

## HISTORIA / HISTORY

Carlos Gutiérrez García is an associate professor at the Faculty of Physical Activity and Sports Sciences of the University of León (Spain). He teaches some subjects related to judo and has been practising his sport since 1992, being 3<sup>rd</sup> Dan at present. He directs the *Revista de Artes Marciales Asiáticas* [Journal of Asian Martial Arts]. (www.revistadeartesmarciales.com) and has published several works on judo, martial arts and combat sports.

Mikel Pérez Gutiérrez has degrees in Teaching Training and Physical Activity and Sports Sciences. He works now as scholarship holder at the Faculty of Physical Activity and Sports Sciences of the University of León (Spain), following a research on martial arts bibliography. He has been practising shotokan karate for more than 20 years being 2<sup>nd</sup> Dan.

CARLOS GUTIÉRREZ GARCÍA, MIKEL PÉREZ GUTIÉRREZ  
Faculty of Physical Activity and Sport Sciences, University of León (Spain)

### **A study of the earliest books on martial arts published in Spanish / Studium o pierwszych hiszpańskich publikacjach dotyczących sztuk walki**

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On the basis of exhaustive searching and consultation of bibliographies and databases, this paper describes and analyses the earliest works on martial arts written in Spanish, published during the first two decades of the twentieth century. From this descriptive study, covering six complete books and sections from three others, it is possible to obtain an overview of the set of images that characterized *jujutsu* (the first martial art to spread to the West) as it first moved out of its homeland of Japan. These images were a consequence of a generally superficial and uninformed western point of view, and were linked to aspects such as exoticism, invincibility, elegance, its arcane character or its scientific nature as a complete gymnastic and sports system. There were, however, also more dispassionate views that saw it as just one more hand-to-hand combat skill. The lack of originality of the books considered can also be observed, since most of them are translations and/or adaptations of prior French, English or American publications.

#### **Introduction**

The beginning of the twentieth century constituted a pivotal point in the evolution of Asian martial arts. It was during this period that a process of what would nowadays be termed “globalization” began, in which *jujutsu* acted as the spearhead of a movement that reached not only the West, in the sense of Europe and North America, but also many other countries and continents.

Published books on *jujutsu* are one of the most interesting remains from this first period of martial arts in the West (see Dudenbostel 1943; Smith 1961; Nelson 1988; Brousse 2000; Pérez, Gutiérrez 2008). Rare and usually difficult to locate and purchase, they form a valuable legacy through which the ideas which arose about the new “art of combat” imported from Japan can be glimpsed.

This paper analyses a number of martial arts monographs published in Spanish during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Use was made of bibliographic details found in the catalogues issued by Llaverías (1910), Museo Pedagógico Nacional (1915), Blanco (1927), and Palau (1935, 1948/9), together with those in the on-line catalogues of the national and university libraries of Spain, and national libraries in other Spanish-speaking countries, to draw up a list of monographs (in Spain, see Pérez and Gutiérrez, 2008). It proved possible to locate and study copies of almost all of them. Only two could not be consulted: A. Koyama and K. Minami’s *La*

*lucha corporal japonesa [Japanese Body Wrestling]* (Barcelona: no publisher stated [1916])<sup>1</sup>, mentioned in Rufino Blanco's catalogue, and Mitsuyo Maeda's *Defensa personal al alcance de todos [Self-Defence Everybody Can Acquire]* (San Salvador: Tipografía Nacional [1913]), cited by Urbina (2006) in his work on the origins of modern sport in El Salvador. It is, of course, possible that other works were published without being listed in any of the catalogues mentioned above and thus are not known today.

***100 lances de jiu-jitsu (ataques y quites) [100 Jiu-Jitsu Techniques (Attacks And Defences)]***

Curiously, the earliest martial arts book in Spanish of which there is a record was not published in Spain or any Spanish-speaking country, but by the Parisian printing house of Veuve de Charles Bouret in 1906. This book, entitled *100 lances de jiu-jitsu. (Ataques y quites)*, was written by Émile André, translated by "C.D." and originally published in French under the title *100 coups de jiu-jitsu (coups et parades)*<sup>2</sup> in this same year.

Émile André was a well-known promoter of Physical Culture in France at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. He was also the author of several books on combat sports, two of which were translated into Spanish (see *References*). He was not, therefore, so much an expert on the Japanese style of wrestling as a specialist in combat methods in general who took an interest in the modern techniques of *jujutsu* as did other authors. He also took clever advantage of the atmosphere of insecurity existing in the French capital at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the fearsome delinquents known as "apaches" were very prominent in the press [Brousse 2000].

The book *100 lances de jiu-jitsu* comprises 137 pages, which are a close copy of the French original as regards both the translated text and illustrations. The Spanish edition adds at the end of the work a brief chapter of seven pages including some of the techniques described in *100 façons de se défendre dans la rue sans armes*. As for the illustrations, a great number of them had already appeared in two of André's previous books, *L'art de se défendre dans la rue* and *100 façons de se défendre dans la rue sans armes*, neither of them having any direct relationship with *jujutsu*. However, the author points out that a considerable portion of the method had already been known in France under the general term of wrestling (p. VI). This is the reason that he re-used some of the pictures from his previous works dealing with free-style wrestling.

In contrast, André claims he took Katsukuma Higashi, one of the main *jujutsu* teachers in the West at the start of the twentieth century, as his model for any particularly Japanese attacks and defences, relating to the novel and original part of jiu-jitsu, since it would be useful to have famous Japanese practitioners as demonstrators (p. XIX). Here it is possible to take issue with the author's statement, since most of the pictures of these "particularly Japanese" techniques are copied from those illustrating *The Complete Kano Jiu-Jitsu*, written by the American Harrie Irving Hancock together with Higashi, and published in New York in 1905<sup>3</sup>. The only real difference between the sets of pictures is that Higashi's partner is western in both appearance and clothing, while in the American edition this partner is a Japanese man dressed in *jujutsu* uniform. Such a change can be seen both as an attempt to hide the original source of the photographs and as an attempt to emphasize the self-defence nature of *jujutsu*, since the impression given by the original photographs is more of a sports activity.

