徒手乱取りと短刀乱取りの意義

日本合気道協会

志々田 文明, 山口 升呉, 佐藤 忠之[1]

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謝辞

はじめに

本協会では、2019(令和元)年 7 月に合気道徒手乱取り競技規則を制定し、同年に開催された ITAF（国際合気道競技連盟）主催のスペイン・マラガ大会において、正式種目として徒手乱取り競技の個人戦を実施しました。また、2023 年 ITAF 横浜大会では、個人戦と団体戦が行われる予定です。こうした最近の動向のなかで、短刀乱取りの今後について心配する声が聞かれるようになりました。しかし本協会では短刀乱取りの現状を改善する必要性は認識するものの、これを廃止することはこれまで検討されていません。

そこで本稿では、富木謙治師範が合気乱取り法を創案し、研究を重ねて試合に踏み切る経緯や、徒手乱取り形式の試合から短刀乱取り形式の試合に推移する経緯を歴史的術理的に明らかにしました。本研究によって明らかになったことは、どちらの乱取り法も富木師範が後世の人々に残した貴重な財産であるということです。皆様のご理解をお願いするものです。

研究対象時期は富木師範の実験的研究が精力的に開始される 1958(昭和 33)年の早稲田大学合気道部創部から 1968(昭和 43)年の第三回三大学対抗合気道大会(いわゆる三大学対抗戦)までとします。主な資料としては昭和 36 年以降早大合気道部が刊行してきた『合気道部誌』と OB 関係者へのインタビュー記録を用いました。なお、本文では敬称を省略しました。

1. なぜ、徒手乱取りは重要なのか？

富木謙治は 1961(昭和 36)年頃に「合気乱取り法」をほぼ完成させている。合気乱取り法は、徒手対徒手で、当身技、関節技、浮技(投技)を用いた「乱取り」、つまり自由意思で技を掛け合う練習として構想された。その精神は、正対して二人の者が互いに手を伸ばしたときに互いの指頭が接触するかしないかの距離、つまり＜離隔の間合い＞をとることにある。

もちろん競技者はこの間合いの中に進入して技を掛け合うわけであるが、その場合には安全な位置取りや相手を崩すことにより、相手の反撃を許さない態度が求められているわけである。したがって離隔の間合いをとることはこの乱取り法成立の基本条件であり、合気乱取り法成立の精神といえる。本稿ではこれを＜離隔の精神＞と呼ぶことにする。

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[1] 本稿は執筆を志々田が行い、それを山口升呉八段及び佐藤忠之八段が校閲して作成したものである。

富木はこの乱取りを行うために、①「基本の形」(15 本、後に 17 本)、「裏技の形」(10 本)を制定し、②この乱取り法を行うための基本練習方法（運足、手刀合わせ、手刀運動、手刀の崩し）と、③乱取りの段階的練習法（かかり稽古、引き立て稽古、乱取り稽古）の内容を示した。つまり合気乱取り法とは、基本から乱取りへと至る包括的な練習システムなのである。海外においてこれを＜Tomiki System＞といわれたのはその性格を正しく指摘したものと評価される。

合気乱取り法の武道史における画期的意義は、柔道創始者・嘉納治五郎の「乱取り」重視の方法との比較によって明らかになる。嘉納の制定した柔道の「乱取り法」は、互いに道衣の襟・袖に組みつく近接した間合いで、主に投技・固技を以て行われる乱取りの方法である。一方、合気乱取り法は、＜離隔の間合い＞を基本として、徒手対徒手で行う乱取りの方法である。両乱取り法は、組んだ場合の柔術（柔道乱取り法）と離れた（離隔の）場合の柔術(合気乱取り法)というふうに、柔術というジャンルの中で互いに補完しあうよう構想されている。つまり、柔術から生まれた柔道乱取りを第一番目の乱取り方法とすれば、合気乱取りは第二番目の方法として位置付くように設計されているのである[2]。

富木によれば､武術とは限定のない攻撃に対して防御･攻撃する技術を意味する[3]｡柔術は元来武術であるから、実際には相手に組みつく前に、相手の打つ・突くなどによる当身技の攻撃をかわさなくてはならない。完全防御こそが武術（武道）の本質であると喝破した富木は、この本質を柔術に活かすとすれば、富木は、柔道のように接近して組みついた技の練習と、合気道のように離れてかける技の練習との両方が不可欠となると考えた。合気乱取り法の創始の画期的な意義とはこの欠落を補って平和な時代に行かそうとした点にある。

合気乱取り法は、柔道(徒手対徒手)、剣道(武器対武器)などと同様に、互いに同一条件競技システムとして研究が始められた。後に言う＜徒手乱取り＞である。昭和 36 年には乱取りの「基本の形」17 本、翌 37 年には「裏技の形」10 本が制定された。基本の形はいわゆる「先」の形であり、徒手の一方が先にしかけることを特徴とし、裏技の形はその応じ技(返し技)の形であり「後の先」の形といえる。

ところが 1967(昭和 42)年を転換点として、徒手対短刀で行う異種格闘技型の競技、つまり短刀乱取りへの移行が行われていく。それはどのような理由で行われたのであろうか。また、短刀乱取りはどのような歴史をたどったのであろうか。次にそれらの問題を考察しよう。

2. なぜ、短刀乱取りは必要なのか？

私たちは昔のダイナミックな徒手乱取りの姿を、16 ミリ映画「合気道競技」(TBS ブリタニカ制作）の冒頭に収載された江原哲(昭和 40 年早大主将)と北山正信(昭和 43 年早大主将)による乱取りの攻防に見ることができる。当時を知る井上斌は、「昭和 39 年～43 年頃が徒手乱取りが最高のレベルに達した時期である」と評価している[4]。

ところがこうした乱取り稽古もいざ試合になると激変した。正面当てには顎を引いて受け、逆構え当てには額で受けたりし、あるいは関節技を取られまいと相手に抱きついたりするケースが散見されるようになり、柔道や他武道の専門家から「あの間合いでは柔道の技に簡単に投げられる、当身を顔で受けるのはおかしい」などの厳しい批判が出たという[5]。

徒手乱取り法による初の試合は、1962(昭和 37)年、早稲田大学体育祭の場で同大学の合気道部部内試合として実施された。これを見た OB は次のように記している。

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[2] 富木は合気乱取り法を柔道界に向けて「柔道第二乱取り法」としても位置づけている。

[3] 富木は武術の本質を無限定の攻撃に対応するための技としている。富木謙治，日本武道の本質，武道論, 1991, p.22

[4] 井上斌，合気道の形と乱取りの変遷(1958~1967)，早稲田大学合気道部創部六十周年記念誌, 2018, p.79

[5] 井上斌，徒手乱取りの時代(昭和 38 年～43 年)，合気道部誌, 56 号, 2017, p.24.

