Memory, modernity and children's literature in Japan: premodern warriors as national icons in nineteenth and twentieth century literature and curriculum

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Memory, Modernity, and Children's Literature in Japan:

Premodern Warriors as National Icons in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Literature and Curriculum

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Table of contents

Acknowledgements **5**

Introduction **7**

Chapter 1 Children and print in the Edo period **20**

1. The discourse on early modern concepts of childhood and children's books 22
2. The *ie* and filial piety 29
3. Auspicious children and Edokko identity in *nishiki-e* 35
4. *Ōraimono*: literacy and cultural knowledge 40
5. Children as an audience of popular literature 47
6. Yoshitsune in *ōraimono* and *kusazōshi* for children 60
    6.1 Representations of Yoshitsune in *ōraimono* 60
    6.2 Yoshitsune in *kusazōshi*: plots, characters, and iconographies 65
    6.3 Biographies of Yoshitsune 69
7. Representations of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Murasaki Shikibu 74
    7.1 Hiyoshimaru, a difficult boy 78
    7.2 The *retsujo* Murasaki Shikibu 81
8. Conclusion 84

Chapter 2 Historical exemplars in Meiji and Taishō period elementary education **87**

1. The Meiji state and the school system 89
2. The Imperial Rescript on Education 93
3. Herbartian pedagogy 96
4. Primary school textbooks 103
5. Historical exemplars in textbooks 110
    5.1 Minamoto Yoshitsune 110
    5.2 Toyotomi Hideyoshi 118
    5.3 Murasaki Shikibu 124
6. Conclusion 132

Chapter 3 Meiji youth literature and historical exemplars **135**

1. Meiji youth literature: the semiosphere and cultural memory 137
2. Youth magazines and the young citizen 143
3. Historical exemplars in Meiji youth magazines and book series of the 1890s 147

3.1 Historical exemplars in youth magazines 148
3.2 Exemplary women 156
3.3 War tales as youth literature: two biographies of Yoshitsune 160
4. Literary language and perceptions of the young audience 168
5. Iwaya Sazanami on young citizens and the concept of youth literature 172
6. Spirited boys in Iwaya's *Nippon mukashibanashi* and *Nippon otogibanashi* 175
6.1 The strong-willed, brave boy Ushiwakamaru 176
6.2 Hiyoshimaru, the epitome of *wanpaku* 180
7. Conclusion 184

Chapter 4 Childlike warriors: Taishō picture magazines and *rekishi dōwa* **187**
1. Concepts of childhood and the middle class in the early twentieth century 189
2. The pantheon of heroes in the picture magazine *Yōnen gahō* 194
2.1 *Yōnen gahō* 196
2.2 Iconographies of Yoshitsune 200
2.3 Picture-explanation: the *katei* as 'dual audience' 207
2.4 The larger picture: imagining national history 210
2.5 Play and gendered spheres 213
3. 'Childlikeness' in *rekishi dōwa* about the Genpei War 218
4. Conclusion 230

Conclusion **232**

Appendix: plots and characters related to Yoshitsune **238**

Image credits **240**

Bibliography **243**

Summary (English/Dutch) **255**

Curriculum Vitae **263**

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Introduction

Over three decennia ago, Nira Yuval-Davis asked why 'women are usually "hidden" in the various theorizations of the nationalist phenomena'.[1] The same can be asked of children. The role of the education system in the nation-state has been addressed by Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm, namely as a tool for the standardization of the national language and the creation of colonial subjects.[2] This indeed happened in Japan as well. Following the Meiji restoration (1868), the new Japanese government identified compulsory elementary education and the subject of *kokugo* 国語 (national language) and ethics as one of the most important building-blocks for the young nation-state, and later also applied the method to its colonies.[3] However, the connection between childhood and the nation-state did not merely exist in the creation of citizens through the instrument of the school: by the late nineteenth century, new print media also started to address the 'young citizen'. Moreover, the efforts to mould children into ideal citizens by various parties went together with an increasing discursivity of childhood in imaginations of the nation-state.

As pointed out by the anthropologist Sharon Stephens, not only gender, but also (interrelated) concepts of childhood and adulthood are pivotal in the internal structuring of modern nation-states.[4] Within the internal structure of the nation-state specific roles are associated with and allotted to women (such as the care for future citizens) and men (such as defending and protecting the domestic places), which also reflect hierarchical relations in social life.[5] Like 'womanhood' and 'manhood', constructed ideas were (and are) applied to childhood and the dichotomous state of adulthood. The perceived needs and nature of 'the child' are for example used to validate political agendas.[6] Children are also cast as symbols of the nation's future, and definitions of 'normal' childhood can work as justified control of families who do not behave in the interest of the state. Childhood might resist deconstruction even better than gender, as it appears to be a natural state determined not

[1] Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation*, 2.
[2] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism.*
[3] Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*; Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*. For *kokugo* education in colonial Taiwan see Holca, 'Insularity and Imperialism'.
[4] Stephens, *Children and the Politics of Culture*; Stephens, 'Editorial Introduction'.
[5] Stephens, 'Editorial Introduction', 6–7.
[6] Stephens, 8.

only by biological difference from adulthood, but also by cognitive and psychological immaturity. Zsuzsanna Millei and Robert Imre observe that during the late nineteenth century, the idea of children going through 'advancements', as discovered by new sciences such as psychology and pedagogy, became entwined with the idea of the development of nations from primitive to advanced.[7]

In this thesis, I will analyze the role of children's literature in Japan's nation-building process. Christopher Kelen and Björn Sundmark in the edited volume *The nation in children's literature* state that 'the emergence of modern nation-states [in Europe] towards the end of the eighteenth century and the rise of children's literature in the same period is not coincidental'.[8] Neither is it coincidental that Japanese youth literature emerged as a new genre in the 1890s, when after two decennia of focus on political and technical modernization, the government and intellectuals turned their attention to the creation of a sense of nation among the citizens. As observed by Benedict Anderson in his *Imagined Communities*, the nation is an abstract concept, yet demands loyalty and faith from the subjects.[9] An appeal should thus be made to the emotions, at the earliest possible age. Adults are in charge of passing on the knowledge and ceremonials. Kelen and Sundmark moreover stress that youth literature is more than an instrument, as 'the manner in which children and childhood are represented in a dedicated literature will affect a nation's self-understanding; conversely, the way a nation wishes to see itself will have a bearing on the possible ways in which children and childhood can and may be represented'.[10] I will on the one hand, address the instrumental role of Japanese children's literature in the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō (1912-1926) period; on the other hand, I will ask what this new genre meant to the self-understanding of the adults who developed it.

Many book series for Japanese children (initially mainly teenage boys) in the 1890s were devoted to historical fiction, that brings the past and future (i.e., children) of the nation together. The most obvious transmitter of cultural memory is public history, a valued and contested commodity of the nation-state.[11] The earliest history series were published in reaction to the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890), that promoted the

[7] Millei and Imre, 'Introduction', 5–6.
[8] Kelen and Sundmark, *The Nation in Children's Literature*, 1.
[9] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
[10] Kelen and Sundmark, *The Nation in Children's Literature*, 4.
[11] Wilson, 'The Past Re-Imagined', 112.

creation of loyal citizens through education. The Rescript in fact merely introduced the constituent abstractions of the Japanese nation, that were, as discussed by Carol Gluck, consequently explained by many 'ideologues' who disseminated their views in the print media.[12] But how to make children understand, or rather, 'feel' that they are national subjects? The guidelines from the Ministry of Education stipulated an integrated curriculum, in which historical icons were used to teach not only national history (as a lineage of 'Great Men') but also exemplary dispositions. However, much more elaborate narratives and imagery were created by authors, illustrators, and publishers in the commercial realm. The use of exemplary icons in the curriculum has been addressed in the research on Japanese education[13], but the development of narratives and imagery surrounding heroes from Japanese history in youth literature has not.[14] If the Japanese pioneers of youth literature were simply repeating the government's ideas, why would they not just leave it to the Ministry of Education, textbook-makers, and teachers to create good citizens? From the perspective of 'instrumentality', I will ask how the lives of historical warriors were canonized and adapted in youth literature to fit various modern ideals, and how these concurred or contrasted with the metaphors of good citizenship in textbooks.

Most historical narratives for children were not selected directly from the available historical sources, but based on premodern war tales and warrior legends, that had been dramatized extensively in popular culture during the early modern period or Edo period (1600-1868). One obvious question that I will address is: what did authors take, and what did they leave away, and what does this say about their ideals and concept of the young reader?

As already hinted at above, this re-writing of warrior legends as youth literature can also tell us more about the modernization process of literary categories and the role of youth literature in cultural memory. The shift from premodern to modern literary categories has only been addressed from the perspective of 'adult' literature. Edo period popular literature, so-called *gesaku* 戯作, was in the Meiji period re-evaluated as decidedly 'unmodern' and

[12] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*.
[13] E.g., Tsurumi, 'Meiji Primary School Language and Ethics Textbooks'; Fridell, 'Government Ethics Textbooks in Late Meiji Japan'; Cave, 'Story, Song, and Ceremony'.
[14] Jason Karlin's study of adventure stories for adolescents in the early twentieth century identifies voices of protest against the Meiji government (Karlin, 'Narratives of Heroism in Meiji Japan'.), but does not place this tendency in the wider context of children's literature. Henry David has addressed the allegorical function of the folk hero Momotarō in imaginations of the Japanese empire, which is not unrelated to my case study of Yoshitsune (as I will discuss in chapter two), but he is not a historical figure (Henry, 'Japanese Children's Literature as Allegory of Empire'.)

therefore rejected by authors seeking to reform Japanese literature. The modern re-conceptualization of war tales has also been studied from the perspective of literature for adults, and intellectual discourse. As shown by David Bialock, Japanese literature scholars of the late Meiji and Taishō period redefined war tales such as the fourteenth-century *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 ('The Tale of the Heike') as 'classic' or 'epic', in other words, as national literature.[15] However, youth literature has no place in such theorizations. The unmodern was foremost to be separated from the *modern, adult male*, but the connection to the past was not to disappear entirely: the Edo period also offered 'suitable past' for the legitimization of the modern nation.[16] Suitable past also needs a suitable medium and audience. What better place than youth literature, a modern genre for those who are not yet adults, but will (ideally) internalize what they have read and seen?

Both linear histories of youth literature and deconstructionist theories that consider youth literature to be the result of paradigmatic change in the early twentieth century, do not adequately explain the role and nature of youth literature in the Meiji period. There exists no 'linear' history of Japanese children's literature in the English language, nor any other kind of comprehensive book-length study. Instead, quite influential seems to be Karatani Kōjin's (translated) book chapter on the 'discovery of the child' in Japan, in which he argues that there was no concept of youth literature in the premodern period, and that also Meiji authors of youth literature 'discovered neither "literature" nor "the child"'.[17] He more specifically refers to Iwaya Sazanami's 巌谷小波 (1870-1933) early work *Koganemaru* こがね丸 (1891), that is canonized in the Japanese histories as the first modern Japanese children's book. Japanese scholars of the history of children's literature in his opinion wrongly try to identify a 'continuity' from the Edo period to the modern period. In contrast, like Philippe Ariès in his *Centuries of Childhood* (1960), Karatani argues that the concept of the child appeared with modernity. This modern concept crystallized in Europe under influence of Romanticism and psychology and was consequently imported in Japan in the early twentieth century, which contrasts with the child as an object of instruction of the Meiji state, and the absence of 'the' concept of the child in the Edo period. Youth literature would moreover follow the discovery of interiority in modern literature for adults (confessional

[15] See, for example, Bialock, 'Nation and Epic'.
[16] Gluck, 'The Invention of Edo'.
[17] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 116–17.

literature, Naturalism). Karatani argues that before this discovery there was no children's literature, i.e., children's literature was the result of a paradigm change.

Japanese histories of children's literature in Japan find, for example, 'proto forms' of youth literature in the eighteenth-century picture books known as *akahon* 赤本 ('red cover books'). This has been used to prove that Japan was on its way to a modern concept of childhood and children's literature on its own. But can this literature be properly understood by measuring it against 'the' modern (we can add Western, middle-class) concept of the child? I will first investigate notions of childhood in the Edo period and what 'books for children' would mean in *this* context. Second, I will re-assess the Edo-Meiji divide through the lens of cultural memory. In chapter three, I re-examine various late-nineteenth century adaptations of popular warrior legends for children and the author's essays through the lens of Juri Lotman's theory on cultural memory. In Lotman's spatial model of culture, or semiosphere, foreign codes and concepts are translated into internally intelligible communications in the periphery of a given cultural sphere, in an ongoing process of 'creative memory'. The experimentation with applying the foreign codes of youth literature to Japanese early modern material was instrumental in the phasing out of structures of early modern text generation and the shaping of the new semiosphere of modern youth literature.

As mentioned above, *Koganemaru* (1891) is canonized as the first modern Japanese children's book. However, rather than identifying a single book as the original and representative work of a new type of literature, I will consider the 1890s to be the period in which authors started to explore the concept of a separate literature for children as it existed in the West. *Koganemaru* was the first part of a series titled *Shōnen bungaku* 少年文学 which is also the first Japanese term for 'youth literature' or 'children's literature'. However, despite the bold declaration of the commencement of this new literary genre, what followed was a period of experimentation. From the perspective of books for children, we might speak of a 'long Edo period' that lasted till the 1880s and was followed by a period in which both the material and existing modes of representing narratives were re-assessed to truly fit the modern age.

Childhood intersects with expectations of gender roles: boys and girls, or boyhood and girlhood were imagined differently, with the future roles of citizens in mind. This thesis focuses on boys: not only finds Japanese youth literature its roots in books and magazines

that were (mainly) written for boys, but 'boy's literature' is also largely absent from the Anglo-American research on Japanese (children's) literature. Whereas the early twentieth-century literature for *shōjo* 少女 (teenage girls) has drawn attention in the context of the ideal of the *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母 ('good wife, wise mother'), the creation of a literature and modern role models for boys that reach back to the late nineteenth century are taken for granted. For example, in the quite recent *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature* the sole chapter on youth literature - in the wide sense - is a chapter on *shōjo* manga.[18] This literature 'for boys' was not inconsequential for girls: it established for example the way in which the nation's history was imagined and narrated well into the twentieth century. The narratives furthermore taught *both* boys and girls how they should position themselves on the axis of age-appropriate and gender-appropriate behavior, and within in the nation's constellation.

Whereas authors in the early 1890s mainly envisioned an audience of male teenagers, the scope gradually widened, leading to the development of narratives and modes of address (written language and illustrations) for younger children. This thesis is mainly concerned with the adaptation of warrior legends in literature for children of primary school age, but also pays attention to the literature for teenagers for whom the first book series and magazines were developed. Children's Literature Studies, or the Japanese *jidōbungaku kenkyū* 児童文学研究, encompasses the study of literature intended for kindergartners to adolescents. 'Children's literature' is the most common umbrella term while 'youth literature' is used both synonymously and to refer to children's literature that asks for a comparatively high literacy. I generally use the term 'youth literature' when the text presupposes a literacy level that in the contemporary context can be associated with older children or adolescents ('youths'). As Yoko Koyama-Siebert explains, the Japanese terms used to describe young people and the literature intended for them, as well as what these terms signified, changed over time.[19] Most important here are the terms *shōnen* 少年 and *yōnen* 幼年. Whereas in the 1890s these both referred to 'children', in children's literature of the early twentieth century *shōnen* (teenage boys) came to be differentiated from *yōnen* (young children) and *shōjo* (teenage girls).

Most heavily investing in historical fiction for children was the Tokyo-based publishing house Hakubunkan 博文館, on whose magazines and book series I will focus.

[18] Shirane, Suzuki, and Lurie, *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*.
[19] Koyama-Siebert, 'Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in Japan'.

Hakubunkan's publications feature very positively in the memoirs of various authors who grew up in the last two decennia of the Meiji period. Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886-1965) in his *Yōshō jidai* 幼少時代 ('Childhood Years', 1955-56) not only wrote of his enthusiasm for the serialized stories in the Hakubunkan magazine *Shōnen sekai* 少年世界 ('Youth's World') but also of his deep investment in the publisher's history series.

> Yoda Gakkai's *Lord Toyotomi* was another novel that was serialized over a long period in the same magazine [*Shōnen sekai*], and it marked the beginning of my interest in historical fiction. … I must not omit the name of Ōwada Takeki, the author of *Tales from Japanese History* [*Nippon rekishitan* 日本歴史譚, 1896-99]. … It consisted of a series of twenty-four volumes, beginning with "The foundation of Japan", with illustrations by Yamada Keichū, and ending with "Weihaiwei" [about Japan's victories in the First Sino-Japanese War], illustrated by Koyama Mitsukata. I read most of the series, and found it hard to put aside some volumes, reading them over and over again: "Lord Sugawara" (illustrated by Kajita Hanko), "The Soga Brothers" (Ogata Gekkō), "Sagami Tarō" (Yamanaka Kotō), "Kurō Hangan Yoshitsune" (Tsutsui Toshimine), "Akushichibyōe Kagekiyo" (Mizuno Toshikata), "Lord Kusunoki" (Kobayashi Eiko), "Prince Morinaga" (Utagawa Kunimatsu), and a number of others.[20]

Tanizaki read these books around or before the age of thirteen. What attracted him most were the characters, some of whom (Yoshitsune and Kagekiyo) he remembered from Kabuki performances he had seen as a little boy (and belonged to his first memories). These books, next to the lessons in classical literature by his teacher, inspired him to buy 'grown up' versions such as the war tale *Taiheiki* 太平記 ('Chronicle of Great Peace', late 14th century), that had just appeared in Hakubunkan's Teikoku Bunko series, and for which he went straight to the publisher.[21]

Tanizaki however also had an idol in the land of the living: namely the author Iwaya Sazanami, who, with his *Shin Hakkenden* 新八犬伝 ('New Hakkenden', a serialized adaptation of Takizawa Bakin's *Hakkenden* in *Shōnen sekai*, 1898) gave him 'the first real taste of the pleasures of fiction'.[22] Since the publication of *Koganemaru*, Iwaya had written many

[20] Tanizaki, *Childhood Years*, 225.
[21] Tanizaki, 157–58.
[22] Tanizaki, 223.

other works that earned him this star status among boys, and he was also the editor-in-chief of *Shōnen sekai*. Tanizaki's remark would have greatly pleased Iwaya, as he made it his lifework to stimulate children's imagination, getting into disputes with contemporaries about the 'bizarre ideas' that he presented to children. Although Iwaya has a bleak reputation outside the Japanese sphere of children's literature studies, he should be seen as an innovator in the Meiji period, who in the Taishō period also kept giving new form to his ideas in the diversifying arena of children's literature (with Hakubunkan's support). Next to Lizbeth Piel's study of the reception of *Koganemaru*, there is only David Henry's article on Iwaya's adaptation of the folktale *Momotarō* 桃太郎 ('Peach Boy', 1894), which he interprets as an 'allegory of empire'.[23] Empire indeed played an important role in Iwaya's understanding of Japan's 'maturation' as a nation, but this must be placed in a more complex process of discovering and disseminating his notion of the ideal citizen, at variance with the government. *Momotarō* was the first volume in the series *Nippon mukashibanashi* 日本昔話 and the sequel *Nippon otogibanashi* 日本お伽噺 that spans a total of forty-eight volumes. The latter series introduced similar characters and themes as Ōwada Takeki's *Tales from Japanese History* but for the first time sought to speak to the imagination of pre-teens. I will zoom in on Iwaya's essays and rewritings of warrior legends and discuss how he experimented with applying the Western codes of fairy tales and youth literature to the Edo period legacy of warrior legends that circulated in cultural memory.

Tanizaki mentions all the names of the illustrators in his memoir, and the pictures played an important role in his boyhood reading experiences. Hakubunkan attracted some of the best illustrators, whose prints were also displayed at bookstores, which formed a daily free attraction for Tanizaki and his friends.[24] Takeuchi Keishū's illustrations of Iwaya's *Shin Hakkenden* contributed to Tanizaki's yearning 'for that world of the *New Hakkenden* the way an adolescent going through puberty yearns for love'.[25] The illustrations that went with the stories about exemplary historical icons were largely based on premodern iconographies, as seen, for example, in woodblock prints and picture books from Edo, or *kusazōshi* 草双紙, about famous heroes. Such works were strongly associated with an audience of children, upon which I will elaborate in chapter one. In other words, the scenes to be illustrated were

[23] Piel, 'Loyal Dogs and Meiji Boys'; Henry, 'Japanese Children's Literature as Allegory of Empire'.
[24] Tanizaki, *Childhood Years*, 82.
[25] Tanizaki, 223.

largely pre-determined and can be studied in similar ways as the text, as 'material' that was used to negotiate between premodern and modern concepts. (How this phenomenon challenges the way in which book illustrations are generally understood and studied, I will address in chapter four.) These iconographies came to play an even larger role in initiating children into the history of the nation in the Taishō period, when picture magazines employed the iconographies as a method to familiarize preliterate children with the heroes and legends.

Main case studies throughout this thesis focus on representations of the generals Minamoto Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159-1189) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598). They both served as exemplars in textbooks as well as modern youth literature, and the representations reflect the various ideals of the makers. Yoshitsune was a popular hero among children in the early modern period. Legends about the young Yoshitsune, also called Ushiwakamaru, were adapted in modern primary school textbooks and he is the first historical general taken up by Iwaya Sazanami in his two book series that introduced folktales and warrior legends. Ushiwakamaru was in the early twentieth century furthermore cultivated as a hero for preliterate children: he is depicted more often than any other warrior in the picture-magazine *Yōnen gahō* (discussed in chapter four). Hideyoshi was further removed from the fairy-tale world, and canonized in textbooks as one of the Great Men and an embodiment of the Meiji slogan *risshin shusse* 立身出世 ('rising in the world'). The young Hideyoshi (Hiyoshimaru) was according to early modern legends however also a difficult and violent boy, a trait that Iwaya used to challenge the government's interpretations of citizenship.

Yoshitsune and Hideyoshi were not presented in a vacuum, so next to the representations of these icons, I will discuss how these representations related to the formation of a modern canon (or pantheon) of national icons, that apart from many other martial heroes also included some scholars and politicians, and a (very) small number of women. The latter often originated in the early modern canon of *retsujo* 列女 (exemplary women), or were the wives of famous men. The only historical female figure with a relatively stable presence in the 'main canon' as presented in modern elementary school textbooks was Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (born around 973), the author of *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 ('The Tale of Genji'). How was Murasaki Shikibu made to fit within the male-

oriented canon of exemplary historical figures? I will analyze the representation (or absence) of Murasaki Shikibu in textbooks and the magazines for boys. A full consideration of the modern representation of exemplary women from Japanese history is however out of the scope of this thesis. I imagine this would start with the representation of *retsujo* in girl's and women's magazines (as shortly addressed in chapter four), and the question of how important Japanese historical role models were thought to be for women. Florence Nightingale seems to have been a more popular exemplar than Murasaki Shikibu.[26] Which brings me to another caveat: the lives of heroes from the West, like Napoleon, Alexander the Great, and various American presidents, were also dramatized in Meiji youth literature, next to their Japanese counterparts. I also leave these out of scope, as my main concern is with exemplars who are also part of a transformation of premodern warrior legends to modern youth literature.

Hideyoshi's main exemplary function in the Meiji and Taishō period was in his remarkable *shusse* 出世 ('rising in the world') from farmer's son to unifier of Japan. Popular representations that already highlighted this remarkable ascendance, as well as Hiyoshimaru's unruliness, developed rather late in the Edo period. Murasaki Shikibu was in the early modern period canonized as a learned and beautiful woman of exemplary character, yet no legends formed around her childhood. Yoshitsune on the other hand was one of the most extensively dramatized figures in early modern literature and visual culture, including picture books aimed at children. He was a general who led several successful battles during the Genpei War (1180-1185) under orders of his half-brother Minamoto Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199), the first Kamakura shogun. Some historical facts related to Yoshitsune, and many legends, came together in Muromachi period (1336-1573) war tales, such as *Gikeiki* 義経記 ('The Chronicle of Yoshitsune') and *Heike monogatari*, and were dramatized in the noh theater and other performance traditions. Ivan Morris interpreted Yoshitsune as the quintessential 'tragic hero', based on his reading of the war tales *Gikeiki*, *Heike monogatari* and the noh play *Ataka* 安宅.[27] However, in the context of early modern popular print and modern youth literature, it is far more helpful to consider Yoshitsune the pivot in a cycle of plots and characters originating in a wide variety of sources (including the above). The most important 'side character' was Musashibō Benkei 武蔵坊弁慶 (1155–1189),

[26] See Kawana, 'Romancing the Role Model'.
[27] Morris, *The Nobility of Failure*.

a warrior monk who was Yoshitsune's most loyal retainer, and his antithesis in stature and personality. Edo period playwrights and other authors and artists continuously mulled from the body of plots and characters from what in contemporary playwriting terms was called the Yoshitsune *sekai* 世界 (world). The Genpei War was moreover used as a setting in which contemporary social and political issues could be addressed, as direct critique and 'recent' history related to the reigning samurai clans was censured. Shimazu Hisamoto in his *Yoshitsune densetsu to bungaku* 義経伝説と文学 ('Yoshitsune Legends and Literature', 1935) lists eighteen main plots distributed over the sections 'Ushiwakamaru period' (referring to Yoshitsune's boyhood name), Yoshitsune's 'triumphant period' (plots related to his actions as a general), the 'period of despair' (when he was out of favor with Yoritomo and travelled around as a fugitive), and 'legends related to Yoshitsune's end'.[28] Besides these, there are many subplots and local legends. Shimazu, as a modern scholar of Japanese literature, duly separated 'literature' from 'art', or the pictorial tradition, but the listed main plots could also be represented by iconographies.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Edo bookstores brought to children *kusazōshi* that introduced the plots and characters surrounding famous warriors like Yoshitsune: these formed the visual-textual cornerstones of cultural memory and reflect basic notions about human relations. Yet the way in which the question of books for children in premodern Japan, and the rise of a dedicated genre, have been addressed hinges upon twentieth-century Western notions of 'originality' and 'quality literature'. As such, one ends up looking for things like journeys of self-discovery and Western middle-class values that make no sense in the context of contemporary worldviews or narrative tropes. On the contrary, to gain more insight into the latter, books for children, whether recognized as a genre or not, should be included in Japanese literature research.

In the first chapter, I ask what early modern (1600-1868) notions of childhood (with a focus on Edo) preceded the influx of Western concepts, and how we might understand 'books for children' in this context. I show that even though a specific literature for children did not exist, children were seen as an audience of books, independently from modern (Western) concepts of childhood. Associated with the interests of children were folktales and warrior

[28] An overview of these legends, as categorized by Shimazu, is given in the appendix.

legends, and adults were keenly aware of children's interest in pictures. Representations of famous warriors in didactic texts (*ōraimono* 往来物) and picture books from Edo (*kusazōshi*) familiarized children with widely circulating sets of characters, plots, and iconographies upon which popular entertainment was structured. They moreover taught correct behavior and 'history'.

In chapter two, I discuss the development of a historical canon and exemplars in the modern elementary school curriculum. Whereas the Imperial Rescript on Education formed the impetus for the interpretation of elementary education as a place for creating loyal subjects, I will focus on the pedagogical ideals of Herbartianism and 'progressive' insights into the child's cognitive abilities that influenced the creation of metaphors. Late nineteenth-century German Herbartians proposed to appeal to the child's imagination through narratives and pictures, and present material that relates to the nation, such as heroic tales. This idea was translated to the Japanese sphere, by making selective use of warrior legends. The heroes functioned as ethics exemplars and an expedient means for imparting 'historical consciousness' (*rekishiteki kannen* 歴史的観念), in the sense of a collective identity.

In chapter three I will discuss how commercial authors and publishers entered the arena, and how they after initially paying lip-service to the government started to create their own versions of ideal young citizens and historical heroes. I focus on the magazines and book series of the successful Tokyo publishing house Hakubunkan, and the pioneering author and editor Iwaya Sazanami (1870-1933). I re-examine this early development of the genre of youth literature in Japan through the lens of Juri Lotman's theory of cultural memory. In Lotman's spatial model of culture, or semiosphere, foreign concepts travel from periphery to center of a given cultural (sub)sphere through amalgamation with established texts, in a process of 'creative memory'. The genre of youth literature was such a foreign concept. Following a discussion of exemplary heroes in Hakubunkan's magazines and history series of the early 1890s, I zoom in on Iwaya's essays and serialized adaptations of premodern warrior legends, in which he explores the codes of nineteenth century youth literature from the West. He shaped his protagonists into exemplary boys who display *wanpaku* (spirited) dispositions, in opposition to moralism and 'narrow-minded nationalism' imparted at home and in schools.[29]

[29] A version of chapter three has been published in *Japan Forum*. van Ewijk, 'Premodern Warriors as Spirited Young Citizens'.

The fourth and last chapter asks how the Taishō period trope of the 'childlike child' intersected with representations of the remote national past and national icons and examines the re-use of early modern warrior iconographies. Youth literature became an established genre catering to the various segments of the middle-class. I will analyse the representation of premodern Japanese warriors in Hakubunkan's successful magazine *Yōnen gahō* 幼年画報 ('Children's Illustrated', 1906-1935). The 'cultured' middle-class started to focalize the child as a 'pre-reader', or someone who is in the process of attaining full literacy. The images in *Yōnen gahō* were largely based on premodern iconographies, as seen in warrior prints and illustrated books. I ask how the iconographies and accompanying text changed based on new notions of the (young) child, and how the re-interpretations construct concepts of national history, family, and gendered play. *Yōnen gahō* not only invites the 'wise mother' but also fathers and siblings to play a role in the cultural education of young children by expecting them to recall and tell the stories about the selected heroes and legends, thereby forging strong connections between personal and collective memory. I contrast this view to the use of the childlike in 'progressive' youth magazines *Akai Tori* 赤い鳥 ('Red Bird') and *Kin no hoshi* 金の星 ('Gold Star'). Despite the reputation of Romanticism and an enlightened view of children's 'innocence' that these magazines have, they also introduced adaptations of war tales that realistically represent violence and idealize notions of loyalty and sacrifice. In this remote past, the 'innocence and sincerity' of children shines as a sublimation of the warrior spirit.

By analyzing the connection between youth literature and premodern warrior legends, I aim to re-assess the way in which authors and illustrators modernized Japanese literature during the Meiji period and redefined the child to give shape to modern society.

Chapter 1

Children and print in the Edo period

The origin of children's literature in Japan has been placed as far back as the seventeenth century or as recent as the early twentieth century. The appearance of children's literature as a *modern* genre was bound to the introduction of Western literature and the rise of the nation-state in the late nineteenth century. Canonically, Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru* こがね丸 (1891) is considered the first work of modern Japanese children's literature, yet it has also been observed that this narrative of a dog taking revenge on the murderer of his father still stands in the tradition of Edo period popular fiction. Karatani Kōjin argues that a children's literature did not yet exist in the Edo and Meiji period, due to the absence of a concept of childhood based on Romanticism and psychology, that recognizes the different 'interiority' of children.[1] Although not specifically addressing children's literature, Philippe Ariès in his seminal study of childhood in France and England (1960) similarly argued that the concept of childhood is a modern phenomenon. Yet scholars of premodern social and cultural history have consequently shown that modernity was not preceded by a complete absence of a concept of childhood. In this chapter, I will discuss how 'books for children' can be understood in the (late) Edo period context, which will contribute to an understanding of how concepts of childhood (plural) existed yet varied from modern (Western) concepts.

Especially in the cities and mercantile households, many children were taught basic literacy. The number of *terakoya* 寺子屋 (writing schools) for children of commoner and lower samurai status grew exponentially in the late Edo period. Most *terakoya* could be found in urban centres where literacy was needed in mercantile occupations and social interaction, but also villages were not without literate people as communication with authorities was often conducted by the written word. Publishers turned out a great number of didactic texts (*ōraimono* 往来物) that were used for an unofficial curriculum focusing on writing or copying (*tenarai* 手習), reading (*sodoku* 素読) and arithmetic. In contrast to

[1] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*.

ōraimono, a specific genre for children's leisure reading did not exist in booksellers' records. However, various recent studies suggest that children were amongst the audience of the picture book genre of *kusazōshi* 草双紙 (litt. 'grass books').[2] However, these findings still have holes and are not yet embedded in histories of Japanese literature. Why, for example, would there only be picture books for children in the first half of the eighteenth century (the sub-genre of *akahon* 赤本 or 'red cover books') even though the number of *terakoya* steadily increased? Introducing additional proof, I will show that 'books for the entertainment of children' did exist physically and in the minds of adults and propose a less Western-oriented perspective on 'books for children' and concepts of childhood.

Audiences of children were associated with legendary warriors and folktales. In the picture-oriented genre of *kusazōshi* various biographies of warriors can be identified as primarily aimed at children based on title, introduction, and contents. One of the most popular protagonists was Minamoto Yoshitsune, who (together with Benkei) was also represented on toy-prints, such as kites and *sugoroku* 双六 boardgames. These media invited those with basic literacy and yet little cultural knowledge into the world of popular entertainment and shared memories of Yoshitsune by offering digests of the main events and characters. Iconic figures like Yoshitsune were moreover used as an expedient to trigger children's interest in writing lessons.

The aim of this chapter is, first, to understand how children and childhood were conceptualized in the second half of the Edo period. Second, it discusses the contents and aims of literacy education, and connections between an audience of children and possible forms of 'leisure reading'. Third, it analyses the representation of Yoshitsune in both didactic and entertaining print media for children. Last, I will discuss variant (childhood) dispositions and gender in the popular representation of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Murasaki Shikibu. This visual and textual heritage profoundly influenced Meiji period authors of children's literature, who together with educators tried to bring early modern materials and modern concepts in agreement for a new generation.

[2] E.g., Seta, *Ochibo hiroi : jōkan*; Herring, 'The Hidden Heritage'; Kimbrough, 'Murasaki Shikibu for Children'; Williams, 'Visualizing the Child'; Kimbrough, 'Bloody Hell!'; Moretti, *Recasting the Past*.

1. The discourse on early modern concepts of childhood and children's books

Modern scholarship on childhood appeared in the early Shōwa period (1926-1989), when scholars became interested in finding the roots of Japanese childhood and education in the national past. They studied the conditions of children in the premodern period and started to 'conceive of the child as a reflection of a cultural consensus, that varied with class and time'.[3] With his landmark studies from the 1950s and 1960s, Ishikawa Ken introduced early modern education and Japanese views on children (*jidōkan* 児童観) based on a wide range of sources, such as rituals, laws, autobiographies, educational treatises, (early Meiji) surveys of school attendance, and primers. Ishikawa's work on Edo period literacy education plays a significant role in Richard Dore's *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (1965), the first book-length study in English on the history of education in Japan, with a chapter on childhood education. In the same year, Herbert Passin also published a history of Japanese education. Ishikawa, Dore and Passin connect a wide diffusion of elementary education in the Edo period to a quick implementation of the modern school system in the Meiji period. Later research on education and literacy rather stresses the discrepancies between Edo period education practices and the modern school system.[4] Japanese education history developed into a proper discourse, yet, as Michael Kinski observes, the perusal of both didactic treatises as well as other literary material for intellectual understandings of childhood hardly finds continuation after Ishikawa's initial efforts.[5] This might be explained by the fact that 'the' concept of childhood came to be seen as a modern (Western) phenomenon under influence of the work of Philippe Ariès.

In *Centuries of Childhood* (1972, original title *L'Enfant et la familiale sous l'ancien regime,* 1960), Ariès shows, through an analysis of attitudes towards young people and educational practices in fourteenth to eighteenth century France and England, how the worlds of children and adults distanced themselves from each other and how a concept of childhood developed as part of modernity.[6] The idea of the innocence of children, that emerged with Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), led to different attitudes towards children. Children needed to be safeguarded against 'pollution' but also socialized by developing character and

[3] Piel, 'The Ideology of the Child in Japan', 264.
[4] Platt, *Burning and Building*; Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*.
[5] Kinski, 'Japanische Kindheiten in Der Frühen Neuzeit', 2015, 132.
[6] Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*.

reason. Schools increasingly stressed discipline and separated children in classes based on age, which led to a clearer demarcation and extension of a period of childhood. Independently from Ariès, Karatani Kōjin made similar observations about the modern construction of the concept of childhood, in the context of Japanese children's literature. The nation-state played a crucial role in the 'uprooting of children, as abstract and homogeneous entities, from the productive relations, social classes, and communities that had previously been their concrete contexts'.[7] Like Ariès, Karatani stresses the role of schools in the separation of children from adults, although he more emphatically ascribes these developments to a particular moment: the rise of the Japanese nation-state in the late nineteenth century. Karatani however differentiates this Meiji period 'nationalized' child from the 'discovery of childhood' (i.e., the discovery that children have a different interiority from adults) that took place in the early twentieth century. The latter was based on a concept of childhood rooted in European Romanticism and psychoanalysis.

Ariès' focus on family and childhood was ground-breaking in French historiography, as well as his imaginative use of sources, representative of the *Annales* school. Critique followed on his cultural data, such as family portraits, that focused on elite families. These do not necessarily reflect practices in the wider society. Ariès' thesis moreover tended to be read as an outright denial of consideration of children (as a separate category) before the modern period. In the 1980s, studies of laws, letters and diaries in premodern Europe showed that childhood *was* in fact considered a special phase in life, as proven by, for example, the existence of legal protection or tokens of affection towards children.[8] Recent studies on the cultural history of premodern childhood in Japan similarly focus on diaries and personal letters, and reflect on practices, attitudes, and experiences of people in certain social strata or localities.[9] Minagawa Mieko, and Ōta Motoko in a more recent study, have taken up the late Edo period diary *Kuwana nikki* 桑名日記, written by a father of lower samurai status.[10] They studied the reactions of adults on children's sickness and death and show that despite the high rate of infant mortality and a society that turned a blind eye on infanticide (discussed below), parents were emotionally involved in their children's lives.

[7] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 130.
[8] E.g., Pollock, *Forgotten Children*.
[9] E.g., Shibata, *Nihon yōjishi*; Ōta, *Edo no oyako*; Walthall, 'For the Love of Children'.
[10] Ōta 2017; See Kinski 2015, 133–43.

An increased emotional investment in children and attention to their education is often treated by scholars as a sign of 'early modernity' and defies the idea that only modernity (i.e., the West) produced a concept of childhood. Shibata Jun argues that views on children significantly changed in the Edo period, when children became the 'treasures' (*kodakara* 子宝) central to the continuation of the *ie* 家 (household), and education was increasingly available.[11] Ōta argues in a similar vein that the diffusion of didactic treatises in the Edo period signals the 'discovery of the child' (*kodomo no hakken* 子どもの発見), as these texts conceptualize childhood as the foundation of human life and are written for a wide audience.[12]

Another way in which early modern concepts of childhood have been approached is by asking how early modern schools of thought *contributed* to the development and form of the modern concept of childhood in Japan. Lizbeth Piel argues that the modern 'ideology' of the child in Japan, 'a product of discourse and debate that was motivated by the search for a national identity between 1868 and 1945', consists of a cross-fertilization of bourgeois Romanticism from the West and non-European intellectual traditions, particularly Confucianism.[13] Such traditions can be constituent to the modern concept, yet also contain elements that seem incongruent with what 'childhood' is supposed to be from a modern or Western perspective. Niels van Steenpaal points out for example, that the virtue of filiality is at odds with the notion of the child as someone who is dependent on adults (discussed in more detail below).[14] The Taoist notion of 'childlike nature' (*dōshin* 童心) surfaces in the Taishō period (1912-1926) as an ideal in Japanese children's literature. The similarity with the 'innocent child' in Romanticism is however retrospective: it does not explain how *dōshin* might have been understood and used in the premodern period.

Michael Kinski questions whether the available research into the cultural history of childhood in Japan can or does show us 'how adults made children a reference object for their own actions, or how they empathised with children's perspectives'.[15] Ping-chen Hsiung's study of children and childhood in late imperial China shows how such a study might be bent into a new direction in order to avoid a major pitfall. Hsiung points out that

[11] Kinski, 'Japanische Kindheiten in Der Frühen Neuzeit', 2015, 116–17.
[12] Ōta, *Edo no oyako*, 208.
[13] Piel, 'The Ideology of the Child in Japan', 2–3.
[14] van Steenpaal, 'Conflicting Paradigms of Moral and Biological Childhood'.
[15] Kinski, 'Japanische Kindheiten in Der Frühen Neuzeit', 2015, 149.

the assessment of childhood as increasingly 'modern' tends to be based on the values of European and American families.[16] When the same yardstick is applied to non-Western societies, this leads to quantitative rather than qualitative answers.[17] Hsiung in the context of China proposes to consider the existence of a multiplicity of views on children, changing over time but also existing side-by-side and mutually influencing each other. She identifies three different, yet interrelated, notions of the child in imperial China that were 'an operating force when it comes to specific areas of activity or concern'.[18] These are a) the child as the 'junior', an inferior status that can also apply to servants, b) as a biophysically demarcated phase in a person's lifespan, and c) a more abstract notion of 'childlike nature' (in Taoist thought and Chinese medicine).

Not only Neo-Confucianism and Taoism but also Kokugaku (Native Studies), Shingaku and other schools of thought might be perused for concepts of children or childhood in early modern Japan. In fact, Anne Walthall makes an argument that leads into this direction in her study of the diaries of the prolific Kokugaku scholar Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776-1843) and his son, namely, that attitudes towards childhood depended on the 'emotional community' a family related itself to.[19] The multiplicity of views that Hsiung finds in late imperial China follows from a use of primary sources unconfined by disciplinary borders, such as primers, treatises, diaries, paediatric texts, artistic and imaginative works. For Japan there is no comparable study that connects intellectual texts, social realities, and artistic or literary representations in an analysis of Edo period, or premodern concepts of childhood.

Since the 1980s, various Japanese scholars have attempted to include Edo period books for children in the history of Japanese children's literature and the discourse on the 'discovery of the child'. Seta Teiji's *Ochibo hiroi* 落穂ひろい (1982) brings together a wide array of premodern literary and visual sources that take children as a subject or audience. The presence of some sources (such as the luxurious *Nara-ehon* 'picture books from Nara') is

[16] Hsiung Ping-chen, *A Tender Voyage*, 20.
[17] For example, Brian Platt in an article on Meiji period education, argues that a concept of childhood in early modern Japan existed, yet different and less intense than the modern concept. Even though children were viewed as different from adults, this did not result in 'elaborate displays of empathy with the child's perspective'. Platt, 'Japanese Childhood, Modern Childhood', 969.
[18] Hsiung Ping-chen, *A Tender Voyage*, 24.
[19] Walthall, 'For the Love of Children'.

questionable, yet the low threshold for including certain sources in a genealogy of children's literature is very useful for further research. The 1980s and 1990s saw the find of a late seventeenth-century collection of picture books in a Jizō statue dedicated to a deceased boy, first introduced by Okamoto Masaru[20], and several initiatives to include *kusazōshi* aimed at children in the research on early modern literature.[21] This material has been interpreted as a predecessor of modern children's literature, not unlike Ishikawa's and Dore's visions on the linear development of Japanese education. Children's literature scholar Kami Shōichirō argues that the early modern investment in creating and buying books for children bespeaks an 'attention to the nature of children', and that the available commentaries (*hyōbanki* 評判記) of new book publications indicates an increased focus on the 'mental growth' (*kokoroteki seichō* 心的生長) of children in the late Edo period.[22] This leads Kami to argue that Japan was well-prepared for the appearance of modern children's literature in the Meiji period.

In Anglo-American research, studies on early modern Japanese printed books for children only appeared very recently. In histories of Japanese literature, premodern books for children have so far merely featured as the primitive beginnings of the genre of *kusazōshi*. Early modern publishers indeed did not recognize a category of books for children, and book prefaces that claim that the consequent narrative is 'for children' cannot be taken at face-value as it was also employed metaphorically to avoid censure. Influential is also Karatani Kōjin's thesis that children's literature could not exist in the premodern period due to the absence of a modern concept of the child. Whereas modern children's literature indeed was the result of a paradigmatic change, his argumentation for a complete absence of books or narratives for children in the Edo period is hardly convincing. Citing the folklorist Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男 (1875-1962), he argues for example, that children were surely not interested in folktales as they contain much violence.[23] Within children's literature research such opinions based on modern assumptions about 'suitability' have long been refuted. (Violence is moreover not absent in modern children's literature.) Joan Ericson similarly

[20] Religious texts and objects were often hidden in the cavities of Buddha statues. Jizō is the guardian deity of children, also protecting those who deceased before their parents. Reproductions of this collection appear in Okamoto, *Shoki Kamigata Kodomo Ehonshū*. and Nakano and Hida, *Kinsei Kodomo No Ehonshū - Kamigata-Hen*.

[21] Suzuki and Kimura, *Kinsei Kodomo Ehonshū - Edo Hen*. And more recently, Sō no kai, *Kusazōshi Jiten*; Kimura, *Kusazōshi No Sekai*.

[22] Kami, 'Jidōbungaku Zenshi e No Izanai', 20–24. Kami here refers to Ōta Nanpo's *Ezōshi hyōbanki kikujusō* 絵草子菊寿草 (1782), and an anonymous *hyōbanki* titled *Sakusha hyōban sengokutōshi* 作者評判千石篩 (1754).

[23] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 125.

argues that folktales were for the first time rewritten for children in the Meiji period and moreover that the premodern period only produced didactic works for children.[24]

Ann Herring made a first step in another direction by challenging the assumption that children's publications started in 1891 with Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru*. She introduces *kusazōshi*, paper toys and board games, that prove the existence of a wide variety of children's publications during the (late) Edo period. Kristin Williams takes Ericson to task in her dissertation about *akahon* 赤本 ('red cover books', published in the first half of the eighteenth century).[25] She argues that the highly picture-oriented *akahon* were intentionally published for an audience of children with the object of being 'entertaining' and not merely 'didactic'. The use of *akahon* as New Year's presents, their entertainment value, and their 'cultural value' as adaptations of literature created for adults clearly sets them apart from primers. Citing children's literature scholar Emer O'Sullivan, Williams moreover rightly argues that educational purposes are intrinsic to literature created by adults for children.[26] R. Keller Kimbrough has introduced the contents of the books found in the Jizō statue to an English-speaking audience as 'boy's books', and Laura Moretti's transcription, integral translation, and annotation of *Utagaruta* (an eighteenth-century adaptation of the *The Tales of Ise*) is the most detailed study of a single (two-volume) *kusazōshi* from the perspective of children's literature. She compares *Utagaruta* to European chapbooks, that children had adopted as reading material, as there existed yet no literature specifically intended for them till the middle of the eighteenth century. Different from chapbooks however, the preface of *Utagaruta* specifically mentions that the pictures were commissioned from an artist of the Torii school, 'so as to facilitate a child's quick grasp of the material'.[27] Moreover, *Utagaruta* tries to facilitate identification: The first spread shows the protagonist Narihira as a boy in a *terakoya*. Moretti adds that adults might have enjoyed this accessible adaptation of the classic *The Tales of Ise* as well.[28] The fledgeling discourse on premodern Japanese children's books stays mostly within the confines of Japanese literature research, but Jonathan Mills has introduced two eighteenth-century *kusazōshi* about Kumagai Naozane 熊谷直実 (1141-1208)

[24] Ericson, 'Introduction'., viii-ix.
[25] Williams, 'Visualizing the Child', 40–42. Ericson's essay is an introduction to a collection of translated stories from the Taishō period children's magazine *Akai tori*.
[26] Williams also translated three *akahon* in her dissertation, of which one also appears in the edited volume *Childhood in Japanese History*. Williams, 'Children in an Early Red Book'.
[27] Moretti, *Recasting the Past*, 19. Bakin in *Enseki zasshi* also associated an artist of the Torii school (Masanobu) with a style very suitable to children.
[28] Moretti, 20.

in the journal *International Research on Children's Literature*.[29] Like Moretti, Mills argues that such *kusazōshi* target a 'dual audience': the images of warriors and comic scenes might be enjoyed by children, while an adult audience would recognize the spiritual themes.

In sum, the point of orientation for most scholars writing on understandings of childhood in Edo period Japan is 'the' modern concept of childhood. Also, the (perceived) characteristics of modern children's literature loom large in the assessment of Edo period books. Whereas Karatani sees a complete break (because the concept of childhood in his theory is inherently modern and only present from the early twentieth century), a more common view is that there is a degree of continuity. The latter view appears generally from the identification of ideas represented in Edo period written texts that are perceived as close to 'modern' ideas about children. The views of children themselves are however still missing, as Kinski observes in his introduction to *Childhood in Japanese History*.[30] Associated with a mature understanding of the modern concept of childhood is the adoption of perspectives that acknowledge the child's specific needs or different interiority as rooted in Romanticism and psychology. Yet the concept of the child as 'young citizen' is treated differently. In Karatani's theory it is a political ideal separate from the 'discovery of the child', and in Piel's interpretation it is an 'ideology' imported from the West that takes a distinct shape through amalgamation with Japanese early modern schools of thought. None of these studies depart from an idea of a multiplicity of concepts of childhood as proposed by Hsiung. Furthermore, even though the existence of books for children or children's literature are seen as a hallmark of the (partial) existence of 'the' concept of childhood, the *contents* of early modern books for children and the connection with Meiji period children's literature has hardly been investigated.

In the vein of Hsiungs argument about the multiplicity of concepts of childhood, I will consider how 'books for children' might be understood in the Edo period context rather than the degree to which they are, or are not, similar to modern children's literature. The following paragraphs will first describe more concretely the physical and conceptual spaces that children occupied in Edo period Japan.

[29] Mills, 'Depictions of Martial and Spiritual Power'.
[30] Kinski, 'Japanische Kindheiten in Der Frühen Neuzeit', 2015, 1.

2. The *ie* and filial piety

Kathleen Uno in her study on early childhood care observes that the care for infants and young children in the Edo period was foremost aimed at their physical well-being, and not considered 'a complex and weighty duty with grave and indelible consequences for future mental, moral, and psychological development'.[31] Older siblings, grandparents, servants, and apprentices might be assigned to the task of keeping them safe. I would however prefer to make a distinction between 'moral' and 'psychological': didactic treatises, maybe as a consequence of observing the contrary, admonished parents to take care of their own moral behaviour as it would influence that of young children. From the age of seven (in counted years) or younger in poorer households, children started to contribute to the household with simple tasks.[32] One of these simple tasks was baby-sitting (*komori* 子守), for which brothers, sisters or a child from another family might be recruited if they were physically able to carry an infant on their back.

The age of seven in counted years appears as a marker that separated young children from older children. A change in attitude towards the child around this age logically follows from a recognition of physical and cognitive development, but seven is also specifically mentioned in official documents as the age under which children cannot be prosecuted. Shibata Jun traces the origin of the significance of the number seven back to Chinese laws and theories that consider children under seven not liable for crimes or wrongdoing.[33] Moreover, both the Bakufu and books of popular instruction stipulated that children under seven should not (or only temperately) be mourned for, as infant mortality was high.

Especially in lower samurai and merchant households, education of one's children was a way to maintain or positively change social and economic status. Between age seven and nine, a child might start attending a writing school if the household head deemed this necessary. In merchant and artisan households, children would start an apprenticeship or enter domestic service in another household from around age ten. Apart from the household and the writing school, places of socialization for boys in villages (between seven and

[31] Uno, *Passages to Modernity*, 24.

[32] Age was counted from 1 at birth and in all calendrical years through the whole or part of which one had lived. 'Eight' would thus mean between six and seven in modern Japanese age reckoning. I will refer to the calendrical counting as 'counted years' (*kazoedoshi* 数え年 in Japanese).

[33] Kinski, 'Japanische Kindheiten in Der Frühen Neuzeit', 2015, 112–13. Shibata rejects the idea that children under seven were considered closer to the gods as in the popular expression *nanatsu made wa kami no uchi* ('children under seven are with the gods'). This expression was observed by Yanagita Kunio, yet too optimistically taken to represent early modern thought.

fifteen) were the so-called *kodomogumi* 子供組 (children's groups). The activities of *kodomogumi* were led by the older members and centred on yearly festivities: they took upon them part of the 'program'.[34] Socialization processes were diverse and depended on decisions taken within households and customs in local communities: only for boys in the higher echelons of samurai society, intermediate and advanced intellectual education (mainly Chinese Studies) at domain schools was mandatory.

Children in the Edo period were raised within the logic of the *ie*, a stem-family that also included the ancestors (and progeny). They would be raised differently based on birth order and gender, as only the male heir could inherit. Anne Walthall observes in her study of letters from the Hirata Atsutane household in the 1820's to 1840's, that the boys and especially the heir get more attention from their grandfather than other children, which concurs with the fact that the 'child' mentioned in treatises on child-rearing is by default a boy.[35] As mentioned earlier, Atsutane was a lower ranked samurai and prolific Kokugaku scholar. His grandsons started school at age six (in the 1830's to 1840's) and underwent the coming-of-age ceremony at age fourteen (respectively seven and fifteen in counted years). Atsutane's granddaughters were literate and learned to play the koto. Both girls married at age sixteen. Their youngest brother was adopted by another family at age twelve. The children assisted in the household by copying texts (including texts for sale) and baby-sitting (only the second son). Ōta Motoko, who analysed the late Edo period diary *Kuwana nikki*, also written by a man of lower samurai status, compares child-rearing and education in the *ie* to a relay, in which fathers take responsibility for the preparation of the heir to take over.[36] One has to keep in mind however, that these accounts and several other early nineteenth century diaries appearing in research on Edo period parenting are written by people with rather affluent means, and who extended their personal interests in intellectual pursuits to their children.[37]

The centrality of the household head highlights the fact that the state was hardly involved in the preparation of children for adult life. Contrary to the modern state, the Bakufu had only limited interest in making special provisions for children, but did recognize children's lack of 'good judgement' (*wakimae* 弁え) in criminal law, and also created laws

[34] Noguchi, 'Kodomogumi 子供組'.
[35] Walthall, 'For the Love of Children', 67–68.
[36] Ōta, *Edo no oyako*, 217–18.
[37] Fuess, 'A Golden Age of Fatherhood?', 396.

against infanticide. In 1772, the Bakufu considered as minors people up to fifteen counted years[38], the general age upon which male commoners and lower samurai would undergo the coming-of-age ceremony. From the late seventeenth-century, several shogunal edicts banned infanticide and child abandonment, and there is evidence that these laws were enforced in local communities.[39] In the late eighteenth-century, multiple domains created additional local laws or organised public lectures aimed to discourage infanticide, and even raised funds for families in need. This intervention by authorities followed from practical concerns over population drops, but also Confucian notions of moral obligation and benevolent rule.[40] Fabian Drixler argues that infanticide was a form of family-planning not limited to the poor. In a system of progeniture, families were better off concentrating on the heir. Ethical foundations for what was euphemistically called *mabiki* 間引き (pruning) could be found in Buddhist karmic thought, where the new-born could easily 'slide' back into the other world. Infanticide could even be considered an act of filial piety towards the ancestors, if the new-born was felt to endanger the continuation of the household or *ie*.[41]

In the mid- to late Edo period, for male commoners and mid- to lower ranked samurai, the coming-of-age ceremony (*genpuku* 元服) would take place around the age of fifteen, when they were physically able to do adult work. In contrast, where physical ability was of little consequence such as in courtier and elite samurai families, *genpuku* might take place as young as five or seven years of age.[42] In such a case, the object was for the child to come into possession of a certain rank or privilege as soon as possible. According to Karatani, coming-of-age ceremonies are quite different from modern interpretations of childhood and adulthood, in that they are not based on the idea of psychological development.[43] *Genpuku* indeed was a 'changing of masks' by adopting different hairstyle and dress[44], but 'the

[38] van Steenpaal, 'Conflicting Paradigms of Moral and Biological Childhood', 219.
[39] Piel, 'The Ideology of the Child in Japan', 71–72.
[40] Policies in Mito province were the result of pressure from intellectual and political elite who considered infanticide morally wrong and a disgrace for the domain (Drixler 2015, 168-169). Proposals based on detailed analysis of the problems were handed to Tokugawa Harumori (1751-1805), the sixth daimyo of Mito, who made the case a priority upon which philanthropists rose to his call to finance his welfare plans.
[41] Drixler, *Mabiki*, 62–67.
[42] Ogata, 'Kinsei No Genpuku to Kyōiku', 62.
[43] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 124.
[44] There were in fact several changes of mask. On the seventh day after birth till age three, infants had their hair shaved. From age three the hair would be tied in tufts, then let grow, and tied in a bob for both boys and girls, with a shaven patch on top of the head. Around age twelve to thirteen, girls would undergo *genpuku* and have their hair tied in a style specific for girls. Boys would have their hair tied in *wakashū-gami*, the shaven patch covered by a forelock. The forelock would be shaven upon *genpuku*. Unmarried women from age sixteen would typically tie their hair in a *shimada* (Kikuchi, *Edo ishō zukan* 江戸衣装図鑑.). The encyclopaedia *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (1712) also stresses outer appearance: it defines children (*warawa* 童) as boys up to age fifteen (see vol. 8, *jinrin* 人倫 'human relations'), who have not yet undergone *genpuku*, or girls (*dōjo* 童女) with a

cultural dilemma of managing youths who are physically but not socially adults' is not unique to modern society and was addressed in several ways.[45] In many rural communities, the newly initiated adult would enter a 'young men's group' (*wakamono-gumi* 若者組, *wakashu-gumi* 若衆組, or a local variant) consisting of men between fifteen and middle age.[46] Older members would take leading positions and instruct younger members in the social rules of the village. In merchant or artisan households, *genpuku* would also mean the start of socialization as an adult. In the Edo period, also the coming-of-age ceremony of girls involved a change of dress and hairstyle, which would fall together with marriage or otherwise take place in their (late) teens.[47]

Filial piety was the key virtue that had to keep the *ie* together. In Confucian thought, the five basic relationships are those between lord and retainer, parent and child, husband and wife, elder sibling and younger sibling, and friends. The influential scholar-teacher Nakae Tōjū 中江藤樹 (1608-1648) argued that the relationship between parent and child should be considered the basis for all other virtues. In the first volume of his *Okina mondō* 翁問答 ('Dialogue with the Elder', 1640-41), Tōjū focuses on the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝経, attributed to Confucius) as a guide to human conduct, and argues that filial piety embodies the virtues that are fundamental to all relationships, namely love (*ai* 愛) and respect (*kei* 敬).[48] The *Classic of Filial Piety* considers filiality towards parents strongly related to loyalty to rulers and a harmonious society. Filiality was not only an internal affair of the *ie* but could count on regular maintenance by authorities.

As merchants increasingly gained economic power during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, samurai authorities tried to keep the socioeconomic status of commoners in check through moral instruction. The Bakufu rewarded acts of filial piety and introduced the accounts of virtuous people to the populace as exemplary cases. Hundreds of virtuous acts by people of all walks of life have been recorded in *Kankoku kōgiroku* 官刻孝義

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hairstyle that does not make use of hairpins. *Warawa* are according to *Wakan sansai zue* comparable to young cow and sheep who have not yet grown horns. Terajima, *Wakan Sansai Zue 8*, 154–55.

[45] Furstenberg, 'Adolescence, Sociology Of', 94.

[46] Varner, 'The Organized Peasant', 465.

[47] Marcia Yonemoto in her study of women in early modern Japan generally uses the word 'adulthood' to refer to women who are physically adults and focuses on marriage as a meaningful concept rather than the coming-of-age ceremony. In one of her primary sources, the *sodenaoshi* 袖直 (litt. 'transforming the sleeves') is mentioned, a ceremony marking the adulthood of a teenage girl (Yonemoto, *The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan*, 208.). Like the *genpuku* for boys, this ceremony involved a change of 'outer appearance'. The marriage ceremony was followed by a move to a different household and the new role of young wife. Yonemoto does not specifically address the paths of unmarried women.

[48] Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 354–58.

録 (‘Official Records of Filial Piety and Righteousness’, 1801). Noriko Sugano argues that these accounts construe maintenance of the *ie* as the highest good for commoners. Rewards are given for filial acts that involve memorial services for deceased family members, care for parents and siblings, and dedication to the family enterprise.[49]

Young age up till age sixteen puts acts of filial piety in a special light in *Kankoku kōgiroku*. Niels van Steenpaal introduces the account of the eight-year-old orphan Tomematsu.[50] In 1783, he was rewarded for filial acts mainly involving ‘memorial services for a deceased family member’ and ‘caring for a (grand)parent’. It was noted that he did this ‘despite his young age’. According to Ariès, childhood was considered a stage of dependence in early modern Europe. Yet Tomematsu’s acts of filiality forced him to become independent of adult care and take adult responsibilities. Van Steenpaal therefore argues that filial piety (‘moral childhood’) and childhood as a stage of dependence are at odds with each other.[51] However, *Kankoku kōgiroku* does not reflect ‘ordinary’ expectations. According to the influential Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), elementary learning consisted of ritualisation of the body: children from age eight should first be taught tasks such as sprinkling and sweeping the ground or greeting and replying properly. In Neo-Confucian thought, the virtue of filial piety was embodied in such activities.[52]

Japanese Neo-Confucian scholars who theorised on the education of children, such as Nakae Tōjū, Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎 (1619-1682) and Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630-1714) were heavily influenced by Zhu Xi. According to Ekiken, in his *Wazoku dōjikun* 和俗童子訓 (1710), one should be loving and go easy on children under seven: let the child sleep long, and not put restrictions on food.[53] From age seven, girls and boys should not sit next to each other, nor eat together. One should teach them (we might infer, boys) manners in a way that they can understand, as well as the reading and writing of *kana* 仮名 (the Japanese syllabaries). Between age eight and ten, the boys start elementary education (*shōgaku* 小学). This first and foremost consists of learning the proper forms of address and etiquette, and how to be respectful and filial to parents, older siblings, and elderly people. This is the basis of human life according to Ekiken. If the child is disrespectful, but a parent laughs instead of

[49] Sugano Noriko, ‘State Indoctrination of Filial Piety in Tokugawa Japan’, 185.
[50] van Steenpaal, ‘Conflicting Paradigms of Moral and Biological Childhood’.
[51] van Steenpaal, 219–22.
[52] Bai, *Shaping the Ideal Child*, 35–37.
[53] Kaibara, ‘Wazoku dōjikun’, 240–42; Kaibara, 252.

telling the child off, it will be unable to distinguish (*wakimaezu*) right from wrong and turn into an unfilial adult. The child should be taught that stealing and indulging in food is shameful. From age eight, wilful behaviour should be corrected. The child should learn to write Chinese characters and be provided with proper calligraphy examples, otherwise his hand will become as bad as the example. Ekiken advises against letting children under ten recite texts from the Classics, as it will bore them, and they will hate learning for the rest of their lives. They should first recite and memorize short phrases. From ten to fifteen, the child will start *gakumon* 学文, in other words, read the Confucian canon under the guidance of an external teacher. Ekiken warns against starting only at age eleven with writing practice, as by then the child will have become coarse of heart and spirit, resulting in a difficult, lazy student.

Even though Ekiken shows a certain sensitivity to what children like and understand, he insists that children (over seven) should only study, and not engage in 'trifling' play. The child will come to enjoy mastering difficult things after a while, which cannot be learned as easily later in life. For Ekiken, growing up properly is thus a civilizing process: The infant is considered a tabula rasa, a being who can be 'moulded'. According to Ishikawa Ken, this does not mean that Ekiken considers children to be passive, rather, their (inevitable) development should be guided along the right track from an early age.[54] Anything inscribed upon the child will become a habit: if the child ends up being a bad person, this follows from external influences. According to Ekiken, an adult is someone who adheres to the virtues expected of adults.[55] However, someone who underwent *genpuku* (here at age twenty, as in the 'Chinese past') but does not behave as an adult of virtue, still has the heart of a child (*dōshin* 童心). Ekiken's *dōshin* can here be understood as a negative trait in adult life, quite different from the Taishō period literary concept of *dōshin* that rather symbolized the innocence of the child (see chapter 4.3).

Thus, the physical space in which children were raised was mainly the household and the neighbourhood or village community. The household (*ie*) has imagined extensions into the past and future, namely the ancestors and the progeny. On an intellectual level, childhood after infancy was considered a stage of mouldability and habituation. For Neo-Confucian educators, the central goal of this civilizing process was to attain certain virtues,

[54] Ishikawa, *Yōjōkun, Wazoku dōjikun*, 298.
[55] Kaibara, 'Wazoku dōjikun', 243–44.

notably a disposition of filial piety, from which the household and wider society would benefit.

3. Auspicious children and Edokko identity in *nishiki-e*

Contrary to Ekiken's admonitions, foreign visitors to Japan in the nineteenth century have observed that children did play a lot. Their positive views might have been influenced by a small window on children's daily lives, and a tendency to compare these Other children to their 'chastised' Western counterparts. Yet, using historical sources, Puck Brecher also finds that parenting was rather hands-off and rowdy play considered a healthy habit of boys. In the early nineteenth century, more or less organized disruptions would happen in the context of yearly festivals.[56] So-called 'stone-wars' and violent behaviour by groups of boys were moreover a pervasive social issue.[57] A laissez-faire attitude is according to Brecher also reflected in popular print. However, this does not necessarily make his argument stronger, as prints are imaginative works produced within the logic of popular print culture.

'Edo period children' have become the subject of recent exhibitions and popular publications in Japan. Making use of woodblock prints published in Edo, they conjure up a vision of 'the Edo period child' in a space of leisure and play, representing a post-modern interpretation of the early modern that Carol Gluck termed 'happy feudalism'.[58] We can assume that children have always played in some way to discover the physical and social world: Edo period children in print however seem to do little else. Late Edo period *nishiki-e* 錦絵 ('brocade prints') indeed seem to recognize childhood as a more naïve or happy state than adulthood, yet these representations are also highly symbolic and specific to the Edoite identity.

Children, and especially healthy boys, were an auspicious theme. Children often appear in prints that celebrate seasonal festivities and they might be accompanied by an idealized mother or *bijin* 美人 (beautiful woman). The first print in the series *Fūryū jūnigatsu no uchi* 風流十二月ノ内 ('Elegant Twelve Months', 1830-44) by Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞

[56] Brecher, 'Being a Brat'.
[57] Ujiie, *Edo no shōnen*; Brecher, 'Being a Brat'; Frühstück, *Playing War*.
[58] Gluck, 'The Invention of Edo', 264. The catalogue of the 2018 exhibition *Asoberu ukiyo-e* 遊べる浮世絵 ('Playful ukiyo-e') states for example: 'The images of the happy, mischievous little children in these works are sure to bring smiles as well as evoke nostalgic memories and feelings of tender affection. We invite both children and all those who were once children to enjoy playing for a time within the rich world of Ukiyo-e' (Fujisawa and Katō, *Asoberu Ukiyoe*, 2.). Spectators are mainly invited to discover themselves in these pictures, and not the lives of Edo period children.

Fig. 1.1 Utagawa Kunisada, *Fūryū jūnigatsu no uchi: seiyō*, 1830-1844. NDL

(1865-1786), for example, shows a mother who dresses her precious son up for New Year's visits (fig. 1.1). Presents (scrolls and books) are stacked in preparation, and the upper left corner shows a kite, a toy associated with boys and the New Year. According to the instructional text *Onna Daigaku* 女大学 ('The Greater Learning for Women', attributed to Kaibara Ekiken) the mother should now first present herself to her parents-in-law.[59] As a perfect daughter-in-law she of course brings their grandson and household heir. Many examples exist of children as an auspicious theme and combined with auspicious symbols. Children are, for example, dressed up as the seven lucky gods, or play with the character for *takara* 宝 (treasure), which combines into the expression *kodakara* 子宝 , 'child as a treasure'. The late eighteenth-century print *Kodomo asobi daimyo gyōretsu* 子ども遊び大名行列 ('A daimyo procession of playful children', 1790s) by Kitagawa Utamaro 喜多川歌麿 (1753-1806) shows cheerful children and youths simulating a daimyo procession (fig. 1.2). Supposedly they are on their way to a temple to celebrate the New Year, as hidden in the picture are the three symbols associated with good luck if they appear in one's first dream (*hatsuyume* 初夢) of the New Year: Mount Fuji, a hawk, and an eggplant. Such

Fig. 1.2 Kitagawa Utamaro, *Kodomo asobi daimyō gyōretsu*, 1790s. Kumon

[59] De Bary, *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Vol. 2 Pt. 1*, 233.