<sup>1</sup> Supposedly based on the work of the same authors titled *Jiu Jitsu: The Effective Japanese Mode of Self Defense*. American Sports Publishing: New York. We did not analyse this book since we were uncertain of the similarities between the two editions.

<sup>2</sup> The work is undated. The publication date was extracted from Brousse (2000: 453). The Spanish edition was also published in 1909, 1911 and 1923. Editores Mexicanos reprinted the book in 1976 under the title *Método efectivo de defensa personal. Ataques y quites. 100 lances de jiu-jitsu [An Effective Method of Self-Defence method. Attacks and Defences. 100 Jiu-jitsu Techniques]*, for which Ceferino Domínguez (C.D.!) provided the translation.

<sup>3</sup> The French edition of Hancock and Higashi's book was published in 1908 under the title *Traité complet de Jiu-Jitsu. Méthode Kano*.

With respect to contents, the book falls into two principal parts. The first deals with blows and is described as attacks and defences replacing French boxing. The second covers throwing and grappling techniques and is entitled “Free-Style Wrestling Techniques”. The book also includes an introductory chapter and several much shorter chapters dedicated to re-animation techniques or *kuatsu*, to *jujutsu* and women, and to defending oneself against knives and similar weapons.

As mentioned, André clearly and deliberately angles his book towards the utilitarian aspect of *jujutsu* as a method for self-defence. He sits on the fence, in the sense that he admits the originality of *jujutsu* but repeats throughout his book that most of the method was already known in France under the name of free-style wrestling. Among the main innovations he lists as being introduced by *jujutsu* are: 1) Specific exercises such as those for falling, toughening oneself and evasion techniques and similar, 2) blows given with the edge of the hand, striking more localized targets than those given with the fists, 3) a more limited use of kicking in comparison with French kick-boxing (*savate*), 4) new twisting and joint locking techniques, 5) elaborate and varied footwork used in throwing techniques, 6) a detailed study of the vital points of the body, and 7) *kuatsu* techniques.

Similarly, he recognizes the agility, speed, flexibility and skill of Japanese wrestlers. Moreover, he notes that *jujutsu* had a certain number of attack and defence moves that can be used only by those both naturally skilled and highly trained (p. VIII). However, he also states that other techniques and methods of defence were more within the reach of mere average mortals and that jiu-jitsu did not require any great deal of physical energy, since the method tended rather more to allow the victory of ability and agility over pure strength (p. VIII).

With regard to *kuatsu*, the author mentions the secrecy that characterized its practice, saying that practitioners surrounded their science with a certain air of mystery, trying not to explain all its details, especially to westerners, then immediately questioning whether in fact there was any large number of secrets in this area still to be discovered. He concludes, at the end of this section, that some special knowledge was needed to apply *kuatsu* techniques properly, according to the various problems with which it could help (pp. 108–109). A similar duality marks the relationship he sees between women and *jujutsu*, recommending that women should in general not generally practise it, although perhaps learning a few blows that do not require much physical strength. He states that he does not see it as appropriate for elegant young ladies to spend time building up the strength of their knife hand or strangling pretty necks, saying it would be better for them to learn the beneficent art of *kuatsu*, since in all countries most self-defence techniques are not compatible with feminine gracefulness (p. 111).

He goes on to comment that what ladies can easily learn would be certain blows with the edge of the hand, which are effective without much strength being required, blows with the elbows and certain joint locking techniques on fingers, wrists or arms, since these do not need much force to be applied. He agrees that some such jiu-jitsu attacks might be appropriate for women. He counsels, however, that this should not be overdone, as they might study it too extensively, with concomitant risks to their husbands’ weak spots! (pp. 111–112).

In short, *100 lances de jiu-jitsu (ataques y quites)* is an eminently informative technical treatise in which the author maintains a balance between originality and unoriginality, ease and difficulty, mystification and demystification of *jujutsu*. This is not just a consequence of André’s attempt to study *jujutsu* in a comparative way, or publish an attractive book that would sell well. It is also the direct outcome of a historical context in which *jujutsu*, after at first sweeping triumphantly through the Parisian sports scene, had started to receive strong criticisms, reversing its former public image [Brousse 2000, pp. 189 and next pages]. Any description of *jujutsu* in glowingly positive terms would have been untimely and inappropriate for a serious writer like André. In fact, the Swiss Armand Cherpillod, a famous World Wrestling Champion of the beginning of the twentieth century, highlighted André’s work in his *Manuel de Jiu-Jitsu*, stating that he had been the first writer not to be overexcited about Japanese Wrestling and to have observed the facts as they were [Cherpillod 1910(?), p. 5].

However, the state of affairs in France was not like that in Spain nor, it would seem, in other Spanish-speaking countries [see: Gutiérrez 2003; Uequín 2005; Urbina 2006], where *jujutsu* was hardly known and was not to reach a period of “overexcitement” till some years later. Hence, the Spanish edition of André’s work can be seen as not suited to the times although it does clearly show the French influence in the spread of *jujutsu*.

***Tratado de Ju-jutsu y sus secretos*<sup>4</sup> [*Treatise on Ju-jutsu and its Secrets*]**

In 1907 Sada Kazu Uyenishi, “Raku”, inaugurated a period in which *jujutsu* was fashionable in Spain. In that same year, the Barcelona printing house La Ibérica rushed into print the work *Tratado de Ju-jutsu y sus secretos*. The date of publication does not appear in the book itself, but is quoted by Llaverías [1910, p. 99] and Palau [1948, I, p. 70], conferring on this work the privilege of being the first on *jujutsu*, and by extension on Asian martial arts, to be written and published in Spain. Its pioneering character is reflected in the prologue, which states:

In offering the public this modest tome, which has no great merit apart from that of being the first published in Spain, we are motivated by no other interest than to make known this form of wrestling, since both as self-defence and as a way of building up muscles it is far superior to any other forms of wrestling hitherto familiar (p. 5).

