite scholars. That combination made the Hirata school a mobilizing ideology: it fed bakumatsu sonnō thought, the Restoration, the early-Meiji program of *saisei itchi* (祭政一致; “unity of rite and rule”), and the short-lived attempt to install Restoration Shintō as a state religion. The shift between them — from Norinaga’s philological-aesthetic recovery to Atsutane’s theological-political system — is how *kokugaku* passes into the Meiji de-syncretization and the *kokutai*/*Kōdō* nationalism.

Kokutai Doctrine

Imaizumi Sadasuke (今泉定助, 1863–1944) was a Shintō ideologue, *kokugaku*-trained scholar of classical Japanese letters, and one of the principal early-Shōwa authorities on *kokutai* (国体; “national polity”) doctrine. Imaizumi was born into a samurai household in the Shiroishi castle town in Mutsu (present Miyagi), a son of a retainer of the Katakura house, briefly adopted into the Satō family of the Shiroishi Shinmei-sha before reverting to the Imaizumi name. He entered the classics course (古典講習科) of the Faculty of Letters at Tokyo University in 1882 and graduated in 1886. Through the Meiji period he worked as a scholar of national literature: a compiler on the *Koji Ruihen* (古事類苑) encyclopedia project, an assistant supervisor (学監補) and lecturer at *Kokugakuin* (國學院), and an editor of the *Kojitsu Sōsho* (故実叢書), with a specialty in *yūsoku kojitsu* (有職故実; court and warrior ceremonial precedent). Favored by the first justice minister Yamada Akiyoshi (山田顕義), he was brought in to lecture at the *Kōten Kōkyūsho* (皇典講究所).

Then, in early Taishō, influenced by Kawazura Bonji's (川面凡児) practical, ascetic Shintō, he grafted a faith-based, practice-oriented dimension onto the Motoori-derived literary Shintō and named the synthesis Kōdō (皇道; "the Imperial Way"), then devoted himself to propagating it as a national guiding doctrine. Through the priestly-family networker Ashizu Kōjirō (葦津耕次郎) he reached government, military and financial elites, taught kokutai doctrine to politicians and officers amid the unrest of the 1920s–30s — most prime ministers of the era are said to have received his instruction — and held formal positions as chairman of the Jingū Hōsai-kai (神宮奉斎会), director of the Kōdō Gakuin (皇道学院) at Nihon University, and adviser (参与) to the wartime Jingiin (神祇院). He served as a special defense counsel at the 1934 trial of the Ketsumeidan (血盟団). He was, in short, an architect and popularizer of the kokutai/Kōdō ideology that undergirded prewar State Shintō.

It was through Imaizumi that this intellectual lineage reached directly into the budō world; one student so formed was Kunii Zen'ya of Kashima Shin-ryū.

The Ketsumeidan Incident

The Ketsumeidan Incident (血盟団事件, "League of Blood Incident") was a campaign of political assassinations in Japan in early 1932, one of the episodes of ultranationalist terror that marked the collapse of party government in the early Shōwa years.

It centered on Inoue Nisshō (井上日召), a Nichiren-influenced agrarian-nationalist preacher who had gathered a group of young followers — students and rural youth — at his base near

Ōarai in Ibaraki.⁶⁸

Later in life, after hearing what he took to be a divine voice in 1924, he immersed himself in Nichiren Buddhism — reading Nichiren’s doctrine, training at Mount Minobu, attending Tanaka Chigaku’s study sessions, and when that left him unsatisfied he turned to Zen, becoming a disciple of Yamamoto Gempō at Shōinji. He then moved to the Risshō Gokokudō he built at Ōarai in Ibaraki, aiming to cultivate young men — the “dōjō” in his story is a religious and communal-living hall, not a martial training ground. Earlier he had also spent time on the continent (China/Manchuria) in nationalist and intelligence-adjacent activity.

Inoue’s doctrine was summarized in the slogan *ichinin issatsu* (一人一殺; “one person, one kill”): each member would assassinate one corrupt leader, the targets being a list of roughly twenty senior politicians, court officials and zaibatsu businessmen held responsible for Japan’s economic distress, party corruption and the 1930 London Naval Treaty. The aim was to clear the way for a “Shōwa Restoration” of direct imperial rule.

Two killings were carried out before the group was broken up. On 9 February 1932 Onuma Shō (小沼正) shot Inoue Junnosuke (井上準之助), a former finance minister and a leading Minseitō figure, while he was campaigning. On 5 March 1932 Hishinuma Gorō (菱沼五郎) shot Dan Takuma (團琢磨), the head of the Mitsui holding company, outside the Mitsui Bank in Nihonbashi. Arrests followed and the remaining plot collapsed; the name

⁶⁸In 1894, Inoue attended a Jikishinkage-ryū dōjō and learned kendō, and by 1900 had improved enough to advance to the mokuroku level before going on to Maebashi Middle School.

“Ketsumeidan” was applied externally, by prosecutors and the press, rather than chosen by the group.

Inoue’s authority over his followers was religious, not martial — the ichinin issatsu doctrine framed in Nichiren and Zen terms — and the two assassinations were carried out with pistols, not blades.

So, although the League sat in the same Shōwa-Restoration milieu that the budō world brushed against (and where Imaizumi appears as defense counsel), it was not a martial-arts-rooted cell.

If there is a bujutsu thread into this milieu, it likely runs through other figures such as the naval-officer corps, and not through Inoue himself, but figures like Imaizumi strongly influenced famous budō practitioners such as Kunii Zen’ya.

Honma Ken’ichirō (本間憲一郎), head of the Shizan-juku (紫山塾) was documented in Inoue’s network from Manchurian-railway years — during his time working for the Mantetsu, Inoue became acquainted with Honma Ken’ichirō and Maeda Torao — and it was Honma who, at the time of Inoue’s surrender, asked Amano Tatsuo to talk Inoue out of suicide and into giving himself up. His Shizan-juku was a nationalist training-juku that had martial components.

The Ketsumeidan was a religious-and-student cell that killed with pistols supplied by naval officers; its martial-arts content is Inoue’s own youthful Jikishinkage-ryū training and the Genyōsha dōjō culture (the Tenkōkai hall, Honma’s juku) that surrounded and sheltered it — not the participation of professional swordsmen.

When Inoue went underground before surrendering, his hiding place was the Tenkōkai dōjō (天行会道場) within Tōyama

Mitsuru's estate — specifically the residence of Tōyama Hidezō — and the police could not bring themselves to raid the Tōyama compound. The Genyōsha patriarch's family compound, with its training hall, sheltered him. Tōyama and his son Hidezō belonged to the Ketsumeidan circle as nationalist patrons.

The Ketsumeidan members were tried in 1933–34, and the proceedings became a sounding board for nationalist sympathy, with relatively light outcomes — life sentences for Inoue and the two assassins, most of them released within the decade. The incident sits in a chain with the 15 May 1932 assassination of Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi (which drew on the same naval-officer and Inoue circles) and, later, the February 1936 mutiny, marking the shift from party politics toward military-backed authoritarianism.

For how this milieu specifically touched the koryū world — Kunii Zen'ya, the Genyōsha *jō* arts, Nakayama Hakudō and the Army Toyama School — see the Excursus on Kunii in the Shōwa-Restoration milieu in the Kashima Shin-ryū article.

Further Reading

This time period is very well attested and I encourage those interested to consult English language resources by practitioners and scholars of kendō. I am not a kendōka or kendō researcher, but wanted to put a sketch in place here detailing some of the transitional aspects after the end of the Edo period, beyond simply saying there was gekken and then kendō.

Readers who want fuller treatments — or simply pointers into the field — will find some standard works below:

- Benesch, Oleg. *Inventing the Way of the Samurai: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushidō in Modern Japan*. Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2014. On the invention of bushidō and “martial tradition” across the same Meiji-to-Shōwa span — the ideological backdrop to the institutions traced here.

- Bennett, Alexander C. *Kendo: Culture of the Sword*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015. The standard English-language history of kendō from medieval swordsmanship to modern sport; its middle chapters treat the police, the Butokukai, and the Busen directly.
- Friday, Karl F., with Seki Humitake. *Legacies of the Sword: The Kashima-Shinryū and Samurai Martial Culture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997. For the koryū side — the Kashima-Shinryū and the classical warrior culture from which these lineages descend.
- Gainty, Denis. *Martial Arts and the Body Politic in Meiji Japan*. London: Routledge, 2013. The English-language monograph on the Dai Nippon Butokukai and its place in the Meiji state.
- Hurst, G. Cameron, III. *Armed Martial Arts of Japan: Swordsmanship and Archery*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. The foundational scholarly account of the transformation of kenjutsu — and kyūjutsu — into modern arts.

Some online resources include:

- McCall, George. *Kenshi 24/7*. Translated primary sources and essays covering much of this Meiji-to-Shōwa police, Butokukai, and Busen territory.
- Bennett, Alexander C., ed. *Kendo World*. The English-language kendō journal; back issues carry relevant historical articles.

CHAPTER 3

Notable Figures

Chūjō Kinnosuke

Chūjō Kinnosuke (中條金之助; *imina* Kageaki 景昭, 1827–1896) was a bannerman (旗本), one of the few Kōbusho men to hold appointments in two disciplines — kenjutsu *kyōju-kata* and jūjutsu *randori sewa-kokoroe* — and, after the Restoration, head of the Seieitai (精銳隊) and leader of the Makinohara (牧之原) tea-plantation reclamation. He moved through the same bakumatsu circles as Matsuoka Yorozu: the two served together as rōshigumi *torishimari* and later worked side by side as Makinohara pioneers.

A note on the reading: Japanese reference works (Wikipedia, Weblio) gloss the surname ちゅうじょう (*Chūjō*), whereas なかじょう (*Nakajō*) is the more common modern reading of 中條 and the form used across this site. The point is worth settling against a primary genealogy or the Shimada monument before print.

House and Early Training

He was born in the sixth month of Bunsei 10 (1827), son of Chūjō Ichiemon Kagetoshi (中條市右衛門景利) of the o-koshōgumi (御小姓組) — a direct bannerman house. In his youth he took up Yamaga-ryū military science (山鹿流兵学) under Kubota Sugane (窪田清音) — the same Kubota who taught heigaku at the Kōbusho — and swordsmanship in Shingyōtō-ryū (心形刀流) and Hokushin Ittō-ryū (北辰一刀流). A telling detail of that

discipleship: Chūjō coveted a blade the swordsmith Minamoto Kiyomaro (源清麿) had presented to Kubota, and Kubota ceded it to him.

Beyond the sword he was accomplished in jūjutsu, studying under Totsuka Hikosuke — later *tōdori* of the Kōbusho jūjutsu instructors — and earning a *mokuroku* (目録) in Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū (戸塚派楊心流). His name is carved first among the many *mokuroku*-holders on the Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū disciple stele at Injū-ji (胤重寺) in Chiba.

Shogunal Service and the Kōbusho

From Kaei 7 (1854) he served the thirteenth shōgun Iesada, instructing the household's samurai and holding posts including kenjutsu and jūjutsu *sewa-kokoroe*. When the Kōbusho was founded he was appointed both kenjutsu *kyōju-kata* (剣術教授方) and jūjutsu *randori sewa-kokoroe* (柔術乱取世話心得), bridging the sword and jūjutsu cadres.

In the rōshigumi affair he served as a *torishimari* alongside his close friend Yamaoka Tetsutarō and Matsuoka Yorozu. When Matsudaira Chikaranosuke (松平主税助; *imina* Tadatoshi 忠敏) — himself a Kōbusho kenjutsu instructor of the Ryūgō-ryū — abruptly resigned the senior superintendency, Chūjō was named to succeed him as *rōshi-toriatsukai* (浪士取扱) on 1863/1/26, and later moved to oversight of the Shinchōgumi. (小高 旭之 2021)

Restoration and Makinohara

After the 1867 restoration of authority the Seieitai (精銳隊) was raised to guard the retired Yoshinobu; Chūjō, reckoned a first-rank swordsman, was made its head, with Yamaoka among its officers. He meant to die by his own hand inside Edo castle at

the surrender but was dissuaded by Katsu Kaishū; in the fourth month of Keiō 4 he went down with Yoshinobu to Mito, then followed the Tokugawa house to Suruga with some two hundred Seieitai men and their families.

In the seventh month of Meiji 2 (1869), with Tokugawa Iesato's leave, he and Ōkusa Takashige (大草高重) led about 250 former-bannerman households onto the Makinohara plateau south of Kanaya as the "Kanayahara Reclamation Party" (金谷原開墾方), turning roughly 1,425 *chōbu* of waste land to tea — a crop chosen partly on the counsel of Yamaoka and Katsu and aimed at the new government's export trade. The planted area grew from about 200 *chōbu* in 1871 to 500 by 1877. Offered the governorship of Kanagawa in 1874, he declined — saying he would sooner "become fertilizer for the tea fields" (茶畑の肥やしになる) — the overture reportedly carried to him by Yamaoka, by then a court chamberlain. He died on 1896/1/19, aged 77, and was buried at Shugetsu-in (種月院), with Katsu Kaishū as chairman of his funeral. Shimada City raised a statue and commemorative stele to him in 1988.

The lineage and career outline, the Kubota Sugane discipleship, and the Kiyomaro blade follow the Japanese encyclopedic entries (中條金之助, Wikipedia / Weblio). The rōshigumi succession — Matsudaira Chikaranosuke's resignation and Chūjō's appointment as *rōshi-toriatsukai* on 1863/1/26, per the *Fujiokaya Nikki* — is set out in Odaka Teruyuki's study of the rōshigumi's formation (odknobu.hateblo.jp, 2021). The Kōbusho appointment is corroborated by the Tokyo city history (東京市史外編, 講武所). The two web sources are careful but self-published or encyclopedic, and are used as secondary synthesis rather than independent corroboration.

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 (坪和惣太郎), 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 *yūgekitai* (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.

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.

Mitsubishi Kan'ichirō

Mitsubishi Kan'ichirō (三橋鑑一郎, 1841–1909) was a Keishichō and Butokukai swordsman of the Musashi-ryū (武蔵流) — a two-sword exponent nicknamed “Kani no Mitsubishi” (蟹の三橋,

“Mitsuhashi the crab”) — who received one of the Butokukai’s first hanshi titles and helped draft the forms that preceded the national kendō kata.⁶⁹

Born the son of Satō Jidayū, a Tōgun-ryū (東軍流) instructor of the Mikawa Okazaki domain, he first learned his father’s art; at eighteen he was adopted into the Mitsuhashi house and took up Musashi-ryū under Shingū Yajibei, and at twenty-one he entered the Kyōshin Meichi-ryū Shigakukan under Momonoi Shunzō. In 1865 he received full licence in both Tōgun-ryū and Musashi-ryū and became the ninth head of the latter, celebrated as the Okazaki domain’s prodigy and repeatedly commended by its lord.

In the Meiji police he stood at the top grade of the 1888 se-wakari register. At the first Butoku-sai in 1895 he beat Takayama Minesaburō and took a seirenschō, and in 1903 he was named one of the Butokukai’s first hanshi. In 1906 he joined Watanabe Noboru and the other first-generation hanshi to frame the Dai Nippon Butokukai kenjutsu-kata — the direct forerunner of the Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata of 1911–12. In 1909, the year of his death, he published the Kendō hiyō (剣道秘要), which carried his annotations to Miyamoto Musashi’s Gorin-no-sho; his adopted son Mitsuhashi Hidezō became a kendō hanshi and a professor at the Tokyo Higher Normal School.⁷⁰

Mitsuhashi’s Musashi-ryū (武蔵流) — the Okazaki line descending from Kusuda Enseki, a pupil of a Musashi disciple —

⁶⁹The entry rests on the Japanese Wikipedia articles for Mitsuhashi and for Musashi-ryū, which agree on the Tōgun-ryū/Musashi-ryū/Kyōshin Meichi-ryū training, the ninth-generation headship, the first hanshi (1903), and the Kendō hiyō.

⁷⁰The 1906 kenjutsu-kata committee (Mitsuhashi, Watanabe Noboru, and the other first hanshi) is the precursor to the 1911 Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata treated in the Butokukai section; his membership tightens the kata story, which otherwise jumps from the police composite of 1886 to the national one of 1911.

is documented only lightly here; its relation to the wider Niten Ichi-ryū tradition would be interesting to resolve. In addition, his specific hand in the 1906 kenjutsu-kata, as against Watanabe Noboru and the other drafters, is not detailed in the sources we were able to consult and would be an interesting area for kendō researchers to examine using Butokukai records.

Mitsubishi Torazō

Mitsubishi Torazō (三橋虎蔵) 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 Mitsubishi (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.

Mitsubishi 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.

Mochida Moriji

Mochida Moriji (持田盛二, 1885–1974) was, with Saimura Gorō, the most eminent of the interwar kendō masters formed at the Butokukai's teacher-training school, and one of only five men ever awarded the tenth dan. He is remembered as one of the

“sword-sages of the Shōwa era” (昭和の剣聖).⁷¹

Born in Gunma (Seta-gun Shimokawabuchi-mura, now Mae-bashi), he learned Hōshin-ryū (法神流) from his father Mochida Zensaku, a licensed disciple of the school’s fourth-generation head Nei Yukio, who kept a dōjō at home. At seventeen he went to Tokyo for brief training at Nakayama Hakudō’s Yūshinkan (有信館) and Takano Sasaburō’s Meishinkan (明信館). When the Butokukai’s Gunma branch opened he became its first enrollee, and on the strong urging of the honbu professor Naitō Takaharu he entered the Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo (武術教員養成所), where he took up Hokushin Ittō-ryū (北辰一刀流) under Naitō. He passed the institute’s fourth-grade graduation standard early and left before the two-year term was out; there he was ranked one of the “three brave youths” (三勇士) alongside Hori Shōhei and Ōshima Jikita.

He took the seirenschō (精錬証) at twenty-six, the kyōshi title at thirty-four, and the hanshi title at forty-two, and served in turn as kendō instructor to the Kyoto Prefectural Police, kendō master to the Chiba Prefectural Police, lecturer at the Tokyo Higher Normal School, and kendō master to the police bureau of the Korea Government-General; the biographical dictionaries add a spell as assistant professor at the Budō Senmon Gakkō itself. In 1929, while posted in Korea, he won the imperial-review tournament (天覧試合). Brought to the center thereafter, he taught at the Kōdansha Noma dōjō, the Metropolitan Police, the Imperial Palace Police, the Army Toyama School, and several universities

⁷¹The entry rests largely on the Japanese Wikipedia article for Mochida and the biographical-dictionary (Kotobank / Nichigai) treatment; both are consistent on the Yōseijo-Busen career, the tenran-jiai victory, and the tenth-dan award. (Nichigai Associates, n.d.)

and higher schools. He received the ninth dan in 1937 and, in 1957, the tenth dan — accepting only under the federation's insistence, since predecessors had not held it. In 1964 he performed the Nihon Kendō Kata with Saimura Gorō as a demonstration at the Tokyo Olympics.⁷² (Nichigai Associates, n.d.)

The exact year Mochida entered the Yōseijo is given variously (Meiji 40 / 1907 in some accounts); Busen records may more firmly attest this, since the institute's own 1905 founding date bears on which term he could have entered. In addition, his Hōshin-ryū (法神流) transmission — grade received from his father, and the school's own lineage — is thinly documented and worth a dedicated source.

Naitō Takaharu

Naitō Takaharu (内藤高治, 1862–1929) of Hokushin Ittō-ryū (北辰一刀流) was, with Takano Sasaburō, one of the two figures who shaped the kendō of the Dai Nippon Butokukai (大日本武徳会) — paired in the saying “Naitō of the west, Takano of the east” (西の内藤、東の高野).

A Hokushin Ittō-ryū (北辰一刀流) swordsman from Mito, he passed the influence of Chiba Shūsaku's lineage from bakumatsu gekken into the standardized kendō of the modern era: raised in the Mito Tōbukan transmission, seasoned in Metropolitan Police gekken, and installed as chief kendō instructor at the Butokukai's teacher-training school, where he formed the interwar generation

⁷²The 1929 御大礼記念天覧武道大会 victory (over, among others, Ōshima Jikita, Nōtomi Itsuo, Ōsawa Tōshirō, and — in the final — Takano Shigeyoshi) is the single feat most responsible for his national fame; the standard accounts add that he was granted a sword and a silver cup. His pairing with Saimura at the 1964 Olympics is the interwar generation's most visible late appearance.

of masters.⁷³ His title was kendō hanshi (範士).

Born in Mito as the sixth son of the Ichige (市毛) house — his father Ichige Takanori (市毛高矩) a domain archery instructor, his mother a daughter of the Hokushin Ittō-ryū instructor Watanabe Seizaemon (渡辺清左衛門) — he grew up amid the Tenguto disturbances of the late Mito domain.⁷⁴ From 1869 he studied Chinese letters, swimming, and swordsmanship; at twelve he entered the Tōbukan of Ozawa Torakichi (小澤寅吉), taking kirigami (切紙) at fourteen and mokuroku (目録) at eighteen, with his lifelong associate Monna Tadashi (門奈正) as fellow-student. At twenty he was adopted into the Naitō family.

In 1883 he went to Tokyo and trained for about a year chiefly at the dōjō of Sakakibara Kenkichi (榊原鍵吉) at Shitaya Kurumazaka, followed by musha-shugyō and mountain austerities; on returning he challenged and repeatedly defeated serving Keishichō gekken instructors (擊劍世話掛, gekken sewakari), among them Kawasaki Zenzaburō (川崎善三郎) and Takano Sasaburō.⁷⁵

In 1888 he entered the Metropolitan Police himself as a first-class patrolman, posted — through the arrangement of Shimoe Hidetarō (下江秀太郎) — to the same station as Monna. During the Sino-Japanese War (1894) the police dispatched gekken in-

⁷³The entry rests chiefly on the Japanese Wikipedia article for Naitō, corroborated for the Tōbukan chain by the Mito Tōbukan and Hokushin Ittō-ryū entries. It is largely a single narrative stream; the anecdotes noted below are traditional rather than independently documented.

⁷⁴Ichige Takanori (市毛高矩) — the given-name reading is provisional; Monna Tadashi (門奈正) — surname conventionally Monna; Kusunoki Masataka (楠正位) — reading provisional. All are given as romaji (kanji) with the readings open pending a furigana source.

⁷⁵The content and grade of his Tōbukan Hokushin Ittō-ryū transmission beyond kirigami and mokuroku, and whether he received menkyo, are not established here.

structors to Korea to protect residents; Naitō went with Monna but returned after developing acute pleurisy.⁷⁶

In 1897 he received the Butokukai seirenschō (精鍊証). When the Butokuden (武徳殿) was completed in Kyoto in 1899, the Butokukai named five men to strengthen its teaching staff — Okumura Sakonta (奥村左近太), Mitsunashi Kan'ichirō (三橋鑑一郎), Naitō, Sasaki Masayoshi (佐々木正宜), and Koseki Norimasa (小関教政); that September Naitō gave up the base he had built in Tokyo and took up service at the honbu.⁷⁷ The Butokukai formally established its teacher-training institute, the Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo (武術教員養成所), on 1 October 1905 — six years after the honbu appointment — and it passed through the Butoku Gakkō (武徳学校, 1911) and Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō (武術専門学校, 1912) before being renamed the Budō Senmon Gakkō (武道専門学校, “Busen”) in 1919. As its chief kendō professor Naitō trained the future tenth-dan holders Mochida Moriji (持田盛二) and Saimura Gorō (齋村五郎). His 1901 bout with Takano Sasaburō at the sixth Butokusai great embukai, drawn one-to-one, was long remembered as a model match. (Dai Nippon Butokukai Budō Senmon Gakkō 1927)

In 1911 he sat — with Monna, Ozawa Ichirō (小澤一郎), and Sasaki Masayoshi — on the committee that drafted the Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata (大日本帝国剣道形), the standardized forms the Butokukai promulgated as it consolidated the many

⁷⁶The 1888 Keishichō appointment via Shimoe Hidetarō and the 1894 Korea dispatch place Naitō squarely in the police-gekken layer of the transition, and cross-link to the Shimoe Hidetarō material and the Chiba Shūsaku entry (Shimoe was a Genbukan juku-head before his police career).

⁷⁷The five-man 1899 appointment (Okumura Sakonta, Mitsunashi Kan'ichirō, Naitō, Sasaki Masayoshi, Koseki Norimasa) is reported consistently; the accompanying “come for the Way” (ミチノタメキタレ) telegram from the Butokukai councillor Kusunoki Masataka is a traditional anecdote and should be marked as such if used.

shinai-kenjutsu lines into a single kendō and, in 1919, unified the terms kenjutsu and gekken under that name.⁷⁸ A memorial stele styling him kensei (剣聖; sword-sage) stands in Kyoto (Sakyō-ku). Through Naitō, the Hokushin Ittō-ryū of Chiba Shūsaku became one of the principal channels feeding modern kendō.

Saimura Gorō

Saimura Gorō (齋村五郎, 1887–1969) was, with Mochida Moriji, one of the two most eminent kendō masters formed at the Butokukai's teacher-training school, and one of the five men ever awarded the tenth dan; his fierce temper earned him the by-names "Thunder Gorō" (雷五郎) and "Brawler Gorō" (ケンカ五郎).⁷⁹

Born in Fukuoka as the third son of the former Fukuoka-domain samurai Saimura Kasei, he entered the prefectural Shūyūkan middle school and learned swordsmanship at the Iaidō (遺愛堂) dōjō under Yoshidome Katsura, an Abetate-ryū (安倍立) instructor and Genyōsha member; his classmate and lifelong friend there was Ogata Taketora, later a deputy prime minister.

Abetate-ryū, founded by Abe Yoritō (安倍頼任, 1624–1693) in 1667, descends from Taisha-ryū — itself an offshoot of the Shink-

⁷⁸The 1911 kendō-kata committee membership (Monna Tadashi, Naitō Takaharu, Ozawa Ichirō, Sasaki Masayoshi) is per the Mito Tōbukan entry; the Butokukai's unification of the terms kenjutsu and gekken under kendō in 1919, and its shōgō system (seirensō, then hanshi and kyōshi from 1902–03, rensi from 1934), are widely attested. This committee seat is the concrete point at which the Hokushin Ittō-ryū cohort enters the standardized-kendō record.

⁷⁹The entry rests chiefly on the Japanese Wikipedia article for Saimura, corroborated by the Shōdōkan memorial page, which reproduces the same career outline; both are consistent on the Yōseijo first-term entry under Naitō, the Busen assistant-professorship, and the tenth-dan award.

age line — and served as a sword art of the Akizuki domain in Chikuzen (present-day Fukuoka). It is remembered as the first major kenjutsu school to style its teaching *kendō* (剣道, 1673), stressing mental and moral cultivation over technique.

In 1906 he entered the Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo (武術教員養成所) as a first-term student under Naitō Takaharu, graduated in 1909, and — after taking the seirenschō (精錬証) in 1913 — became assistant professor of *kendō* at the institute's successor, the Budō Senmon Gakkō. The relative weight of his Kokushikan professorship in the school's prewar *kendō* program, given his connection to Shibata Tokujirō, could be developed from the Kokushikan side..

In 1916, at twenty-nine, he moved to Tokyo. He received the *hanshi* title in 1928 and the *kyōshi* title in 1933, and taught at the Metropolitan Police, the Imperial Palace Police, the Army Toyama School, several Waseda schools and Nihon University, and as professor at the Kokushikan Senmon Gakkō. He appeared in the imperial-review special bouts of 1934 and 1940. On the eve of his suicide on 15 August 1945, the war minister Anami Korechika met and practiced *kendō* with him; after the war, Saimura worked to revive *kendō* under the Occupation ban. In 1957 he received the tenth dan, in 1963 the Medal of Honour with Purple Ribbon (紫綬褒章), and in 1964 he performed the Nihon *Kendō Kata* with Mochida Moriji at the Tokyo Olympics.⁸⁰

⁸⁰The Anami anecdote and the 1964 Olympic demonstration with Mochida are the two set-pieces most often attached to Saimura; the Olympic pairing, requested through his Shūyūkan classmate Yasukawa Daigorō (chairman of the organizing committee), is the interwar generation's most visible late appearance.

Takahashi Hatsuji

In the 1899 Hamada-kan (浜田鑑) edited by Muneo Fujii (藤井宗雄) published by Adachi Kyoeido (安達共栄堂) we find details of Takahashi Hatsuji (高橋初次) : (Fujii Muneo 1899)

“In this town [Nishikimachi 錦町] there is a man called Takahashi Hatsuji, a former domain retainer. A senior disciple of Fukui Ichirōemon, master of Araki-ryū jūjutsu, he served as a patrolman in the time of Hamada Prefecture; subsequently he served as patrolman concurrently with instructor in jūjutsu and tōjutsu, resigning in February 1890. In September 1897, at the age of sixty, he presented himself at the Butokukai in Kyoto and, fighting bouts with several men, won against them all. He was thereupon granted a certificate, reading:

Dai Nippon Butoku Kai Bujutsu Shōjō One: Araki-ryū jūjutsu — Mr. Takahashi Hatsuji, sixty years The above certifies the refinement (seiren 精鍊) of his technique among the participants of the Third Butokukai Demonstration. 7 October 1897 President: Grand Cordon, Golden Kite Second Class, Prince Akihito

He was also granted a cup by the Butokukai, and received an iron fan from the Governor of Kyoto Prefecture. The foregoing is a summary account of Hamada town.”

Imperial Prince Komatsunomiya Akihito (小松宮彰仁親王), an army general, was the founding president; the chairman was Watanabe Chiaki, governor of Kyoto, and the vice-chairman Mibu Motoosa, head priest of Heian Jingū. So the “Prince Akihito” of your certificate is Komatsunomiya Akihito, and the decorations match — Grand Cordon of the Chrysanthemum, Golden Kite 2nd class. Note also that the Kyoto governor who gave Takahashi the

iron fan held the Butokukai chairmanship *ex officio*, so that gift is an institutional one rather than a separate civic courtesy.