○木暮浩明(昭和 33 年卒)「3 分フルに闘うと息切れして、たがいに間合いをつめ過ぎて、柔道の技なら有効にかけられると思われるようなクリンチ状態になっても、それをできぬため観客の失笑を買っていた[6]」

○田中征治(昭和 37 年卒)「間合いの問題としては、近づきすぎて、技を出す毎にからみあいとなり、見にくい［ママ］状態が長く続いた試合が二、三あった[7]」

近接した状態で試合が行われていることが理解される。その二年後の 1964（昭和 39）年 4 月 20 日に実施されたチーム別対抗試合においてもそれは変わらず、当時の記録は、「あまり接近しすぎる。離れて手首を取るようにと［富木］先生よりきつい御叱り。当分試合を禁じられる」と記している[8]。

徒手乱取りの試合が満足できない事態を打開するために、富木は短刀乱取りへ舵を切る。それは競技者の一方に短刀を持たせることによって、他方が接近できない競技環境をつくることであった。1965(昭和 40)年から徒手乱取り練習の傍らで、短刀乱取りの練習が試行的に始まった。この年早大の 2 年生部員だった高桑順一は、「短刀側はタイミングを図って胸を突く、応じて徒手側は技をかけるといった稽古が短い時間行われた」という[9]。

昭和 50 年頃に富木は、短刀乱取りへの転換の理由について語っている。この時の言葉に解説を加えて明らかにしてみよう。[10]

昭和 17、18 年頃、富木謙治が満洲から帰国して講道館に寄った際、講道館長南郷次郎により、防具をつけて、剣道三段の者の竹刀の打込に対応することを命じられた。当時富木は講道館の離隔態勢の技の研究委員会の委員であった。この時点で富木は木刀による形稽古を中心に修行していたと思われるが、「なかなか［竹刀の間合いを］破れない」。つまり打込を受けずに間合いを破り懐に入ることができなかった。この体験から富木は、乱取りをする必要性と、相手が竹刀ではなく「短刀なら素手でも間に合う」と考えた。そして富木は、「そういったことが積み重なって短刀を持たせるようになったんです」と述べている

しかし直ぐに短刀乱取りに移行したわけではない。そもそも徒手乱取り方式での他大学との対校試合も未だ行われていなかったのであり、試合の研究は昭和 37 年の早稲田祭における早稲田大学合気道部内戦でようやく緒に就いた段階であった。二年後の昭和 39 年 4 月 30 日に早大合気道部内で行われたチーム別の対校試合では、富木から「あまり接近しすぎる、離れて手首を取るようにと先生よりきつい御叱り」があり、「当分試合を禁じられ」ている[11]。その翌年 11 月 12 月には早大部内で紅白試合が行われているが、これを実見した成城大学合気道部の中富雅智は、「反省会で富木先生が御指摘された、試合内容にもっと研究の余地がある、という事に全く同感である[12]」と記している。試合は良い結果をもたらさなかったのである。

富木の煩悶を突破したのは学生の試合への渇望であった。昭和 38 年に成城大学と国士舘大学に合気道同好会（後に部に昇格。共に師範は富木謙治）ができると早大生部員は指導に訪れその自立を手助けしていた。昭和 41 年度早大主将の内藤常光は、成城大学と国士舘大学の合気道部と諮って徒手乱取りによる三大学対校合気道大会の実現にもっていく[13]。大会記録[14]を見ると試合には多くの技が出ている。しかしこの大会の結果も師範を満足さ

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[6] 木暮浩明，合気道紅白試合見たまま，合気道部誌, 2 号, 1962, p.11

[7] 田中征治，乱取試合について，合気道部誌, 2 号, 1962, p.13

[8] 合気道部誌, 4 号, 1964, p.103

[9] 高桑順一氏インタビュー（2023/04/11 電話）

[10] 稲門合気道会編，富木謙治口述 合気道と柔道，島津書房, 2018, p.83

[11] 合気道部誌, 4 号,p.103

[12] 合気道部誌, 5 号,p.26

[13] この初の対校試合には早大二チーム、国士舘二チーム、成城一チームが参加し、早稲田の第一チームが優勝した。早稲田の 4 年生は出場せず 3 年生と 2 年生から選抜された選手であった。わずか一年足らず修行の者が試合に参加している。

[14] 合気道部誌, 6 号,pp.89-90

せるには遠く、「富木先生は、まだまだとガッカリされていました[15]」という。

短刀乱取り試合へと歩を踏み出す時期は、富木の高弟である大庭英雄が、「短刀対徒手の稽古はすでに数年前より研究を重ねて参りました[16]」と語る時期は昭和 40 年の秋と思われる。その二年後、昭和 42 年 11 月 12 日の第二回三大学対校合気道大会は、徒手の部に加えて初めて短刀の部がおかれ、それぞれ団体戦が行われた。短刀が導入される経緯については後年、第一回大会当時主務だった豊水道由が、「私は、柔道の試合と違う独自性が必要と思い、徒手対短刀も試合を［に］加えたらどうかと申し上げましたところ、［富木］先生もやってみようと言われ、その後の練習に徒手乱取りの他、徒手対短刀の乱取りも加わることになりました[17]」と記している[18]。

そういうこともあったのであろう。だが武器（特に短刀）に対する技法の乱取り化は、先に紹介したように、富木の心に潜在しており、富木は徒手乱取りから短刀乱取りの試合へと研究を進めていく。第二回三大学対抗合気道大会の試合後、大庭は、徒手乱取り世代の OB に向けて、富木が踏み切った短刀乱取り研究への協力を次のように懇願している。