The authorship of the *Tratado de Ju-jutsu y sus secretos* is not indicated in the monograph, which merely claims that it is a translation from the Japanese by “C.D.T.”. However, the reality is that most of the book is simply a translation of the technical section of the French book *Les Secrets du Jiu-Jitsu*, written by Ernest Régnier in 1906 under the pen name of “Ré-Nié”, which brought him fame in Parisian sports circles [Brousse 2000]. Similarly, the remaining techniques explained in the book were taken from *The Text Book of Ju-Jutsu as Practised in Japan*, written by Sada Kazu Uyenishi “Raku”, and published in London in 1905.

Despite its lack of originality and sincerity, the *Tratado de Ju-jutsu y sus secretos* deserves particular mention. This is not just because it was a pioneering work, but also because of a series of “Nipponizing” features not present in the originals on which it is based. In this author’s opinion, this makes the book a jewel among the first martial arts books published in Spanish. Because of these features, the exoticism of *jujutsu* was stressed, as a method of fighting that was beginning to become known in Spain [Gutiérrez 2003; Gutiérrez, Espartero 2004].

In respect of its formal features, the work is bound in the traditional Japanese style, that is, with no spine. The pages are held together by two gilt threads, giving it an antique appearance. The front and back covers are black or blackish grey. The front cover is decorated with a picture in gold leaf with bamboos in the foreground, clouds, and in the background a circle symbolizing the sun or the moon, all these being Japanese motifs. The colours suggest that the original model was probably a piece of lacquer work.

An imitation of the traditional Far Eastern writer’s or artist’s signature seal or “chop” (adopted by some European artists of that time) appears at the bottom of the picture, consisting of a design with the initials of the artist geometrically placed, imitating Chinese characters. Finally, the phrase *JU-JUTSU*, in writing inspired by Japanese *katakana*, is located towards the right-hand side of the cover, laid out vertically. This feature is also an “Orientalization” process, as Sue-Hee [1988, p. 99] points out.

The numerous illustrations, totalling 43, scattered throughout the book, also exude exoticism. Each illustration is surrounded by a frame depicting bamboos and occupies a whole page. The practitioners shown are Japanese males. However, it should be pointed out that the models for the 38 photographs in Ré-Nié’s book (the original source for C.D.T.’s “translation”) had been Ré-Nié himself and his assistants, all of them westerners. In contrast, the *Tratado de Ju-jutsu y sus se-*

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<sup>4</sup> This section is based on the previous work of the author “Estudio de la obra tratado de Ju Jutsu y sus secretos, primer libro editado en España sobre las artes marciales” [A Study of the Book *Tratado de Ju Jutsu y sus secretos*, the First Martial Arts Book Published in Spain].

*cretos* shows an attempt to represent eastern practitioners. Moreover, these are shown with their hair partially shaved off in most of the drawings, following the samurai style. A further exotic feature of the book is the fact that the ink used for the text is red. Moreover, the pages are not numbered.

As regards the contents, the very title *Tratado de Ju-Jutsu y sus secretos* [*Treatise on Ju-jutsu and its Secrets*] refers to the mystery that surrounded this martial art. The book is divided into four parts: a brief but very interesting four-page Prologue, a second part of thirteen pages given over to Warm-up and Conditioning Exercises, followed by the two main parts. The first covers Fighting Secrets (a fresh reference to the mysteries of *jujutsu*) with a range of techniques running to ninety pages; the second gives a further explanation of Selected Attacks in *jujutsu*, amounting to twenty pages.

Hence, the work is primarily a technical handbook, from which certain parts of the originals were omitted. These include, from the work by Ré-Nié, the beginnings of *jujutsu* in Paris, *jujutsu* and its history, and advice about nutrition, breath and hygiene, and from Sada Kazu Uyenishi a very interesting introduction containing historical and training content, a chapter about balance, and the study of different types of grappling (take-downs). This lack of information shows the author's intention of creating a "recipe book" about *jujutsu*'s "secrets" or "tricks", the focus for the majority of readers. It seems likely that the techniques taken from Uyenishi's book and added in the Spanish edition were demonstrated in Barcelona by the master himself [see: Gutiérrez 2003; Gutiérrez, Villamón 2004]. Thus, those wrestling moves that were most amazing for the Barcelona audience when performed by Raku would have been remembered by the author.

Further, in addition to these "secrets", the Prologue includes references to most of the key points that defined the interest in Japanese Wrestling at the beginning of the twentieth century [Brousse, Matsumoto 1999; Gutiérrez 2006]. Among these, invincibility and the utilitarian approach of *jujutsu* may be cited.

From the point of view of self-defence, it can be demonstrated that *jujutsu* is the most fear-inspiring wrestling style in the world; its holds are formidable, so that dislocations, broken bones and quite often death can be its consequences. To understand this, it is enough to remember that there are some holds which even if executed merely for demonstration purposes could lead to the death of the adversary if not performed with the greatest care (p.6).

In fact, two of the moves explained in the book are classified as "mortal blows". However, the presentation of *jujutsu* also emphasizes its character as a complete Gymnastic System. After criticizing the poor bodily development achieved by the European method, due to the fact that it lacked harmony and balance, not getting all the muscles of the body to work to the same extent, the author points out that

the development produced by Ju-jutsu is a harmonious whole, which is why the strength of the neck and legs of ju-jutsu practitioners surprises us; the development triggered by this method leaves not the smallest muscle untouched, all being equally well developed; and, as is understandable, everyone who practises it shows the speed and confidence that are so impressive to us (p.6).

The sporting nature of *jujutsu* is also mentioned in the book. In contrast to boxing, brutal and subordinated to muscular strength, Japanese Wrestling is seen as an elegant and exciting way of fighting that does not degenerate into barbarity, in which agility wins over mere brute force. Thus, it is to be considered a noble and superior sport:

In *jujutsu* there are no restrictions like those in other types of fighting. Winning is not based on getting one or another part of the opponent's body into contact with the floor; it is necessary for the adversary himself to recognize he is beaten and see that all his efforts are useless, that he is completely at the mercy of his opponent and so, despite himself must admit defeat. Which other wrestling methods can reduce the opponent to helplessness without hurting him? Which has the advantage of being able to ward off any blow whatsoever, as this style does? It is not difficult

to understand this sport but because of its system, and the enormous difference between it and other sports, mastery of it can be gained only through a long, continued and systematic process (pp. 6–8).