His sword art is listed as *tōjutsu* (刀術) not *kenjutsu* (剣術). He taught *jūjutsu* and *tōjutsu*. Given the Araki-ryū context — where the printed compilations classify the school under *torite/kogusoku* and where the 1699 *densho* we examined bundles 捕手, 小具足, and 縄 — 刀術 here may well be Araki-ryū's own sword component rather than a separate school. That would make him a transmitter of the full Araki curriculum, not a *jūjutsuka* who also happened to fence.

He was a patrolman under Hamada Prefecture (浜田県, which existed only until its 1876 absorption into Shimane) — so he entered police service in the early Meiji; then patrolman-cum-instructor; resignation February 1890; his Kyoto appearance seven years into retirement. Takahashi provides an example of a domain retainer's martial competence absorbed into the new prefectural police, formalized as an instructor post, and then validated a second time by the Butokukai after he had already left service.

Takano Sasaburō

Takano Sasaburō (高野佐三郎, 1862–1950) was one of the two principal architects of modern *kendō*. Born in Chichibu in Musashi province, he was trained from infancy in Nakanishi-ha Ittō-ryū (中西派一刀流) by his grandfather Takano Sakichirō, sword instructor to the Oshi domain, and at age five performed the school's fifty-six *kumitachi* before the *daimyō*. A defeat at seventeen sent him to Tokyo, where he eventually studied under Yamaoka Tesshū.

Takano became a Metropolitan Police swordsman in 1886, counted among the police's "three Saburō". From there he built the modern art: invited to the Tokyo Higher Normal School in 1908, he taught there for more than thirty years, training the nation's kendō teachers; he served as one of the five chief compilers of the standardized Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata (大日本帝国剣道形) in 1912, received the Butokukai's kendō hanshi title in 1913, and published his classic textbook Kendō (剣道) in 1915.

Ranked beside Nakayama Hakudō (中山博道) as the supreme authority of early-Shōwa kendō, Takano was called the "sword-saint of the Shōwa era" and in the AJKF's Gendai Kendō Hyakka-shin Takano named Matsuzaki the finest swordsman in Japan, said he had received his teachings, and singled out his *seme* — the pressing and breaking of the opponent's spirit before the cut — as a swordsmanship of Zen depth.

Coming from the man who did more than almost anyone to shape modern kendō, that judgment is the primary reason Matsuzaki's name and method survived into kendō circles today.

Umezaki Yaichirō

Umezaki Yaichirō (梅崎弥一郎, 1847–1913) was a Kurume swordsman of the Katōda Shinkage-ryū (加藤田神陰流) and, with Matsuzaki Namishirō, the best remembered of the twelve inner-license holders of Katōda Heihachirō. The two are the paired names by which that dormant Kurume line is now chiefly known.⁸¹

⁸¹In the Japanese sources Umezaki appears as a dōmon (同門; fellow disciple of the same school) of Matsuzaki within the Katōda Shinkage-ryū line; the pairing, and the joint 1895 Seirensō, are the relevant facts. (Kobayashi Masanori (小林正憲) et al. 1986)

He trained in the Katōda tradition under Katōda Heihachirō (加藤田平八郎) and also took up Tsuda Ichiden-ryū (津田一伝流), the progressive, competition-oriented Kurume sword school. In 1895 he and Matsuzaki jointly received the Seirenschō (精錬証) at the Dai Nippon Butokukai Taikai — co-recipients standing in the same group, not teacher and student, though Umezaki was the junior by fourteen years — and in 1909 he became a Butokukai kendō hanshi. He lived to 1913. Note that Umezaki's own transmission line within Katōda Shinkage-ryū, and how far his practice ran to Tsuda Ichiden-ryū versus the Katōda art, would benefit from a dedicated Kurume source and could be the subject of future research. (Watatani Kiyoshi (綿谷雪) and Yamada Tadashi (山田忠史) 1978; Majima Isao (間島勲) 1996)

Yamada Jirokichi

Yamada Jirokichi (1863-1930) was an important figure both in the rise and development of kendō and the preservation of aspects of Jikishinkage-ryū as Sakakibara's successor. It is said by Ishigaki and Iwasa that Yamada Jirokichi had to go to another line, the Fujikawa-ha, to learn the upper-level kata after Sakakibara's passing — Sakakibara died when Yamada was only 31 years of age. So, some of what is done in what is called the mainline or standard line of Kashima-shinden Jikishinkage-ryū practice today might be drawn from that Fujikawa-ha kata practice and possibly not Sakakibara's complete transmission of the Odani-ha.

Sakakibara, who was bodyguard of the last Tokugawa shogun and keeper of Edo castle, was a famous kenshi and deserving of much praise for his efforts to maintain a practice of swordsmanship relevant to Japanese society as it modernized. A peculiarity of the historical record is while there are stories maintained of

Sakakibara providing Yamada an upper-level license in the form of a densho his teacher had provided him, Yamada's menkyo-kaiden in Jikishinkage-ryū according to Iwasa Minoru was stamped by Sakakibara's widow *after* Sakakibara died.

According to Ishigaki, Yamada's document has siddham characters towards its end reading kanman – a reference to intuition and fudoshin – used in the Fujiwara line instead of the siddham characters for A-Un used in the Odani-ha Sakakibara was part of. So, Yamada potentially copied from a Fujikawa example he found or paid quiet homage to where he completed his training under Saito Akinobu between 1909 and 1911, after Sakakibara's passing.

It is unclear why both Iwasa and Ishigaki would focus on those irregularities in their writing. Yamada Jirokichi was a great teacher, practitioner and scholar of kendō. His books on the history of Japanese swordsmanship, both older styles and kendō, seem monumental in their scope. He wanted to increase the martial vigor of kendō instruction as it spread and associated to his efforts and those of others, practice of the foundational kata of Jikishinkage-ryū was introduced to several kendō clubs.

PART IV

Kobudō Preservation

CHAPTER 1

Kobudō Preservation

Kobudō Preservation

Social cohesion played an important role in motivating older factions of martial arts to continue despite the rapid social changes leading up to the mid-twentieth century, especially after the conquest and occupation of Japan.

Nihon Kobudō Shinkōkai

The Nihon Kobudō Shinkōkai (日本古武道振興会) was founded in February 1935 (Shōwa 10), centered on the House of Peers member Matsumoto Gaku (松本学), with Justice Minister Koyama Matsukichi (小山松吉) and representatives of the koryū schools; it became a zaidan hōjin (財団法人; incorporated foundation) on 4 April 1940. (Nihon Kobudō Shinkōkai 1985)

As gekken consolidated into organized institutions with consolidated curricula, a set of classical schools organized to preserve their own role – one focused on preservation and solemn demonstration.

This is during the time of the rise of nativist-Shintō nationalism and state-led cultural-mobilization milieu. Matsumoto Gaku was a Home Ministry figure active in that sphere during the 1930s. This connects what seems to be an ideologically neutral preservation impulse to the kokutai current of the time, rather than being neutral antiquarianism. Figures like Tōyama Mitsuru (頭

山満) were, according to some accounts, involved in the financial and political backing of the preservation society.

Around this time, the preternaturally skilled figure Kunii Zenya challenged Shinkōkai members at their Meiji enbu and was banned from participating. He may have had a different view of the best way to preserve martial strength. In a twist of fate, one of his students would later be the Aikidō and kenjutsu instructor in residence at Meiji Jingu. (Kunii Zen'ya 1960a)

Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai

The Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai (日本古武道協会) is a postwar counterpart, founded 17 February 1979 (Shōwa 54) by 52 schools under the Nippon Budōkan (日本武道館), after the first All-Japan embu the previous year. (Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai 2019)

Both preservation bodies stood beside — and implicitly against — the Butokukai's standardization and eventual sportive efforts.

Preservation through social organization had its costs. The societies eventually at times meddled in the internal affairs of member ryūha, which in principle should be independent entities despite participation, especially in matter of succession. This, coupled with arts being designated as intangible cultural assets (and thus fixed, immutable), did little to boost the vigor or effectiveness of some older organizations compared to both modern budō and combat sports.

CHAPTER 2

Notable Figures

Awa Kenzō

Awa Kenzō (阿波研造, 1880–1939) of Sendai is the sharpest counterpoint the preservation era offers to committee standardization — and, unlike Kunii, one drawn from archery rather than the sword, which lets this closing section reach across the two arts the book has followed.

From a Heki-ryū line to a religion of shooting

Awa trained in a Heki-ryū line in Sendai [branch to confirm] before turning away from shooting-as-marksmanship toward shooting as spiritual practice. In the 1920s he proclaimed his own way, the *Daishadōkyō* (大射道教; “the great doctrine of the way of shooting”) [year to confirm — commonly given as 1927] — not a ryūha reform but a quasi-religious discipline built around the single, wholly-attended shot.

The counterpoint to standardization

The book has already followed the Butokukai’s attempt to fix a single teachable kyūdō form — the 1934 *Kyūdō Yōsoku* and its critics, treated in the Butokukai’s kyūdō standardization. Awa runs the opposite direction in the very same years: where the committees sought a uniform, national shooting method, he drove toward an interior and finally incommunicable one. The

two are one historical problem — what to preserve once the martial purpose is gone — answered at opposite poles.

Reception, with a caveat

In the West Awa is known chiefly through his student Eugen Herrigel and *Zen in the Art of Archery*; that reception is heavily mediated and much criticized, and belongs here as reception-history, not as evidence for what Awa actually taught. A period Japanese notice records the connection at first hand: Shimomura Hiroshi's *Shumi to Seinen* (趣味と青年, 1943) recounts that in the spring of 1926 (Taishō 15) Herrigel — a German professor at Tōhoku Imperial University in Sendai — sought out Komachiya Sōzō (小町谷操三) and, wishing to study the bow, asked to be introduced to Awa: (Shimomura 1943)

大正十五年の春仙臺で東北大學の先生ドイツ人オイゲン・ヘリゲル君が小町谷操三君をたづねて弓を稽古したいからといふので阿波研造先生に紹介を頼んだ。その打上げから離までの心持ちは阿波研造氏の説くところであり、之を馬術からいへは鞍上人なく鞍下馬なきの境地であり、を看取せられるのである。

In the notice's own gloss, the state of mind from the raise of the bow through the release is the one Awa expounded — likened, in the idiom of horsemanship, to the boundary where there is “no rider above the saddle and no horse beneath it” (鞍上人なく鞍下馬なき): self and technique dissolved together. The substantive account of what Awa taught must still be built from Japanese material of his own period, of which this is one.

Herrigel wrote *Die ritterliche Kunst des Bogenschießens* (1936) that later became influential in the west.

Kunii Zen'ya

Examining the Kashima Shin-ryū of Kunii Zen'ya. Early influences, Shintō education, military contributions, martial reputation and memorial tributes provide a rich view of this important budōka. Kunii Zen'ya is claimed to be the eighteenth-generation head of a family line of martial practice held to be the original Kashima-no-tachi (鹿島之太刀). This may have been conflated with his family genealogy.

Influences

It is said from Kashima Shin-ryū historical accounts that Kunii Zen'ya learned:

1. Kashima Shinden Jikishinkage-ryū (鹿島神傳直心影流) from his grandfather (Shinsaku) and father (Eizō)
2. Shinkage-ryū (新陰流) under Sasaki Masanoshin (佐々木正之進)
3. The Maniba Nen-ryū (馬庭念流) and Myōdō-ryū (妙道流) of Suhara Renjinsai (栖原邦泰; also 栖原邦泰)⁸²⁸³

His training under Sasaki was unconventional, described in anecdotes about a Zen-like atmosphere requiring great intuition. Suhara is a better known figure. Suhara Renjinsai entered the Higuchi house of Jōshū Maniwa Nen-ryū as a live-in disciple at age seven and trained single-mindedly in the sword, as a student of the twenty-third-generation Nen-ryū head Higuchi Sadachika

⁸²Myōdō-ryū (妙道流) is an attested but thinly documented jūjutsu line with scant details. It appears by name in the standard register of jūjutsu ryūha — listed in the same cluster as Mizoguchi-ryū kogusoku, Kashima Shin-ryū (Kunii-house transmission) and Muga-ryū torite.

⁸³Kunii is remembered by older generations of Nen-ryū practitioners as having spent time training as a youth. Kashima Shin-ryū lore has him being called upon to answer challenges on their behalf, fitting for a gifted younger student. Nen-ryū is very well documented.

(樋口定周; reading tentative); in his youth he was one of the dōjō's "dragon and tiger," and in a decisive bout fought before the sōke and several dozen senior students he won and was acclaimed the foremost swordsman of Maniwa Nen-ryū. He then opened a dōjō in Tokyo's Mukōjima.

His Myōdō-ryū jūjutsu (妙道流柔術) secret skill, "Reiki no Jutsu" (靈気の術), is described as a hand-blade strike to a vital point on the forehead that instantly freezes the opponent as if bound. Kashima Shin-ryū has a foundational technique called *reiki no hō* (靈氣之法).

In 1928 Suhara convened a memorial service for the successive sword-ancestors of the Nen-ryū at Zōjō-ji in Shiba, attended by Tōyama Mitsuru, the Higuchi sōke house, and over a thousand swordsmen, and his principal disciples included Kawauchi Tet-susaburō, a founder of the Kobudō Shinkō-kai, and Kunii Zen'ya. Tōyama's presence places Suhara — and through him Kunii — squarely in the Genyōsha/Tōyama orbit that surrounds the Imaizumi Sadasuke kokutai milieu we will discuss later.

Toyama Academy

Kunii was a famous budōka and is credited with bringing Kashima Shin-ryū to its completed current form. He taught at the Army Toyama School and, with Nakayama Hakudō (中山博道), is claimed to have built the Toyama-ryū single-hand military-sword method. This method pre-dates his tenure at Toyama, but he very well may have refined it.

The Rikugun Toyama Gakkō (陸軍戸山学校; "Army Toyama School") was the Imperial Japanese Army's implementation school for infantry combat skills — marksmanship, bayonet (銃剣術; jūkenjutsu), short-sword (短剣術) and sword work — plus

physical education and military music, sited at Toyamamachi in Ushigome (now Toyama, Shinjuku). It had begun in 1873 on the former Owari-han lower estate and originally imported French instructors for fencing and French-style bayonet before converting to Japanese guntō and bayonet methods. It was here that the army codified its guntō-jutsu (軍刀術; “military-sword method”), in both ryōte (両手; two-hand) and katate (片手; single-hand) forms, and the guntō-sōhō (軍刀操法; “military-sword handling”) research that became, postwar, the civilian Toyama-ryū (戸山流) iai.

According to Kunii’s biography, after being conscripted around the First World War, his close-combat (白兵戦; hakuheisen) ability is said to have drawn notice, and he was appointed an instructor (教官) at the school; the standard telling has him, together with Nakayama Hakudō (中山博道) — the Musō Shinden-ryū (夢想神伝流) iai master — reorganizing koryū sword material into the army’s katate guntō-jutsu (片手軍刀術; “single-hand military-sword technique”), with a two-hand form following, and being credited with the development and instruction of the school’s close-quarters combat (近接戦闘術). For these results a bronze statue of him is said to have been raised in the school’s parade ground (営庭).

The chronology does not support a literal reading of “developed the katate guntō-jutsu”. Toyama-ryū guntō kata are, in the well-documented record, credited to Nakayama Hakudō’s five forms adopted in 1925 under the kenjutsu-section chief Lt. Col. Morinaga Kiyoshi (森永清), and to the 1940 additions made with the kendō hanshi Mochida Moriji (持田盛二) and Saimura Gorō (齋村五郎), distributed army-wide that November by the

Kaikōsha (偕行社) as the booklet *Guntō no Sōhō oyobi Shizan* (軍刀の操法及試斬; “Military-Sword Handling and Test-Cutting”).

Kunii was instead likely among the budōka summoned to the Toyama guntō research and may have served as an instructor during the interwar–early Shōwa period when the guntō and close-combat methods were being reworked, contributing to that reorganization and instruction alongside Nakayama, rather than single-handedly inventing the methods.

Bayonet Match

Postwar, put forward by Sasamori Junzō (笹森順造), Kunii is famous in kobudō circles for defeating a US Marine bayonet instructor with a bokutō. (Morikawa Tetsurō 1964)

The context of the postwar bayonet episode deserves some analysis. Sasamori Junzō was a Minister of State (国務大臣; *kokumu-daijin*), serving as Director-General of the Demobilization Agency (復員庁総裁; *Fukuin-chō sōsai*), a House member, and — most relevantly — the principal figure pressing GHQ to lift the budō ban, founding and chairing the All-Japan Shinai-Competition Federation (全日本撓競技連盟) during the prohibition. He was at the same time a classical swordsman of the first rank: sixteenth-generation *sōke* of the Hirosaki-han Ono-ha Ittō-ryū (小野派一刀流), *kendō hanshi*, and transmitter of Shin-musō Hayashizaki-ryū iai (神夢想林崎流居合) and Chokugen-ryū ōnaginata-jutsu (直元流大長刀術). So when GHQ answered his argument — that budō is not killing but subduing an opponent with minimal harm — by daring him to prove it in a contest, the selection fell to a man with the standing to handle the diplomacy and the expertise to judge who could actually win.

The contest's terms then dictated the kind of fighter required. The Japanese representative had to defeat — control, not kill — the US Marines' best bayonet (銃剣術; jūkenjutsu) instructor under deliberately adverse conditions, a wooden sword (木刀; bokutō) or leather practice sword against a fixed bayonet. Because that Marine instructor was also trained in unarmed combat, the representative had to be formidable weaponless as well as with a blade, and had to have genuine fighting experience rather than competition-fencing polish. The sources have Sasamori at a loss over whether any swordsman could meet so steep a demand.

Kunii fit the specification almost exactly, which is likely why he came to mind. His reputation as the “Shōwa no Imamusashi” (昭和の今武蔵; “the Musashi of the Shōwa era”) rested on a record of accepting countless cross-style duels (他流試合; tariū-jiai) on opponents' own terms and remaining undefeated for life — including against unarmed jūdō and karate men, so that he was reputed formidable armed and unarmed alike, with real-combat (実戦; jitsusen) credibility. (Kaku Kōzō 1992; Kunii Zen'ya 1960b)

That he was regarded as heterodox (異端; itan) by the orthodox budō world — he had been barred for years from the Meiji Jingū (明治神宮) demonstrations for challenging other schools to bouts there — was incidental to, and in a sense identical with, the very practical-fighter profile the situation called for. Sasamori, an establishment pillar, reached past his own school and past the mainstream kendō world precisely because the task was actual combat rather than form, and his own eye as a classical swordsman let him recognize where the real fighting ability lay.

It is not clear what the precise details were of this engagement, although Kashima Shin-ryū today memorializes it in a kata, video of which can be found online. It is also not clear if this match helped lead to the removal of a ban on martial practice — there may not have been a full ban in the first place.

The School

Kunii's own tradition, the Kashima Shin-ryū (鹿島神流) — distinct from Bokuden's Kashima Shintō-ryū — is treated separately, including its tengu material and a kata-by-kata comparison against Jikishinkage-ryū and the Nen line: see Kashima Shin-ryū.

Early Shōwa Context

By the time Kunii was active, Jikishinkage-ryū conservators like Yamada Jirōkichi were actively sustaining the Matsumoto Bizen-no-kami narrative, settling on the reading Matsumoto instead of Sugimoto, for example. His effort was spent stabilizing the attribution, not testing whether the attribution itself was a later interpolation. Kunii inherited portions of a tradition through his Fujikawa-ha training that had already done partial philology in service of the legend.

Today, however, the school's own orthodox-history page does not assert the Yoshitsune story as truth; it instead brackets the Yoshitsune-dedicated Tengu-gaki as a public narrative and relocates the binding claim onto direct divine transmission (神授; shinju) running back to Kunima Mahito. That is an increase, not a decrease, and an emphasis on the family line of Kunii rather than the early training he conducted in Jikishinkage-ryū and Nen-ryū. That relocation serves to immunize the lineage against philology — it shifts the load from a historically checkable founder to a

theologically asserted one, where chronology is non-binding by design.

At least in Seki's formulation the tradition is aware enough of the historical fragility to move the weight off it. The unawareness, if that is the word, is selective: candid that the Tengu-gaki provenance is a 建前, yet applying none of that skepticism to Matsumoto-as-founder or to the antiquity of the doctrinal cluster. This follows somewhat naturally from Kunii's own register — his framing was sacred-genealogical, formed in the milieu of Imaizumi Sadasuke's Shintō-nationalist circle, where the "truth" of a transmission is its divine authenticity, not its datability.

Imaizumi Sadasuke (今泉定助, 1863–1944) was a kokugaku-trained scholar of classical Japanese letters who became one of the principal early-Shōwa authorities on kokutai (国体; "national polity") doctrine. In early Taishō he grafted Kawazura Bonji's (川面凡児) practical, ascetic Shintō onto the Motoori-derived literary tradition, named the synthesis Kōdō (皇道; "the Imperial Way"), and propagated it among government, military and financial elites — most prime ministers of the era are said to have received his instruction. He was, in short, an architect and popularizer of the kokutai/Kōdō ideology that undergirded prewar State Shintō. (Imaizumi Sadasuke 1969)

His full biography and the intellectual lineage behind it — *kokugaku*, Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane, into the kokutai/Kōdō synthesis — are traced in the companion piece From Kokugaku to the Ketsumeidan.

Kunii Zen'ya's own grave stele — composed Seki with a frontispiece by the sculptor Kitamura Seibō (北村西望) — records that after his First World War service he studied directly under

Imaizumi (師事) while graduating from Kokugakuin University, and “came to apprehend deeply the dignity of the kokutai.” The stele then lists his roles in the period’s nationalist milieu as a councilor (参与) of the Nihon Kōkyō-kai (日本皇教会), the Ketsumeidan (血盟団), the Kōa Dōmei (興亜同盟) and the Nihon Seinen Renmei (日本青年連盟), alongside lecturer posts at the Army Toyama School, the Kashima Jingū dōjō and elsewhere. These are the stele’s own self-presentation, written within that milieu in its honorific register; the Ketsumeidan listing is of a piece with the Imaizumi circle — Imaizumi himself appeared as a special defense counsel at the 1934 Ketsumeidan Incident trial — and the councilor (参与) framing of such a stele does not by itself establish operational involvement in the group’s acts. (Kunii Zen’ya [erected after 1966])

Imaizumi is the concrete source of Kunii’s register. When Kunii framed Kashima Shin-ryū’s authority as divine bestowal (神授; “divine transmission”) reaching back to the Kashima deity rather than as datable transmission history, he was speaking in his teacher’s Kōdō idiom, in which the warrant of a tradition is its sacred-national authenticity and not its chronology. That is why the philological question — whether the doctrinal cluster is a mid-eighteenth-century Naganuma innovation — sits on a different register from the one Kunii was trained to operate in, and why his treating the lineage’s antiquity as a matter of divine truth rather than evidence is a datapoint about the Imaizumi school’s epistemics rather than a counter-argument on the dating. None of this bears on Kunii’s demonstrated skill as a swordsman, which is not in dispute; it bears only on how his school narrates its own age.

The Kunii–Seki corpus is best then treated as a witness to how the Jikishinkage-ryū doctrinal synthesis propagated *outward* and was re-sacralized — the appearance of the Naganuma cluster in the Kashima “ōyō shinri” is corroborating evidence for dating that cluster, precisely because the borrowing school mis-recognized it at the time as ancient rather than as Naganuma’s innovation.

This evolution from Ming-centric (Naganuma’s tale of Ogasawara’s nittō 入唐 to China) toward identifying a Kashima-Shintō-centric origin (via Kashima-shinden), toward increasing emphasis on Japanese origin, is not unique to Jikishinkage-ryū and its progeny. We see this also in the priority given to Chinese medical theory in early jūjutsu schools whose descendents later adopted Kurama-centric tengu origin stories.

Excursus: Kunii in the Shōwa-Restoration milieu

The nationalist milieu around Kunii is worth mapping, because it clarifies what the stele’s Ketsumeidan listing can and cannot mean. The Shōwa-Restoration scene was saturated with swordsmanship as *idiom* — nativist sword-romanticism, *budō seishin* (武道精神; “martial spirit”) as a banner — while its actual violence was done with pistols. Holding those two facts together keeps Kunii’s place in it in proportion.

The Ketsumeidan’s own leader shows the pattern. Inoue Nishō (井上日召) was a Gunma man who in 1894 entered a Jikishinkage-ryū dōjō and reached the mokuroku grade in kendō by 1900, and whose father was the younger brother of Saruwatari Hironobu, a participant in the 1876 Shinpūren (神風連) rising — the ultra-nativist Kumamoto swordsmen who rejected firearms as foreign defilement and struck with the blade. Yet the man

with a Jikishinkage-ryū mokuroku and a Shinpūren bloodline organized assassinations carried out with pistols supplied from the naval and Genyōsha networks. The sword was the spiritual register; the pistol was the instrument. The literary distillation of that register is Mishima Yukio's *Runaway Horses* (奔馬), whose young protagonist — modeled on Tōyama Hidezō (頭山秀三), Tōyama Mitsuru's son and head of the Tenkōkai (天行会), the hall where Inoue went to ground — is steeped in kendō and Shinpūren devotion. The Tenkōkai was founded in 1931 to promote pan-Asian solidarity and “martial spirit,” and at the May 15 Incident Tōyama Hidezō supplied the conspirators with pistols. “Martial spirit” here is ideology, not a transmitted curriculum. (Tōyama hidezō (頭山秀三), n.d.)

Kunii touches both at one remove rather than at their center:

1. In the Fukuoka Genyōsha / Kokuryūkai stream the signature arts were Shindō Musō-ryū jō (神道夢想流杖術) and its allied weapons, with Uchida-ryū tanjō (内田流短杖術) devised by Uchida Ryōgorō (内田良五郎) — whose son Uchida Ryōhei (内田良平), founder of the Kokuryūkai and the Dai-Nihon Seisantō and himself a Jigō-tenshin-ryū (自剛天真流) jūjutsu man, is named in the sources as a behind-the-scenes figure of both the Ketsumeidan and the Shinpeitai incidents. That same Uchida Ryōgorō was the jō teacher of Nakayama Hakudō (中山博道)
2. Nakayama is Kunii's direct point of contact with this world, since the two of them reworked classical sword into the Army Toyama School's one-handed guntō method.

The one bona-fide Jikishinkage-ryū man in the political scene was Ōmori Sōgen (大森曹玄), the Rinzai priest and disciple of

the fifteenth-generation head Yamada Jirōkichi, who co-founded the Nihon-shugi Seinen Kaigi (日本主義青年会議) with Tōyama Hidezō in 1940. So the budō network — Genyōsha jō, Nakayama's Toyama School, Ōmori's Jikishinkage-ryū — forms one room, and Kunii stands in its midst through his association with the Toyama school.

Set against that map, the stele's "councilor of the Ketsumeidan" reads for what it is. Kunii appears in none of the Ketsumeidan historiography — not in the member or network lists, not in the standard academic-journalistic account, not in Karukome — and the 1932 group had neither membership rolls nor offices, having refused even to name itself, so the very name was a prosecutor's coinage. There was no post of "councilor of the Ketsumeidan" to hold in 1932. The listing therefore cannot denote the assassination cell; read literally it points to a later body trading on the name or, more plausibly, functions as honorific placement among the patriotic organizations of the day. What is decisive is the value-frame the inclusion presumes. To a mainstream postwar reader the Ketsumeidan is radioactive — a cell that shot a former finance minister and the head of Mitsui — and no one optimizing for ordinary respectability would list it. It reads as an asset only inside the nativist-patriotic in-group, where the Shōwa-Restoration actors are venerated as *shishi* (志士; sincere martyrs of the 昭和維新) and Inoue Nisshō himself sat as supreme adviser of the postwar all-Japan patriotic federation. (Nakajima Takeshi 2013)

The listing is thus in-group prestige, and its very intelligibility marks the register the stele is written in: the same nativist-nationalist frame that makes the divine-Kashima origin and the row of patriotic councilorships read as one coherent system of honor

rather than a string of liabilities. That evidences the document's frame and self-presentation — Kunii's inherited Imaizumi-Kōdō register, conserved by Seki as nineteenth shihanke — and not the personal militancy of its composer; one can write fluently inside the romantic-nativist sensibility, as Mishima did in venerating exactly these figures, without being an organized activist. The defensible statement is that Kunii belonged to the nativist-Shintō and military-budō world that overlapped the Shōwa-Restoration milieu — documented through Imaizumi and the Toyama School — and that no independent evidence makes him a participant in the plot. He connects to that world as many ambitious nationalist-minded men of his generation did: through the ideology and the institutions, not the conspiracy.

Excursion: Inaba Minoru

A second senior pupil supplies a check on all of this from outside Seki's institution. Inaba Minoru (稲葉稔, b. 1944) came to Kunii through aikidō, studied under him in 1965–66, and afterward taught Kashima Shin-ryū kenjutsu within his own aiki-budō at the Meiji Jingū Shiseikan (明治神宮至誠館) rather than claiming the formal headship that passed to Seki. His recollections matter precisely because they corroborate the one axis that is not in dispute while bypassing the one that is. (Inaba Minoru, n.d.-b, 2008)

Inaba's portrait of Kunii is naturalistic and almost anti-hagiographic. He had expected a Musashi-like figure and met instead a thick-necked, big-limbed, unprepossessing man who turned superb the instant he took up the sword — fiery in temperament, a martial artist in the full sense, a man whose throw was itself something his students boasted of having received. He trained under Kunii barely a year and a half, through Kunii's final illness,

attending daily, and what he describes receiving is not a graded curriculum but the drawing-out of his own latent capacity; after Kunii's death he built his own aiki-budō from that encounter. Independent testimony of this kind puts Kunii's prowess and force of personality beyond reasonable doubt.