> 合気道の乱取りから試合の研究も 10 年を迎えました。(略) 乱取りは実に素晴らしく技が出るようになりました。(略)　富木先生は乱取だけに徹する合気道にしようかと一時は随分と思い悩んでおられたようでありますが、若人の勢いの赴くところ、ついに試合に踏み切られたのであります。その間 4、5 年間はまたたく間に過ぎてしまいました。
> 第一の難関は、試合になりますと中々技がきまらなくて、17 本の技が乱取のときのように鋭えて［冴えてか？］でなくなってしまうことです。(略)　試合中の怪我を予防する意味と一層技をきめるために防具の研究が平行して進められているのであります。又、現在使用中のゴムの短刀では不十分なので、短刀の研究も合わせて部員諸君とともに完成を急いでおられるのであります。合気道の古武道の現代化の位置づけとして、今までの徒手対徒手の乱取によって開発された十七本の技を「武器対徒手の試合」、言い換えますと「短刀対徒手」で乱取から試合ができるように研究を一歩進められたのであります。徒手対徒手の開発に全精魂を注いで、これまで精進の一途をたどってこられました皆様方に更に未開の新分野の研究が始まったのであります。このことは、一見、今までの努力が、一泡に帰したように考えられますが、決してそうではなく、この開発が土台となって武器対徒手の試合は昔から名人芸としてのみ考えられていた無刀の巻[19]の免許皆伝の現代化が完成されるのであります。既に御卒業されておられます部員の方々は、何卒富木先生の、古武道の優秀さを現代に完成させようとして、日夜心を砕いておられる御卓見に一致団結して現部員とともに心を一つにして御協力をお願いしてやまないものであります。[20]

その翌年の昭和 43 年 12 月、富木は自らペンを執って、徒手乱取りを経て短刀乱取りに至る理由と、短刀乱取り研究へ進む思いを次のように記している。

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[15] 合気道部誌, 39 号,p.15. この大会に富木師範は柔道界高段者の友人や日本レスリング協会の八田一郎氏を招待していただけに恥ずかしい思いをしたようである。(長沼啓吉氏インタビュー2023.5.15)

[16] 合気道部誌, 7 号,p.3

[17] 合気道部誌, 39 号,p.15

[18] 長沼啓吉が平岡信弘(昭和 42 年主将)や豊水道由(同主務)から聞いた話によると、富木は第一回三大学対抗戦における選手の試合ぶりにレベルが低すぎると頗る不満であった。そのため平岡・豊水が富木師範に来年度も試合をさせて欲しいと嘆願に行ったところ、富木は短刀対試合を加えて実施することで大会の実施を許したという。(長沼啓吉氏インタビュー2023.4.11)

[19] 柳生宗矩著の「兵法家伝書　下巻　活人剣下」に収載された「無刀之巻」と題する箇所。柳生宗矩著,渡邉一郎校注, 兵法家伝書―付新陰流兵法目録事, 岩波文庫, 1985, pp.98-101

[20] 合気道部誌, 7 号,p.3

競技柔道の「わざ」の本領は徒手によって徒手の相手を制圧することにある。だが、競技合気道の特質は、徒手によって短刀をもつ相手を制御するにある。つまり、徒手対短刀の競技である。いうまでもなくこの「わざ」は、歴史的発生的には古流柔術ではあるけれども、剣対剣の剣道、および徒手対徒手の柔道に対して、第三の武道としての位置を占めるべきものである。柔道にも剣道にもない多くの「わざ」とその変化とをもっているからである。そして術理的には、柔道の理と剣道の理とを総合したものである。

これまで「当身技」と「関節技」の特質を生かすために、その［徒手対短刀の］乱取練習法が制定されなかった重なる理由が二つある。

1 双方の自由意志活動で練習するためには「わざ」が危険であること。

2 徒手によって武器を制御する技術性の特質を、対等条件をたてまえとする競技とすることは困難であること。

これらのむずかしい事情を克服して、敢えて競技化しなければならない理由は、およそ武道の練習は、形によって手順をおぼえ、これを一方的にくりかえすばかりでなく、双方の自由意志活動による乱取練習によらなければ、生きた「わざ」のはたらきを自得することが困難である。さらに一歩をすすめて、心と心との火花を散らす試合の体験をも必要とするからである。

わが部は創立以来この理想に向かって一意専心精進してきた。今後においても部員一丸となって、ますますその研究をすすめることを期待している。[21]

富木が短刀乱取りを採用せずにきた理由には、危険性を感じたことと、競技は対等条件で行うのが普通であるとする考えがあった。かくして短刀乱取り競技の導入は慎重な考慮の上で行われたことが理解されるのである。

3. 今後の方向―短刀乱取りと徒手乱取りの意義

（1）短刀乱取りの意義

富木の決断を受けて、短刀乱取り一色になる第三回三大学対校合気道大会以降、学生たち愛好者は＜離隔の精神＞を活かそうと積極的に取り組んだ。しかし現実はそのように推移せず、短刀側・徒手側の双方が間合いの近接した状態で、体を硬くして頑張るといった、徒手乱取り同様の悪しき場面が次第に現出するようになった。また、この新しい競技方法について厳しい批判も生まれた。それは、「あれでは柔道の足技で簡単に投げられる」、あるいは、勝敗が短刀突きによって決する場合が多くなることから、「これでは合気道競技ではなく、まるで＜短刀競技＞ではないか」というものであった。

もちろんこれに応える改革が行われた。得点は徒手側の技に対してのみ与えられるようにし、短刀突きでは得点を得られず、徒手側に交替する権利、いわゆる「徒手権」のみを得られるようにしたのである[22]。これにより短刀突きがうまくても、得点にはつながらない。つまり、＜短刀競技＞ではないかとの批判は免れる、と思われた。実際富木はこのルール改正に安堵して、新展開を期待しつつ他界した。

しかしここでも問題が生じた。徒手権をとりあう試合にも、短刀突きをうまくする必要は変わらなかった。一

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[21] 合気道部誌, 8 号,p.7

[22] 短刀乱取り競技は、徒手側が短刀保持者の突きをかわしながら施技し、一分半で短刀交代して実施され、技の本数と突きの数を得点化して勝敗が決せられた。このため短刀の技能で勝敗が決まる場合がでたことから一部の人に「短刀競技」という批判を生んだ。徒手権とはかりに前半が短刀側であっても有効な短刀突きにより前半の途中において徒手側に移ることができる権利をいう。当初この方法は先の批判を回避し技で勝敗を決するものと期待された。