Fig. 1.3a Utagawa Hiroshige, *Fūryū osana asobi*, 1830s. Kumon

Fig. 1.3b Utagawa Hiroshige. *Fūryū osana asobi*, 1830s. Kumon

children's processions were a popular theme in the early nineteenth century and are also depicted crossing Nihonbashi, the most famous bridge of Edo. The term *fūryū* in the title of the first prints signals a common technique in *nishiki-e*: showing one thing in place of another thing.[60] Timothy Clark explains that this technique, in modern scholarship generally called *mitate* 見立て, can be understood as the 'refashioning' of recognizable themes or plots, appreciated for their humor, cleverness, charm, etc.[61] Concretely in these two prints, the theme of *bijin* is played off against the theme of the yearly festivities, and the themes of the daimyo procession and *meisho* 名所 (famous places) are reworked through the theme of lively children.

Nishiki-e depicting lively children can furthermore be understood as a metaphor for the Edo urban identity. Two prints titled *Fūryū osana asobi* 風流おさな遊ひ ('Elegant Pastimes of Children', 1830s) by Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重 (1797-1858) show children playing several kinds of games, separated by gender. The girls engage in board and card

[60] In the eighteenth century, *fūryū* often appeared in combination *yatsushi* 窶し in the titles of prints, together meaning 'elegant reworking'. In the nineteenth century, *yatsushi* was dropped but *fūryū* continued to signal the technique of 'refashioning' (Clark, 'Mitate-e', 11–12.). The term *asobi* 遊び 'play' often appears in print titles that use children as a constituent element of the 'refashioning'.

[61] Clark, 'Mitate-e'.

games, they play house, *temari* 手毬 (a ball game), origami, and catch fireflies (fig. 1.3a). The boys play with kites or emulate heroes: fire-fighters, sumo-wrestlers, and kabuki-actors in warrior roles (fig. 1.3b). In contrast to modern associations of male childhood with martial dispositions however, there is no connection between make-believe and becoming a soldier. In *Fūryū osana asobi*, the make-believe of the boys is based on the heroes that the commoner inhabitants of Edo admired: kabuki actors and firefighters. The pretty and well-dressed girls, apart from those playing house in the upper left corner, are enthusiastically playing games not related to traditional feminine roles. These children, in other words, represent the ideal Edoites, or Edokko. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Edo became the fashionable center of Japan. Contrasting themselves with the Kamigata 'stinginess' and boorish samurai moving to Edo from the countryside, the ideal Edokko 江戸っ子, or 'child of Edo' was a man of elegance, generous with money, and at home in pleasure quarters, rebelliously pursuing a life respectable merchants would never dare.[62] (Such dandies, also called *tsū* 通, had in fact a larger presence in the popular imagination than in the real world.) By the early nineteenth century, the notion of an Edokko identity had also spread to the common citizens, both male and female, where it morphed into an ideal of a spirited, courageous, honest, assertive, and unrefined character.[63] Dashing firefighters and defiant *oiran* 花魁 (high-ranked prostitutes) constituted the models. 'The child' may also have played a role in these imaginations: the *ko* 子 'child' in Edokko should then not be merely understood as a 'true-born Edoite'[64], but as someone with the 'playful' nature of a child.

The boisterous nature of children often plays out in depictions of *terakoya*, a place where rules apply that can be defied in a most delightful way. *Terakoya*-humor already appears in *kusazōshi* quite early. In *Terako tanka* 寺子短歌 ('Pupil's Poem', 1762) boys re-enact a kabuki scene in a messy classroom (fig. 1.4). They show a *mie* 見得 (a 'freeze pose' in kabuki) and *tenarai* books (calligraphed copying examples bound together) serve as armor. Imagining a Soga-piece, one of them yells: 'I am Gorō from the Eastern Provinces', while the other says 'And I am Asahina'.[65] If one would moreover believe early nineteenth century

[62] Jones and Watanabe, *An Edo Anthology*, 19–20.
[63] Jones and Watanabe, 20–21.
[64] As the word is translated in Jones and Watanabe, 19.
[65] Sō no kai, *Edo No Kodomo No Hon*, 66. A kabuki performance featuring the Soga brothers, Jurō (Sukenari) (1172-1193) and Gorō (Tokimune) (1174-1193) was shown around the New Year. Their vendetta against the murderer of their father is dramatized in the war tale *Soga monogatari* 曽我物語.

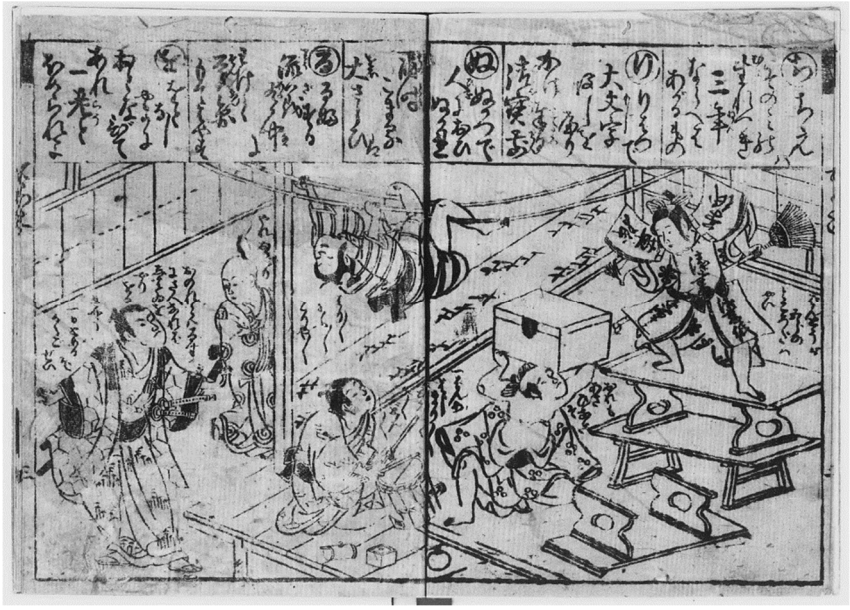

Fig. 1.4 *Terako tanka*, 1762. NIJL

nishiki-e, writing schools were the messiest place imaginable. Both moralism and discipline in *terakoya* education, as well as the pretentions of families who have their children trained for upward social mobility through education (also parodied in Shikitei Sanba's *Ukiyoburo* for example) can be a satisfactory object of ridicule. A *terakoya* teacher is moreover a harmless representation of authority. According to Puck Brecher, such images, that are not framed by admonitions at all, represent a counter-narrative to the ideal of strict parenting and concurs with the lenient attitude towards the upbringing of boys that speaks from historical sources.[66] However, lenience towards rowdiness is a step removed from creating prints about rowdy children, that should have a special meaning to adults, otherwise they would not invest in such prints. Lively or rowdy children were an auspicious theme, a category used for a humorous 'refashioning' of other themes, and a metaphor for the liveliness of Edo and its heroes.

There were however also prints and illustrations of children working serenely on their calligraphy. In her study of concepts of childhood in imperial China, Hsiung also highlights the dichotomous representations good and badly behaving children, and argues that these different narratives are mutually dependent. Diligent or filial children can only seem exceptional if they are contrasted to children who do not control themselves.[67] For every diligent child, there are many outside the picture who are lazy or rebellious. On the other hand, play and mischief, especially if they are exaggerated, invite amusement or even admiration. In Japan, this dichotomy extends to the representation of historical and legendary characters in illustrated books. Such figures as Yoshitsune, Sugawara Michizane

[66] Brecher, 'Being a Brat', 107.
[67] Hsiung Ping-chen, *A Tender Voyage*, 234–35.

and the poet Ono no Komachi (see fig. 1.26) are shown as good students. The Neo-Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki even provided in such stories himself: in his memoirs (*Oritaku shiba no ki* 折たく柴の記, 1717?) he stresses his precociousness and diligent study as a child.[68] Famous became the anecdote according to which he threw cold water over himself to stay awake (see also fig. 4.7). On the other hand, the young Musashibō Benkei, the legendary thief Kumasaka Chōhan 熊坂長範 (another character from the cycle of Yoshitsune legends), and Toyotomi Hideyoshi are depicted as rowdy boys and badly behaving students. The two tropes reflect in a rudimentary way the idea that exceptional deeds need an explanation that can be found in childhood. The *terakoya* formed a very recognizable site for these displays of rowdiness (or diligence) for Edoites.

4. *Ōraimono:* literacy and cultural knowledge

In the late Edo period, writing schools for children were widespread especially in parts of large towns where literacy was needed in commerce. The lessons were conducted at the home of a teacher, or some other building and instruction was given on an individual basis. These schools were referred to as *terakoya* (litt. 'temple schools') but also variant terms such as *tenarai-sho* 手習所 ('place for writing instruction').[69] They mainly offered instruction in writing/copying, reading, basic calculation, moral instruction, (oral) lessons about popular legends, songs, or sewing for the girls. Umemura Kayo describes a *terakoya* in Shima province (part of current Mie prefecture) owned by two generations of teachers of the Kurihara family between 1855 and 1888.[70] The school was attended by boys and girls of commoner status and boys of samurai status. (If the samurai boys had sisters, they were probably educated at home.) They all sat in the same room, although the desks were grouped in the clusters 'samurai – male', 'commoner – female' and 'commoner – male'. The pupils started to attend the school from between seven and twelve years of age, the most common age being nine years. The average length of attendance at the Kurihara school was two to three years, which has also been observed for other schools. The boys attended up to

[68] Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 376.
[69] The term *terakoya* originally referred to schools in Buddhist temple buildings that offered formal education in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These temple schools went far beyond teaching the rudiments of reading and writing and were in fact elite learning centres. Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*, 36–37. The term *terakoya* only started to be applied as an abstract category when the Meiji government needed to distinguish early modern elementary education from the new primary schools. Platt, *Burning and Building*, 25.
[70] Umemura, 'Kinseiki, Kodomo No Yomikaki Keiko to Ōraimono', 12–15.

four years and were enrolled mainly for writing and arithmetic. The girls attended in most cases less than two years and focused on writing, sewing and arithmetic.[71]

There are no Edo period surveys of school attendance, as surveys on education were invented to measure progression and intervene on a national level during the Meiji period. According to a survey conducted in 1877, the national average school attendance rate was 39.9 percent, with 56 percent for boys and 22.5 percent for girls.[72] The gap between the sexes was smaller than the regional gaps: school attendance in Osaka prefecture was 67.1 percent, while Aomori prefecture scored only 22.5 percent. The Japan National Commission for Unesco (1966) however found only 9.33 percent actual school attendance in 1875.[73] No enrolment, erratic attendance or short attendance was prevalent throughout the nineteenth century, which can be directly related to other duties of children: domestic, field or factory work.

Many printed primers are however left to us that give an insight into what adults conceived of as basic literacy education. Teachers or others charged with the instruction of children would make use of printed textbooks, by contemporary publishers classified as the genre of *ōraimono* 往来物. An extensive number of such texts was first made available in modern type by Ishikawa Ken in the 1960s and 1970s (in the compendium *Nihon kyōkashō taikei*), yet there is still comparatively little research on the contents of these books. This section introduces how not only the technical aspect of writing, but also basic cultural knowledge was conveyed in printed *ōraimono*.

Ōraimono are now understood as 'early modern textbooks', but historically, in the Heian and Muromachi (1336-1573) period the term *ōrai* (literally 'come and go') was applied to prose texts in an epistolary style that functioned as writing examples.[74] During the early modern period, the term was also applied to texts that might rather be described as written lectures.[75] In the late Edo period, canonical texts for basic literacy education appeared in collected volumes. These compendia included models of (archaic) letters with a moralistic message, lists of Chinese characters, proverbs, and miscellaneous cultural information.

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[71] Depending on what teachers had to offer, children might also be taught other things. In the Kyoto-Osaka area example, teachers taught *utai* extracts from noh, kyōgen or other types of plays that were recited during weddings and village-festivals. (Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, 272.) These texts can also be found in *ōrai-mono*.

[72] Koizumi, 'Learning to Read and Write', 94. The numbers are based on *Gakusei Hyakunenshi* 学制百年史 (1972), a collection of data going back to the early Meiji period that was compiled by the Japanese Ministry of Education.

[73] Galan, 'Home vs. School vs. Work', 282.

[74] Rüttermann, 'What Does "Literature of Correspondence" Mean?', 154.

[75] Rüttermann, 149.

Fig. 1.5 Katsukawa Shunshō, *Ehon sakae gusa*, 1790. NDL

Models of letters for contemporary, practical use were referred to with the term *yōbunshō* 用文章 ('compositions with a purpose'). *Ōraimono* served the double role of writing example and moral instruction. To this end, the main text was calligraphed and printed in a large script, while secondary texts and images might be placed in the upper part of the page (*kashiragaki* 頭書) in smaller print (see fig. 1.8 for an example of such a layout). Teachers also created manuscript primers, with local placenames for example. These manuscripts are invisible in the modern compendia that focus on woodblock printed material.

Students would generally not copy directly from printed books, but from a selection of the text calligraphed by the teacher, kept at their left hand. This *tenarai* 手習 (copying) was practiced next to *sodoku* 素読 (reading aloud). Figure 1.5 shows an idealised *terakoya* teacher in her own home.[76] The two-volume book (*Ehon sakae gusa* 絵本栄家種 'Prosperity of the Family', 1790) from which this picture is taken, depicts events in the lives of well-to-do women, such as making formal and casual visits, marriage, childbirth, and taking the young heir to a seasonal festivity. The female pupils are the protagonists of the image. The two girls in front of the teacher are reading their lessons aloud from a textbook, using a pointer. The other children are practicing writing, apart from the young child behind the teacher that gestures towards a toy on the ground and is probably the teacher's own child. The children practicing *tenarai* copy an example that was calligraphed by the teacher. The writing paper

[76] Based on a survey of *terakoya* teachers in Edo, Ishikawa Ken shows that it was not uncommon for women to be a *terakoya* teacher during the late Edo period, especially in areas such as Nihonbashi, Kyōbashi and Kanda, where many commoners lived and more and more girls were expected to have writing and calculating skills that would be useful in a small family business. (Ishikawa, *Terakoya*, 130–33.)

on the desk of the boy on the left has been used repeatedly. Used paper would be dried, after which a new layer of writing would be visible as wet ink. The teacher's examples was bound into a so-called *tenaraibon* 手習本 that could be re-used by a younger sibling. (In fig. 1.4 the boys use these for their 'armour'.)

Writing instruction at a school or at home would start with learning the *iroha* いろは. *Iroha* refers to the first three syllables of a late Heian-period (794-1185) poem that contains every *kana* syllable once, its function comparable to the ABC. In the Kurihara *terakoya* in Shima province, a little under half of documented students already mastered the *kana* syllabary before they started to attend the *terakoya*, which means they must have learned this basic skill at home or elsewhere.[77] According to an early twentieth century nation-wide survey led by the pedagogue Ototake Iwazō 乙竹岩造 (1857-1953), conducted among 3007 *terakoya*-educated people and eighty-three former teachers, roughly a quarter of children already learned to write *kana* at home or somewhere else privately before becoming a pupil.[78] Next to primers, printed *iroha* games (cards or boardgames) were for sale as an aide in teaching for families wanting to give their child a head-start.

The *iroha* would be followed by the character *miyako* or *kyō* 京 (Kyoto), numbers, personal names, and place-names. Rather than a progress in difficulty (in stroke number or concept), these character-lists reflect the cultural status tied to the specific character. In printed primers, the standard list of characters used in names started with *gen* 原, *hei* 平, *tō* 藤, and *kitsu* 橘, representing the historically significant warrior and courtier clans of the Minamoto (or Genji), Taira (or Heike), Fujiwara and Tachibana. The list of placenames started with provinces in the Kansai area, followed by the fifteen provinces one would pass through while travelling the Tokaidō from Kyoto to Edo. Next come the provinces that could be reached by other major roads: the 'Eight provinces of the Tōsandō', the 'Seven provinces of the Hokurikudō' etc. (this list appears in the *kashiragaki* of fig. 1.8). Coherence is created through a mental 'itinerary', instead of the totalizing view of a geographical map.[79]

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[77] Umemura, 'Kinseiki, Kodomo No Yomikaki Keiko to Ōraimono', 36–39.

[78] Koizumi, 108-109. Ototake conducted this nation-wide survey in 1915-1917. The questionnaires were taken home by Ototake's students at the Tokyo Higher College of Education and the Tokyo Higher Women's College of Education during their holidays.

[79] Jilly Traganou observes that Japanese maps represent two different kinds of organization of space: maps based on observation (surveys) and accuracy, consisting of a totalizing view from above, were in exclusive possession of the scientific and governmental elite. Road maps on the other hand, relied on (a mental) initiary (containing 'mythical, historical, and bodily time'). Lists of provinces in primers seem to follow the same way of organizing place. Traganou, 'Representing Mobility in Tokugawa and Meiji Japan', 184–85.

Genpei (the Minamoto and Taira clans) and *miyako* (the capital where the Emperor resides), take a central place in the cultural/historical/spatial framework presented in these wordlists in printed primers.

The former *terakoya* pupils and teachers who participated in the Ototake survey mentioned around seven-hundred different primers they had (been) taught, showing a great variation in the pupil's paths of study. Certain tendencies can however be discerned. Apart from the wordlists discussed above, most widely used *ōrai* in the middle of the nineteenth century were related to commerce and letter-writing: *Shōbai ōrai* 商売往来 (The Merchant's Primer), that contains a list of common objects, various primers that introduce models of practical letters, *Teikin ōrai* 庭訓往来, a collection of archaic letter models dating back to the Muromachi period, and *Shōsoku ōrai* 消息往来, a list of words commonly used in letters.[80] Two collections of maxims, *Jitsugokyō* 実語教 and *Dōjikyō* 童子教, were often used for reading practice or recitation. *Teikin ōrai, Imagawa-jō* 今川状 (a Muromachi-period letter with admonitions) and the Confucian Four Books and Five Classics are also in the top ten of books for *sodoku*. There was also a gendered diversification. In the Kurihara *terakoya*, for boys it was common to study *Shōbai ōrai* and *Shōsoku ōrai*. Girls would study *Joshi sanshū* 女子三習 ('Three Skills for Girls'), a work combining reading, writing, and information about sewing. Some girls studied *Onna shōbai ōrai* 女商売往来 ('The Merchant's Primer for Women'), and/or *Onna Imagawa* 女今川, a moralistic primer for women.[81] Practical letter models for girls were also different in calligraphic style and phrasing from those taught to boys.

Late Edo period publications of *ōraimono* contain illustrated frontispieces and opening pages that introduce basic cultural knowledge. In many cases, these first teach the young learner their proper place in the social hierarchy of *shinōkōshō* 士農工商 (from high to low: 'samurai-farmers-artisans-merchants'). Merchant children are dutifully reminded of the fact that the education they are currently receiving is not for making a profit and becoming rich(er than the samurai). At the same time, frontispieces ornamented with auspicious symbols tend to invoke the idea that literacy education will highly contribute to the prosperity of the family. Cultural references related to the script, scholarship and poetry also commonly appear in the opening pages. The primer *Nanatsu iroha* 七ツいろは (late Edo

[80] Koizumi, 97.
[81] Umemura 2013, p. 13.

Fig. 1.6 *Nanatsu iroha*, late Edo period. WKD

period) for example opens with a picture of Kūkai, the founder of Shingon Buddhism (fig. 1.6).[82] According to legend, Kūkai invented the *iroha* poem, which he based on verses of the Nirvana Sutra. The picture shows his famous acrobatic feat of writing simultaneously with five brushes, performed when he was in China at the Tang court. The opposite page introduces the *iroha* poem and four lines of the Nirvana Sutra that correspond with the meaning of the poem. Also often depicted is the Heian period (794-1185) scholar Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903), who was deified as the patron of study and scholarship. In the lavishly illustrated collection *Shin dōji ōrai bankatsū* 新童子往来萬家通 ('New Family Primer for Children', 1845) he is depicted as an eleven-year-old boy who composes his first *kanshi* 漢詩 (Chinese style poem) (fig. 1.7). The canonical poem itself is also represented. Young Michizane should clearly be taken as an example by the learner.

From the seventeenth century, letters appearing in war tales were published separately as *ōrai*, serving as writing model, history lesson, and moral instruction. These so-called *kojō* 古状 ('ancient letters') included (apocryphal) letters by warriors like Yoshitsune, Benkei, Kumagai Naozane and Kiso Yoshinaka 源義仲 (1154-1184). The influential three-volume *Buke ōrai* 武家往来 (1670) introduced fifty-six letters taken from *Genpei jōsuiki* 源平盛衰記 (an extended version of *Heike monogatari*) and *Taiheiki*. Similar works would follow, often under the banner *kojō soroe* 古状揃 ('collection of ancient letters'). Elizabeth Oyler argues that in war tales such as *Heike monogatari*, documents (letters, oaths, records) added a 'flavour of historical accuracy' to the events and were used to emphasize a particular version

[82] Title given as it appears on the title slip.

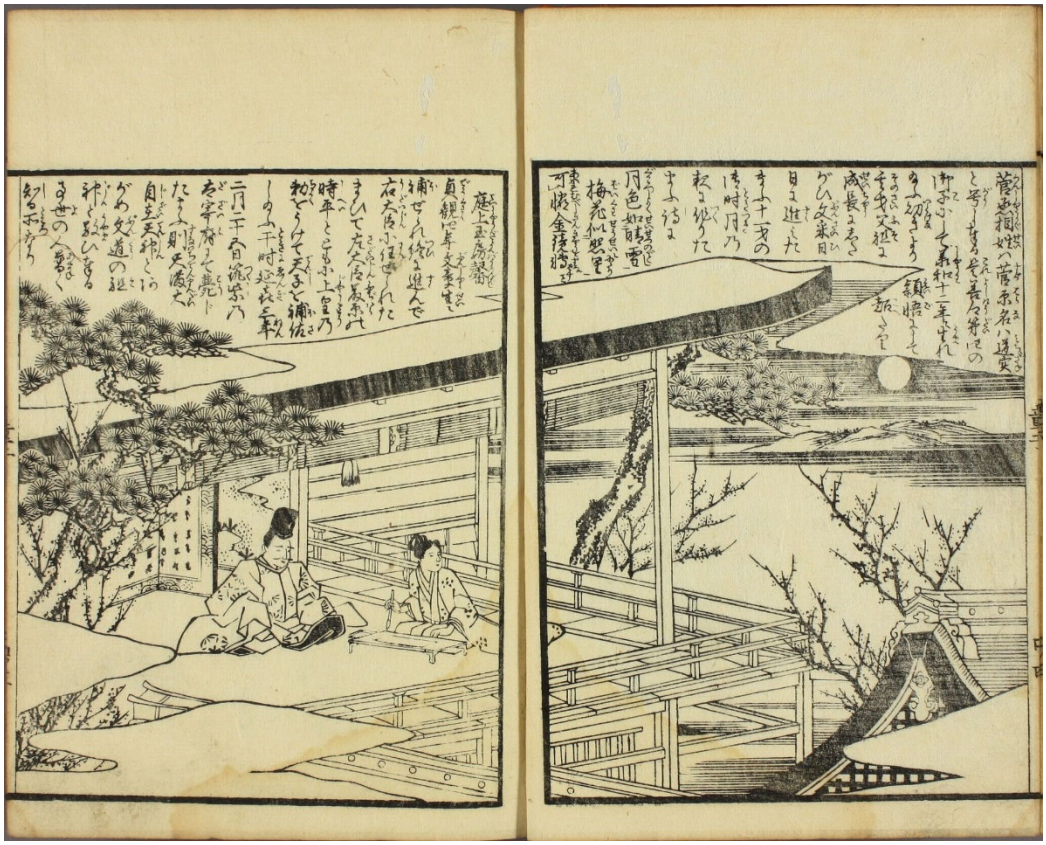

Fig. 1.7 Young Michizane and his teacher in *Shin dōji ōrai bankatsū,* 1845 (1872 reprint). WKD

of 'the truth' where disagreement was expected.[83] Even though most letters were of dubious provenance, one might say that compendia of *kojō* distilled from the war tales both the 'history' and the pivotal moments. In the late Edo period, such *kojō* appeared in compendia as well as separate volumes, with illustrations. Among the most popular of these was the *Koshigoe-jō* 腰越状, that represented a pivotal moment in the cycle of Yoshitsune legends and contained a didactic lesson about harmony between brothers, the avarices of slander, and just rule. This letter and the representation of Yoshitsune in *ōrai* is discussed in more detail in section 6.1.

Printed *ōraimono* thus not only reproduced canonical texts but also established spatial and social hierarchies and gave cultural depth to literacy education. In many primers, the *kashiragaki* contained miscellaneous cultural knowledge also seen in household encyclopedias (*chōhōki* 重宝記), such as legends, explanations about musical instruments, how to fold a letter, or short excerpts from noh plays. In the late Edo period, pictures played a large role in making the lessons more appealing, yet the archaic texts themselves were not simplified or challenged by progressive didactic insights until the Meiji period.

[83] Oyler, *Swords, Oaths, and Prophetic Visions*, 17–18.

5. Children as an audience of popular literature

The earliest extant woodblock printed picture books for children were found in a seventeenth-century Jizō statue that was located in Nara and dedicated to a boy who passed away in 1678.[84] Part of the books can be traced to Kyoto publishers who specialized in *jōruri-bon* 浄瑠璃本 (libretti from the puppet theatre). They were probably bought as souvenirs by the boy's father, who was a merchant.[85] The books consist of illustrated digests of warrior legends, *ko-jōruri* 古浄瑠璃 (puppet) plays and *sekkyō* 説教 (Buddhist sermon-ballads), and several non-narrative 'compendia' of *tengu* 天狗 (long-nosed goblins or bird-like creatures), weird people and creatures, evil warrior-monks, and strange dreams. Of the ten books, three are about Yoshitsune and Benkei (discussed in the next section). The narratives (where present) are based on existing tales such as *Benkei monogatari* 弁慶物語 ('The Tale of Benkei') and *jōruri* plays. The texts incorporate also sentences from these sources.[86] The books with narratives represent thus not an attempt at writing original stories for children, but are simplified, predominantly pictorial, derivatives of texts aimed at adults.

The genre of woodblock printed picture books produced in Edo, or *kusazōshi* (litt. 'grass books') spanned the late seventeenth century to late nineteenth century and is generally considered to have followed a path of 'maturation' leading from *akahon*, *kurohon* 黒本 ('black cover books') and *aobon* 青本 ('green cover books') to *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 ('yellow cover books') and *gōkan* 合巻 ('combined books'). *Akahon*, with their red covers (an auspicious colour), were published as New Year's presents (*otoshidama* お年玉) in Edo from the late seventeenth century till the mid eighteenth century.[87] Although *kusazōshi* with red, black, and green covers made their first appearance chronologically, their existence overlaps: *akahon* could at the same time or later be sold with a black cover, and the covers of green and black books were interchangeable.[88] The heyday of *akahon* was in the early

[84] See Okamoto 1988 and R. Keller Kimbrough 2015. In the 1980s, Okamoto Masaru's publications on the books in the statue challenged the hitherto accepted idea that the development picture books started in Edo with so-called *akahon* 'red books'.
[85] Okamoto, *Kodomo Ehon No Tanjō*, 78–80.
[86] Okamoto, 157–58.
[87] *Akahon* were of *chūbon* 中本 size (about 18 x 13 cm), and a volume consisted of ten pages (five *chō* 丁).
[88] Kimura, 'Akakohon Kara Aobon Made', 605; Emmerich, 'Picture Books: From Akahon to Kibyōshi and Gōkan', 515. The plant-based pigment used for green covers would moreover easily discolour and appear as a yellow cover, upon which publishers switched to covers that were originally yellow.

eighteenth century. They disappeared after the 1750s conceivably because the pigment had become too expensive.[89]

As mentioned before, *akahon* are in literature research associated with an audience of children, while consequent terms refer to picture books of increasing length and/or sophistication, not associated with the interests and literacy levels of children. Among *akahon* there were many that introduce folktales (*mukashibanashi* 昔話) and stories that feature anthropomorphic rats, such as the repeatedly adapted tale *Nezumi no yome-iri* 鼠の嫁入り (The Wedding of the Rat), that introduces in a playful way customs around marriage, or *Fukujin Ise dōchū* 福神いせ道中 (The Ise Pilgrimage by the Lucky Gods), that alludes to popular literature about travel and famous places.[90] Rats were associated with Daitokuten, the god of wealth and the household. Some *kurohon/aobon* are adaptations of more difficult, canonical literature, such as the earlier mentioned *Utagaruta*. Another example is *Shio-uri bunta monogatari* 塩売文太物語 (The Tale of Bunta the Salt-seller, 1749), an adaptation of *Bunshōzōshi* 文正草紙 (The Tale of Bunshō), that was 'recommended reading' for girls during the New Year.[91] Such books could serve as an appropriate *otoshidama* for those who could not (yet) read the original text.[92] Some *akahon* seem to be aimed at adults, such as an *akahon* about Enma, the god of hell, that plays with lines from popular songs and is full of jokes that ask for more cultural knowledge than might be expected of children.[93] Jonathan Mills, who analysed two *kurohon* about the warrior Kumagai Naozane, argues that such characteristics point to a 'dual audience' of children and adults.[94]

From the late eighteenth century, the genre of *kusazōshi* is generally considered to have left audiences of (young) children behind. *Kibyōshi*, whose first appearance is dated to 1775, are associated with humorous narratives set in the contemporary world of entertainment and the pleasure quarters, and might be conceived of as the visually-oriented counterpart to

[89] The covers of *akahon* were painted with a pigment made from lead oxide. *Kurohon* were painted with ink, and *aobon* were painted with a plant-based pigment. *Akahon* were five *mon* during the 1750s, equivalent to three bowls of soba. Kimura, *Kusazōshi No Sekai*, 64.
[90] Kimura, 43–45.
[91] See for a translation of this Muromachi-period tale Araki, 'Bunsho Soshi. The Tale of Bunsho, the Saltmaker'. Ryūtei Tanehiko wrote in 1841 that after their 'first calligraphy' in the New Year, girls were supposed to do their 'first reading', a reading of *Bunshōzōshi*. Araki, 244. *Shio-uri bunta monogatari* was also sold with a black cover.
[92] Kimura, *Kusazōshi No Sekai*, 64–66.
[93] Kimura, 34–36.
[94] Mills, 'Depictions of Martial and Spiritual Power'.

sharebon 洒落本 ('book of manners').[95] Historical metaphors were used to criticize and ridicule contemporary society and politics. This development is closely connected to the Kyōhō Reforms (1716-1745). In an edict from 1721, children's books (*kodomo moteasobi kusazōshi* 子供翫び草双紙) were specifically mentioned as exempted from censure, which invited artists to explore the possibilities of this form of expression for social comment.[96] In the early nineteenth century, the number of volumes that comprised a single work increased, and during the first decennium of the nineteenth century, the term *kibyōshi* was replaced with 'combined books' or *gōkan*. In relation to trends in the kabuki theatre, *kataki-uchi* 敵討 (revenge) stories became popular, as well as narratives about (historical) heroes. These stories have a moralistic inclination to lecture the reader about 'good and evil' (*zen'aku* 善悪), although audiences of various ages might rather have been attracted to the heroic, fantastic or grotesque nature of these works.[97]

According to Kristin Williams, one of the reasons why Edo period books for children are overlooked is that the traditional subcategories of *kusazōshi* obscure continuity.[98] Moreover, the expression 'for women and children' (given by Kern as *jochū samagata on-kosamagata*) in popular literature was found to be a trope rather than an accurate description of an actual audience of children. Kimura argues that the discursive use of 'children' (*okosama*) in prefaces appeared after the above-mentioned Kyōhō reforms, that exempted children's books from censure.[99] She gives several examples of Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) addressing the adult reader as *okosama* and observes that it became a standard expression also seen in many other works during the Kansei period, and even in Meiji period novels. Adam Kern translates the expression 'for children' (*on-kosamagata*) in the preface of Kyōden's *Gozonji no shōbaimono* 存知商売物 ('Those Familiar Best-sellers', 1782) as 'you kids'.[100] According to Kern, the actual readership of *kibyōshi* consisted of men in their twenties and thirties who frequented the pleasure quarters and would understand the jokes, but the books might also have attracted teens, as it offered a window on the adult world of entertainment. However, these metaphorical uses do not rule out the possibility that there

[95] Kimura, *Kusazōshi No Sekai*, 32. See also Kern 2006 for a comparison of *sharebon* and *kibyōshi*. Kern, *Manga from the Floating World*, 100–103. The comedy in *kibyōshi* is typically based on the failure of the rookie protagonist to grasp the sophisticated manners of the pleasure quarters.
[96] Kimura, 'Akakohon Kara Aobon Made', 608.
[97] Uda, 'Kibyōshi', 621.
[98] Williams, 'Visualizing the Child', 33–34.
[99] Kimura, 'Akakohon Kara Aobon Made', 610.
[100] Kern, *Manga from the Floating World*, 49–51.

were also *kusazōshi* specifically aimed at children hidden under the larger classification and typification of *kibyōshi* and *gōkan*.

The government seems to be convinced that there are books genuinely aimed at children next to books that merely pose as such. In 1790, the Bakufu tried to close the loopholes left by the Kyōhō Reforms. The first edict (1790) of what became known as the Kansei Reforms addresses the offending 'children's books'.

> Recently some wicked children's picture books etc. have appeared which are ostensibly set in ancient times; henceforward these are to be regarded as undesirable. However, books that convey ancient matters in a direct manner, making use of images in a straightforward style, and being only intended as playthings for children, are allowed.
> 近年子供持遊ひ草紙絵本等、古代之事ニよそへ、不束成儀作出候類相見候、以来無用ニ可致候、但、古来之通質朴ニ仕立、絵様も常体ニいたし、全子供持遊ひニ成候様致候儀は不苦候[101]

The first part of the admonition targets 'historical' *kibyōshi* that use the pre-Edo period past to satirize contemporary politics and are presumably mainly aimed at adults. Peter Kornicki and Kristin Williams only introduce this part.[102] However, the edict next specifically mentions that picture books that are genuinely aimed at children, are not forbidden. Important to note is also that these books are associated with a straightforward (*jōtai* 常体) representation of 'ancient matters'. A too rigid belief in the term 'for children' as merely a trope obscures the fact that the second half of the Edo period produced many straightforward versions of warrior legends. Concrete examples will be discussed in section six of this chapter.

Although *mukashibanashi* were a theme that people would outgrow, warriors-legends were constantly 'renewed' for people of all ages.[103] A new Soga piece was always staged

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[101] Ishii and Takayanagi, *Ofuregaki Tenpō Shūsei 御觸書天保集成*, 810. (#7417).
[102] Kornicki, 'Nishiki No Ura', 156. Williams, 'Visualizing the Child', 65.
An example of such a *kusazōshi* 'ostensibly set in ancient times' is *Yorokonbu hiiki no Ezo-oshi* 悦贔屓蝦夷押領 (Happy Seaweed and the Advantages of a Push into Ezo, 1788) by Koikawa Harumachi and Kitao Masayoshi, that takes the legend of Yoshitsune's crossing to Ezo as its *shukō* 趣向 (plot). The narrative parodies the corruption of Senior Counselor Tanuma Okitsugu's (1719-1788) regime and the strict Neo-Confucian policies advocated by Tanuma's successor Matsudaira Sadanobu (1787-1793) who was responsible for the Kansei Reforms. Readers would be able to connect the Ezo legend to Tanuma's plans for the development of Ezo-chi. The historical warriors around Yoshitsune can be conflated with the men around Tanuma and the episodes represent several misdeeds of the Tanuma faction. Uda, 'Yorokonbu Hiiki No Ezo-Oshi'.
[103] Koike, 'Edoki Kodomohon', 161.

around the New Year for example, and anyone who had a basic understanding of the Soga *sekai* 世界 (the story world) and characters, could join in the excitement. So-called *musha ehon* 武者絵本 ('warrior picture books') produced in Edo as well as the Kansai area introduced various famous warriors in their most iconic moment, with short textual explanations, while *ichidaiki* 一代記 told the life of a specific famous character, largely based on well-known iconographies. Seta traces *musha ehon* back to the popularity of so-called *kinpira-bon* 金平本.[104] These appeared mainly in the Kanbun (1661-1673) period and were based on puppet plays (*kinpira jōruri* 金平浄瑠璃) about the adventures of Kinpira, the son of the warrior Sakata Kintoki 坂田金時.[105] Like the books found in the Jizō statue, *akahon* and *kurohon* from Edo were produced by publishers specializing in libretti, such as the Urokogataya 鱗形屋.[106] The connection between the theatre and *kusazōshi* remained strong throughout the Edo period. Adam Kern has refuted theories that characterize *kusazōshi* as wholistically reflecting or constructing the stage and proposed that they should be read 'with their own generic ends foremost in mind'.[107] However, as an alternative model, the connection between the stage and *kusazōshi* might be placed outside the concrete works, on the level of a shared visual and narrative lexicon that they both continuously refer to. As such, *ichidaiki* and *musha ehon* that represent famous characters and plots are especially meaningful for those with yet little cultural literacy.

There is contemporary evidence that adults stimulated an interest in books in children. The eighteenth-century Neo-Confucian scholar Emura Hokkai 江村北海 (1713-1788) argued in his treatise *Jugyō hen* 授業篇 ('On teaching', 1786) that young children should be given illustrated books as toys in order to foster a love for books.[108] In the beginning anything will do, even if they merely enjoy tearing them apart. They will ask what the pictures stand for out of curiosity, and in Hokkai's experience, the explanations he gave to his children would stick very well. Apart from illustrated books with a clear didactic function, such as *The twenty-four exemplars of filial piety* or *Teikin ōrai*, Hokkai also advised to introduce guidebooks, encyclopaedias, *Soga monogatari* and *Heike monogatari* and explain the

[104] Seta, *Ochibo hiroi : jōkan*, 321.
[105] Seta, 56–66. His childhood name was Kintarō. Legends about this strong boy still belong to the canon of Japanese fairy tales.
[106] Most *kurohon* appeared as a by-product of the libretti/theatre business. The use of black covers for *kusazōshi* is probably related to the fact that libretti were customarily bound with black covers. Kimura, 'Akakohon Kara Aobon Made', 606. *Musha ehon* were published in Edo as well as the Kansai and are thus not necessarily *kusazōshi*.
[107] Kern, 'Kabuki Plays on Page', 185.
[108] Nagatomo, *Edojidai No Shomotsu to Dokusho*, 193–94; Williams, 'Visualizing the Child', 51–53.

illustrations. For pictures of warriors, it is most important to introduce the names, which the child will then quickly memorize. This is indeed what *musha ehon* do: even if there is no other written text, at least names are provided. Although Hokkai was maybe ahead of his time, late Edo period publishers seem to rely on adult's ability and willingness to do some *etoki* 絵解 (picture-explanation). Iconographies and central episodes of warrior legends appeared not only in *kusazōshi*, but also on *sugoroku* 双六 boardgames. Specific episodes can be identified if the viewer is acquainted with the iconography. To Hokkai this is where everything starts: the child learns the name of the exemplar or historical person, and then the very basics of what he/she is remembered for.

Children's literature scholar John Morgenstern is critical of the tendency to exclude 'the works that we know children took pleasure in but which we dismiss because they were not specifically written for children'.[109] He is here speaking of chapbooks, but this also applies to *kusazōshi*, and for the more advanced readers, war tales. With no clear boundaries between books for children and adults, precocious boys from intellectual families proceeded at their own pace from simple to more complicated vernacular literature shared with adults. Moriyama Takamori 森山孝盛 (1738-1815), an adviser of Matsudaira Sadanobu, wrote in his *Ama no takumo no ki* 蜑の焼藻の記 ('A Fisherman's Flotsam Bonfire', 1798) that till age ten, he recited his lessons without any understanding, as if they were sutras.[110] On the other hand, he very much enjoyed the folktales and the legends of the Genpei War told by his mother. Her stories awakened in him an interest in war tales and *jōruribon*, and for a period in his youth he was absorbed in these books. The Neo-Confucian scholar Suzuki Tōya 鈴木桃野 (1800-52) wrote in his *Mukayūkyō* 無可有郷 ('Utopia') that as a child he was sickly, and to the dismay of his father and grandfather, cried when confronted with books for study. His mother would comfort him when distressed about the path set out by his father. From nine years of age, he entered a *terakoya* but had to stay home regularly because of illness. This was when he discovered popular fiction and started to read *gōkan* by Santō Kyōden, Takizawa Bakin, Shikitei Sanba, Santō Kyōzan and other popular authors, followed by *Heike monogatari*, *Hōgen monogatari*, *Heiji monogatari*, *Gikeiki*, and ghost stories. He bought any new *gōkan* that appeared, he states. According to Tōya, the illustrations made a deep impression

[109] Morgenstern, 'The Rise of Children's Literature Reconsidered', 65.
[110] Seta, *Ochibo hiroi : jōkan*, 201–2.

on him and played a large role in his enjoyment of these books.[111] *Gōkan* did not yet exist in Takamori's time, but both men carved out a path that led to the war tales as satisfactory reading material.[112] In the mid-Meiji period, well-educated boys like Tanizaki Jun'ichirō arrived at this same stage by way of (illustrated) history series written for young (male) citizens and adults enthusiastically promoting the theme, as discussed in the introduction to this thesis.

Gōkan are also mentioned as a boy's preferred reading material in the second part of Shikitei Sanba's *Ukiyoburo* 浮世風呂 ('Floating-world Bathhouse', 1809-13). A mother talks about the reading behaviour of her third son, who buys 'a kind of *kusazōshi* called *gōkan*' (*gōkan to yara mōsu kusazōshi* 合巻とやら申草双帋) the moment a new volume appears, and who talks knowledgeably about artists like Toyokuni and Kunisada.[113] Her friend answers that in *their* time children would read 'The Wedding of the Rat' and *akahon* about folktales (*mukashibanashi no akahon* むかし咄の赤本). It can be questioned if this scene gives a true account of what children read as Sanba might simply have dropped the names of Toyokuni and Kunisada as a form of advertisement. The cheapest *gōkan* in this period were about 110 *mon* per volume.[114] In the present-day, this would be around 2200 yen.[115] In comparison, a bowl of soba would be sixteen *mon*, borrowing a book from a *kashihonya* 貸本屋 ('book rental store') would be twenty-four *mon*, and the monthly fee for a *terakoya* was about two hundred *mon* in early nineteenth century Edo.[116] However, various authors and artists who grew up in the early Meiji period also report that *gōkan* belonged to the reading experiences of their youth.[117] As just mentioned, books could also be borrowed cheaply from a *kashihonya*, and the questionable part of Sanba's scene is maybe the 'buying' rather than the 'reading' or enjoying the pictures.

A testimony to children's engagement with illustrated books appears in a copy of *Gikeiki* (dated 1645) held in the Waseda University Library (fig. 1.9). The first book of *Gikeiki* describes how the young Yoshitsune secretly practices sword fighting at night in Sōjō valley

[111] Seta, 202–3.
[112] War tales were – not surprisingly – also recommended reading for samurai boys. Richard Dore describes that at fief schools in Mito, Hikone and Aizu (that offered obligatory Chinese Studies to young men of samurai status), students who by age twenty still failed to qualify for the upper school were placed in a class that read 'histories and suitably warlike novels written in Japanese'. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, 86.
[113] Shikitei, *Ukiyoburo*, 118.
[114] Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji*, 413.
[115] Maruta, *Mono No Nedan de Shiru Edo No Kurashi*.
[116] Maruta, 134., resp. 181, 103.
[117] Emmerich, 'Picture Books: From Akahon to Kibyōshi and Gōkan', 518.

near Kurama temple. The text mentions that the valley is the abode of *tengu*, but there is no mention of interaction with Yoshitsune.[118] The iconic scene of Ushiwakamaru battling with *tengu* at Sōjō valley originates in various theatrical adaptations, such as the noh play *Kurama tengu* 鞍馬天狗. This latter version having become the most popular interpretation, the viewer presumably 'missed' the feathered *tengu* and added one themselves. (This might have happened any time between the publication of the book and the Meiji period, when such books were still around in people's homes.) The copies of *Utagaruta* in the collection of the NIJL and British Library have furthermore been coloured with various pigments, which leads Moretti to ask whether the book was sold with colours or treated as a colouring book.[119] In many other printed illustrations the colouring is executed in such a way that the second option is most plausible, such as the brownish marks in figs. 1.18 and 1.26. Kimura Yaeko observes that the faces of antagonists in *kusazōshi* are often painted with black ink. She cites a text from an early Meiji period *kashihonya* that apologizes to customers and blames children for the red or black smudges on faces, 'who applied it to characters they consider to be nasty'.[120] These examples show that children not only engaged with illustrated books but also had an understanding of the depicted characters and the relationships between them, either by reading the text or with the help of a narrator.

Fig. 1.9 *Gikeiki*, vol. 1, 1645. WKD

By the late Edo period, *akahon* and *mukashibanashi* were more or less conflated as a genre for (young) children that was disappearing. Sanba wrote in 1812 two *gōkan* that bear in

[118] See Kajihara, *Gikeiki*, 31; McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, 75.
[119] Moretti, *Recasting the Past*, 25.
[120] Kimura, 'Akakohon Kara Aobon Made', 57.

the title the words '*akahon* revival' (*Akahon saikō* 赤本再興), consisting of *Momotarō* and *Hanasaka jiji* 花咲爺 ('The old man who made withered trees blossom'). Bakin also had an interest in *mukashibanashi*, including *kusazōshi* versions. In the fourth part of his essay collection *Enseki zasshi* 燕石雑誌 ('Miscellany of Imitation Jewels', 1811), he introduces the storylines of seven different *mukashibanashi*, annotated with his observations about origins, meanings, and variants.[121] He reproduces pages from two 'vintage' early eighteenth century *akahon* or *kurohon* featuring the folktale *Saru-kani gassen* 猿蟹合戦 ('The battle of the monkey and the crab'). Also represented are two double pages from a late seventeenth-century *kinpira-bon*. Bakin complains that 'today's children' no longer care about such books'.[122] He praises Okumura Masanobu's 奥村政信 (1686-1764) simple and vigorous illustrations, that stand according to Bakin for a better past in which children were frank (*guchoku* 愚直) rather than smart-alecky (*namasakashiki* 生さかしき).[123] During the Bakumatsu period and early Meiji-period, the term *akahon* was applied to tiny picture books (also called *mame-bon* 豆本, 'bean books') representing digests of *mukashibanashi* and biographies of warriors.[124] At the end of the nineteenth century, Iwaya Sazanami also used the word *akahon* in the sense of *kusazōshi* that introduce *mukashibanashi* to children. In his address to the young reader preceding the main story in *Momotarō* (1894), he refers to *akahon-rui* 赤本類 ('*akahon*-type') books that are not published anymore but belonged to the listening and reading experiences of his youth.[125]

Prints of children who are reading for leisure are hard to find but do appear sporadically in *kusazōshi*. That reading children are difficult to find in *nishiki-e* can be explained by the fact that such a scene has no auspicious qualities. As described in Suzuki Tōya's memoir, we might even suspect the child who indulges in reading of having a weak health. Ann Herring introduces an image of a girl flipping through a *kusazōshi* she received as a New Years' present.[126] This can be read as an advertisement for the publisher of the

[121] Takizawa, 'Enseki zasshi', 434–75. Bakin introduces *Saru-kani gassen* 猿蟹合戦 ('The battle of the monkey and the crab'), *Momotarō* 桃太郎 ('Peach Boy'), *Shita-kiri suzume* 舌切り雀 ('Tongue-cut sparrow'), *Usagi no ōtegara* 兎大手柄 ('The Rabbits' Glorious Achievement', better known as *Kachi-kachi Mountain*), *Hanasaka no okina* 花咲爺 ('The old man who made withered trees blossom'), *Saru no namakimo* 獼猴の生胆 ('The liver of the monkey'), and *Urashima ga ko* 浦嶋之子 (now generally known as *Urashima Tarō*).

[122] Takizawa, 424.

[123] Bakin is speaking of 'those under fifteen, sixteen years of age'. Masanobu's early work is influenced by the Torii school, known for its clear lines and expressive, bulging eyes of human figures.

[124] Katō, 'Akahon Kara Mamebon e', 4.

[125] Iwaya, *Nippon Mukashibanashi*, 13.

[126] Herring, 'The Hidden Heritage', 173.

Fig. 1.10 Shikitei Sanba, Hashimoto Sadahide, Takarada Chimachi, *Go Taiheiki shiraishi-banashi*, 1836. WKD

book in which the illustration appears. A similar image appears in *Go Taiheiki shiraishi-banashi* 碁太平記白石噺 (Shikitei Sanba, 1836), in which the last page shows a boy and a girl enjoying their new *kusazōshi* (fig. 1.10).[127] Children can also be spotted in pictures of *ezōshiya* 絵草紙屋, the stores that sold *kusazōshi* and other forms of popular print (fig. 1.11). Children were also involved in the book selling business. In *Ehon ikoku ichiran* 絵本異国一覧 (1799), a *detchi* 丁稚 (boy servant) who works in an upscale bookstore is shown reading a small book (fig. 1.12). The image is the last in a series of rather fantastic representations of 'foreign countries', and the bookstore represents Japan. According to the text, in that country people read books in every house. However, the boy seems to be scolded for ignoring his work instead of applauded for his interest in books. Clearly, in this context selling books is more important than reading them. Although these representations do not necessarily reflect a very large audience of literate children, publishers at least believed children to be among their clientele.

Various scholars have argued that different from modern children's literature, that tries to separate children from certain aspects of the adult world, premodern books for children rather 'eased' them into the realities of the adult world.[128] The books discussed by Kimbrough contain graphic violence, and *Utagaruta* refers to sexuality in a number of scenes.[129] Both Moretti and Kimbrough argue that these themes would not be considered inappropriate for children in Edo period Japan, nor disqualify the books as readings for children. Adults in the premodern period apparently did not consider violence in books

[127] The book is based on a famous *jōruri* and kabuki play, both staged for the first time in 1780 in Edo.
[128] Kimbrough, 'Bloody Hell!', 134; Moretti, *Recasting the Past*, 22. Baba Mitsuko argues that narratives introduced to children (for example, stories that include representations of marriage) played a role in their 'initiation' into the adult world already in the medieval period. Baba, 'Inishieeshon Toshite No Warabe'.).
[129] Moretti, *Recasting the Past*, 21–22.

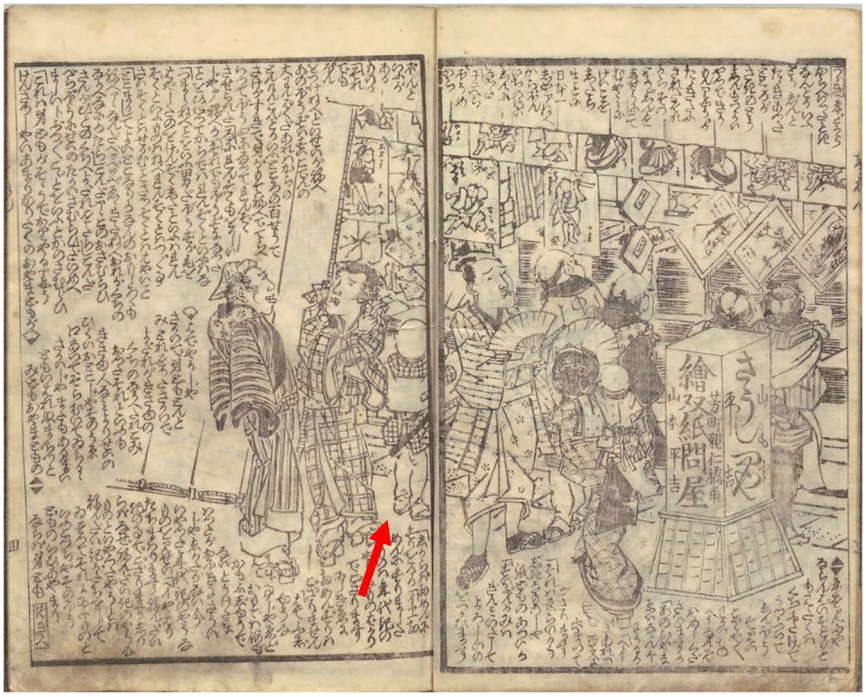

Fig. 1.11 *Hōnen mutsu no hanabusa, zenpen* vol. 4, 1839. NDL

Fig. 1.12 Shunkōen Hanamaru, Okada Gyokuzan, *Ehon ikoku ichiran*, vol. 5, 1799. WKD

presented to children a subject worth of discussion or special measures. Did adults care to keep books with sexual content away from children? Suzuki Toshiyuki also argues they did not. *Ezōshiya* would display their books and prints of any subject side-by-side. Suzuki finds additional proof for this practice in a song from a primer (from 1780) for girls that warns against looking at 'amorous' books sold at these roadside bookstores.[130] Opinions about children and the contents of *kusazōshi* have however not been thoroughly researched. Kami Shōichirō mentions an eighteenth-century *hyōbanki* 評判記 (written commentary) in which a reviewer considers *kusazōshi* containing warrior stories and revenge stories appropriate reading-material for samurai children 'and so forth', but he is of the opinion that *iromeita mono* 色めいた物

[130] Suzuki, *Ezōshiya*, 231.

('amorous books') should not be shown to children.[131] Apparently, some adults *did* care. There is also a possibility that *ezōshiya* simply ignored any moral concerns that might have existed as it was not in their interest.

Books aimed at children were thus among *kusazōshi*, and children were among the readership of *kusazōshi* and other books in the vernacular not specifically aimed at them. The discursive use of the words 'for children' makes making clear distinctions a complex task, but also shows that a concept of 'books for children' existed.[132] That books specifically aimed at c hildren disappeared together with innovations in text and image and new (adult-centered) themes in *kusazōshi* is however implausible, considering for example rising literacy levels, the commercial value of introducing young people to books and products associated with the theatre, and the continued practice of gift-giving during the New Year (in certain strata of society). Such works as *Utagaruta* have flown under the radar because they were initially not known, and because it turns out they cannot be judged by their covers. The words 'for children' in introductions to *kusazōshi* have been read as merely a trope by default, but closer inspection of themes, narratives and forms of adaptation (text and image) brings to light that a) there was a body of *kusazōshi* characterized by simplified language supported by images aimed at a readership of children or a 'dual readership' and, b) many of these were adaptations of (canonical) works aimed at adults, and provide the reader with basic cultural knowledge and/or moral instruction in an entertaining way. Children also 'adopted' *kusazōshi* and illustrated popular literature written in the vernacular (not specifically created for them) as their own reading material. Several scholars have pointed out that even if the contents of *kusazōshi* aimed at children seem partly incongruent with modern concepts of children's literature, such books might be for a 'dual audience' or serve the aim of 'easing' children into the realities of the adult world. The adult world does however not only consist of realities. *Kusazōshi* about warriors rather invited children to the popular history and fiction of the adult world.

[131] Kami, 'Jidōbungaku Zenshi e No Izanai', 23–24. The *hyōbanki* here referred to is the anonymous *Sakusha hyōban sengokutōshi* 作者評判千石篩 (1754).
[132] Williams, 'Visualizing the Child', 60.

6. Yoshitsune in *ōraimono* and *kusazōshi* for children

This section analyses the representation of Minamoto Yoshitsune in both didactic and entertaining books for children. Although *kusazōshi* for children might contain (implicit) teachings, 'didactic texts' for children were clearly differentiated by their classification as *ōraimono*, a distinct layout and canonical status within the (unofficial) *terakoya* curriculum. Yoshitsune appears prominently in both genres. As discussed on section four, closely associated with Yoshitsune was the so-called Koshigoe letter (*Koshigoe-jō* 腰越状), that served like various other *kojō* or 'ancient letters' as a writing model, history lesson, and moral instruction. On the other hand, *kusazōshi* for children (or a dual audience) focused on the pivotal moments of the cycle of Yoshitsune legends, each adding a distinct flavor to the line-up of famous episodes.

6.1. Yoshitsune in *ōraimono*

Several (apocryphal) letters written by Yoshitsune were published as writing models, of which the Koshigoe letter was the most popular. In the late Edo period, the Koshigoe letter was included in compendia of *kojō* and in collections of miscellaneous *ōrai*. The document not only appears in *Heike monogatari*, but also in *Gikeiki*, the historical chronicle *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 ('Mirror of the East'), and the *kōwakamai* 幸若舞 (a form of recitative dance) libretto *Koshigoe*. After Yoritomo was installed as the first Kamakura shogun, he purportedly denied Yoshitsune the rewards that he deserved, nor allowed him to enter the city. While Yoshitsune waited at Koshigoe, he sent Yoritomo's retainer Oe no Hiromoto 大江広元 (1148-1225) a letter to convince his brother of his loyalty. The first part of the letter according to *Gikeiki* reads:

> Minamoto Yoshitsune respectfully states the following: After having been chosen as one of His Lordship's deputies, I wiped out our clan's humiliation by overthrowing the Heike as an imperial messenger. I have earned a reward; yet I weep vain tears of blood, undone by the slanders of an evil mouth. Prevented from entering Kamakura because of a calumniator whose statements have not been examined, I spend my days in idleness, unable to express my true feelings. If I may not behold His Lordship's countenance now, it must seem that our fraternal tie is severed, that our fated relationship has ended. Or perhaps I must think of it as the result

> of a sin in a previous life. Alas! Who will explain my unhappiness or sympathize with my plight, unless it might be my dead father's reborn spirit?[133]

The letter stresses the innocence of Yoshitsune's motives, while the 'evil mouth' refers to Kajiwara Kagetoki's 梶原景時 (?-1200) slander, here identified as the cause of Yoshitsune's downfall. Matthew Thompson observes that the inclusion of the Koshigoe letter as a twelfth-century 'artifact' in the *Heike* 'functions as both cause and effect of the mystification of Yoshitsune's persona and the events surrounding his fall'.[134] In *Gikeiki*, the text (more so than in *Heike monogatari*) carefully builds up to this testament of Yoshitsune's innocence. The *kōwakamai* libretto *Koshigoe* dramatizes the episode even more and recapitulates how Kajiwara Kagetoki became resentful over the 'reverse oars incident' and plotted Yoshitsune's death.[135] The compassion with Yoshitsune that many imaginative works elicit from the audience came to be termed *hōgan biiki* 判官贔屓 or 'sympathy for the lieutenant'.

Thompson connects the appearance of the Koshigoe letter as a pedagogical text (in the seventeenth century) to *kakun* 家訓 (house codes), which were epistles addressed to the younger members of samurai households that instructed about such things as the proper management of vassals.[136] The Koshigoe letter reflects how this should *not* be done. Kagetoki is the moral antithesis to Yoshitsune, and Yoritomo appears as a ruler and brother who failed to judge and act wisely. Considering the continued popularity of the Koshigoe letter as an instructional text, the morality also must have been relevant to commoners.

Not only the Koshigoe letter itself appeared in *ōraimono* as an example to copy and remember, but also variant types of *ōrai* refer to this lesson. As discussed in section four, the basic list of Chinese characters in names, as seen in printed primers, starts with *gen* 源 and *hei* 平, referring to the warrior clans Minamoto and Taira. These clans, and Yoshitsune in particular, also appear in the late eighteenth century primer *Honchō senjimon* 本朝千字文 ('One Thousand Characters of Our Country'). The work is a Japanese variant of the Chinese *One Thousand Characters* (*Qiānzì Wén* 千字文), a primer that was widely used to teach basic literacy in China and represented Confucian ethics, historical knowledge, and aphorisms

[133] McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, 393–94.
[134] Thompson, 'The Tales of Yoshitsune', 192.
[135] Thompson, 193–95.
[136] Thompson, 196–97.

that encourage good behaviour in children.[137] The Japanese *Honchō senjimon* lists four-character compounds that introduce the mythical origin of Japan and history/legends up till Tokugawa rule and stresses the importance of writing practice. The work follows a view of history as the inevitable rise and fall of clans (i.e., the Taira and the Minamoto) and powerful figures.[138] The 1850 version of *Honchō senjimon* is illustrated and gives explanations in the vernacular. For example, *Ushiwakamaru hisoka ni sari* 牛若潜去 is explained as: 'When Ushiwaka was three years old, Kiyomori ordered to spare [Ushiwaka's] life if he would become a priest, and he was sent to Kurama temple. However, [Ushiwaka] practiced swordsmanship at Sōjōgatani, and at age seventeen left for Ōshū in secret'.[139] This piece of information is illustrated with a picture of Ushiwaka walking in the mountains near Kurama with a short description: 'Ushiwakamaru left Mount Kurama in secret together with the gold merchant Kichi-ji and departed for Ōshū'.[140] Furthermore, *nan wo tōka ni nogaru* 遁難東蝦 is explained as 'even though Yoshitsune was honourable, Kajiwara's slander … made him the victim of the night attack at Horikawa, upon which [Yoshitsune] hid deep in Yoshino, and later crossed over to Ezo.' (Yoshitsune committed suicide in 1189, yet according to a very popular legend he actually fled to Ezo, the current Hokkaido.) Kajiwara's slander and Yoritomo's unjust treatment of his Yoshitsune are mentioned several times. The descriptions are particularly reproachful when it comes to Yoritomo, who 'thought his younger brother a piece of garbage and did not even feel a little compassion'.[141] He failed to properly maintain the reciprocity between 'elder brother and younger brother', as well as 'superior and subordinate', which are fundamental to the Confucian concept of human relations.

In the years 1823 and 1824, eleven *ōrai* edited by the popular author Jippensha Ikku 十返舎 一九 (1765-1831) appeared that describe the life of famous warriors such as Yoshitsune, Minamoto Yoshiie, the Soga brothers, and Minamoto Yorimitsu (Raikō). Ikku was very active as an editor of compendia of instructional texts. The main text of his *Yoshitsune yūsō ōrai* 義経勇壮往来 ('*Ōrai* of Yoshitsune's Heroism', 1823) is written in large characters intended for copying and glossed with *kana* readings in the vernacular (fig. 1.8). The *kashira-*

[137] Bai, *Shaping the Ideal Child*, 26–27.
[138] Ishikawa, *Ōraimono no seiritsu to tenkai*, 90–96.
[139] The former province Ōshū 奥州 (or Mutsu 陸奥) covers current-day Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate and Aomori prefectures in northern Honshū. Yoshitsune's went there to ask for military support from Fujiwara Hidehira 藤原秀衡 (1122-1187) in Hiraizumi. He would later return to Hidehira after falling out of favour with Yoritomo.
[140] According to *Gikeiki*, Kichiji visited Kurama and took Ushiwakamaru with him to the Fujiwara in Ōshū, allies of the Genji.
[141] Ishikawa and Ishikawa, *NKT Ōrai Hen 11*, 474.

Fig. 1.8 Jippensha Ikku, *Yoshitsune yūsō ōrai*, 1823. NIJL

gaki (the upper part) contains a list of the provinces and castle-towns, and a picture of the Sumiyoshi shrine in Osaka. The major episodes of Yoshitsune's biography appear in the text. The last part of the text recapitulates that the 'treacherous retainer' Kajiwara Kagetoki slandered Yoshitsune even though Yoshitsune's merits in battle were admirable, and therefore 'the world will never forget this evil deed'. This is of course in line with the message of the Koshigoe petition. Taking his role as an educator seriously, Ikku downplays the popular Ezo legend: this was made up afterwards, 'by people who regretted the way in which the heroic Yoshitsune came to his end'.

Ikku explains the purpose of this work as follows in the introduction:

> Considering that since old times, apart from stilts and toy pigeons, children (*dōmō* 童蒙) have enjoyed so-called *akahon* about Momotarō and the demon island, or the revenge tale of the monkey and the crab, and enjoyed the thrilling sights of heroic warriors and battles of the past in *musha-e* [warrior prints] the publisher [Yamaguchiya Tōbei in Edo] eagerly requested this

> book. This [text] looks like a lighthearted historical legend, but as even girls (*dōjo* 童女) can hardly resist learning about of the achievements of famous warriors, we introduce the military exploits of Hangan Yoshitsune that [children] will have heard of, and by taking up this subject, we merely aim to make them remember the characters (*moji* 文字). In other words, this is like sweetened medicine, an expedient means to achieve progression in [the reading and writing skills of] children (*shōni* 小児).[142]

This preface confirms that in the early nineteenth century, there was an awareness of children as an audience of popular print, folktales, and narratives about warriors. Ikku implicitly associates warriors with boys, but there is no reason to assume that he is merely exaggerating when he says that girls are attracted to these stories as well. He seems to invite them to profit from this work. In *Onna daigaku* 女大学 (The Great Learning for Women), slander is mentioned as one of the five worst avarices of women, and the text admonishes to keep the household in proper order.[143] *Onna Imagawa* furthermore states '[Do not] fail to discern between good and bad servants, nor fail to correct [their behavior]'.[144] The exemplary nature of Yoshitsune should not be sought in martiality or masculinity, but in morality, which renders this episode relevant for the ideally unarmed Edo period commoners, including women.

Yoshitsune was thus recognized as a popular figure among children who could facilitate the attainment of literacy as well as correct behaviour. The connection between educational value and entertainment offered commercial opportunities not noticed by Ikku alone. For example, the two-volume picture book *Osana etoki kojō soroe* 幼稚絵解古状揃 ('Picture-explanations of Collected Ancient Letters for Children', undated) introduces the Koshigoe letter and the Fukumi-jō 含状, another letter attributed to Yoshitsune.[145] However, different from actual primers, the letter does not take the shape of a calligraphed writing example. The images are largely based on the iconographic visualisations of Yoshitsune's most famous moments as seen in *nishiki-e* and *kusazōshi*. Even though as a pedagogical text, the Koshigoe letter was taken out of the original context, it still participated in the more

[142] Ishikawa and Ishikawa, 438.
[143] De Bary, *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Vol. 2 Pt. 1*, 234.
[144] Yonemoto, *The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan*, 52.
[145] Written and illustrated by Keisai Eisen 渓斎英泉 (1790-1848). Eisen uses here the surname Ikeda, and the author is given as Ippitsuan 一筆庵, which is also one of Eisen's pseudonyms. This *gōkan* is also discussed in section 6.3.

expansive popular memory of Yoshitsune, and adults were intent on sharing this with children.[146]

6.2 Yoshitsune in *kusazōshi*: plots, characters, and iconographies

Jonathan Mills in his study of two early *kusazōshi* about the warrior Kumagai Naozane argues that rather than producing entirely new material, 'the writers [of *kusazōshi*] generally preferred to adapt and combine materials from the past, or from other genres such as kabuki or jōruri puppet theatre … It suggests that the readers of *kusazōshi* were not interested in brand-new plots or completely unknown characters: rather, that they wanted to see interesting changes and new developments to material with which they were already familiar to some extent'.[147] The Yoshitsune *sekai* provided ample material. In his detailed study of legends about Yoshitsune, Shimazu Hisamoto identifies eighteen categories of legends spanning Yoshitsune's entire life, and a bewildering number of characters.[148] This body of legends does not go back to a single original source, and therefore *kusazōshi* that chronicle the highlights of Yoshitsune's life can also be understood as 'short-cuts' to the most widely accepted versions of these legends. The iconic episodes of Yoshitsune's life were endlessly revisited in biographies and *musha ehon*. These works tried to engage a readership of children as well as adults looking for some 'interesting changes'.