What Inaba's personal account does not do is reproduce the Kunima Mahito / Takemikazuchi divine-transmission lineage that Seki's stele and organization foreground; his Kunii is a living swordsman, not a hierophant of an ancient Kashima font. Two cautions keep this short of an independent refutation. Inaba is himself formed within the same Shintō-nationalist intellectual world — Kunii through Imaizumi, Inaba through the Shintō thinker Ashizu Uzuhiko (葦津珍彦), son of the Ashizu Kōjirō who appears above as Imaizumi's networker — so he is disinterested toward Seki's federation but not toward the ideology, and the wider Shiseikan literature still carries the sacred-origin narrative. Even so, the structure of his testimony reinforces the distinction drawn here: a brief, late-life, charismatic transmission that issued in a self-built aiki-budō is consistent with the reading that what Kunii actually conveyed was living sword-skill, and that the fixed lineage and its antiquity are Seki's subsequent institutional framing. Kunii's skill is attested across independent witnesses; the antiquity of his school is self-presented by one of them.

Conclusions

Kashima Shin-ryū as a transmitted curriculum appears to be a twentieth-century reconstruction by Kunii Zen'ya, who had himself trained in Jikishinkage-ryū and Maniwa Nen-ryū. Any resemblance between the modern Kashima Shin-ryū syllabus and those two schools is therefore at least as well explained by

Kunii's own eclectic training as by an ancient common Kashima source — and the documentary record lacks records with school-independent footing for older-source reading. The kata overlaps are best presented as corroborating the *inward-flow* hypothesis, not as evidence of an older Kashima tradition surviving independently from Matsumoto Bizen no Kami.

Most of the Kashima Shin-ryū (鹿島神流; Kunii Zen'ya's line) material above rests on school-internal sources (Seki, Morikawa, the grave stele composed by Seki) and the school's own orthodox-history page. Kunii's combative reputation is well attested across independent accounts; a documented minority view (noted on the Kunii Wikipedia entry, citing Araya Takashi in *Strike and Tactical Magazine*, 2020) holds that, the old house documents being lost, the present Kashima Shin-ryū may be a synthesis Kunii built from the Shinkage-ryū and other arts he studied — which is consistent with the reading argued here.

The “Shintō-nativist politics” strand — *kokugaku* (Motoori Norinaga, Hirata Atsutane), *karagokoro* (漢意), *ka-i hentai* (華夷変態), the 1885 *Datsu-A Ron*, State Shintō — functioned as background intellectual history and is not tied to a single citable work, so it is left uncited but discoverable; it is developed at length in *From Kokugaku to the Ketsumeidan*.

The Imaizumi Sadasuke tie is recorded on Kunii's grave stele and independently noted in secondary biographies of Kunii (e.g. the *Hiden* profile), so it does not rest on the stele alone; the stele's antiquity-of-lineage and nationalist-affiliation claims, by contrast, are self-presentation and should be read against the stele text directly (photographable on site).

Nakayama Hakudō

Where Kunii Zen'ya kept his Kashima Shin-ryū apart from the preservation committees, Nakayama Hakudō (中山博道, 1872–1958) is the same era's *institutional* preserver. A Kaga (Kanazawa) man who built the Yūshinkan (有信館) in Tokyo, he worked squarely inside the Butokukai and the modern budō federations while carrying classical form across the same decades — organizing iai as Musō Shinden-ryū (夢想神伝流), helping bring Shindō Musō-ryū jō (神道夢想流杖術) from Kyushu to the capital, and teaching Ittō-ryū — and is remembered as a rare holder of *hanshi* rank across kendō, iai and jō. He is included here for contrast, not completeness: preservation in the Shōwa period ran through institutions as much as against them, and Hakudō is the clearest case of a koryū custodian who took the institutional road that Kunii refused.

The *Shōwa Tenran-jiai* (昭和天覧試合, 1934), the record of the imperial-viewing matches held to celebrate the Crown Prince's birth, compiled by Dai Nippon Yūbenkai Kōdansha under Imperial Household Ministry (宮内省) supervision places Hakudō among the presiding *hanshi* judges — beside Nakano Sōsuke (中野宗助) and Ōshima Jikita (大島治喜太) — gives his line as Shintō Munen-ryū (神道無念流), and records his birth in Ishikawa in Meiji 6 (1873; other references give 1872). (Kōdansha 1934)

His disciple Yamamoto, entered as a *senshi* (選士; imperial-match competitor), is singled out there as the foremost match-tactician among the capital's kendō teachers — but one example of the Yūshinkan's competitive weight.

According to the biographical entry in the Tenran-jiai, from an early age Nakayama Hakudō trained in the kendō of Yamaguchi Ittō-ryū under Saitō Michinori (齋藤理則), obtaining licence in Meiji 33 (1900). In Meiji 34 (1901) he entered the school of Negishi Shingorō, hanshi of Shintō Munen-ryū, and became his adopted son (其の養子となる). He trained in Shintō Musō-ryū bōjutsu (lit. from the source, in contrast to using the character for jo) under Uchida Ryōgorō of Chikuzen (筑前内田良五郎). Meiji 35 (1902): full licence (免許皆傳). From Meiji 3 [6] to Meiji 38 (1905) he served as kendō instructor on commission (囑託) at Keiō Gijuku. He trained in and polished Morimoto-ryū and Hasegawa Eishin-ryū iai under Morimoto Hisami (森本久身) of Tosa, and — the line runs on — under Hosokawa Yoshimasa (細川義昌), obtaining licence in the same iai line. He then established the Yūshinkan dōjō at Hongō in Tokyo City. (Kōdansha 1934)

Imperial and Butoku Kai honours he received included:

- Meiji 41 (1908), 9th month — awarded the title of kyōshi in kendō by the Dai Nippon Butoku Kai.
- Taishō 6 (1917) — the imperially-viewed martial arts match at the Fukiage Imperial Garden (吹上御苑), where he took part and served in the judging.
- Taishō 9 (1920), 5th month — awarded hanshi in both kendō and iaijutsu.
- Shōwa 2 (1927) — awarded hanshi in jōjutsu by the same body.
- Shōwa 4 (1929), 5th month — appointed a judge at the martial arts tournament commemorating the enthronement (御大禮記念武道大會).

Nakayama was appointed instructor at the Imperial University; circuit martial-arts instructor to the Metropolitan Police Board; kendō instructor to the Imperial Palace Police Department; Tokyo City; martial arts professor to the Navy; and instructor at various other institutions.

PART V



Select Traditions

CHAPTER 1

Kenjutsu

Ittō-ryū

Among the roughly 114 ryūha the Gekiken Sōdan records is Ittō-ryū, one of the most famous kenjutsu traditions, and much has been written about it in the literature. The work gives a full founder-legend, a five-generation lineage, the Ono-ha succession duel, and a roster of teachers current c. 1790 for this important ryūha. Mikami views Ittō-ryū as a great house of realm-swordsmanship ranking next to the Yagyū.

For in-house narrative, the authoritative work is 笹森順造『一刀流極意』(Sasamori Junzō, Ittō-ryū Gokui), first published 1965 by the 「一刀流極意」刊行会 (a dedicated publication committee), 640 pages, A5, illustrated, with a fold-out genealogy, which has been reprinted several times. Sasamori Junzō (1886–1976) was the sixteenth sōke of Ono-ha Ittō-ryū, and his extensive volume is the foundational in-tradition overview — history, curriculum, training methods, and philosophy — and is treated as essential reading for advanced students and scholars of the school.⁸⁴

Lineage root

The Gekiken Sōdan descends Ittō-ryū through the Chūjō line of swordsmanship: Chūjō-ryū (中條流) to Toda-ryū (富田流), then Kanemaki-ryū (鐘捲流) that Itō Ittōsai learned. It anchors the

⁸⁴ Portions of this work are now available in English, translated by Mark Hague.

root of Chūjō-ryū at the Shugendō cave shrine located in the Udo grotto (鵜戸の岩屋) in Hyūga.⁸⁵

Mikami writes that Chūjō Hyōgonosuke learned sword and spear from the monk Jion (慈音) at Udo grotto (鵜戸の岩屋) and there attained mastery. The author immediately cross-notes that Aisu Ikō (愛洲惟孝) also attained his sword-mastery at the same Udo cave — so the two great sword genealogies of the book (Ittō-ryū and Kage-ryū) share an origin site. Ittōsai is then made by Mikami to be Kanemaki's pupil.⁸⁶

Itō Ittōsai Kagehisa (伊藤一刀齋景久)

一、一刀流の祖、伊藤一刀齋景久は世に雙なき劔術の達人なり。諸國を武者修行して、名有る者と勝負するに、一度も負たる事なし。

The founder of Ittō-ryū, Itō Ittōsai Kagehisa, was a peerless master of swordsmanship. Roaming the provinces in warrior-training, he fought every reputed man and was never once beaten.

The night assassination

A man Ittōsai had beaten in Kyoto became his disciple, nursed a grudge, and drew four or five fellow pupils into a plot. They brought sake one night and got him drunk; beforehand they had induced his mistress (愛妾) to steal his two swords and leave the door open. Attacking his sleeping quarters at midnight, it being summer, a mosquito net was hung; as they burst in he cut its four corner-ties so it dropped [on them], woke, groped for his swords and found both gone. His hand fell on the evening's sake vessels,

⁸⁵ 日向の國鵜戸の岩屋に於て僧慈音に従ひて劔鎗を學び、終に其妙を極めしと云。

⁸⁶ "The renowned Itō Ittōsai Kagehisa was a disciple of this Tsūka (Kanemaki)." (天下に名高き伊藤一刀齋景久も此通家の門人な)

which he hurled one after another at the men closing in, and he wrenched away a sword one of them held. Ittōsai, who could not be struck even bare-handed, now with a blade in hand was “like a tiger given wings” (虎に翼を添るごとし). He cut them down at will; with deep and shallow wounds they carried off their casualties and fled, and the mistress too had vanished. He was left ashamed at having trusted the woman.

The *jizuri no seigan* duel

A rōnin who had mastered a stroke called *jizuri no seigan* (地摺りの晴眼; a “ground-sweeping” seigan) believed it unbeatable, and asked Ittōsai to teach him its counter (留様, *tomeyō*). Ittōsai kept agreeing but leaving without teaching it; the rōnin, concluding Ittōsai could not counter it, ambushed him — attacking with the very stroke while demanding the transmission. Ittōsai cut him in two with a single draw-cut (拔打).

They remarked that it was a pity he “expired at the very instant of being taught how to stop the *jizuri seigan*” — a fit “parting-gift for the road to the underworld” (冥途の土産). Such episodes, the author adds, filled Ittōsai’s life.

The five generations (一刀流五世)

1. Itō Ittōsai Kagehisa (伊藤一刀齋景久)
2. Ono Jirōemon Tadaaki (小野次郎右衛門忠明) — originally Mikogami Tenzen (神子上典膳)
3. Itō Tenzen Tadanari (伊藤典膳忠也) — Tadaaki’s son
4. Kamei Heiuemon Tadao (龜井平右衛門忠雄)
5. Itō Heishirō Tadatsura (伊藤平四郎忠貫)

Ono-ha Ittō (小野流一刀) — the Kamewari duel

The first Jirōemon Tadaaki was a man of Ise (勢州), first named Mikogami Tenzen (御子神／神子上典膳), Ittōsai's foremost pupil. Another disciple, Zenki (善鬼), reckoned "but for Tenzen, none would surpass me"; the two were never on good terms.⁸⁷

The two men fought at Koganehara in Shimōsa (下總國小金原). Zenki, losing, snatched up a great jar (瓶) to hurl as he fled, but Tenzen split the jar and cut his head, felling him dead on the spot. That sword, named **Kamewari** (瓶割, "jar-splitter"), became a treasure of the Ono house.

Tenzen then served Ieyasu (東照神君); at Sekigahara he accompanied Hidetada (台廟) up the mountain road and crossed spears at the siege of Ueda, ranked among the **seven spears of Ueda** (上田七本槍) with Nakayama Kageyu (中山勘解由), Toda Hanpei (戸田半平), and others. Hidetada, admiring his art, studied under him daily, granted him a character from his own name (御一字) — hence **Tadaaki** (忠明) — and he later took the surname Ono Jirōemon.

Second head — Ono Tadatsune (小野次郎右衛門忠常)

No lesser than his father, the second head is drawn in pointed contrast with the Yagyū. Iemitsu (猷廟) studied both Yagyū and Ono, but where Munenori 「御意に叶ふ様にあしらひまゐらせらる」 (handled it so as to please the shogun), Tadatsune, blunt and proud by nature (天性氣がさなる人), struck the shogun in earnest — 「此故にや恩遇柳生に及ばず」 — and so his favor never matched Yagyū's. Anecdotes follow: leaping a huge construction-stone that blocked the Sakurada-gate bridge in a single bound;

⁸⁷One account: Zenki was the senior and received the *yuiju ichinin* one-to-one sword first; another: they quarreled over who would get it.

a dōjō brawl won with a *hananeji* (鼻捻) truncheon; and a note that after a doorway-ambush affair his conduct turned erratic, 「狂氣の如く有しとぞ」. Later heads: 3rd Tadaoki (忠於), 4th Sukekurō」.

Other Figures

Mikami lists the Kaji-ha Ittō (梶流一刀), a branch split off by Kaji Shin'uemmon Masanao (梶新右衛門正直), a pupil of the second Ono head, Tadatsune. Mikami also lists several living Ittō-ryū teachers of his time in Edo: one Sakakibara [男依], a Sanbanchō bannerman (幕下の士), teaching *koryū no Ittō-ryū* (古流の一刀流, old-style Ittō-ryū); Tsuzuki Hikozaō (都筑彦三); and Nakanishi Chūzō (中西忠藏).

The branches gathered here

From Ono Jirōemon Tadaaki the school divided into the many *ha* that carried Ittō-ryū through the Edo period and into modern kendō, and the swordsmen in this chapter belong to several of them.

The **Ono-ha** (小野派一刀流) is the senior transmission, held in the Ono house across the five generations traced above and long treated as the orthodox line; Kajikawa Yoshimasa represents it here.

The **Nakanishi-ha** (中西派一刀流) split from that line under Nakanishi Chūzō — the very teacher the Gekiken Sōdan already lists as active in Edo in 1790 — and it was in this branch that the padded *bōgu* and split-bamboo *shinai* were adopted, first making full-speed competitive matching possible; from it most of the great late-Tokugawa Edo lines descend, Takano Sasaburō's among them.

The **Hokushin Ittō-ryū** (北辰一刀流) is Chiba Shūsaku's synthesis of his family's Hokushin line with the Nakanishi-ha, taught at his Genbukan dōjō and reckoned one of the three great bakumatsu halls — “technique, that is Chiba” — and of all the Ittō lines the most heavily represented in Meiji police and Butokukai kendō, with Naitō Takaharu, chief instructor of the teacher-training Busen, at its head here.

The **Chūya-ha** (忠也派一刀流) descends from Itō Tenzen Tadanari, the third of the five generations above and Tadaaki's son, whose line diverged early from the Ono house; Matsuoka Yorozu carries it.

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 – it is survived by the Mizoguchi-ha.

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. Chiba Shūsaku (1792/94–1855) opened the Genbukan in 1822 at Nihonbashi Shinagawa-chō, later moving it to Kanda Otamagaike; the largest and most famous of the three great Edo dōjō, its instruction in his final years fell to his gifted second son, Chiba Ejirō (千葉栄次郎).

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.

Chiba Shūsaku

Chiba Shūsaku (千葉周作) — childhood name Ototsumatsu (於菟松), imina Narimasa (成政) — was the founder of Hokushin Ittō-ryū (北辰一刀流) and, through the Genbukan (玄武館), one of the most consequential kenjutsu teachers of the late Edo period.

For a register tracing the passage from Edo gekken (擊剣) to the standardized kendō of the Dai Nippon Butokukai (大日本武徳会), he is a pivotal node: not the inventor of shinai-and-bōgu practice, but the man who rationalized its curriculum, compressed its licensing, and diffused it on a mass scale — and whose Mito line supplied much of the Butokukai's founding kendō leadership.

His dates are given as Kansei 5 or 6 (1793/1794) to Ansei 2 (17 January 1856).⁸⁸

Born near Kesennuma in Rikuzen and raised at Araya village in Kurihara district (栗原郡荒谷村, now Ōsaki, Miyagi), he first learned his family's Hokushin Musō-ryū (北辰夢想流) under his grandfather Chiba Kichinojō (千葉吉之丞), instructor to the Sōma domain.

Relocating toward Edo to serve the hatamoto Kitamura Iwaminokami Masahide (喜多村石見守正秀), he entered the Onoha Ittō-ryū Nakanishi-ha (小野派一刀流中西派) under Asari Matashichirō Yoshinobu (浅利又七郎義信) and trained at the

⁸⁸Birth is given as Kansei 5 (1793) or Kansei 6 (1794), first day of the first month; death as Ansei 2, twelfth month, tenth or thirteenth day (17 January 1856), at about sixty-one. The father's name also varies between sources (Chūzaemon 忠左衛門 and Kōemon 幸右衛門; later Urayama Jusada 浦山寿貞, a horse-doctor), as does the family's claimed descent from the Chiba clan. (*Chiba-shi keizu / chiba shūsaku denki shiryō* (千葉氏系図・千葉周作伝記資料), n.d.)

Nakanishi dōjō — the house of Nakanishi Chūbei (中西忠兵衛) — receiving instruction alongside such figures as Terada Muneari (寺田宗有), Shirai Tōru (白井亨), and Takayanagi Matashirō (高柳又四郎). He became Asari's adopted son-in-law (mukō-yōshi, 婿養子) and took the name Asari Mataichirō (浅利又一郎).⁸⁹

Wishing to revise the Ittō-ryū kata and unable to do so within an inherited tradition, he separated from Asari and, combining Hokushin Musō-ryū with the Nakanishi-ha Ittō-ryū, proclaimed Hokushin Ittō-ryū — a fusion his own licenses record explicitly. Early Hokushin Ittō-ryū certificates reproduce a waka carried over from the Hokushin Musō-ryū license — an internal, primary attestation of the composite. The relationship with Asari ended in a formal split (離縁) recorded in the Sakai-ke monjo for Tenpō 5 (1834), which the household framed as “immaturity” (不熟); a dispute over Chiba's refusal to lower the Hokushin Ittō-ryū name in favour of the Ono-ha line. (*Chiba-shi keizu* / *chiba shūsaku denki shiryō* (千葉氏系図・千葉周作伝記資料), n.d.; *Yuishogaki, sakai-ke monjo* (酒井家文書 由緒書), n.d.)

After a period of musha-shugyō and the Ikaho Shrine votive-plaque affair (伊香保神社掲額事件) with the Maniwa Nen-ryū (馬庭念流), he opened the Genbukan in Bunsei 5 (1822) at Nihonbashi Shinagawa-chō, moving it around 1825 to Kanda Otamagaike (神田於玉ヶ池), where it grew into the largest sword school in Edo and one of the “three great dōjō” (江戸三大道場).

⁸⁹The popular chronology — entry to Asari at roughly fifteen, Nakanishi training following — diverges from a more detailed genealogical reconstruction drawing on the *Tōhan shikō* (東藩史稿), the *Suifu keisan* (水府系纂), and the *yuisho-gaki* (由緒書) in the Sakai-ke monjo (酒井家文書, Obama City Library), which places his Nakanishi study substantially earlier and complicates the teacher sequence. Readings of the Nakanishi generational names (子正, 子啓) are not secure. (*Chiba-shi keizu* / *chiba shūsaku denki shiryō* (千葉氏系図・千葉周作伝記資料), n.d.; *Tōhan shikō* (東藩史稿), n.d.; *Suifu keisan* (水府系纂), n.d.; *Yuishogaki, sakai-ke monjo* (酒井家文書 由緒書), n.d.)

His pedagogical reforms are what make him a transitional figure. Where the Ono-ha Ittō-ryū transmission ran to eight ranked stages, he reduced licensing to three — sho-mokuroku (初目録), chū-mokuroku menkyo (中目録免許), and dai-mokuroku kaiden (大目録皆伝) — removing the graduated gift-payments that had gated advancement and opening the school to commoners. He centered training on kakari-geiko (掛かり稽古) and shinai-and-bōgu strike practice — methods the Nakanishi-ha had pioneered — and taught by rational, demystified explanation rather than esoteric transmission, such that training reputedly took five years where rival schools took ten.

The reduction from the Ono-ha eight-stage transmission to three ranks, the removal of advancement-gifts, and the kakari-geiko / shinai-bōgu emphasis are consistently reported across the reference literature and the school's own material. While shinai and protective armour development is credited to the Nakanishi-ha (Nakanishi Chūbei), Chiba's contribution is systematization and efficiency of transmission.

His often-cited maxim, that the sword is the work of an instant, the union of heart, spirit, and strength (心・気・力), anticipates the modern kendō formula of ki-ken-tai-no-itchi. He also gave his curriculum a systematic technical vocabulary.⁹⁰

In Tenpō 6 (1835) he taught Hokushin Ittō-ryū as a guest at the Mito domain academy, the Kōdōkan (弘道館); invited by Tokugawa Nariaki (徳川斉昭), he became the Mito domain ken-

⁹⁰These include teachings including hasu-ori (蓮折; lotus fold), ch=otan no nori (長短の矩; long and short frames), sute-metsuke (捨目付; to throw away or abandon) and seiōken (星王剣; star-king sword). The dai-mokuroku kaiden content and okugi names are drawn from Hokushin Ittō-ryū school sources and the *Chiba Shūsaku ikō* (千葉周作遺稿). (Chiba Shūsaku, n.d.)

jutsu instructor in 1839 and was raised to umamawari (馬廻役; mounted-guard rank) at 100 koku in 1841 — an unusually high station for a professional swordsman — with his sons Ejirō (栄次郎) and Michisaburō (道三郎) likewise serving Mito.

The Genbukan, together with the Okemachi branch dōjō (桶町千葉道場) under his younger brother Chiba Sadakichi (千葉定吉), trained a striking share of bakumatsu figures: Arimura Jizae-mon (Satsuma), Kiyokawa Hachirō, Yamaoka Tesshū, Yamanami Keisuke, Itō Kashitarō, and, at the branch, Sakamoto Ryōma. It was reckoned the foremost great dōjō in Japan, with over three thousand disciples.⁹¹

The line that carries Chiba into the modern institutions ran chiefly through Mito. His student Ozawa Torakichi (小澤寅吉), a Kōdōkan kenjutsu instructor, opened the Mito Tōbukan (水戸東武館) in 1874 and kept the Hokushin Ittō-ryū transmission alive into the Meiji period; the Genbukan juku-head Shimoe Hidetarō (下江秀太郎) taught there before his Metropolitan Police career. From the Tōbukan came Naitō Takaharu (内藤高治, 1862–1929) and and Monna Tadashi (門奈正), both of whom passed through Keishichō gekken service (撃剣世話掛, gekken sewakari) and then became the Dai Nippon Butokukai's leading kendō instructors.

Naitō in particular served as kendō hanshi and chief kendō instructor at the Butokukai's teacher-training institute — later the Budō Senmon Gakkō (武道専門学校, “Busen”) — where he

⁹¹Student rosters derive from school and biographical sources of varying grade. The celebrated names are widely reported, but the strength of each attachment differs — Sakamoto Ryōma, for instance, trained at the Okemachi branch under Chiba Sadakichi, not at the Genbukan under Shūsaku — and each would bear individual checking before use.

trained the future tenth-dan holders Mochida Moriji and Saimura Gorō, and was paired with Takano Sasaburō in the saying “Naitō in the west, Takano in the east” (西の内藤、東の高野). He is at the Mito Tōbukan under Ozawa Torakichi then a Keishichō gekken sewakari (1888, on Shimoe Hidetarō’s introduction) and becomes part of the Dai Nippon Butokukai (seirenschō, 精錬証, 1897; appointed to the Kyoto honbu teaching staff in 1899). Chief kendō instructor at the Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo (武術教員養成所), later the Budō Senmon Gakkō.

In 1911 Monna, Naitō, and their Tōbukan colleagues sat on the committee that drafted the Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata (大日本帝国剣道形), so a Hokushin Ittō-ryū cohort had a direct hand in the standardized forms adopted as the Butokukai consolidated shinai kenjutsu into modern kendō — the same body that unified the terms “kenjutsu” and “gekken” under the single name kendō in 1919.⁹²

The Genbukan headship did not long outlast him. His eldest son died young; the gifted Ejirō (“the little tengu of Chiba,” 小天狗), a renowned thrust specialist, also died early; and the third son Michisaburō, who succeeded, died in 1872, after which the main house lapsed and only teaching lines remained. It was the Mito Tōbukan (Ozawa) line, and separately an Otaru line, that carried the school into the twentieth century.⁹³

⁹²In 1911 Tōbukan men (Monna Tadashi, Naitō Takaharu, Ozawa Ichirō, Sasaki Masayoshi) were named to the Butokukai’s kendō-kata drafting committee. The Butokukai unified the terms kenjutsu / gekken under kendō in 1919, and administered the shōgō system — the seirenschō, then the hanshi and kyōshi titles from 1902–03 and the renshi title from 1934. This institutional consolidation is what the register’s title names; the Hokushin Ittō-ryū presence on the kata committee is the concrete point of contact between Chiba’s lineage and it.

⁹³Succession per the Hokushin Ittō-ryū reference entry: eldest Kisotarō (奇蘇太郎孝胤) died young; Ejirō (栄次郎成之) died young; Michisaburō (道三郎光胤) succeeded and died in 1872; the main house then lapsed, leaving teaching lines. The Mito Tōbukan

Jikishinkage-ryū

Jikishinkage-ryū (直心影流) was the name chosen by Yamada Heizaemon Ippūsai Mitsunori (山田平左衛門光徳) to refer to his inheritance of the teachings of Takahashi Jikishinsai, whose Jikishin Seitō-ryū he practiced and possibly updated or merged with his practice in a branch of the Edo line of Yagyū Shinkage-ryū.

Jikishinsai had studied the kenjutsu of Kamiya Denshinsai, who was the successor of Ogasawara Genshinsai (said to have refined his art during years spent in Ming China). Ogasawara was a student of Okuyama Kyūgasai, an early disciple of Kamiizumi Ise no Kami.

The school's now-familiar Kashima-shinden origin story — Matsumoto Bizen-no-kami as founding ancestor, a dream-transmission from the Kashima deity Takemikazuchi — was a mid-eighteenth-century documentary addition by the eighth head, Ippūsai's successor Naganuma Kunisato.

By the late early-modern period the school had divided into three branches: the **Naganuma-ha** (長沼派), the orthodox trunk that carried the *bōgu*-and-shinai reform; the **Fujikawa-ha** (藤川派); and the **Odani-ha** (男谷派), which embraced competitive matches and became closely tied to the Tokugawa Kōbusho. This chapter follows the Edo *dōtō* of the Odani line — from Fujikawa Yashirōemon Chikayoshi and Akaishi Gunjibei Fusuke through Danno Gennoshin to Odani Seiichirō — the line that absorbed the Fujikawa house and issued, in the twentieth century, in Yamada Jirōkichi's Seitō-ha.

(Ozawa) line and an Otaru line continued. Modern sōke claims within the school are later reconstructions and contested, and lie outside this entry's scope.

It was in this line that swordsmanship crossed the Restoration. Odani Seiichirō, foremost swordsman of the Tenpō era, headed the Kōbusho and trained Sakakibara Kenkichi, who — remembered as “the last swordsman” — kept the art before the public in early Meiji through his *gekiken-kōgyō* exhibitions; Yamada Jirōkichi preserved and codified that transmission as the Seitō-ha; and, on the Naganuma side, Tokunō Sekishirō carried Jikishinkage-ryū into the Metropolitan Police and became the first recipient of the Butokukai’s *hanshi* title. The Edo heads of that Odani line are followed here in succession.

Fujikawa Yashirōemon Chikayoshi

Fujikawa Yashirōemon Chikayoshi (藤川弥司郎右衛門近義; 1726-1798), the tenth-generation head of Jikishinkage-ryū, whose Edo town-dōjō at Shitaya Chōjamachi (下谷長者町) opened in Hōreki 6 (1756), was reputed to have three thousand students and to have produced Akaishi Gunjibei Fusuke alongside Sakai Ryōsuke. (Nakabayashi Shinji, n.d.)

Nakabayashi’s encyclopedia treatment frames him as the senior disciple of Tsunasato who continued the orthodox Naganuma line, before opening the Shitaya Chōjamachi town-dōjō in 1756. In the dōtō register his formal style is Fujikawa Yashirōemon-no-jō Fujiwara Chikayoshi (藤川弥司郎右衛門尉藤原近義).. (Kashima-shinden Jikishinkage-ryū Isseikai, n.d.)

Kurakome (2013) details the formation of the Fujikawa-ha, noting that Fujikawa Yashirōemon Chikayoshi entered Naganuma Kunisato’s school and then after Kunisato’s retirement trained under Naganuma Shōbei. He opened a dōjō at Shitaya Chōjamachi. When he died, his adopted son Chikanori took over the dōjō, but died shortly thereafter.

The adopted son-in-law Chikanori married Chikayoshi's daughter (fn. 264), so two young heirs were left after Chikanori's sudden death — Chikatsune and Seisai. They were not yet adult at the time, so Akaishi Gunjibei Fusuke served as guardian to the brothers.⁹⁴

Fujikawa Seisai (藤川整斎) is the author of *Reiken ryakukai* (1857, Tokyo National Museum) and *Seisai zuihitsu* (National Archives). Karukome notes that the *Seisai zuihitsu* (整斎随筆, National Archives) records, as a *kikigaki*, a description of a match by Seisai's grandfather Fujikawa Yashirōemon Chikayoshi, through which the character of Fujikawa-ha matches can be glimpsed.