方の者が、短刀突きがうまくかつ体捌きがうまいと、前・後半の試合時間中のほとんどの徒手攻撃時間を独占して、競技対戦者との平等性を担保できなくなってしまったのである。こうした問題を受けて、富木没後にルールは元に復することになる。

次の改革は、短刀側に対して「返し技」(裏技)をかけることを認めたことである。この改革に関わった、当時の２人の師範の１人である志々田は、この改革によって、短刀側・徒手側のいずれもが徒手技をくりだせるようにすれば技の攻防がより生まれ、競技自体が活性化するだろうと考えたのである。これによって組み合った状態で短刀側が返し技をねらうため、両者の間に緊迫した状態が生まれ、引落しなどの技が効果的な技として使われ、そうした一部の技術が進歩したことは事実と言えよう。

しかし実際に起こった深刻な問題は、柔道の足技が容易に届くような近接した間合いで、競技者双方(特に短刀側)が互いに正面で向き合って返し技を狙うというような場面の常態化であった。そして、それが＜離隔の精神＞を失った奇妙な状態であるという認識さえも失われていった。それを加速させたのは、ルールの中で勝てばよしとする、特に対校試合での勝利至上主義的熱狂であったと思われる。

富木は、合気乱取り法あるいは合気道競技に武道における独自性を求めた。柔道、剣道、空手などと相対して価値を主張できる乱取り競技特性の堅持こそがそれである。そしてそれは徒手乱取りの時代から一貫したものなのである。私たちには短刀乱取りの長い蓄積がある一方、その基礎に徒手乱取りによる左右両方の錬磨が前提になっていることを忘れてはならない。

大庭は、昭和 44 年の五大学対抗合気道大会後に次のように述べている。「最近の乱取り練習法の特徴として、従来特に力を入れて行っていた徒手乱取りに加えて、勿論左右の技を充分に習熟した上で、「短刀乱取」を主に行う様に変わって来ております。」[23]

大庭がわざわざ強調した「左右の技を充分に習熟した上で」という言葉には、短刀乱取りの基礎には術理的にも歴史的にも徒手乱取りがあるというメッセージが籠められている。短刀乱取りの改善は、離隔の間合いの精神と、当身技・関節技・浮技の冴えを実現できる練習の実戦、そして何よりもその精神を活かす審判規定の改訂が重要事項になるといえよう。[24]

（2）徒手乱取りの意義

徒手乱取りの意義と利点については山口升呉が明解な考察[25]を行っている。表 1 は同氏の考察を整理したものである。これを参考に考えてみたい。

表 1：徒手乱取りの利点・問題点・対策

徒手乱取りの利点	徒手乱取りの問題点	問題点対策
徒手技、返し技のいずれも左右の構えから自在に掛け合うことが標準でできる。	①徒手乱取りも間合いが近接しやすく、組み合ったままの膠着状態が出現することは容易に想定される。競技大会で勝負にこだわるようになれば、さらにこの現象は加速される恐れが出てこよう。富木が徒手乱取りから短刀乱取りに舵を切る要因であり、この対策が最重要である	①そこに陥らないルールの策定。
当身技の対象となる範囲の拡大。顔面、背面、胴体、膝と、短刀突きよりも攻撃対象が広範囲とな		

[23] 合気道部誌，第 9 号,pp.11

[24] 山口升呉は「徒手乱取りが確立されれば、短刀乱取りは徒手乱取りとの違いを明確に（より離隔を鮮明に）した競技形式に改編」する試案を提示している。山口升呉，生涯体育としての乱取り，合気道部誌, 59 号, 2020, p.17

[25] 山口升呉，同上, pp.16-17

る。	ことは言を俟たない。	
上記の結果返し技をとれる技も多くなり、返し技に対する返し技への展開もでて柔道剣道のような攻防一体の妙味が現出する。	②どんなことをしてでも勝ちたいという競技者の気持ちは、どのようなルールを作ろうとも勝つための抜け道を考えてしまうものである。	②何よりも競技者自身の「離隔の合気道競技を確立する」という強い信念と、そういう試合を目指す品位ある攻防と立ち居振る舞いが不可欠となる。そう考えられるように日頃から指導者からの教育が必要である。最良のルールは「自分の心の中にある」からだ。
その結果創意工夫の余地は大きく開け、たとえば返し技は「十本の裏技」以外の返し方の出現可能性がある。		
＊山口升呉, 生涯体育としての乱取り, 合気道部誌, 第 59 号, 2020, pp.16-17 より作成		

山口は、これら徒手乱取りの利点の帰結するところを、「要するに多彩な技の展開が可能となり、競技の醍醐味を満喫できる試合となる。競技者も観客も「面白い」と感じられるようになる」として、「これは競技形式を考える上で重要な要素である」と記している。これは競技者同士が対等で、左右いずれからも技を繰り出せる徒手乱取りの特長をもつことからくる指摘である。富木のいう「対等条件」で行う競技の実現は、柔道や剣道など対等条件の競技に馴染んでいる社会の人々に、違和感なく迎えられるためには重要な要素といえよう。

短刀乱取り改善そして徒手乱取り再興という山口の問題意識は、しだいに本協会有識者の間で共有されていき、平成 22(2010)年には、徒手乱取りのあり方をめぐる試行的研究が、本協会師範佐藤忠之を中心とする有志たちによって具体的に模索されはじめた。そして平成 25 (2013)年の川崎国際大会においては、本協会で徒手乱取りの研究が行われていることが紹介され、試行ルールを含めたデモンストレーションが披露された。そうした成果は本協会の教育局を中心にさらなる検討が進められ、令和元(2019)年にスペインで行われた国際合気道競技大会における公式試合種目として、徒手乱取りの採用実施が実現したのである。

以上全体の考察から明らかなことは、これまで先人の努力を尊重し、短刀乱取り、徒手乱取りをともに堅持し、それぞれの稽古の方法やそのあり方の検討と競技ルールの改善、そして競技者自身が＜離隔の精神＞を活かした合気道競技を確立するという強い信念をもつことにあるといえる。

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Significance of *Bare Handed Randori* and *Tanto Randori*

Japan Aikido Association

Fumiaki Shishida, Shogo Yamaguchi, Tadayuki Satoh[26]

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Acknowledgments

Introduction.