The battle between Ushiwakamaru and the warrior monk Musashibō Benkei on Gojō bridge in Kyoto became one of the most popular episodes in *kusazōshi*. Both characters seem to have been a favorite of the boy (and probably his father) to whom the Jizō statue in Nara was dedicated.[149] The statue contained three books about Yoshitsune and Benkei: *Benkei tanjōki* 弁慶誕生期 ('The Birth and Life of Benkei', 1660s), *Ushiwaka sennin-giri, Hashi Benkei* 牛若千人切はし弁慶 ('Ushiwaka Slays a Thousand', and Benkei on the Bridge, 1667), and *Yoshitsune kōmyō soroe* 義経高名そろへ ('Yoshitsune's Glorious Feats', ca. 1684-1704). *Benkei tanjōki* narrates how Benkei, called Oniwakamaru 鬼若丸 ('young ogre'), in his youth, was an exceptionally big and wild child. As an adult, he started a quest to steal a thousand swords but was beaten by Yoshitsune at Gojō bridge in Kyoto, after which he became

[146] Thompson, 'The Tales of Yoshitsune', 201.
[147] Mills, 'Depictions of Martial and Spiritual Power', 52.
[148] Shimazu, *Yoshitsune Densetsu to Bungaku*.
[149] Let me here make clear that the books from the Jizō statue are not *kusazōshi* (a picture book genre from Edo), but these are the earliest extant woodblock printed picture books of Yoshitsune. Also in Kyoto, picture books of warrior legends and other themes continued to be produced in the eighteenth century, but they differ in style and size from *kusazōshi*.

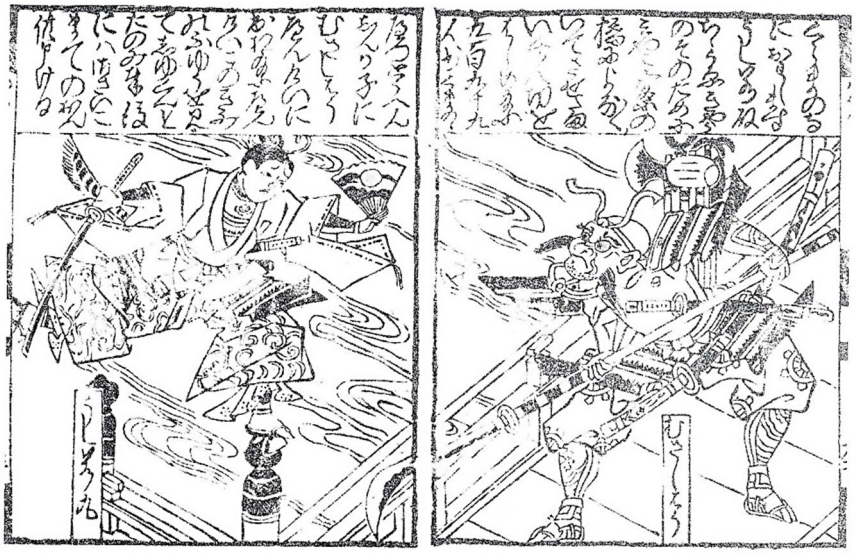

Fig. 1.13 *Yoshitsune kōmyō soroe*, ca. 1684-1704.
As reproduced in Okamoto 1982, p. 144

Yoshitsune's retainer. The book thus concentrates on Benkei's early years and his martial power, which might have been appealing especially to young audiences.[150] The second book, *Ushiwaka sennin-giri, Hashi Benkei*, focuses on Yoshitsune's younger years.[151] The narrative is probably based on a now lost *ko-jōruri* play.[152] This time, Ushiwakamaru is the one who is terrorizing people in the capital: he decided to kill a thousand Taira (as a filial act towards his father). After killing 999 people, he encountered Benkei on Gojō bridge, who however vowed to be Yoshitsune's retainer and thereby survived the massacre. Both books thus select the Gojō bride episode as a focal episode, in which the respective protagonists instigate the encounter.

Yoshitsune kōmyō soroe, following a textual introduction of Ushiwakamaru's antecedents, similarly focuses on the encounter between Ushiwakamaru and Benkei (fig. 1.13).[153] In the illustration, Ushiwakamaru jumps nimbly on a pole of the bridge, with a sword and a fan in his hands. Benkei, in full armor and with bulging eyes, wields a naginata. He carries his iconic *nanatsu-dōgu* 七つ道具 ('seven weapons') on his back. Both characters are provided with nametags. The text on top reads: 'Ushiwakamaru, who was at Kurama temple, out of filiality towards his father went to Gojō bridge in Kyoto every night and began [his quest of] killing one thousand people. The 999th person was the son of the Kumano abbot Benshin, Musashibō Benkei. When Benkei saw the valor of this young master, he asked to become his retainer and vowed to stand by him till the end.' Benkei's antecedents are clearly considered more important than a smooth narrative, as it remains

[150] Kimbrough, 'Bloody Hell!', 125.. Reproduced and transcribed in Nakano and Hida, *Kinsei Kodomo No Ehonshū - Kamigata-Hen*.
[151] Reproduced in Okamoto, *Shoki Kamigata Kodomo Ehonshū*, 124–40.
[152] Kimbrough, 'Bloody Hell!', 130–31.
[153] This episode originates in *Benkei monogatari*, the *otogizōshi Hashi Benkei*, the noh play *Hashi Benkei*, and other sources. In *Gikeiki*, the encounter takes place near Kiyomizudera. Shimazu, *Yoshitsune Densetsu to Bungaku*, 303–4.

unclear why killing a thousand random people would amount to an act of filial piety. Such representations however seem to do exactly what Emura Hokkai advocated for: they introduce an engaging image and a name as a starting point for further (oral) narration.[154] Whether this results in a lesson about filial piety and loyalty depends on the storyteller.

Yoshitsune kōmyō soroe is a biography-like text that introduces canonical episodes from the cycle of Yoshitsune legends in chronological order, a format that would also be popular in *kusazōshi*. The first pages establish Ushiwakamaru as a martial prodigy, who beats Benkei on Gojō bridge and consequently kills the thief Kumasaka Chōhan. This is followed by the highlights of his military career: Yoshitsune and Benkei looking upon Kajiwara Kagesue 梶原景季 (1162-1200) and Sasaki Takatsuna 佐々木高綱 (1160-1214) competing to be the first to cross Uji river (during the battle of Uji in 1184), the descent from Hiyodorigoe during the Battle of Ichi-no-tani against the Heike, the episode of 'the dropped bow' during the battle of Yashima (1185), and Yoshitsune's *hassō-tobi* 八艘飛 ('jumping over eight ships') during the battle of Dan-no-ura (1185).[155] The last part deals with the attack on Yoshitsune's residence at Horikawa by Yoritomo's hitman Tosabō, followed by Yoshitsune's flight to Ōshū. The book introduces how Benkei warded off the spirits of the Heike at Daimotsu-no-ura, how Satō Tadanobu impersonated Yoshitsune to facilitate his lord's safe escape from Yoshino, and finally, Yoshitsune's ritual suicide.[156] Suzuki Akira summarizes this way of representation, as also seen elsewhere in early modern print, with the modern term *jinbutsu-chūshin meibamen-shugi* 人物中心名場面主義, or 'character-focused and favoring famous scenes'.[157] Specific scenes that represent famous historical characters and plots were taken out of the narrative context, which led to simplification but also facilitated the transmission of Muromachi period legends to the Meiji period and beyond. The episodes represented in *Yoshitsune kōmyō soroe* can be traced back to a range of literary, visual, and theatrical sources,

[154] As discussed in section 5. Nagatomo, *Edojidai No Shomotsu to Dokusho*, 193–94; Williams, 'Visualizing the Child', 51–53.
[155] In the 'the dropped bow' episode in *Heike monogatari* (11:5), Yoshitsune risks his life to retrieve his shamefully small bow that fell in the sea during the battle of Yashima, but his small stature also has its benefits, as he lithely jumps over eight ships (*hassō-tobi*) during the battle of Dan-no-ura (11:10).
[156] With the blood squirting from Yoshitsune's belly, the suicide scene is particularly gruesome and together with several bloodbaths on earlier pages, represents the violent content found in several of the books from the Jizō statue, whose shocking 'lack of moral standard' Kimbrough has addressed in his article. The last scene however deviates from *Gikeiki* in an important aspect: Yoshitsune's wife, his five-year-old son and new-born daughter were all stabbed to death at the same occasion, which is also depicted in illustrations in *Gikeiki*. The illustrator of *Yoshitsune kōmyō soroe* either did not want to clutter the image with more figures or draws here a line after all, with the intended audience in mind. This is in fact a rare instance of a representation of the suicide: *kusazōshi* would end on a celebratory note: namely, Yoshitsune's kingship over Ezo.
[157] Suzuki, 'Meiji-Ki No Jidōshōnenzasshi', 40–41.

such as (illustrated versions of) *Gikeiki, Benkei monogatari, Heike monogatari* and *Soga monogatari*, noh plays (*Hashi Benkei, Funa Benkei* and others), and *ko-jōruri* texts.

Musha ehon were similarly based on this *jinbutsu-chūshin meibamen-shugi* logic. These compendia depicted a famous historical warrior on every page (or double page) according to established iconographies, supplemented with nametags and/or a cursory description. In eighteenth-century *musha ehon*, for pages representing Yoshitsune, most commonly selected are Ushiwakamaru's battle with Benkei on Gojō bridge, his sword-fighting practice with *tengu*, his fight with the robber Kumasaka Chōhan, and *hassō-tobi*. The compendium *Musha kagami* 武者鏡 ('Mirror of Warriors') by Tanaka Masunobu 田中益信 (active ca. 1740-1750), for example, selects the episode of Ushiwakamaru's fight with Kumasaka Chōhan (fig. 1.14).[158] According to *Gikeiki*, this event took place when Ushiwaka travelled to Ōshū for the first time together with the gold merchant Kichiji.[159] The text reads:

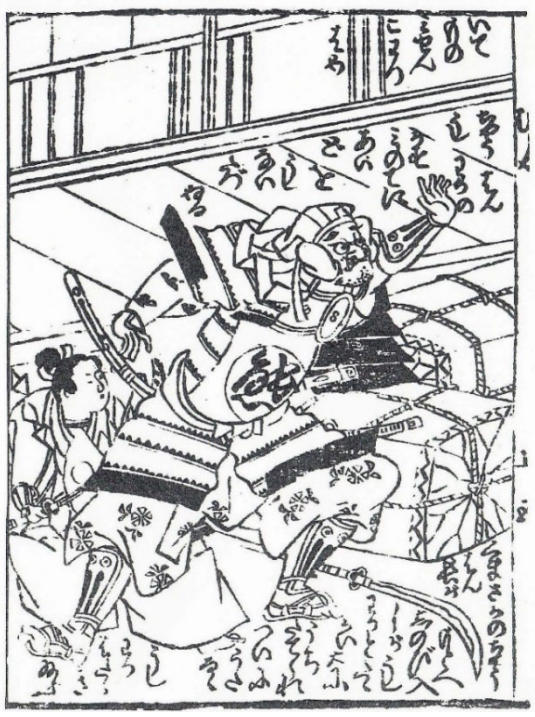

Fig. 1.14 Tanaka Masunobu, *Musha kagami*, ca. 1740-1750. As reproduced in Suzuki and Kimura 1985, p. 380

> Kumasaka Chōhan sneaks into the storehouse [where the merchant Kichiji stored his goods] but he is defeated by Ushiwaka in the fight and then killed.
> [Under Ushiwaka:] Ushiwaka makes his move.
> [Above Chōhan:] 'Where are you, little punk?'
> A perplexed Chōhan asks, confronted with Ushiwaka's mist hand [quick techniques].[160]

Chōhan's pose clearly resembles a *mie* (freeze pose). He is staring wide-eyed at his empty left hand and his naginata lies on the ground. Half hidden behind him stands Ushiwakamaru carrying a tiny sword and a fan.[161] The text identifies the small Ushiwakamaru as the victor. As no particular directions are given in the scattered text, the above might also be read in a

[158] The legend of Kumasaka Chōhan originates in *Gikeiki*, *Soga monogatari*, the noh plays *Eboshi-ori*, *Kumasaka* and other sources. (In *Gikeiki* the chief robber is however called Yuri Tarō.) Shimazu, *Yoshitsune Densetsu to Bungaku*, 274.
[159] See McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, 82–86.
[160] *Musha kagami* 武者鏡 (Kyōho period, 1716-1736). Reproduced in Suzuki and Kimura, *Kinsei Kodomo Ehonshū - Edo Hen*, 380.
[161] In *Gikeiki*, the thief mistakes Ushiwakamaru for a girl.

different order, but the message remains the same: The boy Ushiwakamaru, here called 'little punk' (*kowappame* 小童め), defeats the big, strong man by being quicker than his opponent. This episode was very popular in the early modern period (see also fig. 1.18, left page), yet in the Meiji period Chōhan's popularity waned, as the same David and Goliath-like situation could be expressed with the Gojō bridge episode. Moreover, Benkei has a continued presence in the narrative as Yoshitsune's loyal retainer. As will be discussed in the next chapter, this episode was revisited in modern primary school textbooks and children's literature.

6.3 Biographies of Yoshitsune

The chronological combination of famous scenes into a 'biography', as seen in *Yoshitsune kōmyō soroe* became a popular format in *kusazōshi* from the mid-eighteenth century into the 1880s. These *ichidaiki* were based on canonical iconographies, yet each has its own characteristics. *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* 義経一代記 ('Biography of Yoshitsune'), a mid-eighteenth century *kurohon/aobon* illustrated by an artist of the Torii school, reworked the famous scenes into a comparatively intimate narrative of Yoshitsune's life.[162] It contains important life events not seen in other *ichidaiki*, visual humour and hints about socially acceptable behaviour.[163] There is no preface, but we might recall that in the preface of *Utagaruta*, images by Torii school artists were considered attractive to children[164], and at least one of the extant copies of *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* has been coloured by someone who had difficulty staying within the lines, presumably a child.

The book opens with a picture of Tokiwa gozen 常盤御前 (1138-?, a concubine of Yoshitsune's father Yoshitomo), covered by an embroidered robe, who has just given birth, while three women are washing the new-born in a tub (fig. 1.15). This is similar to the way in which, for example, the birth of Momotarō has been depicted.[165] The iconographic quality is here not specific to Yoshitsune. The servant holding Ushiwakamaru comments 'What a

[162] The book was originally 10 volumes. The represented volume is bound together in one volume (NIJL, Kaga Bunko 886825-1).
[163] There seem to be no (extant) *akahon* that chronicle Yoshitsune's life, although *Yoshitsune shima meguri* (an adaptation of the tale *Onzōshi shima watari*) does exist as *akahon*. This might be explained by the fact that despite all the bravura, a dead Yoshitsune is not particularly suitable for the New Year. *Yoshitsune shima meguri* on the other hand, leads the reader/viewer along various exotic islands and contains a Buddhist message of salvation.
[164] Moretti, *Recasting the Past*, 19.
[165] Momotarō ('peach boy') is a hero from Japanese folklore. The tale, in which the protagonist beats the demons of 'demon island' with the help of three animals, was standardized as a children's classic in modern elementary school textbooks. In modern versions of the tale, Momotarō is born from a peach. A common version in the premodern period was however that the old woman who found the magic peach ate it, regained her fertility, and gave birth to Momotarō.

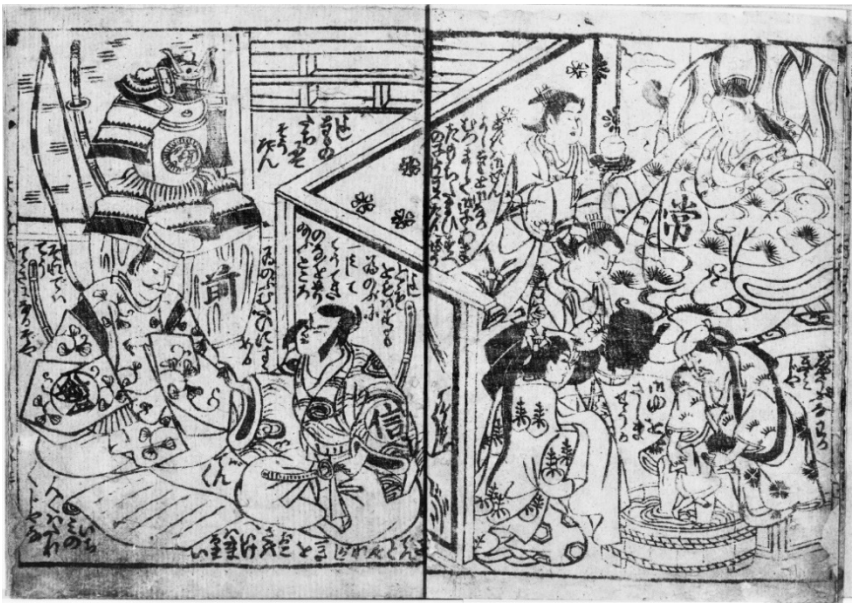

Fig. 1.15 *Yoshitsune ichidaiki*, mid-eighteenth c. NIJL

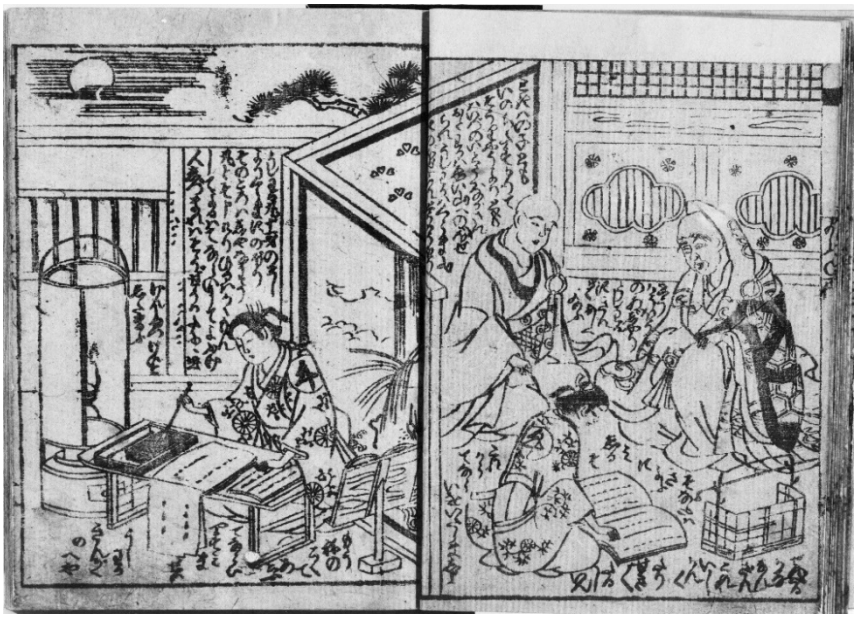

Fig. 1.16 *Yoshitsune ichidaiki*, mid-eighteenth c. NIJL

healthy young lord', while a second servant stands ready with a towel, and the third proposes to pour in some more hot water in the tub. On the other side of the folding screen (which can be read as a different scene) the men discuss war. The next three pages consist of bloodshed, culminating in Yoshitomo's head on a wooden board, placed in front of the victor, Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118-1181), for inspection. Tokiwa flees, carrying the infant Ushiwaka at her bosom while trying to protect one of the older boys (who whines 'mother, I am so cold') with her hat against the snow. (This scene/iconography is also depicted in figs. 4.1 to 4.3.) They are however captured and brought to Kiyomori. Entrusted to a priest at Kurama temple, Ushiwakamaru shows himself to be a very diligent student, who like an eighteenth-century *terakoya*-student practices *tenarai* and *sodoku*, and studies even at night (fig. 1.16). Ushiwakamaru however also secretly practices sword fighting with the supernatural *tengu* at Sōjogatani and then leaves for Ōshū, but not without properly informing his teacher in a letter. Ushiwakamaru on his way to Ōshū visits the beautiful

princess Jōruri, who is just holding a party and Ushiwaka joins with his flute in the orchestra. The next day they are however raided by robbers and although Ushiwaka manages to kill the attackers, princess Jōruri also loses her life. After visiting her grave in Kyoto, Ushiwakamaru embarks on the next adventure: he manages to copy the secret scrolls on war strategy of the priest Kiichi Hōgen by seducing his daughter, and then beats Benkei on Gojō bridge. The image shows the moment that Benkei promises his loyalty rather than the fight itself. After a meeting between Yoritomo and Yoshitsune, during which they shed tears of happiness, the narrative focuses on Yoshitsune's military career.

Although Kajiwara's slander eventually makes Yoshitsune a fugitive, the narrative retains an upbeat atmosphere, because the warriors successfully rid themselves of Tosabō and the Taira ghosts. Pretending to be *yamabushi* 山伏 (mountain ascetics), Yoshitsune and his retainers travel to Ōshū. (In an interlude, the sad fate of Yoshitsune's lover Shizuka gozen, who was left behind in the mountains of Yoshino, is also addressed.) Benkei manages to lead the party through the Ataka barrier, and arriving in Hiraizumi, Yoshitsune takes command again. During the attack by Yoritomo's forces, Yoshitsune fakes his death, and stand-ins are also found for his retainers, whose heads are sent to Yoritomo and neatly lined up for inspection. The real Yoshitsune and Benkei board a ship to Ezo (current Hokkaido), where they are welcomed by the exotically dressed natives. Benkei beats the queen (who has the size of a sumo-wrestler) in a tug-of-war game and Yoshitsune is allowed to marry the queen's daughter.[166]

The newness and relevance of this particular *kusazōshi* leads from (mainly) three inventions: humour, personal moments of joy and grief, and (anachronistic) social and cultural knowledge. The ending is, for example, a humorous variation on the ending of the medieval tale *Onzōshi shima watari* 御曹司島渡り ('Yoshitsune's Island-Hopping') in which not Benkei, but Yoshitsune himself battles with the *king* of Ezo and wins the hand of the princess.[167] Like the books from the Jizō statue, violence and death are repeatedly

[166] The very last page of *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* shows an exotically dressed Benkei sitting on a tree and a smaller man standing below. The page is however in a bad shape and it is unclear what the text tries to convey. However, as Yoshitsune marries the princess we can assume that he becomes king. Another extant copy (reprint) of this book (NIJL, Tōkyō Shiryō 4752-137) misses several pages but has a different ending: it shows Yoshitsune's retainer Hitachibō Kaison ripping up the floorboards and digging a tunnel to Ezo under the *butsudan* (altar). In *Yorokonbu hiiki no Ezo-oshi,* Ezo is equally reached through a hole (*nuke-ana* 抜け穴), that is being compared to a *seri* 迫 (stage trapdoor). *Seri* started to be used in the 1750's, so the phenomenon was still comparatively new.

[167] An English translation of this tale appears in Kimbrough and Shirane, *Monsters, Animals, and Other Worlds*..

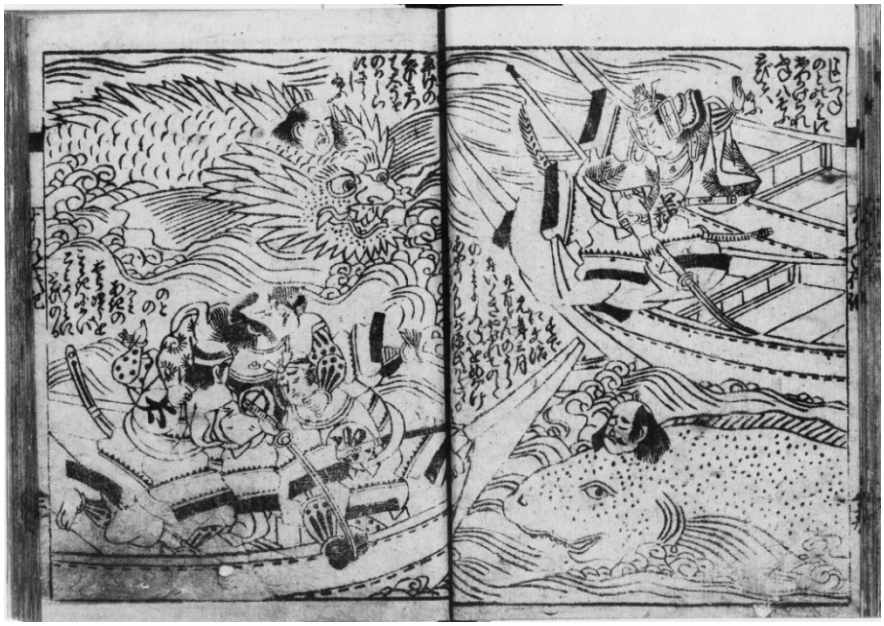

Fig. 1.17 *Yoshitsune ichidaiki*, mid-eighteenth c. NIJL

represented, but it has a more cartoonish quality, for which the Torii school artist can be credited. The number of chopped-off heads is quite over the top, and a touch of absurd humour is added to well-known iconographies. For example, in the depiction of Yoshitsune's *hassō-tobi*, the conventional elements are the jumping Yoshitsune, and some ships with warriors. In this picture, we also find the heads of slain warriors sticking to giant fish (fig. 1.17).

Ushiwakamaru is presented as a very decent boy, who not only studies well at the temple – resembling an Edo period *terakoya* - but is also considerate to his teacher by informing him of his departure from Kurama rather than sneaking away. The visual/verbal narrative includes practical knowledge, such as the shape and names of different kinds of musical instruments. When Yoshitsune marries the Ezo princess, the picture shows them exchanging sake cups, as was the custom in the Edo period. *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* thus not only entertains, but also instructs both boys and girls in social customs and expectations.

The more personal moments introduce important events in life, such as childbirth and visiting the grave of someone who was dear to you (in this case not a filial act). As I will discuss in chapter three, Meiji authors of children's literature avoided the episodes related to romance or sexuality and presented the world of the warrior as homosocial. In this *Yoshitsune ichidaiki*, several female characters are present not only in the role of mother, but also as wife/lover. We witness Tokiwa who has just delivered the baby, and the birth of Yoshitsune's own son in the mountains during the flight to Ōshū. Apart from the wife that went to Ōshū with Yoshitsune, introduced are his lovers Jōruri-hime, Maizuru-hime (Kiichi Hōgen's daughter who gave him the secrete scrolls), Shizuka gozen, and the Ezo princess.

Shizuka's story is treated like a side-story: grief-stricken over the parting with Yoshitsune in Yoshino, she is first robbed, and then their child Tsunewakamaru is thrown into the sea at Yuigahama in Kamakura (a spot reserved for executions) by none other than the evil Kajiwara. Shizuka's side-story ends with her famous dance in front of Yoritomo, during which she recited a poem that speaks of her loyalty to Yoshitsune. (This latter intention made her relevant for some Meiji authors, although it was safer to call her Yoshitsune's 'wife'.)

Although *kibyōshi* are known for their parodic content, there are also *kibyōshi* that introduce Yoshitsune's biography without any parodic subtext, presumably with a young (or at least new) audience in mind. The five-volume *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* 義経一代記 (1780s) by Torii Kiyonaga 鳥居清長 (1752-1815) first introduces Yoshitsune's early life, the second and third volume focus on Yoshitsune's military career, and the fourth volume introduces Kajiwara's slander and its consequences. The last volume chronicles Yoshitsune's flight to Ōshū, his fake suicide and his departure to Ezo. The first volume relates that Ushiwaka was sent to Kurama temple at age seven where he studied diligently, which can again be read as a reference to *terakoya* education, something that readers could relate to and take as an example.[168] He however gives up the idea of becoming a monk and upon hearing about his ancestry starts to practice sword fighting with *tengu* (fig. 1.18). On the opposite page, Ushiwaka is shown creeping upon Kumasaka Chōhan in much the same way as the image from *Musha kagami*, but he is presented as a handsome youth (as he would be on the stage) rather than a little boy. In consequent pages, Ushiwaka tames a wild horse in Hiraizumi, he manages to copy Kiichi Hōgen's secret scrolls on martial techniques by seducing his daughter Maizuru-hime, and finally, beats Benkei on Gojō bridge. Following the two volumes that focus on Yoshitsune's military career, Kajiwara's slander makes Yoshitsune a fugitive. Here attackers, ghosts, and the barrier keeper at Ataka are most admirably defeated with force, prayers, and wit by Yoshitsune's loyal retainers. Different from the earlier discussed *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* with its personal drama and comical touch this *kibyōshi* mainly introduces iconic martial exploits in an upbeat, straightforward way. The Bakufu would be satisfied: it has no characteristics that could mark it as the parodic 'fake' children's books

[168] Ushiwaka as a good student is also seen in for example the *gōkan Fushimi Tokiwa* 伏見ときは (Tokiwa at Fushimi, 1821) by Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, in which Yoshitsune's mother Tokiwa is the main protagonist. The volume closes with an image of her youngest son Ushiwaka studying diligently at Kurama temple, which confirms she was a good mother, against all odds.

Fig. 1.18 *Yoshitsune ichidaiki*, 1789. ARC

mentioned in the edicts. There is no preface that singles out a specific audience, but the copy held by Maizuru city Itoi Bunko, like many other *kusazōshi*, has been coloured with a brown-reddish pigment that betrays it has been in the hands of a child or children at least some time during its 'active life'.

Although Kiyonaga duly introduced the canonical episodes, Eisen in the earlier mentioned 'educational' *gōkan Osana etoki kojō soroe* (that introduced the Koshigoe letter) expresses frustration with the pictorial tradition and thereby draws attention to its authority. He replaced the mythical *tengu* by monkeys both in the illustration inside the first volume and on the covers, that form an attractive diptych (fig. 1.19). In the illustration of Tokiwa and her three sons (Imawaka, Otowaka and Ushiwaka) in the snow, Eisen comments: 'Imawaka should actually not be in this picture, but for the time being, I will abide to the conventional [way of depicting the] image'. He probably mistook Imawaka for the young Yoritomo, who was not Tokiwa's son and was already sent to a temple in Kyushu. As to the Ezo legend, Eisen the critical author/educator and Eisen the print artist was either in conflict with himself or chose to present different options to illiterate and literate audiences. Following the main episodes of Yoshitsune's successful military career (combined with the

Fig. 1.19 Ikeda Eisen, *Osana etoki kojō soroe*, 1830s/1840s. WKD

last chunk of the Koshigoe letter), he states that the Ezo legend is probably not true. Yet at the end of the book, we find a huge sailing boat carrying Yoshitsune, Shizuka, their child and a large group of retainers to Ezo. The last page shows three Ainu who are worshiping at a rural Shinto temple. These are the two options for representing the Ezo legend as seen in *nishiki-e* and *kusazōshi*. The pictorial information is thus true to both the iconographic tradition and the idea that Yoshitsune went to Ezo. The confident replacement of the *tengu* moreover gives the other pictures an air of truthfulness. Eisen even invented an extra image in which we see Yoshitsune, Shizuka, and Benkei (carrying the child on his back) leave the burning Takadachi castle in Hiraizumi, where they should have perished.

In Bakumatsu period *gōkan*, Yoshitsune was increasingly placed within an ideological framework that makes him a tragic victim of a petty strife, and at the same time a hero who represents a powerful Japan that can lord over others. As discussed in section five of this chapter, the Koshigoe petition as a primer represented a moral lesson about (Kajiwara's) slander and (Yoritomo's) bad judgement, which in the context of commoner education could be applied to social interaction and household management. The Kajiwara trope thrived in a

context of revenge stories and *gōkan* occupied with the theme of *zen'aku* 善悪 (good and evil). Yoshitsune was moreover attractive as a hero because he was an outsider to the Kamakura government – that represented the roots of the inept Bakufu. The preface of *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* 義経一代記 (1857) by Kisekitei Shigeyama 奇石亭重山 (?-?) and Utagawa Yoshitora 歌川芳虎 (1836-1880) stresses that Yoshitsune is amongst those heroes in Japan and foreign lands who sacrificed themselves for the country.[169] Yoshitsune got rid of Kiso Yoshinaka and the Heike clan for the Emperor's peace of mind and he liberated the people (*banmin* 萬民) from their suffering. However, Kajiwara's slander caused Yoritomo's appreciation of Yoshitsune's merits to turn into resentment, upon which Yoshitsune had nowhere to go but Ōshū. 'Heroic boys (*gikiyūkan no wakagotachi* 義気勇敢の児童衆) will naturally feel pity for Hōgan [Yoshitsune] and despise Kajiwara', the author states. The preface stages Yoshitsune as a hero who tried to restore order for the greater good with the emperor's fiat but who was thwarted by a man with a personal grudge. Although the consequent prose text describes the reverse oars incident and the two men almost coming to blows in some detail, Yoshitsune's 'tragic downfall' is in fact overshadowed by descriptions and impressive images (representing Kabuki actors) of his successful martial exploits, epitomizing in Yoshitsune's lordship over Ezo. Different from the exotic fantasy that represented Ezo in the second half of the eighteenth century, in this *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* 'the king of Ezo' is lying prostrate for Yoshitsune, and according to the text his descendants will continue to worship Yoshitsune as the deity Gikurumi.

Ivan Morris in *The Nobility of Failure* argues that Yoshitsune's survival legends were 'never accepted as part of the main legend, whose central theme is that the hero, far from surviving or succeeding, is fated by his sincerity and lack of political acumen to die at an early age as a glorious failure.'[170] Morris finds the roots of Yoshitsune as the archetype of a tragic hero in *Heike monogatari*, *Gikeiki* and the noh play *Ataka*. In *kusazōshi* however, the *hōgan biiki* sentiment hardly plays a role. The period of Yoshitsune's downfall is represented as a number of thrilling adventures that he with help of his retainers successfully overcomes. (Except for the Ataka barrier episode, Yoshitsune is generally actively involved.) Every

[169] National Diet Library, 207-1117. https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/10301688 (accessed 24-01-2022)
[170] Morris, *The Nobility of Failure*, 101.

kusazōshi that I have seen ends with Yoshitsune's survival.[171] To speak of a multiplicity of legends would be more accurate, and *kusazōshi* show which ones were most widely known and thus comprised the cycle of 'main legends'.

In the early Meiji period, or more specifically the 1880s, Yoshitsune and other warriors were introduced to young children in so-called *mame-bon* 豆本 or 'bean-books' (see fig. 4.3). These were often published alongside booklets that introduce *Momotarō* and other folktales and contain a small selection of famous iconographies with a very short text. Between 1884 and 1891 there appeared moreover at least twenty copperplate-printed *kusazōshi* that introduce Yoshitsune's biography under the established title *Yoshitsune ichidaiki*, or *Yoshitsune kunkōki* 義経勲功記 ('Chronicle of Yoshitsune's Heroic Exploits').[172] Copperplate *kusazōshi* were sold side by side with woodblock printed books in Meiji *ezōshiya*.[173] Although the printing technique is new, like the Edo period *kusazōshi* they represent Yoshitsune's life as a succession of famous episodes and iconographies. They were specifically intended for children, and especially boys, which can be inferred from introductions (where present) and frontispieces. The publisher of *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* (1884) explains in the introduction that the contents are a summary of Yoshitsune's heroic exploits for children (*dōmō* 童蒙).[174] The frontispiece of *Ehon jitsuroku Yoshitsune kunkōki* 絵本実録勲功記 (1890) shows a boy who is studying at his desk (fig. 1.20).[175] The opposite page shows Yoshitsune who is sitting in a doll-like position

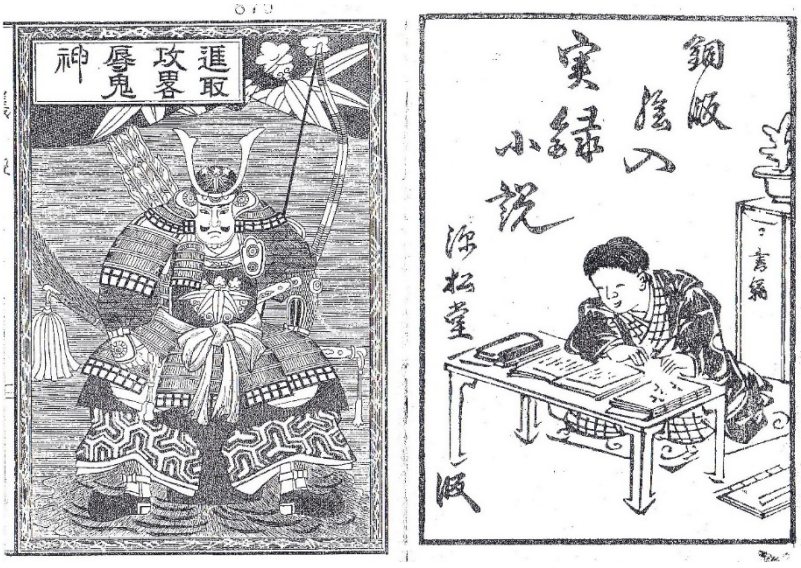

Fig. 1.20 *Ehon jitsuroku Yoshitsune Kunkōki*, 1890. NDL

[171] Various late Edo period *yomihon* and *kibyōshi* for adults also make use of the Ezo plot. One of the books from the Jizō statue (that precede the Edo *kusazōshi*) ends with Yoshitsune's suicide, but different from illustrations in *Gikeiki*, the reader is spared the sight of the young son who was also killed.

[172] At least twenty different copperplate *kusazōshi* about Yoshitsune are held in the Special Collections of the National Diet Library (Kansai-kan).

[173] Isobe, 'Dōhan Kusazōshi-Kō', 108. These books have been termed variantly.

[174] *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* 義経一代記, 1884. Edited by Machida Takiji 町田滝司 and published by Kinkōdō 金幸堂. National Diet Library call nr. 特 60-382. https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/885228

[175] *Ehon jitsuroku Yoshitsune Kunkōki* 実録義経勲功記, 1890. Published by Kamata Ariake 鎌田在明. NDL call nr. 特 42-875. https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/883655

and labelled 'Shinshu kōryaku joku kikin' 進取攻略辱鬼神 ('the vengeful fierce god of conquest'). In consequent pages, *Ehon jitsuroku Yoshitsune kunkōki* shows the iconic scene of Tokiwa and the boys in the snow, but otherwise concentrates on the martial exploits of the adult Yoshitsune and his retainers, including a fold-out panorama image (another technical invention) of the battle of Yashima.

The legend of Yoshitsune's kingship over Ezo is still the default ending and its representation ranges from benevolent rule to violent conquest. Various books, including *Ehon jitsuroku Yoshitsune kunkōki* use the word *dojin* 土人 ('natives') instead of 'Ezojin' 蝦夷人 ('barbarians') to refer to the Ainu inhabitants of Hokkaido. This term was introduced by the Bakufu in 1856 and replaced by *kyūdojin* 旧土人 ('former natives') by the Meiji government in 1878 as part of the assimilation of Hokkaido into the Japanese nation-state.[176] *Ehon Yoshitsune ichidaiki* (1886) asserts that the 'Ezojin' happily accepted Yoshitsune as their king as they recognized that the fugitives were not 'average people'.[177] The image shows Yoshitsune as a benevolent ruler who listens to two men with short haircuts, invoking the early Meiji government's ideal of an outer appearance that would make the Ainu more 'civilized' and Japanese. *Ehon Yoshitsune kunkōki* 絵本義経勲功記 (1887) on the other hand shows Yoshitsune cutting down ferociously a bearded inhabitant of Ezo.[178] The copperplate-printed pictorial accounts of Yoshitsune's exploits are generally part of a serialized publication focusing on famous warriors. The sheer number of such books published over a six-year period may reflect an increased interest in introducing the nation's heroic warriors to boys. However, these copperplate-printed *kusazōshi* do not represent a new concept of the young reader or literary genres.

In conclusion, most *ichidaiki*-type books introduced multiple episodes from Yoshitsune's youth and select Ushiwakamaru-iconography for the cover image (if there is one), presumably to attract a young audience. Ushiwaka is represented as a diligent student (while it lasts), and a determined, brave boy. The characters of Kumasaka Chōhan and Benkei contrast with Ushiwaka's small stature and admirable agility, and the sword-fighting with the *tengu* adds a magical touch to his superior fighting skills. The *kurohon/aobon*

[176] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 139–40.
[177] *Ehon Yoshitsune kunkōki* 絵本義経勲功記, 1887. Baidō Kunimasa 梅堂国政 (Utagawa Kunisada III, 1848-1920), published by Fukawaya 深川屋. NDL call nr. 特 60-385. https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/884650 See the last page.
[178] *Ehon Yoshitsune ichidaiki* 絵本義経一代記, 1886. Edited and published by Naitō Hikoichi 内藤彦一. NDL call nr. 特 60-383 https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/884646

Yoshitsune ichidaiki initiated the reader not only into the Yoshitsune *sekai*, but also important live events and social skills such as consideration and loyalty. Humour and personal drama (involving various women) gave the conventional iconographies and narrative elements spice. During the Bakumatsu period, artists continued to revisit the same iconographies, while Yoshitsune gained a new metaphorical meaning: on the one hand, as the victim of an 'inept' regime, on the other hand, a courageous general and successful colonizer. This mode of representing Yoshitsune's life through iconic episodes in *kusazōshi* continued till the 1880s in *mamebon* and copperplate printed *kusazōshi*.

7. Representations of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Murasaki Shikibu

This section considers two additional parameters in the popular representation of cultural icons, namely variations in childhood dispositions and gender. In this way I aim to come to a deeper understanding of the process of selection and adaptation of cultural icons in the Meiji period. Toyotomi Hideyoshi was different from Yoshitsune depicted as a disobedient child, which in modern primary education became an element to carefully avoid, while some commercial authors purposely selected it for adaptation. I have moreover selected Murasaki Shikibu from the premodern canon of *retsujo* 列女 (exemplary women) as she was one of the few historical female characters taken up in the modernizing elementary school curriculum.

7.1 Hiyoshimaru, a difficult boy

The most influential premodern biography of Hideyoshi was the twenty-two-volume *Taikōki* 太閤記 ('Chronicles of the Regent') by Oze Hoan 小瀬甫庵 (1564-1640), first published in 1625. In line with his Confucian background, Hoan examined history for the moral lessons it can provide and argued that despite Hideyoshi's extraordinary rise to power, his ruthless actions in later life cost him the support of heaven.[179] In other words, the Toyotomi lost from the Tokugawa because Hideyoshi knew how to win but not how to rule. For a popular audience, the appeal of the narrative lay in Hideyoshi's rise from impoverished surroundings to unifier of Japan, his courage, and his bold personality.[180] An illustrated version titled *E-iri Taikōki* 絵入太閤記 appeared in 1698. During the eighteenth century,

[179] Boot, 'Het Voortleven van Hideyoshi', 88–90.
[180] Davis, 'The Trouble with Hideyoshi', 286.

Taikōki was performed by professional storytellers and Hideyoshi (under the name Mashiba Hisayoshi) appeared in jōruri and kabuki plays. Just before the turn of the century, the adapted and illustrated *Ehon Taikōki* 絵本太閤記 (1797-1802) inaugurated a 'Hideyoshi boom', much to the displeasure of the authorities.[181] The publication of various parodic or otherwise 'presumptuous' prints led to one of the most famous cases of censure in the Edo period.[182]

Hideyoshi's rise in the world (*shusse* 出世) and his bold personality continued to appeal to the popular imagination during the nineteenth century. Iconographies developed based on illustrations in *Ehon Taikōki* and a later work, *Ehon Toyotomi kunkōki* 絵本豊臣勲功記 (1855-1884), both forming the inspiration for *gōkan* such as *Kanayomi Taikōki* 仮名読太閤記 (1871) and other *kusazōshi*. The main episodes represented in picture-oriented publications are a) Hideyoshi's auspicious birth, b) his misbehaviour at the temple where he is supposed to study, c) his encounter with the samurai Koroku Masakatsu on Yahagi bridge in Okazaki, d) his apprenticeship to the lord of Ōmi, Matsushita Yukitsune, and e) his service to Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582), initially as a sandal-bearer but gradually climbing the ranks.

Fig. 1.21 Jōno Saigiku, Utagawa Yoshitora, *Kanayomi Taikōki*, 1871. WKD

Hideyoshi's childhood name was Hiyoshimaru 日吉丸, and like Benkei he was depicted as an extremely badly behaved boy. *Ehon Toyotomi kunkōki* and *Kanayomi Taikōki* depict him smashing an Amida Buddha statue (fig. 1.21), the reason being that the

[181] *Ehon Taikōki* was easier to read and contained new illustrations to appeal to a wider audience. The text inspired playwrights to write various new *Taikōki*-themed jōruri and kabuki plays, and also the original *Taikōki* was re-issued. See Davis, 286–87.
[182] E.g., Davis, 'The Trouble with Hideyoshi'. The Tokugawa government censured representations of the origins of its rule, but *Taikōki* had (safely) not touched upon the sensitive issue of Tokugawa Ieyasu's betrayal of Hideyoshi's heir and the eradication of the Toyotomi clan and their followers. The publication of *Ehon Taikōki* was initially also allowed. The law forbade publications about the ruling families, which did not apply to Hideyoshi as he had no official descendants. However, after the work had inspired print artists to use Hideyoshi in parodic works that might be read as a critique on the decadence of the shogun, both the prints and *Ehon Taikōki* were censured.

statue did not eat the food offerings. Of course, Hiyoshimaru is sent back to his family, but he leaves the house and starts roaming. While sleeping on Yahagi bridge in Okazaki, he is woken by Hachisuka (Koroku) Masakatsu 蜂須賀正勝 (1526-1586) and his underlings. Hiyoshimaru chooses to pick a fight rather than to move aside. This scene is depicted in *Ehon Taikōki* and appears in illustrations and on the covers of various *kusazōshi* (fig. 1.22), as well as Iwaya Sazanami's work (see fig. 3.15 and 3.16). The popularity of this scene is in all probability related to the Gojō bridge episode in Ushiwakamaru legend. The connection is made explicit at least once, in a 1861 print by Utagawa Yoshitsuya 歌川芳艶 (1822-1866). This triptych shows the Yahagi bridge episode, yet Hiyoshimaru is tagged Onzōshi Ushiwakamaru, and Koroku is tagged with the name of Yoshitsune's retainer Ise Saburō.

Fig. 1.22 *Ehon Taikōki*, 1888. Private collection

The three-volume *Hiyoshimaru tanjōki* 日吉丸誕生記 (1867) focuses on Hideyoshi's younger years. The books are explicitly aimed at children and show the Yahagi bridge scene on the covers, forming a triptych. In the preface, ornamented with lucky symbols related to the New Year, the author compares the work to an *otogibanashi* お伽噺 (folktale or fairy tale – see chapter 3.5) and he hopes that children will enjoy it. The first book introduces how Hiyoshimaru is sent to learn *tenarai* at the temple, but does not listen to the priests, incites other children to join his mock battles, and wrecks the Amida statue. After picking a fight on Yahagi bridge and shortly serving Koroku, he starts his first apprenticeship at age fifteen to (Imagawa) Matsushita Yukitsune. The image shows how the obstinate Hiyoshimaru is being grabbed by his hair and just got a slap on the wrist (fig. 1.23). In the last booklet, Hideyoshi (then called Tōkichirō) has come into direct service of Oda Nobunaga. It introduces two important

Fig. 1.23 Ryūtei Senka, Utawaga Yoshiharu, *Hiyoshimaru tanjōki*, 1867. ARC

anecdotes about the way in which he climbed the ranks. First, different from other servants, he was stand-by in the early morning, anticipating Nobunaga's early departure. Second, he built a castle almost overnight, which greatly elevated his position in the eyes of his master.

Hideyoshi's remarkable social ascendance connected well to the (early) Meiji period ideal of 'rising in the world' (*risshin shusse* 立身出世), although the reception of Hiyoshimaru legends differed based on variant modern ideals of childhood.

7.2 The *retsujo* Murasaki Shikibu

The early modern tradition also offered an abundance of legends about exemplary women (*retsujoden* 列女伝). This concept originates in the Chinese *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 ('Categorized Biographies of Women') first compiled by the scholar Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-6 BCE). Following the introduction of these texts in Japan in the seventeenth century, compilations of Japanese exemplary women appeared, based on ideals from Confucian and Buddhist worldviews. An iconography moreover developed of the most popular exemplary women, and *retsujoden* appeared in *ōraimono* for girls. Murasaki Shikibu was one of these women.

Naito Satoko observes that although *Genji monogatari* was a controversial work in the context of a female audience in the early modern period, its author Murasaki Shikibu was generally prized for her many feminine virtues.[183] In *Honchō bijin kagami* 本朝美人鑑 ('Mirror

[183] Naito, 'Beyond The Tale of Genji'. The *Genji* was on the one hand seen as a text that could instruct women in *waka* and aristocratic etiquette. On the other hand worries existed about the sexual content, which is all very implicit, but drew the attention of moralists because of the 'sexualization' of the work in seventeenth-century popular print. See Kornicki, 'Unsuitable Books for Women?'

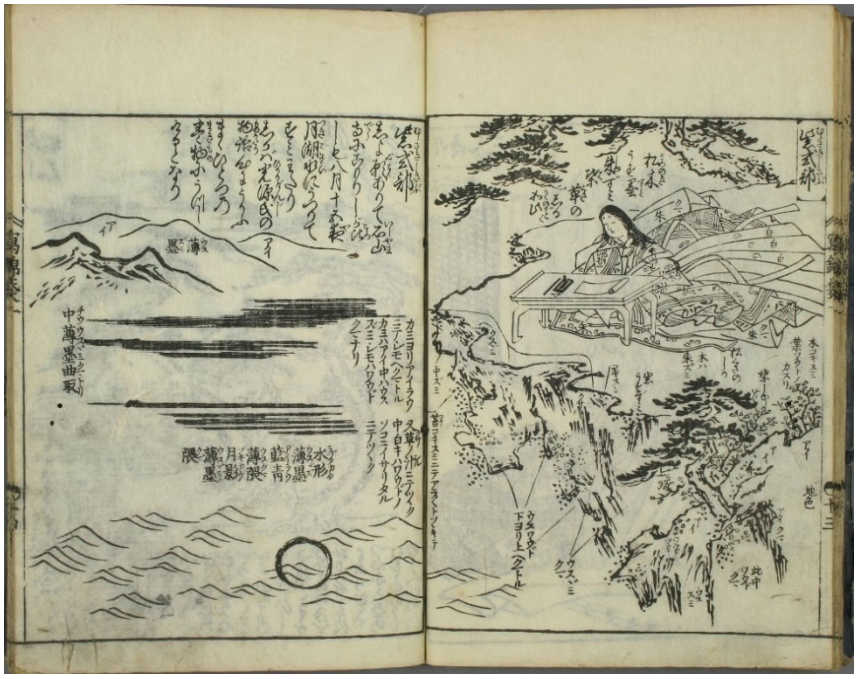

Fig. 1.24 Tachibana Morikuni, *Ehon shahō bukuro*, 1770. The texts instruct amateur painters in painting this scene, that depicts Murasaki Shikibu at the moment *Genji monogatari* occurred to her while looking at the full moon reflecting in the lake (Biwa) and trusting it to paper. WKD

of Beauties of our Land', 1687), a compilation of *retsujoden*, Murasaki Shikibu is praised for her beauty and intelligence. Moreover, she is depicted as a loyal widow as she did not remarry after the death of her husband. According to legend, she started writing the *Genji* at Ishiyamadera, which stresses her devoutness and indirectly countered another popular legend that she ended up in hell for writing lascivious 'fabrications'. There was in some compilations also praise for Murasaki Shikibu as a historian, by placing the *Genji* alongside Japanese and Chinese classical histories. A last interpretation highlighted by Naito is the idea of Murasaki Shikibu as the mother and teacher of Izumi Shikibu, or her daughter Daini no sanmi, which places her at the head of a lineage of female literati. These tropes can be found in various degrees of detail (depending on the ideological or religious orientation of the text) in the early modern compilations of *retsujoden* and instructional texts specifically written for girls and women (*jokunmono* 女訓物). Naitō concludes that 'the accolades given the author, paradoxically, do not derive from the substance of her work'.[184] In the next chapter, we will see that this tendency was equally present in Meiji and Taishō period elementary education.

[184] Naito, 'Beyond The Tale of Genji', 77.

In popular print, Murasaki Shikibu was often depicted writing the first chapters of the *Genji* at Ishiyamadera (fig. 1.24). Another well-known iconography is based on a portrait attributed to Kanō Takanobu 狩野孝信 (1571-1618), displayed at this same temple. In the nineteenth century, pilgrims who visited Ishiyamadera could buy woodblock printed copies of this image (fig. 25). Different from Hideyoshi and Ushiwakamaru, no specific legends or iconographies developed around her childhood. As mentioned earlier, there is however a tendency in biography-like *kusazōshi* to depict the protagonist as a '*terakoya* student' at the beginning of the narrative. This especially makes sense for literati (male and female). *Shinpan Murasaki Shikibu* 新版紫式部 (ca. 1749) shows young Fuji (Murasaki) Shikibu reading a text under the guidance of her father Tametoki, while a third character called Yabase no Rokurō (who may be her brother) also attends.[185] The text relates that she was 'learned and intelligent from youth, and she delighted in reading'. As mentioned earlier, also Ushiwakamaru has been depicted and described as a child engaged in diligent study. An undated *kusazōshi* about Ono no Komachi's life shows the famous poet practicing *tenarai* as a girl

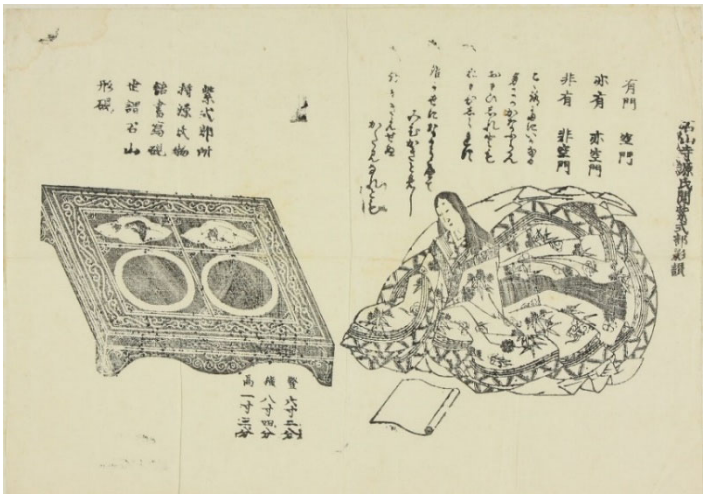

Fig. 1.25 *Ishiyamadera genji kan murasaki shikibu eisan*, 19th c. The object on the left represents Murasaki Shikibu's legendary inkstone, a treasure displayed at Ishiyamadera. WKD

Fig. 1.26 *Ono no Komachi ichidaiki*. Although some of Ono no Komachi's poems are represented on the left, the smudged paper, and the writing example next to it, represent the humble childhood practice of copying. ARC

[185] Kimbrough, 'Murasaki Shikibu for Children', 34.

(fig. 26), and Ariwara no Narihira is shown in a *terakoya*-like setting in the first spread of *Utagaruta*.[186] The setting of study was appropriate for displaying Murasaki Shikibu's talents, but also an iconography that represented the important childhood event of partaking in literacy education.

8. Conclusion

The subject of Edo period books specifically aimed at children has been treated with caution in the greater scheme of Japanese literature, as the appearance of *modern* children's literature is closely connected to paradigmatic changes in the perception of children and childhood during the Meiji period. Proceeding from an idea of plurality of concepts of childhood rather than a linear development towards 'the' modern concept, I addressed Edo period notions of childhood and practices surrounding children, with a focus on the part of society that had access to literacy education and popular print culture.

The household was the main place of socialization for children. According to the metaphysical concept of the household (*ie*), the male heir formed a chain between the ancestors and the future of the household. Although the state or lower authorities created some basic laws for the protection of children, they did not conceptualize children as a group in society in need of state-led education and intervention programs. From a Confucian viewpoint, the period of childhood was crucial for the development of moral judgement and social skills. The most central virtue, namely filial piety, was a relational concept of childhood that applied to one's whole life, beginning with household chores and proper etiquette in childhood. On an imaginative level, childhood was conceived of as a space of freedom differentiated from the norms of adult society. Children appeared as an auspicious motif in *nishiki-e*, including embellished representations of a 'prosperous household' in the form of a beautiful mother and healthy son. The motif of childlike boisterousness might also be read as a representation of the Edokko identity.

Health being the focus of a child's early years, literacy provided further security for the continuation of business and the *ie*. Decisions about literacy education were generally made by the household head, based on family occupation, social and economic position, but also the birth order and gender of the child. I have furthermore shown that despite the

[186] Moretti, *Recasting the Past*, 42–45.

absence of a specific genre in booksellers' catalogues, the government, publishers, and authors imagined children to be the audience of books for leisure reading, and as having a specific interest in warrior legends (or history), folktales and pictures. The use of 'you kids' to mockingly refer to an adult male audience as well as the Bakufu's anger about 'fake children's books' can hardly be understood if the referent did not actually exist. Literacy education also appears as a common element of the lives of famous icons as introduced in books for children. Both educational texts (*ōraimono*) and *kusazōshi* introduce literati like Murasaki Shikibu and Sugawara Michizane as exemplary children who diligently practiced *tenarai* in their youth. A recognizable *terakoya*-like setting might also be used to display the protagonists' defiant character.

Next to the attainment of literacy, represented in text for children are the virtues of loyalty, filiality and harmony between siblings. Although the curriculum was not orchestrated by the state, the extant body of *ōraimono* reflects the ethics and cultural knowledge at the core of (commoner) society. The Koshigoe letter as a late Edo period educational text contained a message about slander and good judgement that was relevant in the context of social interaction and the maintenance of the household, even if the learner was not of samurai status. Also in *kusazōshi* Yoshitsune was presented as a worthy heir who helped to bring his clan back to power, and who continued to be supported by his loyal retainers even as a persona non grata.

During the Bakumatsu period and the early Meiji period, Yoshitsune in *kusazōshi* was represented as a powerful Japanese hero who eventually conquered Ezo, reflecting frustration with the inept Bakufu, as well as imperialistic ideals. Moreover, representations of Hiyoshimaru/Hideyoshi seem partial to the ideal of *shusse* or 'rising in the world'. Loyalty (to Oda Nobunaga) is still presented as a virtue, yet representations of the unruly Hiyoshimaru in late Edo period and early Meiji period *kusazōshi* seem to challenge the ideal of the good son and heir. Whereas *ōraimono* teach that the feudal status system reflects the natural state of the world, and depictions of a wild young Benkei or Kumasaka Chōhan hardly imply a challenge of the system, Hiyoshimaru's unruly behaviour can be connected to a significant change of status. In the 1890s, Iwaya Sazanami would develop this narrative (and imagery) into one of the most convincing metaphors of his ideal Meiji boy, as will be discussed in chapter three.

Although there was no concept of a separate literary genre for children in the Edo period, the discussed books show a degree of sensivity to what children would enjoy. The childhood adventures of Yoshitsune were clearly recognized as relevant, inspiring, and amusing for children. He was depicted as a brave boy and successful general, whereas the *hōgan biiki* sentiment is largely absent. Ushiwakamaru's sword-practice with the *tengu*, his fight with Kumasaka Chōhan, and his fight on Gojō bridge with Benkei were the three most commonly represented plots from Yoshitsune's youth and established him as a small, agile fighter. The visual representation of these plots, so pivotal to the creation of new narratives in plays and other representations in popular culture, should be included in our understanding of books for children in the 'long Edo period', and the process of adaptation in the 1890s onwards. The printed books teach children the repeated plots and iconographies central to popular culture, but also invited the reader to engage with them 'creatively' by employing humour, introducing recognizable (anachronistic) settings, and elaborating upon various emotions: joy, grief, or admiration for heroic action. However, (a degree of) character development and/or a narrative focusing solely on the protagonists' youth was apparently inconceivable without new conceptual and literary tools.

Chapter 2

Historical exemplars in Meiji and Taishō period elementary education

As argued by Philippe Ariès, the spread of schooling in the European modern period strongly influenced the conceptual separation of children from adults.[1] Karatani Kōjin points out that in Japan, *compulsory* education, that is, a centralized system and curriculum orchestrated by the state, led to a notion of children as young (or future) citizens to be raised as members of a national community.[2] The new Meiji government introduced compulsory education in 1872, only four years after the Meiji restoration. Early studies that address the transition from Edo period educational practices to the Meiji school system mostly focus on political and ideological discourses within the government, building on an interpretation of the Meiji restoration as orchestrated from above.[3] In this interpretation a widespread familiarity with basic literacy education in the late Edo period connects to a comparatively smooth implementation of the new school system. In more recent studies of Meiji education, the perspective shifted from the government to reactions and initiatives within society and interaction between different layers. These show that many facets of the modern elementary school were experienced as very different from Edo period practices.[4] In her study of ideology in the Meiji period, Carol Gluck shows that many 'ideologues' who were not related to the government were intensely involved in public debates. These also included pedagogues, teachers and others who discussed notions about the education of the new nation's youth.[5]

Theoretical frameworks for studying nation and nationalism point out that compulsory education plays an important role in the 'creation' of citizens and a national identity, for example by teaching the designated national language, history, arts, national

[1] Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*.
[2] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*.
[3] E.g., Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*; Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*; Nagai, 'Westernization and Japanization'., but also Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*.
[4] E.g., Platt, *Burning and Building*; Marshall, *Learning to Be Modern*.
[5] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*. See especially her chapter on civil morality, pp. 102-156.

symbols, and social mores.[6] Little attention is however paid to the relationship between nationalism (or ideology) and pedagogy. In the 1890s, Herbartianism became the main pedagogy endorsed by the Japanese Ministry of Education. However, studies that address the ideological content of Meiji period textbooks hardly pay attention to Herbartian pedagogy.[7] They refer to the influence of the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890) and militarism, whereby the developments seem particular to Japan. Herbartianism originated in Germany and was in the late nineteenth century recognized as a helpful tool in nation-building by various states, including Britain, France, and the United States. Herbartian education made use of imaginative narratives about historical figures, that must arouse in children an interest not only in the national past, but also in the moral behaviour that they represented.

The material for creating exemplary historical characters in modern Japanese textbooks was found in premodern warrior legends. This was not only a project undertaken for the sake of the next generation, but also an interpretative exercise of the Rescript and provided a compelling reason for developing coherent narrations of the nation and its citizens. The same material was available to private publishers and authors. Educational ideologies moreover form the basis for a literary genre specifically designed for children.[8] Meiji youth literature, and especially historical fiction, might appear as an adjunct to state education. However, I consider elementary education a party that youth literature negotiated with, in the contest over models of citizenship for children. (Obviously these realms are not fenced off, as literary authors were involved in writing textbooks for the government, but they were then subject to the policies of the Ministry of Education.)

This chapter will focus on the way in which the Rescript, pedagogy and premodern warrior legends came together and were forged into state-sanctioned narratives about exemplary historical heroes for elementary school students. First, I will discuss the formation of the school system in the Meiji period, and the newfound ideological underpinnings according to the Imperial Rescript in the 1890s. Next, I will examine the theories and methods of Herbartianism for the elementary school, and how the concepts

[6] e.g., Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*.; Smith, *National Identity*; Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*.
[7] Fridell, 'Government Ethics Textbooks in Late Meiji Japan'; Tsurumi, 'Meiji Primary School Language and Ethics Textbooks'; Takezawa, 'Translating and Transforming "Race"'.
[8] Shavit, 'The Historical Model of the Development of Children's Literature'.

from the Rescript and the Herbartian ways of teaching ethics and history were applied in Japanese textbooks. I will focus on *kokugo* 国語 (national language) readers, history textbooks, and ethics textbooks, in which historical exemplars most regularly appear. Last, through three case studies focusing on Minamoto Yoshitsune, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Murasaki Shikibu, I will ask how premodern histories and legends were re-interpreted in modern textbooks for elementary school students. What elements of the premodern legends are used? What is the role of images? Which dispositions and actions are stressed or de-emphasized, and how do these differ between genders?

1. The Meiji state and the school system

Following the Meiji restoration in 1868, the new government established two laws fundamental to the nation-state: namely, compulsory education and conscription. In 1872, a centralized education system was introduced with the Fundamental Code on Education (*Gakusei* 学制). Primary schooling became compulsory for all children. The Fundamental Code on Education bore similarities to the Conscription Law (*Chōheirei* 徴兵令, 1873) in that it ordered the entire Japanese population to mobilize for a collective endeavour.

In the early Meiji period, scholars and statesmen studied Western educational systems on their missions in Europe and America. The Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省) was created in 1871 with the aim of educational reform. For the Fundamental Code on Education, the Ministry was mainly inspired by France. The French system drew all aspects of education under a centralized authority (the University of France) and was easier to adopt than pluralistic systems.[9] The Japanese Ministry of Education put itself at the top of an education-pyramid: eight universities, 256 middle schools and 53.760 primary schools. They created a total of 210 primary-school districts that replaced the administrational unit of the village.[10] There were however also many minor provisions that were based on the systems in other Western countries, such as Germany, The Netherlands, England, and America. The Fundamental Code on Education was more progressive than the French system in its egalitarian ideals, stating (in the Preamble) that 'every man should pursue learning' and 'a guardian who fails to send a young child, whether a boy or a girl, to primary school shall be

[9] Nagai, 'Westernization and Japanization', 38.
[10] Platt, *Burning and Building*, 134.

deemed negligent of his duty'.[11] According to the Regulations for Primary Education (*Shōgaku kyōrei* 小学教則, 1872) all Japanese children were to have eight years of compulsory education, and attend from age six till thirteen.

The Fundamental Code on Education sought to replace existing education practices rather than complement them. The government not only abolished Edo period school arrangements, but also fledgling local initiatives towards building new schools and administrations.[12] Brian Platt challenges the idea that *terakoya* education readied the population for the implementation of the modern school system, as the new system was perceived of as very different and led to significant protest. The idea of having one's children schooled outside the home, or paying a teacher, was not the problem: there was indeed widespread familiarity with elementary schooling (even if it was not for everybody), as well as village elite willing to contribute financially to local schools.[13] Protests against the new school system rather followed from outrage over a multitude of administrative and social changes.[14] Apart from the laws on education and conscription, new tax laws were introduced in 1873, as well as many other reforms, such as the abolition of the *burakumin* 部落民 status, and the adoption of the Gregorian calendar.[15] During uprisings in the years 1872 and 1873 new schools were burned and other institutions or homes associated with the new Meiji government were also targeted. Nagai Michio argues that the Code was unsuccessful due to a lack of government funds and cultural differences with the contents of 'traditional' Confucian education.[16] According to Platt, this was however only part of the problem. In a second wave of protest in 1877-78, village elite challenged the discrepancy between local funding and central control. These (somewhat more deliberate) protests show that the concept of *national* education was considered intrusive and unnatural.

The government did not have the financial means to implement the proposed system and heavily depended on local funds.[17] It had however other ways to practice control over

[11] Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, 209–11.
[12] During and after the Restauration years, enthusiasts with or without connections to the early Meiji government had already started their own new schools and administrations. In Kyoto for example, municipal authorities adopted in 1869 a centralized system that included sixty-four elementary school districts. The schools were subsidized by the city government and wealthy families. Platt, *Burning and Building*, 112.
[13] Platt, 193–95.
[14] Platt, 186–87.
[15] So-called *burakumin* (litt. 'hamlet people') were severely stigmatized outcasts, living in ghettos and hamlets, with occupations considered to be 'defiled', such as butcher, tanner, or executioner.
[16] Nagai 1971, 57–60.
[17] Government funds for elementary schools were 12,6 percent of school income sources in 1873, and dropped to 5,5 percent in 1879, the year the Fundamental Code on Education was replaced for a new Code. Major income sources consisted of local

schools, such as fact-gathering and school inspection. Information was gathered by school district administrators, a local office that provided a link between central government and the schools. This observant eye in its turn also led to self-regulation. Another powerful way of control was the marginalization of Edo period practices and the creation of a new, abstract concept of 'school'.[18] The government delegitimized the practices of pre-Meiji teachers by using disparaging language and forced those who wished to teach to adhere (at least superficially) to the new definition of 'teacher'. For teaching or re-opening a school, one needed a license. In the application, one had to use the new concepts, language and categories set out by the government. Applicants who failed to phrase the request in the proper terms were rejected.