Sakai Ryōsa / Ryōsuke (酒井良佐 / 酒井良佑) was a Fujikawa-ha swordsman whose match is described in Shimizu Rekishū's *Ariya nashiya*, giving the actual line: "Ryōsa, with a great shout, [struck] from jōdan toward the crown of the head..." — i.e. the same upper-stance, striking-from-above style the school is known for. The source is the Edo essay *Ariya nashiya* by Shimizu Rekishū, reprinted in *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei* vol. 8.⁹⁵

Akaishi Gunjibei Fusuke

Akaishi Gunjibei (郡司赤石兵衛), honorific *-no-jō* (尉), *honsei* Fujiwara (藤原), imina Fusuke (孚祐), *gō* Hanryūken (斑龍軒), was the eleventh-generation head of Jikishinkage-ryū in the Kashima-shinden reckoning, standing between Fujikawa Chikayoshi (10th) and Danno Gennoshin (12th) in what became the Odani-ha. His placement is consistent across the school's own

⁹⁴ According to Ishigaki, Chikanori was brought in from the Kōno (河野) family of the same domain and married to Chikayoshi's daughter.

⁹⁵ His given name is written 良佐 by Karukome but 良佑 (glossed Ryōsuke) by Kotobank.

dōtō register and the Kobudō Kyōkai succession lists. (Kashima-shinden Jikishinkage-ryū Isseikai, n.d.; Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai, n.d.)

He studied under Fujikawa Yashirōemon Chikayoshi, the tenth-generation head, whose Edo town-dōjō at Shitaya Chōjamaichi opened in Hōreki 6 (1756) and produced Akaishi alongside Sakai Ryōsuke. His recorded students are Danno Gennoshin (団野源之進; the twelfth-generation head), Ishikawa Seheiji (石川瀬平二), and Toda Einosuke. (Nakabayashi Shinji, n.d.)

The Jikishinkage-ryū densho-shū (直心影流伝書集) lists Toda Einosuke (imina Ōban Yoshishige 〔大判良茂; imina reading uncertain〕, styled Isshinsai) as one of Akaishi's students:

At the age of twenty-four he came to Kyoto and opened a kōbujō, and his name became greatly renowned. Those who received instruction from him numbered several thousand in all, and those who attained the true transmission were likewise many. He died in Meiji 4 (1871), the kanoto-hitsuji year, in the twelfth month, aged sixty-six.

In Meiji, Ōishi Susumu (大石進), Okumura Sakonta (奥村左近太), Takayama Minesaburō (高山峰三郎), Koteda Yasusada (籠手田安定), and Abe Morie (阿部守衛) later visited the school he founded in Kyoto. Unlike the ninth-generation Naganuma line (Numata-han service), Akaishi sits in the Fujikawa Edo town-dōjō tradition; no domain appointment is attested.

⁹⁶Every Japanese source gives the *tsūshō* reading as Gennoshin (源之進 = げんのしん); the *gō* is read Shinpansai (真帆斎 = しんぱんさい), an irregular reading of 真帆

Danno Gennoshin

Danno Gennoshin (団野源之進; gō 真帆斎 Shinpansai)⁹⁶ was the teacher of Odani Seiichirō; his birth and death are not easily fixed, though Odani inherited his dōjō after Danno's death in 1857.

Danno was the twelfth-generation head of Jikishinkage-ryū⁹⁷ in the Kashima-shinden reckoning that counts from Matsumoto Bizen-no-kami, and the teacher of Odani Nobutomo (男谷信友).⁹⁸ His *imina* is given as Yoshitaka (義高), with the variant 義孝 in at least one lineage register.⁹⁹

He studied under Akaishi Gunjibei Fusuke (赤石郡司兵衛孚祐), the eleventh-generation head, and maintained a dōjō at Honjo Kamezawa-chō (本所亀沢町) in Edo. The Kobudō Kyōkai registries place him in the orthodox line between Akaishi and Odani — Akaishi Fusuke — Danno Shinpansai (Yoshitaka) — Odani Seiichirō Nobutomo. (Nakabayashi Shinji, n.d.; Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai, n.d.)

His principal recorded student is Odani Nobutomo (男谷信友; *tsūshō* Seiichirō, gō Seisai), later “the sword-sage of the Baku-matsu.” Odani received the *tekiden* (的伝; the orthodox inner transmission) from Danno in Bunsei 6 (1824). On Danno's death Odani was given the Kamezawa-chō dōjō, relocating there in

confirmed by Kotobank furigana. The kyūjitai form 真帆斎 also appears in the Kobudō Kyōkai registries. The form “Genshin” is not attested in any source consulted.

⁹⁷Japanese Wikipedia, 直心影流剣術, naming Fujikawa-ha (from Fujikawa Chikayoshi), Danno-ha (from Danno Yoshitaka / Shinpansai), and the Odani-ha “among many branches.” A tertiary register; underlying authority to be traced.

⁹⁸男谷 is read Odani in the Kotobank headword and in this lineage's house usage; some references (e.g. Japanese Wikipedia) read it Otani. Retained as Odani here.

⁹⁹義高 in Japanese Wikipedia and the Kobudō Kyōkai pages; 義孝 (same reading) on the Issenkai Seitō page. Both are internal house attestations, not externally corroborated. The formal *honsei* also splits: 藤原 (Fujiwara) in the naginata registry, 源 (Minamoto) in the kenjutsu registry.

Ansei 5 (1858) — the only indirect anchor available for the period of Danno's death.¹⁰⁰ (Nakabayashi Shinji, n.d.)

Jūjutsu related to Shinkage-ryū

In our discussion of the Kōbusho we saw Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū and Kitō-ryū taught alongside Jikishinkage-ryū and other bakufu kenjutsu. What about other lines of Shinkage-ryū?

Owari's jūjutsu was Seigō-ryū (制剛流). It occupied the same domain-school role that Yōshin-ryū and Kitō-ryū held at the Kōbusho, but it got there much earlier and bound itself more tightly to the sword line of the Owari line of Shinkage-ryū.

Seigō-ryū is a comprehensive grappling tradition — jū/yawara, torite, kogusoku, kumiuchi, iai, and rope technique, founded by Mizuhaya Chōzaemon Nobumasa, who by tradition received the grappling from a monk named Seigō at Mt. Kōya.

Its Owari footing is old and official: Mizuhaya's pupil Kajiwara Genzaemon Naokage became the Owari domain's jūjutsu instructor (jūjutsu shihan-yaku), and from then Seigō-ryū spread with Owari as its center, the transmission into domain service dating to the first lord Tokugawa Yoshinao's era.¹⁰¹

It appears that while topics relating to kogusoku are taught to this day in the Owari line of Shinkage-ryū, the grappling parent

¹⁰⁰ Odani's date of entry into Danno's school is reported inconsistently: Bunka 2 (1805), age 8, in Japanese Wikipedia and the wheatbaku account; Bunka 14 (1817), with full transmission gained in four years, in Kotobank (Nakabayashi Shinji, Nipponica). These are incompatible sequences and are compounded by the separate dispute over Odani's own birth year (1798 vs 1810). Treated as unresolved.

¹⁰¹ The Gifu branch of the Shunpūkan lists Owari Kan-ryū sōjutsu and Yagyū Shinkage-ryū at the center, with the Owari-transmitted sword, spear, naginata, and kogusoku (described as jū/taijutsu) practiced together as a comprehensive art, and another offshoot enumerates spear, sword, naginata, jizai-ken, bō, jō, battōjutsu, tantōjutsu, kogusoku (glossed as jūjutsu), and shuriken.

art (the Kajiwaru domain line of Seigō-ryū) is not part of its curriculum under that name.

The iai/battō branch of Seigō-ryū was pulled into the Yagyū curriculum through the Nagaoka family, the Yagyū house's hereditary heihō assistants — Nagaoka Fusahide mastered the Seigō-ryū battō and served as heihō adjutant, his successor Fusanari (Tōrei) perfected it, and it was then refined by Yagyū Genshū and Genchō along Shinkage principles into “Yagyū Seigō-ryū.” That's the 制剛流拔刀 that modern Owari Yagyū people carry beside the Shinkage tachi.

The Yagyū line is credited with producing the jūjutsu schools Kitō-ryū, Yagyū Shingan-ryū, and Oguri-ryū to various levels of influence. Kitō-ryū isn't a separate stream from the Yagyū sphere of martial arts — its founders Fukuno Masakatsu and Ibaraki Toshifusa were both connected to Yagyū Shinkage-ryū and the Yagyū house, Ibaraki having entered Yagyū service and named his art “Ran,” which Takuan turned into “Ran Kitō-ryū.” (Imamura Yoshio 1995)

Kōbusho

The Edo/Kōbusho model of the Odani line of Jikishinkage-ryū sat in combined institutionally separate lineages: Odani's kenjutsu plus Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū and Kitō-ryū jūjutsu, together in one bakufu training hall.

Owari

Owari did the opposite: a single domain jūjutsu (Seigō), in service since the founding generation, partly absorbed into the sword school's own curriculum rather than run alongside it.

Kurume

Katōda is Kurume. Katōda Shinkage-ryū descends from Katōda Shinsaku, a pupil of Nakamura Gonnai of Mujūshin Kenryū, who was invited to Kurume domain in 1716 and named his line “Shinkage-ryū”; the Katōda then became one of Kurume’s hereditary kenjutsu instructor houses and the line spread through northern Kyūshū. Its best-known figure is the ninth head, Katōda Heihachirō (1808–1875), the prolific dueller and author of the Katōda Diary, and that is also where Matsuzaki Namishirō sits as one of the dozen men Heihachirō granted advanced licence. (Kurume Shishi Hensan Iinkai 1981/1999)

Katōda did pair an auxiliary art, but not grappling: after Heihachirō’s death his son Daisuke taught Katōda Shinkage-ryū swordsmanship together with Yōshin-ryū naginata and kusarigama.

In Kurume, there were lines of jūjutsu as one might expect.

Hisatomi Tetsutarō (久富鉄太郎) was a famous Kurume-domain man who from childhood studied Shibukawa-ryū (渋川流) jūjutsu under the seventh-generation Shibukawa Bangorō Hidezane (渋川伴五郎英実) for some twenty-seven years, and in 1854 set out to test his randori against teachers of other schools. He later mattered nationally — in the Meiji period he became a Keishichō jūjutsu instructor and helped found its jūjutsu office, drawing on Shibukawa-ryū and several other schools to frame the Keishichō kenpō forms. In an 1859 bout against two Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū men, Hisatomi appears as a disciple of Shimosaka Gorōbei (下坂五郎兵衛) of Kurume domain’s Ryōi Shintō-ryū (良移心頭流). (Imamura Yoshio et al. 1966; Tōdō Yoshiaki 2007)

Hisatomi's randori tour led him, among others, to Totsuka Hikosuke of Numazu's Yōshin-ryū, whom he entered under, and Aizawa Katsuyuki (藍沢勝之) — Totsuka's disciple — recorded Hisatomi as a regular Totsuka-ha attendant in his Rentai gokeihō (練体五形法).

Aizawa visited the Odani-dōjō: mid-Bakumatsu jūjutsu cross-training ran through a tightly networked dueling circuit, so a Kurume swordsman's grappling wasn't necessarily confined to his own domain's house.

Kumamoto

Hikida's line is the Higo (Kumamoto) one: the Hikida-derived Shinkage transmission reached Kumamoto through Ueno Sōmano-suke, then split into the five instructor houses of Wada, Yokota, Hayami, Tonami and Hayashi, with the Wada line surviving. In the Hosokawa domain this was simply called "Shinkage-ryū," reserving "Yagyū-ryū" for the Yagyū-derived line.

The Hikida lineage mostly transmitted swordsmanship, with spear and naginata fame attaching only to the Inota branch of the art. Neither Hikida or Katōda Shinkage-ryū was a sword-plus-jūjutsu package the way Owari Yagyū carried Seigō-ryū.

Kumamoto's jūjutsu was instead a wholly separate cluster of dedicated grappling houses. The domain recognized the "three jūjutsu dōjō of Higo": Shiten-ryū kumiuchi at the Hoshino dōjō, Takeuchi Santō-ryū jūjutsu at the Yano dōjō, and Kishin-ryū taijutsu at the Eguchi dōjō, whose masters served as the domain's jūjutsu instructors.¹⁰²

¹⁰²The "three jūjutsu dōjō of Higo" (四天流組討・星野道場, 竹内三統流・矢野道場, 披心流・江口道場) and Hoshino Kumon's 1902 consolidation of the surviving domain lines into Higo-ryū taijutsu (肥後流・肥後流) are documented in *Higo budō-shi* (肥後武道史), the standard Kumamoto martial-history compilation, whose four-school kata

Their roots have nothing to do with Shinkage swordsmanship — Shiten-ryū's founder Narita Seibei (1638–1718) came out of Toda-ryū iai and kenjutsu and devised his kumiuchi method from there before entering Hosokawa service.

Beyond the three, the Kumamoto grappling roster ran wider still: when Hoshino Kumon consolidated the domain's surviving jūjutsu in 1902 into the unified Higo-ryū taijutsu, the participating lines were Shiten-ryū kumiuchi, Takeuchi Santō-ryū, Kishin-ryū taijutsu, Yōshin-ryū jūjutsu, Tenka-musō-ryū torite, and Shioda-ryū kogusoku — and notably, the Yōshin-ryū jūjutsu there was held by the Santō house paired with Niten Ichi-ryū swordsmanship, not with either Shinkage line.

The Kyūshū milieu looks to be closer to Edo than Owari: distinct traditions associated by being favored by the government and taught along-side each other, but distinct from one another.

Sagara-han

Taisha-ryū is the one Kyūshū Shinkage line where the grappling is inside the school rather than something a swordsman went elsewhere for.

Marume Kurando-no-suke Nagayoshi, the founder, was a retainer of the Sagara clan that held southern Higo; he became Kamiizumi Nobutsuna's pupil, spread Shinkage-ryū across Kyūshū, and then worked his own modifications into what became Taisha-ryū, serving the Sagara as their fencing instructor. So the base is Hitoyoshi domain (人吉藩), the Sagara house, in the Kuma region of southern Higo. This was the part of Higo

records are summarized by the Kokusai Suigetsujuku Bujutsu Association at <https://japanbujut.exblog.jp/20724783/>. Full bibliographic details of *Higo budō-shi* remain to be confirmed; the linked summary is a practitioner-association source.

the Hosokawa/Kumamoto domain did not hold, so this is institutionally distinct from the Hikida-line of Shinkage practice.

The surviving line is the one transmitted in Hitoyoshi, guarded from the sixth generation by the Oda family, with the headquarters dōjō now in Yatsushiro. From there it spread widely: in the Edo period it flourished in Hitoyoshi and across Hizen, and in Bakumatsu Saga the Taisha-ryū Kawara-kōji dōjō and the Jikishinkage-ryū Mizugae dōjō split the field so evenly that people spoke of “Jikishinkage-ryū in the east, Taisha-ryū in the west,” with the tenth Saga lord Nabeshima Naomasa himself enrolling.

In Saga, Taisha-ryū was the western counterweight to Jikishinkage influence. It also fed Satsuma: Tōgō Shigemasa, founder of Jigen-ryū, was a Taisha-ryū adept before combining it with Tenshinshō Jigen-ryū.

Taisha-ryū folds taijutsu — kicks, eye-attacks, joint locks — into the swordsmanship itself. Its *okuden kumitachi* are said to be packed with jūjutsu and kenpō strikes, kicks, and throws to a degree seen in no other school, and the dōjō curriculum lists torite and kumiuchi alongside the sword. The school is routinely described as effectively a comprehensive combat art rather than a pure kenjutsu. Its unarmed element is traditionally credited to Chinese boxing via Denrinbō Raikei (伝林坊頼慶), a Ming-born martial artist who eventually became a senior Taisha-ryū disciple after first dueling Marume Nagayoshi's disciple Oda Rokuemon Yūka at Nagasaki and losing, thus becoming Marume's student. In Kan'ei 12 (1635) Denrinbō granted an inka to Nagata Morimasa, then became a Shugendō ascetic at Mt. Iwaya in Hizen's Fujitsu district. (Kuroki Toshihiro 1976)

Kashima Shin-ryū

The Kashima Shin-ryū (鹿島神流) of the Kunii house is treated here as a school; for its revival, see Kunii Zen'ya, from whose record the material below was drawn.

Shinryū Contrasts

The Kashima Shin-ryū (鹿島神流) revival of Kunii Zen'ya (1894–1966) contains explicit mention of tengu-related material, but in a different manner to that of Shinkage-ryū.¹⁰³

Regarding his combative acumen people do not much argue. An analysis of kata sheds some light on the relationship between Kashima Shin-ryū kata, different lines of Jikishinkage-ryū, and Maniwa Nen-ryū. One striking similarity between Nen-ryū and Kashima Shin-ryū is the use of deep lunge-like stances with the forward hip open in both of their introductory practices. But it is the history of his art, if older than a synthesis of approaches, is more pertinent to this discussion, especially in how it handles early Jikishinkage-ryū attested figures and tengu-related material in a more modern nativist Shintō fashion.

Kashima Shin-ryū history names Matsumoto Bizen-no-kami Ki no Masamoto as ryūso (流祖), the Kunii house as sōke (宗家) and Kamiizumi Ise-no-kami (上泉伊勢守) among the shihanke (師範家), asserts that the shihanke renamed the art “Shinkage-ryū” to evade Bakufu suppression, and holds that the twelfth sōke Kunii Daizen (国井大膳 [kanji to confirm]) received a Jikishinkage-ryū kenjutsu licence from an Ono Seiuemon (小野清右衛門), at which point sōke and shihanke merged. That then positions the entire Shinkage and Jikishinkage complex

¹⁰³This line is entirely distinct from Bokuden's Kashima Shintō-ryū 鹿島新当流.

as its own renamed offshoots — a strong claim not independently established, and the reverse of the mainstream Shinkage-ryū Kamiizumi-from-Kage-ryū account shared by multiple, geographically distinct traditions from Kyushu to Edo.

The school today treats the story that Matsumoto received the “Tengu-gaki” via Yoshitsune’s dedication at Kashima as a public “front” (建前; *tatemaie*), relocating the real claim in the older Kashima divine-transmission attributed to Kunima Mahito (国摩真人).

The Kashima Shin-ryū *kihon-dachi* is said to correspond to the “Hōjō no kata” (法定の形) handed down in that *shihanke* line during the period when it was known as *Jikishinkage-ryū*. As I have written elsewhere, Hōjō was originally five exercises, likely *Sangaku-en no Tachi* (三学円之太刀) of Kamiizumi Ise-no-kami, that were reorganized into four by the fourth-generation Ogasawara Genshinsai (小笠原源信斎).¹⁰⁴

In the Kashima Shin-ryū, they were expanded back into five forms. Their lore mentions Kunii did so using *tengu*-related transmission or information. So, it may be profitable to examine Shinkage-ryū history related to the term *Tengu-gaki*. Placing the *Hikita Tengu-gaki* (乱勝・釣極・雲截) and the Kashima Shin-ryū *Tengu-gaki* document side by side, we notice some clear differences, important to highlight since Japanese homophones are easy to conflate in English-language retellings.

Hikita lineages generally contain three *Tengu-gaki* called *chū-gokui* (中極位): *Ranshō*, *Chōkyoku* and *Unsai*. *Dōjō* that also contain *Yagyū* transmission will also have the eight *Tengu-shō* and

¹⁰⁴That the KSR introductory kata are practiced with the deep lunges of *Nen-ryū* rather than the *unpo* footwork of *Jikishinkage-ryū* they are supposedly modeled after has been a riddle that has intrigued me for some time.

oku (ninin-kakari) set — some groups might arrange Tengu-shō into six omote and three oku; either way typically nine exchanges. In the Yamamoto-line Higo Shinkage-ryū [note: distinguish from the Hikita line tabled below] the long-sword forms are given as Kuraizume (位詰) and 天狗書, the latter read “Tengu-sho” — so even with 書, the reading lands on the same syllables as Yagyū’s 抄.

In Kashima Shin-ryū, the Tengu-shō is instead a physical scroll that acts as a credential in their internal attestations of levels of attainment. The kanji shō (抄; excerpt, used in Shinkage-ryū) is different to shō (書; writing, used in Kashima Shin-ryū) and is often read inconsistently across lines, which is the seam where English-language accounts fuse them:

Category | Hikita (Higo) Shinkage-ryū | Kashima Shin-ryū
 Written | 天狗書 (Yagyū writes 天狗抄)| 天狗書 Read | “Tengu-sho” | Tengu-gaki What it is | A kata rank — chū-gokui (中極位) | A document — a one-scroll densho Contents | Ranshō (乱勝), Chōkyoku (釣極), Unsai (雲截) | Sword secrets; held as the founder’s autograph Status | A transmission level in the mokuroku | The shihanke’s proof of legitimacy Attributed origin | Kage-ryū to Kamiizumi to Hikita Kagetomo | Granted to Matsumoto at Kashima; said to be Yoshitsune’s dedicated book

Across the older non-Hikita Shinkage lines the sequence Enpi (燕飛) / Sangaku (三学) / Kuka (九箇) / Tengu-gaki (with Maruhashi 丸橋) tracks the Yagyū mokuroku closely, while the Hikita system diverges substantially in structure and form-names. In other words, Hikita’s 天狗書 is the same curriculum

slot as Yagyū's 天狗抄, albeit populated with different kata.¹⁰⁵

On the Kashima Shin-ryū side, the object is a scroll, not a rank. Matsumoto Bizen-no-kami Ki no Masamoto is said in Kashima Shin-ryū lore to have prayed at Kashima and been granted the Tengu-gaki recording the essence of swordsmanship; the scroll passed down in the shihanke is held to be his own autograph and is positioned as the shihanke's proof of centrality to the Kashima area tradition. (Matsumoto Bizen-no-kami Ki no Masamoto [undated; traditional attribution])

The school's orthodox-history page is unusually candid about the legend's relevance: citing its Heihō Denki (兵法伝記), it relates that Matsumoto, living in Hitachi and praying day and night before the shrine, received in a dream a one-volume book — the very book dedicated by Minamoto no Kurō Yoshitsune (源九郎義経) — and that because this was a divine transmission the art was called Shinkage-ryū (神陰流). (Kashima Shin-ryū (shihanke, official site) [accessed 2026])

The text then explicitly treats the Yoshitsune-dedication story as a public legend (建前) and relocates the real claim in the older direct divine transmission running back to Kunima Mahito in the Taika era.

This may be due to researchers placing the addition of Matsumoto into the Jikishinkage-ryū lineage during the Edo-period time of Naganuma Kunisato. In that revision to Shinkage-ryū history (which can be found on the Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai account of Kashima Shinden Jikishinkage-ryū), Matsumoto is said to receive a one-volume heihō scroll at Kashima and breaks a cherry

¹⁰⁵ A matter for further research is whether Kamiizumi transmitted the Tengu-shō differently to each of his disciples, based on how his practice evolved over his lifetime.

branch before the shrine to make a wooden sword — the reason the Hōjō no Kata bokutō is straight — and the art is briefly named Shinkage-ryū (神陰流).

Before Naganuma, the founder of the art is named not as Matsumoto but as Kamiya Denshinsai (神谷伝心斎; 1582–1663?), Ogasawara's successor and the originator of the Jikishin line. This is the reading carried in the densho of the two masters who immediately followed him: the sixth-generation Takahashi Danjōzaemon Shigeharu (高橋弾正左衛門重治, 1610–1690; gō Jikiō, founder of the Jikishin-shōtō-ryū) and the seventh-generation Yamada Mitsunori (山田一風斎光徳; Ippūsai). Karukome's analysis of the transmission documents is explicit that in Takahashi's and Yamada's generations the founder was Kamiya Denshinsai, and that the Matsumoto-as-ryūso framing was a later revision by the eighth, Naganuma Kunisato. That early framing also highlighted the Ming-dynasty influence on the art via Ogasawara, which was maintained even as an increasingly Japan-centric emphasis grew over time. (Karukome Yoshitaka 2013, 2020)

The “Kashima scroll to Matsumoto to Kamiizumi” spine is the in-house tradition of the Kashima-shinden family (both the Kashima Shin-ryū and Jiki narrative branches), but not the independent record. The Gekiken Sōdan (撃剣叢談) traces the old Shinkage menkyo lineage instead as Udo Daigongen to Aisu Ikō to Aisu Koshichirō (some Shinkage-ryū lines omit this step) to Kamiizumi Ise-no-kami and beyond. Whether Hikita or Yagyū or Okuyama, the lines then diverge. Matsumoto is not found until the 1768 mokuroku of Naganuma.

The recognition of Kamiya Denshinsai as the founder of what became Jikishinkage-ryū conflicts with the later narrative

imposed by Kashima Shin-ryū. Notably, in our previous work, we highlighted that several koto (事; matters or topics) entered in the mid-eighteenth century with Naganuma Kunisato, including kiriotoshi (切落) and ginmi (吟味). These are absent from the previous Heihō Zakki (兵法雜記) of Yamada Mitsunori (Ippūsai) but do appear in Kashima Shin-ryū's *ōyō shinri* (応用心理 [reading/kanji tentative]), which is an Edo-period Jikishinkage-ryū influence flowing into the Kashima Shin-ryū rather than the reverse.

This is likely explained by Kunii receiving Jikishinkage-ryū instruction at an early age. Whether that line sits within the Fujikawa-ha (藤川派) specifically cannot be established from the academic literature: Karukome's study treats only the Naganuma, Fujikawa and Odani branches and does not mention the teacher of his family (Motooka Chūhachi) at all, so the Fujikawa-ha attribution is at present uncertain.¹⁰⁶

The use of the phrase Tengu-gaki is more commonly found in Hikita Kage-ryū than Yagyū lines of Shinkage-ryū. Hikita's Tengu-gaki is a kata practice cognate containing three Kage-ryū kata. Kashima Shin-ryū's Tengu-gaki is instead a credential-scroll whose tengu provenance the school itself brackets as a front for an even older claim (similar in spirit to Daitō-ryū claiming descent from the Minamoto).

¹⁰⁶Structurally, Kashima Shin-ryū favors gedan similar to Nen-ryū, and adopts similar deep forward-weighted stances. Gedan was also favored by the Odani-ha of Jikishinkage-ryū, which had a great number of students and influenced the development of kendō. However, Odani-ha used a more moderate (middle or small frame) stance, also forward weighted, but with the hips square instead of the forward hip opened. The Fujikawa-ha in contrast favored upper-level kamae such as jodan, while hassō figures prominently in surviving Naganuma-ha instruction.

The genuine tengu lineage remains the Kage-ryū to Shinkage to Yagyū transmission of kata; however, Kunii was not said to primarily learned kata from his early Shinkage-ryū instructor. The Kashima “Tengu-gaki,” and the Matsumoto founder it authenticates, both sit on the unverifiable middle of the splice.

The published record shows the Kunii line aware of the *connection* to Jikishinkage-ryū but not engaging the *direction* of the doctrinal flow.

His student, Seki Humitake (関文威撰) of the University of Tsukuba, carries the nineteenth shihanke line, and the tradition is now maintained through Tsukuba. There is also a rival faction from the aikidō teacher Inaba, also stemming from Kunii. Seki, as nineteenth shihanke, states that Zen’ya’s Kunii-house Kashima Shin-ryū was formed by the fusion of the Kunii-sōke Kashima Shin-ryū with the Jikishinkage-ryū shihanke line of Motooka Chūhachi Fujiwara no Inshitsu (本岡忠八藤原因質 [imina reading uncertain]) and that the two are therefore “not separate schools.”¹⁰⁷¹⁰⁸ (Seki Humitake 1976, 2009)

¹⁰⁷ 藤原 (Fujiwara) here is a clan name (*uji / kabane*) carried in the formal *nanori* of these masters, not a teaching line. It recurs across the genealogy independent of branch — Kamiizumi (上泉藤原秀綱), Yamada Mitsunori (山田一風斎藤原光徳), Naganuma (長沼活然斎藤原綱郷) and Motooka (本岡忠八藤原因質) all bear it — so a reader assigning teaching-line priority by clan would be reading a hereditary marker as a pedagogical one, which it is not. The point is sharpest with the Fujikawa-ha itself: its eponym, Fujikawa Yashirō Uemon (藤川弥司郎右衛門尉藤原近義), carries the Fujiwara clan name as well, one stroke from 藤川. The teaching branches are the Naganuma-ha (長沼派), Fujikawa-ha (藤川派) and Odani-ha (男谷派); a 藤原派 does not exist.

¹⁰⁸ That fusion is the single thread tying the Kunii house to a named Jikishinkage-ryū sub-line, and it rests on Seki’s account alone. Motooka Chūhachi appears nowhere in Karukome’s academic study of the school — neither his 2013 dissertation nor its three-branch (Naganuma / Fujikawa / Odani) analysis names Motooka, Kunii or Seki — so the claim cannot at present be corroborated from the disinterested literature, and the branch from which Motooka’s line descends remains unestablished. The twelfth-generation Ono-license merger is acknowledged as a fact of transmission history.

This is not independently corroborated.

What is absent from Seki's narrative is the next step — recognizing that the aishaku / kiriotoshi / ginmi cluster surfacing in its *ōyō shinri* is not ancient Kashima divine-transmission at all but a Naganuma Kunisato innovation of the mid-eighteenth century. It thus cannot serve as evidence of a Kashima source predating and generating Jikishinkage-ryū. The tradition absorbed Edo-period Jikishinkage-ryū material and then re-narrated it as primordial.