In July 2019, the International Tomiki Aikido Federation (ITAF) established the Aikido *Toshu* (bare handed) Randori Competition Rules, and at the ITAF Festival in Malaga, Spain, held in the same year, the individual competition in *Toshu* Randori was conducted as an official event. In addition, both individual and team competitions are scheduled to be held at the 2023 ITAF Festival in Yokohama. In the midst of these recent developments, there has been some concern about the future of *Tanto* Randori. However, while the Japan Aikido Association (JAA) recognizes the need to improve the current situation of *Tanto* Randori, it has not considered abolishing it.

In this paper, we will explain how Shihan Kenji Tomiki created the Aiki Randori method, how he started to study it, and how he transitioned from *Toshu* Randori style matches to *Tanto* Randori style matches from a historical and theoretical perspective. What has been clarified by this research is that both Randori methods are valuable assets that Tomiki left to future generations. We ask for your understanding.

The period covered by this research is from the founding of the Waseda University Aikido Club (WUAC) in 1958, when Shihan Tomiki began his experimental research, to the 3rd Tri-University Aikido Tournament in 1968 (the so-called "Three University Tournament"). The main sources used in this study are the "Journal of WUAC" published by the WUAC since 1961, as well as records of interviews with alumni. Honorific titles are omitted in the text.

1. Why is *Toshu* Randori important?

Tomiki Kenji almost completed the "Aiki Rantori" method around 1961. The Aiki Randori method was conceived as a form of "Randori", namely, Free-will practice to compete with each other, in a bare handed battle using techniques such as *atemi-waza*, *kansetsu-waza* (joint techniques), and *uki-waza* (part of throwing techniques). Its spirit lies in the fact that they fight based on an interval in which their fingertips touch or not, when two people facing each other with their hands outstretched, in other words, the distance of *Rikaku*.

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[26] This article was written by F. Shishida, and it was revised by both 8th dan S. Yamaguchi and T. Satoh.

Of course, the competitors enter into this space and use techniques, but in that case, they are required to take a safe position and break the opponent balance so that they do not allow the opponent to counterattack. Therefore, keeping a distance (*Rikaku*) is the basic condition for the establishment of this randori method, and it can be said that it is the spirit of the establishment of the Aiki Randori. In this article, we will call this <spirit of *Rikaku*>.

Tomiki established (1) "basic kata" (15 techniques, later 17 techniques) and "*urawaza no kata*" (10 techniques) to perform aiki randori, (2) basic training methods for performing Aiki Randori such as *unsoku*, *tegatana-awase*, *tegata movement*, *tegata-no-kazureshi* and (3) step-by-step practice methods such as *kakari-geikoo, hikitate-geiko, and randori-geiko*. In other words, the Aiki Randori method is a comprehensive practice system from basics to aiki randori. The fact that it is referred to overseas as the "Tomiki System" is highly regarded as an accurate description of its nature.

The epoch-making significance of the Aiki Randori method in the history of budo becomes clear by comparing it with the method of Jigoro Kano, the founder of judo, which emphasizes "randori". Kano's "randori method" of judo is a method of randori in which two fighters are held in close proximity to each other by the collar and sleeves of their dogi, using mainly nage waza (throwing techniques) and katame waza (locking techniques and choke). On the other hand, Aiki Randori is a method of bare handed randori based on a *Rikaku-no-maai*. Both randori methods are designed to complement each other within the jujutsu genre: jujutsu when practiced in combination (namely, judo randori method) and jujutsu when practiced at a distance (namely, Aiki Randori). In other words, if judo randori, which was born from jujutsu, is the first method of randori, Aiki Randori is designed to be positioned as the second method.[27]

According to Tomiki, bujutsu means the art of defending against and attacking unlimited attacks[28] . Since jujutsu is a martial art by nature, one must actually fend off the opponent's *atemi-waza* such as strikes, thrusts, and other attacks before grappling with the opponent. Tomiki, who proclaimed that perfect defense is the essence of martial arts or budo, believed that if this essence was to be applied to jujutsu, it would be essential to practice both close grappling techniques, like judo, and techniques performed from a distance, like aikido. The epoch-making significance of the creation of the Aiki-Randori method lies in the fact that he tried to compensate for this deficiency and bring about a peaceful era.

Research on the Aiki Randori method was first studied as a system of competitions on equal terms, similar to judo (hand-on-hand) and kendo (weapon-on-weapon). This is what would later be known as *Toshu* Randori.

In 1961, 17 "*kihon no kata*" (basic kata) of randori were established, and in 1962, 10 "*ura-waza no kata*" (counter techniques) were established. The basic kata are so-called "*Sen no kata*", which are characterized by the fact that one of the players makes the first move, while the *ura-waza no kata* are a technique that removes the technique that the opponent has set and at the same time switches to it, which can be said to be "*Go no sen no kata*".

However, in 1967, a turning point was reached, and a shift was made to a different type of martial arts style, "*Tanto* Randori," a competition between a bare handed side and a *Tanto* side.

What were the reasons for this shift? What was the history of *Tanto* randori? Let us examine these questions next.

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[27] Tomiki also positions the Aiki Randori method as the second Randori method or "Judo Dai-ni Randori Hou" for the judo world.

[28] Tomiki describes the essence of martial arts as techniques for responding to unlimited attacks. Tomiki, Kenji, Essence of Japanese Budo, Budo Ron, 1991, p.22

2. Why is *Tanto* Randori necessary?

We can see the dynamic of the old days of bare handed Randori in the Randori attack and defense between Tetsu Ehara (Waseda University captain in 1965) and Masanobu Kitayama (Waseda University captain in 1968) in the 16mm film "Aikido Competition" (produced by TBS Britannica), which was included in the beginning of the film. Takeshi Inoue, who knew the time, evaluates that "the period from 1964 to 1968 was the highest level of *Toshu* Randori". [29]

However, these randori practices changed drastically when it came time to compete. [30]In some cases, a student pulled back his chins when he was pushed by *Shomen-ate*, received with the forehead against *Gyakumen-ate*, or hugged an opponent to prevent the joint technique from being taken. Experts in judo and other martial arts reportedly criticized him harshly, saying, "At that distance, it's easy to be thrown by judo techniques, and it's strange to receive *atemi* with a face."