National policy was refined by many forms of 'feedback'. In the 1870s the government could count on a number of local leaders who were genuinely committed to implementing and negotiating national education. The lower authorities and normal schools took upon them the task of standardizing pedagogical techniques, class schedules and teaching materials. Negative responses from society were impeding the implementation of educational policies, but also taking the implementation of education into new directions. In his case-study of educational reform in Nagano prefecture, Platt shows that the boundaries of the rules were tested with the government's own weapons. Using pragmatic language or the format of a 'question', many proposals from schools or local leaders were accepted by the Nagano prefectural office.[19] In a request for tuition waivers for example, people of the area were pictured as unable to grasp the meaning of and 'civilization' and 'enlightenment' (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化). These magic words of modernity were used to mollify the government into a compromise. When a particular community did not agree to a school consolidation, because of problems with wealthy families who preferred the master-pupil relationship, or unrest about unnatural community boundaries (which was formerly the village, in which the school had a social role), it might be argued that young children were not able to walk the distance towards the licensed elementary school. In effect the Fundamental Code on Education 'represented an effort not merely to create new laws and institutions (…) but to redefine the notion of "school" and to displace and marginalize

district funds and contributions (30 to 43 percent in the above-mentioned period). Rubinger, 'Education: From One Room to One System', 216.

[18] Platt, *Burning and Building*, 136.

[19] Platt, 166–68.

existing definitions'.[20] The two decennia following the promulgation of the Code was a period of negotiation, slowly evolving into wider acceptance of the necessity of the new school system, as well as a clearer definition of the curriculum and practices.

In 1879, the initial plans and designs were overhauled in the Education Law (*Kyōiku rei* 教育令), that decentralized the system along American lines. It tried to correct the weak points of the Fundamental Code on Education and emphasised local autonomy, pluralism, and freedom.[21] Rather than the result of genuine enthusiasm about the American education system, the new Education Law was the result of power struggles and compromises.[22] The resulting document left so much to local initiatives and interpretations that it never worked, and some areas (notably Tokyo) saw a drop in school attendance during the early 1880s.[23]

The General Outline of Elementary School Regulations (*Shōgakkō kyōsoku kōryō* 小学校教則綱領, 1881) divided primary school into three phases: the lower and middle divisions (both three years) and a higher division spanning two years.[24] A child was introduced to five different subjects during the lower years: writing (*shūji* 習字), reading (*dokusho* 読書), arithmetic (*sanjutsu* 算術), and ethics (*shūshin* 修身). Geography (*chiri* 地理) and history (*rekishi* 歴史) were added in the fourth year. All students were obliged to do twenty minutes physical exercise a day. It was moreover advised to offer sewing and needlework classes (in addition to the general curriculum) for girls, which was for some parents an incentive to also send their daughters to school.[25] From 1886, Education Minister Mori Arinori (1847-1889) introduced various revisions. The primary school was brought back to two phases: the compulsory four-year 'ordinary' elementary school (*jinjō shōgakkō* 尋常小学校), followed by the four-year 'higher' elementary school (*kōtō shōgakkō* 高等小学校) aimed at entrance to secondary education. The Law on Primary Schools (*Shōgakkō rei* 小学校令, 1886) stipulated that caretakers send a child to school for eight years, from the age of six till fourteen.[26] In this law, the Ministry of Education also took more control over the curriculum: only government-approved textbooks could be used and only subjects outlined by the

[20] Platt, 132.
[21] Nagai, 'Westernization and Japanization', 61.
[22] Nagai, 61–68.
[23] Rubinger, 'Education: From One Room to One System', 213. In some (rural) prefectures with initially a very low attendance, the rates however rose steadily.
[24] *Hōrei zensho Meiji 14 nen*, 814–18.
[25] Piel, 'The Ideology of the Child in Japan', 102–3.
[26] Monbushō 文部省, *Gakusei Hyakunen Shi: Shiryōhen*.
http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318011.htm (accessed Jan. 18, 2022)

government were to be taught. Reading and writing were grouped under the subject *kokugo* 国語 (national language).

In practice, by 1890, the national average school registration was only around 50%. Christian Galan points out that actual attendance was often limited to young children: by 1902, only seventy-two children out of a hundred completed six years of schooling.[27] Patterns of attendance in some 1880s Nagano schools resembled Edo period agricultural rhythms, in which children would disappear from school from late spring to midsummer, and attendance dropped during harvest time.[28] According to Platt, the Meiji period school system was therefore only 'national' in terms of its structure. The number of girls registered in schools moreover constantly lagged with twenty to thirty percent behind the boys till the turn of the century. Yet by 1905, elementary school registration topped 90% with only a small difference between urban and rural areas, while the girls had (almost) caught up with the boys.[29] Apart from addressing practical challenges (such as child labour and lack of funds), the government had from the early 1890s made a more convincing case for the new system by defining its ideological principles.

2. The Imperial Rescript on Education

In 1879, the Imperial Court issued the Great Principles for Education (*Kyōgaku taishi* 教学大旨), written by the Confucian scholar Motoda Eifu 元田永孚 (1818-1891). Motoda opposed 'Westernization' in schools and pressed for a return to Confucian virtues of 'benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety' (*jingi chūkō* 仁義忠孝). Furthermore, elementary education should focus on moral education and the family occupations (such as agriculture or trade) of the children involved rather than filling their heads with 'high-sounding ideas'. They are thus not to use education for transcending social boundaries, or even geographical boundaries. (They should ideally stay in or return to their villages and make themselves of use.) In line with the ideas of Kaibara Ekiken and other Neo-Confucian educators, Motoda argued that Confucian virtues need to be cultivated from an early age before it is too late. If education would be grounded foremost in Confucian morality (and only secondary in technical knowledge), Motoda argued, Japan would be able to show itself 'proudly

[27] Galan, 'Home vs. School vs. Work', 282.
[28] Platt, *Burning and Building*, 252–54.
[29] Rubinger, 'Education: From One Room to One System', 214.

throughout the world as a nation of independent spirit'.[30] He thus proposed Confucian morality as a national ethic. The subject of ethics and moral education was however not limited to Confucian and traditionalist circles. Both progressive educators and middle-class elite participated in a discourse on morality, although the origins for their views might be found in the West with Herbart's pedagogy (discussed in more detail below) or Victorian moralism.[31]

The Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo* 教育ニ関スル勅語, 1890), proved to be a more successful moral guide for education and the nation. The Rescript presented Confucian values in such a way that they were interpreted as a national or universal morality. It instructed citizens to be of service to the Imperial state and construed the Emperor as the source of moral virtue.[32] The main authors of the Rescript were Motoda Eifu and the politician Inoue Kowashi 井上毅 (1844-1895), who worked meticulously towards a text in which men of varying backgrounds would see mirrored their own ideas. Although its introduction was less momentous than the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution (in the same year), the Rescript was lifted to an exalted position through exegesis and ritualization. The popular 'Explanation of the Rescript' (*Chokugo engi* 勅語衍義) by Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 (1855-1944) sold four million copies and served as an ethics textbook for middle schools and normal schools.[33] Inoue identified 'patriotism' (*aikoku* 愛国) as the main meaning of the text even though this word did not appear in the original. The Rescript became widely associated with this sentiment. The Rescript called for a 'spirit of sacrifice' to the state, that was needed during an undefined emergency that might arise (*ittan kankyū areba giyūkō ni hōji* 一旦緩急アレハ義勇公ニ奉シ). By stirring up fear for the preying

[30] De Bary, *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Vol. 2, Pt. 2*, 97.
[31] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 110–11.
[32] The full text of the Rescript in translation, is as follows: 'Know ye, Our subjects: Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers. The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may thus attain to the same virtue. The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.' (As cited in Gluck, 121.)
[33] Monbushō 文部省, *Gakusei Hyakunen Shi*.
http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317610.htm (accessed Jan. 18, 2022)

Western powers, Inoue stressed the necessity of such a spirit of sacrifice.[34] Many commentaries did not merely deal with education but used the Rescript to reflect on (nationalist) ideologies and the *kokutai* 国体 ('national essence'). According to Gluck, 595 book-length commentaries, hundreds of directives from the Ministry for teachers, and countless other printed texts appeared, as well as orally delivered commentaries.[35]

The translation of the Rescript's abstractions into images and narratives aimed at children can also be considered a form of commentary. The outlines of this practice were given in educational directives. The Fundamental Regulations for Primary School Education (*Shōgakkō kyōikusoku taikō* 小学校教則大綱, 1891) states, for example, that the cultivation of moral character (*dōtoku kyōiku* 道徳教育) is the most important role of national education (*kokumin kyōiku* 国民教育). Accordingly, a subject such as Japanese history should not only teach the names of emperors, the military past and the origin of Japanese culture, but the Law also instructs: 'if possible make use of pictures etc., so that it will be easier for the children to imagine the contemporary circumstances, and as to the speech and behaviour etc. of [historical] characters, take these up as moral lessons and compare them to proverbs etc., and use these to [learn the students to] discriminate between right and wrong.'[36]

The regulation not only bears the stamp of the Rescript, but also Herbartian pedagogy, without which national ethics would have been too abstract for the intended audience. In most studies of the history of Japanese education the promulgation of the Rescript symbolizes a break. Elementary education after 1890 gets significantly less attention, as the government in these years is considered to merely have consolidated the central administration and ideological course.[37] Several articles on the contents of moral education show that following its promulgation, the ethics of the Rescript were reworked in the government textbooks (*kokutei kyōkasho* 国定教科書) and represented by narratives and

[34] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 130.
[35] Gluck, 127.
[36] *Hōrei Zensho : Meiji 24 Nen*, 348.
[37] Benjamin Duke argues that the Rescript brought to an end 'the first two decades of modern education in Japan, characterized by the struggles between modernizers and the traditionalists' after which 'the modern school system of Japan finally achieved a sustainable balance'. (Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*, 369.) Duke's sense of closure follows from a focus on the government and a (rather outdated) dichotomy of modernizers and traditionalists. Byron Marshall's (1994) chapter on the early twentieth century focuses on student and teacher activism, i.e., on higher education. Brian Platt in *Burning and Building* also takes 1890 as the final year of his investigation, yet for him this year does not mark the moment that the ideological course of the next five decennia was set in stone. Rather, his study of the first two decennia of the Meiji period shows how an 'institutional and discursive framework' that produced a new definition of 'school' came into existence. Platt, *Burning and Building*, 262.

songs about historical exemplars.[38] The connection between the government and the elementary school textbooks is however only explained by referring to ideology (the Rescript, a conservative political climate, militarism in the early twentieth century), while pedagogy is not mentioned or associated with progressive, opposing ideals. Gluck points out that in Meiji educational discourse, connections were made between the Rescript and Herbart's *sittliche Bildung* (moral education) on a theoretical level.[39] The stress on moral character and the development of appealing narratives of exemplary heroes in textbooks should be seen in the context of both the Rescript and Herbartian pedagogy.

3. Herbartian pedagogy

Following the introduction of compulsory education in 1872, the Ministry of Education aimed to replace Edo period educational practices with Western pedagogical methods. During the 1870s and 1880s, the government pioneered with what pedagogues at the Tokyo Normal School and elsewhere termed *kaihatsu-shugi* 開発主義 ('developmental education').[40] The new pedagogy served the ideal of civilization and enlightenment (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化), aimed at bringing Japan at the same level as Western nations. The famous educator Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835-1901) is hailed for his egalitarian ideas and a new approach to curriculum that included reading translated versions of Western books. However, as Mark Lincicome points out, the nation's children first needed to learn to read, before they could access the written representations of *bunmei kaika*.[41] New educational methods for primary schools were introduced by American pedagogues invited to Japan, and through Japanese translations and adaptations of teaching manuals.

Developmental education stressed the cultivation of 'the unique, innate abilities of every child… according to the child's individual learning level and capacity'.[42] The theoretical roots of the new approaches to education can be found in European Romanticism and Enlightenment, with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the Swiss educator Johann Heinrich

[38] Tsurumi, 'Meiji Primary School Language and Ethics Textbooks'; Fridell, 'Government Ethics Textbooks in Late Meiji Japan'; Cave, 'Story, Song, and Ceremony'. The first three government textbooks for ethics and *kokugo* appeared in 1903, 1910, and 1918. *Kokugo* textbooks were not all replaced at the same time: volumes for higher grades were published shortly before the publication of volume one of a new textbook.
[39] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 110; Gluck, 127.
[40] Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan*, 3. *Kaihatsu-shugi*, that Lincicome translated as 'developmental education' was thus a term applied to a body of progressive pedagogical ideas.
[41] Lincicome, 22.
[42] Lincicome, 3.

Pestalozzi (1746-1827), and his student Friedrich Fröbel (1782-1852). The Japanese proponents of developmental education challenged the traditional methods that stressed memorization, recitation, and discipline, by claiming that every child is by nature unique, autonomous, and inquisitive. Learning had to be individualized and child centred. Although *terakoya* education had also consisted of individual guidance from a teacher, these new theories had close affinity with the emerging discipline of psychology and were occupied with the way that educational guidance should connect to the mental development of children. During the 1880s, the theme of moral education started to receive more attention at the Tokyo Normal School as well as in publications on pedagogy. In fact, Pestalozzi argued that the state could benefit from (a humanistic version of) moral education. An important point is however that he did not grant the state the right to define the contents.[43]

The Meiji state however granted itself full rights and even outlined how ethics should be imparted. In the early 1890s, following the introduction of the Rescript, the government shifted focus to Herbartianism, a pedagogy that had its roots in the theories of the German philosopher Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841). Herbart stressed the role of education in preparing children for their role in society; education was the way to become a proper citizen. 'Herbartianism', as developed by Herbart's followers, emphasised the development of moral character, which connected to the interest of the government in raising good citizens.[44] From the late 1880s, the work of Herbart and prolific Herbartians such as Gustav Lindner (1828-1887) and Tuiskon Ziller (1817-1882) were introduced in translation, and discussed in the prolific pedagogical journal *Kyōiku jiron* 教育時論 (Educational Review). Emile Hausknecht (1853-1927), who taught at the Tokyo Imperial University from 1887 to 1890, is credited with bringing Herbartianism to Japan, but he was mainly occupied with the middle school.[45] Ziller and his student Wilhelm Rein (1847-1929) developed a practical pedagogy for the elementary school based on Herbart's theory, which was disseminated in Japan, but also in Poland, Britain, and the US in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[46] Both education theorists stressed the aspect of cultivating moral character in Herbart's theory and considered history and literature the core of the curriculum as it gives

[43] Lincicome, 67.
[44] Lincicome, 198–99.
[45] Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*, 338–45.
[46] Majorek, 'The Interpretation of Herbartian Pedagogics in the 19th Century Polish Teacher Training Seminars'; Yeandle, *Citizenship, Nation, Empire*; Dunkel, 'Herbartianism Comes to America'.

the opportunity to discuss human behaviour. For young children, Ziller advised to introduce Grimm's fairy tales in year one, *Robinson Crusoe* in year two, the Thüringer Sagen in year three, the Niebelungenlied in year four, and history from year five (starting from Henry I, Otto I, and Charlemange).[47]

In this same vein, the Japanese pedagogue Morioka Tsunezō 森岡常蔵 (1871-1944) stated that 'all school subjects pivot around the subject of history' in his influential manual *Shōgaku kyōjuhō* 小學教授法 (1899).[48] He credits this idea to Ziller. From 1899 to 1903, Morioka studied in Germany under Rein and upon his return started to work for the Ministry of Education. According to Morioka in his manual, history is important because it teaches about humanity (*jindō* 人道), society (*shakai* 社会), and ethics (*dōtoku* 道徳).[49] The aim of history lessons is according to Morioka to 'impart the essentials of the national polity, and to cultivate [in students] the principles for Japanese citizens', as also outlined in the government directions.[50] He recapitulates this view many times, while giving a major role to historical figures in the teaching of history.

> First one should introduce the history of the nation. Because they [the students] feel strongly about characters from national history and have heard their names in daily life, they will be very enthusiastic when you take these up. Moreover, as our entire history is furnished with exemplary characters, national history is the best expedient to preserve the character of the citizens, and furthermore, national history is best suited to demonstrate the communal spirit (*kyōdō seishin* 共同精神) and cultivate a love for the nation.[51]

The subject of national history was only mandatory after four years of elementary schooling. Morioka states however that history classes are closely related to *kokugo* and ethics classes.[52]

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[47] De Garmo, *Herbart and the Herbartians*, 119–20. Ziller proposed to teach these next to Bible stories (from year three), that were already part of the German school curriculum.
[48] Morioka, *Shōgaku Kyōjuhō*, 226.
[49] Morioka, 230.
[50] Morioka, 231.
[51] Morioka, 232.
[52] Morioka, 67. History was officially taught from the first grade of higher primary school, which in 1907 became the fifth grade of the lower primary school. According to the *Shōgakkōrei shikō kisoku* 小学校令施行規則 (1900), ethics classes should be taught two hours a week, while *kokugo* classes build up from ten to fifteen over the course of four years, together covering between 57% and 63% of the official curriculum. Four hours were spent on physical education, and five to six on mathematics. Ethics textbooks from the late 1890s onwards are adapted to the literacy levels in each grade (i.e., they start with only pictures and then simple stories written in *kana*). Monbushō 文部省, *Gakusei Hyakunen Shi*. https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317623.htm (accessed Jan. 18, 2022)

Ethics classes for young children should (according to the Herbartians, Morioka stresses) start with *mukashibanashi* and fables, which will provide examples of ethical behaviour while appealing to the imagination (*sōzō* 想像) of the students.[53] According to Morioka, *mukashibanashi* naturally reflect the 'spirit of the people' (*kokuminteki seishitsu* 国民的性質). A teacher should next introduce legends about martial heroes (*yūshi monogatari* 勇士物語), especially if they can be related to (local) shrines, such as Sugawara Michizane, Wake no Kiyomaru 和気清麻呂 (733-799), and Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 (1294-1336).[54] Ziller's fairy tale stage was thus translated to *mukashibanashi*, and the German *Sagen* were conflated with warrior tales. According to Morioka, a teacher should furthermore discuss 'model citizens' (*kokumin no gihyō* 国民の儀表) such as the scholars Nakae Tōju and Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801), and prepare lessons related to national holidays and days of remembrance. Another contemporary Herbartian teaching manual (1902) by Ōto Eikichi 大戸栄吉 (?-?), head of the primary school attached to the Tokyo Normal School, points out that readers and ethics lessons prepare children for history lessons right from the first grade, as they introduce *mukashibanashi*, heroic tales (*buyūdan* 武勇談), tales from history, as well as lessons related to geography which provides important context.[55] Ōto also proposes to familiarize children with school songs with historical themes.[56] In the revised edition (1908), he explains that the aim of these preparations is to cultivate *rekishiteki kannen* 歴史的観念 (historical consciousness) and an interest (*kyōmi* 興味) in the origins of the nation.[57]

Making connections to pre-existing knowledge, experiences and feelings concurs with the first step in the Herbartian lesson stages (*Formalstufen*) standardized by Ziller and Rein: preparation (*yobi* 予備), presentation (*teiji* 指示), association (*hikaku* 比較), generalization (*sōkatsu* 総括), and application (*ōyō* 応用).[58] Morioka specifies these steps for a history lesson, followed by a concrete example of a lesson about Kusunoki Masashige, famous for his loyalty to the emperor.[59] The general nature of 'preparation' has been described above. The

[53] 'The Herbartians' seems to refer again especially to Ziller and Rein. The American education theorist Charles De Garmo (1849-1934) stresses the importance of history and literature in Ziller's pedagogy, 'the one narrating the actual progress of the race, the other picturing ethical conflict in imaginative forms'. De Garmo, *Herbart and the Herbartians*, 118–19.
[54] Morioka, *Shōgaku Kyōjuhō*, 66–67.
[55] Ōto, *Shōgaku Kyōjuhō*, 171.
[56] Ōto, 173.
[57] Ōto, *Kaitei Shōgaku Kyōjuhō*, 161.
[58] This was later often brought back to *yobi*, *teiji* and *ōyō*. Yoshida, 'A Study of the Method of History Education in the First Half of the (1872～1903) Meiji Period', 134. Variations exist of Herbartian lesson plans in Japan and elsewhere, which also depends on the age of the students.
[59] Morioka, *Shōgaku Kyōjuhō*, 247–51.

lesson plan for Masashige proposes to refer to earlier ethics lessons on Kusunoki, or loyal retainers (*chūshin gishi* 忠臣義士) whom the children already know. Then, the teacher conjures up a photograph of Kusunoki's tomb and reads the epitaph aloud: 'Alas! The tomb of the loyal Kusunoki' (*Aa - chūshin nanshi no haka* 嗚呼忠臣楠子之墓).[60] The teacher then copies this text in a large script on the blackboard and proposes to find out more about Kusunoki.

Teiji or 'presentation' should consist of a lesson delivered orally, in an 'enthusiastic, lively manner' while making use of maps, the blackboard, and pictures.[61] One should not only discuss the historical facts, but also the decisions and behaviour of the historical figure(s) and the moral lessons these contain. The same counts for the moral lessons that might be drawn from a historical period. As to the lesson on Kusunoki, the teacher introduces the historical context and main events and asks several questions of which the last one should be 'What kind of person do you think Kusunoki was?' The steps of *hikaku* and *sōtatsu* consist of comparisons with other figures (in the case of Kusunoki these might be Michizane or Wake no Kiyomaro) to draw out the moral lessons, and a summary of the lesson. The last step, of *ōyō* or application, can take various forms, but should reflect on the ethics (*kyōkun* 教訓) that were central to the lesson. Applied to Kusunoki, older children might be given a reading assignment, while younger children might be asked to write something about a picture of 'the parting at Sakurai' referring to the final meeting between Masashige and his son Kusunoki Masatsura 楠木正行 (1326–1348) (fig. 2.1), described in *Taiheiki*.[62] Morioka argues that history

Fig. 2.1 *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon*, vol. 6., 1887. Private collection

[60] This *haka* 墓 (tomb) refers to the monument erected in 1692 by Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701) at the precincts of the Minatogawa shrine in Kobe.
[61] Morioka, *Shōgaku Kyōjuhō*, 243–44.
[62] The 'parting at Sakurai' (*Sakurai no wakare* 桜井の別れ) refers to the last farewell between Kusunoki and his son Masatsura before the Battle of Minatogawa (1336), as ordered by the Emperor, even though he knew they would be defeated. The motif finds its origin in a painting by Kanō Tan'yū (1602-1674), commissioned by a member of Tokugawa Mitsukuni's circles, where the icon signified Confucian moral values. The premodern iconography became one of the foremost symbols of loyalty to the Emperor. See Maeda, 'From Feudal Hero to National Icon'.

textbooks are too dry especially for younger children, and being closely related to literature, too difficult to incite enthusiasm. Ōto is also critical of history textbooks and argues that a good textbook should consist of appropriate examples, delivered in a simple, lively writing style, and should now and then introduce a poem.[63]

Ōto makes explicit that the aim of history education is not only the teaching of morals but also to cultivate *rekishiteki kannen* or 'historical consciousness'. This neologism is in all probability related to the German term *Geschichtsbewusstsein*, that originated in nineteenth century philosophy and anthropology and in this context referred to a collective historical identity. The concept is close to *kokkateki kannen* 国家的観念 ('national consciousness'), a term often employed by late Meiji period ideologues who wanted to foster a sense of nation among the populace.[64] In this context, 'learning from history' does not involve a critical interrogation of the past: the ideal answers to the questions asked during the lessons are set in stone (literally in Kusunoki Masashige's monument). The main point is according to Morioka that students understand the virtue of 'loyalty and patriotism' (*chūkō aikoku* 忠孝愛国), of which the examples can be found in history.[65] The Rescript (repeatedly mentioned in the section on teaching *shūshin*) defines the ethics that students should ultimately internalize.

The lesson on Kusunoki began with bringing together individual experiences (i.e., storytelling by caretakers or pictures encountered outside school) and communal experiences (i.e., the ethics lesson in an earlier grade) after which the teacher introduced a photograph of a monument. Elaborating upon Halbwach's theory, Jeffrey Olick argues that collective memory consists of mnemonic products (such as images, stories, and statues) and mnemonic practices (such as commemoration and representation) which are simultaneously individual and social.[66] As a mnemonic product, the photograph of Masashige's tomb is multi-layered: the monument signifies a connection to the remote past and an area that has no physical connection to most students. The monument is represented by a photograph. The epitaph adds another layer. Like the poetry mentioned by Ōto, emblematic texts would (ideally) elicit an emotional response or at least have higher chances of being remembered. They could be tapped into on various occasions: for example, general Nogi Maresuke 乃木希

[63] Ōto, *Shōgaku Kyōjuhō*, 178.
[64] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 21–25.
[65] Morioka, *Shōgaku Kyōjuhō*, 247.
[66] Jeffrey, 'From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products', 158.

典 (1849-1912) was after his ritual suicide commemorated by invoking Masashige's epitaph (*Aa – chūshin Nogi taishō* 嗚呼忠臣乃木大将) in the title of a song and in youth magazines. The iconic image of the 'parting at Sakurai' is yet another mnemonic product, etched into the mind through the mnemonic practice of a writing assignment through which the teacher could check if the individual interpretations concurred with the aim of the lesson.

Representations of historical exemplars could potentially work against the interests of the state, which led to a careful consideration of the characteristics that should be stressed or de-emphasized. Peter Yeandle's study on British history education (1870-1930) and Herbartian influences shows that, like in Japan, it was deemed important to introduce heroes and heroines that elicited an emotional response and thereby stimulated the internalization of the exemplary disposition.[67] The need of the British government was not to 'promote patriotism per se, but 'enlightened patriotism' – that is, the desire to serve one's own country with pride, not pomp, and with full awareness of why the nation was great, rather than with blind and unthinking adulation. The predicament, however, was that the majority of these stories were about extra-ordinary characters.'[68] In other words, the efforts must be directed towards the collective rather than individual fame. British textbooks and readers employed two methods to steer children towards the 'right' interpretation: first, besides famous characters, they introduced 'ordinary' figures who represented civic virtues like loyalty, endurance, compassion etc. Second, in the biographies of famous heroes, they stressed how the hero was supported by other people.[69] These methods were also applied in Japanese textbooks and readers. In Japan, another common method was to state that the achievements of the hero(in) pleased the Emperor (or Empress). Yeandle does not discuss commercial historical fiction for children as a separate or competing field, but as chapter three will show, at least in Japan there was a tension between state education and the commercial realm, in which representations of extra-ordinary figures emphasized different characteristics.

Although Herbartianism became a leading pedagogy in the early twentieth century, the government's ideas about the purpose of education were not uncontested. Proponents of so-called *jiyū kyōiku* 自由教育 ('liberal education') and other progressive forms of education

[67] Yeandle, *Citizenship, Nation, Empire*, 56–57.
[68] Yeandle, 123.
[69] Yeandle, 124–25.

established societies and private schools that challenged the authoritarian, bureaucratic approach as well as the nationalistic visions of the Ministry of Education. They saw education as a way to empower individuals to learn and grow independently, and while some groups had a national orientation, others focused on world citizenship.[70] In the scholarly literature, Herbartianism has often been formulated in opposition to progressive pedagogy. However, Herbartianism appeared in Germany from a nineteenth century discourse occupied not only with moral education but also psychology. It shared with developmental education the idea to build on previous knowledge, to make use of the 'imagination' (*sōzō*) and the gradual development of a child's capacity to understand various 'concepts' (*kannen*). Textbooks show that rather than being suddenly hijacked by Herbartianism, small yet significant shifts occurred that changed the orientation of the curriculum towards national ethics.

4. Elementary school textbooks

The canonization of exemplary historical heroes and the development of these narratives in textbooks took mainly place in the 1890s under influence of the Rescript and Herbartian pedagogy. In the early Meiji period, the production of textbooks was largely left to private initiatives, and Japanese children who attended primary school would encounter a mix of modern textbooks and *ōraimono*. However, during the 1880s, the government gradually took control of the production of textbooks. From 1881, schools needed to report the textbooks they were using, and from 1886, only books authorized by the Ministry of Education were allowed. A series of scandals concerning bribery by publishers helped to pass a mandate in 1903, that stated that the Ministry of Education would henceforth commission and publish all elementary school textbooks for the main subjects (ethics, reading, history and geography).[71] By then however, many pedagogues and creative minds, including literary authors, had made useful contributions. This section will focus on *kokugo* readers, history textbooks and ethics, the subjects that were in the previous section identified as central to the orchestrated effort of teaching citizenship through historical exemplars.

[70] Rothstein, 'Seeds for Change', 59–61. A shared goal of the groups and individuals discussed by Rothstein was to direct schooling away from a nation-building project towards child-centred education and more autonomy for teachers and parents. These debates also played in other nation-states at the time. Rothstein argues that although most ideals did not come to fruition on a national scale in the pre-war period, the Taishō period discourse formed the roots of the post-war reforms.
[71] Marshall, *Learning to Be Modern*, 84–85.

The first new textbooks were 'updated versions' of early modern *ōraimono*, that widened their scope to the *sekai* 世界 (world), such as Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Sekai kuni zukushi* 世界国尽 ('Countries of the World', 1869) and Hashizume Kan'ichi's *Sekai shōbai ōrai* 世界商売往来 ('Merchant's Primer of the World', 1871). Both authors had studied in the United States. *Sekai kuni zukushi* introduces the continents and countries and its people. It is based on Western interpretations of hierarchies of civilization (*bunmei* 文明) and 'race' (*jinshu* 人種) and implies that the reader should take the most 'civilized' countries an example.[72] As was customary in *ōraimono*, the main text is presented as a calligraphy. *Sekai shōbai ōrai*, that introduces kanji-compounds that refer to Western objects (such as objects related to ships and the army, furniture, cutlery, clothing, tools, crops, and animals), interspersed with small illustrations. The *kashiragaki* consists of a wordlist in English. Early Meiji *ōraimono* (as we might still call them) thus contained knowledge about the West and the worldviews in which they are embedded, yet in form and didactic approach they stood in the Edo period.

The textbooks of the 1870s included translations of Western works and re-iterations of Japanese instructional texts published in movable type. A famous example of the first is Samuel Smile's *Self Help* (1867, translated as *Seikoku risshihen* 西国立志編 in 1871) that introduced exemplary men who elevated themselves through ambition (*risshi* 立志).[73] Such translations co-existed with texts that re-introduced premodern paragons. For example, *Kinsei kōshiden* 近世孝子伝 (1875) introduced exemplars of filial piety (including Tomematsu, the filial boy discussed in chapter one), and *Honchō retsujoden* 本朝列女伝 (1875) revisited the early modern canon of virtuous women. In 1873 and 1874, the Ministry of Education introduced two versions of the *Shōgaku tokuhon* 小学読本 ('Primary School Reader'). The 1873 textbook is based on direct translations of texts from the American *School and Family Series* (1860) by Marcius Willson (1813-1905), but the 1874 version was more eclectic and introduced practical and scientific knowledge befitting the goal of *bunmei kaika* as well as stories about Japanese historical figures and Confucian morality.[74] With help of specialists from the Tokyo Normal School, the Ministry also refashioned the earliest stage of literacy education based on Western models. *Shōkaku nyūmon* 小学入門 ('Elementary School Primer', 1874) introduces *kana* charts, numbers and words in which the *kana* appear, combined with

[72] Takezawa, 'Translating and Transforming "Race"', 10–11.
[73] Tsurumi, 'Meiji Primary School Language and Ethics Textbooks', 249.
[74] Tsurumi, 251. Both textbooks consist of five volumes.

illustrations.[75] The latter part introduces Chinese characters grouped by theme, that are consequently applied in short stories. As Lincicome observes, insight into 'developmental' didactics is however limited, as the vocabulary in the stories does not build on or reinforce the vocabulary introduced in earlier parts, nor are they accompanied by illustrations.[76]

The quality of readers improved in the mid-1880s, several of which were rooted in developmental education. The primer *Yomikata nyūmon* 読方入門 ('Introduction to Reading', 1884) focuses on objects, daily surroundings, nature, and animals, while introducing easy concepts first and more difficult ones later. This book bears the stamp of Isawa Shūji 伊澤修二 (1851-1917), head of Tokyo Normal School and chief editor of the textbook compilation bureau from 1885. Isawa was adamant that textbooks should be of higher quality and argued that their production should not be left to the people, but to a group of professionals in their subject, editors, and experienced teachers.[77] Under Isawa's leadership, the compilation bureau revised its primer and created the follow-up textbook *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* 尋常小学読本 ('Reader for the Ordinary Elementary School', 1887) for the first four years of elementary school. This textbook was revolutionary in that it did not merely teach the national language, but also invited children to develop their mental faculties and use their imagination. To this end, the lessons introduced subjects close to the experience of children, such as play, school and simplified *mukashibanashi* and fables, gradually incorporating more difficult themes such as science, geography, and history.

The choice to include *mukashibanashi* and fables initially met with critique. In his defense, Isawa stated that first, these stories connected to the imagination (*sōzōryoku* 想像力) and early stage of development (*hattatsu* 発達) of children; they would both enjoy and learn from the morality in these stories.[78] Second, such popular tales were even in the West translated and seen as 'literary masterpieces'. The illustrations in the textbook were criticized for their crudeness in form. This was according to Isawa because 'these readers are rather young and lack acute powers of discrimination, their concepts (*kannen* 観念) do not extend beyond general forms'.[79] The opinion of children on these pictures was in fact

[75] The *hiragana* chart in *Shōgaku nyūmon* singles out one *kana* for each sound in large print but introduces variants in smaller print and applies these in the stories. The Ministry of Education officially standardized the use of *kana* (in which a one *kana* corresponds to one sound) in 1900, in the *Shōgakkōrei shikōkisoku* 小学校令施行規則 ('Enforcement Regulations of the Law on Primary Schools'). *Hōrei zensho : Meiji 33 nen*, 264.
[76] Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan*, 207–8.
[77] Lincicome, 213.
[78] Lincicome, 216.
[79] Lincicome, 217.

consulted. Although here defended from the standpoint of developmental education, Herbartians would fully agree that folktales speak to the imagination of children and are useful for moral education. The sixth volume moreover includes an adaptation of *Robinson Crusoe*, exactly as Ziller prescribed. It was preceded, and followed, by two lessons about Kusunoki Masashige and Masatsura.[80] Ōto and Morioka would surely have approved of the way in which these lessons introduce an image of 'the parting at Sakurai' and invoke the famous epitaph that eulogizes Masashige's loyalty. Isawa's own opinions about the aim of (moral) education reveal a sliding scale. In 1882, he had claimed that the aim of primary education was the cultivation of the complete human being, but in he 1886 argued that the aim of primary school education was to create one great national family.[81]

Another reader published in this year, *Nihon tokuhon* 日本読本 (1887), does not introduce *mukashibanashi*, but theorizes on the connection between folktales and stories from history. A lesson titled *mukashibanashi* 昔話シ explains that *mukashibanashi* are still known because they are written down and in every generation told to young children.[82] (The reader is supposed to have already outgrown this stage.) 'Afterwards', the author states, 'you will read about history and learn many extremely old stories'. The aim is obviously to prepare children for the next two lessons, that introduce Kusunoki Masashige, his unnamed wife, and their son Masatsura. Yoshitsune, Sugawara Michizane, Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 (1521-1573) and Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信 (1530-1578) follow in volume five. Yoshitsune is mentioned again in volume six, as a famous general in a lesson titled *Nihonkoku no mukashibanashi* 日本国ノ昔話シ ('A *mukashibanashi* of Japan').[83] *Nihon tokuhon* thus explicitly connects *mukashibanashi* or 'tales of old' to national history, with the aim of facilitating an understanding of the latter concept.

Following the promulgation of the Rescript, insights from developmental education were adapted to fit the goals of nation-building and the creation of a national identity. 'Repertoires of shared values, symbols and traditions' that must 'provide a social bond between individuals and classes'[84] were built up right from the first primer. *Yomikaki nyūmon* 読書入門 (1886) had taught *katakana* by introducing short words with pictures: the first four

[80] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 5*, 139–44.
[81] Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan*, 219.
[82] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 5*, 383. The reader is considered to be between ten and twelve years old and the primary audience of *mukashibanashi* four to five years younger.
[83] Kaigo, 429.
[84] Smith, *National Identity*, 16.

words are *hato* (pigeon) (fig. 2.2), *hana* (flower), *tori* (bird) and *kiri* (gimlet). This approach lends itself well for the introduction of various symbols of nation. *Teikoku tokuhon* 帝国読本 ('Imperial Reader', 1893) for example introduces respectively *hata* (flag), *hana* (flower), *take* (bamboo), and *tako* (kite).[85] *Jinjō kokugo tokuhon* 尋常国語読本 ('National Language Reader for the Lower Elementary School', 1900) starts with *hana*, *hata*, *tako* and *koma* (spinning top) (fig. 2.3).[86] The illustrations explain that the flag is the national flag and flowers refer in this latter textbook to cherry-blossoms. These symbols are inserted in a context of animals, nature, and toys, that modern pedagogy identified as close to the experiences and mental development of young children. 'Flag' and 'kite' moreover form a natural pair combined on one page. In the government textbook of 1903, *hata* also appears in the first volume in a lesson describing two boys who are marching around, while carrying a flag (the national flag, according to the picture) and blowing a trumpet (*rappa*). In volume two, the more precise word *kokki* 国旗 ('national flag') is taught in the context of New Year's celebrations, that involves putting out the flag in every house and playing with kites (boys) and sticking flowers in your hair (girls).[87] Thus, symbols of the nation appeared from the beginning in textbooks, and connections were made between toys (kite, toy trumpet), symbolic objects (flag, trumpet) and ceremonial elements (national holiday,

Fig. 2.2 *Yomikaki nyūmon,* 1886 (1895 reprint). NDL

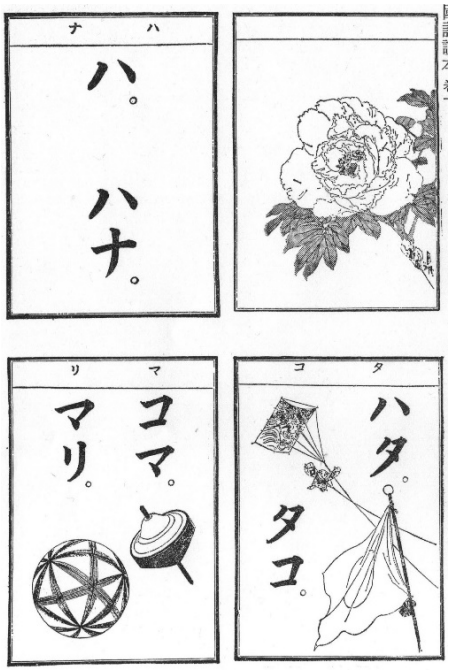

Fig. 2.3 *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon*, vol. 1, 1900 (as reproduced in NKT 6)

[85] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 6*, 437–38.
[86] *Kokugo tokuhon* 国語読本 ('National Language Reader', 1900) by Tsubouchi Shōyō opens with *tori* (bird), *hato* (pigeon), *hata* (flag), *tako* (kite). The 1910 government textbook *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* opens with *hata* (flag), *tako* (kite), *koma* (spinning top), and *hato* (pigeon).
[87] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 6*, 411.

marching soldiers) in order to create a collective identity, with different symbols and activities associated with boys (soldiers, kite, active play) and girls (flowers, decoration).

As stated before, under influence of the Rescript and Herbartianism, ethics became an overarching theme in the elementary school curriculum. This was preceded by a deep distrust on the side of the government for the available ethics textbooks in the 1880s. In 1881 the Ministry of Education had banned several textbooks based on Western ethics, and in 1885 it banned ethics textbooks altogether. Teachers were to deliver the lessons orally. In the 1890s, ethics textbooks were re-introduced, finding a beacon in the Rescript, and seeking a connection with the subjects of *kokugo* and history. Ethics textbooks celebrated loyalty and filial piety, reinforced by such qualities as 'modesty, trust, affection, decorum and courage'.[88] The contents of *kokugo* readers had more variation, but also introduced many lessons dealing with social and national ethics. In the preface to *Kōtō shōgaku shin tokuhon* 高等小学新読本 ('New Reader for the Upper Primary School', 1892), the author Nishimura Shōzaburō 西村正三郎 (1861-1896) argues that as the first lesson makes the deepest impression on a child, the opening lessons of each volume deal with moral education and national education. He furthermore argues that 'a variety of different methods must be used to teach the same thing'.[89] Patricia Tsurumi observes that there was also still place for the earlier Meiji period ideal of *risshin shusse*. (This applies for example to the representation of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in ethics textbooks as will be discussed in more detail later.) This leads Tsurumi to argue that moral education in the Meiji period was less intense and more varied than is often assumed. She does however not recognize the Herbartian didactic scheme involving *mukashibanashi*, fables, myths, and warrior legends. Following Isawa Shūji's example, *mukashibanashi* appeared in several new *kokugo* readers, as a preparation for lessons that introduced historical warriors and other cultural icons. These representations in readers connected to the contents of ethics textbooks and history textbooks used in the higher grades, that structured their lessons around exemplary figures.

The government started to produce ethics textbooks in 1903. Fridell observes that the first government ethics textbook was not as heavily influenced by the Rescript as the later government readers: the stories on morality predominantly focus on personal and social

[88] Tsurumi, 'Meiji Primary School Language and Ethics Textbooks', 257.
[89] Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan*, 227.

ethics.[90] However, the 1910 version stresses national and family ethics (*kokumin dōtoku* 国民道徳). The 1910 ethics textbook (that was a blueprint for the consequent editions till 1945) repeatedly employs the terms 'loyalty and patriotism' or *chūkun aikoku* to describe the feelings of historical heroes (such as Kusunoki Masashige) and the spirit of the nation in general (during the Russo-Japanese War, for example). The lessons conceptualize filial piety towards parents as one and the same as loyalty to the emperor, the father of the nation-family.[91] Stress on Shinto beliefs makes the emperor and the nation sacred. Ethics readers were now also developed for the lower grades, leading from pictures and simple stories about civilized behaviour to narratives of historical exemplars and explanations about the various duties of citizens as outlined in the Rescript.

The connection between history and moral instruction was already made in government directions in the early 1880s, but this only became a structural and integrated approach in the 1890s. In 1881, national history became an official elementary school subject. The General Outline of Elementary School Regulations (*Shōgakkō kyōsoku kōryō* 小学校教則綱領, 1881) stipulated that the aim of history education is to make students understand 'cause and effect in history' as well as to 'cultivate a spirit of reverence for the emperor and patriotism (*son'ō aikoku* 尊王愛国)'.[92] More concretely, this should include facts about important historical moments such as 'the founding of the nation, the enthronement of Emperor Jinmu, the frugality of Emperor Nintoku, the reign of Emperors Daigo and Murakami, the rise and fall of the Minamoto and the Heike, the appearance of the Northern and Southern Court, the Tokugawa administration, and the restoration of imperial rule'. The regulation moreover states that by studying the deeds of historical persons, students will learn about morality and the customs of the historical period. However, history textbooks of the 1880s (as they appear in *Nihon kyōkasho taikei*) still presented history along the reigns of Emperors, as had been the custom in the previous decennium.

Markedly different is the 1892 *Teikoku shōshi* 帝国小史 ('Short History of the Empire'), in which every chapter focuses on a famous historical character: emperors, warriors or otherwise. The deeds of these men (and one woman, namely Murasaki Shikibu) form the structure through which national history is retold and national ethics are represented. In

[90] Fridell, 'Government Ethics Textbooks in Late Meiji Japan', 827.
[91] Fridell, 831.
[92] *Hōrei zensho Meiji 14 nen*, 817.

other words, the contents of each lesson consist of biographical elements, important events and actions, supporting figures, and a moral message.[93] This focus on important historical persons became the standard for other elementary school history textbooks in the 1890s, as well as the government textbooks in the early twentieth century. Also the subject of singing (*shōka* 唱歌), that became required in 1907, followed in the footsteps of the history and language textbooks by incorporating songs about national heroes, with the object of shaping dispositions and feelings.[94]

5. Historical exemplars in textbooks

In this section, I examine how premodern histories and legends were re-interpreted in modern textbooks for elementary school students in the subjects of *kokugo*, history and ethics. I will focus on the representation of Minamoto Yoshitsune, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Murasaki Shikibu. I will ask which narrative and visual elements of premodern legends were taken over, and how the interpretations developed during the Meiji period. Which dispositions and actions are stressed or de-emphasized, and how do these differ between genders?

5.1 Minamoto Yoshitsune

Initially, Meiji period textbook makers showed little interest in Yoshitsune. He for example does not appear in the concise history textbook *Shiryaku* 史略 (1872). In *Nihon ryakushi* 日本略史 (1875) he is merely mentioned as a general who was instrumental in the defeat of the Heike.[95] As mentioned before, the 1874 reader *Shōgaku tokuhon* also includes stories about famous warriors. The selection is however strikingly different from the canon that developed in the 1890s and would have a lasting influence on government textbooks. Yoshitsune, but also such figures as Yamato Takeru 日本武尊 (leg. 72-114) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, are not taken up, whereas half of the characters that do appear, such as Shizuka gozen and several warriors from *Taiheiki*, are absent in later textbooks. Famous warriors were thus not dismissed, and already recognized as being useful in the early Meiji period

[93] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 19*, 742.
[94] Cave, 'Story, Song, and Ceremony', 14.
[95] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 18*, 138.

educational sphere. However, the formation of a more robust canon of national heroes took place in the late 1880s and 1890s, and this is also when Yoshitsune is taken up again.

In the 1880s, makers of history textbooks started to revisit the premodern legends about Yoshitsune, following the government's exhortations about the aim of history lessons, in which 'the rise and fall of the Minamoto and the Heike' were specifically mentioned. *Shinpen Nihon ryakushi* 新編日本略史 ('New Outline of Japanese History', 1881), for example, touches upon Ushiwakamaru's youth at Kurama temple, how he was guided by a local man called Washiō at Ichi-no-tani, how Kajiwara caused Yoritomo to distrust his half-brother, Yoshitsune's flight to Ōshū, and his suicide or alleged survival.[96] *Shōgaku kokushi kiji honmatsu* 小学国史記事本末 ('Essential Accounts of the National History for Elementary Studies', 1883) gives a similar biographical account, in a chapter dramatically titled 'Yoritomo murders his own flesh and blood'.[97] Students are clearly invited to condemn Yoritomo's character. The 1888 textbook *Shōgakkōyō rekishi* 小学校用歴史 ('History for the Elementary School') describes Yoshitsune's military exploits in some detail, including the theory that he conquered Ezo, Dattan (Tartary) and China, and became Genghis Khan.[98] Two separate blocks describe Yoshitsune's teenage years and the battle of Yashima. Whereas the earlier two textbooks are not illustrated, *Shōgakkōyō rekishi* introduces a picture of the brilliant archer Nasu no Yoichi 那須与一 (?-?) on his horse galloping into the sea, and a young Yoshitsune holding an audience, presumably during his first visit to Ōshū. The textbooks do not significantly differ from early modern interpretations, nor do they select episodes that would specifically appeal to a young audience.

In the early 1890s, history textbooks started to be structured along the lines of exemplary historical figures, who were to serve as moral exemplars. Yoshitsune appears in various textbooks in a lesson titled 'Yoshitsune and Yoritomo'. In *Teikoku shōshi* 帝国小史 ('A Short History of the Empire', 1893), we first encounter the filial Tokiwa gozen, as she comes to her mother's rescue when the 'immoral' Kiyomori holds her captive.[99] The lesson states that Yoshitsune was called Ushiwakamaru as a child, who already in Kurama was full of determination (*kokorozashi surudoku* 志するどく) to beat the Heike. After being united with Yoritomo, Yoshitsune with an Imperial fiat beat Kiso Yoshinaka who 'caused even more

[96] Kaigo, 377–82.
[97] Kaigo, 552–53.
[98] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 19*, 50–54.
[99] Kaigo, 202–4.

chaos than the Heike'. Following a description of Yoshitsune's successful battles, the lesson relates that he 'did not even get a reward [from Yoritomo]' and fled to Ōshū. Yoshitsune's persecution and death are considered entirely the fault of Yoritomo's distrustful and jealous nature. The *hōgan biiki* sentiment resounds in the observation that this is all 'very tragic and pitiable' (*makoto ni aware nasakenaki* 誠にあはれなさけなき). One of the illustrations paradoxically shows the peaceful first encounter between the two brothers, stressing the virtue of brotherly love. A panoramic image shows the sea battle of Dan-no-ura. *Shōgakkōyō Nihon rekishi* 小学校用日本歴史 ('Japanese History for the Elementary School', 1894) shows a portrait of Yoritomo but the text is partial to Yoshitsune, who had a 'white complexion' and small, elegant stature, yet was fearless (*daitan futeki* 大胆不敵) in the battles against the Heike.[100] It was also his 'courage and popularity' that made Yoritomo jealous and believe Kajiwara's slander. Purportedly Yoshitsune made himself scarce so 'the Emperor's lands would not be disturbed'. Both textbooks introduce the alternative end in which Yoshitsune became the leader of the Ainu and went to China, followed by the observation that Yoritomo established the Kamakura Bakufu. Thus, the lessons consist not merely of positive moral exemplars but introduce various characters and plots from the cycle of Yoshitsune legends that offer a starting point for discussing ethical behaviour and the course of national history.

In consequent history textbooks, descriptions of Yoshitsune became more straightforward. Presumably, these textbooks, like the British history readers discussed by Peter Yeandle (see section 3), tried to avoid an interpretation that would lead to adulation. The title of the lessons mention Yoritomo alone, and while crediting his younger brother for the battles he won, the textbooks take care not to sound too enthusiastic about his boldness. In *Shinsen teikoku shidan* 新選帝国史談 ('Newly Selected Historical Stories of the Empire', 1898) for example, Yoshitsune appears matter-of-factly as a key figure in the battles of the Genpei War, while serving under Yoritomo.[101] The persecution by his own brother however continued to weigh on the minds of some textbook authors. *Shōgaku kokushi* 小学国史 ('National History for Elementary Studies', 1900) explains that Yoritomo 'killed his dear younger brother Yoshitsune and … his younger brother Noriyori … and many meritorious retainers' and therefore, 'the Genji reign became very weak and continued only for three

[100] Kaigo, 251–52.
[101] Kaigo, 296.

generations'.[102] Such a forced explanation is however counter-productive in a narrative of national historical development. The government reader *Shōgaku Nihon rekishi* 小学日本歴史 ('Japanese History for Elementary Studies') of 1903 and the revised edition of 1911 drop the theme of Yoritomo's flaws entirely in the interest of the narrative of national progression and the exemplary nature of his character (and not Yoshitsune's). Yoritomo is introduced as the man who established the warrior government that would continue for seven hundred years, and although it is mentioned that he came to dislike Yoshitsune, we only learn that the latter decamped and died in Michinoku.[103] In the revised textbook of 1911, Yoritomo is then further embellished as an exemplary leader who founded a stable military government (*buke no seiji* 武家の政治). He also promoted 'simplicity and frugality' (*shisso ken'yaku* 質素倹約) as well as 'martially oriented pastimes' and 'the way of the warrior' (*bushidō* 武士道).[104]

Legends about Yoshitsune and his function as an exemplar developed differently in *kokugo* readers. Here, war tales and popular legends had a lasting influence, inviting children to imagine the past already in the earlier grades before history classes became part of their schedule. *Nihon tokuhon* 日本読本 (1887) introduces Yoshitsune's biography, yet different from history textbooks opts for an open end. The chapter 'Yoshitsune' in the fifth volume relates: 'Minamoto Yoshitsune was the younger brother of Yoritomo, and a famous soldier (*gunjin* 軍人). When Yoshitsune was young, his father fought with Taira Kiyomori and was killed … receiving the name Ushiwakamaru, Yoshitsune was made an acolyte at the Kurama mountain temple in Kyoto.'[105] A dramatic description of the three famous battles follows. The last paragraph tells of the establishment of the Kamakura Bakufu, and how the court held Yoshitsune's brave deeds in high esteem. However, Yoritomo mistrusted and disfavoured his brother. And so, it came to be that Yoshitsune, 'unparalleled in wisdom and courage, had no place to go in entire Japan, and, chocking back his tears, left the capital'. The author then terminates the narrative, and remarks that the reader will surely hear the rest of the story another time. Yoshitsune is mentioned again (as a successful general) in a later chapter about the Genpei War.

[102] Kaigo, 344.
[103] Kaigo, 459.
[104] Kaigo, 514. The attribution of specific ethics to cultural heroes will be discussed in the next paragraph on the representation of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.
[105] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 5*, 399–400.

Various readers introduce Yoshitsune's martial exploits based on popular sections in *Heike monogatari*. In *Shōgaku chūtōka tokuhon* 小学中等科読本 (1885) for the middle elementary school (years four to six), Yoshitsune appears in two lessons that describe the 'reverse oars' dispute with Kajiwara and the descent from Hiyodorigoe during the battle of Ichi-no-tani. In contrast to the Edo period didactic message about slander and good judgement, what one might learn from the first-mentioned lesson is that Yoshitsune and the men who decide to follow him in the frontal attack were brave, while Kajiwara was a coward for proposing a tactic with a possibility for retreat.[106] The lesson describing the battle of Ichi-no-tani equally consists of a highlight from *Heike monogatari*.[107] *Teikoku tokuhon* (1893) also introduces this episode and makes explicit that the adaptation is based on *Heike monogatari*.[108] The lesson also appears in various readers, structurally illustrated with an image of the steep cliff, based on the premodern iconography (fig. 2.4).

Fig. 2.4 *Kokugo tokuhon*, vol. 4, 1900 (as reproduced in NKT 6)

The Hiyodorigoe episode is described vividly in Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Kokugo tokuhon* 国語読本 ('National Language Reader', 1900).

> Because the Genji general Yoshitsune was a very smart man, one night, he climbed the mountain behind the [Heike] castle with his soldiers (*heishi* 兵士). The area was called Hiyodorigoe and as it was a steep place, people and horses did normally not pass here. Therefore, those in the castle were careless and had not prepared a defence on the backside. Yoshitsune rejoiced, and saying 'Everybody, follow me!', whipped his horse and raced down the cliff, as steep as a folding screen. Encouraged, the others followed in one pack, launched the attack, set fire to the back of the castle, and beat the Heike. [The Heike] fled to the western sea and were eventually overthrown.[109]

[106] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 4*, 577–378.
[107] Kaigo, 419–20.
[108] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 5*, 542.
[109] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 6*, 238–39.

Shōyō's description of Hiyodorigoe introduces Yoshitsune as a smart and (we can infer) brave leader. Yet he would not have conquered the Heike without his 'soldiers'. The second government reader in a similar narrative also describes how the 'soldiers' followed Yoshitsune and describes how Benkei and a character based on Washiō (the local guide) contributed to the mission. Like British history readers, the lessons do not focus solely on the hero but presents his deeds for the nation as a joined effort.

Long before this lesson, students would already have encountered Yoshitsune as a boy in an earlier grade. In the footsteps of the innovative *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* (1887), several readers from the 1890s not only took up the folktale *Momotarō*, but also the battle between Ushiwakamaru and Benkei on Gojō bridge.[110] Both Momotarō and Ushiwakamaru became gradually associated with an audience of beginning readers. *Jinjō shōgaku tokusho kyōhon* 尋常小学読書教本 ('Reading Textbook for the Lower Elementary School', 1894) introduces the battle between Ushiwakamaru and Benkei in the third reader.

> Ushiwakamaru was a very strong person who devoted himself to the practice of martial arts since childhood. One night, when he crossed Gojō bridge, a big monk called Benkei attacked him with his *naginata*. Ushiwakamaru was young and small, but because he was very skilled in martial arts, he drew his sword and countered without fear. Benkei at first made light [of his adversary] and merely returned the blows, but he gradually grew tired, in the end lost the battle, and surrendered. From that moment till his death, Benkei became Ushiwakamaru's cherished retainer. The Minamoto no Yoshitsune mentioned later, is this Ushiwakamaru.[111]

The text makes explicit what early modern popular representations also stressed: Ushiwakamaru is, like the reader, still young and small, but he is brave. The differences in size are emphasized in the illustration, that is based on the iconography of a giant Benkei charging at Ushiwakamaru, while the latter jumps lightly into the air (fig. 2.5). The virtue of loyalty is not spelled out but might be introduced by a teacher in the context of the 'cherished retainer' Benkei.

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[110] To my knowledge, the first reader in which a lesson about Ushiwakamaru on Gojō bridge appeared was *Teikoku tokuhon* (1893).
[111] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 5*, 715.

Tsubouchi Shōyō in his *Kokugo tokuhon* places *Ushiwakamaru* in the second reader. He actively connects text and illustration and invites the young reader to construct the story. The illustration again shows Ushiwakamaru and Benkei fighting on Gojo bridge (fig. 2.6). The text reads: 'This is Gojō bridge. Ushiwaka and Benkei are fighting on the bridge. Ushiwaka threw a fan with the *hinomaru*. Look at Benkei's sour face! Who do you think will win?'[112] Although adults might have had similar talks with children before the 1890s, the conversational style represents a progressive didactic perspective of a child's agency in constructing the narrative. The way in which the legends were adapted in early twentieth century readers to engage a young audience is clearly related to the development of modern children's literature in the 1890s. The consequence of a more skilful appeal to the imagination, is that stories about historical heroes and the values they represent would in all probability be more effective than earlier attempts. The narrative techniques introduced by Shōyō were also adopted in the government readers.

Fig. 2.5 *Jinjō shōgaku tokusho kyōhon*, vol 3, 1894. Hiroshima University Library

Fig. 2.6 *Kokugo tokuhon* vol. 2, 1900 (as reproduced in NKT 6)

Enthusiasm for the 'brave boy' Ushiwakamaru was further encouraged with songs. Peter Cave places the internalization of national ideologies especially with types of practices (song, story, performance) that appeal to the imagination and emotions of children.[113] For example, the song *Ushiwakamaru* in the textbook *Yōnen shōka* 幼年唱歌 ('Songs for Children', 1901) is written in the first person, inviting the child to 'be' Ushiwakamaru. '[My] dad vanished during the rainy season in Owari, [my] mother was taken by the Heike, [my] brother was sent to Izu, and I (*onore*) alone [went to] Kurama

[112] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 6*, 215.
[113] Cave, 'Story, Song, and Ceremony', 10.

mountain.'[114] The first half of the song deals with Ushiwakamaru legends and the second half lists the successes of the adult 'Yoshitsune Genkurō'. The textbook instructs to sing 'vigorously' (*isamashiku* 勇マシク) in the fashion of a war song (*gunkatai* 軍歌体). The frontispiece of the volume in which the song appears shows Ushiwakamaru and Benkei on Gojō bridge. Another song titled 'Ushiwakamaru', that is still known as a nursery song, appears in the first government song book *Jinjō shōgaku shōka* 尋常小学唱歌 ('Songs for the Lower Elementary School', 1911).[115] This song focuses on the battle at Gojō bridge, between Ushiwakamaru who is 'fast like a swallow' and the *oni* 鬼 (ogre) Benkei. In the tracks of the 1910 government reader, 'Ushiwakamaru' is aimed at first graders, while a later volume for the third grade introduces another cheerful song titled 'Hiyodorigoe'.[116]

Ushiwakamaru in readers and school songs can be compared to the fictional warrior boy Momotarō, as they are both part of a realm of fairy tales and represent 'brave boys'. In Shōyō's *Kokugo tokuhon* for example, Momotarō is described as growing up a strong boy who sets out 'courageously' (*isamashiku*) towards the demon island, where he successfully beats the *oni* general.[117] Klaus Antoni in his study of the propagandistic uses of this tale observes that the 1937 government reader seamlessly connects fairy-tales like *Momotarō* with the 'fuzzy realm' of myth and legend, and stories about Shinto mythology, emperors, and national heroes, culminating in the figure of Yamato Takeru.[118] (Also Yamato Takeru was canonized in the textbooks of the 1890s.) Antoni focuses on imperialist ideology in adaptations of the *Momotarō* tale. He points out the analogy with legends about Japanese cultural heroes who conquered foreign lands, such as Tametomo (Ryūkyū), Yoshitsune (Ezo) and Yamato Takeru (various 'barbaric' people beyond the frontier). This leads him to argue that: '… a direct line of tradition leads from Yamato Takeru by way of Yoshitsune and Tametomo directly to Momotarō.'[119] Antoni does however not discuss the actual representation of Yoshitsune in government readers, where Yoshitsune as Ushiwakamaru can rather be placed *with* Momotarō in the realm of fairy tales. Different from Momotarō, he

[114] *Kyōka tekiyō Yōnen shōka nihen gekan* 教科適用幼年唱歌二編下巻, pp. 20-21. Reproduced in Ezaki, *Ongaku Kiso Kenkyū Bunkenshū 18*.
[115] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 25*, 291.
[116] Kaigo, 307. In the 1910 reader, Hiyodorigoe appears in volume five, used in the first semester of the third grade.
[117] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 6*, 222–23.
[118] Antoni, 'Momotaro (the Peach Boy) and the Spirit of Japan', 161.
[119] Antoni, 179.

has moreover the convenient inherent quality of 'having grown up to be' a famous historical general who will re-appear at a later point.

In conclusion, the exemplary nature of Yoshitsune in textbooks largely lies in his manifestation as the brave boy Ushiwakamaru. In history textbooks, the meritorious general Yoshitsune was gradually separated from legend, premodern literary tropes and (feudal) ethics. Focus then shifted from Yoshitsune to Yoritomo, in favour of a logical historical narrative and a positive interpretation of the founder of the Kamakura shogunate. In readers, the fictional Gojō bridge episode became a fixture following the re-appreciation of *mukashibanashi* as educational material, teaching young children that even if you are small, you can be brave. Most readers re-introduce Yoshitsune in a later lesson that represents a highlight from the *Heike*, notably the descent from Hiyodorigoe. These lessons introduced a brave (and smart) leader, loyally followed by his 'soldiers', and (in the second government reader) other helpers. Clearly no virtues were associated with Yoshitsune (or were dreamed up) that earned him a place in ethics textbooks. The illustrations that went with the lessons were dictated by the premodern visual canon. Illustrations of Gojō bridge aimed to appeal to children's imagination, an expedient means not unknown in the early modern period, but in the late nineteenth century widely implemented based on new insights from psychology and pedagogy.

5.2 Toyotomi Hideyoshi

In chapter one I have discussed how Hideyoshi, like Yoshitsune, was provided with various legends about his younger years, whose formation in the popular imagination took place mainly in the nineteenth century. The focal episodes were Hideyoshi's auspicious birth, his misbehaviour at the temple where he was supposed to study, his encounter with Koroku (Hachisuka) Masakatsu on Yahagi bridge, his apprenticeship to Matsushita Yukitsune, and his service to Oda Nobunaga. The encounter on Yahagi bridge developed into an iconography associated with the young Hideyoshi (Hiyoshimaru) in late Edo and early Meiji *kusazōshi* and prints. Hideyoshi's lowly beginnings would in textbooks continue to be the point of departure for a message about *shusse* or 'rising in the world'. His bad attitude as a boy was however not considered a textbook example.

During the 1880s and 1890s, modern textbooks found the exemplary elements of Hideyoshi's life in his successful ascendance from farmer to the most powerful man in Japan (apart from the emperor), his loyalty to Oda Nobunaga, and his military successes. *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* (1887), for example, describes how Hideyoshi was born in a humble farming household in Owari province.[120] As the legend goes, his monkey-like face earned him the nickname Sarunosuke. At age twenty, he met Matsushita Yukitsuna on a bridge, who, impressed by the young man's intelligence, accepted him as a servant. Yukitsuna has been conflated with Koroku, who was the original (maybe too boorish) antagonist in the encounter on the bridge. This lesson contains a picture of the Yahagi bridge episode (fig. 2.7). In popular interpretations introduced in chapter one, the child Hiyoshimaru was sitting down in the middle of the bridge and blocking the road, yet in this illustration 'Sarunosuke' stands upright as if having a proper conversation. As will be discussed in the next chapter, in Iwaya Sazanami's version (*Hiyoshimaru*, 1897) the thirteen-year-old Hiyoshimaru refuses to move aside and picks a quarrel with the equally unpolished Koroku. It is in fact rare that it is taken up at all: textbooks after 1887 do not touch upon this episode. The next lesson in *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* stresses Hideyoshi's upright personality and his loyalty (*chūgi* 忠義) to Oda Nobunaga. To the dismay of the other (higher born) retainers, Nobunaga later appointed him as a commander. A third lesson introduces how Hideyoshi came to power and sums up: 'Hideyoshi was descended from lowly people, but in the end ruled the realm and became chief councillor (*kanpaku daijō daijin* 関白太政大臣), and as he later also attacked Korea, one should say he is the greatest hero of all times'. In Hideyoshi's biography were thus united the ideals of *risshin shusse*, loyalty, and military zeal.

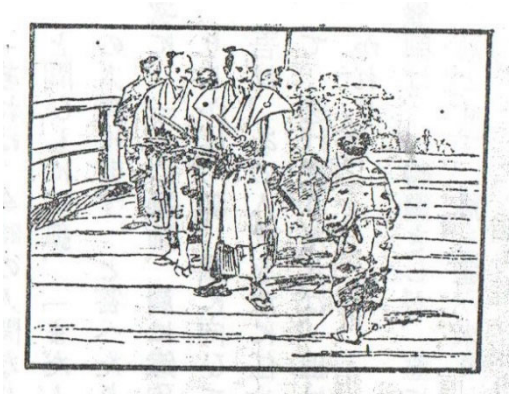

Fig. 2.7 *Shōgaku tokuhon,* vol. 7, 1887 (as reproduced in NKT 5)

Following the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the invasions of Korea, launched by Hideyoshi between 1592 and 1598, were re-invented as a success for the Japanese nation. The first government reader *Jinjō shōgakkō tokuhon* (1903) focuses on Hideyoshi's battles, said to have been successfully fought by his 'soldiers' (*heitai* 兵隊), which again reflects the

[120] Hideyoshi is described in two lessons in volume seven. Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 5*, 149–51.

tendency in textbooks and youth literature to present historical battles as a joined effort by the Japanese nation.[121] The text insinuates moreover that the brave soldiers would have annexed Korea if Hideyoshi had not fallen ill and died. The second government reader (1910) gets straight to the point, by stating that the lesson will be about 'the Toyotomi Hideyoshi who led the attack on Korea'.[122] The didactic message about *shusse* still plays a role: the reader must know that he was once a poor yet determined little boy called Hiyoshimaru, and examples are given of how Hideyoshi as a young adult worked hard and served Oda Nobunaga loyally. The invasions of Korea are said to have led to China's offer to recognize Hideyoshi as the 'king of Japan'. Upon hearing of this plan, Hideyoshi flew into a rage, as 'Japan already has an Emperor', and began his second invasion of Korea. The government history textbooks of 1903 and 1911 equally present the invasions of Korea as a successful action, executed by 'our army' (*waga gun* わが軍), if it were not for China's break of the peace negotiations and the outrageous idea of entering Hideyoshi in their records as the 'king of Japan'.[123] As the latter issue is being left unexplained, it is clearly the teachers' turn to ask why any good Japanese citizen would experience this as a grave insult. Hideyoshi in the two government readers and history textbooks thus represents a paragon of *shusse* and loyalty, while providing the nation with an 'almost successful' precedent for the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945).