Kata Comparison

Kunii Zen'ya's training spanned all three streams compared here — the Kunii-house Kashima Shin-ryū and Jikishinkage-ryū as house transmissions, and Maniwa Nen-ryū (with Myōdō-ryū) under Suhara Kuniyasu. Two of them are also among the *heihō sandai genryū* (兵法三大源流; the three source-streams): the Nen (念) line and the Kage/Shinkage (陰) line from which Jikishinkage-ryū descends. Comparing the three curricula therefore tests two things at once: what material if any Kunii actually synthesized, and whether the modern Kashima Shin-ryū curriculum carries Jikishinkage-ryū or Nen-ryū structural features — which bears directly on the transmission-direction argument (influence flowing *into* a reconstructed Kashima Shin-ryū from the better-documented schools, rather than out of an ancient Kashima font).

Jikishinkage-ryū (直心影流)

Source: Karukome 2013 dissertation and the *Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai* entry. The koto cluster and the *jū-no-kata* “龍尾→曲尺” were added by Naganuma Kunisato (see the *densho-tables* file).

- Hōjō (法定) — 4 principal forms, hardwood bokutō (straight tō): Ittō-ryōdan (一刀両断), Uten-saten (右転左転), Chōtan-

ichimi (長短一味), Hassō-happa (八相発破). Their *ura* is the Habiki (刃挽), performed with a live blade.

- Jū-no-kata (十之形) — the basic shinai-uchikomi set, enumerated as 14 items under 7 named forms: Ryūbi (龍尾), Omokage (面影), Teppa-shintai (鉄破進退) [reading tentative], Matsukaze (松風), Hayafune (早船), Kanejaku (曲尺), Enren-tōren-tairen (圓連刀連体連) [tentative]. Four are 左/右 pairs, Teppa-shintai is one form of four items, and the last two are independent (see the jū-no-kata composition file).
- Tō-no-kata (韜之形) — 14 forms, fukuro-shinai.
- Kodachi (小太刀) — 6 short-sword forms.

Kashima Shin-ryū (鹿島神流)

Source: the school's own site (kashima-shinryu.jp), the Inaba Minoru / BAB instructional material, and the school's Wikipedia entry. Transmitted as Kunii-sōke / Seki-shihanke in current times. (Kashima-Shinryū Budō Renmei 2026; Inaba Minoru, n.d.-a)

- Principle sets: *go-ka no hōjō* (五ヶ之法定; five unities — 動静一体・起発一体・攻防一体・虚実一体・陰陽一体) and the physical base *hō-en-kyoku-choku-ei* (方円曲直銳).
- Ichi-no-tachi (一之太刀) — the kesa-giri (袈裟斬) cut attributed to Matsumoto Bizen no Kami.
- Kihon-dachi (基本太刀) — 5 forms, bokutō: Kesa-giri (袈裟斬), Ashibarai-ukifune (足払浮舟), Kiriwari (斬割), Waritsuki (割突), Kurai-dachi (位太刀).
- Ura-dachi (裏太刀) — 10 forms, fukuro-shinai: Men-dachi-zuke (面太刀付), Kesa-dachi-zuke (袈裟太刀付), Sokui-dachi (続飯太刀), Gedan-kote-dome (下段籠手止), Kyo-dachi-kote-giri (虚太刀籠手斬), Sokui-zuke (続飯付), Mikiri-ken-chūtai (見切剣中体) [reading tentative], Chokutai-chūken (直体中

劍) [tentative], Kesa-giri-sodezuri (袈裟斬袖摺), Enpi-ken (燕飛劍).

- Musōken (無想劍) — attributed to the 12th shihanke, Kunii Daizen Minamoto no Kuriyama (國井大善源栗山).
- Jūjutsu — *reiki-no-hō* (靈氣之法), with 居捕・立業・投業・組業 groupings and an extensive named-technique inventory (e.g. kata-mune-dori 片胸捕, kiri-otoshi 切落, tsubame-gaeshi 燕返, sakui-zuke 続飯付, karate-kenpō-yaburi 唐手拳法破).
- Other arms: battō (祓太刀 harai-tachi), naginata, kaiken, jō, yari, bō.
- Implements: bokutō for kihon-dachi, fukuro-shinai from ura-dachi onward.

Maniwa Nen-ryū (馬庭念流)

Source: the Nen-ryū sōke site (*nen-ryu.jp*), the Takasaki City cultural-property listing, and Ozawa 1971. Registered with the Kobudō Shinkōkai simply as “Nen-ryū”; “Maniwa” is the customary name. (Nen-ryū Sōke (Higuchi-ke) 2026; Takasaki City (高崎市), n.d.; Ozawa Takashi 1971)

- Omote go-hon (表五本) — 5 forms, bokutō: Jōryaku (上畧), Geryaku (下畧), Chūryaku (中畧), Mugamae (無構), Gasshō (合掌).
- Ura san-bon (裏三本) — 3 forms, fukuro-shinai: Kiriokuri (切送), Jōdan-giri / Jōdan-uchikomi (上段切／上段打込), Sandan-giri (三段切).
- Kumi jippon (組十本 / 裏五本) — 10 forms, live blade. *Sono ichi*: Uchikomi-ranshō (打込乱勝) [tentative], Sakairi (逆入) [tentative], Byōbu-gaeshi (屏風反), Tachi-sabaki (太刀捌), Gasshō-kuzushi (合掌崩). *Sono ni*: Shishi-hōge (獅子峰下) [tentative], Nakazumi (中墨), Chūō-ōzume (中央大詰)

〔tentative〕, Sumi-iri (澄入) 〔tentative〕, Shishi-funjin (獅子奮迅).

- Naginata go-hon (長刀五本), Yari go-hon (槍五本).
- Yadome-jutsu (矢留術) — headmaster (or top licensee) only.
- Supplementary: tsuke-tachi-no-koto (附太刀之事, 5) and teno-uchi-no-koto (手之裡之事, 9).
- Implements: bokutō for omote; self-made head-protector and cloth kote with fukuro-shinai for uchikomi.

Structural comparison

Tier	Jikishinkage-ryū	Kashima Shin-ryū	Maniwa Nen-ryū
Foundational set (bokutō)	Hōjō (4)	Kihon-dachi (5)	Omote go-hon (5)
Applied set (fukuro-shinai)	Tō-no-kata (14)	Ura-dachi (10)	Ura san-bon (3)
Inner / live-blade or secret	Habiki (live blade); kodachi (6)	Musōken; ichi-no-tachi	Kumi jippon (shinken, 10)
Long arms	— (sword school)	naginata, yari, bō	naginata (5), yari (5)
Unarmed	—	jūjutsu (reiki-no-hō) + large inventory	—
Sparring tradition	fukuro-shinai → later shinai/bōgu (kendō ancestor)	fukuro-shinai (ura-dachi onward)	fukuro-shinai with self-made headgear

The shared architecture is a bokutō foundational set → fukuro-shinai applied set progression, present in all three. That progression is real but weak as evidence of specific descent: it is the general Edo-period two-implement pattern, and all three schools sit in or beside the Shinkage / Nen orbit where it was common.

There are school-specific overlaps (Kashima Shin-ryū ↔ Jikishinkage-ryū). The Kashima Shin-ryū sword sets carry several terms that cluster in the Shinkage and Jikishinkage lines rather than in Nen-ryū: *enpi* (燕飛, KSR ura-dachi #10 *Enpi-ken*) is the signature Shinkage form-name — Kamiizumi's *Enbi* / the Kage-ryū *Sarutobi* lineage that heads the Shinkage sangaku; *kiri-otoshi* (切落), which appears in the KSR jūjutsu inventory, is one of the four koto Naganuma Kunisato added to Jikishinkage-ryū in 1764; *sokui* (続飯, KSR ura-dachi #3 and #6) and *kesa* (袈裟, KSR ichi-no-tachi and kihon #1) likewise sit in the Shinkage-derived vocabulary. This is consistent with — though it does not by itself prove — Jikishinkage-ryū vocabulary having flowed into the Kunii-house curriculum, the direction the *ōyō shinri* argument already points to.

However, generic posture/structure names (上段/下段/中段, left-right pairings, “three-step” cuts) recur across all three and across most kenjutsu and carry no descent information. The shared *gasshō* (合掌) between Nen-ryū's omote and its kumi is internal to Nen-ryū and has no Kashima/Jiki echo. The bokutō→fukuro-shinai tiering, as noted, is a period-wide pattern. Kashima Shin-ryū uses Maniwa Nen-ryū styled fukuro shinai, not those historically favored by Jikishinkage-ryū.

Katōda Shinkage-ryū

Katōda Shinkage-ryū (加藤田神陰流) was the art practiced by the famous late 19th century kenshi Matsuzaki Namishirō.

The art was a Kurume-han Shinkage line founded by Katōda Shinsaku (加藤田新作), a student of Nakamura Gonnai of

Mujūshin-kenryū (無住心剣流) who was invited to the domain in 1716 .

Its name was attached from the ninth generation onwards under Katōda Heihachirō, author of the Katōda Nikki (加藤田日記).

After Heihachirō's death, in 1875 his son Daisuke opened a dōjō teaching Katōda Shinkage-ryū kenjutsu (剣術; swordsmanship) together with Yōshin-ryū naginata (薙刀術; glaive) and kusarigama (鎖鎌術; chain-sickle art).

The 1925 *Kendō no Hattatsu* (剣道の発達) - first chapter, 緒論, listing densho and diaries item by item, numbered), and two of the entries touch Matsuzaki Namishirō directly.¹⁰⁹

In entry 29, 剣道比試記, the annotation reads that it collects, from the early Kaei years through early Meiji, the musha-shugyō diaries and records of contemporary teachers' houses of Katōda's senior disciple Matsuzaki Namishirō (加藤田家の高弟松崎浪四郎) — and it calls this a peerless historical source (無二の史料) for knowing the state of the kendō world, especially in Edo. In entry 27, 遊歴日記, is glossed as a musha-shugyō diary of the Tenpō years — very likely part of the same body of Katōda-house travel-diary material, sitting two entries up from the Matsuzaki item under the same run of Katōda densho.

The Katōda Shinkage-ryū mokuroku issued from Katōda Heihachirō to Hara Zenzo, Keio (4) 1868, begins with a sankyō (Shintō-Confucian-Buddhist) syncretic charter with a Kiki-mythology sword-origin (totsuka-no-tsurugi slaying Yamata-no-Orochi) and is quite different in flavor from the Zen-inflected austerity of the Sekiun/Mujūshin side. Katōda Shinkage-ryū

¹⁰⁹Next Digital Library pid 1017872.

used Confucian scholar levels to denote ranks, and was influenced by Mujūshin-kenryū (無住心剣流; むじゅうしんけんりゅう) — also called 夕雲流 (Sekiu-ryū) or 破想流 (Hasō-ryū) was founded by Harigaya Sekiun (針ヶ谷夕雲; imina 正成 Masanari, tsūshō 五郎右衛門 Gorōuemon), d. 1669. The disciple he is paired with, 一雲, is Odagiri Ichiun (小田切一雲), author of the Sekiu-ryū Kenjutsu-sho and Tenshin Dokuro. The figure who carries the line to Kurume is 中村権内 (Nakamura Gonnai), whose pupil 加藤田新作 (Katōda Shinsaku) was invited to Kurume-han in 1716 and named his line 神蔭流／神陰流. Mujūshin-kenryū itself descends from Ogasawara Genshinsai's Shin-Shinkage-ryū (真新陰流) — Sekiun was Genshinsai's pupil — so the Katōda house's "Shinkage" name reflects that deeper root even though its proximate parent is the Sekiun/Mujūshin line. Katōda Shinkage-ryū's introductory curriculum includes the Hassō-ken (八相剣), Ittō-ryōdan-ken (一刀両断剣), and Chōtan-ichimi-ken (長短一味剣) found in other lines descending from Ogasawara's Shin-no-Shinkage heihō, but includes a kata called Seigan-ken (誓眼剣) using 誓 ("vow") a deliberate homophone play on 正眼／青眼. One Sekiun/Shinkage-line inka scroll frames its opening form through Tendai perfect-sudden vocabulary, which is evidence of the religious theme of the naming — the same Shintō-Buddhist doubling as in related Katōda Shinkage charter — without implying the swordsmen were doing formal Tendai precept-exegesis.¹¹⁰

Mokuroku

Below we describe a little information on this art. The work above contains the Katōda house's own Shinkage-ryū transmission documents (加藤田家の新陰流傳書). The book lays out the

¹¹⁰https://empiken.blogspot.com/2020/04/blog-post_21.htm

line's licensing hierarchy as a five-grade system, with the techniques (業) distributed across the grades — organized, it notes, much like Shibukawa-ryū jūjutsu and Jigen-ryū kenjutsu. The five grades, in order, are:

1. 目錄 (mokuroku)
2. 後卷目錄 (go-kan mokuroku — “latter-scroll” mokuroku)
3. 免狀 (menjō)
4. 奥免許 (oku-menkyo)
5. 直面目印可 (jikimen-moku inka)

They were mapped onto a parallel set of Confucian rank-names, 初學 → 學士 → 賢 → 聖 → 君子 (beginner, scholar, sage, saint, gentleman). The book adds that the top grade, 直面目印可, was withheld unless a worthy recipient existed — likened to a deliberately-vacant office — so it was rarely conferred. A kikigaki it quotes explains the logic: the techniques fall into four “phases,” hence the staged grades, with separate transmission-documents (傳授書) for the higher stages.

That hierarchy maps directly onto the catalogue entries on page 38, which are the actual grade-documents held in the Katōda collection at Kurume — so the mokuroku exists, even though this book doesn't transcribe its contents.

Matsuzaki's own licensing maps cleanly onto the five-grade structure from the 1925 book: he took the 神蔭流免許 in 1848 (grade 3, menjō) and the 神蔭流奥免許 in 1854 (grade 4, oku-menkyo) — i.e., he held the fourth of the five grades, one below the rarely-conferred 直面目印可, and stands as one of Heihachirō's twelve oku-menkyo men.

The relevant items are entry 一九 新陰流後卷目錄口傳書 (the go-kan mokuroku — grade 2, which is precisely where the kata

names would be listed), 二〇 免狀八箇條解, and 二二 直面目印可, plus 二五 劔術等級傳書, which records the grade system itself along with the naginata, iai, kishōmon, shikatsu (death/revival) and Shōkoku-tai enrollment rules. The line's kata list is documented — it's inside entry 19 — but the book provides a skeleton (the grades and how techniques are apportioned) without the individual kata names.

Page 66 records that the Katōda house's Shinkage-ryū originally carried an *attached jūjutsu*, which split off under the third-generation instructor and passed to another house before the Restoration — corroborating the grappling/naginata component of the Katōda-ha, and situating it among the “Shinkage-ryū jūjutsu” offshoots the book says were scattered around Kyūshū.

The catalogue's entry 23, 先師口授, is explicitly the kuden of Hariya Sekiun (針谷夕雲) and his disciple Ichiun — i.e., Mujūshin-kenryū material in the Katōda holdings, consistent with the line's descent through Nakamura Gonnai's Mujūshin-kenryū rather than the Yagyū trunk. So, is important to recognize that the Katōda “Shinkage-ryū” carried a Sekiun/Mujūshin-kenryū inheritance, which may mean its inner curriculum diverges substantially from the standard Yagyū line of Shinkage-ryū.¹¹¹

Katōda Heihachirō — the ninth-generation head, 1808–1875, imina Shigehide (重秀), gō Ekitei (益亭) — kept a detailed diary every night after practice from 1837 to 1874, and that corpus survives, partially: it is now somewhat scattered, but the extant portion is preserved as the Katōda Nikki (加藤田日記) and is

¹¹¹ Kata lists may be in surviving copies of the 後卷目錄 from 一九 (新陰流後卷目錄口傳書) in the Katōda Kurume holdings — the same collection that holds Matsuzaki's 剣道比試記.

treated as a valuable Kurume local-history source (久留米の貴重な郷土史料)¹¹²

Its mokuroku contain yawara and then 表之術太刀合 that include several Shin-no-shinkage kata: 八相剣 — Hassō-ken; 一刀両断剣 — Ittō-ryōdan-ken (single-sword “one-cut severing”); 誓眼剣 — Seigan-ken (誓眼 written with 誓 “vow,” a deliberate homophone play on 正眼／青眼); 長短一味剣 — Chōtan-ichimi-ken (“long-and-short, one-flavor”); and 二刀合 — Nitō-ai. There are the fundamental or earlier proto-forms of Hōjō or Sangaku, except for Utten Satten.

Mujūshin-kenryū

Mujūshin-kenryū (無住心剣流; むじゅうしんけんりゅう) — also called 夕雲流 (Sekiun-ryū) or 破想流 (Hasō-ryū) was founded by Harigaya Sekiun (針ヶ谷夕雲; imina 正成 Masanari, tsūshō 五郎右衛門 Gorōuemon), d. 1669. The 1925 catalogue renders his name as 針谷五郎左エ門 — that’s a spelling drift (針谷 for 針ヶ谷, and 左エ門/Zaemon for the standard 右衛門/Uemon).

The disciple he is paired with, 一雲, is Odagiri Ichiun (小田切一雲), author of the Sekiun-ryū Kenjutsu-sho and Tenshin Dokuro. The figure who carries the line to Kurume is 中村権内 (Nakamura Gonnai), whose pupil 加藤田新作 (Katōda Shin-saku) was invited to Kurume-han in 1716 and named his line 神蔭流／神陰流.

¹¹²The empi blog (https://empiken.blogspot.com/2020/04/blog-post_21.html) has an image of a Katōda Shinkage-ryū mokuroku issued from Katōda Heihachirō to Hara Zenzo, Keio (4) 1868. It begins with a san-kyō (Shintō-Confucian-Buddhist) syncretic charter with a Kiki-mythology sword-origin (totsuka-no-tsurugi slaying Yamata-no-Orochi) and is quite different in flavor from the Zen-inflected austerity of the Sekiun/Mujūshin side.

Katōda Shinsaku, a pupil of Nakamura Gonnai of Mujūshin-kenryū, was invited to the Kurume domain in 1716 and taught swordsmanship, calling his line “Shinkage-ryū”, and from the ninth-generation Katōda Heihachirō it came to be called “Katōda Shinkage-ryū”.

Mujūshin-kenryū itself descends from Ogasawara Genshinsai’s Shin-Shinkage-ryū (真新陰流) — Sekiun was Genshinsai’s pupil — so the Katōda house’s “Shinkage” name reflects that deeper root even though its proximate parent is the Sekiun/Mujūshin line.¹¹³

The “empiken” blog (Enpi no kenkyū compares the opening sections of the mokuroku (目録) across the branches of the Shin-Shinkage-ryū / 真心陰流 family, and it works directly from the 加藤田神陰流 densho.¹¹⁴

The Katōda Shinkage-ryū transmission documents give the source figure as Ogasawara Kazusa Genshinsai Nagaharu, and the author notes that across the branches the first part of the mokuroku is largely shared while the latter half diverges considerably by line — which is precisely the structural point, and means the Katōda list can be read against its cousins to see what’s common Shinkage inheritance and what’s Kurume-specific.

Matsuzaki Namishirō

Matsuzaki Namishirō (松崎浪四郎), personal name Naoyuki (直之), was a swordsman of the late Bakumatsu and Meiji eras,

¹¹³ 真心陰流と無住心剣術と燕飛 at https://empiken.blogspot.com/2020/04/blog-post_10.html

¹¹⁴ 真心陰流と無住心剣術と燕飛 第一回 真のシンカゲ流 in <https://empiken.blogspot.com/2020/04/blog-post.html>

born on 30 March 1833 in Shōjima-machi, Kurume, the son of the Kurume-han samurai Matsuzaki Hachimon.

In 1844 he entered the Katōda Shinkage-ryū (加藤田神陰流) kenjutsu practice of Katōda Heihachirō (加藤田平八郎), the ninth-generation head of the Kurume-han Katōda line. Katōda Shinkage-ryū was founded by Katōda Shinsaku (加藤田新作), a student of Nakamura Gonnai of Mujūshin-kenryū (無住心剣流).

At the same time, he took up Hōzōin-ryū sōjutsu (宝蔵院流槍術; spear) under Mori Heiemon. He received his Shinkage license in 1848, Hōzōin license in 1849, and the inner license oku-menkyo (奥免許; advanced full license) in Katōda Shinkage-ryū in 1854. He was reputed to “always take the first point” and came to be called the foremost swordsman of Kyūshū.

Of Heihachirō’s twelve inner-license holders, the two best remembered are Matsuzaki Namishirō and his dōmon (同門; fellow disciple) in the Katōda Shinkage-ryū line, Umezaki Yaichirō (梅崎弥一郎, 1847–1913), who also practiced Tsuda Ichiden-ryū.

The two men jointly received the Seirensō at the 1895 Butokukai Taikai — co-recipients in the same group, not teacher and student, Umezaki the junior by fourteen years — and he became a Butokukai kendō hanshi in 1909.¹¹⁵

Matsuzaki’s kenjutsu was forged through shiai and inspired by the swordsmanship and philosophy of Yamaoka Tesshū later in life. From historical records, his teachings most likely survive as influence on higher-level kendō of Sasaburō and his own legacy, rather than through the direct kata-geiko transmission of

¹¹⁵Namishirō practiced sword and spear but was not a documented jūjutsu man. It also appears Katōda Shinkage-ryū and Tsuda Ichiden-ryū both had no iai or battō in their documented curricula. The schools’ own accounts describes them as kenjutsu lines of practice.

the Katōda Shinkage-ryū he himself practiced as a youth. Katōda Shinkage-ryū itself is not represented in either the Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai or the Nihon Kobudō Shinkōkai today and appears to survive only as documentary record rather than as a living transmission in Japan.

Musha Shugyō and Gekken

In 1855 he set out on a warrior's pilgrimage *musha shugyō* (武者修行; martial arts pilgrimage) to Edo. In a celebrated series of bouts at the Oka-han Edo residence he defeated Momoi Shunzō (桃井春蔵) of Kyōshin Meichi-ryū and Saitō Shintarō (斎藤新太郎) of Shintō Munen-ryū, drew with Ueda Umanosuke, and lost to Chiba Eijirō (千葉栄次郎) of the Genbukan — that is, he bested the representatives of two of Edo's three great dōjō and fell only to the third.

There is a phrase: “dignity to Momoi, technique to Chiba, power to Saitō”:

(位は桃井、技は千葉、力は斎藤)

that arises from these encounters and spread in the Meiji period. Namashirō encountered all three.

The Shigakukan (士学館) of Kyōshin Meichi-ryū (鏡新明智流), associated with “dignity”. Opened in 1773 by the first Momoi Shunzō, Momoi Naoyoshi (桃井直由), at Kayaba-chō, and moved by the second Shunzō to Ōtomi-chō on the Asari-gashi, where it took the name Shigakukan. In Matsuzaki's day the head was the fourth Momoi Shunzō, Momoi Naomasa (桃井直正, 1825–1885); a Numazu-han samurai's second son who took full transmission at twenty-four and sharply raised the school's standing and enrollment. This is the “Momoi” Matsuzaki defeated, and the “位の

桃井” of the saying. Among its men were the Tosa figures Takechi Hanpeita and Okada Izō.

The Genbukan (玄武館) of Hokushin Ittō-ryū (北辰一刀流), the “technique” house. Founded in 1822 by Chiba Shūsaku (千葉周作) at Nihonbashi Shinagawa-chō, later moved to Kanda Otamagaike. The founder Chiba Shūsaku (1792/94–1855) was still the nominal head but was in his final year; the man Matsuzaki actually faced — and the only one of the three to beat him — was Shūsaku’s gifted second son, Chiba Ejirō (千葉栄次郎). So in the saying’s terms Matsuzaki fell only to “技の千葉,” technique. The Genbukan was the largest and most famous of the three.

The Renpeikan (練兵館) of Shintō Munen-ryū (神道無念流), the “power” house. Founded in 1826 by the first Saitō Yakurō (斎藤弥九郎, 1798–1871), who had trained under the third-generation Shintō Munen-ryū head Okada Jūmatsu (岡田十松) at the Gekkenkan, at Kudanshita near the Manaita-bashi; it later stood at Kudan-zaka-ue, on what is now the Yasukuni Shrine grounds. Yakurō remained the patriarch, but daily instruction was led by his sons, and the one Matsuzaki beat was Saitō Shintarō (斎藤新太郎), later the second Yakurō — the “力の斎藤,” power. Katsura Kogorō (Kido Takayoshi) was the Renpeikan’s best-known student.

Matsuzaki bested dignity (Momoi) and power (Saitō). He was stopped only by technique (Chiba Ejirō).¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶There is also a phrase 江戸四大道場 or “four great dōjō” that includes the Shingyōtō-ryū (心形刀流) Renbukan (練武館) dōjō of Iba Gunbei Hidenari (伊庭軍兵衛秀業) with the above.

Shunpūkan Training

It was during this period that Matsuzaki Namishirō formed his lifelong friendship with Yamaoka Tesshū (山岡鉄舟).

Matsuzaki fought in the battle of Iwaki-Taira during the Boshin War, on behalf of the Kurume domain. It is said that Matsuzaki also participated in the Battle of Taharazaka during the Satsuma Rebellion.

On 17 November 1870 (Meiji 3) Matsuzaki was appointed official kenjutsu instructor *shinan-yaku* (指南役; instructor/guidance role) to the Kurume-han (久留米藩), receiving one-generation samurai (shizoku) status; among the domain's instructors he was made chief.

When the domains were abolished in Meiji 5 (1872), the post of shinan-yaku lapsed with the institutions that had sustained it, and for the next several years Matsuzaki served as a civil official in Mizuma Prefecture (三潁県) as a village headman *kochō* (戸長; village headman) and head of its second district, retiring in March 1876 when Mizuma was absorbed into Fukuoka Prefecture.

In the Meiji period Yamaoka, by then a chamberlain to the emperor, brought Namishirō to Tokyo (1883–84), where he trained at Yamaoka's Shunpūkan (春風館). This is where Matsuzaki's late identity as a Zen-influenced *kenshi* took place.

Yamaoka Tesshū (山岡鉄舟, 1836–1888) is one of the *bakumatsu no san-shū*, the three “shū” — with Katsu Kaishū and Takahashi Deishū. He had trained in Jikishinkage-ryū, Hokushin Ittō-ryū and Nakanishi-ha Ittō-ryū kenjutsu and the spear school of Jitokuin-ryū / Ninshin-ryū (自得院流・忍心流; two alternate names).

Out of his own practice and Zen training he deepened the Ittō-ryū maxim that “one sword becomes ten thousand and the ten thousand return to one,” proclaimed “no sword beyond the mind” (心外無刀), founded Mutō-ryū (無刀流) in 1880 and opened the Shunpūkan dōjō in 1882. Its full name is Ittō Shōden Mutō-ryū (一刀正伝無刀流). The ideal Yamaoka set down for it is the opposite of a prize-fighting hall: Mutō-ryū swordsmanship does not contend over win-or-lose between self and other, but requires only the forging of the mind, the tempering of technique and the taking of a natural victory — sword and Zen as one (劍禪一如; sword-Zen unity).

That ethos did not mean soft training. The Shunpūkan was known for an extraordinarily severe trials. Practitioners could engage in 200 matches throughout a single day, 600 over three days or in the most extreme trial, called tachikiri or seigan (立ち切り／誓願), 1,400 bouts over seven days. Through all of this, spiritual cultivation was held as central. This is the environment Yamaoka brought Matsuzaki into in 1883–84. Yamaoka taught at the Imperial Household Ministry’s Saineikan (濟寧館) and ran the Kensō Jūjutsu Eizoku-sha (劍槍柔術永続社), which became a model for the Dai Nippon Butokukai — and Matsuzaki is counted among his disciples.

Matsuzaki later fought a match against Yamaoka and won — but as a direct result of that bout he decided to become the student of his long-time colleague. He cut his shinai down from three shaku eight sun to the Mutō-ryū length of three shaku two sun and dedicated himself towards cultivating Tesshū’s mindset on Zen swordsmanship.

The mature Matsuzaki that modern kendō remembers is, in large part, the Matsuzaki of the Shunpūkan. Matsuzaki's very last recorded match, at the 1895 Butokukai, was against Kagawa Zenjirō (香川善治郎, c. 1849–1921) — the man who succeeded Yamaoka as the second-generation head of Ittō Shōden Mutō-ryū (一刀正伝無刀流). Kagawa went on to hold the Dai Nippon Butokukai's kendō *hanshi* title and to carry that Zen-sword line into the modern educational-kendō system as an instructor at the Hiroshima Higher Normal School kendō club — one of the principal training grounds for the nation's kendō teachers — where he helped establish Mutō-ryū kendō there. He died on 7 March 1921, at seventy-two.

Namishirō later took charge of a dōjō at the Washio residence, and took part in matches at the Imperial Household Ministry's Saineikan (濟寧館) and in the budō-preservation society Eizoku-sha (永続社) alongside Yamaoka, Sakakibara Kenkichi, and others. Sakakibara's 1873 *gekiken-kōgyō* public exhibitions did more than anything to keep swordsmanship alive through the post-Meiji Restoration collapse.

Namishirō's opponents through his later career include Tokuno Sekishirō (得能関四郎), Shimoe Hidetarō (下江秀太郎), Hemmi Sōsuke (逸見宗助) - who he defeated in an imperial-viewing match - and Okumura Sakonta (奥村左近太). Namashirō was defeated by Okumura in late 1884 and remained a recurring rival once he was in Kyōto.

Tokunō met Matsuzaki twice in 1884 — a draw at the Imperial Household Ministry's Saineikan, and a win over him at the Mukōgaoka Yayoi-sha tournament on 8 November (Meiji 17). Matsuzaki had a poor day at that meet: Okumura beat him there

as well, losing himself only to Kuchihara Yoshitsugu (朽原義次) of Ryūgō-ryū — the surviving bout-by-bout results (Okumura's, for one) show these were direct head-to-head matches, not bracket placings.