The first match using the bare handed method was held in 1962 at the Waseda University Aikido Festival as an intramural match of the university's aikido club. An alumnus of the club who witnessed the event wrote the following.

○Hiroaki Kogure (1958 graduate): "After three full minutes of fighting, they were out of breath, and they were too close to each other. Even when they were in a clinch, a situation that would have been effective in judo, they couldn't do it, so the audience laughed at them."[31]

○Seiji Tanaka (1962 graduate): "As for the problem of distance, they were too close to each other, and it became entangled every time they performed a technique. There were two or three games in which such unsightly conditions continued for a long time."[32]

It is understood that the matches were played in close proximity. Two years later, on April 20, 1964, the same thing happened in a match between teams. The record at that time states, "Tomiki-sensei gave us a severe scolding, telling us to move away from your opponent and take his wrist. Forbidden to play matches for the time being."[33]

In order to overcome the unsatisfactory situation of the competition in bare handed Randori, Tomiki turned his attention to *Tanto* Randori. In 1965, while practicing empty-handed Randori, Tomiki began to practice *Tanto* Randori on a trial basis. Junichi Takakuwa, a sophomore member of the Waseda University club in 1965, says, "Short practice sessions were held where the *Tanto* side timed their strikes to the chest, and the bare handed side responded by applying techniques." [34]

Around 1975, Tomiki spoke about the reasons for the conversion to *Tanto* randori. Let us clarify his words at this time with an explanation.[35]

Around 1942 or 1943, when Tomiki returned to Japan from Manchuria and stopped by the Kodokan, headquarters of judo, he was ordered by Kodokan President Jiro Nango to put on protective gear and restrain a 3-dan kendo player from striking with a *shinai* (bamboo sword). At the time, Tomiki was a member of the Kodokan's

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[29] Inoue, Takeshi, Changes in Aikido Kata and Randori (1958~1967), Waseda University Aikido Club 60th Anniversary Magazine, 2018, p.79

[30] Inoue, Takeshi, The Age of Kakute Randori (1963-1943), Journal of Waseda University Aikido Club, No. 56, 2017, p. 24.

[31] Kogure, Hiroaki, Aikido Kohaku Match Seen As It Is, Journal of WUAC, No.2, 1962, p.11

[32] Tanaka Seiji, On Randori Competition, Journal of WUAC, No.2, 1962, p.13

[33] Journal of WUAC, No.4, 1964, p.103

[34] Interview with Junichi Takakuwa (Phone: 2023/04/11)

[35] Tohmon Aikido Kai (ed.), Dictated by Kenji Tomiki, Aikido and Judo, Shimazu Shobo, 2018, p.83

research committee on techniques while maintaining distance in judo. Tomiki, whose training at this point seemed to be focused on wooden sword training and kata practice, he "was unable to step into the opponent's defense zone without being attacked by a *shinai*". From this experience, Tomiki realized the necessity of randori, and that "If the opponent is a *Tanto*, I could make it even with my bare hands". Tomiki then stated, "These things accumulated, and I began to have students hold the *Tanto*."

However, it did not immediately shift to *Tanto* Randori. In the first place, there had been no school matches against other universities using the *Toshu* Randori method, and research into matches had only just begun at the WUAC's internal matches at the Waseda Festival in 1962. Two years later, on April 30, 1964, in matches between teams held within the club, students were "severely scolded by Tomiki Sensei for coming too close and taking the wrists at a distance," and were "forbidden to fight for the time being."[36] In November and December of the following year, a red-and-white match (a competitions held between contestant that are divided into two teams) was held within the WUAC. Masatomo Nakatomi of the Seijo University Aikido Club, who observed the match, wrote, "I completely agree with what Tomiki sensei pointed out at the review meeting that there is room for more research into the content of the match."[37] The match did not bring good results.

What broke through Tomiki's agony was the students' thirst for competition. In 1963, Seijo University and Kokushikan University established aikido clubs (later promoted to clubs. When aikido clubs were formed at Seijo University and Kokushikan University in 1963 (later promoted to clubs, both with Shihan Kenji Tomiki as instructor), Waseda University students came to the clubs for guidance and to help them become independent. Tsunemitsu Naito, captain of WUAC in 1966, consulted with the aikido clubs of Seijo University and Kokushikan University to realize an aikido tournament by *Toshu* Randori between the three universities.[38] The tournament record at[39] shows that many techniques were used in the tournament. However, the results of the tournament were far from satisfactory to Tomiki, who was disappointed that the level of the match was still low.[40]

The time to take the first step toward *Tanto* randori matches seems to have been in the fall of 1965, when Tomiki's senior apprentice, Hideo Ohba, said, "I have already been studying *Tanto* versus bare hand fight training for several years[41] ." Two years later, on November 12, 1967, the Second Three University Aikido Tournament was held. Two years later, on November 12, 1967, the Second Three University Aikido Tournament was held, and for the first time, a *Tanto* division was added to the *Toshu* division, and team competitions were held in each division. In later years, Michiyoshi Toyomizu, who was in charge of the first tournament, explained how the *Tanto* division was introduced: "I thought it was necessary to have something unique and different from judo matches, so when I suggested that add a match in the format of bare hand vs. *Tanto* to the tournament, Tomiki said he would give it a

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[36] Journal of WUAC, No.4, p.103

[37] Journal of WUAC, No.5, p.26

[38] Two Waseda teams, two Kokushikan teams, and one Seijo team participated in this first-ever inter-school match, with Waseda's first team winning. Waseda's fourth-year students did not participate, but were selected from third-year and second-year students. Those who had been in training for less than a year participated in the games.

[39] Journal of WUAC, No.6, pp.89-90

[40] Journal of WUAC, No. 39, p.15. It seems that Shihan Tomiki was embarrassed because he had invited his friend who was a high dan in the judo world and Mr. Ichiro Hatta of the Japan Wrestling Association to this tournament. (Interview with Keikichi Naganuma, 2023.5.15)

[41] Journal of WUAC, No.7, p.3

try. From that point onwards, *Tanto* Randori was added to the practice."[42] [43]

This may have been the case. But the randorization of techniques for weapons (especially a knife or *Tanto*) was latent in Tomiki's mind, as we have seen earlier, and he continued his research from *Toshu* Randori to *Tanto* randori matches. After the second Aikido tournament between the three universities, Ohba made the following plea to the alumni of the *Toshu* Randori generation for their cooperation in the *Tanto* Randori research that Tomiki had embarked on.