Ethics textbooks find in Hideyoshi moreover an exemplar of diligence. Initially, ethics textbooks that explored the nation's historical figures as moral exemplars introduced only a single episode about Hideyoshi. In *Shōgaku shūshin kun* 小学修身訓 (1892) for example, Hideyoshi is staged as a supportive friend for Araki Murashige (discussed in more detail below), and a lesson in *Shōgaku shūshinsho* 小学修身書 (1892) focuses on Hideyoshi's 'imperial success' in Korea.[124] *Shūshin kyōten* 修身教典 (1900) on the other hand devotes several lessons to Hideyoshi, that reflect various virtues associated with the Imperial Rescript on Education. This textbook introduces on the first page of its two volumes the Rescript, followed by twenty-five lessons largely consisting of narratives about historical

[121] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 6*, 470–71. *Heitai* 兵隊 is according to *Nihon kokugo daijiten* a nineteenth-century term, mainly employed after the Meiji Restoration to describe soldiers or troops.
[122] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 7*, 97–99.
[123] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 19*, 475–77; Kaigo, 534–36.
[124] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 2*, 359–60; Kaigo, 511–12.

exemplars.[125] Hideyoshi's biography is narrated in five chapters, that according to the titles represent self-cultivation (*rishi* 立志), diligence (*seikin* 精勤), friendship (*kōyū* 交友), loyalty to the Emperor (*kin'ō* 勤王) and ambition (*taishi* 大志).[126]

The chapter on self-cultivation narrates how the young Hideyoshi heard other villagers talk about the 'turbulent times' which made him decide to spend his life in a 'useful' way by taking up weapons. After working shortly for Matsushita, the twenty-three-year-old Hideyoshi humbly asked the more powerful Oda Nobunaga to accept his service. Nobunaga, amused by Hideyoshi's monkey-like face, agreed. The chapter on diligence introduces how Hideyoshi became Nobunaga's sandal-bearer and was always stand-by:

> On a very cold winter morning … when Oda Nobunaga woke up to go out earlier than normal … our lord (*kō* 公) [Hideyoshi] immediately came forward and humbly presented himself. When Nobunaga asked, 'are you the only one here?', our lord answered, 'as your departure is earlier than normal, they have not come yet'. 'But why are you here?', Nobunaga asked, and our lord respectfully answered, 'I wake up an hour before [your departure] every morning … so as never to be late'. Upon hearing this, Nobunaga commented 'how curious that on such a cold morning, you came out all on your own', to which our lord said, 'I think painful tasks are supposed to make me grow, and therefore they cease to be hard. This body belongs to my lord, it is not my own … your praise makes me feel ashamed.'[127]

The invented conversation between lord and servant (a future lord) makes the reader a witness of Hideyoshi's diligence and loyalty, and privy to the thoughts that motivate him. The chapter on companionship describes how Hideyoshi supported Araki Murashige 荒木村重 (1535-1586, a general and later daimyo under Oda Nobunaga) after the latter was slandered by Akechi Mitsuhide. This earned him also Murashige's friendship. This episode is followed by a short reflective chapter that teaches that making friends (*hōyū* 朋友) is very important, and that this reciprocal relationship leads to happiness. This idea is then

[125] The two volumes both open with a chapter about an emperor, respectively Nintoku (leg. 290-399) and Tenji (626-672). In book one are furthermore taken up Ninomiya Sontoku, Murasaki Shikibu, the Confucian educator Hosoi Heishū 細井平洲 (1728-1801), a probably invented Edo period woman called Kawase Haruko, and Benjamin Franklin. The second volume introduces Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Nakae Tōju, the poetess and lady-in-waiting Atsuko Saisho 税所敦子 (1825-1900), and Christopher Columbus. Both books contain several lessons of a more abstract nature, such as chapters on loyalty and the duties of citizens.

[126] Fukyūsha henshūsho 普及者編輯所, *Shūshin Kyōten: Kōtō Shōgakkōyō* 2, 5–22.

[127] Fukyūsha henshūsho 普及者編輯所, 9–11.

connected to the broader concept of 'loyalty' or 'honour' (*shingi* 信義) that applies not only to friends but to any relationship. The textbook thus both exemplifies and explains the meaning of the words *hōyū wo ai shinji* 朋友相信シ ('as friends be true') from the Rescript.

The next lesson gives several examples of Hideyoshi's loyalty and respect for the Emperor. After being appointed *kanpaku* 関白 by the Emperor, he (re)built the Ise shrine, the imperial palace in Kyoto and re-installed important ceremonies. Ignoring the actual power struggles, authority is thus simply bestowed upon Hideyoshi by the Emperor. Finally, in the lesson on 'ambition', we learn that Nobunaga ordered Hideyoshi to bring the Chūgoku region under his control, take it as a reward, and attack Kyūshū. However, Hideyoshi refused the present and instead proposed to give it to the Emperor's attendants. This refusal is in line with the shame he felt for being thanked for a natural service to his master Oda Nobunaga. Hideyoshi then voiced his 'longstanding desire' to merge Korea and China with Japan. The author observes that this 'grand mentality' (*yūdai naru seishin* 雄大なる精神) indeed led to an attack on Korea, that was brought to its knees, and also China 'was shaken to its very foundations'. The lesson concludes with the observation that Hideyoshi was a hero (*eiketsu* 英傑) unmatched in the past and present. The illustration does not show a military hero, but the portrait of the ruler (fig. 2.8) based on a famous painting by Kanō Mitsunobu 狩野光信 (1565–1608). Thus Hideyoshi's biography represents the determination and diligence needed for leading a fruitful life, loyalty (*chū* 忠) and friendship (*hōyū* 朋友). These virtues are mentioned in the Rescript. Also stressed, but not mentioned in the Rescript, are ambition and heroism. These latter traits are however carefully placed in the context of services to the nation and loyalty to the Emperor.

Fig. 2.8 *Shūshin kyōten*, vol 2., 1900 (1902 reprint). Private collection

The Ministry of Education gradually de-emphasized the aspect of *risshin shusse* in Hideyoshi's biography. In the first government ethics textbook *Shōgaku shūshinsho* 小学修身書 (1903), the example of friendship with Murashige is missing, but otherwise Hideyoshi represents the same virtues as in *Shūshin kyōten*: 'make a success in life' (*mi wo tateyo* 身を立

てよ), 'be diligent in your professional duties' (*shokumu ni benrei seyo* 職務に勉励せよ), 'respect the Imperial Court' (*kōshitsu wo tattobe* 皇室をたっとべ), and recommended is also 'an enterprising disposition' (*shinshu no kishō* 進取の気象). The last lesson is, like the chapter on ambition in *Shūshin kyōten*, exemplified by Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea. However, the second ethics textbook (1910) drops this last lesson. Instead, we learn about the invasions of Korea from the perspective of Hideyoshi's general Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正 (1562-1611), representing benevolence, courage, loyalty, honesty, and vigilance. Even though the young Hideyoshi is said to have been 'determined', the idea of becoming a powerful leader (and hero) through *shusse* fades into the background.

That the Ministry despite its interest in iconic generals aimed for a more passive citizen is confirmed by the lesson 'Good Japanese' (*Yoi Nihonjin* よい日本人) in the second government ethics textbook.[128] A good Japanese citizen 'has a loyal heart, is filial to his parents, affectionate towards his siblings, respects his teachers, is nice to his friends, and on good terms with his neighbours.' Other virtues of importance are honesty, modesty, tolerance, cooperation, keeping to the rules, knowing what is yours and what is not, acting in the interest of the public good, being well-mannered, studying well, taking care of your health, orderliness, cultivating courage, patience, and frugality. 'Cultivating courage' (*yūki wo yashinai* ゆうきをやしなひ) is only a slight variation in a list of predominantly passive characteristics. Thus, even though ethics textbooks use martial exemplars from the past, much of this material is interpreted in terms of loyalty. The Ministry was, like the British government, probably aware that exemplars of ambition and heroism could lead to dispositions that run counter to the interest of the state. Jason Karlin shows that authors and publishers in the commercial realm were well aware of the possibilities. He argues that narratives about masculine heroes engaging in 'bold action' in early twentieth-century magazines for teenagers such as *Bōken sekai* 冒険世界 ('Adventure World') formed a critique on the late Meiji government that was considered 'elite' and 'corrupted'.[129]

Hideyoshi thus became a recurring symbol of determination and loyalty in the three subjects of reading, history, and ethics. The popular fascination with (young) Hideyoshi's unruly behaviour and associated iconographies would after the cleansed version of 'Yahagi bridge' not find continuation in textbooks. His service as a sandal-bearer to Oda Nobunaga

[128] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 3*, 83.
[129] Karlin, 'Narratives of Heroism in Meiji Japan'.

on the other hand provided a fine example of loyalty – a disposition he also showed towards the emperor. Hideyoshi is furthermore depicted as someone who, despite his humble beginnings, due to his determination and diligence became a successful or heroic man. (This latter sentiment was however tempered in the 1910s.) Ethics textbooks as well as history textbooks celebrated Hideyoshi's attack on Korea and recognized this as the virtue of 'ambition', while at the same time the invasions provided a metaphor or 'precedent' for the government's contemporary designs on Korea. Ambition and *shusse* originated in the early Meiji ideal of *risshin shusse*. This 'individualistic' sentiment was in the later Meiji period however conceptualized as a service to the nation.

5.3 Murasaki Shikibu

In the late 1880s and 1890s, many male historical figures were re-assessed, rewritten, and enshrined in the national canon taught at elementary schools. In the previous chapter, I have shortly discussed Murasaki Shikibu's virtues as they appeared in biographies of exemplary women (*retsujoden* 列女伝). These representations highlighted her beauty, intelligence, loyalty to her late husband, and devoutness. She was also praised as a historian (by placing the Genji alongside Japanese and Chinese classical histories) and represented as the founding mother of a lineage of female literati. Paradoxically, as Naito Satoko observes, the praise did not follow from the substance of her work.[130] This also applies to the textbook representations discussed here.

In modern textbooks Murasaki Shikibu initially appeared as the main representative of a category of female literati, endowed with virtues such as diligence and modesty. However, this was superseded by the ideal of *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母 ('good wife, wise mother'). The development of the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal took place in the period 1890-1910, coinciding with the introduction and application of the Rescript and Herbartian education. Koyama Shizuko argues that contrary to what is often assumed, premodern Confucian ideals were very different from this new ideal, in which women's roles as mothers involved in *katei kyōiku* 家庭教育 (home education) was the central tenet.[131] Murasaki Shikibu became an exemplar of childhood diligence and a mother who properly instructed her daughter(s). This is representative of the way in which the achievements of women (even if they could be

[130] Naito, 'Beyond The Tale of Genji', 77.
[131] Koyama, *Ryōsai Kenbo*.

conceptualized as a contribution to national language or literature) were rendered largely irrelevant in the elementary school curriculum based on gendered views of citizen's roles.

Murasaki Shikibu was in the early Meiji period not singled out as a prominent female exemplar. The selections in the textbooks focus on dramatic episodes of loyalty and/or chastity, that were well-established in the popular imagination. The 1874 reader *Shōgaku tokuhon* takes up Koshikibu no naishi, Shizuka Gozen, Kesa Gozen, and Kusunoki Masatsura's mother. These women also appear in the ethics textbook *Honchō retsujoden* 本朝列女伝 (1875), that introduces in two volumes a selection of eighteen biographies. Koshikibu no naishi 小式部内侍 (?-1025) is introduced as an excellent poet from a young age, unfairly accused of always being corrected by her famous mother Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部 (976-1030). A cited *waka* by Koshikibu's hand is connected to an anecdote about her chastity. According to this anecdote, the poet Fujiwara no Sadanori was making advances, but upon hearing Koshikibu's poem he was lost for words and quickly made himself scarce. The text concludes by praising Koshikibu's diligent study since childhood. Like Koshikibu, Shizuka employs poetry to convey her feelings. The main anecdote in Shizuka's biography is her dance in front of Yoritomo, during which she bravely cited two *waka* that speak of her sadness to be separated from the fugitive Yoshitsune. Kesa Gozen, like Koshikibu, must deal with the problem of inappropriate advances but solves it differently. She asks the man who tried to compromise her to kill her husband, then takes her husband's place in the dark and has herself beheaded instead. Kusunoki Masatsura's mother caught her eleven-year-old son preparing to follow his father in death (an act of loyalty also known as *junshi* 殉死), but she managed to redirect the energies of the boy towards future loyalty and sacrifice in battle.

Of the above four *retsujo*, only Kusunoki Masatsura's mother would continue to appear in late Meiji period textbooks, which can be explained by the fact that the role of wise mother (*kenbo*) was considered more important than being a good wife (*ryōsai*). Koyama Shizuko observes that the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal that started to appear in the late nineteenth century shows similarities to premodern Confucian ideals (such as chastity), but this impression of continuity is misleading. The *ryōsai kenbo* ideal placed the educational goals for women in the context of the nation rather than the *ie* (household).[132] It integrated girls in the educational system and the nation as future mothers who provide their children with

[132] Koyama, 49.

'home education' (*katei kyōiku* 家庭教育). This rendered the dramatic narratives of Koshikibu, Shizuka and Kesa gozen apparently less relevant than the wise advice that Kusunoki Masatsura's mother gave her son.

Murasaki Shikibu surfaces just before the rise of the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal, as a talented and learned woman. In *Shōgakkōyō Nihon rekishi* 小学校用日本歴史 (1888), that introduces history as a series of events, Murasaki Shikibu appears as the first figure in a chapter that elaborates on the 'appearance of many talented women' (*saijo no haishutsu* 才女の輩出) in the Heian period.[133] After introducing the names of her father and husband in the fashion of premodern *retsujoden*, the text relates how from a young age she was an excellent student. Growing up, she composed many *waka* and studied both Chinese and Japanese books, which resulted in a post as lady-in-waiting and teacher to the Empress. *Genji monogatari* is praised as a work that satirizes contemporary society, but it is also 'said to be an account of the reigns of Emperors Daigo, Suzaku and Murakami'. Moreover, the language is prized as exquisite and reflecting the human emotions very well. The paragraph concludes with the remark that Murasaki passed her talents on to her daughter, who was also a *kenjoshi* 賢女子 (intelligent girl). The image shows Murasaki sitting at a desk in an embroidered multi-layered robe in the process of copying a text onto a scroll (fig. 2.9). The room gives a refined impression and behind her are various objects stacked on a shelf, including scrolls. A veranda and trees are visible from the window. The scene is based on the premodern iconography of Murasaki Shikibu at Ishiyamadera working on the *Genji*. The textbook promotes diligent study and pays homage to both the literary and historical value of Murasaki Shikibu's work (although the contents remain vague, as in the premodern *retsujoden*), as well as her importance as a teacher of the next generation.

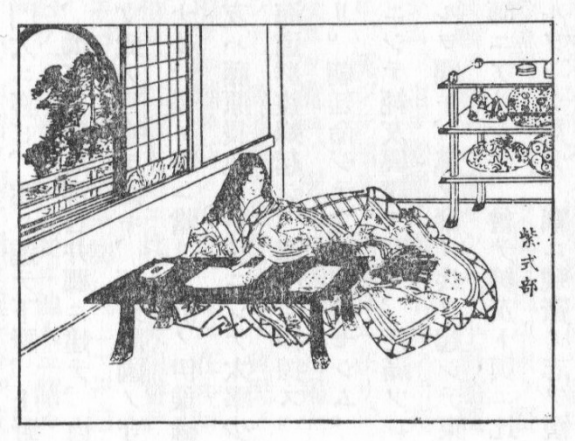

Fig. 2.9 *Shōgakkōyō Nihonrekishi*, vol. 1, 1888 (as reproduced in NKT 19)

Several history textbooks of the 1890s similarly laud Murasaki Shikibu's talents and connect her work to a 'native' literary tradition. In these textbooks Murasaki Shikibu

[133] The other women introduced are: Sei Shōnagon, Akazome Emon, Izumi Shikibu, Koshikibu no naishi, and Ise no Taifu.

becomes the sole representative of Heian literati women. *Teikoku shōshi* 帝国小史 ('Short History of the Empire', 1892) states:

> A hundred years after Michizane, there was a person called Murasaki Shikibu. She was the daughter of Fujiwara Tametoki and the most talented and learned woman (*saigaku no onna* 才学の女) of all times. From a young age, she liked reading books, and when listening to people reading aloud, she would immediately memorize [the text]. Moreover, studying next to her brother from his books … she would sometimes correct his mistakes in reading and so on. Before long, she read Japanese and Chinese books, composed poetry, and wrote prose. … Murasaki Shikibu served the Empress and taught her poetry and prose. Afterwards she moreover wrote a novel called *Genji monogatari*. As both the plot and the composition are interesting, till today scholars fondly read the novel as a model of *wabun*.[134]

Also *Shōgakkōyō Nihon rekishi* 小学校用日本歴史 ('History of Japan for the Elementary School', 1893) stresses the remarkable talent she showed as a girl and introduces the *Genji* as a model of *wabun* 和文 (Japanese text). This textbook in the opening paragraph moreover explicitly frames Murasaki Shikibu as the main representative of a 'female' specialization in native literary writing styles: 'Conventionally, everything was written in *kanbun* 漢文 [Sinitic text], but after the development of *kana*, an increasing number of people wrote the Japanese language in a style called *wabun*. Especially women specialized in *wabun* and *waka*, and of all the talented women excelling [in these types of writing] during the reign of emperor Ichijō, Murasaki Shikibu was the most brilliant.'[135]

Fig. 2.10 *Teikoku shōshi*, vol. 1, 1892 (as reproduced in NKT 19)

The illustration in *Teikoku shōshi* (fig. 2.10) stresses Murasaki Shikibu's diligent study. The image shows a young Murasaki Shikibu in a plain (or simplified) robe copying a text on a large piece of paper. She is studying at night by candlelight and closed in by screens. It was the habit of exemplary children to 'study day and night', the

[134] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 19*, 198.
[135] Kaigo, 246.

archetype being Ninomiya Kinjirō 二宮金次郎 (1787-1856).[136] Such stories are also part of the textbook biographies of famous male scholars. *Jinjō kokugo tokuhon* (1900) relates that Arai Hakuseki as a boy studied late at night, barely finding enough light to see the characters.[137] When almost falling asleep, he threw cold water over himself (as described in Hakuseki's memoirs – see chapter 1.3). *Shōgakkōyō Nihon rekishi* contains an illustration based on the portrait of Murasaki Shikibu that is displayed at Ishiyamadera and attributed to Kanō Takanobu (fig. 2.11, see also fig. 1.25). The icon is associated with the Buddhist veneration of Murasaki Shikibu, yet such sentiments are absent in the text.[138]

Fig. 2.11 *Shōgakkōyō Nihonrekishi*, vol. 1. 1893 (as reproduced in NKT 19)

Both textbooks stress however that Murasaki Shikibu was next to (or despite) her talents very modest and chaste. *Teikoku shōshi*, that called her 'talented and learned' (*saigaku*), later describes her also as 'intelligent and virtuous' (*saitoku* 才徳), following the observation that she did not remarry after the death of her husband. *Shōgakkōyō Nihon rekishi* describes Murasaki Shikibu as 'gentle and modest' (*nyūwa kenson* 柔和謙遜) and claims that she 'in public acted as if she did not even know the meaning of the character *ichi* 一'. Intelligence is thus praised, but women should hide erudition. The ethics textbook *Shūshin kyōten* (1900) makes this disposition the focal point and introduces Murasaki Shikibu as an example of 'intelligence and virtue' (*saitoku* 才徳) and 'modesty' (*kenjō* 謙譲).[139] In the latter chapter, Murasaki Shikibu as a lady-in-waiting and revered teacher to the Empress, is confronted with jealous peers but remains unpretentious and does not fight with the other women. The *Genji* is said to have been compared to *Nihongi* 日本紀 ('Chronicles of Japan', 8th century) by Emperor Ichijō. Despite this praise, Murasaki Shikibu remained modest, the lesson recapitulates.

[136] This agricultural reformer became a textbook paragon of a boy who educated himself despite the challenges of poverty. Descriptions of Ninomiya textbooks (and elsewhere) are accompanied by an illustration of the boy with a book in his hands and a bundle of firewood on his back.
[137] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 6*, 40.
[138] See chapter two in Carpenter et al., *The tale of Genji*.
[139] Fukyūsha henshūsho 普及者編輯所, *Shūshin Kyōten: Kōtō Shōgakkōyō 1*, 41–46.

Fig. 2.12 *Shūshin kyōten*, vol 1, 1900 (1902 reprint). Private collection

According to the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal, girls should study as diligently as boys in elementary school, yet the goal was to enable them to guide the education of their future children at home. Moreover, several textbooks render Murasaki Shikibu's interest in *gakumon* (i.e., advanced study) anomalous for someone of her gender. According to *Shōgakkōyō Nihon rekishi* and *Shūshin kyōten*, her father would have lamented the fact that she is not a boy. *Shūshin kyōten* reiterates the story that Murasaki Shikibu's first steps towards becoming a famous scholar (*gakusha* 学者) were made by memorizing her brother's lessons, which her father Tametoki thought 'very cute'. In the illustration, the brother is seated behind a desk, while his little sister Murasaki Shikibu sits next to him (fig. 2.12). Elsewhere in the textbook, the young Nakae Tōju is shown studying by lamplight in similar fashion as Ushiwakamaru in fig. 1.16. Murasaki Shikibu is however depicted as an observer. This good sister does not correct her brother like in the history textbooks. The chapter furthermore relates that as an adult, she nursed her severely ill husband Fujiwara Nobutaka 'day and night' (i.e., she was a good wife). After his death, she did not remarry and 'devoted herself to educating her children with much pleasure' (i.e., she was a good mother). *Shūshin kyōten* thus does identify Murasaki Shikibu as a famous scholar, but she must also be a cute little sister and *ryōsai kenbo* to be an exemplar for 'regular' girls.

The reproducibility of Murasaki Shikibu's biography becomes apparent in the second volume of *Shūshin kyōten*, that takes up Saisho Atsuko 税所敦子 (1825-1900), a Meiji period poet and lady-in-waiting.[140] Rather than her poetry, what the reader learns about Saisho is a mix of earlier discussed themes and virtues: her childhood was devoted to diligent study, she had a terminally ill husband whom she nursed day and night, she was a loyal widow, she had a difficult mother-in-law whom she filially cared for, she educated her (adopted)

[140] Fukyūsha henshūsho 普及者編輯所, *Shūshin Kyōten: Kōtō Shōgakkōyō* 2, 58–68.

daughters, she was frugal, and she served the Emperor loyally.[141] The textbook tries to please multiple parties by cramming in all available national and feminine ethics.

A more concise approach towards gendered expectations appears in the 1910 government ethics textbook, that lists the different duties (*tsutome* 務) of male and female citizens. A lesson in volume six teaches:

> … boys will become master of the household and go out working when they grow up, while girls become a wife and care for the family. … Both boys and girls should be morally upright, but boys need to be firm of character and decisive (*gōki kadan* 剛毅果断), while girls need to be gentle and modest (*onwa teishuku* 温和貞淑). … Women are physically weaker, so men need to take care of them. However, people who think that women are lesser than men are very mistaken. Boys and girls are both masters of the universe (*banbutsu no chō* 万物の長), only their duties are different. Girls take care of the family at home, where they strive for peace and harmony, which is ultimately the place where the good customs of the country are cultivated. The fate of the country (*kokka no seisui* 国家の盛衰) … depends on the way in which mothers raise their children.[142]

This outline concurs with Koyama's observation that the role of the mother was more important than that of wife. Still, the latter is a prerequisite for the first, and naturalized already in elementary school textbooks through the representation of historical characters.

The elementary school ethics textbooks of 1910 and 1918 introduce Kasuga no Tsubone 春日局 (1579-1643), Hideyoshi's wife, Kusunoki Masatsura's mother, and Wake no Kiyomaru's sister Hiromushi (only 1910). In the 1918 textbook are furthermore introduced Mōri Yoshinari's wife and Yoshida Shōin's 吉田松陰 (1830-1859) mother Takiko. In an uncanny resemblance to Margaret Atwood's female protagonist Ofglen in *The Handmaid's Tale*, some lessons do not name the female protagonist in any other way than 'wife of'. 'Mōri Yoshinari's wife' is the protagonist in a lesson about 'staying calm' in case of an emergency

[141] The themes of frugality and filial piety did not appear in Murasaki Shikibu's biography but are introduced in two lessons about an invented Edo-period woman called Kawase Haruko.

[142] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 3*, 121.. *Seisui* (or *jōsui*) in the context of premodern war tales would refer to the (inevitable) rise and fall of warrior clans. The rise or fall of the nation here depends on the virtues of its citizens, an ideal originating in the European Enlightenment. The expression *banbutsu no chō* has been explained in an earlier lesson, as the human capacity to accumulate knowledge and cultivate moral judgement, which makes them master of everything in the world (Kaigo, 94.). The remarks about equality must also be seen in the context of the previous lesson, that has explained the duty of male citizens to defend the country (*kokka bōei* 国家防衛).

(a fire).[143] The story nametags her husband Mōri Yoshinari 森可成 (1523-1570), a retainer of Oda Nobunaga. Assuming that this relationship is monogamous, students might quickly identify her as the mother of Mōri Ranmaru 森蘭丸 (1565-1582), a very popular hero who appeared in children's media. Also Hideyoshi's wife in a story about 'thankfulness' is merely referred to as *fujin* 夫人, even though the author takes pains to explain how Hideyoshi's name was originally Tōkichirō.[144] Both stories do not seem to have precedent in premodern legends. Kasuga no Tsubone (1579-1643) is known as a politically powerful woman, yet the lesson here merely consists of an anecdote about her 'behaving according to the rules'.[145]

In the early twentieth century, Murasaki Shikibu was not introduced in history or ethics textbooks, but instead appears in the *kokugo* readers of 1903 and 1910. Both readers stress Murasaki Shikibu's intelligence and diligent study as a child, relate how she was selected as a lady-in-waiting to the Empress, and received praise from the Emperor for *Genji monogatari*.[146] The lessons then quickly put a lid on any pride or adulation that could form in the reader's head: Murasaki Shikibu remained modest. An extra warning is given to girls: both textbooks cite her loving father Tametoki saying 'it is a pity that you are not a boy' while tousling her hair. Although the lessons don't introduce Murasaki Shikibu's nursing of her gravely ill husband, they do stress that the young widow devoted herself to the upbringing of their two daughters, like a good mother. The reader of 1918 introduces Sei Shōnagon in the same lesson.[147] This paragraph is based on a famous episode from her *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 ('The Pillow Book') in which the Empress alludes to a poem by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) and Sei Shōnagon correctly interprets that she wishes to see the snow. The illustration shows Sei Shōnagon lifting the blinds without hesitation. Murasaki Shikibu is shown sitting at her writing desk, her brush hovering above an empty piece of paper, as in the earlier mentioned iconography of Ishiyamadera. In the 1918 reader, they both do not appear. A new addition is however the story of Yamato Takeru's wife Tachibana hime, who jumped into the sea during a sea storm to pacify the wrathful sea gods and thereby saved the life of her husband.

[143] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 3*, 148–49.
[144] Kaigo, 105–6.
[145] Kaigo, 77–78.
[146] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 6*, 553.
[147] Kaigo, *NKT kindai hen 7*, 173.

Thus, compared to warrior legends, only a very small selection of premodern *retsujoden* and associated iconographies were adapted to fit the goals of modern education. Female literati were (cautiously) discovered as historically significant, and Murasaki Shikibu was identified as the most brilliant representative. Apart from being intelligent, modest, and chaste, she was represented as a 'diligent student' and 'educating mother' according to the (*ryōsai*) *kenbo* ideal, that formulated the education of girls as a preparation for good motherhood. From the perspective of the historical canon however, this modernized Murasaki Shikibu might be considered a 'mistress' rather than a mother. Her place in the history curriculum is among the few 'women worthies in a male-driven narrative'.[148] Judith Bennett argues that history textbooks (past and present) are the natural genre of 'master narratives' build around 'politics, high culture, and elite men, telling a tale of steady progress'. If the presence of women is acknowledged, the master (the author) 'prefers women who empower, inspire, or amuse him' and he keeps this 'mistress on the side, safely tucked away from the manly business of real life'.[149] The Murasaki Shikibu selected and told by the male textbook authors in the late Meiji period was not merely a dutifully selected ethics example nor a 'compensatory' figure (feminist critique on the canon not having appeared yet). The studious young girl amuses and gets a fatherly pat on the head, while her work in the 'native' literary tradition empowers and inspires. The repeated remark 'if only you were a boy' implies that the aim is not to empower or inspire girls to go beyond 'diligent study'. The shift from history textbooks to *kokugo* readers in the early twentieth century moreover kept her out of the way of politics and the narrative of steady progress.

Conclusion

The Rescript, Herbartianism and premodern warrior legends were available to any party with an interest in instructing young citizens. These parties can be roughly divided in the state and ideologues not employed by the government, whose ideals converged and diverged on various issues. The state made use of the channel of elementary education (textbooks, classes), while ideologues expressed themselves in the print media (youth literature). This chapter has focused on the interpretation of warrior legends and historical characters by the state.

[148] Bennett, *History Matters*, 132.
[149] Bennett, 133–34.

Compulsory elementary education grew from a hardly accepted law in 1872 to a systematic, theoretically substantiated, and naturalized practice in the early twentieth century. The acceptance of the school system involved a new way of thinking, namely elementary education as a natural part of a citizen's life, whose contents are largely determined by the state. The Imperial Rescript on Education has long been recognized as a watershed in the history of Japanese education. It formulated the ideological underpinnings of the elementary school and symbolizes a shift to a curriculum that stressed moral education with the aim of creating loyal citizens.

The focus on moral education and citizenship should however not be credited to the Rescript alone, or to unique developments in Japan. At the end of the nineteenth century, Herbartian pedagogy, that stressed the moral education of young citizens, spread from Germany to various other nation-states. Herbartian pedagogues advised to make use of the imagination of children to impart ethics and a national consciousness. Folktales and tales about historical heroes would reflect not only morals but also nationally defined customs, culture, and history. Japanese counterparts were found in *mukashibanashi* and warrior legends.

Early Meiji period textbooks initially took over some premodern narratives and visual representations next to translations of Western texts and knowledge. However, warrior legends were given true relevance as modern expedients in the 1890s, when they were re-assessed in the light of their suitability as ethics exemplars. In the mid-Meiji period, the Ministry of Education as well as private educators and authors for the first time tried to re-create these premodern narratives based on concepts also fairly new to themselves. These texts for an audience of young children therefore had an even more powerful role than the theoretical exegesis of the Rescript. They selected and invented the symbols and narratives that would create an emotional connection to the abstract concept of the nation.

The government's main thoughts about the ideal citizen are reflected in the moral exemplars of Yoshitsune, Hideyoshi and Murasaki Shikibu. The lessons made use of episodes from premodern narratives and visual representations, selected for their suitability, and adapted to represent the desired dispositions. The two male exemplars represented courage, loyalty, and ambition in various degrees. Yoshitsune/Ushiwakamaru legends and iconographies found a place in *kokugo* readers, offering an 'imaginative' example of courage

to young children. Hideyoshi on the other hand was in history and ethics textbooks recognized for his political role, loyalty, expansionism, and extraordinary social ascendance. Although Hideyoshi's humble beginnings were structurally mentioned to highlight his determination and ambition, legends that memorialized Hiyoshimaru's unruliness were clearly unappealing to the government. Determination in childhood was to be expressed through diligent study. Murasaki Shikibu's intelligence and diligent study served as an example for both boys and girls. However, for the latter the aim was to become a 'wise mother' (*kenbo*), which made women with famous sons arguably more suitable exemplars. Like Yoshitsune, Murasaki Shikibu was shifted to *kokugo* readers in the early twentieth century, in which her literary pursuits were honed without weaving her into the structure of national history. An episodic, non-linear approach similarly separated Yoshitsune from structures of cause and effect and rendered his (as well as Yoritomo's) character unambiguous.

The textbooks' shifting interpretations of exemplary historical figures bring to light the delicate balance between national heroes and the kind of citizen that the state wanted to create in the long term through elementary schooling. The exemplary nature of cultural icons was to be understood in such a way that they did not become an alternative object of worship to the Emperor or an alternative to a docile, loyal form of citizenship. However, by grooming a pantheon of national heroes, the Ministry also gave commercial publishers and authors a means to contest the government's interpretations of citizenship.

Chapter 3

Meiji youth literature and historical exemplars

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Meiji government devised a national curriculum with clear ideological underpinnings in the 1890s. Commercial publishers and authors in this same decennium discovered the new genre of youth literature. These Meiji period explorations into the genre of youth literature have been characterized negatively as overtly didactic and unable to overcome premodern plots and language, exemplified by Iwaya Sazanami's early work *Koganemaru* こがね丸 (1891).[1] Although the instrumental (and propagandistic) qualities of Meiji youth literature have been noted[2], it is ironically still considered rather inconsequential in the field of Japanese literature. This chapter aims to re-assess the role of premodern material in both the development of youth literature in Japan and the creation of historical exemplars for young citizens. Carol Gluck observes that by the 1890s, the Edo period was perceived of as the inverse of civilization, yet also provided 'usable national parts' in the narrative of the modern Meiji state.[3] Children's literature was an attractive genre for treasuring Edo period traditions, as it was modern and educational, yet the idea of a child audience allowed for some naiveté.

I will examine the early development of the genre of youth literature in Japan through the lens of Juri Lotman's (1922-1993) model of the semiosphere and argue that Edo period texts circulating in 'creative memory' played a crucial role in the conversion to this new literary category. In other words, I will consider the relationship between early modern popular texts and the concept of youth literature (as it existed in the nineteenth century) as a process of creating new meaning. A prerequisite for this interpretation is that 'children's literature' is taken as texts that were explicitly published under this banner, rather than adopting Karatani Kōjin's view that 'children's literature' could not precede 'literature'.[4]

[1] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*; Koyama-Siebert, 'Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in Japan'.
[2] Henry, 'Japanese Children's Literature as Allegory of Empire'.
[3] Gluck, 'The Invention of Edo', 266.
[4] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 117.

Most texts produced for children in the past and present are primarily didactic and consist of what adults imagine as appropriate for children.[5]

Youth magazines and book series of the late nineteenth century contain many representations of ideal citizens in the form of biographies of historical figures, based on war tales and warrior legends. Youth magazines moreover contain theoretical discussions of citizenship and the purpose of the literary genre itself. Introducing the new genre as a form of 'home education', authors and publishers initially followed the ideals propagated in the Imperial Rescript on Education. Youth literature thus being framed within a discourse on nation and elementary education, consequently also provided a way for critical citizens to interrogate and contest these concepts.

This chapter first introduces Juri Lotman's theory on the semiosphere and cultural memory. Next, I will discuss the ideological tendency of youth magazines in the 1890s, with a focus on the influential Tokyo-based publishing house Hakubunkan 博文館, and the relationship with educational policies. I will then examine the way in which youth magazines and book series revisited premodern warrior legends and war tales, and perceptions of the new genre and its audience. The last two sections of this chapter focus on the visions of Hakubunkan's star author Iwaya Sazanami 巌谷小波 (pseud. Iwaya Sueo 巌谷季雄, 1870-1933) and his adaptations of warrior legends for primary school aged children. Iwaya complained that moralism and 'narrow-minded nationalism', imparted at home and in schools, resulted in unpromising citizens. In his book series *Nippon mukashibanashi* 日本昔話 (1894-96) and *Nippon otogibanashi* 日本お伽噺 (1896-99) he made extensive use of popular warrior legends. Both titles can be translated as 'Japanese folktales' or 'Japanese fairy tales'. In these adaptations he developed his ideals while shaping historical generals into exemplary boys who display *wanpaku* 腕白 (spirited) dispositions. I will analyse two volumes from the above-mentioned book series, namely *Ushiwakamaru* 牛若丸 (1894) and *Hiyoshimaru* 日吉丸 (1898), that respectively introduce Minamoto Yoshitsune and Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

[5] Nodelman, *The Hidden Adult*, 150–55.

1. Meiji youth literature: the semiosphere and cultural memory

Histories of modern Japanese youth literature generally describe the rise of the modern genre in three stages: a) the introduction of translated works from the West in the early Meiji period, followed by b) the creation of a nationalistic literature for young citizens in the 1890s, culminating in c) a 'child-centered' literature, represented by for example Ogawa Mimei's *Akai fune* 赤い船 ('The Red Ship', 1911) and Suzuki Miekichi's magazine *Akai tori* 赤い鳥 ('Red Bird', 1918-1936). This linear narrative broadly reflects the political developments from *bunmei kaika* to nationalism to Taishō democracy. In English-language research, the youth literature of this period has been taken up in historical research on the creation of imperial subjects.[6] Yet no book-length history of Japanese children's literature exists in the English language, nor is youth literature (nationalistic or otherwise) addressed in for example the *Cambridge History of Japanese Literature* (2016).

The small number of articles that take up Meiji and/or Taishō period works for children give significant weight to Karatani Kōjin's book chapter about the 'discovery of the child'.[7] To recapitulate Karatani's views, 'children's literature' only appeared in the Taishō period, *after* Japanese authors had mastered the concept and style of modern literature for adults.[8] 'Real' children's literature would reflect a concept of the child based on Romanticism and psychology and would have rejected Edo period concepts and literary styles as well as nationalistic tendencies. Karatani is mainly interested in the concept of childhood in relation to the discovery that children have a different 'interiority' from adults. However, he does not adequately represent the relationship of Meiji youth literature with Edo period popular literature, and his concept of 'children's literature' is limited to works that are held in esteem for their literary quality. Yoko Koyama-Siebert, who traces the history of Japanese children's literature by focusing on changing terms for this genre, similarly paints a bleak picture of the youth literature produced in the Meiji period, that appears to be moralizing and unoriginal in contrast to progressive movements in the Taishō period.[9] However, children's literature scholar Perry Nodelman argues that modern youth literature 'has more in common with popular literature for adults than with quality

[6] E.g., Henry, 'Japanese Children's Literature as Allegory of Empire'; Carter, 'A Study of Japanese Children's Magazines 1888-1949'; Karlin, 'Narratives of Heroism in Meiji Japan'.
[7] E.g., Wakabayashi, 'Foreign Bones, Japanese Flesh'; Piel, 'Loyal Dogs and Meiji Boys'.
[8] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*.
[9] Koyama-Siebert, 'Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in Japan'.

literature for adults'.[10] A new interpretation of Meiji youth literature might start with letting go of linear narratives and the preoccupation with 'good' children's literature.

Juri Lotman's model of the semiosphere provides an alternative way of understanding the development of children's literature as a new genre in the Meiji period, and his theory of cultural memory yields insight into the way in which warrior legends played a role in this process. The semiosphere is a mechanism in which 'communicative processes and the creation of new information' take place, outside of which semiosis, or making meaning, cannot exist.[11] Inherent in the semiosphere and its sub-systems are peripheries in which external communications translate into the semiosphere's internal language and in which texts are re-assessed in the light of the new concepts.[12] The introduction of Western youth literature into the Japanese cultural sphere and consequent shifts in literary categories can also be understood as semiotic processes. These processes in the periphery of the semiosphere can be conceived of as interrelated, but also at variance with, processes in other strata, for example in education or literature aimed at adults.

In her book chapter 'Children's Literature as a Cultural Code', Maria Nikolajeva proposes to apply Lotman's theory of the semiosphere to the historical development of Western children's literature. She considers children's literature a 'succession of changing cultural codes … different from those in adult or mainstream literature'.[13] At the same time these codes converge and diverge throughout history. A book initially written for adults can for example become part of children's literature or vice versa. Most importantly, 'the code shift *within* children's literature implies that central phenomena become at length supplanted by borderline phenomena'.[14] For example, in the 1980s, following the publication of Astrid Lindgren's *The Brothers Lionheart* (1973) the 'imaginative code' shifted from periphery to center, while the 'socially engaged code' that occupied the central zone in the previous decennia shifted to the periphery. Lindgren's book might therefore be termed a 'bifurcation point' that changed the history of the genre in an unpredictable way.[15]

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[10] Nodelman, *The Hidden Adult*, 155. Nodelman argues that what binds the various definitions of children's literature in the past and present, by literary authors as well as scholars, is that it is a literature that adults 'imagine for them [children] to read and enjoy and benefit from'. Nodelman, 154. This should also be distinguished from what children actually read or want to read (although preferences can be nurtured).

[11] Lotman, 'On the Semiosphere', 207–8.

[12] Lotman, 210.

[13] Nikolajeva, 'Children's Literature as a Cultural Code', 39.

[14] Nikolajeva, 39.

[15] Nikolajeva, 45.

Developments in Japanese youth literature might be explained in similar ways: Iwaya Sazanami's most famous work *Koganemaru* or Ogawa Mimei's *Akai fune* did not supplant previous codes of (youth) literature immediately or entirely. Therefore, they can more adequately be conceptualized as 'bifurcation points'. Nikolajeva does not apply Lotman's theory to the appearance of youth literature as a literary category in Europe or elsewhere, but an important question here is how Western youth literature as a yet unknown concept shifted from periphery to center in the semiospheres of Japanese literature and culture.

Lotman's lesser-known theory of cultural memory will here provide the main tools for analysis of the use of premodern texts and codes in the semiotic process. The semiosphere is essentially a model of constant text generation, and cultural memory has an active role in the creation of new texts. Lotman distinguishes between 'informative memory' and 'creative memory', although in practice these are not strictly separated. 'Informative memory' develops in a linear way: the 'active' text (in technology for example) is the result of the latest knowledge. 'Creative memory' rather refers to 'an entire cluster of texts [that] turns out to be potentially active' and resists time, in that it 'preserves the past as an inhabitant of the present'.[16] This type of memory applies for example to art (in the wide sense). Lotman conceptualizes cultural memory not as 'a storehouse but as a mechanism for its regeneration'.[17] This is a conceptual difference with Aleida Assmann's notion of the 'archive'.[18] Within the process of creative memory, early modern popular culture is tied to perpetual updating of texts, triggered by contact with other texts.

The productivity of meaning generation depends on the extent of the semiotic shift that occurs.[19] When there is a massive influx into a culture of texts that are structured very differently from the receiving culture, as happened in Japan during the Meiji period, and the internal tradition of a culture has no adequate codes for deciphering them, a rift opens between cultural memory and its mechanisms of text generation. In other words, Lotman considers history not a succession of periods, but a dialogical model in which periods alternate between destabilization and rapid development, or 'explosion'.[20] Such an 'explosion' is preceded by a period of reception. This was also the case for Western youth

[16] Lotman, 'Memory in a Culturological Perspective', 134–35.
[17] Lotman, 'Cultural Memory', 143.
[18] Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', 99.
[19] Lotman, 'Memory in a Culturological Perspective', 136.
[20] Semenenko, *The Texture of Culture*, 66.

literature in the early Meiji period, that was mainly introduced in the form of translation. The 1890s saw a very rapid and productive phase in the generation of texts that translated internal texts and codes to those of the new genre.

Judy Wakabayashi argues that translated youth literature from the West 'paved the way for the production of the first original works of modern Japanese children's literature'.[21] This included for example various Meiji period translations of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), works by Jonathan Swift, Hans Christian Anderson's fairy tales (1835-1837) and fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm (first published in 1912), *Alice in Wonderland* (1865) and *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1885-6). Citing Torigoe Shin, Wakabayashi points out that in the period 1868-1890 two-thirds of the published texts for children consisted of translated works.[22] The edited volume in which Torigoe's work appears places the appearance of original works of children's literature (*sōsaku jidōbungaku* 創作児童文学) in the early 1890s.[23] This decennium saw the birth of multiple youth magazines and book series.[24] Yet based on the observations of Karatani and Joan Ericson, Wakabayashi places the appearance of 'original works' in the Taishō period, resulting in a seemingly long period of translation-oriented practices.[25] She for example refers to Iwaya's translations of foreign folktales and fairy tales in the book series *Sekai otogibanashi* 世界お伽噺 ('Fairytales of the World', 1909-1910), but not to his original stories in youth magazines and the series *Nippon mukashibanashi* and *Nippon otogibanashi* published the 1890s, which reflect major conceptual and linguistic innovations in the field of youth literature. Translation of Western youth literature after 1890 existed side-by-side with the creation of original works based on Western concepts.[26] Therefore, I would argue with Wakabayashi that translation played an important role in the creation of a Japanese youth literature, yet the period in which creation replaced reception as a main activity should be pushed back with about two decennia to the 1890s.

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[21] Wakabayashi, 'Foreign Bones, Japanese Flesh', 227.
[22] Wakabayashi, 233; Torigoe, 'Nihon Kindai Jidobungakushi No Kiten', 3–5.
[23] Torigoe, *Hajimete Manabu Nihon Jidōbungakushi*, 72. Tsuzukihashi also considers the birth of youth literature to lie in this period, but employs the term 'proto-original writing' (*jun sōsaku* 純創作). Tsuzukihashi, *Jidōbungaku No Tanjō*, 80.
[24] Meiji youth magazines are for example discussed at length by Tsuzukihashi Tatsuo, and Katsuo Kin'ya addresses book series with historical themes. (Tsuzukihashi, *Jidōbungaku No Tanjō*., Katsuo, *Reimeiki no rekishi jidō bungaku*.) In the English language, a recent article by Ruselle Maede addresses the representation of scientific subjects in the youth magazine *Shōnen-en* 少年園 (1888-1895), which varied from the governments' tendency to de-emphasize these subjects in this period. Meade, 'Juvenile Science and the Japanese Nation'.
[25] See Joan E. Ericson's introductory chapter in Ohta, *A Rainbow in the Desert*.
[26] Japanese translation practices hardly seem to lag behind developments in Europe: Wakabayashi points out that Japanese was the first language that *Peter Rabbit* (1902) was translated into (in 1906). Continental Europe still had to follow, let alone declare Beatrix Potter's work 'children's classics'.

If one acknowledges the inventive and original qualities of translation, it can also be argued that the subjectivity of the child was discovered already in Wakamatsu Shizuko's translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (*Shōkōshi* 小公子, 1890-2), some twenty years before Taishō era authors elevated the child's interiority to a central concept in children's literature in conjunction with the discovery of their own 'inner child'. Melek Ortabasi argues that Shizuko's 'painstaking (re)creation of the intersubjectivity shared by mother and child' would defend such a stance.[27] The marginalization of Shizuko's efforts might be related not only to the fact that *Shōkōshi* was a faithful (foreignizing) translation, but it was by contemporary (male) critics also recognized as 'feminine'. In the same year that *Shōkōshi* commenced serialization in the women's magazine *Jogaku zasshi* 女学雑誌, there appeared an adaptation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* for a young male audience by Shūko Ryōshi (*Neikeiji* 寧馨児 'An Extraordinary Child', 1890).[28] This adaptation transfers the story to a Japanese setting and highlighted the political and social themes in Burnett's novel, that confirmed the readers' 'standing as middle- and upper-class boys … who will become active in Meiji society at large'.[29] This matter was the more pressing one to Meiji authors who wrote for boys, and who moreover dominated the market.

As has been discussed in chapter one, folktales and warrior legends were a popular theme in *kusazōshi* aimed at children. For the generation that grew up in the early Meiji period, and their (grand)parents who grew up in the Edo period, warrior legends belonged to the reading and listening experiences of their youth.[30] Iwaya Sazanami relied on such printed sources and his memory for his adaptations, according to his 'message to the young reader' in *Momotarō* 桃太郎 ('Peach Boy', 1894).[31] As discussed in chapter one, in the 1880s, *kusazōshi* innovated at a technological level by replacing woodblock printing with copperplate printing. Many of these books introduce the (legendary) lives of famous generals, in support of the increasing militarization. About twenty different copperplate printed *ichidaiki* 一代記 (biographies) about Yoshitsune alone were printed between 1884 and 1891, after which this type of book abruptly disappeared. These *kusazōshi* are based on early modern iconographies, but also include preoccupations (the military power of Japan)

[27] Melek, 'Brave Dogs and Little Lords', 207.
[28] Shūko Ryōshi 蠡湖漁史 was a pen name for Yamagata Iso'o 山縣五十雄 (1869–1959).
[29] Melek, 'Brave Dogs and Little Lords', 199.
[30] Katō, 'Kanotō Nichiroku Ni Tsuite', 275–77.
[31] Iwaya, *Nippon Mukashibanashi*, 13.

and terms that originate in the Meiji period, as discussed in chapter one. Such *kusazōshi* do however not reflect new insights into the nature of children, or into the codes of Western youth literature.

The literary sphere in whose periphery Western youth literature appeared had its own logic and concept of originality. Authors like Iwaya Sazanami had grown up in the context of kabuki, ukiyo-e, public storytelling, and other forms of popular performance and print. The art historian Yamanashi Toshio describes the correlation between these different media as a 'cycle' that is structured by the concepts of *sekai* (the dramatic world consisting of well-known events, legends, and characters), *shukō* (the plot of a new text) and *kata* (conventions and patterns specific to the medium).[32] If a new text fitted within the patterns of expectation, it could be understood and appreciated, independent from historical time or truth. This 'cycle' can be said to resemble a semiosphere, to which the codes of youth literature were foreign. Yet this cycle also offered material that could help to translate the new codes. Lotman argues that 'symbols' 'carry over text, plotlines, and other semiotic formations from one cultural stratum to another', which has a unifying function.[33] According to Aleksei Semenenko the symbol can be a person or literary character, such as Hamlet, who 'has come to function as a conventional sign, the meaning of which can vary in time and which is subject to continual change'.[34] Such symbols have certain stable features that cause them to not disintegrate. This also applies to the protagonists of Japanese premodern warrior legends. The representation of Yoshitsune depends on context, yet most representations include the semantic field of the underdog or tragic hero (not unlike Hamlet), and a selection of icons or plots associated with Yoshitsune. (For example, the warrior monk Benkei as antithesis.) The concept of *sekai* entailed moreover a deliberate technique that led to a rich body of symbols that continued to exert a unifying function in the Meiji period.

By 1890, various Japanese publishers and authors clearly saw a connection between youth literature and citizenship, which led to the creation of magazines and book series explicitly marketed as Japanese youth literature. Next to classics such as *Alice in Wonderland*, nineteenth century youth literature from the West consisted of fairy tales, fables, historical fiction and (imperial) adventure stories with didactic purposes. This genre never ceased to

[32] Yamanashi, *Egakareta Rekishi*, 131–33.
[33] Lotman, 'The Symbol in the System of Culture', 163.
[34] Semenenko, *The Texture of Culture*, 105.

be a vehicle for didactic messages and identity formation, often 'national' in nature yet more skilfully presented. The *Harry Potter* series, for example, can be read as a narrative about an exemplary hero who represents traditional ideals of English masculinity, against a background of the popular topos of protecting the English 'tolerance and liberty' against foreign rule.[35] Meiji period authors were certainly not mistaken that youth literature was an ingredient of 'nation', where it could play a role in the formation of a national identity and the upbringing of young citizens by appealing to their imagination. They found inspiration and commonalities in Japanese types of popular literature, such as war tales and *kusazōshi*.

2. Youth magazines and the young citizen

Most Meiji period youth literature was published in youth magazines, yet remarkably little attention has been given to their contents. From a contemporary perspective, (good) youth literature is first and foremost associated with the book. (*Koganemaru* answers to that expectation, especially if one ignores that it is part of a series.) The first youth magazines with texts written specifically for teenagers appeared in the late 1880s, with the explicit aim of contributing to the education and socialization of the nation's youth in the extracurricular realm.[36] This idea was taken over from German, English, and American youth magazines. Leading the way was *Shōnen-en* 少年園 (Youth's Garden, 1888-1895), that pictured this extracurricular realm as a garden in which the reader would engage in 'wholesome and edifying pursuits'.[37] The magazine was an initiative of, and edited by Yamagata Teizaburō 山県悌三郎 (1859-1940), a teacher and textbook author for the Ministry for Education. *Shōnen-en* filled its 'gardens' with essays, texts related to school subjects (*gakuen* 学園), literature (*bun'en* 文園), games and sports, discussions of news items, and letters by readers. *Shōnen-en* had illustrated covers, and included *kuchi-e* 口絵 (frontispieces) in full color. Taking inspiration from British magazines, Yamagata stressed the acquisition of scientific knowledge. His aim was to make teenage boys enthusiastic about a career in science for the prosperity of the nation, as well as build their character through imaginary tales about

[35] Koehler, 'Harry Potter - National Hero and National Heroic Epic'.
[36] Based on reader's submissions, Tsuzukihashi argues that the readership of *Shōnen-en* consisted of students of the higher primary school and middle school (12-18), while female letter-writers were presumably students of the *kōtō jogakkō* 高等女学校 (Women's Higher School). However, hardly any content was explicitly aimed at girls or written by female authors.
[37] Meade, 'Juvenile Science and the Japanese Nation', 117. The neologism *katei* 家庭 (family, home) also makes use of the 'garden' metaphor, which originates in the definition of the family as a space for extracurricular education, starting in the 1870s. Galan, 'Home vs. School vs. Work', 276–77.

heroic outdoor adventures such as mountaineering. Other youth magazines for teenagers followed in quick succession, such as Hakubunkan's *Nippon no shōnen* 日本之少年 ('Youth of Japan', 1889-1894).

The first magazine aimed at elementary school students appeared in 1889 with *Shōkokumin* 小国民 ('Little Citizen'). *Shōkokumin* mainly imagined the 'little citizen' as an imperial subject. More so than *Shōnen-en* this magazine stressed moral education and especially filial piety.[38] The Imperial Rescript on Education, reprinted and translated into more accessible Japanese in the twenty-fourth volume (November 1890), can be seen as a confirmation of an already existing tendency. In the editorial to the first issue, signed by the publisher Gakureikan 学齢館, the young reader is addressed as *osanaki kokumin* 幼き国民 (young citizen) and *daini no nihonkokumin* 第二の日本国民 (second citizens of Japan).[39] The contents pertain to deal with 'everything you do not learn in school' on a continuum with school subjects, such as knowledge about nature, the history of various countries, and stories about filial exemplars and loyal warriors. To fulfil its role as a *nagusami* 慰み (diversion) even better, the magazine also included 'fun' travel stories, riddles, games, and pictures. The eye is indeed drawn to the *kuchi-e* on the opposite page, a lithography of two tigers. Above all, the editorial concludes, the new magazine aims to instill a love for the nation.

This love for the nation is initially expressed through eulogizing the ancient origins of the imperial line and the imperial subjects, as well as the beauty of Japan's nature and customs, while betraying insecurity about Japan's territory and martial power. In the third volume, for example, (September 1889), a Japanese boy called Akitsu Tōtarō, an English boy called White Race, and a Chinese boy called Uu Eison converse about the greatness of their respective countries.[40] Challenged by the obnoxious White Race, the Chinese boy argues that the Chinese territory and the population is large, the country is rich in produce, and the teachings are correct. The English boy boasts about the splendor of London, the number of battle ships, the size of its imperium, and points out that China has no Christian teachings. The Japanese boy retorts that there are more important things than battle ships, territory, and teachings. He considers Japan to be the greatest country, because there is no other

[38] Tsuzukihashi, *Jidōbungaku No Tanjō*, 65–66.
[39] Tsuzukihashi, 63.
[40] Akitsu 秋津 is an ancient name for Japan. Uu Eison 虞裔孫, or 'Descendant of Yu', presumably refers to Emperor Shun of Yu 舜虞. All issues of *Shōkokumin* referred to in this thesis can be found in the facsimile edition Kami and Ueda, *Shōkokumin Fukkokuban*.

country and people in the world that goes back 2500 years in a direct line. Moreover, as proven by the number of visitors from the West, the climate and landscape are unsurpassed. The other boys admit defeat.

The publishing house Hakubunkan unscrupulously copied the concepts and layout of *Shōkokumin* in its magazine *Yōnen zasshi* 幼年雑誌 ('Magazine for Youth', 1890-1894). Hakubunkan was founded in 1887 by the businessman Ōhashi Sahei 大橋佐平 (1836-1901) and published magazines and affordable popular book series for both adults and young readers. Ōhashi boasted that he did more for education than the Ministry of Education itself.[41] Hakubunkan conceptualized and targeted a similar audience of 'nationalized' youths as *Shōkokumin*, addressed as *yōnen* 幼年 or *shōnen* 少年. In the late nineteenth century these terms referred to both boys and girls, yet the latter are far less frequently represented and addressed. The audience thus seems to have been pictured as predominantly male, with female readers in a secondary position (consisting of siblings for example). Ōhashi hired a diverse group of authors: educators, scholars of Japanese literature and history, men with a background in law, politics, or the military, and pioneering young authors such as Iwaya Sazanami. According to Tsuzukihashi Tatsuo, *Yōnen zasshi* differentiated itself from comparable magazines by its focus on literature, written by authors who gradually made name.[42] In 1895, Hakubukan fused *Yōnen zasshi*, *Nihon no shōnen* and a third youth magazine, resulting in *Shōnen sekai* 少年世界 ('Youth's World', 1895-1933). Iwaya Sazanami was appointed editor-in-chief. The magazine contained essays and stories of varying difficulty and thus addressed multiple family members rather than an individual child, thereby presumably increasing the affordability and length of subscriptions.[43]

Yōnen zasshi contained many essays on citizenship, both instructions for the future on such matters as conscription and taxes as well as texts on the proper dispositions of young people. In the first volume of *Yōnen zasshi* (January 1891), the text of the Imperial Rescript on Education is printed and is followed first by an explanation that stresses the centrality of the Emperor and then short essays on the concepts of *kuni* 国 ('the country'), *kimi* 君 ('the Emperor') and *tami* 民 ('the people').[44] An essay in the third volume titled 'Guidelines for Youth' (*Yōnen no kokoroe* 幼年の心得) by Naitō Chisō 内藤耻叟 (1827-1903), army lecturer

[41] Richter, 'Entrepreneurship and Culture', 594.
[42] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:625.
[43] In the 1890s, one volume of *Shōnen sekai* cost five *sen*.
[44] All issues of *Yōnen zasshi* referred to in this thesis can be found in the facsimile edition Ueda, *Yōnen Zasshi Fukkokuban*.

and professor of history at the Imperial University, gives three central guidelines for youth: 1) be filial to your parents and ancestors, 2) revere the Emperor, and 3) worship the *kami* that were present when the Emperor's ancestors created the country.[45] The author impresses upon the reader that a country existing since the time of the gods (that is, Japan) is unique in the world, which was also presented as a token of cultural superiority in *Shōkokumin*.

As stated earlier, the young citizen is repeatedly gendered male. A writing assignment in *Yōnen zasshi* asks, 'what is a boy?' (*danshi to wa ikan* 男子トハ如何). The winning submission (1891, 1:23), written by a pupil from a higher primary school (*kōtō shōgakkō* 高等小学校), echoes Naitō's message. To the journal's satisfaction, this pupil interprets the question in a national context: a boy must study hard, make a success in life, be loyal to the emperor, filial to his parents, and let his success be of use to the whole nation. Moreover, he must let 'the great name of the nation reverberate in foreign countries'.[46] The successive magazine *Shōnen sekai* is rife with this latter sentiment, under influence of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). According to a circular argument in the essay 'Boys of Great Japan' (*Dainipponkoku danji* 大日本国男児) (1895, 1:24), the best way to serve the country is to work for the navy, although one can also advance trade for which is needed 'maritime authority'.[47] The essay 'Japanese Boys' (*Nippon danji* 日本男児) (1895, 1:5) moreover states that 'courage and loyalty are what defines a Japanese boy'. One should 'be resolved and study hard' but also be 'independent and adventurous', as is exemplified in such books as *Robinson Crusoe* and Japanese legends as *Ōeyama* and *Kachikachi mountain*.[48] The initial reverence for the Rescript changed into an indirect critique on the more 'passive' (male) citizen promoted in government education.[49]

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[45] Naitō, 'Yōnen No Kokoroe'.

[46] Quoted in Tsuzukihashi, *Jidōbungaku No Tanjō*, 124–25.

[47] Matsui, 'Dainipponkoku Danji'. All issues of *Shōnen sekai* referred to in this thesis can be found in the facsimile edition *Shōnen Sekai Fukkokuban*.

[48] No author is indicated, but Iwaya often wrote in this rubric (*ronsetsu*). The author argues that Japanese boys already from a young age know warrior legends and folktales by heart and calls these stories a 'textbook'. The legend of Oeyama tells how Minamoto Yorimitsu (or Raikō) together with his four retainers beat the monster Shutendōji. The folktale *Kachikachi mountain* tells of a hare's successful revenge on a deceiving tanuki.

[49] Jason Karlin in his study of hero novels for teenage boys in the late Meiji period argues that the protagonists bring change and can be read as a critique on the perceived chaos and weakness in Japanese politics. He connects this interpretation of heroes to the translation of Thomas Carlyle's *Upon Heroes and the Heroic in History* by Yamaji Aizan in 1898 (Karlin, 'Narratives of Heroism in Meiji Japan'.). History along the lines of 'Great Men' however already filtered into Meiji youth magazines much earlier through translations of Western sources that applied this theory. The adventurousness proposed for boys in *Shōnen sekai* does not criticize Japanese politics, but indirectly questions government education.

3. Historical exemplars in Meiji youth magazines and book series of the 1890s

'Imaginaries', such as stories and songs about national heroes, played a large role in the shaping of children's dispositions at schools during the Taishō and early Shōwa periods.[50] The invention of such an approach must be sought in the late nineteenth century. A canon of national heroes took shape in textbooks, but creative minds had far more freedom and space to develop imaginaries in the commercial realm of 'home education'. In Britain and the United States, historical novels specifically written for children appeared in the mid-nineteenth century, where they were considered educational (as an adjunct to the school subject of history) as well as entertaining.[51] Likewise in Japan, authors tried to combine the educational with pleasure.

As discussed in the second chapter, national history was mainly taught from the fifth year of elementary school or the *kōtō shōgakkō*. Therefore, this subject would be associated with children (mainly boys) in their early teens, i.e., the audience of *Yōnen zasshi* and *Shōkokumin*. What stands out is that the magazines, while paying homage to the Rescript, more so than textbooks paid attention to *risshi* (ambition) and *shusse* (success in life) as well as a martial disposition. Both *Yōnen zasshi* and *Shōkokumin* featured a number of (serialized) narratives about historical warriors, who provided an imaginary world of military power, and a shared samurai past. The large output of such texts not merely reflects a militaristic zest, but also a feverish effort to unify premodern texts (part of the identity of both authors and parents) with the foreign codes of citizenship and Western literary categories. Through stories from history, connections were moreover crafted between (the development of) children and the national past. I will discuss representations of warriors in youth magazines and place them in the context of theoretical reflections on this theme by essayists in the same medium. I will then address book series with historical themes and analyse two adaptations of the war tale *Gikeiki*. In the last section, I will address the (far less frequent) representation of female historical characters.

[50] Cave, 'Story, Song, and Ceremony', 10.
[51] Groot, *The Historical Novel*, 88.

3.1 Historical exemplars in youth magazines

In the first issue of *Yōnen zasshi* (January 1891) the theoretical explanation of the Rescript was followed by short narratives about Katō Kiyomasa, who showed wise judgement during the attacks on Korea, the Confucian scholar Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園 (1735-1807), who studied so hard that the tatami under his seat crumbled away, and the merchant Shiobara Tasuke (1743-1816), who lived frugally and worked day and night to restore the family fortunes. In the second issue, *Yōnen zasshi* moreover announced a total of thirty biographies about 'great loyal and heroic men' (*dai chūyū* 大忠雄) such as Kusunoki Masashige, 'great scholars' (*dai gakusha* 大学者) such as Sugawara Michizane, and 'great politicians' (*dai jigyōka* 大事業家) such as Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. National (martial) heroes continued to be introduced and revisited in series such as *Nihon buyū kagami* 日本武勇鑑 ('Mirror of Japanese Martiality'). *Shōkokumin* from the start featured various stories about historical warriors, including an adaptation of *Gikeiki*, which will be discussed in the next section. From 1892, the editors took over *Yōnen zasshi*'s format in for example *Nihon jūhachi buyūden* 日本十八武勇伝 ('Eighteen Biographies of Japanese Heroes') and *Hōnchō go shōgun den* 本朝五将軍伝 ('Biographies of the Five Generals of Our Country').[52]

An essay in the eighth issue of *Yōnen zasshi* titled 'Historical Thought' (*Rekishi shisō* 歴史思想), presumably aimed at adult co-readers, theorizes upon this chosen path and argues that stories about national history (or more concretely, heroes) are directly related to a disposition of loyalty and patriotism.[53] As stated in chapter two, 'loyalty and patriotism' quickly became the over-arching interpretation of the Rescript.[54] In quasi-educational jargon, the author states that politics, law, economy, religion, and literature are not suitable for the 'community of children' (*yōnen shakai* 幼年社会), and that one should rather focus on the development (*hattatsu* 発達) of an awareness of Japanese history, that represents 'customs and manners unparalleled in the world'. In this way, patriotism is taught from a young age so that it 'permeates feelings and the brain'. An 1892 essay titled 'Become a Hero' (*Gōketsu to nare* 豪傑となれ) however urges readers to not merely worship but also to try and become a

[52] The first consists of heroic generals from the Genpei War (Minamoto Yoshiie, Tametomo, Kiso Yoshinaka), Nanbokuchō period (e.g., Nawa Nagatoshi, Ōta Dōkan) and Sengoku period (e.g., Kiyomasa, Takeda Shingen, Uesugi Kenshin). For the latter series Takahashi selected Minamoto Yoritomo, Ashikaga Takauji, Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu.

[53] *Yōnen zasshi* 1:8 (1891), 11-13.

[54] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 124.

hero, which means one has to put effort in one's studies and be determined, like the exemplars from history.[55]

The question of how to 'become' a hero asked for an explanation of the way in which such people spent their youth. A text titled 'Ushiwakamaru's disposition' (*Ushiwakamaru no kishitsu* 牛若丸の気質) in the ninth issue of *Shōkokumin* (1890) asks: 'Any small child knows that Yoshitsune was a strong person, but why did he become like this?'. Before encountering this question, the reader would have marvelled at the *kuchi-e* (fig. 3.1), that depicts Ushiwakamaru in a red garment in the woods, the very first colour lithography in the history of youth magazines.[56] The reader is taken to Kurama temple, where the protagonist has discovered his ancestry and starts preparing himself for his future task.

> Ushiwakamaru decided to correct the disgrace that befell his ancestors, and to become a soldier (*gunjin* 軍人) rather than a monk. From now on, he put all his effort in martial practice, and training himself especially in war strategy and sword fighting, he became very skilled. As he was a disciple at a mountain temple, he had no comforts. His kimono was thin, and there must have been times that he suffered from the cold and felt hungry. As he endured strong winds, severe rain, extreme heat, deep frost, and innumerable hardships, Ushiwakamaru's body became as strong as a rock. The descent from the cliff and attack on Hiyodorigoe, his braving of the waves and his fighting in the battle of Dannoura: that firm and tough disposition (*kishitsu* 気質) like a fierce god was all a consequence of the practice at Kurama mountain during his childhood. … If you are born a boy, whether your birthplace is some remote place or not, and you do not have the spirit to try and surprise people with great deeds and prepare yourself to this end, it is useless to have been born as a human.[57]

Counting on the pre-existing popularity of Yoshitsune among its audience, *Shōkokumin* employed Ushiwakamaru as an exemplar of *risshin shusse* and determination, which is posited as an obligatory disposition for men.[58] The narrative stresses that a determined

[55] *Yōnen zasshi* 1:24 (1892), The term *gōketsu* not only refers to martial heroes but includes famous scholars, inventors, and politicians.
[56] Suzuki, 'Meiji-Ki No Jidōshōnenzasshi', 46.
[57] *Ushiwakamaru no kishitsu* 牛若丸の気質 ('Ushiwakamaru's disposition') in *Shōkokumin* 1:9 (1890), 3-4. Author not indicated.
[58] A similar disposition of determination is ascribed to the Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan in the previous issue (1890, 2:8). This story centres on the concept of *isshin* 一心, meaning putting one's whole heart in some endeavour. This is illustrated with an anecdote about how Razan continued studying while a fire raged in the neighbourhood. (The reader must understand he was not ignoring the fire purposely but was fully absorbed in his studies.)

disposition should be attained in childhood, through hard work. The views of this author not only reflect the educational goal of *shusse*, but also concur with the views of the historian Yamaji Aizan 山路愛山 (1864-1917). Aizan promoted the idea that Japanese boys need to take as an example 'Great Men' from history and considered materialism to stand in the way of character-building and achieving greatness.[59] The premodern Ushiwakamaru legends circulating in the collective memory thus formed the framework for a new message.