In facing Shimoe — Chiba Eijirō's student — when he challenged the Tokyo police, Matsuzaki was meeting a direct heir of the one Genbukan line that had beaten him three decades earlier. Okumura remained a recurring rival, and the two met again at the 1895 Butoku-sai, where both were awarded the Seirenschō. Takayama Minesaburō (高山峰三郎), remembered for defeating thirty-six Keishichō fencing instructors in succession, was another of Matsuzaki's recurring rivals — their long contest is given a chapter of its own by Sonoda.

Kendō Legacy

Late in life Matsuzaki is recorded as having reformed his transmission under the name Yamaoka-ryū (山岡流), in homage to Teshū.

He returned to his Fukuoka dōjō in 1885 and once more took up prefectural office, serving from September 1886 to December 1887 as a secretary *shoki* (書記; secretary/clerk) and deputy chief prison warden *kanshu fukuchō* (看守副長; deputy prison warden) in Fukuoka Prefecture; he was then engaged as a ken-jutsu instructor for the Kyōto Prefectural Police from 1888, and in 1895 was among the recipients of the Seirenschō (精錬証) at the first Dai Nippon Butokukai taikai in Kyōto.

He died at his home in Kyoto on 19 June 1896 at age 63 and was buried at Rinka-in (隣華院), a subtemple of Myōshin-ji (妙心寺) — the Rinzai Zen monastery whose mountain name is Shōbōzan

(正法山) — under the kaimyō Kenkō-in (剣光院; “Hall of the Sword’s Light”) Gensō Ryōkū Koji (玄叟了空居士).

His documented influence runs into modern kendō through Takano Sasaburō (高野佐三郎), who named him the finest swordsman in Japan, said he had received his inner (*hiden*) teachings, and praised his match-method — pressing (*seme*) and breaking the opponent’s spirit before striking, in a kendō he called Zen-deep in an essay later reprinted by the All Japan Kendō Federation.

Sources and Further Reading

These dictionaries are also the principal published sources for Matsuzaki’s documented contemporaries discussed here — Umezaki Yaichirō (梅崎弥一郎), Okumura Sakonta (奥村左近太), Kagawa Zenjirō (香川善治郎), Takayama Minesaburō (高山峰三郎), Tokuno Sekishirō (得能関四郎) and the rest of the Butōkukai-era circle.

On the dormant Kurume lines — Katōda Shinkage-ryū (加藤田神陰流), Tsuda Ichiden-ryū (津田一伝流) and its parent Asayama Ichiden-ryū (浅山一伝流) — see the *Bugei Ryūha Daijiten*; they have little dedicated monographic literature. For Tsuda Ichiden-ryū’s modern military-sword legacy through Tsuda Kyōshū (津田教修) at the Army Toyama School, consult histories of the 陸軍戸山学校 and Toyama-ryū battōjutsu (戸山流拔刀術).

The “three great Edo dōjō” (江戸三大道場) — the Genbukan (Hokushin Ittō-ryū; Chiba Shūsaku), the Renpeikan (Shintō Munen-ryū; Saitō Yakurō) and the Shigakukan (Kyōshin Meichi-ryū; Momoi Shunzō) — and the appraisal “i wa Momoi, waza wa Chiba, chikara wa Saitō” (位は桃井、技は千葉、力は斎)

藤) attributed to Matsuzaki are a Meiji-era retrospective, treated in standard bakumatsu-kenjutsu histories and the *Bugei Ryūha Daijiten*.

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 Asarigashi (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.” The fourth head, Momoi Naomasa (桃井直正, 1825–1885) — a Numazu-han samurai’s second son who took full transmission at twenty-four — is the one under whom the Shigakukan’s standing and enrollment rose most sharply;

among its men were the Tosa figures Takechi Hanpeita and Okada Izō.

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.

In the Gekiken Sōdan (1790)

Mikami's kan 5 entry is polemical and unusually candid — hostile to the founder, favourable to his son — and it complicates the received genealogy above.

一、鏡心明智流は、近比江戸萱葉町に大東七流軒伴山と云ふ者有り。四流の劔術を合せて一流を結構して、私に明智流と云ふ。

He names the founder not as Momoi Naoyoshi but as **Ōtsuka Shichiryūken Banzan** (大東七流軒伴山), recently active at Kayabachō (萱葉町) in Edo, “who combined the swordsmanship of four schools to construct a single school, calling it, on his own authority (私に), Meichi-ryū.” One year Banzan hung a boastful placard (自賛の額) at a shrine, declaring that his training had taught him not how to defeat others but how not to be defeated, and offering to instruct even the poor and the unfit. Many went to challenge him — pupils of Naganuma Shirōzaemon (長沼四郎左衛門) among them — but he pleaded illness and never once fought; someone pasted a notice over his placard mocking him, and he was ill spoken of throughout Edo.

されど子春藏は今以て明智流を指南し、稽古場も繁昌する也。此流勝負を専とし、跡をも詰めてきびしく打合ふ也。

“But his son, styled **Momoi Shunzō** (桃井春藏), teaches Meichiryū to this day and his training hall thrives. This school specializes in boutting (勝負を専とし), pressing the follow-up and striking hard.” That last clause is the substantive datum: a c. 1790 attestation of vigorous full-contact *shiai* at the Momoi dōjō.

This account differs from the received genealogy: the *Gekiken Sōdan* makes the first Momoi Shunzō the **son** of a founder named Ōtsuka Banzan, whereas the later tradition (above) makes Momoi Naoyoshi himself the founder and first Shunzō. The discrepancy — a synthetic founder disowned by his own school’s later self-image, or a garbled report — is unresolved, and turns partly on whether the “son” here is Naoyoshi (直由) or the second head Naokazu (直一). Mikami adds that the placard dispute is recorded in detail elsewhere, so he does not elaborate.¹¹⁷

Momoi Naoyoshi (1st Shunzō)

Founder of Kyōshin Meichi-ryū and the Shigakukan (士学館), opened at Nihonbashi Minami-Kayaba-chō in 1773. He signed as Hachirōzaemon (八郎左衛門) and never bore “Shunzō” — the “1st Momoi Shunzō” numbering is a retroactive scholarly label; the myōseki proper begins with the 2nd holder, Naokazu. He is the only holder with a recorded gō (士流軒伴山, reading provisional).

¹¹⁷ Mikami also cautions against a look-alike. Adjacent in the same column he records a placard reading 明也心鏡流 (Meiya Shinkyō-ryū), which on investigation he found to be 「全く今枝流にして流名をかへたる物」 — “entirely Imaeda-ryū (今枝流) under a changed school-name,” noted here only because it resembles 鏡心明智流. It is not a variant of Kyōshin Meichi-ryū.

Momoi Naokazu (2nd Shunzō)

Second head of the Shigakukan and first to bear the myōseki “Shunzō” (春蔵) — the founder Naoyoshi’s disciple and adopted son. He moved the dōjō to Tsukiji Asari-gashi (築地蜷河岸). The succession then passed to his own son, Naoo.

Momoi Naoo (3rd Shunzō)

Third head of the Shigakukan, the natural son of the 2nd, Naokazu; the school declined during his tenure and recovered under his successor and adopted son-in-law, Naomasa. His imina 直雄 is read Naoo or Naokatsu across sources, and some accounts collapse him with the 2nd generation — see the myōseki header.

Momoi Naomasa (4th Shunzō)

The fourth head of Kyōshin Meichi-ryū, Momoi Shunzō Naomasa (桃井春蔵直正, 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, he succeeded

as the fourth head of Kyōshin Meichi-ryū (鏡新明智流).¹¹⁸

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 *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 Bunkiyū 3 (1863) — a few secondary accounts give Bunkiyū 1 (1861) — and promoted to *shihan-yakunami* in Keiō 2 (1866); with the bakufu's military reorganization he was transferred to a directorship of the *yūgekitai* (遊撃隊), leading 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), 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

¹¹⁸The 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 Kayaba-chō, Nihonbashi. The third-generation Momoi Shunzō Naoo was of extraordinary talent and skill.

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

Musashi-ryū

Musashi-ryū (武藏流) heads kan 4 of the Gekiken Sōdan (imgs 107–108, printed pp. 213–215), with Enmei-ryū (圓明流) bracketed under it. The entry is unusual among the two-sword notices in that Mikami repeatedly sets competing versions side by side without adjudicating between them, and twice marks his own uncertainty about which is right.

1. The name of the founder

一、武藏流は宮本武藏守義恆が流也〔諸書に皆政名に作る。今、古免狀に依て改む〕。武藏守は美作國吉野郡宮本村の産也。父は新免無二齋と號して十手の達人也。

Item. Musashi-ryū is the school of **Miyamoto Musashi-no-kami Yoshitsune** (宮本武藏守義恆) [the books all write the name *Masana* (政名); here [I] have emended it on the authority of an old *menkyo*]. Musashi-no-kami was a native of Miyamoto village, Yoshino district, Mimasaka. His father was styled Shinmen Muni-sai and was a master of the *jitte* (十手).

The interlinear note is the same editorial move Mikami makes elsewhere — overriding the received form (政名, as the *Honchō Bugei Shōden* and others have it) on the authority of a transmission document he has seen. Record the emendation and its warrant together; the *menkyo* is not further identified.

2. From *jitte* to two swords

Musashi, having trained thoroughly in his father's *jitte* art, reasoned that the *jitte* is not an implement one carries as a matter

of course, whereas the swords never leave one's waist; the essential thing is therefore a technique for defeating an opponent with what one always has. On that ground he devised anew and founded a two-sword school, travelling the provinces and becoming widely renowned.

The *gokui* is described concretely elsewhere in the same stretch:

極意の飛龍劔と名付くる太刀は、刀を右の手に指上て持ち、左の手にて脇差を振廻して敵に近付き、間を見て短劔を向の面に打付て、直に長劔にて切て勝つ也。此短劔を手裏劔に打つ事、圓明流・一方流・寶山流等、總て二刀の極意、此態を傳ふる也。

The *tachi* named *Hiryūken* (飛龍劔), the innermost technique: holding the long sword raised in the right hand and whirling the short sword in the left, one closes with the opponent, judges the interval, hurls the short blade into his face, and wins by cutting immediately with the long. This throwing of the short sword as a *shuriken* is transmitted as the two-sword *gokui* in Enmei-ryū, Ippō-ryū, and Hōzan-ryū alike.

3. Two accounts of the Ganryū bout

Mikami gives the story twice, in two incompatible forms, and says so.

First version. In a bout with a man called Kishi-ryū, Musashi begged a pole from a boatman and used it as his second sword; his opponent fought with a live blade; Musashi won and struck him dead. Mikami refers the reader to the *Saigyokuwa* (碎玉話) for details rather than repeating them.

Second version, introduced as 又一説有り and closed with 是非を詳にせず (“[I] do not determine which is right”): the opponent is **Sasaki Ganryū** (佐々木岸柳). Before the bout,

the students of each side, fearful, exchanged intelligence — Musashi's student Yamada telling Ganryū's student Ichikawa that per the *Musashi Monogatari* Ganryū favoured an exceptionally long sword, so a wooden sword was being prepared to smash it down; Ichikawa telling Yamada that Ganryū had a critical technique called *Torakiri* (虎切), so strong that it did not trouble itself about the opponent's blade, and that he would probably use it. Yamada reported this back in full. Musashi said he had heard of *Torakiri* and expected it. On the day, Musashi — a man of matchless agility — let Ganryū commit fully to *Torakiri*, sprang up, and though the skirt of his leather *hakama* was cut, shattered Ganryū's brow and won.

4. The Yoshioka bout and the "Tenka-ichi" title

Mikami relates that by another account, Musashi went up to the capital toward the end of the [Ashikaga] shogunate, fought Yoshioka Kenpō of the *hyōhō-shō*, defeated him, received the title **Tenka-ichi** (天下一; "first under heaven") from the shogun, and made his name shine throughout the east. It is also said that in both the Kenpō bout and the Ganryū bout he used a single sword and not two.

Mikami then asks if these bouts are true (實に然るにや) — is a genuine question, not a rhetorical one, and he immediately supplies the documentary counterweight: the school's *menkyo* bear a "Tenka-ichi" seal and are written 天下一宮本武藏守義恆. He does not say the documents settle the story — only that they exist.

The chronology here is the problem Mikami leaves standing: "toward the end of the shogunate" places the Kenpō bout in

the Ashikaga period, which cannot be reconciled with Musashi's dates.¹¹⁹

5. The dream-poem

Mikami notes that Musashi's *musō* (dream) poem is 'universally known' and is copied at the end of the school's transmission document called *Heidō-kyō* (兵道鏡):

中々に人里近く 成にけり 餘りに山の 奥をたづねて

Nakanaka ni / hitozato chikaku / narinikeri / amari ni yama no / oku o tazunete

"Contrary to expectation, I have come near to human habitation again, having sought too far into the depths of the mountain."

6. Curriculum (*Enmei-ryū line*)

Mikami reports that the school's own name for itself may be Enmei-ryū (此家にては流名を圓明流と稱するにや), and that a *menkyō* issued in Keichō 12 (1607) which he saw gives the school throughout as Enmei-ryū.

Omote: *sashiai-giri* (差合切), *tenpen hazusu kurai* (轉變はづす位), *uchiotosaruru kurai* (打落さるゝ位), *in no kurai* (陰位), *kōtotsu* (口咄), *yō no kurai* (陽位), *hazusu kurai* (はづす位).

Ura, given as a set of six sense-gates: Ganmi Iro Gen (眼見色現), kita-oto (耳聞聲出), Hana Iri Ka Akira (鼻入香顯), Shita Uguisu Aji Bun (舌鶯味分), Kokoro Shitau Chugyō (心思觸行), I Satoshi Hō Gaku (意悟法學).¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Compare Hinatsu's explicit treatment of the same difficulty at the Yoshioka entry, where he argues 憲法 is a succession-name borne by several men.

¹²⁰ Readings provisional absent furigana.

Hi-ō (祕奥): *shin'i* (眞位), *umu niken* (有無二劔), *shurikin uchiyō* (手裡劔打様), *tateki no kurai* (多敵の位), *jitte-dori* (實手取), *kore kiwame ittō* (是極一刀), *aitachi fu-aitachi* (相太刀不相太刀), *jikidō no kurai* (直道位).

A gokui couplet is then transmitted as the mark of awakening:

春風桃李花開日 秋露梧桐葉落時

“Spring wind, the day the peach and plum blossoms open;
autumn dew, the hour the paulownia leaves fall.”

7. Descent and teachers current c. 1790

Musashi's eldest son **Iori** (伊織) served the Ogasawara house of Kokura in Buzen and his descendants entered the roll of house elders, the present holder styled Shume. Whether that house also transmits the school Mikami does not know. A **Miyamoto Kakuhei** (宮本角平) founded a house of his own, and Mikami cannot determine whether he was Musashi's son (in which case a younger son) or a student who inherited the surname.

Teachers named as current at the time: in Kyushu, Murakami Heinai (村上平内) and Shikata Yazaemon (鹿田彌左衛門) at Higo-Kumamoto; Ōtsuka Noboru (大塚登) at Chikuzen-Fukuoka; Seki Heidayū (關平太夫) and another at Hasu-no-ike in Hizen; and Matsu [...] at Inaba-Tottori. In Bizen the school was formerly taught by Takahara Kōhei-ma (高原口平馬) and others, Shinto priests of Kasuga; their transmission Mikami does not detail.

8. The two Chishin-ryū

Onko Chishin-ryū (溫故知新流) is likewise two-sword and is said to be a downstream branch of Musashi.

Mirai Chishin-ryū (未来知新流) is also two-sword but is *not* of Musashi's line — and is distinguished by holding the long sword in the left hand and the short in the right (此流に限り多くは長劔を左、短劔を右に持つ也), the reverse of the usual arrangement, though some techniques take sword in the right and *wakizashi* in the left.

Mirai Chishin-ryū *omote* names: *gorin-kudaki* (五輪碎), *denten* (電天), *uja saja* (右邪左邪), *shimu-ja* (思無邪); single-sword: *kogi shin-jaken* (狐疑心邪劔), *eigetsu getsuin* (詠月月陰), *fudōken* (不動劔). The school also carries *iai* and spear.

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 *sunegiri* (脛斬り; shin-cut) — apparently borrowed from the glaive's low sweeps — together with cutting on the *tobichigai* (飛び違い; 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.

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 Set-

suryūken (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); English-language material is limited.

In the Gekiken Sōdan (1790)

Shingyōtō-ryū is one of the later Edo schools surveyed in kan 5 of the Gekiken Sōdan, reported by Mikami Genryū as a living tradition of his own day rather than a reconstructed lineage. He places it after its parent school, **Honshin-ryū** (本心流) — a sword “with many techniques” that he cannot date or locate, begun by one [...] Kenjusai (謙壽齋) and passed to Ōfuji Yajizaemon (大藤彌次左衛門) and Shiga Jūrōbee (志賀十郎兵衛).

一、心形流は、伊庭是水軒秀明といふ者、本心刀流の妙を極めて、後自意を造立して心形刀流と號し、元祿・寶永の比専ら世に鳴り、門人も最多し。

Iba Zesuiken Hideaki (伊庭是水軒秀明), “having mastered the subtlety of Honshin-tō-ryū, afterwards established his own conception and styled it Shingyōtō-ryū”; around the Genroku and Hōei years (1688–1711) it was widely renowned and its students very many.

Unusually for this text, the entry lists the curriculum by name across three categories — the school transmits *ittō*, *nitō*, and *kodachi* alike — rising through a set of *gokui* (極意; innermost teachings) conveyed orally to a final triad reserved for a single heir:

Ittō (一刀): *ōrantō* (大亂刀), *kōyō jūken* (虎陽重劍), *rantō* (亂刀), *hiryūken* (飛龍劍), *maruhashitō* (丸橋刀), *uratō* (裏刀), *seigantō* (晴眼刀), *tainaitō* (胎内刀), *uken-soku* (右劍足), *saken-soku* (左劍足), *yōyūken* (陽勇劍), *hasshatō* (發車刀), *hizagurumatō* (膝車刀), *hikitsukare* (引疲) and its reverse.

Kodachi (小太刀): *chūjū betsuken* (中住別劍), *seigan hidariashi* (清眼左足), *seigan migiashi* (晴眼左足晴), *ryōtegiri* (兩手切), *ura no nami* (浦の波).

Nitō (二刀): *kō-manshi* (向満子), *yoko-manshi* (横満子), *yoko-manshi zantō aigiri* (横満子殘刀合切), *aimaki* (相捲), *seigan-yaburi* (晴眼破), *ryūsetsutō* (柳雪刀), *taka no ha* (鷹の羽).

Gokui (極意): *suigetsutō* (水月刀; “water-moon sword”), *sanshintō* (三心刀; “three-mind sword”), *muhyōshi* (無拍子; “no-rhythm”), transmitted as *kuden*.

Isshi-sōden (一子相傳; innermost triad): *raishintō* (雷心刀; “thunder-mind sword”), *fūshintō* (風心刀; “wind-mind sword”), *muichiken* (無一劍; “not-one sword”).

Shingyōtō-ryū uses the word *sei* (清; pure) for its term *seigan*, not the *sei* (眼; clear) commonly found in Ittō-ryū. The entry also preserves two restricted verses (*hika* 祕歌) of the school:

ふしおがむ いがきのうちは 水なれや 心の月の 澄めばうつる,
花紅葉 冬のしら雪 見し事も おもへばくやし 色にめでける

“As I bow in reverence, the water within the fence reflects the moon of my heart—clear and unclouded. When I reflect upon the blossoms, the autumn leaves, and the white winter snows I once beheld, I feel a pang of regret; for I had merely admired their outward colors.”

Mikami closes the pair with 「悟道發明の境面白し」 — “the realm of awakening they disclose is of great interest”.

The teacher current in his day was Iba Hachirōji (伊庭八郎次), grandson of Zesuiken, at Shitaya (下谷) in Edo, “one of the masters of the day” (當時上手の一人なり) — the Iba line whose Renbukan dōjō continues on to the bakumatsu period.

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 Tōgasaki 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). Yakurō (1798–1871), who had trained under the third-generation head Okada Jūmatsu (岡田十松) at the Gekkenkan, opened the Renpeikan in 1826 at Kudanshita near the Manaita-bashi; it later stood at Kudan-zaka-ue, on what are now the Yasukuni Shrine grounds, with daily instruction led by his sons — notably Saitō Shintarō (斎藤新太郎), later the second Yakurō.

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).

In the Gekiken Sōdan (1790)

Two generations before Saitō Yakurō, the Gekiken Sōdan catches the school at the moment it first rose to prominence in Edo. Its kan 2 entry — bracketed in the mokuroku with Shintō-ryū (神道流) and Mijin-ryū (微塵流) — makes **Togasaki Kumatarō** its foremost living exponent:

一、神道無念流を唱へて當時江戸にて第一と稱せらるゝ戸ヶ崎熊太郎は、元武州〔清〕久の産なり。今江戸駿河臺に住す。

Togasaki Kumatarō (戸ヶ崎熊太郎), “who professes Shintō Munen-ryū and is reckoned foremost in Edo at present,” was a native of [Kiyō] ku in Musashi, then living at Surugadai in Edo — a rōnin who claimed close standing with a senior councillor. His fame, Mikami notes, grew all the greater after a young servant in his employ carried out a vendetta for his father.¹²¹ Earlier, hearing of a highly-reputed teacher at Yotsuya, Kumatarō had sought a bout and beaten him at once; when the man, unable to bear the humiliation, pursued him homeward calling for a fight, Kumatarō turned, closed, and felled him with a body-blow (むね撃) — “the degree of his training may be judged from it.”

The entry’s most consequential passage describes the school’s method:

¹²¹ Nagao (1999) identifies this figure as **Togasaki Kumatarō Terufusa** (戸賀崎熊太郎 暉芳, 1744–1809) — the same head named above — and notes Mikami’s residence detail is slightly off: Togasaki opened his dōjō at Kōjimachi Nibanchō in An’ei 7 (1778), not Surugadai. The servant’s vendetta is the Ōsaki Tomikichi affair of the Tenmei years. The dropped character in 武州〔清〕久 is supplied as Kiyoku (清久; present Kuki, Saitama) from Nagao’s identification, not read from the leaf.

此流勝負を以て仕立つる〔教〕也。尤も勝負あとをつむる也。しなへも重き篠しなへを用ゆ。面・小手已下の道具皆丈夫に製す。皮也。

“This school forms its students by means of bouting, and moreover presses the follow-up after the exchange. For the *shinai* it uses a heavy split-bamboo *shinai* (篠しなへ), and the equipment from *men* and *kote* downward is all stoutly made — of leather.” This is a c. 1790 description of full-contact *shiai* with heavy split-bamboo *shinai* and durable leather *bōgu*, and continuous pressing of the attack — competitive practice of substantially the modern kind, at a named Edo *dōjō*, a half-century before the Tenpō-Kōka period usually credited with consolidating it.

Taisha-ryū

Taisha-ryū appears in kan 1 of the Gekiken Sōdan (img 095, printed pp. 170–171), positioned between Kubo-ryū and Shinkan-ryū in the Kage cluster, and in the *Honchō Bugei Shōden* among Kamiizumi’s disciples. The orthography is unstable across the volume — たい捨流, タイ捨流, and 體捨流 all occur — and Mikami flags the instability himself. (Mikami Genryū 1790)

一、タイ捨流は丸目藏人に出づるといふ。〔…〕目藏人大夫と同人か別人か未詳。流名も體捨流なるべけれども、片假名に書く事傳受也といふ。

“Item. Taisha-ryū is said to issue from **Marume Kurando** (丸目藏人). Whether he is the same man as 〔Maru〕 me Kurandodayū (丸目藏人大夫) or a different one is undetermined. The school-name too ought presumably to be written 體捨流 (“body-discarding school”), but writing it in *katakana* is said to be a matter of transmission (片假名に書く事傳受也).”

Mikami places Marume in the Kamiizumi line and in Kyoto service. From the Shinkan-ryū entry immediately following:

一、心貫流は、上泉武藏守信繩の門人、京都西の岡に住せし丸目藏人と云ふ北面の士〔の〕弟子に奥山左衛門大夫と云ふ者あり。此者、師傅を變じて更に心貫流を立て世に傳へしといふ。

“Item. Shinkan-ryū (心貫流, also written 心抜流): a disciple of **Marume Kurando** — a student of Kamiizumi Musashi-no-kami, a *hokumen no shi* (北面の士; guardsman of the retired emperor’s northern quarter) resident at Nishi-no-oka in Kyoto — named **Okuyama Saemon-dayū** (奥山左衛門大夫) altered what his teacher transmitted, established Shinkan-ryū in its place, and passed it on.”

So the Sōdan gives: Kamiizumi → Marume Kurando (Taisha-ryū) → Okuyama Saemon-dayū (Shinkan-ryū), the last founded by explicit alteration of the transmission (師傅を變じて). The *Honchō Bugei Shōden* independently lists 丸目藏人大夫 in its kan 1 roster of Kamiizumi’s disciples, alongside Yagyū Munetoshi, Hikita Bungorō, Nagawa Yazaemon, and Jingo Izu-no-kami — the same roster the *Gekiken Sōdan* gives in its own Kamiizumi entry. (Hinatsu Shigetaka 1716)

Mikami adds, from an informant: 丸目藏人、球摩の人にて有りしと云ふ — Marume Kurando is said to have been a man of **Kuma** (球摩/球磨, in Higo).

The school circa 1790

Mikami’s information here is first-hand, from a chance meeting:

先年、人吉侯の臣に宮原忠太夫と云ふ者、武者修行と稱し諸國遍歴せしに逢ひて、一夜撃刀の談をなせし事あり。其時、此流の事聞きしに [...]

“Some years ago [I] met one **Miyahara Chūdayū** (宮原忠太夫), a retainer of the lord of **Hitoyoshi** (人吉侯) who was travelling the provinces on *musha-shugyō*, and spent an evening in conversation on swordsmanship; on that occasion [I] heard about this school.

Teachers reported current: at Hitoyoshi, **Kaga Keikichirō** (加賀慶吉郎), said to be highly skilled. The school is also numerous in **Hizen-Saga** (肥前佐賀に此流多し), where **Kawachi Gun’emon** (河内軍右衛門), **Takayanagi Heidayū** (高柳平太夫), **Tsuru Tomodayū** (鶴友太夫), and **Yokoo Yagobee** (横尾彌五兵衛) are named as those chiefly propagating it at present.”

Excursus: the two Marume

Searching the *Bujutsu Sōsho* volume for 丸目 returns seven occurrences for Marume, and they resolve into two distinct men who founded two unrelated schools. Only one is the Taisha-ryū founder – the other appears more often, and in more treatises:

Marume Kurando (丸目藏人 / 丸目藏人大夫) — the Taisha-ryū founder. Attested in the *Honchō Bugei Shōden* kan 1 disciple roster (img 011) and in the *Gekiken Sōdan* kan 1 (img 095). Characteristics: a named teacher (Kamiizumi Musashi-no-kami); a known region (Kuma in Higo, with the school’s later base at Hitoyoshi and Saga); a court-guard office (*hokumen no shi*); a named disciple who founded an offshoot (Okuyama Saemon-dayū, Shinkan-ryū). He appears in **two** treatises.

Marume Mondo-no-shō (丸目主水正) — founder of Ichiden-ryū (一傳流), a *battōjutsu* school. Attested in the *Honchō Bugei Shōden* (img 045), the *Bujutsu Keifu Ryaku* (img 064), and the *Bujutsu Ryūso-roku* (img 081), in every case within the *battōjutsu* section beside Hayashizaki Jinsuke, Tamiya, Nagano Muraku-

sai, and Katayama Hōki-no-kami — never in the Kage/Shinkage material.

丸目主水正者、不知何許人、自壯年好刀術、達拔刀之妙旨、臨機應變無出其右者、潛稱一傳流。

“Marume Mondo-no-shō — what place he was from is not known. From his youth he loved swordsmanship, attained the essential principle of *battō*, and in adapting to circumstance none surpassed him. He styled [his school] Ichiden-ryū. His transmission runs: Marume Mondo-no-shō → Kunitoshi Yaemon (國利彌右衛門) → Asayama Kuranosuke (淺山内蔵助) → Unno Ichirōemon Hisanaga (海野一郎右衛門尚久) → Kaneda Genbee Masatoshi (金田源兵衛正利). The *Bujutsu Ryūso-roku* identifies the result explicitly: 是れ則ち淺山一傳流と云ふ — this is what is called **Asayama Ichiden-ryū**.”

The two men have different given names, different provinces (Higo vs. unknown), different arts (*kenjutsu* vs. *battōjutsu*), different teachers (Kamiizumi vs. none recorded), different schools (Taisha-ryū vs. Ichiden-ryū), and different sections of the reference works. Yet three conditions make inadvertent merger easy:

1. **Asymmetric attestation.** The *battōjutsu* Marume appears in three treatises, the Taisha Marume in two. Anyone scanning lineage tables for the surname finds the wrong man more often than the right one.
2. **A vacant origin.** Mondo-no-shō's entry opens 不知何許人 (“no one knows where he was from”) and has him found a school with no teacher named. That is precisely the shape of a biography into which a better-documented namesake can be imported to supply the missing pedigree — a Kamiizumi teacher and a Higo province are exactly what the entry lacks.

3. A near-identical name form already flagged in the sources.

Mikami himself asks whether 丸目藏人 and 丸目藏人大夫 are 同人か別人か未詳. If a compiler is already uncertain whether two forms of the *same* name denote one man, the further step to absorbing 丸目主水正 requires no additional confusion.