> It has been 10 years since I started studying Aikido Randori and its matches. (Omitted) Randori has become a technique that is really wonderful. (Omitted) At one point, Tomiki Sensei had been thinking about whether or not he should devote himself only to Randori without competition, but finally, in the spirit of a young man, he decided to start a match (competition). Four or five years passed in the blink of an eye.
> The first difficulty was that when it came time for the match, students could not get his techniques right, and their 17 techniques were not as sharp as they were in Randori. (Omitted.) Research into protective gear is being carried out in parallel to prevent injury during matches and to make techniques easier to apply. In addition, since the rubber *Tanto* currently in use is not sufficient, we are hurrying to complete the research on the *Tanto* together with the members of the club.
> As a modernization of Aikido, Tomiki has taken the seventeen techniques that have been developed through *Toshu* Randori one step further in his research so that they can be used in "weapon-to-bare hand matches," or in other words, "knife-to-bare hand matches" instead of *Toshu* Randori.
> This is the beginning of a new field of research that has not yet been explored by those of you who have been devoted to the development of *Toshu* Randori and have been working diligently to this end.[44]
> At first glance, it may seem as if all of your efforts up to this point have come to nothing, but this is by no means the case. With this development as a foundation, the modernization of the level of "Mukou no Maki", where weapons vs. unarmed matches were traditionally considered only as virtuoso performances, will be completed. I would like to ask those of you who have already graduated from our club to unite with the current members and cooperate with him in his efforts to perfect the excellence of kobudo in the modern age.[45]

The following year, in December 1968, Tomiki took up the pen himself and wrote the following about the reasons for his progression from *Toshu* Randori to *Tanto* randori and his thoughts on *Tanto* randori research.

> The essence of competitive judo techniques is to subdue an unarmed opponent without the use of weapons. However, the peculiarity of competitive aikido lies in the control of an opponent with a *Tanto* without the

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[42] Journal of WUAC, No.39, p.15

[43] According to what Keikichi Naganuma heard from Nobuhiro Hiraoka (1967 captain) and Michiyoshi Toyosui (1967 chief of staff), Tomiki was extremely dissatisfied with the level of competition in the first Three University Tournament, saying that the players' performance was too low. When Hiraoka and Toyosui went to Tomiki Shihan to ask him to allow the tournament to be held again next year, Tomiki allowed the tournament to continue with the addition of a *Tanto* match. (Interview with Keikichi Naganuma, 2023.4.11)

[44] Yagyu Munenori, Heihō kadensho -appendix List of Yagyu-ryu heihō, revised and anotated by watanabe Ichiro Watanabe, Iwanami bunko, 1985, pp.98-101

[45] Journal of WUAC, No.7, p.3

use of weapons. In other words, it is a competition of bare handed versus *Tanto*.

Needless to say, this "technique," although historically an ancient jujutsu, should occupy a position as a third martial art, in contrast to kendo, which fights sword-to-sword, and judo, which fights bare-handed. This is because competitive Aikido has many "techniques" and variations thereof that are not found in either judo or kendo. In terms of technique, it is a synthesis of the principles of judo and kendo.

There are two overlapping reasons why that [bare handed versus *Tanto*] randori practice method has not been established to take advantage of the special qualities of "*atemi-waza*" and "*hiji-waza* (joint techniques)".

1 The "deed" must be dangerous in order to practice with free will activity on both sides.

2 The technical nature of controlling weapons with one's bare hands makes it difficult to make it a competition with equal conditions.

The reason why we must overcome these difficult circumstances and make it a competition is that in martial arts practice, it is difficult to acquire the function of a live "waza" unless one learns the procedures through kata and not only repeats them one-sidedly but also practices Randori through the free will of both practitioners. This is because it is also necessary to go one step further and experience a match where the mind and heart spark each other.

Since its founding, our club has devoted itself unreservedly to this ideal. I hope that the members of our club will continue to work as one to further our research in the future.[46]

Tomiki's reasons for not adopting *Tanto* randori were his perception of the risks involved and his belief that competitions should be held on equal terms. Thus, it is understood that the introduction of *Tanto* Randori was done after careful consideration.

3. Future direction - Significance of *Tanto* and *Toshu* Randori

(1) Significance of the *Tanto* Randori

Following Tomiki's decision, after the 3rd Three University Aikido Tournament, which was dominated by *Tanto* randori, students and aikido enthusiasts actively tried to make use of the "spirit of detachment. The reality, however, did not turn out that way, and bad scenes similar to those in the *Toshu* Randori gradually appeared, with both the *Tanto* side and the bare handed side trying hard to keep their bodies stiff in close proximity to each other. This new method of competition was also criticized harshly. Some people criticized this new method of competition, saying that it could be easily thrown with judo footwork, or that since victory was often decided by a *Tanto* thrust, it was not an aikido competition at all, but rather a "*Tanto* competition".

Of course, reforms were made in response to this. Scores were given only for techniques on the bare handed side, and only "*Toshu ken*" (the right to substitute for the bare handed side) could be taken away in *Tanto* thrusting.[47]

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[46] Journal of WUAC, No.8, p.7

[47] In *Tanto* Randori, the participants performed techniques while dodging the *Tanto*-bearer's thrusts, switching *Tanto*s after a minute and a half, and the number of techniques and thrusts were scored to determine the winner. The number of techniques and the number of thrusts were scored to determine the winner. This sometimes resulted in criticism from some people that the winner was determined by the skill of the *Tanto*, and this led to the nickname "*Tanto* competitions. The right to move to the "bare handed side" in the middle of the first half of the match by a valid *Tanto* thrust, even if the first half of the match is on the *Tanto* side. At first, this method was

This means that even if the *Tanto* thrust is good, it does not lead to points. In other words, it was thought that this would avoid the criticism that it was a "*Tanto* competition". In fact, Tomiki was relieved by this rule revision and passed away while anticipating new developments. However, a problem arose even here. The need for good *Tanto* thrusts remained unchanged even in contests where the competitors were fighting for the right to wrestle. If one player had good *Tanto* thrusts and good bodywork, he would monopolize most of the time of the first and second halves of the match, and he could no longer ensure equality with his opponents. In response to these problems, the rules were restored after Tomiki's death.