Fig. 3.1 "*Ushiwakamaru kishitsu tanren no zu* ('Ushiwakamaru toughening himself'), *kuchi-e* in *Shōkokumin* vol. 1:9, 1890

According to Lotman, the updating of texts naturally leads to a shift 'in the elements considered significant and insignificant within the text'.[60] The *tengu*, canonically associated with the Sōjōgatani episode, do not appear in either the text or the *kuchi-e* of 'Ushiwakamaru's dispostion'. First, the reader must understand that Yoshitsune's martial powers are entirely the result of his own efforts. Second, such stories would presumably be too 'childish' and unscientific for the audience. In *Yōnen zasshi*, the *tengu* and Benkei only appear in a less serious type of text, in the rubric *asobi no niwa* 遊の庭 ('playground'). In this rubric, Tsuboyasu Isai 坪谷水哉 (1862-1949) turns the episode of Ushiwakamaru's sword fighting practice into a parable that warns against pride (1891, 1:3). The bird-like *tengu* with their 'prominent nose' (*hana ga takai* 鼻が高い) are a metaphor for pride, yet in this story they dig holes for their beaks so they can kneel and bow properly for Yoshitsune. The same author moreover wrote an informative text about Benkei (1891, 1:8). Benkei's handwriting is said to have been excellent and his letters were represented in the textbooks of *terakoya* pupils. Both texts are illustrated with the canonical iconographies of Sōjōgatani and Gojō bridge, the first and last time that they appear in *Yōnen zasshi*. The famous warriors seen in *Shōkokumin* and *Yōnen zasshi* in their

[59] Karlin, 'Narratives of Heroism in Meiji Japan', 52.
[60] Lotman, 'Memory in a Culturological Perspective', 136.

turn also had an expiration date. *Nippon no Shōnen*, whose audience consisted of adolescents, only sporadically featured *kuchi-e* related to warrior legends, presumably because readers would consider these 'childish'.[61] Ushiwakamaru came to be associated with the fairy tale realm of the reader's little brother.

The trope of the fall-out between Yoshitsune and Yoritomo retained its educational value, yet with a different interpretation. The editors invited readers to think about the moral behaviour of historical characters, as the Herbartian teaching manuals discussed in chapter two also advised. In his study of war tales in *Nihon no shōnen*, Suzuki Akira shows how these assignments give the teenage readers an opportunity to discuss what it means to live under the laws of a modern nation.[62] One reader for example considers Yoshitsune to be a citizen (*kokumin*) who did not follow Yoritomo's laws (*hōritsu* 法律), while another reader passionately argues that Yoshitsune was an exceptional hero, who indeed made a mistake, but as Yoritomo led a violent 'revolution' (like Napoleon and Caesar), he was the real criminal (*zainin* 罪人). Yet another reader argues that it was wartime, in which regular law does not apply. A reader's letter (1890, 2:15) on this theme in *Shōkokumin* however stays closer to the premodern concern about proper behaviour in the Confucian sense. Like the second discussant above, this reader seems well-acquainted with the *hōgan biiki* sentiment and considers Yoshitsune a hero (*eiyū* 英雄) who was treated unfairly. He compares Yoritomo to a bird with one wing, or a carriage with one wheel instead of two. In other words, Yoritomo and Yoshitsune should have worked together 'without suspicion and with brotherly affection' (*gishin naku kyōdai sō shitashimi* 疑心ナク兄弟相親シミ) to the benefit of the Minamoto reign. This reader thus promotes the Confucian virtue of brotherly affection, that *Shōkokumin* saw gladly represented, and would some months later also appear in the Rescript.

Ushiwakamaru legends thus already belonged to the cultural knowledge of boys in their early teens and initially offered convenient material for representing a modern yet recognizably Japanese exemplar for boys. This approach was however not immediately applied to the more weighty protagonists from the history textbooks, such as Hideyoshi. The narrative about the 'great politician' Hideyoshi (1891, 1:4) in *Yōnen zasshi* describes Hideyoshi as a hero who rectified the 'chaos' (*midare* 乱れ) in the emperor's realm. The

[61] Suzuki, 'Meiji-Ki No Jidōshōnenzasshi', 44.
[62] Suzuki, 67–68.

dense prose focuses on highlights from Hideyoshi's adult life, political history, and themes of loyalty. In 1893 however, Takahashi Taika 高橋太華 (1863-1947) in the earlier mentioned series *Hōnchō go shōgun den* in *Shōkokumin* (1893, 5:7) for the first time introduces the young Hideyoshi (Hiyoshimaru), as a 'very smart boy' who plays mock battles with his peers instead of preparing to become a monk. Hiyoshimaru would moreover have taken to task the village bully, which shows that he stands up for himself and others. Although Iwaya would take the idea much further, it was Takahashi who pioneered in focusing on the (exemplary) youth of Japanese historical figures.

Several years later, Yoda Gakkai 依田学海 (1834-1909) also introduced Hideyoshi's youth in a serialized narrative in *Shōnen sekai*.[63] (A favourite of the young Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, as we may recall.[64]) Hideyoshi's mother has seen a dream that predicts the new-born's *risshin shusse*, and therefore his parents, mere farmers, decide to send their child to a temple to become a priest. Hiyoshimaru shows himself to be a smart boy, but instead of memorizing sutra's he listens to tales about 'martiality and ambition' (*budō kōmyō* 武道功名) and thinks:

> Becoming a monk is the same as becoming a beggar. Even if I would wear a beautiful sash and robe, would that count as success in life (*risshin shusse*)? What's more, would a boy wish to rot away in a mountain temple? No, I must become an apprentice in a samurai family. I will make a real success of my life. Who wants to become a beggar anyway?[65]

Gakkai convincingly brings out the determined character of the teenage protagonist with this thought/speech block. As Hiyoshimaru expects the monks will not let him go easily, he runs amok and steals other people's fruit till he is sent home. After several failed apprenticeships in farming and merchant families, he lands an apprenticeship with the samurai Matsushita Yukitsuna. The remainder of the narrative focuses on Hideyoshi's adult life.

In contrast to history textbooks, Takahashi and Gakkai give a fairly detailed description of Hideyoshi's childhood. Both authors write about Hiyoshimaru's

[63] Yoda, 'Toyotomi Taikō: Daiichi'.
[64] Tanizaki, *Childhood Years*, 225.
[65] Yoda, 'Toyotomi Taikō: Daiichi', 12.

troublemaking, but do not make use of the popular premodern episodes about the smashed Amida statue, or the querulous encounter with Koroku on Yahagi bridge. Gakkai even explicitly rejects the contents of *Ehon taikōki* in his introduction and argues that Hoan's *Taikōki* is the only historically correct source. However, considering that the story is for children, he 'somewhat embellished' it. In Gakkai's version, Hiyoshimaru engages in a 'generic' sort of mischief (stealing fruit) instead of vandalizing a buddha statue. An accompanying illustration has no connection to the canonical iconography either and shows Hiyoshimaru sitting in a tree. Instead of introducing the auspicious dream as a sign of heavenly support and Hiyoshimaru's exceptionality, the dream unambiguously refers to *risshin shusse*, while the parents and Hiyoshimaru take action to make the dream come true. There is however a generational gap: whereas the parents understand the importance of *shusse*, they do not understand that *real* success should take place in the 'public' political or military realm.

In Takahashi's texts, not only Hideyoshi, but also Tokugawa Ieyasu is said to have engaged in war play as a child (*Shōkokumin* 1893, 5:8). In the nineteenth century West, historical (adventure) stories were considered to provide children with content for their play.[66] This idea is represented very early in *Shōkokumin*, that introduces the Battle of Minatogawa (1336) as a mock battle between boys (1889, 1:5). (This is the battle in which Kusunoki Masashige met his death.) In her study of childhood and militarism in modern Japan, Sabine Frühstück observes that by inciting children to play war (i.e., soldier or nurse), a desire to support and engage in war as adults was developed.[67] At the same time however, the will of adults to wage war was presented as innate and inevitable by arguing that children have a 'natural inclination' to engage in war-play. Frühstück does not address imaginative historical settings, but these might be considered on a continuum with contemporary settings. Such ideas are fortified by representations of historical exemplars who purportedly also played mock battles as boys. Whereas the illustration of the Battle of Minatogawa shows children in an unconvincingly large landscape (fig. 3.2), a later *kuchi-e* by Tomioka Eisen (1864-1905) in *Yōnen zasshi* (1892, 2:8) is much closer to the representation of the boisterous children seen in early modern print (fig. 3.3). 'Young Kusunoki' (Masatsura)

[66] Groot, *The Historical Novel*, 88–89.
[67] Frühstück, *Playing War*.

is here depicted as the leader in a battle between a small group of boys. This scene was revisited in the Taishō period picture magazine *Yōnen gahō* (1912, 7:1).

Fig. 3.2 *Shōkokumin*, vol. 1:5 (1889), p. 13

The young citizen, national ethics, and national history/legend were tightly woven together. During the late nineteenth century in the West, several new scientific disciplines contributed to the 'management of the child for national progress', and the idea of children going through 'advancements' became entwined with the idea of the development of nations from primitive to advanced.[68] The Hakubukan publication *E-iri yōnen rekishi* 絵入幼年歴史 ('Illustrated History for/of the Child', 1893) reflects this concern with monitoring and measuring progress, as well as the conceptual entwinement of the child and history. This booklet by Sakashita Kametarō 坂下亀太郎 (?-?), who also contributed to *Yōnen zasshi*, introduces national myth and history but also serves as a journal in which parents and teachers can take notes about the progress of a child from birth to primary school graduation. In the preface, the author refers to the Rescript and the need to instil in children diligence and courage (*kinben giyū* 勤勉義勇) as well as the national customs and national spirit (*kokufū kunitama* 国風国魂).[69] To this end, the main text lists the important dates that a citizen should know, such as the Festival of Origins (*genshisai* 元始祭), the death day of Kusunoki Masatsura and Yoritomo, but also the introduction of compulsory education from age six to fourteen, and the birthday of the

Fig. 3.3 Tomioka Eisen, *kuchi-e* in *Yōnen zasshi* vol. 2:8, 1892

[68] Millei and Imre, 'Introduction', 4–5.
[69] Sakashita, *E-Iri Yōnen Rekishi*, 1–2.

explorer Henry Morton Stanley.[70] Pages aimed for the report on the child who says his first words, takes his first steps, or eats with chopsticks for the first time, alternate with short texts and images that define him as an imperial subject, a future soldier, and an inca rnation of an 'ambitious' Ushiwakamaru (fig. 3.4). Even the wind that holds up his kite should be understood as the *kamikaze* 神風, that would have wrecked the enemy ships during the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century (fig. 3.5). *E-iri yōnen rekishi* invites the mother *or* father to write the record but pictures a 'wise mother' overseeing the homework of her children (fig. 3.6). The frontispieces of early modern collections of *ōrai* were decorated with cranes and other lucky symbols, where they indicated that literacy contributes to the prosperity of the household (*ie*). Here however, the image of a crane and her chicks in front of the rising sun symbolizes the modern family (*katei* 家庭), who contributes to the prosperity of the nation.

Fig. 3.4 Artist unknown, *E-iri yōnen rekishi*, 1893. Private collection

Fig. 3.5 *E-iri yōnen rekishi*, 1893. Private collection

Fig. 3.6 *E-iri yōnen rekishi*, 1893. Private collection

[70] Sakashita, 29–30.

3.2 Exemplary women

As the reader of youth magazines in the 1890s was by default imagined as male, it comes as no surprise that exemplary women appeared only sporadically in *Yōnen zasshi* and *Shōkokumin*. In the second volume of *Yōnen zasshi* appears a short story about Hideyoshi's wife that teaches that one should not judge a potential husband on his looks (who in her case purportedly resembled a monkey). Another story in this volume retells how Kusunoki Masashige's wife taught their son Masatsura to loyally serve the interests of the clan, instead of committing suicide upon hearing of his father's death in battle. Like in the textbooks, they are both (nameless) wives and mothers.

Girls only started to be explicitly addressed in *Shōnen sekai*, that from the eighteenth to twenty-fourth issue featured a rubric for girls (*shōjoran* 少女欄). Most stories in this rubric through themes from everyday life (and not history) teach virtues such as honesty, compassion, and frugality.[71] The first story, written by Wakamatsu Shizuko 若松賤子 (1864-1896) deals with caring for the sick. Other themes include sewing and a girl's orphanage. Although the rubric was short-lived, *Shōnen sekai* continued to introduce narratives aimed at girls, indicated as *shōjo shōsetsu* 少女小説 (girl's novel) or *shōjo dan* 少女談 (girl's conversation). Women from history also appeared in *Shōnen sekai*, yet these biographies were presented as a 'historical narrative' rather than the biography of a woman, so as not to estrange male readers. Komatsu Satoko counts twenty-one biographies of women in *Shōnen sekai* between 1895 and 1908, including female poets, authors, nurses, teachers, filial daughters, brave girls, foreign queens, and the mothers of a generals.[72] The highest valued virtue in these women was intelligence, expressed in studiousness and an exceptional talent in one of the arts, as well as a more practical wisdom, that was needed in a *ryōsai kenbo*. The biographies furthermore promoted affection, filial piety, chastity, and loyalty. Courage was also valued, but always in combination with one or more other feminine virtues.

Murasaki Shikibu in one of these narratives (*Shōnen sekai* 1898, 4:25) serves as an exemplar for girls but also as a launch pad for the author's critique on the Meiji elite and influential women in particular. As in the textbooks, Murasaki Shikibu is first introduced as an exemplar of intelligence, modesty, and kindness. Whereas textbooks conspicuously did not refer to her physical appearance, this text (like premodern *retsujoden*) stresses that she

[71] Tsuzukihashi, *Jidōbungaku No Tanjō*, 219–23.
[72] Komatsu, 'Shōnen Sekai Ni Keisai Sareta Josei No Denki Kenkyū'.

was very beautiful. The author (Miyagino Kohagi 宮城野小萩, ?-?) praises Murasaki Shikibu's literary work in flowery words, but severely criticizes the cultural and social context in which she lived. He accuses Heian period men, engrossed in poetry, music, and moon-viewing parties, of 'turning the court into some sort of playground', and surely, they would 'like the Chinese' have run away at the sound of a cannon.[73] With those in exemplary positions behaving despicably, it was not an age in which *gōketsu* 豪傑 (heroes) could appear, he concludes. The author ties these observations together by arguing that despite her depraved surroundings, Murasaki Shikibu protected her beauty and purity, and wrote the *Genji* as a discreet caution against the improper behaviour of men and women at court in those times.

Publicly active educated women with patrons among the Meiji political elite were a regular target of ridicule and slander in the media. One of these was the poet and advocate of women's higher education Shimoda Utako 下田歌子 (1854-1936). In 1898, the same year as the above story about Murasaki Shikibu, Shimoda wrote two serialized stories for *Shōnen sekai* about the Edo period physician Nonaka En 野中婉 (1661-1726) and Kasuga no Tsubone under the heading *Honchō fujo risshi hen* 本朝婦女立志編 ('Ambitious Women of Our Country'). Shimoda supported the *ryōsai kenbo* ideology, a conviction that might have some roots in her Confucian education, but was primarily based on her experiences in Britain and modern notions of the nation.[74] Shimoda writes that she aims to present girls with an exemplar of 'meritorious deeds and honour'.[75] Her historical *kenbo* are courageous: as a young mother Kasuga no Tsubone killed two robbers who tried to attack her family in hiding. In contrast to Shimoda's version, *Kasuga no Tsubone* 春日局 (Kishigami Shikken, 1899) from the Hakubunkan book series *Shōnen tokuhon* 少年読本 rather focuses on the historical events and male characters around her.[76] Shimoda's *Honchō fujo risshi hen* was clearly designed as a feminine counterpart to the series about 'ambitious' male heroes, but was discontinued after two biographies.

[73] The sneer towards the Chinese is a habit repeatedly seen in *Shōnen sekai* (and other media). According to Hasegawa Ushio, the feeling of superiority over Asian neighbours (and the inferiority complex vis-à-vis the West) was a constant presence ever since the Meiji restoration, rather than a reflection of a remarkably imperialistic agenda of specific authors. Hasegawa, 'Nashonarizumu to Jidōbungaku', 79.
[74] Johnson, 'Meiji Women's Educators as Public Intellectuals', 74.
[75] Komatsu, 'Shōnen Sekai Ni Keisai Sareta Josei No Denki Kenkyū', 29.
[76] Komatsu, 30.

Some *retsujo* were rediscovered as paragons of loyalty and sacrifice. The Hakubunkan history series *Katei kyōiku rekishi tokuhon* 家庭教育歴史読本 ('History Reading-book for Home Education', 1891-92) introduces in volume four the sacrifices of Kesa gozen and Hosokawa Tadaoki's 細川忠興 (1563-1646) wife, victim of the struggle between the Toyotomi and Tokugawa clans. This volume furthermore contains a story about Shizuka gozen titled *Tsurugaoka* 鶴が岡. Shizuka is left behind in Yoshino after a dramatic farewell with Yoshitsune and eventually ends up a captive of Yoritomo. Being asked to perform for the latter at the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine in Kamakura, she defiantly cites the famous poem that speaks of her devotion to the fugitive Yoshitsune. This scene is illustrated with a colorful fold-out picture based on the early modern iconography of Shizuka's dance (fig. 3.7), which was the triumphant highlight of her otherwise tragic story, as also depicted for example in premodern guidebooks that lead the traveler through Kamakura. Shizuka is described with words such as chaste, loyal, and intelligent. She eventually becomes a nun and dies at age twenty.

Fig. 3.7 Matsumoto Fūko, illustration in *Katei kyōiku rekishi tokuhon* 4, 1891. Private collection

Shimoda, however, criticized the tendency to dish up to children the 'dramatic stories of women who take revenge for their parents or husband or commit suicide'.[77] These merely move the reader to tears, 'a stimulus comparable to wasabi on a piece of sashimi'. She considers such dramatic stories inappropriate for children, as they are in the spring of their lives and full of hope, which should not be stifled with 'winter scenery'. Her opinion is similar to Iwaya, who deems sentimental stories detrimental to the development of children (see section 5). He does however not seem to share her interest in historical women as progressive role models for girls. In *Nippon otogibanashi*, 'Kusunoki Masatsura's mother' and Tokiwa gozen play a supporting role as wise mothers. The third volume, *Tamatori* 玉取 ('The tale of the tide-jewels', 1897), moreover beautifies the courageous (lethal) sacrifice a female diver makes for her son's advancement in the world as a samurai. Dramatic accounts of women's sacrifices continued to have appeal in war-time Japan, as they exemplified how also women could 'offer oneself courageously to the state' (*giyūkō ni hōji* 義勇公に奉じ) in line with the Rescript.[78]

Various categories of heroines thus appeared in the male-dominated youth literature of the 1890s: women who excelled in the literary realm, women who displayed an exceptionally moving degree of loyalty and sacrifice, and 'good wives and wise mothers' who might be admired for their courage. In the early twentieth century, the interest in a courageous disposition hypothetically also inspired authors and illustrators to direct attention to premodern female martial icons. For example, the 1913 board game *Nihon meifu sugoroku* 日本名婦双六 ('Famous Women of Japan *sugoroku*'), a New Year's present from the magazine *Fujin sekai* 婦人世界 ('Women's World'), includes apart from authors, poets and paragons of loyalty and sacrifice also two martial exemplars (namely, Tomoe gozen and Hangaku) (see fig. 4.15). Girl's magazines of the early twentieth century, such as *Shōjo sekai* 少女世界 ('Girl's World') and *Shōjo kurabu* 少女倶楽部 ('Girl's Club') might yield more insight into the representation of women from history/legend for a female audience.

[77] *Shōnen sekai*, 4:8 (1898), p. 72.

[78] For example, in the 1936 children's book *Rekishi monogatari: Shizuka gozen* 歴史物語－静御前 (an extra of the girl's magazine *Shōjo kurabu*) the central theme is her loyalty to her courageous husband Yoshitsune and her heroic suffering in the face of various trials, including the murder of her infant son, Yoshitsune's heir. The author invites the teenage reader to take Shizuka as an example, who 'as a Japanese woman did not fall apart despite her sorrows'.

3.3 War tales as youth literature: two biographies of Yoshitsune

Hakubunkan not only published various youth magazines, but in the 1890s also dominated the market of youth literature in book form. Entire series were devoted to national history and historical characters, but also the volumes that followed *Koganemaru* in the *Shōnen bungaku* series were partly historical narratives. The authors adapted and took inspiration from war tales and historical records and rewrote them for a teenage audience. Such adaptations in serialized youth literature are often overlooked as a form re-appreciation of war tales that fits within modern categories of literature.[79] I will in this section examine two biographies of Yoshitsune for children by Takahashi Taika (that appeared in *Shōkokumin*) and Ōwada Takeki 大和田健樹 (1857-1910) in the Hakubunkan series *Nippon rekishitan* 日本歴史譚 ('Japanese History Tales'). This series, aimed at children in the upper primary school, was immensely successful and most volumes went through at least seventeen reprints till 1923.[80]

The first and very influential book series for youths devoted to national history was Hakubunkan's twelve-volume *Katei kyōiku rekishi tokuhon* 家庭教育歴史読本 ('History Reading-book for Home Education', 1891-92) by Ochiai Naobumi 落合直文 (1861-1903) and Ikebe Yoshikata 池辺義象 (1861-1923). The narratives draw upon episodes from *Taiheiki, Genpei jōsuiki,* and other war tales. The first volume opens with a calligraphic representation of the Rescript. In the preface, the authors state that the aim of the series is to raise in children (*yōnen*) a loyal disposition through historical examples. Moreover, by adapting the narrative, embellishing the language, and adding pictures, it aims to appeal to the readers, 'so they will remember the [historical] truth better'.[81] The embellishments take the form of intensely dramatic descriptions of glorious moments and the death of young warriors. The focus on loyal sacrifice, lavishly ornated with cherry blossoms (fig. 3.8) and the repeated use of the word *aware* 哀れ (sorrow), would prove to be an inspiration for other authors as well as propaganda makers during the Pacific War.

[79] *Inventing the Classics : Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature* addresses war tales in the Meiji school curriculum and literature for adults, but not youth literature. Shirane and Suzuki, *Inventing the Classics*.
[80] Katsuo, *Reimeiki no rekishi jidō bungaku*, 185.
[81] Katsuo, 39–40.

Between 1896 and 1899 Hakubunkan published Ōwada Takeki's twenty-four-volume *Nippon rekishitan*, that chronicles the mythical origin of Japan and the deeds of famous generals.[82] Ōwada simplified rather than embellished the language of the war tales. He not merely chronicled the protagonists' life but took his role as an 'educator' seriously by introducing the main historical events along the way. The sixth volume of *Nippon rekishitan*, titled *Kurō hangan* 九郎判官 (1897), introduces Yoshitsune and is based on sections from *Gikeiki* and *Heike monogatari*.[83] Historical narratives explicitly written for young citizens were thus adaptations of (sections from) war tales that presumed a comparatively high level of literacy: only in the late 1890s Iwaya would successfully 'modernize' premodern warrior legends for children in the lower primary school.

Fig. 3.8 Cover of *Katei kyōiku rekishi tokuhon* vol. 1, 1891. Private collection

Ōwada's text is clearly influenced by Takahashi Taika's *Kurō hangan Yoshitsune* 九郎判官義経, that was the first longer serialized narrative in *Shōkokumin*.[84] It was placed at the end of the magazine as a *furoku* 付録 (extra) and printed in a comparatively large script with glosses to facilitate a leisurely read. Takahashi explicitly states that it was his aim to focus on Yoshitsune's youth (*yōji no arisama* 幼時の有様) in his afterword. He adapted a number of sections from the first half of *Gikeiki* (book one to four), and moreover leaves out the sections on Benkei's youth, thereby more firmly shaping the narrative into a biography of Yoshitsune. Ōwada's approach is similar, yet following the Ushiwakamaru episodes, he introduces various famous scenes from *Heike monogatari* in line with his aim of writing a history of Japan, and he closes with the Ataka episode from *Gikeiki*. In the 1890s, *Gikeiki* was

[82] According to Namekawa Michio and Katsuo Kin'ya, the issues after the first might have been written by a ghost-writer, identified as Ōwada's student Fukushima Shirō 福島四郎 (1874-1945). I follow the Japanese children's literature research, including Katsuo, in continuing to refer to the author as Ōwada. See Katsuo, 186–87.
[83] *Hangan* or *hōgan* means 'lieutenant', and Yoshitsune took the name Kurō ('ninth son') when coming of age. *Gikeiki* explains that even though he was the eighth son of Yoshitomo, the name Hachirō was already taken by his famous uncle Chinzei Hachirō (Minamoto Tametomo, 1139-1170).
[84] *Shōkokumin* 1:2-8 (1891).

not yet widely seen as a classic of Japanese literature. Takahashi must have made use of a woodblock printed version of *Gikeiki*, as it was only printed in movable type for the first time in October 1891.[85] This reprint published by the *Kosho hozonkai* 古書保存会 ('Society for the Preservation of Old Books') was in the next year followed by an annotated version published by Kinkōdō 金港堂.[86] Upon comparison, the source text of both transcriptions seems to be the same and was presumably the best available premodern woodblock printed edition at that point, and therefore I here cite from the 1891 transcription.

Both Takahashi and Ōwada left out all digressions into Chinese or Japanese lore (*koji* 古事) and Buddhist contemplations seen in *Gikeiki*. Presumably, these would distract the reader from the narrative, nor are they relevant to the new ideological message. Both authors introduce the Sōjōgatani episode, which *Gikeiki* describes as follows:

> Far back on Kurama Mountain there was a place called Sōjō valley. In the past, people had come to pay respect to the wonder-working Divinity of Kibune. Learned monks had visited to practice devotions, and Buddhist bells had sounded incessantly. As a priest was installed, the boom of the *kagura* drums [a form of entertainment for the gods] never ceased to echo awesomely, but the miraculous powers of the buddhas and *kami* weakened in the degenerate climate of a later day. The abandoned buildings were now the abode of *tengu*, and weird apparitions shrieked after the western sun had set. Therefore, visitors were frightened away, and no one stayed for a pious retreat.[87]
>
> くらまのおくにそうじやうが谷(たに)といふ所あり。むかしはいかなる人のあがめ奉りけん。きふねの明神(みやうじん)とてれいげんしゆしやうにわたらせ給ひける。ちゑある上人もおこなひけり。れいのこゑもをこたらず。神主(かんぬし)も有けるが。御神楽(かくら)のつゝみの音(をと)もたへず。あらたにわたらせ給ひしか共。世すゑにならば仏(をはと)のはうべんも。神(かみ)のげんとくもをとらせ給ひて。人すみあらしひと

[85] As mentioned in an e-mail to me from Suzuki Akira (June 2021).

[86] Whereas the 1891 movable-type version of *Gikeiki* is largely written in *kana*, reflecting the woodblock printed source, in the preface of the 1892 version it is pointed out that this leads to unclarities, and therefore the editors replaced many words with Chinese characters (with glosses). Transcriptions for academic use that were published in the second half of the twentieth century are based on source texts that are thought to be closer to an 'original', such as the manuscript of *Gikeiki* known as the Tanaka-bon, transcribed in the *Koten bungaku zenshū* series. (This is also the version that has been translated into English by Helen McCullough.) These however stand further from the editions that were read in the Meiji period.

[87] Serizawa, *Gikeiki*, 12–13. Although the general meaning does not differ significantly, in this 1891 version parts of sentences are missing that are present in the Tanaka-bon (see Kajihara, *Gikeiki*, 30–31.). I have adapted McCulloughs translation (McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, 74–75.) here, to more literally reflect the 1891 edition of *Gikeiki*.

へに天狗のすみかとなりて。夕日西にかたふけはものゝけおめきさけぶ。されば参りよる人をも取なやます間。さんろうする人もなかりけり。[88]

Takahashi and Ōwada (in respective order) adapted this description as follows:

[Ushiwakamaru] heard that far back on Kurama Mountain there was a place called Sōjō valley, and a wonder-working shrine called Kibune Myōjin, where cedars and cypress trees grew sublimely, where it was dark even at noon, and where no one stayed for a pious retreat ...
鞍馬の奥に僧正谷といふ所あり、貴船明神とて、霊験ある社のある所にして、杉檜神々と生茂り、昼猶暗く、参籠する人もなしと聞く…[89]

Far back on Kurama Mountain there was a place called Sōjō valley. Ancient pines and old cedars were lined up impressively. If one went over to the next valley, there was a shrine called Kibune Myōjin.
鞍馬の山奥に僧正が谷といふ所あり。老松古杉いと神々しく立ち並び。谷一つ向に越ゆれば。貴船明神といふ社あり。[90]

Both authors try to create the atmosphere of a deep forest rather than the eeriness of the abandoned temple, that symbolizes *mappō* 末法, the age of the decline of the Buddhist law. The belief that one was living in the latter days was especially strong in the Kamakura period (1192-1333), whereas these Meiji period authors lived in an age of new beginnings, in which Buddhism was moreover identified as a 'foreign' religion. Both authors identify the temple as a Shinto shrine rather than a Buddhist temple. The authors also replaced various words with Chinese characters (and glosses) where the woodblock-printed source text would use only *kana*: young citizens are clearly expected to have, or reach, higher levels of *kanji* literacy than earlier audiences.

Next, all three versions relate that Ushiwakamaru was studying during the daytime but went to Sōjō valley at night. Whereas *Gikeiki* describes the splendid corselet he wears (a gift from the abbot) and the vows he makes to the god of war Hachiman, both Takahashi

[88] The strange reading of *hotoke* 仏 seems to be a mistake by the printer.
[89] Takahashi Taika, *Shōkokumin* 3:2 (1891-1-18), *furoku* p. 8.
[90] Ōwada, *Kurō Hangan Yoshitsune*, 8–9.

and Ōwada focus on the description of the sword-fighting practice. In *Gikeiki,* the scene is described as follows:

> He [Ushiwakamaru] would pretend that the surrounding bushes and trees were various members of the Heike clan. Of two towering trees, he dubbed one Kiyomori. Taking his sword, he slashed away at it with all his might. Then he would draw objects resembling *gitchō* balls from his pocket (*futokoro*), suspend them from branches, and call one of them Shigemori's head and another Kiyomori's head. At daybreak he would return to his quarters and lie down with a robe [the bedcover] pulled over his head.[91]
>
> 四方の草木をば平家の一るいと名つけ。大木二本ありけるを一本をは清盛と名づけ。太刀をぬきてさん/＼にきり。ふところよりきつちやうの玉のやうなるものを取いたし。木のえだにかけ。一つをはしげもりがくびと名つけ。一つをは清盛がくびとてかけられけるが。かくて暁にもなれば。我かたにかへりきぬひきかづきてふし給ふ。

Takahashi adapted this into:

> He [Ushiwakamaru] would pretend that the surrounding bushes and trees were various members of the Heike clan. Two towering trees he dubbed Kiyomori and Shigemori. Taking his sword, he slashed away at them with all his might. Then he would draw two clay balls from his pocket (*futokoro*), suspend them from branches, and call one of them Shigemori's head and the other Kiyomori's head. Yelling 'I will overthrow the Heike with my sword', he moreover ran along steep mountain roads, rolled over heavy stones, waved around with his sword, and climbed to treetops; he devoted the entire night to toughening his body. At daybreak he would return to his room and as he quietly lay down pulling a robe over his head, and for some time nobody realized what he was doing.
>
> 四方の草木を平家の一類と名つけ、大木二本あるを、一本を清盛と名つけ、一本を重盛と名つけ、太刀を抜いてさん/＼に斬りつけ、懐より土の玉二を取出し、それを木の枝に懸け、一を重盛が首と名つけ、一つを清盛が首と名つけ、我が刀にて平家を滅したりと叫び、更に険しき山路を馳せ、重き石を顛し、或は太刀を振り、或は樹の梢に攀ぢ上り、一夜身体の

[91] McCullough explains that *gitchō* balls are 'wooden balls shaped like tops and hit by a special kind of mallet (*gitchō*) in a game played during the New Year season'. McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, 75.

鍛錬(たんれん)に心(こゝろ)を委(ゆだ)ね、暁方(あかつきがた)に至(いた)りて、我(わ)が屋(しつ)に帰(かへ)り、衣引(きぬひつ)かつぎて密(ひそか)に伏(ふ)し居(を)れば、暫(しばら)くの間(あひだ)は誰(たれ)も知るものなかりき。

Takahashi embellishes Ushiwakamaru's austerities but takes over literally the part about trees and balls that function as the Heike enemies (with some simplifications in grammatical elements and nouns). Ōwada took over the scene exactly as described in *Gikeiki*, and only replaced the *gitchō* balls with the simpler *mari* 鞠 (ball). Many other authors would take over this scene, that showcases Ushiwakamaru's martiality and has a closeness to play. This scene is followed by Ushiwakamaru's courageous fights with the thief Yuri no Tarō (Kumasaka Chōhan in *kusazōshi*) and Benkei. The battle with Benkei takes place on Gojō bridge in both adaptations, even though *Gikeiki* describes that it takes place in front of the nearby Kiyomizudera. The popular tradition and the author's awareness of the reader's familiarity with this scene thus wins from *Gikeiki*.

The second half of *Gikeiki* focuses on Yoshitsune's flight to the north, during which he gradually became more passive. Takahashi however wraps up with various highlights from Yoshitsune's active years and pays hardly any attention to the fugitive years, in line with his idea to focus on Yoshitsune's youth.[92] (The last paragraph relates that Yoshitsune died in the end.) Ōwada side-tracks from *Gikeiki* at the same point, but in line with his aim of writing a history of Japan, introduces the highlights of the Genpei War as they appear in *Heike monogatari*. Ōwada introduces not only episodes that relate to Yoshitsune, but also the death of the young warrior Taira no Atsumori 平敦盛 (1169-1184), and Nasu no Yoichi's iconic shooting of the fan.[93] In various instances, he gives the title of a noh play for further reference. Where cultural knowledge collides with historical knowledge, Ōwada also resorts to this technique, as in his comment 'Stories that say that Ushiwaka practiced sword-fighting with *tengu* and so on, and *yōkyoku* 謡曲 [the vocal music of a noh play] such as *Kurama tengu* 鞍馬天狗 were created in order to make this episode more interesting'.[94] Thereby the reader

[92] In a dense last installment Takahashi introduces the Battle of Uji (1184) and the iconic race between the commanders Kajiwara Kagesue and Sasaki Takatsuna to first cross the river, a popular theme in warrior prints. He furthermore introduces Yoshitsune's quarrel with Kajiwara about the 'reverse oars', and Yoshitsune's miraculous 'jump over eight ships'. Benkei is depicted reading the Kanjinchō even though this is not referred to in the text. The hero (*eiyū*) Yoshitsune finally comes to a sorrowful (*aware*) end. In his afterword, Takahashi debunks the Genghis Khan legend, that is apparently also circulating among children.

[93] These episodes are described in *Heike monogatari*. The Minamoto were challenged to shoot a fan from a Taira boat during the battle of Yashima, which the brilliant archer Nasu no Yoichi brought to a successful end.

[94] Ōwada, *Kurō Hangan Yoshitsune*, 8–9. Takahashi refrains from mentioning *tengu*.

is a step ahead of the 'little children' in the lower primary school for whom the *tengu* are part of the story world (at least in Iwaya's version, as we will see). The author returns to Yoshitsune in a descriptive paragraph about Kajiwara's slander, the Koshigoe letter (that is however not cited), and Yoshitsune's flight to the north, followed by Shizuka's story and the Ataka episode.

The *hōgan biiki* sentiment that is associated with Yoshitsune presupposes that the audience roots for the underdog, yet the pathos here seems different from what Ivan Morris also called the 'nobility of failure'. Rather, Ōwada repeatedly creates pathos around sacrifice and the death of the young warrior, clearly inspired by the earlier *Katei kyōiku rekishi tokuhon*. The quintessential example is given in the paragraphs on Atsumori, but also described is how Satō Tadanobu 佐藤忠信 (1161-1186) died 'nobly' on the battlefield, while his brother Tsugunobu 継信 (1158-1185) followed him in death by loyally giving his life for his lord during the chase in Yoshino. In the latter part of the book, Ōwada tries to move the reader by describing Shizuka's tragic fate. We hardly see how Yoshitsune in the meantime gradually became a passive victim. In the last paragraph, Yoshitsune and Benkei commit suicide while the castle in Koromogawa is being attacked, and Ōwada concludes: 'hearing about the tragic fate of heroes (*eiyū matsuro no awaresa* 英雄末路のあはれさ), who would not be saddened?'. The reader is however also given the choice to believe in 'a certain story' that Yoshitsune became Genghis Khan, and in that capacity conquered Mongolia and China and made Europe tremble.

Takahashi's text is initially not illustrated, but later features a mix of canonical and non-canonical images (artist unknown). Ōwada's text on the other hand contains seven illustrations based on canonical iconographies by ukiyo-e artist Tsutsui Toshimine 筒井年峰 (1863-1934), a student of Tsukioka Yoshitoshi 月岡芳年 (1839-1892). These consist of Tokiwa and her

Fig. 3.9 Tsutsui Toshimine, in *Nippon rekishitan* vol. 6, *Kurō hangan*, 1897. Private collection

Fig. 3.10 Tsutsui Toshimine, in *Kurō hangan*, 1897. Private collection

children in the snow, the fight with the thief Yuri no Tarō, the battle on Gojō bridge (fig. 3.9), the descent from the cliff (fig. 3.10), Nasu no Yoichi shooting the fan, Shizuka performing her dance, and Benkei reading the Kanjinchō. The multicolour cover shows Yoshitsune 'jumping over eight ships' (fig. 3.11). The artist did not need to read the text in order to produce the illustrations, and their effectiveness was already proven. Not only the iconographies, but also the combination of text and image retain characteristics of *kusazōshi* and the borders are ornate versions of those seen in woodblock printed books. At the same time, the printing technique (movable type), paper, and size (*kikuhan* 菊版, about 22 x 15 cm) is distinctly modern.[95]

According to David Bialock, premodern popular traditions of consuming war tales were in the 1890s still 'a category difficult to assimilate to the newly imported western

[95] The most practical way to combine movable type with images was to use a form of relief printing for the latter as well. However, as wood was not as durable as metal, from the second decennium of the Meiji period stereotype printing and electrotype printing (both a form of relief printing from metal plates) replaced woodblock printing. The monochrome illustrated pages of Hakubukan's *Shōnen bungaku* and many other series from this time were printed with this method. Electrotype copies could be made from woodblock engravings. Kōsokabe, 'Kindai Ni Okeru Shuppan, Ryūtsū to Ehon, Ezasshi', 93–94.

Fig. 3.11 Tsutsui Toshimine, cover image of *Kurō hangan*, 1897. Private collection

genres of novel, drama and epic poem' for men engaged in modern classical scholarship, while modern authors began to turn to such works as *Heike monogatari* for inspiration only during the early twentieth century.[96] However, clearly a semantic common ground was already found between warrior legends and the western genre of youth literature much earlier. The adaptations show that the concept of youth literature was not merely a derivative of adult literature. Even though the original text was not yet recognized as an 'epic' or 'classic', youth literature had its own methods of legitimization in the context of the modern nation. The adaptations aimed to teach national history and exemplary dispositions to young citizens. In this way, 'active' texts that resisted scholarly redefinition shifted to the new category of youth literature, that represented a stage of development (rather than the fixed state of banality of the common folk) and a project of national importance.

4. Literary language and perceptions of the young audience

In both Ōwada's and Takahashi's texts, sections, and sentences from *Gikeiki* can be easily identified, as the authors chose to write in the same literary style. When authors started to address an audience of modern primary- and middle school students, they faced a problem: should they adopt the hitherto established literary style (*bungotai* 文語体) or the newly emerged *genbun itchi* 言文一致 ('synthesis of writing and speech')? The answers are closely related to perceptions of the audience and genre. The biographies and book series discussed so far were largely written in *bungotai*, that was in the 1890s considered appropriate for 'heroic tales' for an audience of boys in their early teens.[97] History textbooks and lessons with historical themes in *kokugo* textbooks for the middle and higher grades of primary school were also written in *bungotai*.[98] Premodern works such as Bakin's *Hakkenden* and war

[96] Bialock, 'Nation and Epic', 168–69.
[97] Piel, 'Loyal Dogs and Meiji Boys', 217.
[98] Into the 1930s, the government readers introduced lessons written in *bungotai* from year four, while primary school students in the 1890s might encounter this type of language even earlier, depending on the textbook they used. Students thus learned to read different types of written language, as also existed in the 'real world'.

tales were still read by educated teenage boys. The narrative about the 'great politician' Hideyoshi in *Yōnen zasshi* (1891, 1:4) is thus written in *bungotai*. This also counts for the other texts about Hideyoshi, and the two adaptations of *Gikeiki*.[99] In compensation, less proficient readers were guided by *furigana,* that gave the reading of every character apart from the most basic ones.

Texts with historical themes that were not primarily identified as history/literature, as well as many texts with non-historical themes were written in *genbun itchi*. This new style reflected the spoken language from the Tokyo area and would develop into the standard written language as it is known today. *Genbun itchi* made the texts more accessible, but also placed them lower in the hierarchy of literary texts. This applies for example to the texts that were an addendum to the *kuchi-e*, and *Yōnen zasshi*'s rubric *asobi no niwa*. The choice between *genbun itchi* and *bungotai* not only depended on content but also on age and gender. In *Shōnen sekai*, texts for the younger segment of readers and girls (placed at the beginning) were written in *genbun itchi*, while sections aimed at older readers were predominantly written in *bungotai*.

A polemic between Iwaya and his critical friend Hori Shizan 堀紫山 (1863-1940) in 1891 brings to light that especially texts with historical themes resisted conversion to *genbun itchi*.[100] Perceiving *Koganemaru* as a heroic tale, Iwaya chose to write in *bungotai* and adopted the rhythm of Bakin's texts. Shizan however believed that *genbun itchi* would be more accessible for children. Iwaya answered that if *genbun itchi* is written merely with the aim of being easier to read, the language would become vulgar and eventually become uninteresting to the reader. Sentences in *genbun itchi* in his opinion were just 'going on and on' and therefore this new style was 'most useful for expressing an author's thoughts (*shisō* 思想)' and appropriate for 'a certain kind of novel'.[101] Iwaya furthermore stated that 'what is now understood as *genbun itchi* is vastly different from *rakugo* 落語 (comic storytelling) and *kōdan* 講談 (public storytelling) transcriptions (*sokki* 速記); it is a writing style based on ordinary spoken language and therefore it does not do [for *Koganemaru*].'[102] In other words, a heroic tale should have a certain rhythm, or literary and dramatic effect for which *genbun itchi* as known to Iwaya in 1891 did not suffice.

[99] Takahashi and Ōwada wrote in *bungotai* but simplified sentence patterns and auxiliary verbs.
[100] The letters appeared in the Yomiuri Shinbun and Reproduced in Kan, *Nihon jidō bungaku taikei 1*, 333–37.
[101] See Piel, 'Loyal Dogs and Meiji Boys', 227; Kan, *Nihon jidō bungaku taikei 1*, 334–35.
[102] Kan, *Nihon jidō bungaku taikei 1*, 335.

The above discussion foreshadowed new ideas: according to Katsuo Kin'ya, Iwaya took inspiration from *kōdan* in his *Nippon otogibanashi*.[103] In fact, the author of the earlier mentioned essay 'Historical Thought' (1891) in *Yōnen zasshi* considered orally told warrior legends excellent material for stirring up patriotic feelings in children *as they are*. He strongly advises a daily portion of *kōdan* while implying that the 'community of children' is compatible with this entertainment from the 'lower class' (*katō shakai* 下等社会). Most important is that 'feelings' are stirred, and apparently he considers children to have a popular taste. According to Katsuo, the audience of *kōdan* was pulled into the story through 'vivid descriptions of the scene, and by making listeners root for one of the protagonists'.[104] The language of *kōdan* was rhythmical and contained exclamations, thereby making history entertaining and 'present'. Katsuo gives several examples of the use of onomatopoeia, exclamations, and colourful sketches of the situation in Iwaya's *Nippon otogibanashi* (written in *genbun itchi*) that aim to make the reader present in the moment.

An important point was the representation of speech, which reflects the protagonists' (heroic) character in a direct way. In 1896, the literary critic Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遥 (1859-1935) gave a public lecture about youth literature, of which a summary was published in *Shōnen sekai*.[105] In the first part, he argued that books for children should a) teach knowledge, b) trigger the interest of children in many different things, and c) build character. This will not happen if they are bored by lengthy historical descriptions and estranged from the protagonists by unrealistic speech, as most *tokuhon* 読本 (reading books) according to him tend to do. Shōyō clearly associated the category of *tokuhon* with Hakubunkan's book series with historical themes, as his later examples consisted of Yamato Takeru and Kusunoki Masatsura. Shōyō cited from Iwaya's work as the primary example of 'natural speech' in texts for children. The use of the respectful *haha ue* 母上 (mother) and *gozaimasu* ございます for example, he considered unnatural and cold if spoken by a boy to his mother. Iwaya's use of *okka-san* おッかさん he considered an example of how it should

[103] Katsuo, *Reimeiki no rekishi jidō bungaku*, 257–62.
[104] Katsuo, 258. In the Taishō period, written *kōdan* for an audience of children (so-called *shōnen kōdan*) became very popular and appeared in the magazine *Shōnen kurabu* 少年倶楽部 ('Youth Club'). This apparently developed from *sokki* published as part of the Tachikawa bunko 立川文庫 from 1911. Although not specifically aimed at children, these booklets were very popular among *detchi* and other boys from the working class (Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:417.). See also Koyama-Siebert, 'Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in Japan', 426–27.
[105] *Shōnen sekai*, 2:20 (1896), pp. 33-35.

be done.[106] Shōyō not only proposed to work on the representation of natural speech, but also on perspective and pace. The author of *tokuhon* should for example try to better convey the sadness and desperation that the eleven-year-old Kusunoki Masatsura felt when he heard his father was killed, and the way his mother argued with him when she realised that he planned to kill himself. Two years later, Iwaya himself would take up this scene in his *Sakurai no eki* 桜井駅 (vol. 16 of *Nippon otogibanashi*, 1898). The text is fully written in *genbun itchi* and contains the exclamations and representation of rising emotions that Katsuo associates with the way in which *kōdan* performers try to pull the audience into the story. Shōyō would probably have been pleased with the representations of stuttering, crying, and shouting in the scene of Masatsura's attempted suicide.

> While running towards him [Masatsura's mother] called 'Masatsura! What are you doing?', and quickly took the short sword from his hands. Masatsura started crying loudly again.
> 'P… please mother, give it back to me!'
> 'No, I will do no such thing! Never! …'
> 「これ正行！なにをするのです？」と云いながら飛びついて、突然短刀を取り上げますと、正行は又わッと泣き出しまして、「ど、どうか阿母さま、それをかしてください！」「いいえ成りません！成りません！…」[107]

Iwaya settled on *okkasama* 阿母さま and a fairly polite register, presumably because the protagonists are not the average contemporary mother and son. (Shōyō does not address historicizing language.) Masatsura's crying is represented with the onomatopoeia *waa* わッ.

Neither the premodern nor modern literary styles presented an easy fix and prompted the most devoted authors to think of written language for children as different from language directed at adults. Their choices also depended on considerations of subject, age, and gender. From simplified *bungotai* (Takahashi, Iwaya's early work, Ōwada) to retellings

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[106] The representation of the 'realistic speech' of children in fact already appeared in Wakamatsu Shizuko's translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (*Shōkōshi* 小公子, 1890-2). *Shōkōshi* was a faithful translation of the original and appeared in the women's magazine *Jogaku zasshi* 女学雑誌, to be enjoyed by the female readers and their children. Shōyō and other contemporary critics perceived the text (written in *genbun itchi*) as inherently feminine, an idea mainly based on the gender of the translator. Melek, 'Brave Dogs and Little Lords', 199; Melek, 203. Even though *Shōkōshi* contains many examples of convincing childlike diction, Iwaya's work can be disassociated from femininity and foreignness and might therefore have been more readily acceptable to Shōyō and his audience.

[107] Iwaya, *Hiyoshimaru*, 1898, 30–32. A detailed analysis of the language in Iwaya's work can be found in Fujimoto, *Sazanami Otogibanashi No Rinkaku*.

in a *kōdan*-influenced form of simplified *genbun-itchi* (Iwaya), premodern war tales and warrior legends did not 'inhibit' but guided the concept of youth literature towards the centre of the semiosphere. This development is completely overlooked if *Koganemaru* is taken as representative of Meiji youth literature. As authors widened their scope to younger children, the appropriateness of the language and modes of address became increasingly important. They needed to technically follow the stages of primary school education, and ideally be more inventive and engaging. A professional identity gave authors confidence to shape not only the language but also the character of the protagonists according to their own ideals, sometimes at variance with the government. The following paragraphs will focus on Iwaya Sazanami's ideals for young (by default male) citizens and how these are represented in his adaptations of popular warrior legends for children in the lower primary school.

5. Iwaya Sazanami on young citizens and the concept of youth literature

'The timidity of Japanese children is beyond comparison', Iwaya complained in 1899.[108] Iwaya, who had established himself as an author of youth literature during the preceding years under the wings of Hakubunkan, envisioned a Japan that would broaden its horizon and give up its 'passive disposition of an island nation'. According to Iwaya, the timidity of boys was caused by the curbing in schools and at home of their spirited nature. Instead, they should - at least at home - have more freedom and be provided with stories that stimulate their imagination.

The very first Japanese terms for youth literature are generally credited to Iwaya. In 1891, in the introductory remarks of *Koganemaru* he proposed to use the word *shōnen bungaku* 少年文学 as an equivalent to the German *Jugendschrift* or English 'juvenile literature'. Hakubunkan consolidated the term by using it as the title of the new book series that *Koganemaru* was the first installment of.[109] Iwaya also popularized the term *otogibanashi* お伽噺 to refer to fairytales or stories for young children. This term appeared for the first time in the table of contents of the magazine *Nippon no shōnen* (1891, 3:2), where it classifies a story by Iwaya's hand.[110] The prefix *otogi-* harks back to a body of popular tales circulating in oral, visual, and textual media since the Muromachi period (1336-1573) that came to be

[108] *Katei to jidō* (1898), reprinted in Kan, *Nihon jidō bungaku taikei 1*, 350–55.
[109] *Shōnen bungaku* is now an obsolete term. The term *jidō bungaku* 児童文学 has been employed instead since the 1960s. For a discussion of these and various other terms, see Koyama-Siebert, 'Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in Japan'..
[110] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:334.

referred to as *otogizōshi* 御伽草子 in the eighteenth century. Children were among the audience of such books, but not exclusively. According to Namekawa Michio in *Nihon jidōbungaku daijiten*, the use of the prefix *otogi-* to refer to texts written specifically for children was a modern appropriation of the term, and the combination with *hanashi* (story) a Meiji period invention.[111] However, *Hiyoshimaru tanjōki* 日吉丸誕生記 (1867), a *kusazōshi* that I have discussed in chapter one, employs this term in the preface, where it clearly already refers to a story for children.[112] Iwaya's interest in this type of premodern material (as voiced in the preface of his *Momotarō*) hypothetically also led to opportunities to encounter such terms as *otogibanashi*, maybe even in this particular work on Hiyoshimaru. It is however also quite possible that the term was less uncommon in oral communication.

Iwaya based his ideas about *otogibanashi* initially on Western fairy tales. The standard biographies of Iwaya tell of his encounter with a collection of *Märchen* by Franz Otto Spamer (1820-1886), sent by his brother who studied in Germany. Fairy-tale-like as the 'chance encounter' might sound, Iwaya in his youth also read translations of Arabian Nights, Aesop's Fables, and works by Jules Verne.[113] As a teenager, Iwaya was a student at the German school in Tokyo (Doitsugaku kyōkai gakkō, established in 1883), that would prepare him for a career in medicine, in the footsteps of his father. However, he rather used the knowledge gained of foreign languages to broaden his horizon in literature. According to his diaries, he was an avid reader of both Western and Japanese literature and frequented the theater where traditional plays such as *Chūshingura* 忠臣蔵 ('The Treasury of Loyal Retainers') and *Hashi Benkei* 橋弁慶 ('Benkei on the Bridge') were on the program.[114] He was a member of the literary coterie Ken'yūsha, and well-connected in Meiji intellectual circles.

Iwaya was not only inspired by the contents and structure of fairy tales but also discovered in German *Märchen* a remedy to the dismal state in which he considered Japan's youth and the nation to be. In the essay *Meruhen ni tsuite* メルヘンに就いて ('About Märchen', 1898), Iwaya reacted to a critical article written by poet and scholar of Japanese literature Takeshima Hagoromo 武島羽衣 (1872-1967), who considered Iwaya's stories insufficiently didactic and full of 'bizarre ideas'.[115] Could Iwaya not just devote himself to

[111] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, 2:334.
[112] The author of *Hiyoshimaru tanjōki* states that he described for children (*kodomogata ni* 幼童衆に) the old battles in the vein of an old woman's *otogibanashi* (*otogibanashi no rōbashin* お伽噺の老婆心).
[113] Katō, 'Kanotō Nichiroku Ni Tsuite', 276.
[114] Katō, 'Kanotō Nichiroku Ni Tsuite'.
[115] Kan, *Nihon jidō bungaku taikei 1*, 344–46.

the themes of patriotism and loyalty? Iwaya answered that it is not his role to impart *chūkun aikoku* and *kokkateki kannen* 国家的観念 ('a sense of nation').[116] There was already a suitable form of literature that conveys these notions, namely textbooks. Even though Iwaya admitted that ethics such as *chūkō jingi* 忠孝仁義 ('loyalty and filial piety, humanity and justice') sometimes play a role in his stories, his main aim was to emulate the essence of *Märchen*, which exists in the *absence* of symbolism or a clear didactic message.

Iwaya believed that lecturing children about what they must or must not do, does more harm than good. In the essay *Katei to jidō* 家庭と児童 ('The Family and the Child', 1899) Iwaya observed that too many families ('if they can be called a family') raise children in old-fashioned ways.[117] He complained that Japanese children are cowardly and unspontaneous, which is 'unchildlike' (*jidōrashikunai* 児童らしくない) and will result in twisted, timid adults. Forbidding rowdy play will turn a boy into a 'weak, feminine person' (*kayowai memeshii ningen* かよわい女々しい人間). If forced to listen to sentimental stories children will become nervous, tearful adults, not capable of doing anything great. Rather than rules and reproaches, Iwaya argued, one should give children more freedom and stimulate their imagination through stories.

Iwaya aimed to create more *wanpaku* 腕白 or 'spirited' dispositions. From a negative viewpoint, the word *wanpaku-mono* 腕白者 might refer to a 'brat'. However, like the 'spirited' or 'strong-willed' children discussed in present-day parenting manuals, for Iwaya the concept not only involved impulsivity and disobedience but also great potential.[118] In the essay *Meruhen ni tsuite* he stated: 'whereas fathers and older brothers want children to be obedient, I try to make them *wanpaku*, and whereas schools want to make them smart, I turn them into fools (*baka* 馬鹿)'.[119] By offering Japanese children imaginations that stress the martial (*shōbu* 尚武) and adventurous (*bōken* 冒険), Iwaya wanted to get rid of the 'islanders' disposition' (*shimajin konjō* 島人根性) and create 'boys of a seafaring nation' (*kaikoku shōnen* 海国少年). Children's stories did not have to be adventures on a grand scale, but of a nature that matches the worldview of young children and may to such critics as Takeshima Hagoromo seem like 'bizarre nonsense'. In *Katei to jidō*, Iwaya made a connection between

[116] These are the only concrete concepts that specify 'didactic' in this essay, even though *kyōkunteki* has a broader meaning.
[117] Kan, *Nihon jidō bungaku taikei 1*, 351.
[118] As with the English 'spirited child', *wanpaku-mono* might also be read as a euphemism. Akutagawa Ryūnosuke seems to satirize Iwaya's ideals in his parody of *Momotarō* (1924): The old couple that raises Momotarō tries to get rid of this insufferable *wanpaku-mono* by giving him immediately everything he needs for his quest of conquering demon island.
[119] Kan, *Nihon jidō bungaku taikei 1*, 345–46.

Columbus' 'discovery' of America and the 'imaginations' (*kūsō* 空想) he hypothetically enjoyed as a young child, such as flying in the air or walking on water. The example must show that the imagination of Western children has been stimulated in the right way, which develops into a willingness to embark on an adventure in the real world when they are adults. Iwaya discovered in literary texts from the West (such as fairy tales) the root of the great deeds and expansionism of Western men, a root that should be planted in Japan as well.

Iwaya continued to make the same points after a two-year sojourn in Berlin (between 1900 and 1902), although fused with new vocabulary and a grander view of the relationship between *otogibanashi* and nation. In *Shōnenbungaku ni tsuite* 少年文学に就て ('About Youth Literature', 1904), he argues that the national character of a given nation is reflected in its *otogibanashi*. In other words, the strengths and weaknesses of a nation depend on the nature of the *otogibanashi* told to the nation's children.[120] He argues that in case of rewriting, retelling or inventing *otogibanashi*, one should appropriate the stories to current times in such a way that they offer 'indirect teachings' (*kansetsu kyōkun* 間接教訓). In 1915, Iwaya published *Momotarō-shugi no kyōiku* 桃太郎主義の教育 ('Education according to the Momotarō-principle'), a work from which he drew freely during his public storytelling and lectures in Japan and its colonies from 1916 onwards. The concept of *Momotarō-shugi* clearly originates in what Iwaya termed *wanpaku-shugi* 腕白主義 ('the principle of *wanpaku*') seventeen years earlier in *Märchen ni tsuite*. Iwaya's initial retelling of *Momotarō* (1894)[121] is however only the first of forty-eight volumes (next to many *otogibanashi* for *Shōnen sekai*) in which Iwaya would develop his idea of 'teaching indirectly' martiality, adventurousness and the positive side of *wanpaku-mono*.

6. Spirited boys in Iwaya's *Nippon mukashibanashi* and *Nippon otogibanashi*

Between 1894 and 1899, at the request of Hakubunkan, Iwaya wrote two book series aimed at primary-school aged children: *Nippon mukashibanashi* and *Nippon otogibanashi*, each consisting of twenty-four volumes. Both titles can be translated as 'Japanese folktales' or 'Japanese fairy tales'. *Nippon mukashibanashi* started out as a Japanese counterpart to Western

[120] Kuwabara, *Nihon Jidō Bungaku Taikei 1: Iwaya Sazanami-Shū*, 356–59.
[121] See Henry, 'Japanese Children's Literature as Allegory of Empire'.

fairy tales. The twenty-third volume marks a pivotal moment in the series as it represents a 'fairy tale' about a historical figure, namely, Yoshitsune. *Nippon otogibanashi* expands on this idea and takes up legends and biographies of famous historical generals whose (boyhood) adventures are rewritten through the lens of Iwaya's ideals. The series was published in the same period as Ōwada's *Nippon rekishitan*, but targeted children in the lower primary school. Different from the authors who wrote for a teenage audience, Iwaya purposely selected the fantastic episodes seen in *kusazōshi* and other popular premodern print, in line with his interpretation of *Märchen*.

According to Katsuo Kin'ya's analysis of *Nippon otogibanashi*, the main characteristics of this series is the nationalistic agenda and moralistic subtext.[122] However, as discussed above, Iwaya received complaints from contemporaries about a scandalous 'lack' of *chūkun aikoku* in his texts and formulated his visions rather in opposition to nationalism. Although the favourable representations of martial heroes in *Nippon otogibanashi* are clearly written in support of militarism, 'moralistic' and *chūkun aikoku* cannot be taken as self-evident representations of shared ideals in the Meiji period. I will discuss how Iwaya reworked and developed his ideal of *wanpaku* in his *Ushiwakamaru* (1896) and *Hiyoshimaru* (1898), and how he introduced the codes of youth literature in the mechanisms of text generation.

6.1 The strong-willed, brave boy Ushiwakamaru

Ushiwakamaru, the twenty-third volume of *Nippon mukashibanashi*, focuses on three famous episodes from Yoshitsune's youth: 1) the perilous journey to the capital with his mother and brothers after his father Minamoto Yoshitomo (1123-1160) had been killed by the Heike. 2) Ushiwakamaru's battle with mythical *tengu* near Kurama temple, and 3) the battle with the warrior monk Musashibō Benkei on Gojō bridge in Kyoto. The illustrations by Toyohara Chikanobu 豊原周延 (1838-1912) reflect the premodern iconographical tradition that accompanied these episodes. In an additional episode (inspired by other war tales) Yoshitsune's older half-brother Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199) tests his endurance with a *yugishō* 湯起請 or 'hot water test'. This addition results in a fairy-tale-like pattern of three challenges that lead to Yoshitsune's appointment as a general and the defeat of the Heike.

[122] Katsuo, *Reimeiki no rekishi jidō bungaku*, 238–50. Katsuo cites for example from two volumes on the Sino-Japanese War, in which Iwaya stresses Japan's martial prowess and superiority over China. In the last paragraphs of *Hiyoshimaru*, Iwaya laments the fact that Hideyoshi failed to conquer Korea.

Ushiwakamaru closes with a reference to Yoshitsune's martial exploits, and a final illustration of warriors leaving for battle (fig. 3.12).

Ushiwakamaru might be characterized both by what remains and what is omitted from the early modern cycle of Yoshitsune legends. Iwaya made use of plots circulating in the popular tradition and rewrote them according to the codes of the modern genre of youth literature. Conspicuous are the absence of Yoshitsune's encounters with beautiful women, the graphic violence not uncommon to *kusazōshi*, and Yoshitsune's tragic downfall. Iwaya was criticized for introducing a 'mistress' in *Koganemaru*.[123] Apparently, he took note that sexuality does not belong in the genre of children's literature. His rewritings of warrior legends strictly follow the tendency of homosociality also seen in historical fiction and hero-novels for teenage and adult men.[124] Violence is kept to a minimum in *Ushiwakamaru*, compared to the bloody scenes in seventeenth century *musha-ehon* but also the copperplate-printed *kusazōshi* of the 1880s. Martial encounters are instead enlivened by onomatopoeia and dialogue that convey the atmosphere and the disposition of the protagonist. The legends of Yoshitsune's downfall are absent in *Ushiwakamaru*. As mentioned before, the war tale *Gikeiki* chronicles Yoshitsune's flight to Hiraizumi and ends with his ritual suicide. The *hōgan biiki* sentiment invoked by the legends surrounding Yoshitsune's flight is reflected in his increasingly passive disposition.

Fig. 3.12 Toyohara Chikanobu, in *Nippon mukashibanashi* vol. 23, *Ushiwakamaru*, 1896. Private collection

[123] Piel, 'Loyal Dogs and Meiji Boys', 214. This does however not seem to be a problem in *Katei kyōiku rekishi tokuhon* (Katsuo, *Reimeiki no rekishi jidō bungaku*, 83.) and Ōwada's *Kurō hangan*, in which Shizuka is introduced as Yoshitsune's *mekake* 妾 (mistress).
[124] Groot, *The Historical Novel*, 79; Karlin, 'Narratives of Heroism in Meiji Japan'.

The semantic field of the underdog or fugitive might however be said to play an inversed role in *Ushiwakamaru*. In the canonical noh play *Ataka* the 'passive' adult Yoshitsune is conventionally played by a child-actor, signifying his innocence and dependence on his retainers. On the other hand, *kusazōshi* dealt with these fugitive years by presenting every hurdle as a thrilling challenge that is successfully overcome by Yoshitsune and his loyal retainers. Iwaya however created a third option that incorporates both sentiments. In the first pages Ushiwakamaru is depicted as a fatherless infant crying pitifully in his mother's arms while she ('a weak-legged woman') trudges through the snow. Ushiwakamaru remains a child or junior, repeatedly perceived of by others as weaker, until he proves the opposite. The child Yoshitsune (Ushiwakamaru) thus starts his life as a fugitive, but 'overcomes' the initial setback by assertively taking his fate in his own hands.

The three challenges in *Ushiwakamaru* can be understood as 'biographical' anecdotes about Yoshitsune that idealize his character as a boy. The first display of Ushiwakamaru's character occurs during the encounter with the *tengu*:

> [Ushiwaka] read sutras, practiced *tenarai* and did his best on his studies, but as he was a naturally competitive and strong-willed child, when … [he heard about his ancestry] he passionately wished to become a splendid general and punish the Heike. … Waiting for the time when people would be asleep, he quietly escaped the temple, went to a place called Sōjo Valley and practiced sword fighting, battling the trees and rocks with the wooden sword that he brought with him.
>
> A certain night, when Ushiwaka as usual went to Sōjō valley and wielded his wooden sword, he suddenly heard a sound as if trees were snapping in a storm, upon which right in front of him there appeared the three-metre high, big-eyed and large-nosed terrible Ō'nyūdō. Ushiwaka was strong of heart and not one to give an inch (*biku to mo shimasen* びくともしません), whoever shows up. Immediately preparing his wooden sword, he asked: 'What are you?' Ō'nyūdō laughed loudly. 'I am the great *tengu* who's been living in this valley for ages.'. [125]

Ushiwakamaru willingly leaves the safety of the temple and does not run away when an unknown creature appears. Although Ushiwakamaru is a model student by daytime, he is

[125] Iwaya, *Ushiwakamaru*, 9–11.

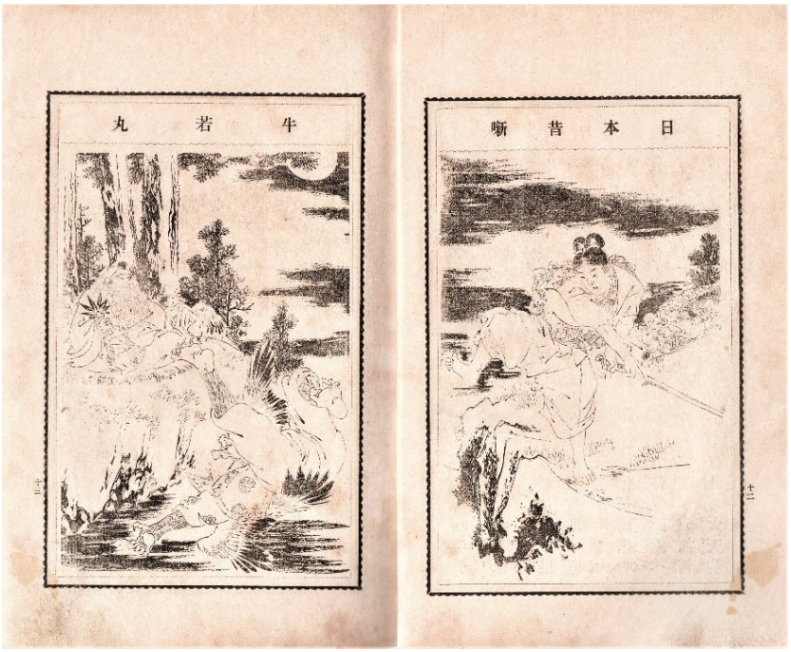

Fig. 3.13 Toyohara Chikanobu, in *Nippon mukashibanashi* vol. 23, *Ushiwakamaru*, 1896. Private collection

also described as a 'strong-willed child' (*ki no tsuyoi ko* 気の強い児), a characteristic of *wanpaku-mono* that reveals itself in his determination to become a skilled warrior. The wooden sword makes a connection to play-acting or martial arts, in which the reader himself might engage. Iwaya's version differs from Takahashi's interpretation in that he focuses on the boy's courage and the scary *tengu* rather than austerities. This episode is also singled out for an illustration (fig. 3.13), based on the early modern iconography. Both the big *tengu* and the smaller bird-like *tengu,* that Ushiwakamaru practiced with, are present.