This *Treatise on Ju-jutsu and its Secrets* could be considered as a book typical of the context of the fashion for things Japanese, particularly *jujutsu*, which affected Spain towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. The superficiality of the fashion for *jujutsu* (superficiality is an inherent attribute of fashions) is paralleled by the superficiality of the book itself, which covers certain topics that other, relatively numerous, European *jujutsu* books covered are simply not present. Similarly, the social presentation of *jujutsu* as the best Gymnastic System, an infallible method for self-defence, and a complete and noble sport is reflected in this book. The work is, to sum up, just one more example of the set of views that initially contributed to the mystification of *jujutsu* and by extension of martial arts in general.

***Breve tratado de jiu-jitsu. Principales llaves de defensa que usan los más renombrados campeones de la lucha japonesa [Brief Treatise on Jiu-jitsu. Main Defensive Holds Used by the Most Celebrated Champions in Japanese Wrestling]***

Some months after the publication of the *Tratado de Ju-jutsu y sus secretos*, and also in Barcelona, the printing house Viuda de J. Cunill published *Breve tratado de jiu-jitsu. Principales llaves de defensa que usan los más renombrados campeones de la lucha japonesa* [1908], a very short anonymous sixteen-page book launched during the peak of the craze for *jujutsu* in Barcelona. The year of publication is recorded by Llaverías [1910, p. 99] and Palau [1949, II, p. 431], who add that according to information from the publisher, the same year saw a second edition published, both of the print runs amounting to 2,000 copies, which clearly shows society's interest in *jujutsu*.

The book comprises a four-page introduction, descriptions of a total of six techniques (three throws, one leg lock, one arm lock and one strangling move) with their related pictures, and three pages on *kuatsu*. The pictures were taken from André's book *100 lances de jiu-jitsu (ataques y quites)*. It should be noted that the pictures included were modified, as André had done for his work. In this case, the expert illustrating the techniques is dressed in shorts instead of the long trousers of the French original, and also sports a slight moustache. It seems quite clear that a clever attempt is being made to hint at the figure of Sada Kazu Uyenishi "Raku", a real martial arts pioneer in Barcelona and Spain, although he is not referred to at any time.

Although the author states that the sole aim of the book is to give a general idea of the main defensive holds usually used by Japanese champions, it is also true that it does not stint its praise of *jujutsu*, the aim of which is stated to be to allow the weak a more equal situation in defending themselves against the strong, by means of agility and astuteness combined (p. 1). As the last paragraph of the introduction states:

Finally, and to conclude, it remains to say that Jiu-jitsu, besides being the best self-defence method in any unexpected incident at the hands of some ruffian, is a highly useful sport which, by emphasizing muscular development of the whole body, constitutes an excellent exercise programme for strengthening the human body. This is the main reason that the most advanced countries have recognized and adapted it as an exercise in body-building (p. 4).

As for *kuatsu*, the author leaves it enshrouded in mystery. He does not describe any specific technique, but merely stresses its "scientific" character and the difficulty of learning it, recommending that new practitioners should take great care in applying these complex and dangerous techniques.

*Breve tratado de jiu-jitsu* is thus another good example of a "fashion publication", aimed at a mass market consumer superficially interested in this activity. It contributes no new ideas, but just repeats images of *jujutsu* images characteristic of the early twentieth century.

### *Los secretos del “Jiu-Jitsu” [The Secrets of “Jiu-Jitsu”]*

Most books on *jujutsu* were published in Barcelona. Lagging far behind it, Madrid was the only other major Spanish city where works on the subject were published, although these publications were different in being included in periodicals. The first publication among these was the small work *Los secretos del “Jiu-Jitsu”*, published in instalments by the weekly *La Semana Ilustrada* between 9 January and 20 February of 1909, then later included in the collection *Biblioteca de la Semana Ilustrada*.

*Los secretos del “Jiu-Jitsu”* is a twenty-eight-page booklet with lavish illustrations, arising from the interest in *jujutsu* that was aroused in Madrid by the performances given by Sada Kazu Uyenishi “Raku”. This fact is highlighted by the author, who placed a picture of Uyenishi on the first page of the booklet and repeatedly referred to him in the text.

As for its formal aspect, the work is written as a piece of continuous prose, without chapters or sections. However, a distinction can be made between a first part of a more general nature and a second briefly describing various exercises and *jujutsu* techniques. The illustrations are not original, but rather copied from several books published in other countries: *The Text Book of Ju-Jitsu As Practised in Japan*, by Sada Kazu Uyenishi “Raku”, *Les Secrets du Jiu-Jitsu*, by Ernest Régnier, *Jiu-Jitsu Combat Tricks: Japanese Feats of Attack & Defense in Personal Encounter*, and *Physical Training for Women by Japanese Methods*, both by H. Irving Hancock.

Despite its brevity, the work contains a good deal of information, almost all of it simplifications and stereotypes, about Japan and *jujutsu*. This is presented in an excessively laudatory way, representing *jujutsu* as a panacea among systems for gymnastics and self-defence. Among its stereotypes relating to Japanese Wrestling are the following:

Invincibility and the supremacy of the weak over the strong:

Jiu-jitsu is not just an excellent means of defence; it lets the weakest and the calmest people fight with advantage against the strongest and most impulsive. (p. 5)

Twenty minutes of jiu-jitsu each morning will make the weak strong and give them the wherewithal to defend themselves against any attack. (p. 6)

It is a safeguard for men who are no Hercules, a valuable weapon always available for small and weak men to contend successfully against those armed with sticks, knives, and the like. (p. 7)

Thanks to jiu-jitsu we have the means to fight off the most fearful aggressions. (p. 10)