The next reform was to allow the *Tanto* side to use "*kaeshi-waza*" or *ura-waza*, as a counter technique. Shishida, one of the two masters at the time who was involved in this reform, believed that if both the *Tanto* and bare handed sides were allowed to perform bare handed techniques, the techniques would be more aggressive and the competition itself would be more active. This created a tense situation between the *Tanto* side and the opponent, and techniques such as hiki-otoshi were used more effectively, and it is true that some of these techniques have advanced.

However, the real serious problem was the normalization of situations in which both competitors (especially the *Tanto* side) faced each other head-on and attempted to counter-attack in close proximity, in such a way that judo footwork could easily reach them. Even the recognition that this was a strange state in which the "spirit of *Rikaku*" had been lost was lost. What accelerated this trend was the fervor for victory, especially in school matches, where winning within the rules was good enough.

Tomiki sought uniqueness in the martial arts in Aiki Randoris or Aikido Competitions. This is to maintain the characteristics of Aikido Randori, which can assert its value relative to judo, kendo, karate, and other forms of martial arts. This has been the case since the days of *Toshu* Randori. While we have a long history of *Tanto* Randori, we must not forget that its foundation is based on the training of both the left and right sides of the body through *Toshu* Randori.

After the 1969 Aikido Tournament between the five universities, Ohba said, "The characteristic of recent Randori practice is that, in addition to the traditional bare handed Randori, which we have been practicing with particular emphasis, we have changed to '*Tanto* Randori,' which is of course based on thorough mastery of left-right techniques. The recent Randori practice is characterized by the fact that, in addition to the *Toshu* Randori that we used to focus on, we are now mainly practicing *Tanto* Randori, after having fully mastered both left and right techniques." [48]

Ohba's deliberate emphasis on the phrase "with full mastery of left and right techniques" conveys the message that the foundation of *Tanto* Randori is, both artistically and historically, *Toshu* Randori. The key to improving *Tanto* Randori will be the spirit of *Rikaku*, the actual practice of techniques that enable the realization of the brilliance of *atemi-waza*, *kansetsu-waza* techniques, and *uki-waza*, and above all, the revision of the referee's rules to take advantage of this spirit.[49]

(2) Significance of *Toshu* Randori

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expected to avoid the criticism and to decide the winner by technique.

[48] Journal of WUAC, No.9,pp.11

[49] Shogo Yamaguchi proposes a proposal to clarify the difference between *Tanto* Randori and *Toshu* Randori and to reorganize it into a competitive format with a clearer spirit of *Rikaku*, once *Toshu* Randori is established. Yamaguchi, Shogo, Randori as a Lifelong Physical Education, Journal of WUAC, No. 59, 2020, p. 17

The significance and advantages of *Toshu* Randori have been clearly discussed by Shogo Yamaguchi at[50] . Table 1 summarizes his discussion. We would like to consider this with reference to this table.

Table 1: Advantages, Problems, and Countermeasures for *Toshu* Randori

Advantages of *Toshu* Randori	The Problem with *Toshu* Randori	Problem Countermeasures
Both bare handed and counter techniques can be performed at will from the left and right stance as standard.	(1) In bare handed Randori, it is easy to assume that the paired fighters will be in close proximity to each other and that a stalemate will appear while they are still engaged. This phenomenon could be further accelerated if the competition becomes more focused on winning the match. This is the reason why Tomiki has shifted his focus from *Toshu* Randori to *Tanto* Randori, and it goes without saying that countermeasures against this phenomenon are of the utmost importance.	(1) Formulate rules that do not fall into that category.
Expansion of the target range of the *atemi-waza* technique. The target area is wider than that of *Tanto* thrusts, including the face, back, torso, and knees.		
As a result of the above, there are more techniques that can be used for *kaeshi-waza* (counter techniques), and the development of *kaeshi-waza* against *kaeshi-waza* brings out the unique flavor of the attack and defense as in Judo or kendo.	The desire of competitors to win at all costs leads them to think of loopholes to win, no matter what rules are made.	The most important thing is for the competitors themselves to have a strong belief in establishing an aikido competition with spirit of *Rikaku*, and to have a dignified attack and behavior to achieve such a match. It is necessary to be educated by instructors on a regular basis so that one can think in this way. This is because the best rules are in one's own mind.
As a result, there is a great deal of room for creativity and ingenuity. For example, there is a possibility of the emergence of methods other than the "10 *Ura-waza* techniques".		
*Compiled from Shogo Yamaguchi, Randori as Lifelong Physical Education, Journal of Aikido Club, No. 59, 2020, pp. 16-17		

Yamaguchi explains that these advantages of *Toshu* Randori are the result of the fact that "in short, a variety of techniques can be deployed, and the match becomes a place where the real thrill of the competition can be fully enjoyed. This is an important element when considering the format of the competition. This is an important factor when considering the format of the competition. The realization of competition on "equal terms," as Tomiki calls it, is an important element in order to be welcomed by people in society who are accustomed to competitions on equal terms, such as judo and kendo, without feeling any sense of discomfort.

Yamaguchi's awareness of the issues of improving *Tanto* Randori and revitalizing *Toshu* Randori gradually became shared by the experts of the JAA, and in 2010, a trial study of the ideal form of *Toshu* Randori was begun

[50] Yamaguchi, Shogo, ibid., pp.16-17

by Tadayuki Sato, a JAA Shihan, and other volunteers. At the 2013 Kawasaki International Convention, the Association's research on *Toshu* Randori was introduced, and a demonstration including the trial rules was presented. The results of these studies were further discussed mainly by the Education Department of the JAA, and in 2019, the Tomiki Aikido International Tournament (Festival) was held in Spain, and the adoption of *Toshu* Randori was realized as an official competition event.

From the above discussion, it is clear that we must respect the efforts of our predecessors, maintain both *Tanto* Randori and *Toshu* Randori, examine the methods of training and the way they should be practiced, improve the rules of competition, and have a strong belief that the competitors themselves will establish an aikido competition that utilizes the "spirit of *Rikaku*".

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