The next scene, the fight on Gojō bridge, is a consequence of Ushiwakamaru's determination to make Benkei his helper in the quest against the Heike. Benkei at first takes it easy because his opponent is 'just a child'. This is one of the moments in which the reader is reminded of Ushiwakamaru's young age and small stature. Benkei is however beaten by his agile opponent, who then (rather childlike) sits on Benkei's back and yells 'do you surrender?' No less than four images based on the (three) different premodern iconographies of this scene stress that this is episode is the absolute highlight of the narrative: the cover of the first edition (fig. 3.14) and a monochrome illustration shows Ushiwakamaru blowing his flute, while two other illustrations show

Fig. 3.14 Toyohara Chikanobu, cover image of *Nippon mukashibanashi* vol. 23, *Ushiwakamaru*, 1896. Private collection

the battle itself and Benkei's surrender or declaration of loyalty. The episode ends with the revelation of Ushiwakamaru's identity and implies that had Benkei known the identity of the boy, he would not have raised his hand. There is thus actually no need for Ushiwakamaru to prove his superiority by fighting. In later volumes, Iwaya would present his protagonists as runaways and rejected sons who have no other choice but to fight for a (higher) place in society (as is the case for Hiyoshimaru). The last confirmation of Ushiwakamaru's strong character comes in the form of the hot water test in which he has to put his hands in boiling water, that shows his endurance to pain. The meeting is moreover a display of brotherly affection, even though according to 'adult versions' (notably *Gikeiki*), it was the misunderstanding between them that would lead to Yoshitsune's tragic downfall. Finally, Iwaya shortly describes that Yoritomo appointed Yoshitsune as a general, after which he launched a 'punitive expedition' against the Heike and brought it to a successful end.

The ending of *Ushiwakamaru* follows neither *Gikeiki* nor any other premodern pattern. *Kusazōshi* that chronicle Yoshitsune's life generally end on the positive note that Yoshitsune became the king of Ezo. This celebratory finale was partly inspired by the fact that these booklets were often given as New-Years' presents. In Iwaya's case, a more optimistic interpretation of Yoshitsune's adventures was inspired by the idea that sentimental stories are harmful for the young mind. Yet instead of introducing the well-known Ezo legend, Iwaya remarks that the rest of the story is for another time, while formulaically blaming 'a lack of paper'. Yoshitsune thus lives 'happily ever after' as a famous general, exchanging the vicissitudes of his adult life with the newly invented image of warriors leaving for battle.

6.2 Hiyoshimaru, the epitome of *wanpaku*

Like *Ushiwakamaru, Hiyoshimaru* concentrates on episodes from the protagonists' youth and exemplifies how Toyotomi Hideyoshi rose in the world from farmer's son to powerful member of the samurai. As discussed earlier, Hideyoshi in the Meiji educational context was not only praised as the pacifier of Japan, but also represented the concept of *risshin shusse*. *Hiyoshimaru* shows similarities to American nineteenth century children's books about great inventors and presidents, in which the moral character of the protagonist tends to become

obvious through 'anecdotal' adventures (myths) from childhood.[126] The moral example is more important than the facts.

Textbooks jumped from Hideyoshi's humble beginnings to his service to Oda Nobunaga in young adulthood, and his military exploits. Takahashi Taika and Yoda Gakkai paid attention to his early years but avoided the premodern legends so popular in *kusazōshi* and illustrated adaptations of *Taikōki*. Iwaya on the other hand introduces Hiyoshimaru's auspicious birth, his outcaste life in the village, and his troublemaking as a temple boy. These episodes can be traced back in print to the earlier discussed *Ehon Taikōki* ('The Illustrated Chronicles of the Regent', 1797-1802), *Ehon Toyotomi kunkōki* ('The Illustrated Chronicles of Toyotomi's Exploits', 1857-1884), the popular *jitsuroku* 実録 ('real accounts') of historical figures, and woodblock or copperplate printed *kusazōshi*. A little over half of the narrative deals with Hiyoshimaru's life up till the age of fifteen. The latter part describes his resourcefulness and devotion while serving Oda Nobunaga. Only in the last pages he takes the name Hideyoshi and becomes 'like a general' (*shōgun-rashiku narimashita* 将軍らしくなりました), which still hints at immaturity.[127]

Similar to *Ushiwakamaru*, the character of the protagonist is exhibited through several 'anecdotal' episodes. Hiyoshimaru already knows from a young age that he wants to become a great general, engages in *ikusa gokko* 戦ごっこ ('playfighting' or 'war play') and apprentices himself to several samurai of increasing status. Hiyoshimaru is described as a 'wild' child (*ki no arai ko* 気の荒い児), a mischief-maker (*itazura-mono* いたずら者), and someone who constantly resorts to violent (*ranbō*) behavior. Impetuous, unruly boys already appear in a positive light in *Nippon mukashibanashi*, for example Momotarō, the god Susano-o, Kintarō, and Lazy Tarō. Momotarō is an assertive, almost haughty teenage boy. Susano-o is called a *wanpaku* little boy, but 'certainly not a bad *kami*'.[128] Kintarō plays sumo with animals and appoints himself their leader or *gaki taishō* 餓鬼大将.[129] Kintarō's sumo-wrestling episode is not invented by Iwaya but originates in premodern representations. Iwaya however transfers sumo and play-fighting also to other representations of 'historical' warrior boys and more importantly, finds value in this behaviour in the modern context, whereas ethics textbooks do certainly not. While the biographies of Hideyoshi in magazines

[126] Hintz, 'Heroes of the Laboratory and the Workshop'.
[127] Iwaya, *Hiyoshimaru*, 1898, 46.
[128] Iwaya, *Nippon Mukashibanashi*, 204.
[129] Iwaya, 301.

had already linked war play to a martial disposition and future leadership, Iwaya's *ikusa gokko* is a representation of the boy protagonists' unrestrained (by parents and the school) boisterous nature.

One of the most engaging displays of Hiyoshimaru's character takes place during his stay at the temple.

> … one day, when Hiyoshimaru was twelve years old, he prepared offerings for the main Amida [Buddha] statue, and yelled: 'Hey, Amida, eat this food!' But how can an Amida statue made of gold eat any dishes?
> As the statue sat motionlessly, Hiyoshimaru became irritated and said: 'You lazy bum, why don't you eat the food I prepared for you? You're disrespectful!'
> He quickly fetched himself a stick and busted the head of the honourable Amida.
> 'This is fun! This is fun!' Hiyoshimaru cried, and he continued to wield the stick till the statue was shattered.. [130]

The comical scene shows not only Hiyoshimaru's unruliness, but also his 'childlike' original thinking and defiance of adult authority. The Buddhist temple makes repeated appearance in *Nippon otogibanashi* and might be read as a metaphor for the primary school, in which according to Iwaya children are only raised to be obedient and diligent.

Hiyoshimaru is kicked out of the temple, starts roaming, and on the way challenges a group of samurai that pass him while he is sleeping on Yahagi bridge in Okazaki. As discussed in chapter one, this episode originates in *Ehon Taikōki* and during the second half of the nineteenth century rapidly developed into an iconic scene associated with the young Hideyoshi. The appearance of this new iconography was connected to representations of Ushiwakamaru on Gojō bridge. This process of text generation involving 'Gojō bridge' and 'Yahagi bridge' stayed within the sphere of premodern text production. However, with the influx of new codes both episodes came to play a role in 'bridging' the rift that opened between known and new mechanisms of text generation. In Iwaya's interpretation, both 'bridges' represent a moment of victory for the young protagonist on his path towards a self-determined life. The Yahagi bridge scene appears both in an illustration and on the cover

[130] Iwaya, *Hiyoshimaru*, 1898, 8–9.

(fig. 3.15) of *Hiyoshimaru*. Like the cover of the copperplate *kusazōshi Ehon Taikōki* (1888) (see fig. 1.22) the image stresses how Hiyoshimaru challenges the adult samurai with a fierce look. Because of his 'strong character', the samurai allow Hiyoshimaru to come along. Soon however, the boy realises that this rabble will not help him on his way to become a great general. He returns to the village and is made an apprentice by his family. This also ends badly upon which the village and his parents give up on the boy.

Hiyoshimaru's unruly behavior is nowhere framed as a 'mistake' that he must overcome or for which punishment is the right reaction. Adult rejection of children's 'imaginative' actions is a repeated pattern in *Nippon otogibanashi* and causes young protagonists to take their fate in their own hands. For example, in *Kawanakajima* 川中島 (volume 10) the boy Katsuchiyo 勝千代 (Takeda Shingen 武田信玄, 1521-1573) successfully kills a tanuki who disguised itself as Katsuchiyo's wooden horse. 'Even though Katsuchiyo was an admirable boy', the author observes, 'his father was rough and stupid'.[131] The eleven-year-old Katsuchiyo leaves the home and becomes a warrior. The misunderstanding is on the side of the father who represents the controlling and moralistic parenting that Iwaya attacks in his essays. Iwaya's protagonists thus seem to reject the premodern *ie* (household) system, but do not have a modern *katei* (family) to support them either. They find companions and mentors on their way.

Fig. 15 Komine Tai'u, cover image of *Nippon otogibanashi* vol. 18, *Hiyoshimaru*, 1898. Private collection

There are two representations of understanding adults in *Hiyoshimaru*, consisting of an old lady and Oda Nobunaga. A lonesome old lady living on the outskirts of the village feeds Hiyoshimaru. The boy promises: 'Grandma, you are so very nice. When I rule the world, I will multiply this rice grain ten thousand times and give it back to you'.[132]

[131] Iwaya, *Hiyoshimaru*, 1897, 10.
[132] Iwaya, *Hiyoshimaru*, 1898, 25.

Hiyoshimaru feels inclined to show filiality to this surrogate grandmother, which proves that supporting *wanpaku* boys is not a waste of time. Hiyoshimaru becomes less impulsive but even more determined as he grows up. As an older teenager, he comes to understand that the study of war strategy is important and chooses to be loyal to the lord who recognizes his talents, Oda Nobunaga. He even practices self-control when belittled by Nobunaga's retainers, who are jealous of the favors that Nobunaga bestows upon the young man. He promises to himself he will turn the bullies into his own retainers in due time. An important trait of *wanpaku-mono* is thus their unruliness and their persistence in doing things their own way, including choosing someone more 'worthy' of their loyalty. As proven by history, this disposition brought Hiyoshimaru to the top echelons of a martially minded national community.

Conclusion

This chapter has proposed to consider the appropriation of Edo period material in children's literature in the 1890s as an essential process of transformation. In Juri Lotman's spatial model of culture, or semiosphere, texts and codes enter through the periphery, or peripheries of sub-systems where new texts are generated in a process Lotman termed 'creative memory'. War tales and warrior legends provided the material through which the codes of youth literature from the West could be explored and take a local shape. The success of the semiosis between Edo period texts circulating in cultural memory and the codes of nineteenth century youth literature from the West lies in the potential of the new text as a national narrative and model of citizenship.

Initially, Japanese authors in the new commercial realm of youth literature expanded upon the ideal of a diligent, filial, rather passive citizen stipulated in The Imperial Rescript on Education and disseminated in primary schools. They admonished the young (male) readers of comparatively privileged families to be determined and make a success of their life. The (imminent) First Sino-Japanese War opened a window to imagining Japan as a powerful military nation, and its young citizens as its seeds. Heroes from the past were remolded and lined up (literally serialized) to satisfy patriotic enthusiasm. Historical fiction is 'born with a vested interest in creating a nation's history in order to create a common

identity'.[133] Historical fiction for children often plays a supplementary role to history textbooks, that represent the 'collective autobiography' of the nation.[134] Yet the genre can also constitute variants to curriculum and dominant narratives of citizenship.[135] As O'Sullivan observes, youth literature thus not only aimed to socialize children but had 'a key function (…) also in the maintenance of selfhood for the adults who produce, disseminate, and co-read the texts'.[136]

Initially, biographies of historical heroes for youths were partial adaptations of war tales and historical biographies aimed at adults, and being explicitly classified as youth literature, can be considered a form of re-appreciation of war tales that fits in modern categories of literature that precedes the classification of war tales as 'epic' or 'classical literature'. Authors like Takahashi discovered the exemplary nature of the youth of Japanese martial heroes and tried to appeal to the imagination and feelings of children. The duties of women were mainly addressed through the present rather than the past. Yet the realm of youth literature also offered opportunities for dramatization of premodern legends about female loyalty, sacrifice, and courage. The insight that the effectivity and the existence of youth literature as a legitimate modern genre also depended on language, led Iwaya Sazanami to experiment with *genbun itchi* and apply this also to his historical protagonists. Like in history education, historical biographies and other narratives focused on a new generation of boys and are most concerned with male 'selfhood'.

Adaptations of warrior legends that accumulated during the Edo period in such genres as *kusazōshi* found common ground in fairy tales and literature for young children. Iwaya's *otogibanashi* on historical generals were a result of semiosis between texts and codes originating in Edo period popular culture (plays, prints and books), and foreign texts and codes of Western youth literature, and specifically fairy tales. Iwaya reframed and highlighted images and episodes that fitted into his understanding of this new genre and its audience. The dynamics of this semiosis naturally led to a shift 'in the elements considered significant and insignificant within the text'.[137] The conventions of *otogibanashi* caused part of the habitual episodes in *kusazōshi* to be eliminated, for example those related to sexuality.

[133] Skyggebjerg, 'God, King and Country', 30.
[134] Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', 101.
[135] Parlevliet, 'Bring up the Children', 475.
[136] O'Sullivan, 'Imagology Meets Children's Literature', 6.
[137] Lotman, 'Memory in a Culturological Perspective', 136.

Other elements were carried over yet changed appearance, such as the semantic field of the underdog/child in Yoshitsune legend. Whereas in *Gikeiki*, Yoshitsune challenged Benkei after his *genpuku*, and textbooks did not make Ushiwakamaru's age explicit, Iwaya repeatedly identified him as a child.

The reactions of Iwaya's young protagonists to their social surroundings and a range of challenges reveal a *wanpaku* or 'spirited' disposition. This concept did not hatch simply from (abstract) ideological principles, but crystallized in the process of creative memory, here reflected in a concrete succession of literary experiments. Iwaya used this (developing) 'code' to re-assess a number of popular warrior legends, while also creating a basis for his expert opinion on youth literature. *Wanpaku* was thus a code appearing from, and instrumental in, the phasing out of structures of premodern text generation and the shaping of the new semiosphere of Meiji youth literature. This was an urgent project in the 1890s, as the cohesion of culture depended both on the availability of 'active' premodern texts and the adequateness of the mechanisms of text generation.

Chapter 4

Childlike warriors: Taishō picture magazines and *rekishi dōwa*

Iwaya's *Nippon otogibanashi* and Ōwada's *Nippon rekishitan* were not only reprinted continuously in the late Meiji period, but these series also formed a blueprint for similar books aimed at primary school-aged children, especially in the years following the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Children were to share in the newfound martial confidence through an early exposure to the heroes of the past. Youth literature had become a more or less established genre, leading to diversification and new 'bifurcation points'.[138] In the first decade of the twentieth century, not only girls became a new target audience of youth magazines, but also pre-literate children started to be addressed with picture magazines and modern picturebooks, with Hakubunkan still dominating the market. Moreover, during the Taishō period, a new literary movement, mainly associated with the magazine *Akai tori* 赤い鳥 ('Red Bird', 1918-1936), appeared that defined its style and purpose in opposition to Meiji period youth literature. It claimed superior sensitivity to the 'child's nature' and aimed for artistic quality. Whether growing out of a commitment to raising happy and confident young citizens, or a critique on existing understandings of the child and children's literature, both literatures paid close attention to the different nature of children, or 'childlikeness'. In contrast to the literature for the 'young citizen' in the 1890s, that as an ideal encompassed all children of Japanese nationality (although in reality mainly educated boys), the child as 'developing reader' became a focal element of middle-class identities.

The most successful picture magazine in the 1910s was Hakubunkan's *Yōnen gahō* 幼年画報 ('Children's Illustrated', 1906-1935), that represented the work of various artists, but whose text and editorial choices were highly influenced by Iwaya Sazanami. This magazine (next to other themes) introduced a visually oriented pantheon of Japanese warriors based on iconographies carried over from *kusazōshi* and other premodern popular print. Such

[138] Nikolajeva, 'Children's Literature as a Cultural Code'. As discussed in chapter three, Nikolajeva borrows Lotman's term 'bifurcation point' to refer to works of children's literature that give new direction to the genre. I identified Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru* or Ogawa Mimei's *Akai fune* 赤い船 (The Red Ship, 1910) as such works in the Japanese context.

iconographic images in picturebooks have hardly been addressed in theories on illustration and adaptation based on Western (children's) literature. I will ask how the iconographies of Yoshitsune, and other warriors changed form based on new notions of the child, and how they (visually) construct concepts of national history, family, and gendered play.

In this same decennium a younger generation of authors and poets like Suzuki Miekichi 鈴木三重吉 (1882-1936), Ogawa Mimei 小川未明 (1882-1961), and Kitahara Hakushū 北原白秋 (1885-1942) appeared on the stage, who defined their literature in opposition to the Meiji period 'moralistic' youth literature and (texts in the vein of) Iwaya's *otogibanashi*. This literature has a high status in the canon of Japanese youth literature and is interpreted as a literary reflection of the 'Taishō democracy'.[139] The 'child's mind' or *dōshin* 童心, associated with innocence, creativity, and honesty, was a central concept in this movement. The progressive children's magazines *Akai tori* is considered its flag-bearer, but there were various other magazines based on similar ideals, such as *Kin no hoshi* 金の星 ('Gold Star', 1919-1929). Stories about the Genpei War appear in both magazines. These narratives are violent and dramatic, which seemingly contradicts the ideal of *dōshin* and progressive children's literature as it is generally described in the secondary literature. However, as I will argue, 'childlikeness' in this context still functions as an ideal, namely as a sublimation of the warrior spirit of the past.

Following an overview of concepts of childhood and middle class identity in the early twentieth century, I will discuss the visual representation of historical generals in the magazines *Yōnen gahō* and occasionally refer to the rival picture magazine *Yōnen no tomo* 幼年之友 ('The Child's Companion', 1909-1933?) published by Jitsugyō no Nihonsha 実業之日本社. I will discuss how iconographies related to Yoshitsune and other warriors are re-interpreted through a combination of image, text and layout, and what notion of the child (and its family) and the historical or cultural nation they reflect. Last, I will analyse the representation of warrior legends and the meaning of 'childlikeness' in so-called *rekishi dōwa* 歴史童話 ('historical children's tales') in *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi*.

[139] For example, the second part of the two-volume pocketbook *Nihon jidōbungaku meisakushū* 日本児童文学名作集 ('Anthology of famous works of Japanese youth literature', 1994) consists almost entirely of stories taken from *Akai tori* (and features no adaptations from warrior legends, nor a single female author).

1. Concepts of childhood and the middle class in the early twentieth century

Over the course of the Meiji and Taishō period, the main responsibility for children shifted from the household head (and other household members) to the mother. Her role was defined by her devotion to her children, may it be the cultivation of their physical, moral, and psychological development, their education, or the safeguarding of their innocence. Mark Jones observes that the child's difference from the adult was already acknowledged in the late Meiji period as a scientific fact, before the appearance of 'Romantic' concepts of the child.[140] Maternal enlightenment was measured by the degree of 'parental action' taken to nourish the specific needs of the child. Women were to create a wholesome family, which took an important place in imaginations of the state. The late Meiji government and ideologues invoked the concept of *katei* 家庭 (family) and the *kazoku kokka* 家族国家 or 'family state': not only were national subjects supposed to be raised in the sphere of the nuclear family, its constellation mirrored that of the nation-state.[141] In the late Meiji period, family was often discussed in terms of love and loyalty, as one also had to feel towards the nation. As shown in chapter two (section 5.3), these ideals were also represented in primary school textbooks, such as the 1910 government ethics textbook that ascribes a gentle and modest disposition to girls, thereby aiming to naturalize the idea that 'girls take care of the family at home, where they strive for peace and harmony, which is ultimately the place where the good customs of the country are cultivated'.[142]

It must however be noted that while the above ideals had strong appeal to the middle- and upper class, in other parts of society it took more time to replace children's (domestic) work with a full elementary education. Nor did living circumstances favour the materialization of women who fully devote their time to the socialization and education of their children. Stephen Galan considers the Meiji government's goal of making all children 'schoolchildren' to have been attained only in the 1920s or even 1930s.[143] Kathleen Uno observes that in all probability, for the late Meiji period lower classes 'family survival rather than family improvement was foremost in the minds of the children's parents'.[144] She is here referring more specifically to parents who sent their children to Futaba Yōchien, a privately

[140] Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 156.
[141] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 187–89.
[142] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 3*, 121.
[143] Galan, 'Home vs. School vs. Work', 279–80.
[144] Uno, *Passages to Modernity*, 69.

run Tokyo-based kindergarten and day-care centre for children from the lower class. This welfare initiative reflected the ideals of the middle class, centring on the improvement of the moral and physical well-being of these young children and their families. The children were consequently enrolled in primary school, yet many only stayed for a couple of years. It was also not possible for mothers working in factories or doing piece work at home to adhere to the ideal of the *ryōsai kenbo*.

In the early twentieth century, children were increasingly analysed by scientists and the state, and a public discourse on children enfolded in the print media. Jones argues that the state and the middle class produced several competing notions of the ideal child, which he groups under the terms *shōkokumin* 少国民 ('little citizen'), *yūtōsei* 優等生 ('superior student'), and *kodomorashii kodomo* 子供らしい子供 ('childlike child'). As discussed in the previous chapter, the concept of the child as a young citizen appeared in the 1890s and was characterised by a focus on the moral education of the child in the school *and* in the family.[145] In the early twentieth century, raising a 'little citizen' came to be conceptualized as a patriotic act, by a 'reform-minded' elite that discussed and spread the notion of the modern *katei* through print media. The notion of the 'little citizen' according to Jones stressed social stability rather than upward mobility: moral fibre would protect children against the corruption of a competitive society.[146] The 'little citizen' was a product of the intense nationalism appearing in the 1890s but was in the early twentieth century also sustained as a reaction against the upward mobility of urban families who used the education system to climb the social ladder. The notion of the 'superior student' or *yūtōsei* connected to the concept of *risshin shusse*, which in the early twentieth century was placed in the context of a supportive family managed by a mother who assertively seeks and supports the best education for her children. This Taishō period ideal was part of a transformation in thinking about membership of the middle-class as a possibility, rather than a fixed state.[147] The word *yūtōsei* generally referred to elementary school children revered for their top grades.

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[145] Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 51–52. I have purposely used the term 'young citizen' rather than 'little citizen' in the previous chapter and will continue to do so where not specifically referring to the 'competing ideal' formulated by Jones. As discussed in section 3.2, the term *shōkokumin* originates with the magazine *Shōkokumin*. This was not yet a general term in the 1890s. In Hakubunkan's (rival) publications of the 1890s, the young reader is addressed as *yōnen* or *shōnen*. Moreover, the concept of the child as a 'young citizen' (in all its variants) is ingrained to the modern paradigm of national education and not limited to particularly nationalistic currents or groups.

[146] Jones, 148–49.

[147] Jones, 174.

This *yūtōsei* can in fact be found in late Meiji period representations of Ushiwakamaru legends for children. Most late Meiji texts about Yoshitsune reflect the tendency of earlier works and preached loyalty, brotherly affection, and the nobility of death in battle, or follow in the footsteps of Iwaya's *otogibanashi*.[148] The authors generally stress that Ushiwakamaru was smart and a good student, representing the ideal of *bunbu ryōdō* 文武両道 ('accomplishment in both the literary and military arts'). However, Ushiwakamaru was also used to represent the *yūtōsei* as a competing ideal. *Nippon otogibanashi: Ima Ushiwakamaru* 日本お伽噺今牛若丸 (1911) features a chubby Meiji period boy called 'Ima Ushiwakamaru' who is engrossed in the idea that he is Ushiwakamaru.[149] He meets the big *tengu* in his garden, who tells him Ushiwakamaru's strong points are his light weight, his sword-fighting skills, and his diligence in his studies. First, the *tengu* bestows upon the boy a 'light weight'. The latter rejoices, as this is more attractive than study. However, upon trying to walk the railing of a bridge in the vein of the Gojō bridge episode, he falls in the water. Nonetheless, he proudly introduces himself to the police as 'Meiji's Ushiwakamaru' and later proceeds to re-enact *hassō-tobi* by jumping the roofs of rail cars. After a painful fall and a scolding by the station master, he pleads with the big *tengu* to be taught sword-fighting, upon which the small *tengu* give him a beating. This makes Ima Ushiwakamaru finally realize he should give up his 'mischief' (*itazura* いたづら) and concentrate on his studies. This parable thus seems partial to the *yūtōsei* ideal and contradicts Iwaya's favourable representations of 'spirited' boys as well as the continued trend of hero-worship. Clearly, both Ima Ushiwakamaru's character and physique are unsatisfactory: according to the *yūtōsei* ideal, strengthening both would have a positive influence on academic performance.[150]

A different notion, defined by Jones as *kodomorashii kodomo* or 'childlike child', appeared in the 1910s and 1920s in the context of a middle-class turn towards leisure and aesthetic pursuits.[151] The child was to be provided with toys, family-outings, and child-centred spaces (such as children's libraries and playgrounds). Partaking in this version of

[148] These books, often part of history series, are all written in *genbun itchi*, and the insight that the older series (of the 1890s) in *bungotai* had become too difficult for children in the upper primary school might have been an incentive for some of these rewritings. By 'following in Iwaya's footsteps' I mean a fairy-tale-like focus on imaginative elements like the *tengu*, and Ushiwakamaru as a 'spirited' boy.
[149] Takara Sanjin, *Ima Ushiwakamaru*.
[150] Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 206.
[151] Jones, 248.

child-rearing was confined to more affluent families, for whom the culture of the 'childlike child' was also a sign of 'cultural enlightenment'.[152] Jones connects this new ideal to the trope of *dōshin* in children's literature, and the magazine *Akai tori*. Originating in the European ideal of the Romantic child, this child embodied the creative, emotionally sensitive, innocent, and original antithesis to modern society and the adult world.[153] Authors were moreover called upon to look for their 'inner child'.

Jones in the last part of his book is mainly interested in the competing ideals of the *yūtōsei* and the *kodomorashii kodomo*, and how the good student is still a powerful ideal in contemporary Japan. However, by interpreting toys (and books) mainly as 'the tools of leisure' and grouping them with the *dōshin* trope in youth literature, the nature of toys and books as objects that can represent various ideological agendas fades into the background. For example, in Jones' chapter on *kodomorashii kodomo*, the picture magazine *Yōnen gahō* and *Akai tori* both fit under the umbrella of Taishō period 'cultured life' that focused on the childlike child. In a sense, this is accurate: 'childlikeness' plays a role in both magazines. However, the editors-in-chief of these magazines (respectively Iwaya Sazanami and Suzuki Miekichi) represent very different interpretations of children's literature. That is to say, Miekichi explicitly distanced himself from 'popular' youth literature, such as *Shōnen sekai*. *Yōnen gaho* comes from the same editor and publisher. This latter magazine combined earlier tendencies in the literature for *shōnen* with new insights into the innate spiritedness and playfulness of young children, and a positive, confident representation of national culture that has little to do with the anti-modern or explorations of 'the child within the adult'. As I will show in this chapter, the 'childlikeness' of children was interpreted in different ways.

The close relationship between the middle class and the (appearance of the) genre of youth literature in Europe has been discussed by various scholars. One of the definitions of children's literature given by Perry Nodelman is 'the literature produced for and in order to construct the subjectivity of the children of the middle class'.[154] John Morgenstern moreover argues that children's literature in Europe appeared partly in answer to middle-class parents' perception of their children as 'pre-readers'.[155] In other words, literacy having become universal among the middle class by the eighteenth century, their children were not

[152] Jones, 310.
[153] Jones, 292.
[154] Nodelman, *The Hidden Adult*, 177.
[155] Morgenstern, 'The Rise of Children's Literature Reconsidered', 70–71.

to share reading material (i.e., chapbooks) anymore with 'semi-literate' adults. Morgenstern furthermore argues that this development is related to the trope of the innocent child and its conceptual differentiation from the adult: 'the spread of literacy … led to the construction of the child as innocent, which is to say, as a pre-reader'. It is 'children's literature that gives rise to the "child"'.[156] Nodelman however tempers the belief in the powers of intellectual agendas by arguing that a specific literature for children would not have appeared without an ideological need for the 'child' to exist as a construct also in culture outside children's literature.[157] This need would consist of the need of the capitalist middle class to create 'colonizable others', i.e., children were discovered as a market for 'adult values' and childhood a point of reference for the creation of the adult Self. As I have argued in chapter three, the creation of selfhood was also an important element of the rise of youth literature in Japan. The formation of middle-class identity moreover led to an awareness of the young child as 'pre-reader'.

It was only in the late 1920s that 'pre-workers' were discovered as 'pre-readers' in their own right. Welfare initiatives and new laws in the early twentieth century belatedly identified underage factory workers as 'children', meaning that they should not (yet) work, attend primary school, and live in healthy conditions. In other words, their 'childhood' would be short and have little semblance to the middle-class ideals and reality. Even the meritocracy that made belonging to the middle class and climbing its internal tiers possible, was associated with children of reasonably educated 'self-made women' and their modestly salaried husbands, and not with factory workers and tenant farmers. The absence of the lower classes in youth literature was identified and criticized by Marxist authors who advocated for a 'proletarian youth literature' (*puroretaria jidōbungaku* プロレタリア児童文学). The author Makimoto Kusurō 槇本楠郎 (1898-1856) argued that the bourgeois child and the proletarian child live in entirely different realities, and denounced the idea of the innocent 'child's heart' in such magazines as *Akai tori* (whose contents were far removed from the lives of these children).[158] The stories about individual misfortune and *shusse* through determination appearing in mass-marketed youth literature were equally undesirable. Yet Makimoto also saw a characteristic common to all children, namely their attraction to

[156] Morgenstern, 71.
[157] Nodelman, *The Hidden Adult*, 251.
[158] Bowen-Struyk and Field, *For Dignity, Justice, and Revolution*, 188–89.

fantasy worlds. Proletarian youth literature thus aimed to impart class consciousness, but also provide pleasure.[159] Stories for children and essays appeared in various magazines, but solely devoted to proletarian youth literature was the magazine *Shōnen senki* 少年戦旗 ('Youth's Battle Flag', 1928-1931). The heroes (*ijin* 偉人) of *Shōnen senki* were not Yoshitsune, Hideyoshi and Murasaki Shikibu, but Marx, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The magazine was repeatedly banned by the government and the movement was criticized for politicizing children. Remarkably little research has been done on proletarian youth literature compared to *Akai tori*, that is recognized as representing the Golden Age of youth literature by adult readers and scholars alike.[160]

In the next paragraphs, the particularities of the historical narratives appearing in *Yōnen gahō* and 'progressive' youth magazines *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* will be discussed, yet there are also similarities: they cater to a middle-class audience, adhere to a conservative interpretation of national history as continuity, and apprentice the 'pre-reader' to the war tales.

2. The pantheon of heroes in *Yōnen gahō*

In the first decennium of the twentieth century, new magazines and picturebooks appeared that focused on pictorial rather than textual representation, aimed at kindergartners and beginning readers. The discovery of young children as an audience of magazines took place almost simultaneously with the discovery of girls as a separate audience.[161] Educators and other experts on the family and the child identified young childhood as an important, formative period in life. Authors and publishers gladly contributed to the discourse and brought to this child, and its caregivers, visually oriented re-iterations of (Japanese and foreign) fairytales, history, and legends, but also original illustrated stories, songs, and free verse. Many picture magazines also stimulated children's *jiyūga* 自由画 ('free drawing') and the best rated submissions would appear in the magazine. Whereas in the 1890s, *yōnen* and

[159] As do, for example, Murayama Kazuko's (1903-1946) stories that often feature animal protagonists, some of which have been translated in English. See Bowen-Struyk and Field, 204–9.
[160] For example, Sekiguchi Kiyoshi comments that 'from today's perspective, there are not many works of quality' found in *Shōnen senki*. Sekiguchi, 'Puroretaria Jidōbungaku Kara Seikatsudōwa e', 187. Morgenstern observes that when authors (and apparently also scholars) use shrewd expressions like 'children's literature as we know it', this should be understood as 'a literature designed to appeal to both children and their bourgeois parents'. Morgenstern, 'The Rise of Children's Literature Reconsidered', 69.
[161] In 1902, Kinkōdō began publishing *Shojōkai* 少女界 ('Girl's World') for teenage girls, and Hakubunkan followed in 1906 with *Shōjo Sekai* 少女世界 ('Girl's World'). The *shōjo* (girl) thus started to be differentiated from the *shōnen* (boy), a term that originally referred to 'youth' (neutral, though often by default boys).

shōnen were often used interchangeably, in the early twentieth century, *yōnen* came to refer explicitly to young children. The term *yōjo* 幼女 ('young girl') or *yōnen danshi* 幼年男子 ('young boy') were employed in the title if the picture magazine was specifically aimed at children of one gender.[162] Still, *Yōnen gahō* contains clearly gendered representations of young childhood and has a predilection for boy's perspectives, as I will discuss later.

The appearance and early development of color magazines for adults is closely related to mass communication surrounding the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, during which news from the battlefield was spread through images and photographs.[163] As color printing became economically viable, picture-oriented books and magazines for preschool children started to appear. The pioneering magazine *Otogi etoki*: *Kodomo* お伽絵解こども ('Children – Picture-explanations of Fairytales') was sold through kindergartens.[164] Hakubunkan jumped on the bandwagon in 1906 with *Yōnen gahō* 幼年画報 and appointed Iwaya Sazanami as editor-in-chief. In 1909, the rival publishing house Jitsugyō no Nihonsha took over a previously existing picture magazine and renamed it *Yōnen no tomo* 幼年之友 ('Child's Friend'). The editor-in-chief, Kishibe Fukuo 岸辺福雄 (1873-1958), was a specialist in the field of early childhood education, and like Iwaya, travelled Japan to orally present fairy-tales and other stories to children (*kōen dōwa* 口演童話).[165] Iwasaki Mariko observes that children's picture magazines were closely connected to women's magazines. The best-selling picture magazines for *yōnen* in fact came from the same publishers as the best-selling popular women's magazines in the 1910s. These were Hakubunkan's *ryōsai kenbo*-oriented magazine for female secondary school students and young women, *Jogaku sekai* 女学世界 ('World of Women's Learning', 1901-1925) and Jitsugyō no Nihonsha's *Fujin sekai* 婦人世界 ('Women's World', 1906-1933). Both publishers catered to the whole family with a variety of magazines sorted by age and gender. This section will mainly focus on the pictorial strategies of *Yōnen gahō*, that at its peak dominated the market of picture magazines for young children, with a circulation of over sixty thousand.[166] Additionally, I will make comparisons to *Yōnen no tomo*.

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[162] Iwasaki, 'Taishō Demokurashii to Jiyukyōiku Undō No Naka De', 339.
[163] Meguro, 'Ezasshi to Jōhōka Shakai', 309–10.
[164] Meguro, 312. In practice only a very small number of children attended kindergarten (1 to 2% of five-year-olds in 1904).
[165] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:625. Kobayashi Satoko, "*Yōnen no tomo*".
[166] Meguro, 'Ezasshi to Jōhōka Shakai', 317.. This is an impressive number. The most popular women's magazine, Hakubunkan's *Jogaku sekai*, sold 70.000-80.000 copies in the early 1910s, compared to up to 10.000 for other popular magazines in this same period. *Jogaku sekai* was later overhauled by *Fujin sekai*, that in 1909 exceeded 100.000 per issues. Inoue, 'Things That Speak', 517.

2.1 *Yōnen gahō*

In his Great Principles for Education (*Kyōgaku taishi*, 1879), Motoda Eifu stipulated that the walls of primary schools should be covered with 'portraits of loyal subjects, righteous warriors, filial children, and virtuous women'.[167] However, when Iwaya twenty years later during his stay in Berlin (1900-1902) attended a lecture by the Herbartian pedagogue Wilhelm Rein about 'school and art' (*Schule und Kunst*), he observed the following: 'Had someone shown [professor Rein] our elementary schools, whose walls are bare except for a blackboard and a geographical map, he would have mistaken them for prisons.'[168] He considers it a shame that an art-loving country like Japan fails its children in this respect and ascribes the absence of any art on the school walls to the financial situation of the government. From Iwaya's report can only be gleaned that Rein wanted more and better art on the school walls, that would raise 'aesthetic feelings' in children. The contents were presumably similar to the arguments made in Rein's book *Bildende Kunst und Schule* (1902). Concretely, 'art' refers to reproduced paintings by great masters from the past and visualizations of stories, landscapes, animals, and everyday life in the Heimat. The appreciation of art would lead to a refinement of character, which is of use to the nation.[169] The wall charts often found in schools, used for explaining things, Rein considers too tasteless. In line with Herbartian education, children in the first grade should be familiarized with visualizations of Bible stories, fairy tales and heroic saga, for which he gives the names of concrete works, series, and reproductions. Rein's aesthetic education had the higher goal of resurrecting the appreciation and creation of German art. (As last seen in the sixteenth century, although he prescribes quite some work by late Romantic painters.)

Iwaya also visited the exhibition 'Die Kunst im Leben des Kindes' (March 1901) at the headquarters of the Berlin Secession, that showed wall charts for schools, picturebooks and children's drawings.[170] Here, style rather than theme was at stake. The organizer first mentioned in the exhibition catalogue is the impressionistic painter Max Liebermann (1847-1935), followed by several other painters, authors, and teachers.[171] The essay-writers in the exhibition catalogue are apparently satisfied with the themes (Biblical scenes, heroes, wise

[167] Quoted in Yamanashi, *Egakareta Rekishi*, 95.
[168] Iwaya, *Iwaya Sazanami yōkō miyage*, 289–90.
[169] Rein, *Bildende Kunst Und Schule*.
[170] Iwaya, *Iwaya Sazanami yōkō miyage*, 161–65. Iwaya's essays about his experiences in Berlin originally appeared in *Shōnen sekai*.
[171] Osborn, *Die Kunst im Leben des Kindes*.

men, landscapes, copies of famous paintings, and images from fairy tales and legends), but are critical towards the artistic quality of contemporary works for children in Germany. The following arguments are made: Children are more visually oriented than adults, which can be used to develop their artistic sensibility and interest in art, and by extension that of their family. The ideal technique is color lithography, which is decorative, clear, and not expensive. One should aim for clarity (*Sachlichkeit*), firmness (*Sicherheit*), charm (*Reiz*), and clear lines, in combination with bright colors.[172] French and English wall charts (also shown at the exhibition) are very decorative, but the depicted landscapes and fantasy world (*Phantasiewelt*) should be German. As to picture books, Randolph Caldecotts' illustrations can be taken as an example. (These are colorful, playful and have clear contours.) However, the 'unreachable ideal' can be found in Japanese woodblock prints, that are decorative and at the same time scientifically exact.

Various Japanese prints are on display, yet the 'compliment' and the presence of these works does not please Iwaya, especially because later in the catalogue, Japan is said to have no concept of youth literature. He remarks in his report for his readers back in Japan that they were 'just showing some works they got their hands on' and that they clearly know nothing about recent artists like Takeuchi Keishū 武内桂舟 (1861-1942), Mizuno Toshikata 水野年方 (1866-1908), Tomioka Eisen 富岡永洗 (1864-1905) and Suzuki Kason 鈴木華邨 (1960-1919).[173] Moreover, if he had known, he would have donated some illustrated *otogibanashi* (*ehon otogibanashirui* 絵本お伽噺類). Whether he refers to *kusazōshi* or recent work is unclear. (His own work at that point was illustrated in monochrome.) Still, he next greatly enjoys the exhibited drawings by children, and argues that such exhibitions, as well as the 'aesthetic education' of children should also take place in Japan. Indeed, back home he focused not only on picture-oriented publications for children, but also became a regular participant in child-related polemics, groups, and events, such as the 'Children's Goods Research Group' and the state-of-the-art children's exhibitions (*Jidō hakurankai* 児童博覧会) of the department store Mitsukoshi. Thus, the wishes unfulfilled by the government could be fulfilled by way of commercial enterprises and youth literature.

[172] Osborn, 23.

[173] Iwaya, *Iwaya Sazanami yōkō miyage*, 163. According to Iwaya, including Hiroshige, Chikanobu, and Gekkō, but the catalogue fails to mention these names.

The illustrations for *Yōnen gahō* were commissioned from artists trained in *nihonga* 日本画 (Japanese painting) or ukiyo-e, including the above-mentioned Mizuno Toshikata and Takeuchi Keishū, as well as Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方 (1878-1972) and Yasuda Yukihiko 安田靫彦 (1884-1978).[174] Keishū had been a member of Ken'yūsha and illustrated some of Iwaya's early works. Iwaya's friend Tani Senba 谷洗馬 (1885-1928), a specialist in warrior prints and battle scenes, also frequently contributed. According to Iwaya's letters to the assistant editor Nanbu Shinichi 南部新一 (1894-?), he made sketches for *Yōnen gahō* himself, had them delivered (by Nanbu) to the artist indicated, and then delivered back. After evaluating and approving the images, he would add the text.[175] Endō Jun compares this practice to the logic of *etoki* 絵解き (picture-explanations), a performance in which pictures are shown to an audience and provided with oral explanations.[176] Most images in *Yōnen gahō* have bright colours, clear contours, and have the 'decorative' charm considered ideal in the above-discussed catalogue. In the 1920s, a newer generation of Taishō period illustrators trained in *yōga* 洋画 (Western painting) started to think of illustrations for children as an independent art form. In 1924, the illustrator Takei Takeo 武井武雄 (1894-1983) coined the term *dōga* 童画 ('children's pictures'). Takei had recently founded the picture magazine *Kodomo no kuni* コドモノクニ (1922-1944). In 1927 he furthermore established the *Nihon dōgaka kyōkai* 日本童画家協会 (Japan Association of Illustrators for Children), that among its founders also counted Okamoto Kiichi 岡本帰一 (1888-1930), illustrator for *Kin no hoshi*, *Kodomo no kuni* and many children's books, and Shimizu Yoshio 清水良雄 (1891-1954), illustrator for *Akai tori*.

Like the authors advocating the ideal of *dōshin*, *dōga* artists tended to idealize young children as cute and innocent.[177] This trend went together with an increasing tendency to interpret *shōjo* 少女 (girls) as 'cute' in girl's magazines. 'Kawaii culture' is generally considered to be a post-war development, yet Watanabe Shūko shows that the magazine *Shōjo no tomo* 少女の友 in the 1910s repeatedly applies the adjective 'cute' (*kawairashii* 可愛らしい) in reference to the young female reader, their writing and the magazine itself.[178] Cute

[174] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:624. In many cases, the images are however not signed, which was even more common in other (early) picture magazines.
[175] Endō, 'Arai Kojō (Nanbu Shinichi) Ate Iwaya Sazanami Shokan Ni Tsuite', 24.
[176] Regrettably, the sketches have not been found in Nanbu's archive, so it is unclear to what length Iwaya went in instructing the illustrators. Suzuki Miekichi also gave detailed instructions to the illustrators of *Akai tori*.
[177] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:438.
[178] Watanabe, 'Kawaii No Seisei'. The idea is not limited to *Shōjo no tomo* (Jitsugyō no Nihonsha). In *Shōjo sekai* too, girls were considered to be innately 'cute'.

girls were to become *yasashii* 優しい (kind, tender) and *uruwashii* 麗しい (lovely, beautiful) women.[179] A visual language of cuteness (round faces, rosy cheeks, large eyes, ribbons, sweetly patterned yukata) started to develop and peaked in the early Shōwa period. In *Yōnen gahō* (and other picture magazines), the 'cuteness' of young children became also more pronounced from the late 1910s, including work by Sasaki Rinpū 佐々木林風 (1884-1933), Takehisa Yumeji 竹久夢二 (1884-1934), *dōga* specialist Honda Shōtarō 本田庄太郎 (1893-1939), and several other illustrators whose names are not indicated. Although gender can often be determined by the clothes or activities of the depicted children, the features of young boys and girls became increasingly similar, conflating femininity with young childhood.

Major themes depicted in *Yōnen gahō* are yearly festivities (*gosekku* 五節句), play and sports, the military, history, folktales, Shinto myth, animals, illustrated stories by Iwaya's hand, photographs of children, and pictures of families engaged in daily activities. Similar to warrior legends, traditional festivities like the Boy's Festival (*tango no sekku* 端午の節句) and the Doll's Festival (*hina matsuri* 雛祭り), were re-assessed to fit in the modern age, by making the child the center of these celebrations. While mainly focusing on national culture, the magazine also features Romantic images of Western children (for example, reproductions of paintings), and Christmas is celebrated every year. Children are also familiarized with the primary school and are challenged to read words and texts that are written only in *katakana*, the first syllabary learned in school. The editors thus implicitly urged parents to teach this syllabary to give their child a head start in primary school, or to give them extra practice. Although I will focus on picture-oriented pages, *Yōnen gahō* also contained more verbal stories aimed at beginning readers or to be read aloud by a parent. The rival magazine *Yōnen no tomo* hardly features any folktales, presumably to differentiate itself from Iwaya's/Hakubunkan's program. Instead, there are more stories/images that take place in an exotic setting, such as Egypt or ancient Greece. Japanese historical generals are also represented, yet somewhat less regularly than in *Yōnen gahō*.

[179] Watanabe, 47.

2.2 Iconographies of Yoshitsune

Ushiwakamaru/Yoshitsune appears as the quintessential children's hero in *Yōnen gahō*. The representations can be traced back to known iconographies: Tokiwa gozen with her sons in the snow, the sword-fighting practice with the *tengu*, Gojō bridge (multiple times), the descent from Hiyodorigoe, and *hassō-tobi* or 'jumping eight ships'. Yoshitsune is supported by many iconic figures that together form a pantheon of national heroes. Between 1906 and 1926, the representations of Yoshitsune (15 images), are in frequency followed by the Soga brothers (8), Benkei, Katō Kiyomasa and Takeda Shingen (7).[180] Toyotomi Hideyoshi (6) is only slightly less popular. In *Yōnen no tomo*, Yoshitsune also tops the list, closely followed by Hideyoshi.

The infant Ushiwakamaru appears as a central figure in a colorful double page illustration based on the iconography of Tokiwa gozen and her children in the snow (fig. 4.1)

Fig. 4.1 Artist unknown, "Haha no futokoro." *Yōnen gahō* 11:16 (1916). IICLO

[180] Due to its large circulation and dedication of the acquisition staff, *Yōnen gahō* is the best available picture magazine at the International Institute for Children's Literature in Osaka, where I did the majority of my fieldwork for this chapter. Some issues are also available (digitally) at the National Diet Library. I took the last year of Taishō/first year of Shōwa (1926) as a cap. I have not been able to confirm the contents of about twenty issues over the period 1906-1926, so the numbers are an indication. As to *Yōnen no tomo*, from the first four years (1909-1912) only a small number of issues is available, but volume five to twelve (1913 to 1920) are almost complete. After 1920, *Yōnen no tomo* became a very different magazine, with a larger focus on text and aimed at somewhat older children.

(*Yōnen gahō*, 1916, 11:16). While the baby is safely tucked in and seems unaware of the cold, the second child needs the encouragement of his mother and older brother. The snow falls thickly, and the fluttering clothing of the figures betrays strong wind. The text on the right page gives the title *haha no futokoro* ('at [his] mother's bosom') and then reads 'It snowed and snowed. The wind howled.' The text confirms what is already visible, but additionally mimics the sound of the wind with the onomatopoeia *hyū hyū*. To the left is a comment on the central figures of Tokiwa and the baby. 'Mother held the innocent [infant] carefully in her arms.' The text on the bottom left gives the spoken words of the middle child, that is not shielded nor yet as tough as his older brother, and cries 'So cold! So cold!' This is followed by an important piece of information about the infant, who 'would become the famous Minamoto no Yoshitsune'. Such remarks also appeared in representations of Gojō bridge in textbooks and prepares the audience for related stories or history. No information is given about why they are walking in the snow and where they are heading.

Fig. 4.2 Utagawa Kuniyoshi, *Kenjo reppu den: Tokiwa gozen*, 1841/2. MFA Boston

In late Edo period *nishiki-e*, the main figure in this iconography is the *retsujo* Tokiwa gozen, praised for her filiality and beauty. In fig. 4.2, a print by Kuniyoshi that might be primarily aimed at an adult audience, the children are barely visible: one can only see the feet of the older boys, and the tip of Ushiwakamaru's head. The text block relates that Tokiwa headed for the capital to save her mother from torture.[181] Because of her beauty and Kiyomori's desires, the children were also saved (but they came second). On the other hand, in *kusazōshi* aimed at young people, the children are depicted much more clearly. In early Meiji *mamebon* 豆本 for children ('bean books', the smallest size of *kusazōshi*) the middle

[181] The dramatic snow scene actually happened during her flight, when Tokiwa was heading for the house of her uncle.

child (Otowakamaru) is generally the one who seems to have most difficulties and the eyes of both his mother and older brother are upon him. In one of these, *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* (1888) (fig. 4.3), he voices the same complaint in childlike language 'Mum, I am cold' (*kaka-sama, chibetai* かゝさまちべたい). Even further back, it appeared in the *kurohon/aobon Yoshitsune ichidaiki* (see chapter 1, section 6.2). The text of the 1888 *ichidaiki* relates that they were captured by the Heike, which is somewhat unnerving contextual knowledge not given in *Yōnen gahō*. The same composition is also used in another *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* from 1884, that relates how Tokiwa became Kiyomori's 'favourite concubine' (*aishō* 愛妾).[182] In *Yōnen gahō*, the children are also made clearly visible, and both the mother and oldest boy look at Otowakamaru, who is closest in age to the intended child viewer. (The older boy, Imawakamaru, is eight according to *Gikeiki*.) *Yōnen gahō* considered it safer to identify Tokiwa only as 'mother'. The visual/verbal narrative in *Yōnen gahō* thus refocused towards protective motherhood as well as the innocence and temporary safety of infancy, symbolized by the *futokoro* 懐.[183] The child viewer might however most closely identify with the middle child that visibly and verbally expresses his distress.

Fig. 4.3 *Yoshitsune ichidaiki*, 1888. NDL

Representations of Gojō bridge in *Yōnen gahō* and other sources (such as textbooks) are numerous and therefore artists had to distinguish themselves. A most striking combination of innovation and pictorial tradition appears in an image titled 'Ushiwakamaru and Benkei' by Chiji Yoshirō 千地芳朗 (?-?) in 1925 (20:1). The image (fig. 4.4) zooms in on the protagonists' faces. The page is divided diagonally by Benkei's naginata, whose blade together with Ushiwakamaru's transparent robe sticks out of the frame. The characters almost jump from the page, invoking a festive ritual rather than a real fight. Benkei carries his *nanatsu-dōgu* 七つ道具 or 'seven tools' and Ushiwakamaru wields his iconic war fan. The moon sickle signals 'night' even though the picture is bright. Ushiwakamaru's features are

[182] *Yoshitsune ichidaiki: zen* 義経一代記 全, 1884. National Diet Library. 特 44-134

[183] This character for *futokoro* is also used in the adjective 'nostalgic' (*natsukashii* 懐かしい).

Fig. 4.4 Chiji Yoshirō, "Ushiwakamaru to Benkei", *Yōnen gahō* 20:1 (1925). IICLO

very childlike: he has a round face, little protruding teeth, and large eyes, that express no aggression and are focused somewhere above the place where he is hitting. Large eyes seen in present-day manga are generally associated with Disney and the manga artist Tezuka Osamu 手塚治虫 (1928-1989) but clearly also have precedence in the drawing styles of pre-war illustrators seeking to represent 'childlikeness'. The artist has tried to not only represent the outside of the 'little child' Ushiwakamaru, but also his innocent 'interior' as mirrored in his eyes. The text in the border also stresses that Ushiwakamaru is a 'little child' (*chiisai kodomo*): 'At Gojō bridge in Kyoto, the big, strong Benkei lost from the little child Ushiwakamaru and became his retainer'. In *Gikeiki*, Yoshitsune met Benkei several years after his *genpuku*, although in Edo period print, he often still has his forelocks, befitting the ideal of a beautiful young man. Ushiwakamaru thus became significantly younger (and desexualized) in children's literature over the course of the Meiji and Taishō period.

In representations of warriors on their steeds, stylistic vigour and boldness of character come together. Takeuchi Keishū revisited the iconography of the descent from Hiyodorigoe (1913, 8:15) with a focus on Yoshitsune's black horse (fig. 4.5). He was

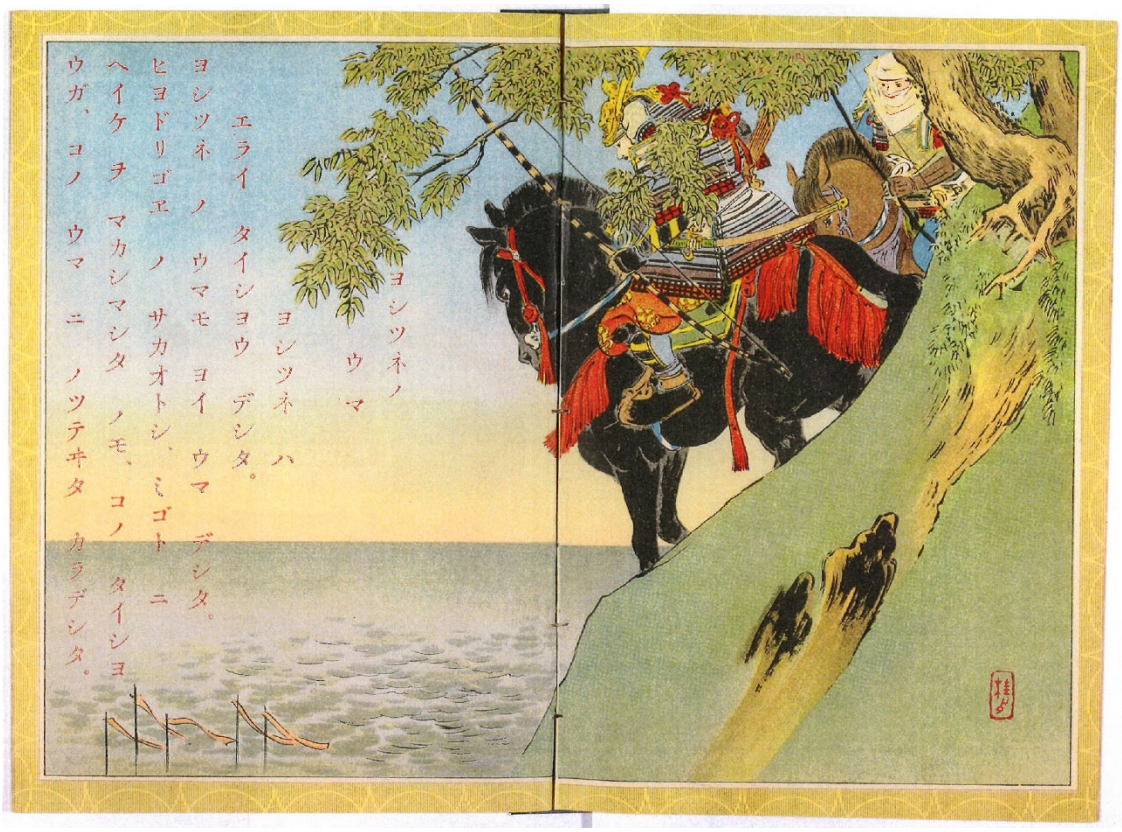

Fig. 4.5 Takeuchi Keishū, "Yoshitsune no uma", *Yōnen gahō* 8:15 (1913). IICLO

influenced by equestrian portraits from the West, that aimed to conflate the vigor of the horse with that of its rider. The text, completely in *katakana*, reads: 'Yoshitsune was a great general. Yoshitsune's horse was also a good horse. This general rode down Hiyodorigoe and splendidly beat the Heike, all because of this horse.' The point of view emphasizes the strength of the horse and the steepness of the cliff, contrasting with the flags of the Heike stronghold fluttering in the wind, and a calm sea. The hero and his horse seem singularly responsible for the coming siege, with only one supporting warrior (Benkei) visible in the background. A warrior can however also be *more* vigorous than his horse. Tani Senba's interpretation of Hiyodorigoe (1917, 11:2) consists of a frontal view of the cliff on a tilted double page, showing Yoshitsune (bottom) and Hatakeyama Shigetada 畠山重忠 (1164-1205) (fig. 4.6). Hatakeyama carries his horse instead of the other way around. The episode originates in *Genpei jōsuiki* (book 37), and also appears in Utagawa Kuniyoshi's warrior prints. The text on the right is explanatory: 'The descent from Hiyodorigoe cliff: Hatakayama carrying his horse, coming down at a dangerous place.' The text at the left is a remark by Hatakeyama directed at the horse: 'Because you always carry me very well, today I will carry you.' This is a modern translation of a corresponding spoken sentence in *Genpei*

jōsuiki.[184] The picture magazine was an ideal venue for keeping this unrealistic, yet humorous episode alive in the collective memory. Both images are representative of the way in which *Yōnen gahō* focuses on the heroic action of individuals, in contrast to the more passive ideal of citizenship that the government endorsed.

Fig. 4.5 Tani Senba, "Hiyodorigoe", *Yōnen gahō* 11:2 (1917). IICLO

The idea of iconographic precedence for pictures or illustrations is hardly addressed in Anglo-American theories on picturebooks. One reason is that illustration is considered to have become part of European children's literature *as we know it* only in the nineteenth century. Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott observe for example that Anderson's fairy tale *Thumbelina* (1835) was initially not illustrated since this was too expensive for mass-production, which places the earliest possible start for inquiry in the mid-nineteenth century.[185] Originality moreover takes precedence over sameness. They shortly address different representations of femininity in *Thumbelina*, but not how this is related to cultural or social contexts. The furthest that Nikolajeva and Scott go towards an idea of pictorial intertextuality is allusion: they give an example of an illustration that alludes to a famous Swedish work of art, and (maybe) to an illustration in a different Swedish picturebook.[186] Perry Nodelman in his study of picturebooks does discuss the

[184] *Genpei jōsuiki* however uses the verb 'care for' rather than 'carry': *Higoro wa nanji ni kakariki kyō wa nanji wo hagokuman* 日頃は汝にかかりき今日は汝を育まん. Ōhashi, *Genpei seisuiki*, 289.
[185] Nikolajeva, *How Picturebooks Work*, 42.
[186] Nikolajeva, 230–32.

presence of symbols like a cross or a bat flying against the full moon in picturebooks, but not iconographical illustrations.[187]

It is appealing to ascribe unique features to the woodblock-based print culture in Japan, but also seventeenth- and eighteenth-century chapbooks in Europe were illustrated with woodblock cuts, that were frequently recycled. It is thus not so much printing technique as the focus on 'quality' picturebooks that seems to lead to the invisibility of iconographical representation and sameness. Sandro Jung in his study of chapbook adaptations of *Pamela* (1740) observes that studies of historical illustrated books 'focus on aesthetics and semiotic complexity'. Jung finds that 'while repetition or recycling is rejected in an economy of artistic originality, the reuse of the same motifs and images in chapbooks and other illustrated media of cheap print reflected readers' investment in a symbolic grammar of images that helped them to read a text in specific, familiar ways'.[188] This cheap print was aimed at what Morgenstern defined as the 'semi-literate' audience that middle class parents tried to differentiate their children from. Zohar Shavit moreover observes that the first British entrepreneur who build a solid publishing business for children, John Newbery (1713-1767), tried to compete with chapbooks by borrowing illustrations from them.[189] Images and iconographies were thus shifted around, in Japan similarly from a literature for the 'semi-literate' (*kusazōshi*) to the 'pre-literate' children of the middle class.

Linda Hutcheon hints at the possibility that illustrations can be adaptations, but in adaptation theory, there is always an identifiable 'original' written text or image. She moreover treats the phenomenon of 'knowing the adaptation first' as different from the norm, as she is mainly interested in how adaptation amuses 'knowing' audiences. She defines adaptation as a) 'an acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works', b) 'a creative and interpretative act of appropriation/salvaging', and c) 'an extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work'.[190] Illustration pops up in her discussion of *what* gets adapted: an 'extended' idea of adaptation would include the heterocosm or multiple aspects of a story, such as settings, characters, events, and situations. This sounds familiar: 'heterocosms' in early modern popular text production were formalized in *sekai*, which still played a role in the Meiji period. Adaptation according to the extended idea

[187] Nodelman, *Words about Pictures*, 107.
[188] Jung, 'The Other Pamela', 528.
[189] Shavit, 'The Historical Model of the Development of Children's Literature', 33–34.
[190] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 8.

might include 'Aubrey Beardsley's famous illustrations for Oscar Wilde's play *Salomé* … or *even* [my stress] Picasso's cubist recodings of some of the canonical paintings of Velásquez.'[191] However, Hutcheon does not elaborate, and when discussing adaptation from one visual medium to another visual medium, she focuses on theatre and film, that are more safely tucked inside the field of literary studies. Hutcheon considers 'short intertextual allusions' not to be adaptations[192], so Nikolajeva and Scott's pictorial allusions would not count. Kate Newell observes that illustration theory and adaptation theory don't go well together because the first is considered to *explain* while the latter is considered to *transform*.[193] The main problem is however that originals and originality remain central to these studies, even though Hutcheon positions her research as dissenting against the idea of an adaptation as inferior to the 'original' from which it is adapted.

2.3 Picture-explanation: the *katei* as 'dual audience'

Whereas early issues of *Yōnen gahō* featured images of a 'grandmother' telling stories to a group of children (much how Iwaya experienced them), later the modern *katei* is explicitly recruited to retell the stories. This modern family is regularly represented visually, although the father's heroic job as an army officer sometimes complicates this idea. *Yōnen gahō* constructs the *katei* as the ideal context within which the heritage of legends and fairytales should be imparted. However, the focus is not singularly on the mother. While in some pictures, father is conspicuously absent (a portrait might indicate that he is in the army), in other cases he takes part in the 'cultural education' of his children. Various pictorial examples appear in the third volume (1908), such as an image of a father and mother telling stories to a young son and daughter by candlelight, and a father (on leave, in his army uniform) who introduces his young son and daughter to Kusunoki Masashige's heroic deeds while looking at the famous equestrian statue near the Tokyo Imperial Palace. Whereas the *yūtōsei* thus might be the responsibility of the 'wise mother', *Yōnen gahō*, with its focus on character and colourful, cultured middle-class life with a secure sense of national identity and pride in its military (history), also gives the father a role.

[191] Hutcheon, 15.
[192] Hutcheon, 170.
[193] Newell, 'Adaptation and Illustration', 3.

Fig. 4.7 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 12:1 (1917). IICLO

Some texts literally call the nuclear family to action, to retell the story that belongs to a certain iconography. Fig. 4.7 (1917, 12:1), for example, shows Hiyoshimaru on Yahagi bridge (top left) in combination with other famous icons. The other three images show Amaterasu in the Shinto myth Ama-no-iwato (top right), Hachiman Tarō (Minamoto Yoshiie), and the Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki as a boy. The vertical text next to the images instructs the audience to ask a family member to tell the story, consisting of father (Ama-no-iwato), mother (Hachiman Tarō), older brother (Hiyoshimaru) and older sister (Arai Hakuseki). This format was repeated in a number of issues with different icons, and there is never an explanation on a different page. The makers are thus sure that older sister, for example, will explain that young Arai Hakuseki is pouring cold water over himself in order to stay awake for his studies, and not merely to wash himself. As mentioned in chapter one (1.3), this heroic episode originates in Hakuseki's own autobiographical writings. Older brother would presumably recognize the iconography of 'Yahagi bridge' and be able to tell that Hiyoshimaru was a poor yet determined boy who became a great general. However, such pictorial representations also give considerable freedom. If experienced as a repetitive

didactic lesson, even irreverent or parodic versions might be told. Yet whatever older family members did with these images, they are asked to reiterate these episodes and the virtues they represent. This can only be done if the iconography is clearly recognizable, and the narrative part of the shared memory. (If not, one is encouraged to do some extra work to become a full member of the *Yōnen gahō* audience.)

More often, the invitation is implicit, by giving only an iconographic image with minimum information. In *Yōnen no tomo* appears a double page that introduces Yoshitsune's biography in five pictures (fig. 4.8) (1915, 7:8). The central and apparently most important picture shows Ushiwakamaru and Benkei on Gojō bridge. Clockwise, the selected episodes show the sword-fighting practice with the *tengu*, *hassō-tobi*, the descent from Hiyodorigoe, and Kanjinchō. The latter is represented as a scene from the Kabuki play. The text explains that Yoshitsune and Benkei dressed up as *yamabushi* 山伏 (mountain ascetics) and went to Ōshū. The other texts also merely identify what Yoshitsune does or where he is. *Yōnen no tomo* thus also expects adults to recall the stories that go with these iconographies and introduce them in a linear way.

Fig. 4.8 Artist unknown, "Minamoto Yoshitsune", in *Yōnen no tomo* 7:8 (1915). IICLO

For a 'knowing' audience, the appeal of revisiting warrior legends in this way could lie in what Hutcheon calls a 'mixture of repetition and difference, of familiarity and novelty'.[194] Nikolajeva and Scott observe something similar: pictorial allusion is aimed at a 'knowing', or adult audience, for whom such allusions can be both delightful discoveries but also create a sense of continuity.[195] This continuity is in fact limited to an audience with an interest in art, and a familiarity with classic Swedish picturebooks. The iconographies of warriors on the other hand not only created a *sense* of continuity, but they also safeguarded continuity. The fact that the narrative is not spelled out leads to a degree of interpretative freedom, but the effect might be more powerful, as adults have to recall from memory and orally convey the stories, which makes for a much more personal connection between past and present. Moreover, the premodern 'dual audience' of children and semi-literate adults that relied on shared understandings of images, shifted to image-sharing among/with 'pre-readers'.

2.4 The larger picture: imagining national history

Initially, *Yōnen gahō* contained texts that in simple language explained the historical circumstances of the depicted scene, and attempts were also made at representing the concept of 'national history' in simple pictures. In 1908 (3:2) appears a highly symbolic equation (fig. 4.9): the top two images represent the 'past' (*mukashi* 昔), while the lower two images represent 'now' (*ima* 今). A 'samurai' is equated with a soldier, and a premodern wooden ship is equated with a modern battleship (presumably the famous cruiser Takachiho 高千穂). Ironically, the crest behind the samurai refers to the Tokugawa, even though they had to make place for the Meiji government. Mark Ravina in his study of representations of Saigō Takamori, who rebelled *against* the Meiji government, observes that the revolutionary potential of Saigō's history/legend was in the late Meiji period (onwards) downplayed in

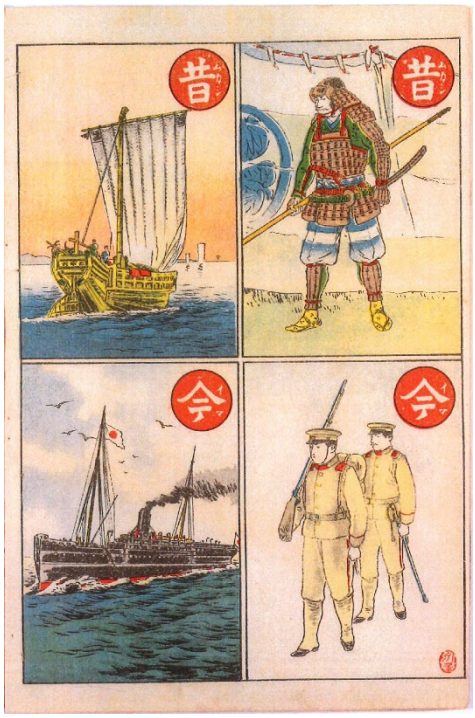

Fig. 4.9 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 3:2 (1908). IICLO

[194] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 114.
[195] Nikolajeva, *How Picturebooks Work*, 230–32.

favour of the narrative of his ritual suicide as a reflection of a timeless warrior ethic, that fitted in a conservative Japanese national narrative that runs from samurai rule to the present.[196] The 'now'/'past' image in *Yōnen gahō* also represents this continuity with the 'samurai past' and the idea that Japan was always a martial country, with power over the seas.