*Its scientific and elegant nature:*

Moreover it is a hygienic, practical, inexpensive and elegant sport, since most of its postures are really academic. (p. 5)

Some similar sports, such as wrestling and French or English boxing, demand a great development of muscular strength. All of this is useless for jiu-jitsu, which is more of a science than an exertion of effort. (p. 7)

Someone has rather wittily defined jiu-jitsu as “a Japanese method that allows one to smash an opponent without the slightest harm to the impeccable cut of one’s clothing”. (p. 7)

*Its hygienic and healthy character:*

It is in jiu-jitsu that the best solutions for neurasthenia are to be found. (p. 5)

Like gymnastics, and better than horse riding and fencing, jiu-jitsu should be included as a part of the hygiene of anybody who cares about his health and self-defence. It includes all the principles

of physical education and it can be practised by everybody, even by those of modest means, since no device or equipment is required for training in it. (p. 5)

*Its useful and practical nature:*

1. It can be considered as an excellent physical exercise and as a means of defence for those who are not strongly built. 2. It should be appreciated as a sport that gives its practitioners courage and confidence. 3. It can be practised equally well in town or country. 4. It exercises the brain just as much as the limbs and trunk. 5. It is an excellent antidote to laziness. 6. Opponents of different weight meet on equal terms. 7. It can be very useful for ladies forced to defend themselves in the street against brutal impertinences. 8. The police, who must often enter unlit premises, would gain a tremendous advantage from jiu-jitsu, since it is as effective in the dark as in the light. Arguments of this cogent sort lead us to the conclusion that jiu-jitsu must be considered as the most useful of sports. (pp. 11–12)

*Its esoteric quality:*

If learnt properly, jiu-jitsu offers ways to bring about immediately, at a given moment, the breaking of a limb or even the death of the opponent. (p. 7)

[...] it is well worth pointing out that jiu-jitsu includes extremely dangerous blows, which, struck in anger, can render a limb useless, damage numerous muscles, or even bring death itself. (p. 16)

As for the work's numerous stereotypes about Japan, these are related to a range of features such as customs, the type and way of life of the Japanese (diet, hygiene, physical activity, character, physical and mental strength, army, and others), all of them once again interpreted with excessive admiration as models to be followed by Spain, a former great power that had come down in the world. In the anonymous author's words, by means of *jujutsu* "[...] the Spanish Army would become the best in the world, capable of reviving in modern times brilliant pages from its glorious history that astounded the world in former centuries" (p. 10), since, despite his admiration of Japan, the Japanese were simply members of the "yellow race" (about this conception, see Rodao 2002), and thus inferior: "We belong to a race that is stronger than the yellow" (p. 10).

***Lecciones prácticas de Jiu-Jitsu [Practical Jiu-Jitsu Lessons]***

According to Uequín [2005], *jujutsu*/judo arrived in Argentina in 1906, when Captain Adolfo M. Díaz brought Yoshio Ogata and Kotoku Watanabe to the country to teach at the Military Naval Academy, these being two direct students of Jigoro Kano. After some years, in 1914, Óscar Vila, who described himself as "Argentinean Professor of Jiu-Jitsu" and "Former Instructor of the Police of the Province of Buenos Aires", published *Lecciones prácticas de Jiu-Jitsu*, a forty-six-page book that was probably the first in Argentina on the topic.

Óscar Vila, like Émile André, was a promoter of Physical Culture in his country, mainly in Santa Fe Province, who wrote various books such as *¿Conviene la gimnasia al sexo débil? [Is Exercise Advisable for the Fair Sex?]*, *Gimnasia Respiratoria [Breathing Exercises]*, *Ataxia locomotriz. Reeducción gimnástica de los músculos afectados [Motor Ataxia. Rehabilitation of the Affected Muscles through Exercise]*, and *Programas de Ejercicios Físicos para las Escuelas Primarias [Physical Exercise Programmes for Primary Schools]*. Professor Vila's experiences with respect to *jujutsu* are not known, but he may have been in contact with Mitsuyo Maeda "Count Koma", since a picture dedicated to the author by the Japanese champion appears on the fifth page of the book.

*Lecciones prácticas de Jiu-Jitsu* is a technical treatise divided into several sections, most of the first three of these (Prologue, Knowledge Necessary to Participate, Training) being a translation of Albert Surier's chapter on *jujutsu* in the encyclopaedia *Les Sports modernes illustrés [Modern Sports Illustrated]* (Paris: Larousse [1905]).

This introductory part continues in the form of three sections (Gymnastics in Jiu-jitsu, “competition” versus “free” Jiu-Jitsu, and “Jiu-Jitsu combats”) in which the distinction between “competition” and “free” *jujutsu* made by the author should be noted. The differences he sees are the difficulty and danger of the blows used in the latter.

After this classification, the two technical sections of the book describe 26 strikes and defensive techniques from “competition combat”, and 17 from “free combat”. The book ends with two final sections on *kuatsu* (as the author himself recognizes, this section was taken from Émile André, particularly from *100 lances de jiu-jitsu*) and a plan for distributing these techniques over a three-month course of 24 lessons. The book has no pictures except for the one of Maeda mentioned above and another with the author dressed in a decorated *gi*.

As noted, the author considers competition *jujutsu* to be the sporting display of the practice, describing some simple rules for “Jiu-Jitsu combats”. Free *jujutsu*, on the other hand, would what is brought into play for self-defence. However, Vila assigns various techniques to the two types of *jujutsu* for no apparent reason: for example, blows with the edge of the hand, forearm or foot, pressure applied to the Adam’s apple and ears, or the application of joint locking techniques to the neck are included in competition *jujutsu*. No justification of the order in which he proposes techniques should be taught is given, either.