One must be cautious not to ascribe to Ichiden-ryū (or Asayama Ichiden-ryū downstream of it) a Kamiizumi pedigree by way of its founder's surname — the *battō* line inheriting the Shinkage descent that belongs to the Taisha line. Nothing in these sources asserts that; the point is that a later compiler might read these men together, as has happened in other cases we examine.

Tamiya-ryū

Tamiya-ryū (田宮流) is an *iaijutsu* / *battōjutsu* *iaijutsu* (居合術 / 抜刀術; 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 *iai*jutsu 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.

In the Gekiken Sōdan (1790)

Mikami admits Tamiya-ryū to a *kenjutsu* survey with an explicit methodological aside, since it is properly an *iai* school:

一、田宮流は居合なるを、こゝにまじへたるは微意無きにもあらず。...名は居合にして、勝負する所は太刀態也。

“Tamiya-ryū is an *iai* school, and it is not without deliberate intent that I have mixed it in here. In the Tamiya-ryū current today in Kii and Edo, what is transmitted in the *omote* is *iai* technique; from there it proceeds to the sword, and bouting practice with striking exchanges is made the principal training. The name is *iai*, but where it contends, it contends with sword technique.” On that ground he appends it.

He traces the line from **Hayashizaki Jinsuke Shigenobu** (林崎甚介重信) of Ōshū to his student **Tamiya Tsushima-no-kami Shigemasa** (田宮對馬守重正) and Shigemasa’s son **Nagakatsu** (對馬守長勝), who served Kii at eight hundred *koku*; Nagakatsu’s son **Heibee** (平兵衛) and grandson **Sannosuke** (三之助) succeeded in turn, Heibee’s *iai* being performed before the shogun. A pupil of Heibee, **Saiki San’emon** (齊木三右衛門), “of the first

rank," spread the school in Edo, fighting and defeating a number of the city's swordsmanship teachers.¹²²

Mikami records in detail the school's old transmission, *yukiai* (行合):

又古傳は、刀を抜かずして、左の手は鯉口を持ち、右の手は脇指の柄にかけて敵へ詰め寄り、敵の太刀おろす頭を先に、刀の柄にて敵の手首を打ち、其拍子に脇差を抜きて勝つ事を專とする也。

"Without drawing the sword, the left hand grips the *koiguchi* and the right rests on the hilt of the *wakizashi* as one closes on the opponent; forestalling the descent of his sword, one strikes his wrist with the hilt of the sheathed blade and, on that beat, draws the *wakizashi* and wins. Most schools' *iai* contest, he adds, takes this technique as its first principle — and all of it" differs greatly from the Tamiya-ryū current in Bizen today" (皆今備前に行くゝ田宮流と大に異なり), which is precisely why he records it. As an Okayama-domain retainer reporting his own domain's version against those he saw in Kii and Edo, this Bizen comparison is his first-hand observation."

Tatsumi-ryū

Tatsumi-ryū (立身流) is a comprehensive martial tradition — sword and *iai* at its core, with spear, naginata, and grappling besides — founded by Tatsumi Sankyō (立身三京) of Iyo province in the early Sengoku period, and carried through the Edo period

¹²²Mikami's descent names the first Tamiya head **Shigemasa** (對馬守重正), with Heibee (平兵衛) two generations later; the received register account (above) makes the founder **Tamiya Heibei Narimasa** (田宮平兵衛業正) directly. The early Tamiya headship names and readings vary across sources; the divergence is noted, not resolved here.

as the house art of the Hotta lords of Sakura domain in Shimōsa; it is today designated an Intangible Cultural Property of Chiba Prefecture. Through that Sakura line it passed into Meiji police kenjutsu, carried by Henmi Sōsuke — one of the first three swordsmen hired into the Keishichō *gekken* corps in 1879.

Tsuda Ichiden-ryū

Tsuda Ichiden-ryū (津田一伝流) a Kurume-han offshoot of Asayama Ichiden-ryū (浅山一伝流). The founder, Tsuda Ichizamon Masayuki (津田一左衛門正之, 1821–1871), was a kenjutsu instructor to the eleventh Kurume daimyō Arima Yorishige (有馬頼咸); he was the son of Tsuda Den-kyōmei (津田伝教明), the sixteenth head of Asayama Ichiden-ryū, learned that art from his father, mastered its inner teachings by around twenty, then deepened his study in Kyōto and Edo and formed his own convictions about the sword. The Kurume lord, hearing of his reputation while in Edo, had him open a new branch, and Masayuki added his own innovations to the ancestral methods and named it Tsuda Ichiden-ryū.

The parent Asayama Ichiden-ryū is itself a comprehensive system with kenjutsu and jūjutsu/torite — its torite even fed into Seigō-ryū when the latter's second head learned Ichiden-ryū grappling — but the Tsuda branch was specifically a sword school.

Tsuda Ichiden-ryū was a progressive, competition-oriented art, not a classically-minded kata traditions. The school became widely known precisely through Masayuki's innovations in protective equipment (剣道具) and in match training (試合稽古; sparring/match practice) — and his sword theory drew the

strong approval of Odani Seiichirō Nobutomo (男谷精一郎信友), the bakufu's foremost Jikishinkage-ryū swordsman and Kōbusho instructor.

Strikingly, in 1871, with the abolition of the han and of the domain instructor system, Masayuki protested by burning the entire body of densho and taking his own life; his senior students raised a memorial stone, the "Tsuda Ichiden-ryū Suitai-sensei monument," at Sasayama Shrine (篠山神社) in 1903.

The line nonetheless continued through his son: Tsuda Kyōshū (津田教脩 or 津田教修, b. 1850) became the second-generation head in 1872, then entered the army and, as head of the gymnastics department at the Army Toyama School, was central in revising the military kenjutsu manual away from its French model toward Japanese sword and spear method, helping establish single-hand military sword *katate-guntōjutsu* (片手軍刀術; one-hand saber technique) and bayonet *jūkenjutsu* (銃剣術; bayonet technique). These would continue to be refined by twentieth century figures like Kunii Zenya.

CHAPTER 2

Sōjutsu

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. It is not clear, however, 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 (巻落とし; winding-drop technique), kiri-otoshi (切落とし; 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.

Matsuoka Katsunosuke (松岡克之助), who took Hōzōin-ryū spear inka as a youth before founding Shindō Yōshin-ryū jūjutsu, is treated with the jūjutsu traditions under Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū.

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. 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).

CHAPTER 3

Jūjutsu

From Ming to Meiji: The Declining Status of Chinese Influence in Japanese martial culture from 1600-1900

One thread that affects multiple articles here, whether on kobudō or Japanese religion, is the early Edo importance of Ming Dynasty culture in Japan as being desirable as an influence and the mid-to-late Edo scorn for Qing Dynasty China. This is only amplified in Meiji and beyond. At the beginning of the Edo period, Ming culture was valued in Japan, thus the nittō tales of bringing knowledge of skill back from China. Once the Ming Dynasty fell to the Manchu, establishing the Qing Dynasty, we see more of a sense of nostalgia for Ming culture in Edo period Japan, and a de-emphasis of Chinese influence. Both nature and narratives abhor vacua, so indigenous Japanese origins become emphasized. This becomes even more stark with the split of religious organizations into Shintō-centric or Buddhist labels.

This emphasis on Chinese-derived methods, however, did not last. In the early Edo period, Chinese influence may have had a cache to it, but by Meiji it clearly did not. That inversion over time is sharp enough to be useful as a dating instrument. The valence of a foreign-origin claim is not constant; it tracks the cultural politics of the period in which the claim was inserted, and “Chinese provenance” swung from asset to liability across the Edo–Meiji line as social sentiment changed in Japan.

In the early-to-mid Edo period the cachet was real and structural. Neo-Confucianism (Shushigaku 朱子学) was the quasi-official Tokugawa learning, kangaku (漢学) was the prestige register of scholarship as such, and the Ming-émigré wave that brought Ōbaku Zen, literati painting, sencha, and continental medicine gave “things from the great Ming” a sheen of sophistication.

Chén Yuánbīn was himself a carrier of exactly that prestige — a Ming literatus, not a fighter — which is precisely why a martial school gained by association with him: “I teach the seizing art of the Ming” outranked “I learned it from a domestic teacher.”

The Akiyama-sailed-to-China legend and the Chén graft are both products of that gradient; they were worth fabricating because Chinese descent paid.

It is worth noting that the undertow was already present, though: the fall of the Ming to the Manchu Qing in 1644 generated the *ka-i hentai* (華夷変態) idea that civilization itself had migrated, leaving Japan the truer heir of the middle kingdom (中華) in the eyes of the early Tokugawa. Contemporary China was thus quietly demoted — the seed of the later reversal towards nativism sat inside the period of highest Sinophilia.

That seed grew through *kokugaku*. The nativist program of Motoori Norinaga, continued by Hirata Atsutane, attacked *karagokoro* (漢意; “the Chinese mind”) and elevated a purified native-Shintō interiority over Chinese learning, so by late Edo the automatic prestige of a Chinese pedigree was already eroding. That current ran forward — through Imaizumi Sadasuke’s *kokutai*/Kōdō synthesis and into the early-Shōwa nationalist milieu (the Ketsumeidan Incident, the Genyōsha dōjō culture) that the budō

world brushed against and that shaped figures like Kunii Zen'ya. I trace that arc — Norinaga and Hirata, Imaizumi's Kōdō, and the Ketsumeidan — in a companion piece, *From Kokugaku to the Ketsumeidan*.

Political Impacts on Budō Scholarship

Meiji made the inversion of prestige decisive and political: the construction of a national identity, State Shintō, the “Leaving Asia” editorial of 1885 (conventionally linked to Fukuzawa), and above all the decisive victory in the 1894–95 Sino-Japanese war recast China from venerable Middle Kingdom to backward “Shina.” For anything being built as a quintessentially Japanese national art, foreign — especially Chinese — origin was now an embarrassment to be scrubbed.

Kanō's 1888 disavowal of the Chén Yuánbīn thesis of Kitō-ryū's origins is the inversion of prestige (from high to low) captured in a single gesture: the Kōdōkan project required a Japanese pedigree, and the Dai Nippon Butokukai, founded in 1895 in the war's immediate afterglow, framed the Japanese martial arts as expressions of native spirit and bushidō, not transmission from abroad. This is echoed by the later Kashima-centric restoration narrative of Kunii Zen'ya of Kashima-shinryū fame.

So, in budō studies, a Chinese-origin claim is most economically read as an Edo-period accretion — inserted while Sinophilia paid — and one that a Meiji recension would tend to drop or mute rather than amplify.

Finding it effaced between an Edo densho and its Meiji reissue is itself a signal that the origin was updated to meet the tenor of the times. The mirror case is the durable, prestige-positive direction: native-divine, imperial-loyalist, and Sengoku-warrior

framings gain status across the whole kokugaku, Meiji, Shōwa arc. This is why a Kashima-divine-transmission or a Matsumoto/Yoshitsune pedigree is the kind of claim that gets added or amplified late — the Kunii-Imaizumi Shintō-nationalist milieu being a textbook instance. Where a Chinese claim is perishable, a native-sacred claim is the one with motive to grow.

This affinity can be regarded as a dominant tendency, but was not monolithic or absolute. Sinophile kangaku medical prestige persisted well into Meiji in some quarters, and the early-Edo cachet was specifically for Ming-literati and Confucian-medical learning, not “China” in the abstract.

A claim that runs *against* its period’s prestige gradient is likelier to be sincere or inherited, since no one fabricates a low-status origin. A Meiji-era densho that still openly asserts a Chinese source — against the nationalist grain — is probably carrying an inherited claim it could not easily jettison, and that awkwardness is an evidentiary asset rather than a defect.

Reading the Akiyama and Chén materials from that perspective and their very clear Sinophile reading tells one that those stories began in the early-to-mid Edo period and not later. They would have served no purpose during the late Edo period or beyond.

The split of Buddhism and Shintō did just that on the surface but in banning the Shugendō syncretism it quietly deemphasized Daoist underpinnings (nature worship/early gongen figures/explicit five phase theory, etc.)

The asymmetry is doubly grounded, which is why it stays stable rather than being just a guess about valence or affinity. In the case of important jūjutsu ryūha we will encounter in this work,

there are tales of early Chinese influence both in terms of bushi learning content of some kind from Chén Yuánbīn in Nagasaki and also possibly the founder of Akiyama Yōshin-ryū traveling to China.

The Chén medical reading is plausible on both mechanism and prestige: the Nagasaki channel and the émigré-physician milieu were real, and kanpō (漢方; Sino-Japanese medicine) held genuine institutional standing as the dominant medical system straight through Edo, so an early jūjutsu master having “absorbed Chinese medical and resuscitation (活法) theory” requires neither an illegal voyage nor an anachronistic status-claim. The Akiyama combat-voyage legend however fails on both counts — the travel was banned at the time and “learned to fight in China” was the perishable kind of pedigree that was of no later value culturally — so if indeed it was a fiction, it was an early one.

Both sit in the same early-Edo discourse admiring aspects of Chinese culture, but the cachet was specifically Ming, and Ming-loyalist at that: Chén, the Ōbaku monks, and Zhu Shunsui were prestigious precisely as refugees from the Manchu conquest, carriers of a preserved Ming civilization — so borrowing them borrowed the fallen-but-pure Ming, not the contemporary Qing. As the *ka-i hentai* referent shifted from the mourned Ming to the disdained Qing, the generic prestige of China drained over time.

Kanpō medicine’s own prestige did eventually collapse, but much later in the 1870s–80s when the state adopted German medicine, on a traditional-versus-Western axis rather than a Chinese-versus-Japanese one, and a generation later than the martial disavowal — so the medical stream outlived the combative channel of recognized influence.

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. (Oimatsu Shin'ichi 1963)

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 (陳元贊; 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): (Kokushō-ji (temple tradition) [c. 1625–1627])

- 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). (Kitō-ryū (commemorative inscription) 1779)

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. (Takahashi Masaru [serialized c. six years; ran into the 2000s, unfinished])

Kitō-ryū is the school behind jūdō'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. (Lindsay and Kanō Jigorō 1889; Kanō Yukimitsu (supervising ed.) 1999; Kanō Jigorō 1888; Adachi Kenji 2020)

Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū

Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū descends from the Yōshin-ryū grappling stream, but its founding by Iso Mataemon at Kitano Tenmangū is a Tenjin-cult devotional act, not a mountain-Shugendō revelation like Kage-ryū's — the tengu and Kurama material survives

only as okuden iconographic residue. Its Chinese-origin legend likewise collapses on inspection to a Nagasaki medical/kappō residue, while the actual technical lineage runs through its own period of inspiration and innovation.

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).¹²³

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 Tenmangū (北野天満宮) in Kyoto (947), enshrining him as Tenjin, a god

¹²³The 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.

of sky and storms; the full title was Tenman Dai Jizai Tenjin (天満自在天神), 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 tobiume (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),¹²⁴ 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 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.

¹²⁴ 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.

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 (胴釈之巻) — 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 jūdō, with Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū the school in which that resuscitation study was most developed; Nagaki Kōsuke's two-part study of the school's medical basis reaches the same conclusion from the founder documents. (Tezuka Masataka 2002; 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 *idori* (居捕) and *tachiai* (立合) sets, the *Ten-no-maki* (天之巻) alone holding ten *tachiai* and ten *idori*, with a *Unjō-no-maki*

(雲上之巻) reserved for atemi and kyūsho. 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.¹²⁵ Tezuka sets the whole against the older Yōshin-ryū material visible in dated densho, notably the Genbun 3 (1738) document of the Kōno Sōan Nyūdō Hiromasa (河野巢安入道弘昌)¹²⁶ whose archaic form-names show how little the core set shifted on its way into the late-Edo system. (Yoshida Chiharu and Iso Mataemon 1893)

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. 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

¹²⁵ 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).

¹²⁶ 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 in some web bios. The two reckonings of his lineage position remain to be reconciled (Watanabe Ichirō 1994).

the founder's home province is unsettled. Wataya Kiyoshi (綿谷雪) separately doubts the China-voyage narrative of Akiyama because overseas travel was then banned. A partly fabricated origin legend is the opposite of evidence for a lived Shugendō practice. (Takahashi Masaru [serialized c. six years; ran into the 2000s, unfinished] ; Nagaki Kōsuke 1982; Wataya Kiyoshi and Yamada Tadachi [expanded/revised editions; year-of-edition to be fixed])

Kurama behind Tenjin

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, Ryūkan-sai 柳関斎) 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 *musha 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 *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 influence 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 a *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 — a mountain-inspired warrior inspiration hidden behind an exoteric Tenjin face. The Kurama-based Yoshitsune and 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. So at minimum the Sōjōbō and Kurama motif is itself an influence, inherited alongside the kyūsho nomenclature, not conjured later on by Iso Mataemon's circle.¹²⁷ (Ōe Senbei [undated; pre-TSR Yōshin-ryū])

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

¹²⁷ 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).

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.

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.¹²⁸

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.¹²⁹

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

¹²⁸ 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.

¹²⁹ 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.

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 inter-

nal-organ model — 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. (Tōdō Yoshiaki 1977)

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 (松宮観山) 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 Ming 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 relevant.

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 traditions 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 is Matsuoka Katsunosuke (松岡克之助), as related by Fujiwara's school history: summoned as a Kōbusho *shugyōnin* in 1860, he grappled Totsuka Hikosuke (戸塚彦介) in randori (乱捕) and lost two of three, thereafter took Totsuka as a second teacher and cross-trained in the Totsuka-ha (戸塚派), and later created his own approach, Shindō Yōshin-ryū. The episode rests on that account alone — no primary-source attestation of his Kōbusho attendance has surfaced, as his own entry sets out. (Fujiwara Ryōzō 1983)

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 anatom-

ical 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.

Kanō Jigorō's own first teacher of Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū was Fukuda Hachinosuke (福田八之助), under whom he trained before founding the Kōdōkan.

The academic anchor for the relationship among the three schools is Oimatsu Shin'ichi; the contested founder-question runs through Takahashi Masaru and Wataya Kiyoshi. The Akiyama origin legend in its fullest form is the Tōryū Taii-roku, with competing tellings in the Bujutsu Ryūso-roku and Matsumiya Kanzan's Jūjutsu-ki. The archival test for the Kurama/Sōjōbō inheritance is the two Ōe densho below.

Matsuoka Katsunosuke [松岡克之助]

Matsuoka Katsunosuke (松岡克之助, 1836–1898), regarded as the founder of Shindō Yōshin-ryū (神道揚心流) jūjutsu, was the second son of a Kuroda-han (Fukuoka) physician. The account of Matsuoka's life before 1870 rests almost entirely on Fujiwara's 1983 school history. That work is measured in tone, but it draws on family anecdote transmitted through Matsuoka's grandson. By its own admission the school's pre-1870 records were lost to flood. It was also written before the digitization of bakufu-era rosters now searchable. (Fujiwara Ryōzō 1983)

Matsuoka Katsunosuke, a Kuroda-han baishin (sub-vassal), was a different man from the higher-ranking hatamoto (旗本; bannerman) Matsuoka Yorozu (松岡万, 1838–1891) — *tsūshō* 昌一郎, *gō* 古道 — of a falconer-head (鷹匠組頭) house, who was a Torao-no-kai member, one of the *rōshigumi/shinchōgumi torishimari*, and later commander of the Seieitai. Matsuoka Yorozu held an administrative post under the Kōbusho magistrate (講武所奉行支配) but no teaching appointment there, despite being a skilled swordsman. Several later claims about Katsunosuke's military career appear to be Yorozu's biography wearing the wrong name; the evidence is set out in the Boshin War section below. For example, Matsuoka Yorozu had studied several *ryūha* and could have been a surrogate teacher for Sakakibara Kenkichi at times. Matsuoka Katsunosuke was almost certainly not, at least during the pre-Meiji Bakumatsu time period, due to his age and institutional standing as a Kōbusho trainee.

Early Martial Education

Matsuoka Katsunosuke 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, so perhaps partly a formality, given the size of spear used in the art. He trained into adolescence and received *inka* (印可; master's certification seal) in the 5th month of 1852, at sixteen. In the 1st month of 1853, at seventeen, he entered the Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū at Kanda Otamagaike; in the 9th month of 1855 he received *menkyo kaiden* from its third head, Iso Masatomo (磯正智) and thereafter is said to have served as *shihan-dai* (assistant instructor) at the Iso dōjō.

Matsuoka Katsunosuke is also said to have studied Ittō-ryū kenjutsu at the Genbukan (玄武館) of Chiba Shūsaku in the same Otamagaike neighborhood.¹³⁰

Kōbusho Years

Fujiwara writes that Katsunosuke was sent by his domain to the Kōbusho as a shugyōnin (修業人; trainee) in the 1st month of 1860, at age twenty-four. He was by then no beginner — he had opened a dōjō in the precincts of Asakusa Kannon even before entering — yet in a three-bout randori match with the jūjutsu instructor Totsuka Hikosuke Hidetoshi (戸塚彦介英俊, 1813–1886; gō Isshinsai 一心斎) he lost two of three. He took Totsuka as his second master and trained earnestly in Yōshin-koryū at Totsuka's dōjō after Kōbusho hours, which ran from 10am to 4pm; jūjutsu practice at the Kōbusho itself was held five times a month (every five days), kenjutsu likely more often.

The Kōbusho also drew him into the orbit of Sakakibara Kenkichi: Fujiwara writes that upon seeing Sakakibara defeat Taka-hashi Kenzaburō in an exhibition match, the trained spearman resolved to study under him. Fujiwara does not, however, record any traditional license in Jikishinkage-ryū held by Matsuoka Katsunosuke. Fujiwara writes in summary that Matsuoka trained under Sakakibara and later taught Jikishinkage-ryū. Most likely

¹³⁰Matsuoka Katsunosuke trained Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū at Kanda Otamagaike from 1853 — the quarter where Chiba's Genbukan (玄武館) stood — and Chiba Shūsaku died in 1855, so training under him there is chronologically possible. But the rural Genbukan (元武館) later inherited by Nakayama Tatsusaburō (see below) differs from Chiba's only in the first character (玄 “dark” versus 元 “origin,” both read *gen*) and a variant form of the last (館/館, the same character). The two names are phonetically identical, and in oral transmission they are the same word. If a source recalled that Matsuoka trained “in the line of the Genbukan,” meaning the rural dōjō associated with the Kimura family, a listener unfamiliar with that dōjō could easily have converted the reference into a study of Hokushin Ittō-ryū at the famous Edo school.

Matsuoka Katsunosuke learned portions of the art during his Kōbusho years, much as his Totsuka training supplemented his earlier jūjutsu studies. Fujiwara 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 Sutesaburō (加藤捨三郎, 26). Matsuoka Katsunosuke does not directly appear in rosters of the Kōbusho reproduced in *Rikugun rekishi* (陸軍歴史; 陸軍省総務局編, 1889; NDL pid 988906).

In the 4th month of 1862 (Bunkyū 2) Matsuoka Katsunosuke was made jūjutsu kyōju-kokoroe hosa (柔術教授心得補佐; assistant to the provisional jūjutsu instructor), a junior teaching-aide grade. When the shogunate abolished Kōbusho jūjutsu training on October 6, 1862, Matsuoka Katsunosuke — who, in accordance with the domain's wishes, resigned his position as okuzume (奥詰; inner-castle guard) — was released from trainee status the same day, after two years and nine months in all.

Matsuoka likely did not teach kenjutsu at the Kōbusho. A jūjutsu shugyōnin sat at the bottom of the institutional ladder: trainee, then sewa-kokoroe, sewa-yaku, kyōju-kata shutsuyaku, kyōju-kata, and only then shihan-yaku. The founding charter sorted appointments by bakufu status as well as demonstrated skill. Baishin (陪臣; sub-vassals) like Matsuoka Katsunosuke were capped below the bannerman-only shihan-yaku title regardless of ability — Totsuka himself, the strongest jūjutsuka in the division, was barred from it for being a sub-vassal. Sakakibara, by contrast, was a hatamoto and was appointed kenjutsu kyōju-kata from the 1856 opening who rose to shihan-yaku, teaching under Odani in the discipline where he already held Jikishinkage-ryū transmission. With 246 identified kenjutsu men

and 132 spearmen in Toda's register alone — and cross-appointments to a second discipline running to a handful of individuals — the kenjutsu cadre was not a thin bench that would reach outside itself, still less into the jūjutsu trainee pool, to staff instruction. Several licensed Jikishinkage-ryū men were in any case present in Sakakibara's own circle under Odani.

Chūjō Kinnosuke in contrast was a genuine cross-appointee. He was an established kenjutsu kyōju-kata who was also pulled into jūjutsu as a randori assistant, grounded in a Totsuka-ha mokuroku he held. Matsuoka also could not have acted as delegate head of a Sakakibara private dōjō in 1860–62, as Sakakibara did not have one at the time.¹³¹

Matsuoka leaves no positive trace in the sources that document the Kōbusho at the individual level. He is absent from the jūjutsu roster¹³² covering the 1860–62 division and its assistant grades, and from the ranking spear and sword instructors in Japanese-language primary sources, which list the high-level instructors and their grades in detail. In the Kōbusho appointment registers found in the 1898 陸軍歴史 volumes — 上, 卷 1–15 (dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/988905) and 下, 卷 16–30 (dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/988906), no Matsuoka appears in the rosters of instructors and trainees at koma 96–108, searching under either 克之助 or 克之.

Unlike Amano Shōshō, whose enrollment card survives, Matsuoka has no discoverable primary-source attestation of Kōbusho attendance. There is no reason to doubt that he attended — the surviving registers emphasize appointment grades and a

¹³¹Sakakibara traveled with the Tokugawa in 1863 — after Matsuoka was already residing in Hitachi. The jūjutsu section in which Matsuoka served ran only from 1860 to its abolition in 1862, before the escort, and Matsuoka was, per Fujiwara, released from his assignment, not reassigned to the kenjutsu or sōjutsu cadre.

¹³²東京市史外編

shugyōnin need not surface in them — but the absences bound what can be claimed: the record is compatible with Fujiwara's trainee-and-assistant account and incompatible with anything grander. More extensive searches of late Tokugawa records would still be useful to conduct.

Bakufu Recall and the Boshin War

Matsuoka was a Kuroda-han baishin by birth — his family were domain physicians — and his Kōbusho years were themselves a domain posting: a han could command a retainer into active service, and the Kuroda did exactly that in sending him there in 1860. When he was released in the 10th month of 1862 and married into a Hitachi family two months later, he settled outside both Edo and Kuroda territory, to all appearances a civilian.

After leaving the Kōbusho, Matsuoka left Edo: in the 12th month of 1862 he married into the Ishizuma (石妻) family of Ueno village (上野村) in rural Hitachi (modern Ibaraki) — some distance from Edo, and not to be confused with Edo's Ueno ward, whose battle would figure in his biography later. He set up as a kanpō and bone-setting doctor, opening a clinic in the village. With no training partners in Hitachi, he examined his 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 (理合; coordinating principle). In 1864 (元治元年) it is said that he founded his own school of jūjutsu, combining the Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū he had first learned with Totsuka-ha methods and folding in the riai of the Jikishinkage-ryū he had experienced. He taught first in the courtyard of his clinic, before building a dōjō.

Fujiwara writes that, Matsuoka Katsunosuke was appointed to bakufu service in 1866 and was sent against the Keiō-2 *uchikowashi* (打ちこわし; rice-riot) risings and afterwards ordered to report to Edo Castle, where a number of former Kōbusho trainees were formed into an okuzume inner-guard corps; and that on May 1 of 1867 he and other former Kōbusho men served as bodyguards to the shogun Yoshinobu in Kyoto. Accounts differ on what specific unit he served with.

Fujiwara places Matsuoka among those escorting Yoshinobu to Kyoto, records the shogunal defeat at Toba-Fushimi and Yoshinobu's flight from Osaka Castle to Shinagawa aboard the [開陽丸] (Kaiyō-maru) and introduces the two bakufu corps: the Seieitai under Chūjō, some [130] blood-oath comrades guarding Yoshinobu, and the Shōgitai (彰義隊) under Shibusawa Seiichirō (渋沢成一郎) and his deputy Amano Hachirō, swelling to about three thousand. Page 89 repeats the Seieitai-under-Chūjō assignment and that he was shot at Ueno. Page 90 then concedes that all pre-1870 school records were lost to flood — the school holds no contemporaneous document for the founder's earlier life, *the military period included*. A challenge with this narrative is that the Seieitai left Edo with Yoshinobu for Mito and then Suruga and never fought at Ueno; a wound at Ueno and a flight toward Aizu is the course of an Ueno defender, not a Seieitai guardsman. If Matsuoka served in the Seieitai's ranks, its movements kept him away from Ueno altogether; if he was shot at Ueno, he fought in a Shōgitai or Ueno-defender role — and he appears in the records of neither corps.

Yamazaki [Arinobu] 's *Shōgitai Senshi* (彰義隊戦史; 山崎有信, 1910), whose section 26 (精鋭隊の性質, "the nature of the

Seieitai”) rosters the corps, is decisive on the Seieitai side. In summary: (山崎 有信 1910)

Among those gathered at Ueno to guard the lord was a corps not belonging to the Shōgitai but separately organized, the Seieitai — *taichō* Chūjō Kinnosuke, with Yamaoka Tetsutarō, Sekiguchi Ryōsuke (関口良輔), Ōkusa Takijirō (大草瀧次郎), Matsuoka Yorozu (松岡萬), and Umeda Katsutarō (梅田勝太郎), over seventy men, mostly bannermen’s sons and all skilled with the sword. When Yoshinobu entered Tōeizan the Seieitai guarded him exclusively; when he withdrew to Mito, Chūjō and the rest accompanied him; later the corps entered Shizuoka and petitioned to open Kanaya-ga-hara.