Besides technical aspects, the introduction lists the various supposed properties of *jujutsu* that have been highlighted in respect of previous books (invincibility, elegance, healthy nature, and so forth):

In ancient times in Japan it was a sport and a defence method exclusively reserved to the noble Samurai caste, who retained clear physical superiority over the rest of the people thanks to Jiu-jitsu, and thus ensured their political control. (p. 11)

It is necessary for a Jiu-Jitsu fighter to feel confident of his invulnerability and the superiority of the fighting skills he possesses. (p. 15)

Thus, Jiu-Jitsu is a general culture of the body. (p. 15)

[...] because in Jiu-Jitsu agility and skill always triumph over brute force. (p. 16)

Óscar Vila’s book is, in short, another example of technical treatises on *jujutsu* adorned with colourful strokes of the imagination, such as sprang up at the beginning of the twentieth century and spread relatively quickly around the world.

***Destreza. Método práctico para prender, asegurar, conducir delincuentes y de luchar con éxito contra ellos si se oponen á la detención [Skill. A Practical Method for Gripping, Locking, and Leading Criminals and Fighting against them Successfully if they Oppose Arrest]***

Armies and Police Forces were one of the sectors of society most interested in *jujutsu*, both in Japan and elsewhere. From the beginning of the twentieth century, the armies of many countries such as Germany, Argentina, the United States, France, the United Kingdom or Italy hired specialists in Japanese Wrestling to provide instruction in various military institutions and corps [Brousse, Matsumoto 1999, 2005; Toschi 1993; Uequín 2005].

The interest taken by the Armed Forces of Spain in *jujutsu* came rather late, despite the fact that several publications described its usefulness and how it was being applied as a training method in the main armies of the world. In fact, the first book appearing in the context of the Armed Forces was not published until 1915, when other countries had had various treatises on the topic for some years previously [Dudenbostel 1943; Smith 1961; Nelson 1988; Brousse 2000].

*Destreza. Método práctico para prender, asegurar, conducir delincuentes y de luchar con éxito contra ellos si se oponen á la detención* is a seventy-five-page work published in the *Revista Técnica de la Guardia Civil [Technical Magazine of the Civil Guard]*. It is known that one of its authors, Captain Miguel Gistau Ferrando, wrote several military books, although it is not known what his relationship with *jujutsu* was, as is also the case for the other, Captain Songel.

Gistau and Songel's book is a technical treatise divided into different chapters describing various useful techniques for policemen: preventive methods, a range of ways of immobilizing a man, arresting a fugitive, different moves to bring a man to the ground, carrying a man on one's back, various ways of forcing a prisoner to march, defensive methods, defending oneself against armed criminals and leading prisoners. Two introductory chapters ("To the Reader.- The Importance and Necessity of this Information" and "General Concepts and Advice"), together with a conclusion, complete the book. The text is accompanied by 108 pictures illustrating the procedures described.

Although *jujutsu*'s influence is not specified in the book, it is very clear. In fact, most of the treatise is an adaptation of *Le Jiu-Jitsu pratique. Méthode de defense et d'attaque enseignant 100 moyens d'arrêter, immobiliser, terrasser, conduire ou emporter un malfaiteur, même armé* [Practical Jiu-Jitsu. A Method for Attack and Defence Teaching 100 Ways of Stopping, Immobilizing, Flooring, Leading or Carrying away a Prisoner, even if Armed], written by the Paris Inspector of Police Charles Péchard in 1906<sup>5</sup>. This influence can be seen in both text and illustrations, although it must be recognized that the authors of the Spanish version selected and reorganized the contents of the French original and added others, such as leading prisoners or "Risks of the Sabre to its User". The illustrations (photographs in Péchard's work, drawings in Gistau and Songel's) are similar except for the elimination of the kepi typical of French police.

It would seem that the absence of any references to *jujutsu* is totally intentional, a consequence of the period, when the fashion for *jujutsu* had come to an end and it was not necessary to recall its imagery to validate the methods proposed. These methods must have seemed quite novel, since the authors justified teaching them, despite the distrust they might arouse, by the fact that they were included in the training of police forces outside Spain.

The book, described as "Essential for Civil Guards, Watchmen, Security Police, Frontier Guards and, in general, all those responsible for protecting society" (p. 1), is perhaps the most serious work among all those published in this first period of the diffusion of *jujutsu* in Spain. Gistau and Songel reworked the material to make it specific and useful for the police and other security corps, giving it a deep sense of social service. In a practical way they justify the various procedures described, arguing the need to use them only when necessary and in a proportional way, and pointing out the value of continuous practice for controlling and mastering them to the full. They also abandon the stereotypes included in other books of the same period, although some few can still be found:

The individual attack and defence procedures which we shall explain do not require, as might be imagined at first sight, any great physical strength, although having it can be a great advantage. Use of these procedures tends to bring victory to skill and agility, leading intelligence to defeat brute force (p. 8).

Unfortunately, Captains Gistau and Songel's book did not achieve its desired impact, becoming a simple statement of intent, with no effective repercussions. This and other attempts to introduce Japanese Wrestling into the Spanish Armed Forces were not successful until many years later, in a second period in the development of *jujutsu*/judo [Gutiérrez 2003].

### **Other Books with Sections on Jujutsu**

This review of the earliest martial arts books published in Spanish ends with three works not specific to the topic, but which have a section or chapter given over to *jujutsu*. The first was entitled *Los Sports de moda. Foot-ball. Water-polo. Jiu-Jitsu* [Sports that are in Fashion. Soccer. Water-polo. Jiu-Jitsu], and was published in Barcelona around 1910<sup>6</sup>. No other work by, or refer-

<sup>5</sup> Date assigned by the *Catalogue collectif de France* ([http://ccfr.bnf.fr/rnbcv\\_visu/acc1.htm](http://ccfr.bnf.fr/rnbcv_visu/acc1.htm)).

<sup>6</sup> Date assigned by Rufino Blanco [1927, I, p. 415]. The date is unlikely to be earlier, since Lloverías did not refer to the book in his *Catálogo de la biblioteca del Gimnasio Colón* [Catalogue of the Gimnasio Colón Library].

ences to, its author, Baron René de Montespín, were found in searches<sup>7</sup>. Within the 123 pages of the book, the *jujutsu section* amounts to no more than 12, which are a literal translation of the chapter by Albert Surier mentioned above, published in the encyclopaedia *Les Sports modernes illustrés*. The total of twelve photographs that are to be found in the French edition are replaced by drawings, this constituting the sole difference between the two works.