Yamazaki closes that the Seieitai was “an entirely separate thing from the Shōgitai” (精銳隊は彰義隊とは全然別物なり). The one Matsuoka the roster names is Matsuoka Yorozu (松岡萬) — a *jikisan* (直参; direct retainer) officer whose post-1868 path ran to Suruga and Makinohara — not the Kuroda baishin Katsunosuke, who lacks any documented *jikisan* appointment, would have been a poor fit for a corps of stipend-surrendering direct retainers, and is absent from the Seieitai and Shōgitai records, including the Tōkyō Shishi Gaihen’s account of the Ueno defenders.¹³³ The likeliest explanation is a Seieitai/Shōgitai conflation in the house biography, with the name of Chūjō — the noted Seieitai head — drawn in from his earlier time as one of Matsuoka’s jujutsu instructors.

¹³³While Matsuoka, by the school account, was drawn into the bakufu’s resistance and wounded at Ueno, his former teacher Sakakibara Kenkichi took the opposite course — resigning his bakufu post and declining to join the Shōgitai. Sakakibara did not avoid the Battle of Ueno itself, but spent it escorting the Rinnōji-no-miya (輪王寺宮) to safety rather than fighting alongside Amano Hachirō.

Other accounts from within the tradition place Matsuoka instead at the Battle of Toba-Fushimi (鳥羽伏見の戦い; near Kyoto, 1st month 1868).¹³⁴ A Toba-Fushimi wound would be plausible for a man posted to Kyoto.

Teaching in Ibaraki

Returning to Ueno-machi Matsuoka Katsunosuke is said to have taken the alias Ishizuma-no-suke (石妻之助), from his wife's family name, to escape the Satchō searches, and to have convalesced there rather than going west to Sunpu with the other bakufu retainers. In the 9th month of 1870 his Shindōkan (神道館) dōjō was built. One early student of his who became well known in kendō circles was Nakayama Tatsusaburō. Matsuoka is said to have referred the promising Nakayama to a Jikishinkage-ryū teacher, Hakomori Yosaburō Suokuni (箱守与三郎祐郷), to continue his training in that art — consistent with Matsuoka holding no Jikishinkage-ryū teaching license of his own, as discussed above. Nakayama would eventually inherit Hakomori's Genbukan (元武館) dōjō.

The region had its own kenjutsu infrastructure. The Tsuchiura Seikensha was an institutional node for a local line of Jikishinkage-ryū (眞影流)¹³⁵ founded by Yokogawa Shichirō (横川七郎) Hiroharu, a monjin of Odani Seiichirō and retainer of the Odani household, with Inō Naoyoshi as its licensing head — active in the very area where Matsuoka lived. A parallel network of ken-

¹³⁴Internet Archive of <https://koryu.com/library/tthreadgill1/> — the English essay, by a master practitioner of a descendant line, contains several statements that contradict Fujiwara.

¹³⁵Jikishinkage-ryū is written with different kanji at times, based on geographical area — Ibaraki-area groups seem to have used 眞.

jutsu instruction stemmed from the Kimura family, who taught Hakomori, the man to whom Matsuoka sent Nakayama.

Betsuden

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

- *kodachi-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)

Matsuoka considered the *betsuden* the *ura-waza* (裏技; the “back techniques”) of *kenjutsu*; it was associated with an upper-level license, though it may also have been awarded to those who trained only in *kenjutsu*.¹³⁶

Resuscitation, fitting for a physician's school, appears early in the curriculum. The entry *kirigami* (切紙) license required *yūkatsu* (誘活; lure-and-resuscitate technique) and *eri-kappō* (襟活法; collar resuscitation method) — precisely the opening pair of the parent school's four-article scheme — while the *mokuroku* (目録) adds *koppō* (骨法; bone methods) and some hundred named *kyūsho* (急所; vital points) taught under *sappō* (殺法; killing methods), holding 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*.

A note on orthography: Matsuoka's school appears as both 神道揚心流 and 神道楊心流, used interchangeably — the hand-

¹³⁶Ki-ate in the *betsuden* is an example of an advanced matter of *Jikishinkage-ryū* that Matsuoka may have learned while at the *Kōbusho*.

radical 揚 (“raise”) matching the Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū (揚心流) and Yōshin-koryū (揚心古流) wood-radical 楊 (“willow”) of the parent. Its use of *shin* is Shintō (神道; “divine way”), but the Obata–Takamura offshoot took the homophonous 新道 (“new way”), so the modern Takamura-ha line is written 高村派新道揚心流. All of these can be romanized as “Shindō Yōshin-ryū.”

Later Life in the Civil Record

The Ibaraki biographical dictionaries (茨城人名辞書 / 茨城人名録, 1915–1939) are local, near-contemporary — the 1915 edition appeared seventeen years after his 1898 death — and wholly independent of the Shindō Yōshin-ryū tradition.¹³⁷ Across four editions they hold a consistent picture: Matsuoka Katsunosuke of Naka-Ueno, Ueno village, Makabe district (中上野・上野村・真壁郡), a locally famous bone-setter (整骨医) and Shindō Yōshin-ryū jūjutsu master, referred to as 故 (the late). No edition mentions bakufu military service. (いはらき新聞社 1915)

The dictionaries also carry some lineage and succession detail:

The 1932 reprint *Ibaraki jinmei jisho* (茨城人名辞書 再版, 弘文社編; “biographical dictionary of Ibaraki”) holds a biographical entry on Sakurai Yūnosuke (櫻井勇之助) of Iwase-machi, Nishi-Ibaraki-gun (西茨城郡岩瀬町), a bonesetter (接骨醫) born Ansei 4/9/15 (1857), eldest son of Sakurai Moheiji (櫻井茂平次): from Genji 1 (1864) he studied Chinese learning (漢學) under one Ikeda, from Meiji 8 (1875) he took up Shindō Yōshin-ryū jūjutsu under Matsuoka Katsunosuke of Ueno, Makabe-gun (真壁郡上野), learning bonesetting (骨術) alongside it, received the mokuroku in Meiji 19 (1886), and from Meiji 20–28 studied

¹³⁷Source available at lab.ndl.go.jp.

clinical bone-setting under Nakamura Gendō (中村元道) at Hōjō (北條町). The same succession is carried in the earlier editions.

The 1915 volume adds the household line: Hoshino Moto-shichi (星野元七), a famous bonesetter described as son-in-law and successor (keigyōsha) of the late Matsuoka, resident at Naka-Ueno exactly where Matsuoka settled — a Tochigi man (second son of a Hoshino of Shimotsuga-gun) who married Matsuoka's daughter in 1879, entered the household in 1897 to assist Matsuoka's son Teizaburō (貞三郎) in the practice, and on Teizaburō's death in 1914 took over both the medical practice and the local postmastership to keep the family business alive. Another notable's grandfather, one Bunjirō (文治郎), is recorded as a 神道揚心流 shihan in his line. The 茨城県真壁郡統計 (Fukuda Ken 福田賢 ed., Watanabe Kappansho, Meiji 28 / 1895), a district-statistics table, places a Matsuoka Katsunosuke (松岡克之助) in a village of Makabe-gun ca. 1895 among that village's principal landholders or taxpayers — congruent with a prominent local doctor, though see the caution below.

The *Kikuran Kamon* (武術名家伝; 菊巒加門 ed., Meiji 35 / 1902) complicates the picture with a younger namesake. Its Ueno-village jūjutsu section (上野柔術家之部) carries a Matsuoka Katsunosuke (松岡克之助) — an exact name match, at aza Naka-Ueno (字中上野), in the 神道揚心流 (correctly with 揚, distinct from Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū's 楊) — whose affiliation line reads 入江正雄門人, student of Irie Masao (入江正雄), and whose birth annotation is 明治三年生: born Meiji 3, i.e. 1870. (The entry directly above, Inose Motokichi (猪瀬元吉), carries the same school, teacher, and aza, born 1833.) This is evidently a successor or heir one generation down, plausibly by shūmei (襲名; name

succession). It also complicates the 1895 landholder entries: at Meiji 28 the elder would be roughly 59 and the younger 25, so a leading village landholder is more likely the established elder — and if the 1895 entries (the 統計 and 紳士鑑, one dependent source-stream) and the 1902 entry all resolve to the same aza, a single family estate is suggested — but the attribution to the founder specifically is probable rather than settled.

Irie Masao is the documented hub of the Makabe/Tsukuba 揚心流 network: of the fourteen 神道揚心流 names in Table 1 of Sugie's study of the Mito-edition *Nihon bujutsu-meï kaden* (日本武術名家伝; "The Legends of Famous Japanese Martial Arts Masters"). Nine are Irie's students (three in Makabe-gun, six in Tsukuba-gun) and the authority Sugie cites for him is the Bugei Ryūha Daijiten, whose Shindō Yōshin-ryū entry names only two figures: Asada Kanshirō (浅田勘四郎) in Kagawa and Irie Masao in Hitachi/Makabe-gun. Neither work names the elder Matsuoka Katsunosuke at all. Nor does the Butokukai register: Sugie's filtering of the *seirensō* (精鍊証) recipients shows none in jūjutsu in Ibaraki through Meiji 35, against six in kenjutsu and two each in sōjutsu and bajutsu. (杉江 正敏 1979; Watatani Kiyoshi and Yamada Tadashi 1978)

Within the externally corroborated record of Shindō Yōshin-ryū in Meiji Ibaraki, then, the representative figure is Irie, and Matsuoka's centrality rests on the school's own tradition (the Fujiwara history) plus the local dictionaries gathered here — the 茨城人名辞書 attesting him as Sakurai's teacher, and the 武術名家伝 entry for the younger namesake learning from Irie Masao. The work's compiler Kikuran Kamon was himself a Hokushin Ittō-ryū (北辰一刀流) swordsman under Ozawa Torakichi (小沢

寅吉) so may have put less effort into tracking jūjutsu lines of practice.

Conclusion

The external and academic record situates Matsuoka Katsunosuke inside a regional Meiji-era jūjutsu network in Makabe-gun, with Irie Masao as its documented hub. It reaches nowhere near the Kōbusho, the Shōgitai or Seieitai, or any bakumatsu military context asserted by Fujikawa. Everything before 1870 rests on Fujiwara's asseertions — themselves resting, after the flood loss of the founding-era records, on family anecdote. None of this contests Fujiwara's core account of a Kuroda physician's son who trained at the Kōbusho as a jūjutsu shugyōnin, rose to a junior assistant grade, and built a school and a medical practice in rural Hitachi. But claims about Matsuoka Katsunosuke before 1870 — Kōbusho seniority and military service alike — should be viewed with caution proportional to their distance from that core.

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.

Comparison with Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū

Tenjin Shin'yo-ryu and Totsuka-ha Yoshin-ryū Jūjutsu are not two branches of one school. Despite the shared 楊心 element, Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū and Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū descend from separate lineages. We examine the similarities and differences between the arts to round out our earlier discussion of the two independently, along with Kito-ryū.

Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū comes from the Akiyama Shirōbei Yoshitoki line via Hitotsuyanagi Oribe: Iso Mataemon Ryūkansai Masatari trained seven years in Yōshin-ryū under Hitotsuyanagi Oribe in Kyoto, then took up Shin no Shintō-ryū, and combined the two.

The Totsuka line claims a different founder entirely — Miura Yōshin, a Nagasaki physician, transmitted through Abe Kanryū, then Egami Takatsune (Kanryū), then Totsuka Hikoemon Hidesumi, whose son Totsuka Hikosuke Hidetoshi (b. 1813) is the branch founder. The line's formal name was also Yōshin-ryū; it used "Yōshin-koryū" to assert priority over the Akiyama line, and was variously called Egami-ryū, Tenjin Yōshin-ryū, and Kōbusho jūjutsu; "Totsuka-ha" derives from Hikosuke's appointment as head of jūjutsu instruction at the Kōbusho. Meiji and modern writers routinely conflate the two.

Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū survives in continuous transmission with densho and Meiji-era illustrated manuals, while Totsuka-ha is functionally extinct — transmission collapsed after 1945 and the current state is unknown; the last identified holder, Hodate Kenzō, a student of Kanaya Genrō, was interviewed in 1997. Its

technical content therefore comes to us mostly at second hand. The closest survival is material passed down within the Shindō Yōshin-ryū, which merged aspects of both arts.

Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū

The curriculum as given in *Nihon Daihyakka Zensho* runs: *tehodoki* (手解) 12 — seven taken from Shin no Shintō-ryū plus five newly composed; *shodan* (初段) with 10 *idori* (居捕; seated) and 10 *tachiai* (立合; standing) drawn from both parent schools; *chūdan* (中段) with 14 each of *idori* and *tachiai* plus 20 *nagesute* (投捨); and *gokui jōdan* (極意上段) with 10 each of *tachiai* and *idori* — followed by *keiraku* (経絡; channels), *kyūsho* (急所; vital points), and *kappō* (活法; resuscitation) methods named *sasoi-katsu*, *eri-katsu*, *innō-katsu*, and *sō-katsu*, extending to pharmacological treatment of blunt injury. The Nihon Kobudō Kyōkai gives the round figure of 124 techniques plus the *katsusatsu* (活殺) private transmissions.

The organizing principle is *atemi* integrated into grappling rather than *atemi* as a separate division: Iso is said to have concluded from multiple-opponent encounters that “the true strike” — attacking physiological weak points — should be worked into throws, joint techniques, and strangles to increase their effect. Pedagogically the school layers the same techniques through ascending levels: the teaching structure was adopted from Shin no Shintō-ryū, deepening cognate techniques across *shodan*, *chūdan* and *jōdan*; the first *idori* kata *Shin no i* (真之位) is likened to a fruit from which subsequent kata grow as shoots, branches and blossoms, returning to the fruit. There is also a *gokui kuden* set in some lines — *oshikaeshi*, *eige*, *tomoe-wakare*, *rōin*, *sekka no wakare*

— argued to be the prototype of jūdō's *itsutsu no kata*, with the first technique differing only in who initiates the push.

Conditioning was specific and unusual: *shibu-ita* practice, striking a 1.2 cm board laid flat on a stand until it broke. In contests, the school reportedly relied heavily on knee strikes to the groin and a strangle called *chidori*, and taught covering the groin with both hands defensively.

Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū

The formal curriculum has the same tripartite structural logic but different divisions: *tachiai* (起合; both standing), *yukiai* (行合; attack while passing), and *idori* (居捕; seated), totalling 72 kata, with weapons — long and short sword, *tenugui*/chain — and a substantial *torite* (捕手) component; grades ran *mokuroku*, *chū-menkyo*, *menkyo*, *kaiden*. Beyond the 72 there were *kenbun-gata* (5, *kuden* level), *kōjōte-gata* (7, *menkyo kuden*), 20 *sappō* (殺法; *atemi*) and 8 *kappō*. The distribution is *tachiai* 22, *yukiai* 29, *idori* 21 — note the weight on *yukiai*, which Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū lacks as a category.

The distinguishing feature, and the one contemporaries actually named, is *randori* (乱捕). The school adopted *randori* early and had a very large following in bakumatsu Edo; Hikosuke Hidetoshi is styled “father of early-modern *randori*” (近世乱取りの祖). His teaching method reflected it: Hisatomi Tetsutarō, who came from Shibukawa-ryū, recorded that Totsuka told cross-school students not to abandon what they had learned — he taught throwing almost exclusively, saying that persistent training to the limit of one's breath would itself produce mastery.

Concrete technical content that survives:

- The *kama* grip and *kama-goshi*. Fukai Kinnokichi's *Ōhi Ryū no Maki* (1911) describes *kama-goshi* as Hikosuke's own invention, used as a matter of course against other schools: the right hand takes the opponent's right lapel in reverse grip, the left takes the belt at his right front side, in a right *jigotai* — a posture covering one's own vital points against *atemi* while permitting free advance and retreat. Hisatomi's Meiji writings describe an equivalent grip under the name *sha* (斜).
- Hisatomi's randori syllabus (1891, *Futsū randori kokoroe*). 56 techniques in four classes — *nagete* (throws), *shime* (絞), *katame* (固), and *teashi jungyaku-dori* (joint techniques) — with five gripping configurations (*hō, sankaku, sha, hirami, en*), standing and seated starts, and five defined conditions for deciding a bout.
- Conditioning drills. *Yotsude* (four-hand contests of strength from a mutual belt grip, with named grips *ōgama* and *kogama*) and *momiai* (throw-anything free practice) preceded formal kata work — closer to sumō *butasukari-geiko*.
- Named techniques that entered jūdō. *Kuchiki-taoshi* — reaping both legs from buttock to hollow of the knee before the grip is established — was taught by Yamamoto Kinsaku to Kanda Kyūtarō, who took it to Kanō; it was adopted into the Kōdōkan as *morote-gari* in December 1925. *Kabezoi* from the *tachiai* set was adopted into Keishi-ryū jūjutsu.
- Absences. Hodate reported that the school had good *sutemi-waza* and no *koshi-waza* of the Kōdōkan type, and that *atemi* and joint techniques were used freely in randori.

The single best independent attestation of the kata inventory is the 1883 Tokyo University demonstration, printed contemporaneously: *Iji Shinbun* no. 104 (1883) lists the kata performed and

the performers by division — *tachiai* opening with *sasae-dori*, *te-guruma*, *ai-dori*, *sode-guruma*, *ude-guruma*, *obi-hiki*, and continuing through *emon-kuzushi*, *kabuto-mawashi*, *sune-oshi*, and so on; *yukiai* with *ko-ate*, *ko-gaeshi*, *momiji-midare*, *mondokoro*, *soto-gake*, *uchi-gake*; *idori* with *shin no i*, *mutō-wake*, *sode-guruma*, *zen-goshi*, *kuruma-ken*, *nukimi no metsuke*.¹³⁸

The contrast contemporaries themselves drew

A bakumatsu insider's cross-school characterization exists. Ishii Matazaemon Tadazane of Saga, a Sekiguchi-ryū man who trained under Hikosuke and compiled *Shūkaroku*, characterized Yōshin-koryū as standing work employing sword and rope, prizing collar strangles above all, with *shikatsu* transmissions at the *okugi* level. Kanō's own typology cuts differently and lumps them: he divided jūjutsu kata into an armored-grappling family (Kitō-ryū, Kyūshin-ryū) and an *atemi*-and-*hobaku* family represented by Yōshin-ryū and Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū, which he mapped onto the *katame no kata* and *kime no kata* rather than the *nage no kata*. That Kanō grouped them together is itself evidence that the difference contemporaries cared about was not kata content but training method: Totsuka's randori-centric, contest-oriented regime versus Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū's kata-and-*atemi* pedagogy with randori subordinated.

Even this is not clean. Hisatomi, trained by Totsuka, is quoted in Iguchi Matsunosuke's *Jūjutsu seiri-sho* (1896) holding that kata is the substance of jūjutsu and randori arises from its degradation, and that a weak man who masters kata will beat a strong one — so kata should take priority over randori, and Hodate said Kanaya Genrō's instruction was kata-centred rather than randori-

¹³⁸ Found at NDL PID 1533229.

centred. So the “randori school versus kata school” contrast is a period reputation, not a uniform institutional fact.

Kote Gaeshi: One Example

We can conduct a technical analysis, and ask what common features the arts had. For example, did either have what is similar to today’s kote gaeshi from Aikidō? Aikidō’s kote-gaeshi (小手返; wrist reversal) descends to that art through Daitō-ryū, not through any Yōshin line. It is a named entry in the Hiden mokuroku (秘伝目録) ikkajō, appearing twice in the first thirty techniques: ninth in the tachiai set of ten and eighth in the idori set of ten. That is the documented channel to Ueshiba.

The technique itself, however, is not distinctive. A practitioner survey from the Suigetsujuku group puts it plainly: kote-gaeshi exists universally across koryū jūjutsu and is the representative technique carried from Daitō-ryū into aikidō — the same writer noting that Daitō-ryū’s characteristic items (kote-gaeshi, shihō-nage, irimi-nage, koshi-nage, makinage) all have close analogues in Shibukawa Ichi-ryū, and offering that as a hypothesis about the sources from which Daitō-ryū emanated.

The underlying observation is sound: a wrist-reversal throw is close to a universal in Edo-period torite systems. Its presence in a school is therefore near-zero evidence of relationship to any other school that has it. That being said, in Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū there are twelve tehodoki (手解; hand-releases) described as including ryōte-dori, morote-dori, kote-gaeshi, atemi, and weapon-taking. Given that Iso’s system integrates atemi into joint and strangle work rather than segregating it, the school’s version might include such practices in its kata.

Totsuka-ha Yōshin-ryū had a core practice of 72 kata. Two names in that list invite confusion and are not it: kosuso-gaeshi (小裾返) in the tachiai set and kogaeshi (小返) in the yukiai set. Neither is a wrist reversal.

In Totsuka-derived Meiji material, Hisatomi Tetsutarō's Futsū randori kokoroe (1891) lists, under teashi jungyaku-dori (手足順逆捕; limb reversal techniques): makikomi, nukinuki, ude-garami, sode-garami, kote-gaeshi (written 小手反シ), tekubi-ori, ashi-garami. But Hisatomi previously studied Shibukawa-ryū for twenty seven years and describes his 56-technique randori set as his own compilation from forty years across multiple schools. So it is Totsuka-adjacent, not Totsuka curriculum proper.

Shindō Rikugō-ryū (神道六合流), which Fukai Kinnokichi built partly on Totsuka-ha material, does carry kote-gaeshi in some of its sets — but its explicitly Totsuka-derived tachiai set (指捕、手車、袖車、腕車、衣紋崩、甲廻、帶車、小裾返、大殺...) has kosuso-gaeshi, not kote-gaeshi, so the kote-gaeshi entries there probably come from one of its other six parent lines.

In Matsuoka Katsonosuke's Shindō Yōshin-ryū, no kata named kote-gaeshi anywhere in the published curriculum. The full technical inventory as given includes: tehodoki 10 — ryōte, uchite, gyakute, gyakushi, morote, ryōmune, katamune, betsu, tori, kami; nagegaeshi 10 basic plus 50-odd applications; shodan idori 10 and shodan tachiai 10; chūdan idori 14 and chūdan tachiai 14; ratai-dori 3; gokui jōdan as kuden only; and betsuden comprising kodachi-dori, daitō-dori, and the kappō sets. The wrist-and-finger reversal content is present as categories — gyakute (逆手; reverse hand) and gyakushi (逆指; reverse finger)

sit second and third in the tehodoki — but that is a category label, not the specific aikidō technique.

Two structural observations:

1. The tehodoki count differs from Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū's. Iso's is 12 and explicitly contains kote-gaeshi; Matsuoka's is 10 and does not. So the Shindō Yōshin-ryū entry-level set is not simply Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū's tehodoki carried over, whatever the founding narrative says. Where the tachiai/idori sets do overlap in structure — 10/10 at shodan, 14/14 at chūdan — the numbers match Iso's exactly, which is the more interesting correspondence.
2. The source problem is acute here. The kata list traces to Fujiwara Ryōzō's 1983 monograph and his 1985–86 Kindai Karate interviews with Matsuoka Tatsuo, the third-generation head, resting on that testimony alone.

The Takamura-ha branches at Obata Shigeta, who studied Yōshin-koryū under Totsuka first, entered Matsuoka's school in 1885, took menkyo kaiden in 1895, and then separated with permission. Techniques similar to kote gaeshi in that line of practice or its descendants would not bear on its presence or absence in the parent. For example, Obata traveled in Daitō-ryū circles, so may have been exposed to kote gaeshi there.

Ōtsuka Hironori received transmission in Shindō Yōshin-ryū and carried specific material into Wadō-ryū: the omote only of the kodachi-dori (7) and daitō-dori (7) sets became Wadō-ryū's tantō-dori and shinken shirahadori. Because Wadō-ryū published its curriculum early and independently of the Matsuoka-Fujiwara channel, its tantō-dori set is a partial external witness to what Shindō Yōshin-ryū weapon-taking actually contained

around 1921 — including whether a wrist reversal appears there and under what name.

Source-critical flags

1. **Fujiwara is a filter.** A large share of the circulating “Totsuka technical content” — the *kama-goshi* narrative context, the accounts of Kōbusho randori violence, Hikosuke’s physical description — traces to Fujiwara Ryōzō’s works and his 1985–86 *Kindai Karate* interviews with Matsuoka Tatsuo, i.e., the Shindō Yōshin-ryū house tradition. The Japanese Wikipedia kata list itself cites Fujiwara’s *Kakutōgi no rekishi* (1990). Given that Matsuoka Katsunosuke is the claimed junction point of these two schools, that material is interested testimony and should not be treated as independent. Fukai (1911), Hisatomi (1891), Aizawa (1903) and the 1883 *Iji Shinbun* are independent of it.
2. **Match records are partisan on both sides.** The Watanabe Ichirō research materials preserve Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū records of inter-school matches in 1854, 1857 and 1865 in which every result is a draw or a Totsuka loss — 20 losses out of 20 in 1865. The Totsuka-side literature naturally preserves the opposite. Neither set can be used as evidence of relative technical merit; both are useful only as evidence that the two schools were in sustained direct competition.
3. **Peer-reviewed work exists but is thin and mostly on the Akiyama line.** The relevant *Budō Gaku Kenkyū* material is on the Akiyama Yōshin-ryū *kyūsho/atemi/kappō* complex (16-1, 1984, on J-STAGE), and there is a Meiji University *Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Kiyō* study of *kappō* across Yōshin-ryū, Nagao-ryū taijutsu and Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū. I did not find a peer-

reviewed study directly comparing Totsuka-ha and Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū technical content; if one exists it would most likely be in the Kōbusho or police-jūjutsu literature rather than in ryūha studies.

4. **Nomenclature varies.** The name “kote-gaeshi” as a fixed standard name is largely a twentieth-century settlement, propagated by Kōdōkan and postwar Aikikai naming. Baku-matsu and Meiji sources use kote-gaeshi, tekubi-ori (手首折), gyakute, and various house names for what may or may not be the same mechanic. Hakkō-ryū uses ‘hana-gaeshi’, etc.

Glossary

baishin (陪臣) — sub-vassal (p. 5)

Bakumatsu Kenkaku Monogatari (幕末剣客物語) — Late Edo swordsman tales

bōgu (防具) — protective armour

bokutō (木刀) — wooden sword

bugyō (奉行) — commissioner (p. 3)

bukan (武鑑) — Samurai directory/register (p. 10)

bungenchō (分限帳) — Retainer stipend roster (p. 10)

Chiba Shūsaku ikō (千葉周作遺稿) — Chiba Shūsaku posthumous manuscripts

chōtan ichimi (長短一味) — long and short as one (p. 201)

Da Xue (大学) — *Dàxué* (p. 8)

daiji (大事) — great matter; standard densho item-title formula (p. 259)

Daishadōkyō (大射道教) — the great doctrine of the way of shooting (p. 150)

Dàxué (大學) — Great Learning (p. 151)

emokuroku (絵目録) — illustrated catalog (p. 263)

enbu (演武) — public demonstration (p. 105)

enpi (燕飛) — KSR ura-dachi #10 *Enpi-ken* (p. 195)

enren (圓連) — circular continuous [movement/connection] (p. 201)

eri-kappō (襟活法) — collar resuscitation technique (p. 259)

eri-katsu-hō (襟活法) — Collar resuscitation method (p. 259)

fudō (不動) — immovable/unmoved (p. 35)

Furi (振) — swinging, shaking — of the weapon or spirit; likened to rowing (p. 32)

fūshintō (風心刀) — wind-mind sword (p. 232)

gasshō (合掌) — Palms pressed together in prayer (p. 202)

Geihan Tsūshi (芸藩通志) — Geihan domain comprehensive gazetteer (p. 259)

Gekiken Sōdan (撃剣叢談) — Collected tales of fencing (p. 77)

ginmi (吟味) — examination; Kunisato-stage addition (p. 198)

go-ka no hōjō (五ヶ之法定) — five unities — 動静一体・起発一体・攻防一体・
虚実一体・陰陽一体 (p. 201)

go-kachi (御徒) — foot-guard (p. 43)

- gokui** (極意) — inner teaching (p. 170)
- gōshi** (郷士) — rural samurai (p. 80)
- gyaku** (逆) — reverse/contrary [technique] (p. 81)
- hakama** (義経袴) — Yoshitsune-style hakama (pleated trousers) (p. 36)
- hanshi** (藩士) — feudal domain retainer
- hassō** (八相) — posture of the eight aspects (p. 201)
- hayafune** (早船) — fast boat [technique] (p. 201)
- heihō sandai genryū** (兵法三大源流) — the three source-streams (p. 200)
- Heihō zakki** (兵法雑記) — Heihō zakki, Yamada Ippūsai's 1708 text (p. 198)
- Heikyūroku** (平休録) — record of fallen/resting (death register) (p. 38)
- Higo budō-shi** (肥後武道史) — Higo domain martial arts history (p. 259)
- hika** (祕歌) — secret verse (p. 232)
- Hikosan** (英彦山) — Hikosan, a major Shugendō mountain (p. 260)
- hō-en-kyoku-choku-ei** (方円曲直鋭) — Square, round, curved, straight, pointed (p. 201)
- hohei** (歩兵) — infantry soldier (p. 10)
- hohei-bugyō** (歩兵奉行) — infantry magistrate
- hōjō** (法定) — the foundational Jikishinkage-ryū kata (p. 35)
- hokumen no shi** (北面の士) — guardsman of the retired emperor's northern quarter (p. 236)
- Hōzōin-ryū** (宝蔵院流) — Hōzōin-ryū, a spear (sōjutsu) school (p. 211)
- hyōshi** (拍子) — rhythm, timing (p. 232)
- i** (意) — mind-intention or will/volition (p. 3)
- Iba Hachirō** (伊庭八郎) — Iba Hachirō (late Edo swordsman) (p. 133)
- idori** (居捕) — Seated grappling/arrest technique (p. 202)
- in-yō** (陰陽) — yin and yang (p. 201)
- iro** (色) — sensing the opponent's intention (p. 26)
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