The second book to be noted is *Modos de defenderse en la calle sin armas. Lecciones prácticas de boxeo, jiu-jitsu, lucha greco-romana, etc.* [*Ways of Defending Oneself in the Street without Weapons. Practical Lessons in Boxing, Jiu-jitsu, Greco-Roman Wrestling, etc.*], a 141-page work with several illustrations published in 1914 by Joan Bardina Castará under the pseudonym Dr. Saimbraum. The book was also reprinted in 1930 and 1939.

Joan Bardina (1877–1950), an eminent personality in the Catalan paedagogical renovation movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, was the author of several works relating to physical activity and hygiene<sup>8</sup>. There is no evidence as such of his having received instruction in *jujutsu* or other combat sports, but it is clear that he had a broad academic background, more than enough to allow him to compose an informative treatise on these subjects.

*Modos de defenderse en la calle sin armas* is a treatise oriented towards self-defence that draws together combat techniques from several styles. As the author himself says, “[...] we shall not refer exclusively to any one of these sports but rather take from each of them whatever it seems may be useful to the reader for self-defence” (p. 15). Hence, the book is divided in two parts; the first focuses on longer-distance techniques (punching, kicking, tripping, locks, head butts), while the second looks at hand-to-hand combat (defences against grips, blows, and defences against “apache” blows).

In this set of procedures, although in a dispassionate way, Bardina does recognize hand-to-hand combat and “locks” techniques as a great contribution made by *jujutsu*, since *jujutsu* “is a sport exclusively based on anatomic aspects, and it can be said that whoever uses it does everything possible to force the part of the body attacked to do the opposite of its natural functions” (p. 134). However, Bardina considers *jujutsu* inferior to boxing (a very popular sport at that time), recommending it as no more than a complementary method.

Finally, during the second decade of the twentieth century<sup>9</sup>, an anonymous author under the exotic and evocative pseudonym of Rit-Jou-Ku, published *Modo de defenderse sin armas. La defensa en la calle. Cómo hacerse inexpugnable* [*How to Defend Yourself without Weapons. Street Defence. How to Become Invulnerable*] (B. Bauza: Barcelona), a book included in the collection *Biblioteca de Sports y Juegos* [*Sports and Games Library*], described as essential for all good sportsmen (p. 6). It is a work of 127 pages illustrated with a total of 16 photographs, concentrating on self-defence from a technically eclectic point of view.

The book starts with a preface followed by eight chapters, one of them introductory (Defence Sports) and the rest dedicated to several types of techniques (Punching, Kicking, Head-butts, Locks, Jiu-jitsu Blows, a Pictorial Lesson on Weaponless Defence, and Jiu-jitsu Locks). According to the author, there is no ideal way of fighting, but it is a combination of several fighting systems that can give an individual effective self-defence. He thus considers that it could not be questioned that the real defence sport was boxing, rounded out with some lessons in Greco-Roman wrestling and jiu-jitsu (p. 17). However, he later rejects wrestling and concludes that a fusion or mix of boxing and jiu-jitsu is what constitutes a real defence system on the street (p. 56).

<sup>7</sup> Rufino Blanco [1927, I, p. 786] cited an edition of the book published in Paris around 1900 in his work *Bibliografía General de la Educación Física* [*General Bibliography of Physical Education*]. However, no reference to this supposed work is to be found either in Brousse (2000) or in the *Catalogue collectif de France*.

<sup>8</sup> See the Centre D’Estudis Joan Bardina website (<http://www.pangea.org/~jbardina/index.htm>), and particularly the catalogue of his works (<http://www.pangea.org/~jbardina/brpces09.htm>).

<sup>9</sup> The reference was taken from Antonio Palau y Dulcet’s *Catálogo de la biblioteca del Gimnasio Colón formado por Amadeo Llaverías y Rovirosa* [*Catalogue of the Gimnasio Colón Library Compiled by Amadeo Llaverías y Rovirosa*], in which a large number of references are incorporated into the original 1910 catalogue by Amadeo Llaverías. A later edition of the book running to 113 pages but without a date of publishing was also consulted.

Within his work, Rit-Jou-Ku, like Bardina, includes locks (on fingers, hand and arms) in the field of *jujutsu*, stressing their difficulty and effectiveness. It was not without good reason that *jujutsu* was based on “cleverness, shrewdness” and “an anatomic study of the human body, which tends to find the effortless way to cause the greatest pain for the opponent” (p. 55).

### Conclusions

As pointed out by Rodao [2002], at the start of the twentieth century the Empire of the Rising Sun showed two faces to the West. One was traditional Japan, an exotic, refined, distant and mythical land, home to the delicate *geisha* and the brave and loyal *samurai*. The other was Modern Japan, the new great power in the Far East, the origin of seasoned, disciplined and super-trained soldiers. These images were generally dominated by superficiality and paradox, the outcome of a profound lack of knowledge of Japanese culture. Both images were to have a particular impact on the assimilation of *jujutsu*. If the esoteric ancestral images of *jujutsu* related to traditional Japan, those referring to its gymnastic, sporting, scientific and “invincible” qualities corresponded to modern Japan.

An analysis of the first *jujutsu* books published in Spanish shows the consolidation of these initial views of Asian martial arts, arising at first in less permanent forms (exhibitions, challenges, lectures, articles in magazines and newspapers and the like). It also reveals a certain counterpoint in the shape of the view in some of these works that it is just a question of one more hand-to-hand combat system, with its own strengths and weaknesses.

Such an analysis also shows their clear lack of originality, most of them being translations or adaptations, more or less literal, of English or more often French works. This is unsurprising in a historical context in which the French point of view impregnated the worlds of art and fashion, as did the idea of the Far East. To paraphrase Klaus Berger [1993, p. 3], it might be said that it was not so much the culture of Japan that counted, or the objective reality of *jujutsu*, but simply those things that Parisian sports society wished to see and was capable of seeing<sup>10</sup>.

Taking into account this truth, the books under consideration, nevertheless, deserve to be highlighted both jointly and individually. Whether because of their attractive and exotic format, their contents, the wide diffusion they achieved at that time, or because of presenting to us outstanding personalities, institutions and deeds, they are key elements of inestimable value in reconstructing the history of Asian martial arts.

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<sup>10</sup> The original quotation from Berger is “What counted was not the culture of Japan, or even the objective history of Japanese art, but purely and simply those things that artists in Paris wanted to see and were capable of seeing”.

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FIGURES / RYCINY

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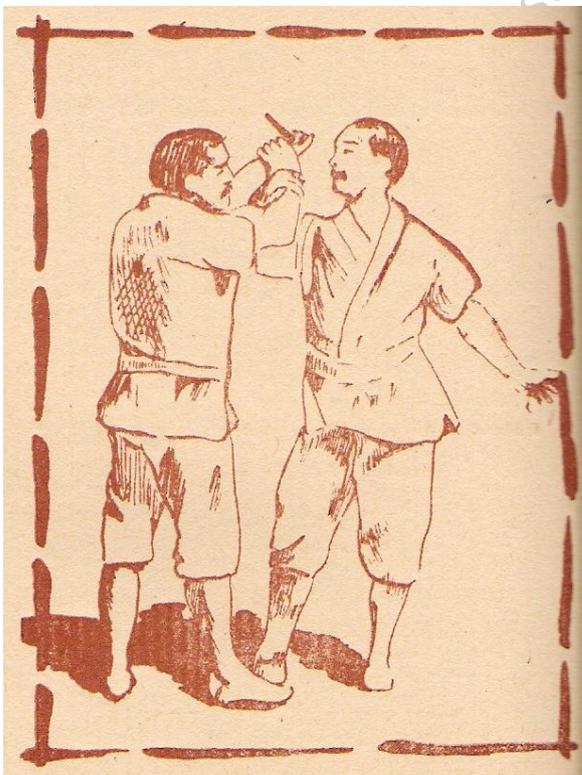


Fig. 44. — Lance de la horcajadura á la japonesa.

**Fig. 1.** Illustration from *100 lances de jiu-jitsu (ataques y quites)*. Compare with Fig. 2. / **Ryc. 1.** Ilustracja z książki *100 technik jiu-jitsu (atak i obrona)*



**Fig. 2.** Illustration from Hancock & Higashi's *The Complete Kano Jiu-Jitsu*. / **Ryc. 2.** Ilustracja z książki *Kompletne kano Jiu-Jitsu*. Autorzy: Hancock i Higashi



**Fig. 3.** Illustration from *Tratado de Ju-jutsu y sus secretos*. Compare with Fig. 4. / **Ryc. 3.** Ilustracja z książki *Traktat o ju-jutsu i jego sekretach*. Porównaj z ryciną 4



**Fig. 4.** Illustration from Ernest Régnier's *Les Secrets du Jiu-Jitsu* **Ryc. 4.** Ilustracja z książki Ernesta Regniera *Sekrety jiu-jitsu*



**Fig. 5.** Illustration from Destreza. Método práctico para prender, asegurar, conducir delincuentes y de luchar con éxito contra ellos si se oponen á la detención. Compare with Fig. 6. / **Ryc. 5.** Ilustracja z książki *Umiejętność. Praktyczna metoda chwytania, blokowania i prowadzenia przestępców i odniesienia sukcesów w przypadku oporu przy aresztowaniu*



**Fig. 6.** Illustration from Charles Péchard's *Le Jiu-Jitsu pratique. Méthode de défense et d'attaque enseignant 100 moyens d'arrêter, immobiliser, terrasser, conduire ou emporter un malfaiteur, même armé.* / **Ryc. 6.** Ilustracja z książki Charlesa Pecharda *Jiu-jitsu w praktyce. Metoda uczenia ataku i obrony, 100 sposobów zatrzymania, unieruchomienia, spoziomowania, prowadzenia lub niesienia więźnia nawet uzbrojonego*

## SUMMARY

On the basis of exhaustive searching and consultation of bibliographies and databases, this paper describes and analyses the earliest works on martial arts written in Spanish, published during the first two decades of the twentieth century. From this descriptive study, covering six complete books and sections from three others, it is possible to obtain an overview of the set of images that characterized *jujutsu* (the first martial art to spread to the West) as it first moved out of its homeland of Japan. These images were a consequence of a generally superficial and uninformed western point of view, and were linked to aspects such as exoticism, invincibility, elegance, its arcane character or its scientific nature as a complete gymnastic and sports system. There were, however, also more dispassionate views that saw it as just one more hand-to-hand combat skill. The lack of originality of the books considered can also be observed, since most of them are translations and/or adaptations of prior French, English or American publications.

**Słowa kluczowe: jujutsu, Japonia, wyobrażenia, bibliografia**

## STRESZCZENIE

Na podstawie dogłębnych penetracji baz danych i bibliografii, praca ta opisuje i analizuje najwcześniejsze dzieła o sztukach walki napisane w języku hiszpańskim, opublikowane w ciągu pierwszych dwóch dekad XX wieku. Z tej analizy opisowej, obejmującej sześć pełnych książek

i działa z trzech innych, możliwe jest uzyskanie przeglądu zestawu wyobrażeń, które charakteryzują *jujutsu* – pierwszą sztukę walki, która wyszła ze swej ojczyzny – Japonii i rozprzestrzeniła się na Zachodzie. Te wyobrażenia były konsekwencją ogólnie powierzchownego i zaślepionego zachodniego punktu widzenia i były związane z takimi aspektami, jak: egzotyka, bycie niepokonanym, elegancja, rodzaj jego sekretów lub też natury naukowej jako kompletny system gimnastyczny i sportowy. Zdarzały się jednak również bardziej obiektywne opinie mówiące, że widziano to jedynie jako umiejętności walki wręcz. Można stwierdzić brak oryginalności analizowanych książek, ponieważ większość z nich to tłumaczenia i / lub adaptacje wcześniejszych publikacji francuskich, angielskich lub amerykańskich.

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