Gojō bridge, as a well-known iconography even among young children, was applied in various contexts that bind together present and past, as well as myth, fairy tale, legend, and history. In the second panel from the right in fig. 4.10 (1917, 12:9), Benkei and Ushiwakamaru are represented in a conventional way, stressing the size/age difference. More interesting is the composition. The four vertical images mimic the shape of *menko*, a popular card game that could also be played by preliterate children.[197] Such cards came in round as well as a rectangular shapes and had famous icons on both sides, such as samurai and soldiers. The double page from right to left shows the god Susano-o attacking the monster Yamata-no-orochi, followed by Ushiwakamaru and Benkei, the kamikaze, and the soldier Harada Jūkichi 原田重吉 (1868-1938), a hero from the First Sino-Japanese War.

Fig. 4.10 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 12:9 (1917). IICLO

[196] Ravina, 'The Apocryphal Suicide of Saigō Takamori', 716.
[197] Young children could play this game, as the cards merely have to be thrown, with the aim of flipping over the card of your adversary. Obviously, collecting cards (and thereby the heroes) is also part of the fun.

(According to countless evocations in (children's) media, he opened the Genbu gate in Pyongyang from the inside after scaling the wall.) The text in the image titled 'kamikaze' invokes the idea that Japan was protected by heavenly winds against the Mongol invasions and therefore is 'the land of the gods' (*kami no kuni*). The visualisation is conventional (see also the insert in fig. 3.5). The four images thus connect national myth, fairy tale, legend, and history, as has also been observed for early Shōwa period textbooks.[198] In an earlier issue (1910, 5:2), Gojō bridge also appears in a 'card game' that focuses on *otogibanashi* rather than 'history': as stated earlier, Gojō bridge in itself also represents a vague area between fairy tale, legend, and history.

Whereas the text in earlier issues often explains the historical circumstances of the depicted scene or icon, later issues are much less concerned with linear time and historical context. Keishū for example does an attempt at expressing Hideyoshi's *shusse* in the very first issue of *Yōnen gahō* (fig. 4.11). The warrior on his galloping horse contrasts with the desolate hut in the upper right, that symbolizes his humble beginnings. The sweeping tail of the horse at the same time visually connects past and present. The text explains that Hideyoshi is the most famous person in Japan (*Nippon ichi no erai hito*), born about three hundred years ago on New Year's Day.[199] He was the son of a farmer but later brought entire Japan under his control on his own, and even went to conquer Korea. The last part relates that Hideyoshi is heading to Kyoto and going after Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀 (1528-1582), the murderer of his lord Oda Nobunaga. Could the adult Hideyoshi not

Fig. 4.11 Takeuchi Keishū, "Shōgatsu ganjitsu ni umareta erai hito" ('Famous person born on New Year's day'), *Yōnen gahō* 1:1 (1906). IICLO

[198] Antoni, 'Momotaro (the Peach Boy) and the Spirit of Japan', 161.

[199] This birthdate is legendary. As happens also in his *Hiyoshimaru* and *Ushiwakamaru*, Iwaya (who wrote most texts in *Yōnen gahō*) is more interested in memorable numbers and dates than exactness and historical truth.

be represented in a less complicated way? Tani Senba has a simple solution: forget the *shusse* and just focus on the horse. He represents Hideyoshi several times as a martial figure on an impressive, realistically drawn battle horse. The equestrian portrait could thus be used as a new symbol of martial power that could impress without a sense of history and contextual knowledge (that will come later).

2.5 Play and gendered spheres

Yōnen gahō contains many hints on how to spend one's playtime, which for boys is often pretending to be a warrior or soldier. In 1916, *Yōnen gahō* featured various images of famous warriors with on the opposing page children re-enacting the scene. For example, Katō Kiyōmasa was traditionally represented hunting a tiger with his spear (fig. 4.12). The left page mirrors the composition, where we see a boy wearing Kiyomasa's typical helmet with crest, and a cat who finds the role of tiger forced upon her. The text represents the boy's boastful speech: 'I have a wonderful spear too. When next door's stupid cat showed up, she ran away as soon as she saw my spear'. The place can be identified as a very safe urban garden on account of the potted plants. In the right image, the text identifies the place as 'Korea', but the background consists of a solid red that stresses the martial vigour of Kiyomasa and the tiger.

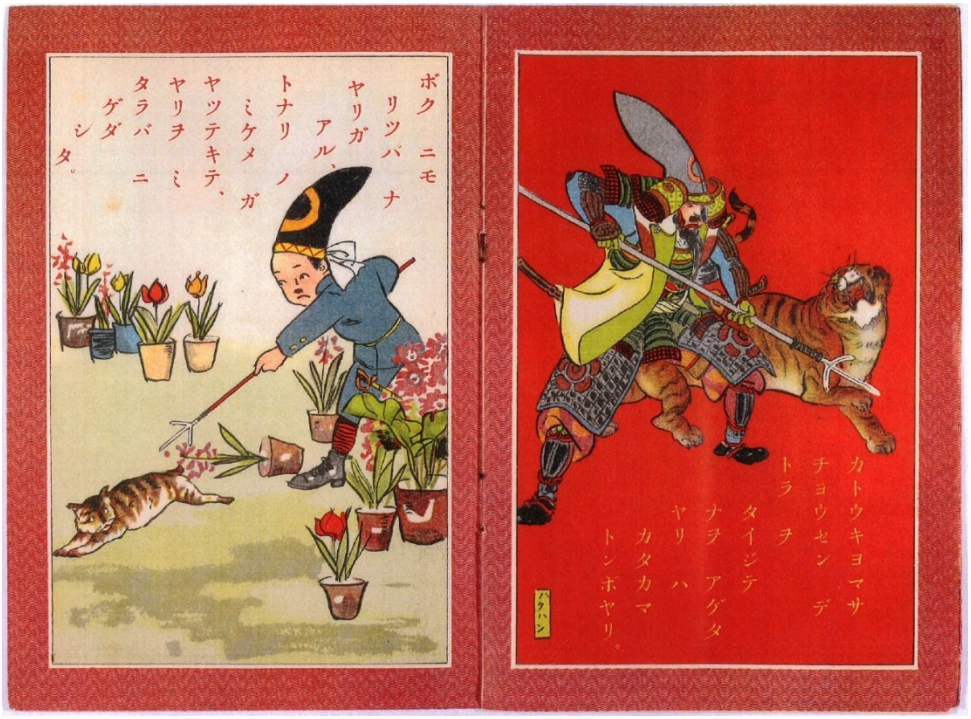

Fig. 4.12 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 10:7 (1916). IICLO

Kiyomasa or Yoshitsune dolls were displayed during the Boy's Festival (*tango no sekku* 端午の節句) on May five, and this event is every year celebrated in *Yōnen gahō*. In 1919 (14:6), for example, with a colourful picture of a warrior's parade (*musha gyōretsu* 武者行列). All the warriors are played by boys, either walking or riding a hobbyhorse (fig. 4.13). The first boy in the row yells that the samurai are coming, better move aside, and a dog is pulling the hobby horse of the first warrior. This is Yoshitsune, followed by a modern general, presumably Nogi Maresuke. His biography, with conventional themes of overcoming weakness and attaining a martial disposition, was often dramatized for children. The next child in the 'warrior's parade' might be a retainer of Yoshitsune, as the boy behind him is saying 'I am Benkei'. The third child behind Benkei rides a tiger and is clearly enacting Kiyomasa. At the end of the line, Kintarō is riding a bear. The text on the upper right reads: 'Today I am happy, as it is the Boy's Festival. I displayed my warrior doll, and I ate mochi sweets, and now my belly is so full.' The text on the bottom refers directly to the depicted scene: 'Let's all become warriors and ride horses or go on foot, and carry a spear or a bow, and make a warrior's parade.' In the upper left corner, it says: 'Come, let's go around the

Fig. 4:13 Artist unknown, "Musha gyōretsu", *Yōnen gahō*, 14:6 (1919). IICLO

house and search for bad ogres (*oni*). If we find any, let's conquer them'. The text thus represents a plan of action aimed at the young male audience. There is however no parade without an audience. The women and girls (and maybe a small brother) are grouped on both sides, eating mochi and happily observing the boys. The girl on the left waves and remarks in a feminine register: 'Oh, how courageous!' (*Maa, isamashii koto!*) The cat also assumes the role of admiring girl. This does not mean that girls are always passive or don't play in *Yōnen gahō*'s pictures. Yet they are often separated and are given different things to do. Girls are depicted playing with a *temari* (ball) or go out cherry-blossom viewing, in colourful yukata and adorned with cute ribbons.

'Older sister' and 'older brother' often serve as gender-specific role models. In fig. 4.14 (1907, 2:14) this sister and brother are depicted on opposing pages, representing a future as 'wife' and 'soldier'. On the right, the 'older sister' is being dressed in a *furisode* 振袖 (a long-sleeved kimono for unmarried young women) by her mother. The little brother Jirō observes that his sister 'wears such a pretty kimono, almost like a bride'. The sister retorts she will hit him but her mother orders her to stand still. On the opposite page, 'older brother' approaches his parental home in the countryside. The little girl Ohana expresses her happiness that her brother is coming home, while the boy Tarō comments: 'Oh! Brother's uniform is so nice, I want to be a soldier too when I grow up.' Whereas the 'older sister' on the right thwarts the remark that relates to her 'growing up', the boy confidently voices his ambition. In both images, the young boy (Jirō/Tarō) is the main interpreter of the situation: even though the magazine is marketed at both boys and girls and the latter are not underrepresented, the

Fig. 4.14 Artist unknown, "Onee-san/Onii-san", *Yōnen gahō* 2:14 (1907). IICLO

'active' voice and perspective in *Yōnen gahō* comes mostly from boys. When girls appear, attempts are made at 'not estranging boys', often through the verbal text.

Female historical or legendary exemplars appear only sporadically in *Yōnen gahō*: these are Kasuga no Tsubone, Tokiwa gozen (in the earlier discussed image), Ben no Naishi, and Tomoe Gozen, next to sixty-nine different male characters who appear a total of 159 times. This tendency is not unique to *Yōnen gahō*: In *Yōnen no tomo* the only female historical figures represented are Shizuka gozen, the frugal nun Matsushita Zenni 松下禅尼 (13th c.), and the loyal Tsunajo 綱女 (1755-1769).[200] However, in media where men are explicitly *not* the main target audience, a separate 'female canon' can also be discerned. Apart from Tsunajo, all the mentioned women appear in the 1913 board game *Nihon meifu sugoroku* 日本名婦双六 ('Famous Women of Japan *sugoroku*') that was an extra to the women's magazine *Fujin sekai*, and thus came from the same publisher as *Yōnen no tomo* (fig. 4.15). *Sugoroku* games, that existed already in the Edo period, represent a procession through famous places, famous figures, occupations etc. and can be studied as condensed representations of contemporary perceptions of space, hierarchies, and social expectations. Taishō period magazines distributed such games as New Year's presents.

In *Nihon meifu sugoroku*, the prizewinning lifegoal is to be Nogi *fujin* 乃木夫人, general Nogi's wife. Nogi Shizuko 乃木静子 (1959-1912) committed ritual suicide in September 1912, following in death Emperor Meiji *and* her husband. All other women were apparently subordinate to this symbol of loyalty and sacrifice. The starting point in the lower right corner shows Amaterasu, the sun goddess, in the iconic setting of Ama-no-iwato. Throwing the dice, a player might shift to Hangaku 坂額, a Heike woman who according to the historical chronicle *Azuma kagami* joined various battles. (One other martial figure is depicted, namely Tomoe gozen 巴御前.) One might also move up to Tokiwa gozen, whose image in a very minimal way refers to the trial in the snow. From here the player might move on to Shizuka gozen, in the moment of her dance for Yoritomo during which she declared her loyalty to Yoshitsune (see also fig. 3.7), or the chaste Kesa gozen who is preparing to cut off her hair to take her husband's place in the dark and have herself beheaded instead. Another possibility is the Heian poet Ben no Naishi, who disappears

[200] Matsushita zenni was the mother of Hōjō Tokiyori 北条時頼 (1246-1256). According to legend, she taught him the virtue of frugality by showing how to repair the paper of a sliding door. The iconography is represented on the right side in fig. 4.15. Tsunajo protected a baby entrusted to her from an attack by a mad dog and paid for it with her life.

Fig. 4.15 Sasaki Rinpū, "Nihon meifu sugoroku", *Fujin sekai* (January supplement) 1913. Private collection

behind the blinds and in the layers of her robe. Female literati are well-represented and furthermore include Murasaki Shikibu, Sei Shōnagon, Shūshikijo 秋色女 (1669-1725) and Kaga no Chiyo 加賀千代 (1703-1775). Of these, Murasaki Shikibu takes the highest position, reflecting her status in textbooks. Yet closest to the final goal is Kusunoki Masatsura's mother, who is running to take the knife from her son's hands, we might infer. Her virtues and Masatsura's *junshi* attempt are apparently closest to Nogi *fujin*: there is a sixty-six

percent chance that one next reaches the final goal. A number of images is based on iconographies circulating in cultural memory, similar to the way in which many male heroes are remembered.

Yōnen gahō thus made extensive use of premodern iconographies, that appeared in *nishiki-e* and *kusazōshi*, and adapted them for a young audience. By making use of a didactically sound *katakana* and changing the orientation of the visual/verbal narrative, the intended audience shifted from the 'semi-reader' to the 'pre-reader', changing the meaning of 'dual audience' from 'children and unsophisticated adults' to 'children and their middle-class parents'. The young audience was perceived of as in need of clarity, color, simple texts and protection from negative events and sexuality. The adult audience is invited to explain the pictures, guided by selected iconic figures and iconographies. New elements were stressed, such as the 'innocence' of the infant Ushiwakamaru, and the boy Ushiwakamaru is made to look younger and more childlike. National history is represented by a simple equation between samurai and soldiers, or as a procession from mythical figures and events, to warrior legend and Meiji history, or not as history at all: the heroic figures form a pantheon, with Yoshitsune at its center. These pictures would be one of the first encounters a child would have with the characters, whom they are invited to emulate in their play. Warriors are represented as exemplars and subjects for the play of boys, connecting to their future role as soldiers. The most honored exemplars for girls were paragons of loyalty and sacrifice, which might, next to continued authority of the canon of 'great men', be a reason why they don't appear in *Yōnen gahō*, that represents the past as a festive, uncomplicated place, shared (on other pages) with the symbols of modern progress and national culture, such as trains and bridges, and outings such as cherry blossom viewing.

3. 'Childlikeness' in *rekishi dōwa*

As shortly discussed above, the Taishō era saw a new literary movement focusing on 'childlikeness' or *dōshin* 童心 (the child's heart). New terms, such as *dōwa* 童話 (children's story or fairy tale), and *dōyō* 童謡 (children's song) were adopted to represent an artistic and child-centred literature different from the Meiji period values, mass-marketed literature and Iwaya's *otogibanashi*. The magazine *Akai tori*, published and edited by Suzuki Miekichi, is

seen as the main representative of this new type of youth literature. Arguing that popular magazines have a detrimental effect on children's character, taste, and writing, Miekichi wanted nothing less than the best of the best for his readers.[201] Contributing authors were found among the *bundan* 文壇 (highbrow literary circles) and he commissioned illustrations and decorations from young artists trained in Western painting. According to *Akai tori*'s mission statement, that appears in every issue, the purpose of the magazine and *Akai tori* 'movement' (*undō* 運動) was to 'preserve and develop the innocence of the child' (*kodomo no junsei o hozen kaihatsu suru* 子供の純正を保全開発する).[202]

Similar magazines followed, such as *Kin no hoshi* 金の星 ('Gold Star', 1919-1929). This magazine presented itself as even more artistic and devoted to the child's senses and ways of expression than *Akai tori*.[203] *Kin no hoshi* was initially published under the name *Kin no fune* 金の船 ('Gold Boat') by its founder, Yokoyama Toshiatsu 横山寿篤 (1887-1975). In 1922, editor-in-chief Saitō Sajirō 斎藤佐次郎 (1893-1983) took over as publisher and renamed the magazine *Kin no hoshi*. Characteristic of *Kin no hoshi* was its focus on translated or adapted 'masterpieces', such as *Alice in Wonderland*, *A Dog of Flanders, Arabian Nights*, *Sans Famille*, the theatrical play *L'Oiseau bleu*, but also Shintō myths and sections from the war tales. The magazine *Dōwa* 童話 ('Fairy tale'), appearing in 1920, was the third competitor in the field of Taishō period 'artistic' youth magazines. *Akai tori*'s profitable circulation of thirty-thousand issues dropped. More magazines might be counted in the margins, such as Yokoyama's restart of *Kin no fune* (confirmed to have existed till 1928). It was thus possible for idealistic persons with some capital to compete with large publishing houses like Hakubunkan and Jitsugyō no Nihonsha, find an audience, and share their own ideas about the child and future society with segments of the middle class.[204]

The term *dōshin shugi* 童心主義 ('child's heart -ism') has been applied to this literary movement in retrospect, initially as a derogative term employed by proponents of proletarian youth literature. After the Pacific War, the 'ism' gained a positive connotation through children's literature scholar Kan Tadamichi's appraisal as a movement that freed the child of 'feudal' concepts and outdated educational practices, yet more recently,

[201] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:515.
[202] Suzuki, 'Akai Tori No Motto'. (4, ii).
[203] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:533. Ōfuji Mikio, "*Kin no fune*".
[204] Iwasaki Yuriko counts fifty different picture-magazines for young children that were published during the fifteen years that the Taishō period spanned. Some of these went out of print quickly, or only one or no issue is extant. Iwasaki, 'Taishō Demokurashii to Jiyukyōiku Undō No Naka De', 339.

children's literature scholars have also pointed out the one-sidedness and idealization inherent to this movement.[205] The term *dōshin* is moreover vague, as it does not distinguish between the concept of the child and children as an actual audience of literary fiction. This latter problem will also become obvious in the texts discussed in this paragraph. The term *dōshin* was not literally used by Miekichi, but by *Akai tori*'s contributing poet and editor Kitahara Hakushū, who not only idealized the innocence of the child's heart but also encouraged artists to find their 'inner child'.[206] Various authors forwarded slightly different ideas about the child's heart, yet at the centre was always its 'purity' and 'innocence' (e.g., *junsei* 純性, *shinjun* 真純, *mujaki* 無邪気).[207] What Elizabeth Keith dubs the 'Hakushū-Miekichi definition of *dōshin*' consists of a) selflessness; complete disregard for one's needs or desires, b) purity of heart; lack of ulterior motives, c) acceptance without doubt, judgment, or question, and d) pure innocence; naivete in the ways of the world or the way things work.[208] To recapitulate Karatani's arguments, this child was in fact an ideal resulting from adult's introspection and imbued with romantic and nostalgic sentiments.[209] Mark Jones characterizes the contents of *Akai tori* as a 'literature of stillness', that 'froze the child in the child's world in order to appreciate a place different from and superior to the modern adult world of the day'.[210] The 'innocent and pure' child was conceptualized as the anti-thesis to modern (Meiji) society of success-seeking and the cultivation of knowledge.

After having analysed themes in every single story in *Akai tori* between 1918 and 1923, Keith however concludes that the number of texts that actually adhere to these ideals is limited, and the most common elements found in the stories and poems is realism, followed by 'pastoral images of the countryside' and 'teaching a lesson'. Realism here more concretely refers to a 'simple, unadorned language and authentic expressions', also understood as 'childlike'. (Miekichi also praised such qualities in his writing advice to the young audience.) Keith connects this tendency to Miekichi's interest in Naturalism and the writing style

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[205] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:441. Iwasaki Yuriko, "*dōshin-shugi*". 'One-sidedness' here means that innocence was understood as an all-compassing characteristic of childhood, rather than an aspect.
[206] Keith, 'Dôshinshugi and Realism', 28.
[207] Another important author associated with the *dōshin* literature is Ogawa Mimei. Different from Miekichi/Hakushū, he stressed the sense of justice (*seigikan* 正義感) innate to the 'child's heart', and in one of his famous essay *Kodomo wa gyakutai ni mokujūsu* 子供は虐待に黙従す ('Children comply to the abuse', 1924) criticized the abuse of the weak in society, referring mainly children, but also women and people from the proletariat. Yokosuka, 'Dōshinshugi to Jidōbungaku 童心主義と児童文学', 122–29.
[208] Keith, 'Dôshinshugi and Realism', 78.
[209] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 114–15.
[210] Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 296.

known as *shasei* 写生 (sketches from life), first advocated by the poet Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 (1867-1902). Most authors who wrote for *Akai tori* (and *Kin no hoshi*) were writers of adult literature, influenced by Naturalism and the I-novel or confessional literature (*watakushi shōsetsu* 私小説). The main difference is that the protagonists are children.[211] In line with Karatani's observations, Keith states that 'many poems, stories, and compositions were not about the purity and innocence of the child's heart but were about the adult's heart which yearned for them.'[212]

In *Akai tori* as well as *Kin no hoshi* appear a number of *rekishi dōwa* 歴史童話 (historical children's tales) that are violent and dramatic.[213] Keith observes that clearly, 'death and destruction, glorification of war, and violence did not fulfil Miekichi's mission to "preserve and develop the innocence of the child"'.[214] She finds an explanation in the fact that the stories have didactic elements and might have nostalgic connotations for adult readers. An even simpler explanation is given by Nishida Yoshiko, namely financial problems: already in 1921, the authors from the *bundan* started to desert *Akai tori*, to which were added the losses during the Kantō Earthquake in 1923 (a full issue disappeared in the flames).[215] Miekichi thus had to compromise. Still, *rekishi dōwa* are not incongruent with the *dōshin* ideal as an anti-modern sentiment and things that the 'adults' heart' yearned for. The rejection of politics in the 'child's heart' moreover facilitated an uncritical reading of martial ideology.

The historical narratives about the Genpei War in *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* make use of similar material as the Meiji predecessors but consist of literary adaptations of parts of the war tales rather than biographies of 'great men'. These children's texts appeared simultaneously with (annotated and/or illustrated) republications of war tales for adults that made the works more accessible for the general public.[216] Seta Teiji remarks that the author Kusuyama Masao 楠山正雄 (1884-1950) turned away from the '*kusazōshi* customs' in his adaptations of war tales for children.[217] This can be interpreted as a reorientation towards narrative, realistic descriptions and literary expression rather than famous scenes and characters. Kusuyama and other authors of *rekishi dōwa* pay more attention to setting and the

[211] Keith, 'Dôshinshugi and Realism', 174.
[212] Keith, 86.
[213] Sometimes variant terms such as *shitan* 史譚 ('historical tale') are also used.
[214] Keith, 'Dôshinshugi and Realism', 90.
[215] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:512. Nishida Yoshiko, "*Akai tori*".
[216] Bialock, 'Nation and Epic', 162.
[217] Seta, *Ochibo hiroi : gekan*, 300.

protagonists' thoughts. In the preface of his successful two-volume *Nihon dōwa hōgyoku shū* 日本宝童話宝玉集 (1921/22) that consisted of literary adaptations of a variety of premodern Japanese texts, such as *Nihon shoki*, *Kojiki*, various wartales, *mukashibanashi*, and *otogizōshi*, Kusuyama moreover stresses that although he adapted well-known texts, he experimented with 'free and novel expressions' (*jiyū na atarashii hyōgen* 自由な新しい表現) and took as an inspiration both classical texts and adaptations by modern authors.[218]

The meaning of Kusuyama's remark becomes clearer when comparing the Sōjōgatani episode in his *Ushiwaka to Benkei* 牛若と弁慶 (a prequel to the much longer story *Genji to Heike*) to the texts discussed in chapter three. For example, Takahashi Taika in his *Kurō hangan Yōshitsune* (1891) adapted the following sentence from *Gikeiki*: '[Ushiwakamaru] would pretend that the surrounding bushes and trees were various members of the Heike clan. Two towering trees he dubbed Kiyomori and Shigemori. Taking his sword, he slashed away at them with all his might (*tachi wo nuite, sanzan ni kiritsuke* 太刀を抜いて、さん/＼に斬りつけ).[219] Kusuyama on the other hand writes: '[Ushiwaka] likened the many cedars to the Heike clan, named the biggest tree Kiyomori, and hit it with his little wooden sword (*chiisa na kidachi de ponpon uchimashita* 小さな木太刀でぽんぽん打ちました). In contrast to Takahashi's *sanzan ni kiritsuke* (cutting ferociously, with a real sword), Kusuyama goes for a playful *ponpon uchimashita* (hitting 'bang-bang', with a little wooden sword). In Iwaya's version, Ushiwakamaru also has a wooden sword, but he is simply 'hitting the trees and rocks' without imagining they are the Heike enemies as written in *Gikeiki*.

Kusuyama then however continues in the vein of Iwaya's *Ushiwakamaru* (and/or those who copied him). Iwaya's version (see also chapter 3, 6.1) read:

> A certain night, when Ushiwaka as usual went to Sōjō valley and wielded his wooden sword, he suddenly heard a sound as if trees were snapping in a storm, upon which right in front of him there appeared the three-metre high, big-eyed, and large-nosed terrible Ō'nyūdō. Ushiwaka was strong of heart (*ki no tsuyoi*) and not one to give an inch (*biku to mo shinai*), whoever shows up. Immediately preparing his wooden sword, he asked: 'What are you?' Ō'nyūdō laughed loudly. 'I am the great *tengu* who's been living in this valley for ages.'

[218] Kusuyama, *Nihon Dōwa Takara Hōgyoku Shū, Jōkan*, 1.
[219] *Shōkokumin* 3:2 (1891), *furoku* p. 8. See also chapter 3 section 3.3.

すると、或晩の事で、牛若は例の通り、此の僧正が谷へ来まして、頻りに木刀を振り舞はして居りますと、俄かに嵐が起つて来て、木が割けるやうな音がすると思ふと、身の丈一丈余もあらうといふ、目の大きな鼻の高い恐ろしい大入道が、自分の前へ現はれました。元より気の強い牛若ですから、どんな者が出てもびくともしません。直ぐに木刀を取り直しまして、『貴様は何者だ？』と云ひますと、大入道はカラ／＼と笑つて、『乃公は此の僧正が谷に、年久しく住む大天狗だ。...』[220]

Kusuyama's version reads:

A certain night, when Ushiwaka went to Sōjō valley as usual and practiced sword fighting, suddenly a towering man with a ridiculously large nose appeared from somewhere, carrying a feather fan in his hand. He silently watched Ushiwaka going about his business. Finding this weird, Ushiwaka said 'who are you?', upon which the man laughed and said 'I am the *tengu* living in this Sōjō valley. Your sword fighting practice is so awful that I can hardly look. From tonight, let me teach you.'
'Thanks. Well, then teach me please', Ushiwaka said while attacking with his wooden sword.
するとある晩のことでした。牛若がいつものやうに僧正ヶ谷へ出かけて剣術のおけいこをしてゐますと、どこからか鼻のばかに高い、目上げるやうな大男が、手に羽うちはをもつて、ぬつと出て来ました。そしてだまつて牛若のすることを見てゐました。牛若は不思議に思つて、「お前はだれだ。」といひますと、その男は笑つて、「おれはこの僧正ヶ谷に住む天狗だ。お前の剣術はまづくつてみてゐられない。今夜からおれが教へてやらう。」といひました。「それはありがたう。ぢやあ、おしへて下さい。」と、牛若は木太刀を振るつて打つてかかりました。[221]

Kusuyama's *genbun itchi* has a much more natural form (only the orthography has some elements that are now outdated) and he does not give extra explanations about Ushiwaka's character. He uses casual expressions like 'ridiculously large' (*baka ni takai*) and 'awful' (*mazukutte*). Kusuyama used *nutto* to represent the silent appearance of the man, but left out the onomatopoeia *karakara*, which represents a dry, scary laugh. Kusuyama's *tengu* is not

[220] Iwaya, *Ushiwakamaru*, 9–11.
[221] Kusuyama, *Nihon Dōwa Takara Hōgyoku Shū, Jōkan*, 236–37.

identified as the scary Ō'nyūdō, but as a giant who appears on the stage without making a supernatural racket. In contrast to Iwaya's version, Ushiwakamaru innocently assumes that this man is not dangerous and reacts in a rather casual way.

Nihon dōwa hōgyoku shū was published as an illustrated and decorated luxury edition. The illustration going with *Ushiwaka to Benkei* shows Ushiwakamaru flying in the air, with Benkei and Gojō bridge as a silhouette in the background (fig. 4.16). The artist, Hayakawa Keitarō 早川桂太郎 (?-?), was clearly influenced by Art Nouveau and silhouette illustration seen in fairy-tale books from the West.[222] The adaptations of iconographies thus reflect international artistic trends, and similar to the verbal text, try to bring the material on a higher cultural plane. The careful attention to the physical and visual quality of the book was yet another way to distinguish them from mass-marketed youth literature and make them available for a more demanding middle-class audience.

牛若と辨慶

一

牛若と辨慶

むかし源氏と平家が戦争をして、お互ひに勝つたり負けたりしてゐた時のことでした。源氏の大将義朝には、悪源太義平や頼朝のほかに今若、乙若、牛若といふ三人の子供がありました。ちやうど一ばん小さい牛若が生れたばかりのとき、源氏の旗色が悪くなりました。義朝は負けて、方方にげかくれてゐる中に、家来の長田忠致といふものに殺されました。平家の大将清盛は、源氏にかたきを取られることをこはがつて、義朝の子供を見つけしだい殺さうとかかりました。

234

Fig. 4.16 Page from *Nihon dōwa hōgyoku shū*, 1920/21. NDL

Yet *rekishi dōwa* were not more innocent than the Meiji tales from history. Adaptations of sections from the war tales in *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* by Kusuyama and others bespeak admiration for the spiritual values of the past and an aesthetic appreciation of death in battle (*uchiji* 討死). Kusuyama's story 'Koromogawa no Yoshitsune' 衣川の義経 ('Yoshitsune at Koromo river') in *Akai tori* (1926, 9:9-10), for example, dramatizes Yoshitsune's betrayal at the hand of Hidehira's son Yasuhira. The third son, the only one who is faithful to his promise to protect Yoshitsune, is brutally murdered. Benkei is the hero of the second part: holding the fort while Yoshitsune prepares his ritual suicide, he is finally hit in his throat by

[222] The catalogue of the International Institute for Children's Literature gives Okamoto Kiichi and Hayakawa Keitarō as illustrators. Based on the stylistic characteristics, I am more inclined to ascribe this illustration to the latter.

an arrow and dies while standing (*tachi-ōjō* 立往生). Kusuyama lavishly praises the loyalty of Benkei and other retainers and places the narrative in a context of tragic/lyrical literary appreciation by citing Matsuo Bashō's poem *Natsukusa ya / tsuwamonodomo ga / yume no ato* 夏草やつはものどもが夢のあと (Summer grasses – all that remains of warriors' dreams).[223] Kusuyama advises the reader to visit Hiraizumi (like Bashō). Overlooking the old battlefield and pondering Yoshitsune and Benkei's fate, 'tears will surely well up in your eyes', he concludes.[224]

The dramatic tendencies in *rekishi dōwa* in both *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* can be placed on a continuum with the interpretation of the *Heike* as a 'timeless aesthetic expression of tragic loss', as theorized by the literature scholar Fujioka Sakutarō 藤岡作太郎 (1870-1910).[225] David Bialock argues that after the Russo-Japanese War, the 'interpretation of the *Heike* as a lyrical work, with its emphasis on sacrifice, suffering and tragic pathos would grow into an orthodoxy that was reinforced by prewar imperial ideology'.[226] The more pretentious early twentieth century literary adaptations for children ally with this trope. A second interpretation was that of the warrior protagonists as 'heroic individuals', as discussed earlier. From the perspective of the discourse among literature scholars, Bialock considers this a minor view of the *Heike*, but the sentiment itself is common in loosely connected publications, such as the representations of warriors in *Yōnen gahō*. Tragic heroes can moreover embody both.

In various *rekishi dōwa*, children and young adults most impressively embody the spiritual values of the past. In Kikuchi Kan's 菊池寛 (1888-1948) 'Jūsan no Yoritomo' 十三の頼朝 ('The thirteen-year-old Yoritomo') (*Akai tori* 1922, 5:6-7), the protagonist is left to his own devices in dangerous circumstances, and two youthful side-characters moreover calmly accept death to protect their honour. In this story, the thirteen-year-old Yoritomo together with his older brothers and a small band of retainers follows his father Yoshitomo through the snow, after they have been beaten by the Heike. Yoritomo cannot keep up with the adult men and is repeatedly left behind. (This lonely young horse-rider in the snow is also represented in an illustration by Tani Senba in *Yōnen gahō* (1915, 10:16).) He faces various

[223] Bashō introduces this *hokku* in his account of his visit to Hiraizumi in *Oku no hosomichi* (1702).
[224] Such timeslips with a tragic atmosphere at the end are a Meiji period invention: in Iwaya's *Byakkotai* 白虎隊 (1898) and the picturebook *Otogi gaho: Soga kyodai* お伽画帖曽我兄弟 (1908) for example, the reader is invited to visit the graves of the protagonists.
[225] Bialock, 'Nation and Epic', 159.
[226] Bialock, 162..

trials alone, such as an attack by Heike supporters, who try to lift him from his horse but are neatly cut in half by the boy, who despite his small stature wields the famous sword Higekiri 髭切 ('beard-cutter'). In the meantime, Yoshitomo has someone visit his fourteen-year-old daughter in Kyoto. Upon hearing of the defeat, she calmly accepts her beheading as the right alternative to falling in the hands of the Heike. A similar fate befalls Yoshitomo's son Tomonaga, who 'cowardly' comes back from a certain mission upon which he proposes that his father beheads him, which happens accordingly. The fourteen-year-old girl and young adult thus accept their death with admirable sincerity.

The most striking (or shocking) examples of children's sacrifices appear in Kubota Utsubo's 窪田空穂 (1877-1967) texts for *Kin no hoshi* about the Genpei War.[227] Kubota was an author of the Naturalist school, and he describes the bloody skirmishes in detail. His dramatization of the battle of Ichi-no-tani focuses on the heroic acts of young men who come to a violent end, culminating in the death of Atsumori. He goes a step further in the story 'Genji no yonin no wakagimi' 源氏の四人の若君 ('The four young Genji') (1921, 3:9), that takes place just after the Hōgen rebellion (1156). The winning side (Yoshitomo under orders of emperor Go-Shirakawa) is head-hunting male relatives of the losing side (Yoshitomo's father Tameyoshi (1096-1156) under orders of ex-emperor Sutoku). Among the victims are the four youngest sons of Tameyoshi, who has just been beheaded on Yoshitomo's orders. The four boys are taken into the mountains, on the pretext that they will meet their father whom they think is still alive. Their mother went to pray for fortune at a temple and is unaware of the kidnapping. Arriving in the mountains, the real purpose of the trip is revealed to the boys. While the third son asks if there is no other solution, his older brother berates him and explains that the sons of Tameyoshi cannot live as cowards. The adults present are moved, but as the children so bravely face their fate, they do not cry. In the illustration (fig. 4.17), the soft lines and round features of the boys stress their childlike innocence. The expressions of the children contrast with the executor's bared sword,

[227] Kubota's most 'innocent' story introduces Ushiwakamaru. In his serialized adaptation of the first part of *Gikeiki* in *Kin no hoshi* (1922, 4:4-11), Ushiwakamaru initially represents the characteristics of *kodomorashii kodomo* as defined by Mark Jones. The boy is well-cared for by his 'wise mother' Tokiwa and the priest Tōkōbō, and the soft-lined illustrations show a cute bare-footed boy. The text hints at play-fighting and Ushiwakamaru is provided with middle-class 'tools of leisure': he brings *omocha no tama* おもちゃの玉 or 'toy balls' for his sword-fighting practice at Sōjōgatani. Yet a change occurs. At age fifteen he sets out towards Ōshū to make true his wish to take revenge on the Heike. On his way, he cuts up the thief Yuri no Tarō and sets fire to the house of the 'coward' Misasaki no Hyōe, who weaselled out of his earlier promise to support the Genji. The story closes with Yoshitsune's meeting with Yoritomo, during which he declares that he will offer his soul (*inochi* 命) to his father, and his body (*karada* 体) to his brother. Thus, this story too is partial towards martial themes of courage, retribution (for cowardice), brotherhood, dedication, loyalty (of Yoshitsune to his own clan) and sacrifice.

Fig. 4.17 Okamoto Kiichi, illustration in *Kin no fune* 3:9 (1921). NDL

clenched fist, and troubled expression, that represents a conflict between *giri* 義理 (duty) and *ninjō* 人情 (feelings). The oldest boy watches as his brothers are killed and wiping the blood off their faces, puts their heads in the prepared boxes. He also cuts off some hair, as well as his own, and has it labelled for their mother. Finally, he undergoes the same fate as his brothers. In the second part (1921, 3:10), titled 'Hahagimi no saigo' 母君の最後 ('Mother's End'), the elderly retainers/mentors of the four boys follow their young masters in death. The mother comes back to an empty home. In an unguarded moment, she fills her sleeves with stones and jumps in the river, followed by her female servants. This apocalyptic erasure of the entire family/household is much grimmer than the aesthetic appreciation of the *aware* (tragic) fate of the hero in Meiji period youth literature. Yet this representation of violence and tragedy cannot convincingly be read as a critique on militarism. The moral virtue of the oldest boy and the *junshi* of the retainers is explicitly framed as admirable by the author.

Despite the grim context and realistic descriptions of violence, Kubota's 'young Genji' neatly represent the earlier mentioned characteristics of *dōshin* in the sense of 'selflessness, purity of heart, lack of ulterior motives, acceptance, innocence; naivete'. In the context of this story, 'childlikeness' can be understood as a mindset that is a sublimation of the martial ethos. Michele Mason observes that Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造 (1862-1933) was, like many other theorists on *bushidō*, acutely aware of the Western stereotype of Japan as 'feminine' and 'childlike', and therefore tried to prove Japan's masculinity in his *Bushido: the soul of Japan* (1899). However, in his later essays he also used metaphors of femininity and childhood to describe the (male) paragons of *bushidō*. His various inflections of manhood 'permeated with tensions arising from the need to constantly construct and reconstruct Japan's identity as it attempted to join the tail end of the age of imperialism'.[228] In Nitobe's *Thoughts and Essays* (1909, a collection based on his articles for the newspaper *Osaka Mainichi*) can be found a short essay titled 'Children' in which Nitobe, who was influenced by Christian thought, writes 'the power of children is born in their genuine goodness, their innate purity of heart, their unalloyed sincerity' and he sees in them the 'messengers of heaven'.[229] In the essay 'The Ascent of Bushido' (1906), he applies this ideal to a hierarchy of *bushidō* as expressed in different types of men.[230] Whereas he compares the lowest type to a wild boar, the highest type is 'unsoldierlike and almost feminine in appearance and behavior' and '… their childlikeness makes a sinful conscience envious of purity.'

The values represented in the above-discussed *rekishi dōwa* should not be understood merely on an aesthetic level. Keith observes that some of Miekichi's own stories support military codes and reflect the widely shared pride in Japan's army.[231] Various *rekishi dōwa* are innovative in that they address the inner feelings of a child, yet they teach a very conventional lesson about the duties of male citizens. The narrative 'Yasha gozen' 夜叉御前 (*Kin no hoshi*, 1924, 6:9) by Suzuki Zentarō 鈴木善太郎 (1883-1950), for example, teaches the home front how to deal with absent fathers and brothers. The main protagonist is the eight-year-old Yasha gozen, the daughter of Yoshitomo, who is mentioned by name in late versions of *Heiji monogatari* 平治物語. Observing how her friend lives in a happy home with all family members present, she misses her own father and brother (Yoritomo) who went off

[228] Mason, 'Empowering the Would-Be Warrior', 77.
[229] Nitobe, *Thoughts and Essays*, 105–7.
[230] Nitobe, 156–59.
[231] Keith, 'Dôshinshugi and Realism', 223–27.

to battle. Her mother's soothing words reflect government education: 'As we are born as humans, we must contribute to the world. Your father and brother went to war in order to make the people of Japan happier'. Yasha's sadness and loneliness make place for hope that she will meet them again someday. However, her father is reported to have met a 'violent end' (*higyō na saigo* 非業な最後). Young Yoritomo eventually arrives at Yasha's home, who is intensely happy but later has to say goodbye again. This time, Yoritomo himself tells her to not be sad and rejoice in the fact that he is going to do great deeds for Japan. Thus, different from Meiji period explorations of martial heroes and *Yōnen gahō*, the text focuses on the inner feelings of a child, yet the reader is eventually taught to accept conscription as a duty of male citizens and take pride in the army. Despite their reputation of an enlightened literature, *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* must thus not be associated with pacifism.

According to Oleg Benesch, *bushidō* theory was embraced in intellectual circles during and after the Russo-Japanese War till about 1914, and the popular dissemination of 'imperial *bushidō*' (that focused on loyalty to the emperor and patriotism) could be ascribed to publishers such as Hakubunkan. Nogi's *junshi* would be both the epitome and closing act of this Meiji *bushidō* boom. His suicide was interpreted as a sublimation of the *bushidō* spirit, yet 'the anachronistic sense of detachment from the modern age alarmed many progressives'.[232] Whereas during the Taishō period, imperial *bushidō* remained institutionalized in education, the army, and sports, authors moved on to other themes or even openly criticized the Meiji period ethics.[233] The violence and inflexibility of the warrior code in the *rekishi dōwa* discussed above might convey an implicit doubt, or for any sane person would lead to doubts: obviously these ethics come with too much collateral damage. Yet, warrior ethics and its most controversial element (*junshi*) are explicitly presented as admirable. Stories of loyalty and sacrifice, references to classical literature, and the models of citizenship in the form of Yasha gozen and young Yoritomo, have an educational function. *Rekishi dōwa* are thus a variation on Meiji period adaptations of wartales for children, and not their antithesis. But above all, this past world is celebrated for its authenticity and superiority to the modern adult world, that provided models (for adults) in the form of the selfless, pure, and sincere child.

[232] Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai*, 156.
[233] Benesch, 129.

Conclusion

During the Taishō period, the audience of, and themes seen in, youth literature diversified and included girls and young children. In other words, the number of voices within the arena of youth literature increased, signalling its naturalization as an independent genre. The participants in the discourse however shared the idea that children are innately different from adults, and have a need for imaginative stories, as well as pictures. *Yōnen gahō*, *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* used the 'innocent child' as a point of orientation and legitimization for the expressed ideologies. Both text and image in youth literature was closely connected to adult's appreciation of literature and art, to which the child was apprenticed as a 'pre-reader'. The wartales were newly adapted to fit into the ideal of quality youth literature. Re-assessed by artists trained in various modern artistic schools who experimented with individual styles, early modern iconographies continued to be adapted to a new context where they would be appreciated by middle-class families.

Yōnen gahō represented a shift in thinking about children as in need of 'childlike' objects, images, and spaces. The late Meiji period efforts of textbook-makers and popular publishers, and specifically Hakubunkan and Iwaya's, at creating a national identity through the representation of national heroes culminated in a pictorially represented pantheon for young children. Historical warriors as a popular theme can be compared to cowboys or knights in the West, selected for children's play with the intention to impart cultural identity, commendable (masculine) dispositions or to stimulate the imagination. The young child as subject and audience validated a bright, playful, bold representation of exemplary warriors. Warriors repeatedly appear as suitable subjects of the play of young boys, which connects to their future role as soldiers. Adult co-readers are addressed with ideals of motherhood and the modern family (*katei*), or by invoking nostalgia, but their most important task is to connect personal and collective memory by *telling* stories about the selected heroes and legends. Contrary to the ideal of the 'educating mother', fathers (and siblings) also play a role in the cultural education of young children. By combining different canonical images, *Yōnen gahō* naturalized the idea of Japan's mythical origins and vague overlap between myth, history, legend, and fairy-tales. Yet the full array of icons might be categorized by popularity rather than linear time. The 'child warrior' Ushiwakamaru can be placed in the centre of this pantheon, and in order to connect to the intended audience, also

became younger. Girls are enlisted to cheer on the represented ideal of martiality. Female historical exemplars hardly appear in *Yōnen gahō* yet the female literati, good mothers and loyal wives that appeared in earlier chapters were represented in the discussed *sugoroku* game. *Yōnen gahō* aimed to form a basis for a confident Japanese cultural identity, that is both traditional and modern. Through children, the early modern heritage of warriors was 'rejuvenated'.

The authors of *rekishi dōwa* in *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* highlighted deeper emotional layers of loyalty and sacrifice, *giri* and *ninjō*, and discovered in the 'innocence' and 'sincerity' of children the purest representation of the warrior ethic. The discussed *rekishi dōwa* thus did not put a spotlight on violence to criticise it but found values of a higher order than exercised in the present modern society. Although efforts to protect the innocence of young readers did involve the elimination of sexuality, the representation of violence was apparently not considered problematic by the editors. Especially the Genpei War was sufficiently remote to be used as a national fantasy landscape and not be overcome by fear that war will invade one's middle-class life. Different from the spirited (little) warriors with bright futures in *Yōnen gahō*, in *rekishi dōwa* childhood was a space that can be visited to experience deeper emotions and a nobler spiritual landscape and some authors took drastic measures to keep it intact.

Conclusion

In the late nineteenth century, Japan saw an accelerated development of, and intensifying discourse on youth literature, a new literary genre introduced from the West. Many texts published in the new youth magazines and book series focused on historical generals, drawing upon textual and visual representations of premodern warrior legends and war tales, as canonized in Edo period popular culture. I have addressed the adaptation of warrior legends in youth literature from two angles: first, the development of youth literature as an instrument for creating certain dispositions in children, and second, as a process that sheds new light on the modernization of literary categories and identity-formation of adults during Japan's nation-building process.

Following the Meiji restoration, one of the most urgent and ambitious projects of the new government was the implementation of compulsory education, that redefined the nation's children as young citizens. The Imperial Rescript on Education (1890) and related educational directions defined the goal of elementary education as the formation of national subjects. Herbartian pedagogues concretely advised to make use of folktales and tales about historical heroes that appeal to the imagination of children, to impart ethics and a 'historical consciousness' in the sense of a national identity. In line with these ideas, Japanese history textbooks and *kokugo* textbooks by the 1890s started to introduce a (visual) lexicon of national symbols and short narratives of Japanese historical generals or 'Great Men'. These figures at the same time functioned as ethics examples representing such virtues as diligence, loyalty, and courage. During the 1890s, the government gradually wrested the creation of textbooks from the hands of private publishers. However, commercial authors and publishers gave themselves direct access to the minds of young citizens by way of new youth magazines and book series, that also offered them a way to develop and disseminate variant views on citizenship, as well as a sense of selfhood.

The pioneers of Japanese youth literature made extensive use of war tales, warrior legends, and premodern iconographies to develop and communicate their ideals. The idea that young people would not only benefit from, but also be particularly interested in the theme of warriors not only concurs with nineteenth century Western trends of dramatizing

national (imperial) history for children, but also had its roots in the Edo period. Even though a specific literary genre for children did not yet exist, the Bakufu and publishers did recognize children among the popular audience of picture books written in the vernacular and associated them with warrior legends (and folktales). *Kusazōshi* digests of warrior legends introduced young readers to (pre-Edo period) history, and to the repeated plots and iconographies that were continuously reworked in popular culture. Literate children, not limited by artificial lines drawn between themselves and 'adult' literature, moreover appropriated war tales and *gōkan*, illustrated and written in the vernacular, as their own reading material even if they were not explicitly intended for them. John Morgenstern in his study of the rise of British children's literature argues that children's appropriation of certain types of literature should be included in the history of children's literature.[1] Such an approach is essential for understanding the development and orientation of Meiji youth literature: warrior legends, whether repackaged for children in picture book format or not, were already before the appearance of modern history series in the 1890s associated with the interests of boys, and consequently selected as appropriate material for the creation of a literature for young citizens.

Popular plots and iconographic images played a pivotal role in the process of adaptation. The idea that children are attracted to pictures (of warriors) already existed in the Edo period, and by the late Edo period images were used as an expedient means in *ōraimono*. Originality led from inventive reworkings of recognizable plots, not from conjuring up something that would be entirely different. The artists who created *kuchi-e* and illustrations in modern textbooks and youth literature continued to rely on these iconographies: the illustrations were largely 'pre-determined'. Whereas the prevailing academic view is that 'illustrations' are secondary to the text or that meaning arises mainly from the interplay between text and image (based on modern picturebooks) such iconographical pictures are thus highly intertextual and should be seen as the 'symbols' (in Lotman's terms) through which narratives (plots) were carried over through time, into Taishō picture magazines for pre-readers, and beyond.

Cultural memory plays an important role in shaping identities, particularly when a 'new' identity needs to be negotiated. Historical fiction for children has a special place in

[1] Morgenstern, 'The Rise of Children's Literature Reconsidered'.

commemorative actions, as it is explicitly created to interpret society for the next generation but also forms a space for adults to reflect, comment and re-iterate the past or canonical literature, based on different rules and expectations from literature for adults. I analyzed Meiji youth literature through the lens of Yuri Lotman's theory of 'creative memory', a model that simultaneously throws new light on the role of cultural memory in the creation of the new genre, and Japan's modernization process (or the 'Edo-Meiji divide'). In Lotman's spatial model of culture, or semiosphere, foreign concepts travel from periphery to center of a given cultural (sub)sphere through amalgamation with established texts, in 'creative memory'. This is an ongoing process of the updating of texts, triggered by contact with other texts, that applies to the Edo period as well as modern context, from the discussed *kusazōshi* to picture magazines.

The rise of youth literature in the 1890s can be understood as an 'explosion', a period of accelerated text-production during which codes that are very different to the internal conventions are translated into a given culture or cultural sub-sphere. The serialized adaptations of premodern warrior legends by Ōwada, Iwaya, and others represent this process on a small scale, as they combined the exploration of the codes of nineteenth century youth literature from the West, with the exploration of models of modern (male) citizenship through adapting 'known' premodern warrior legends. Youth literature played an important role in salvaging the 'unmodern' in modernizing Japan by shifting warrior legends from the spere of popular literature (including the woodblock and copperplate-printed *kusazōshi* for children of the 1880s) to the sphere of a legitimate literature for teenagers and children, where they were 'educational', would fit to the 'stage of development' of the audience, and stimulate the imagination and the formation of a Japanese identity.

The Meiji period magazines *Yōnen zasshi* and *Shōnen sekai* repeatedly addressed the question 'what is a Japanese boy?' Although elementary education officially offered equal access to girls, and words like *yōnen* and *shōnen* before the diversification of audiences referred to young people of either gender, this question was clearly considered the most pressing one. As discussed in the first chapter, a concept of 'Japanese boys' did not yet exist in the premodern period: the popular imagination in Edo focused on heirs to the household or *ie*, ideally a healthy and diligent boy, and boisterous boys who represented apart from

'health' also the playful spirit of the urban commoners of Edo, the Edokko. The conceptualization of 'Japanese boys' started with bringing into existence the magazines and book series that identified this group in society: they had a future responsibility not foremost to their individual households, but to the nation-state.

Authors of *Shōkokumin*, *Yōnen zasshi* and Hakubunkan's book series gradually developed specific modes of address for the young audience, as well as views of the young citizen by selecting and embellishing different elements from the warrior legends than the government. In the Edo period, till about 1890, Yoshitsune appeared in *kusazōshi* aimed at children that introduced the famous episodes of his life. In this way, a young audience was introduced to the cycle of plots and iconographies that formed the Yoshitsune *sekai* (world), but also to various customs and the proper nature of human relationships according to the Confucian worldview. In *ōraimono*, and to a lesser degree in the more 'action-oriented' *kusazōshi*, Yoritomo's failure to maintain the proper relationships between lord and retainer, and between brothers, served as an example of disarray that should be avoided. Modern textbook makers however gradually shifted Yoshitsune to the realm of *kokugo* and re-invented Yoritomo as the indisputable founder of the first stable military government: instead of the dramatic 'rise and fall' of warrior clans, there had to be a linear history leading to only one thing: the modern nation-state. The figure of the brave 'child' Ushiwakamaru and his loyal retainer Benkei came to serve as a story for beginning readers. In the context of the genre of youth literature, Ushiwakamaru/Yoshitsune was redefined as a national hero representing such virtues as perseverance, courage, and self-determination. Yoshitsune's early years were by modern authors identified as most relevant to the intended audience. Furthermore, through gradual 'infantilization' of Ushiwakamaru in Taishō picture magazines, he became a preschooler's hero. Hideyoshi was identified as one of the 'Great Men' in the elementary history curriculum, and a paragon of *shusse*, loyalty, and expansionism. However, the stories about Hiyoshimaru's rebellious nature were carefully avoided. Iwaya Sazanami on the other hand selected and embellished the episodes in which Hiyoshimaru busted the Amida statue or picked a fight on Yahagi bridge. Focusing on an audience of primary school children, he selected episodes that were obviously not history, but would stimulate children's imagination, and above all, prove that Japanese boys should be more *wanpaku* or 'spirited', if they were to do anything great in the future.

Both the history curriculum, and the dramatizations in literature for teenage boys and a mixed audience of younger children, presented national history as a patrilineage and a homosocial undertaking. The represented women in primary school textbooks, that initially included a selection of literati women and some other *retsujo* (exemplary women), by the turn of the century consisted only of Murasaki Shikibu and the wives of famous men. They represented virtues relevant to both genders (loyalty and diligence in one's studies) next to virtues reflecting ideal female traits (such as modesty). The absence of the word 'beauty', so important for the appreciation of *retsujo* in the premodern period, might indicate that children, whether boy or girl, were not to occupy themselves with the looks of adult women. In both Iwaya's *Ushiwakamaru* and in *Yōnen gahō*, Tokiwa gozen appears as a devoted mother, yet the world in which boys like Ushiwakamaru must consequently prove themselves is homosocial. *Yōnen gahō* addressed a mixed audience of young children but used the opportunity to teach gendered forms of play and interests: boys are invited to emulate historical warriors, whereas girls stay in the present and cheer on them.

Yōnen gahō, under Iwaya's supervision, brought middle-class families a confident national identity in a colorful, recognizably Japanese, *and* modern style. It invited older family members to remember and retell the legends while looking at the pictures together, thereby connecting personal and collective memory. Siblings were to be taken as role models, and fathers were invited to take part in the cultural education of their children. Meiji authors (like Iwaya) associated oral storytelling (including warrior legends) in early childhood with their mother or grandmother. In other words, even though the focus in academic research lies on the *ryōsai kenbo* and self-made women, it seems that the modern middle-class father was also consciously allotted a new role.[2] According to *Yōnen gahō*'s ideals, he is involved in the family's 'leisure time', contributing to the development of his little pre-readers.

In contrast to Iwaya's striving for an unambiguous Japanese identity and strengthening of the connection between the national past and the playfulness, positivity and potential of young children, the authors of *rekishi dōwa* newly adapted sections from the war tales seeking for deeper emotional layers. They found in childhood a 'purer' state than

[2] Mark Jones describes a case of a father who is deeply involved in the preparation of his child for the primary school (Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 216–17.), and mentions admonitions to fathers to 'come home early' but does not theorize on ideals of fatherhood in his study.

adulthood, and a sublimation of the warrior spirit. This state could only be truly dichotomous by barring children from developing into adults, in various narratives expressed through the 'noble sacrifice' of young people's lives. By shaping 'the child' and the constituent stages through youth literature, authors, illustrators, and publishers thus also gave shape to its opposite, namely 'the adult'. The adult is not only someone who is internally different but also entitled to guiding the child in its steps towards adulthood.

The importance of the latter notion for Japan's nation-building project, might be illustrated by returning to Iwaya's visit to the exhibition 'Die Kunst im Leben des Kindes' in Berlin. He was, as mentioned in the last chapter, hurt by the remark that Japan had yet no concept of children's literature.[3] This is to be expected from someone who finds his efforts entirely overlooked. In a more general sense, Iwaya's encounter shows why it was so important for the Japanese nation to 'have' children's literature and not just children reading books. First, the catalogue observed that Japan did not *yet* have a concept of children's literature, implying that Japan was not *yet* able to distinguish the sphere of children from the sphere of adults in their literature or cultural expression. Second, the 'charming' drawings made by Japanese artists were considered to have the qualities of art for children, which reflects the lines of thought of primitivism. Both observations put Japan at a lower level of civilization. Iwaya in his report points out that the exhibited pictures are merely the lesser works of Edo and early Meiji period artists. He wins back some ground by distancing himself from Chikanobu's and Hiroshige's 'unmodern' creations: *recently*, there are much better artists. Recognizing their favorite illustrators, the young audience would applaud. Moreover, if such an exhibition were to take place again, he will donate Japanese children's books and 'properly introduce Japan'. In other words, Japan is much more grown-up than the Germans think (or want to think). Youth literature gave its makers agency over these hierarchies by identifying, separating, and cultivating the childlike. Mastering the Western concept of childhood, adulthood, and especially the 'development' from the first to the latter, in other words, mastering the discursivity of this concept, enabled them to identify their position and try and make it negotiable.

[3] Iwaya, *Iwaya Sazanami yōkō miyage*, 163.

Appendix
plots and characters related to Yoshitsune

This appendix gives an overview of early modern canonical plots and characters related to Yoshitsune, based on Shimazu Hisamoto's categorization in *Yoshitsune densetsu to bungaku* 義経伝説と文学 ('Yoshitsune Legends and Literature', 1935).

Ushiwakamaru Period	**Yoshitsune's youth and adolescence**
Fushimi Tokiwa	After Yoshitsune's father Minamoto Yoshitomo is killed, his mother Tokiwa gozen flees with her three sons, including the infant Yoshitsune (Ushiwakamaru), but they are captured by the Heike. Obsessed by her beauty, the Heike leader Taira no Kiyomori makes the capital mistake of keeping the boys alive.
Kurama Tengu	Around age seven, Ushiwakamaru (also called Shanaō) is sent to Kurama temple near Kyoto, but upon hearing about his ancestry he secretly starts to practice sword-fighting with the mythical *tengu* in the nearby Sōjō valley.
Kiichi Hōgen	Upon hearing that a certain Kiichi hōgen owns secret scrolls about war tactics, the teenage Ushiwakamaru seduces the priest's daughter Maizuru and copies the scrolls.
Yoshitsune's Island-hopping & Visit to Hell	At a certain point, he also visits several fantastical islands, and Hell.
Princess Jōruri	Ushiwakamaru has a tragic love affair with princess Jōruri while on his way to Hiraizumi in the northern province of Ōshū, where he hopes to find support from the Fujiwara clan.
Kumasaka Chōhan Sekihara Yōichi Tokiwa in the Mountains	On his way, Ushiwakamaru furthermore kills the notorious thief Kumasaka Chōhan who tries to steal the goods of the gold merchant Kichiji (his companion on his way to Hiraizumi). A man by the name of Sekihara Yōichi moreover loses his life after his horse kicked mud on Ushiwakamaru's clothes. *Or* Ushiwakamaru kills Yōichi because he murdered Tokiwa gozen in the Yoshino Mountains.
Benkei on the Bridge	After his return from Ōshū, Ushiwakamaru beats the warrior monk Musashibō Benkei on Gojō bridge in Kyoto. Benkei becomes his most loyal retainer.
Triumphant Period	**Yoshitsune's actions as a general**
Hiyodorigoe	Yoshitsune becomes a general under orders of his half-brother Minamoto Yoritomo, who tries to make an end to the power of the Heike clan. During the battle of Ichi-no-tani (1184) Yoshitsune and his warriors surprise the Heike by galloping down the steep cliff Hiyodorigoe.
The Dropped Bow and *hassō-tobi*	During the sea battle of Yashima (1185), Yoshitsune's small bow falls in the water, and he puts his life in danger to retrieve it and avoid

	shame. He furthermore jumps over eight ships (a feat known as *hassō-tobi*), which proves the agility of the small warrior.
Reverse Oars The Koshigoe Letter	During the sea Battle of Dan-no-ura (1185), Yoshitsune ridicules the general Kajiwara Kagetoki for proposing to use 'reverse oars' (*sakaro*) that will make a retreat easier. The Minamoto win, but Yoritomo refuses to reward Yoshitsune or even see him, which is purportedly caused by Kajiwara's slander. Yoshitsune sends a letter from Koshigoe near Kamakura, in which he tries to convince Yoritomo of his innocence, to no avail.
Period of Despair	**The fugitive Yoshitsune**
Night Attack on the Horikawa Mansion	Now things go downhill, but Yoshitsune's most loyal retainers do not give up. They suffer a nightly attack by Yoritomo's crony Tosabō while staying at the Horikawa mansion, which they manage to ward off.
Benkei on the Boat	While escaping to Shikoku by boat, Yoshitsune and his retainers are attacked by the ghosts of the Heike who appear from the bottom of the sea during a storm, but Benkei gets rid of them.
Yoshino Mountains	They later hide in the mountains of Yoshino, where the loyal Satō Tadanobu impersonates his lord and loses his life fighting the monk Yokawa no Kakuhan.
Tsurugaoka	Yoshitsune's lover Shizuka gozen is left behind in Yoshino, captured, and brought to Yoritomo in Kamakura. While forced to perform a dance at the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine, she bravely recites a poem that speaks of her loyalty to Yoshitsune. She bears Yoshitsune's son, but he is killed.
Ataka/Kanjinchō	Dressed up as mountain ascetics, Yoshitsune and his retainers travel north to Hiraizumi and safely pass the barrier at Ataka. Benkei 'reads' an empty subscription list (*kanjinchō*) and hits his lord to convince the suspecting guard that Yoshitsune is merely their carrier.
Settai ('the welcome')	The mother of Yoshitsune's retainers Satō Tsugunobu and Tadanobu pays the fugitives a visit. She brings her fatherless grandson and reproaches them. Benkei gives a dramatic account of her sons' loyalty and bravery during the battle of Yashima and in Yoshino. (Generally introduced not as flashback but chronologically in *kusazōshi*.)
Yoshitsune's End	
Benkei's *tachi-ōjō,* Yoshitsune's ritual suicide	Yoshitsune commits suicide in his castle Takadachi in Hiraizumi. Benkei keeps the enemy at bay and dies while standing (*tachi-ōjō*).
Crossing over to Ezo	*Or* they both fake their death and escape to Ezo, the current Hokkaido, where Yoshitsune becomes the king and deity of the native inhabitants. In the nineteenth century, this plot was extended with the idea that he became Ghenghis Khan.

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4.4 Chiji Yoshirō 千地芳朗, "Ushiwakamaru to Benkei", *Yōnen gahō* 20:1 (1925)

4.5 Takeuchi Keishū 武内桂舟, "Yoshitsune no uma", *Yōnen gahō* 8:15 (1913)

4.6 Tani Senba 谷洗馬, "Hiyodorigoe", *Yōnen gahō* 11:2 (1917)

4.7 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 12:1 (1917)

4.8 Artist unknown, "Minamoto Yoshitsune", in *Yōnen no tomo* 幼年の友 7:8 (1915)

4.9 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 3:2 (1908)

4.10 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 12:9 (1917)

4.11 Takeuchi Keishū, "Shōgatsu ganjitsu ni umareta erai hito", *Yōnen gahō* 1:1 (1906)

4.12 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 10:7 (1916)

4.13 Artist unknown, "Musha gyōretsu", *Yōnen gahō*, 14:6 (1919)

4.14 Artist unknown, "Onee-san/Onii-san", *Yōnen gahō* 2:14 (1907)

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1.13 *Yoshitsune kōmyō soroe* 義経高名そろへ, 1684-1704. Okamoto, *Shoki kamigata kodomo ehonshū*.

1.14 Tanaka Masunobu 田中益信, *Musha kagami* 武者鏡, ca. 1740-1750. Suzuki and Kimura, *Kinsei kodomo no ehonshū – Edo hen*.

3.1 *Kuchi-e* in *Shōkokumin,* 1:9 (1890). Kami Shōichirō, Ueda Nobumichi, eds., *Shōkokumin fukkokuban*.

3.2 Illustration in *Shōkokumin*, 1:5 (1889), p. 13. *Shōkokumin fukkokuban*.

3.3 Tomioka Eisen, *kuchi-e* in *Yōnen zasshi*, 2:8 (1892). Ueda Nobumichi, ed., *Yōnen zasshi fukkokuban*.

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2.4 *Kokugo tokuhon* 国語読本 vol. 4, 1900. NKT 6 (*kokugo* 3), p. 215.

2.6 *Kokugo tokuhon* 国語読本 vol. 2, 1900. NKT 6 (*kokugo* 3), p. 234.

2.7 *Shōgaku tokuhon* 小学読本 vol. 7, 1887. NKT 5 (*kokugo* 2), p. 150.

2.9 *Shōgakkōyō Nihonrekishi - maki no jō* 小学校用日本歴史 巻之上, 1888. NKT 19 (*rekishi* 2), p. 112.

2.10 *Teikoku shōshi* 帝国小史 (1892), vol. 1. NKT 19 (*rekishi* 2), p. 198.

2.11 *Shōgakkōyō Nihonrekishi* 小学校用日本歴史, vol. 1, 1893. NKT 19 (*rekishi* 2), p. 246.

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Summary

This thesis examines the role of children's literature in Japan's nation-building process and the formation of a modern society. Meiji period (1868-1912) children's literature has been characterized as a literature that was behind the developments in the West as well as Japanese literature for adults, or as lacking the modern insights into the child that defines modern children's literature. Yet the intense efforts of Japanese authors and publishers to create a dedicated literature for children from the 1890s onwards bespeaks a deep-felt need for children's literature to exist as a separate literary category and a new mode of expression. This thesis on the one hand addresses the instrumental role of Japanese children's literature in the Meiji and Taishō (1912-1926) period; on the other hand, it asks what this new genre meant to the self-understanding of the adults who developed it. Focusing on a literature mainly aimed at boys of the primary school age, this thesis elucidates how Edo period (1600-1868) warrior legends circulating in cultural memory were canonized and adapted in youth literature to fit various modern ideals, and how these concurred or contrasted with the metaphors of good citizenship in textbooks. By taking the perspective of children's literature, this thesis furthermore throws new light on Japan's transition to modernity, the use of cultural memory and iconographic pictures in this transition, and the development of (gendered) childhood as a discursive category within the Japanese nation-state.

The first chapter focuses on Edo period notions of childhood that preceded the influx of Western concepts, and the meaning of 'books for children' in this context. This thesis shows that even though a specific literature for children did not exist, children were seen as an audience of books, independently from modern (Western) concepts of childhood or children's literature. Associated with the interests of children were folktales and warrior legends, and adults were keenly aware of children's interest in pictures. Representations of famous warriors in didactic texts (*ōraimono*) and picture books from Edo (*kusazōshi*) familiarized children with widely circulating sets of characters, plots, and iconographies upon which popular entertainment was structured. The main case study focuses on the representation of the general Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159-1189). Edo period illustrated biographies introduce the main episodes of his entire life, but especially popular with

children were the boyhood legends in which the small, agile warrior battles with mythical *tengu* and the warrior monk Benkei. The ideals represented by (the young) Yoshitsune are bravery, loyalty, studiousness. Didactic texts about Yoshitsune teach a Confucian lesson about slander, and the proper relationship between lord and vassal, or older and younger brother. Furthermore, the chapter explores alternative exemplary (childhood) dispositions in Edo period and early Meiji period representations of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) and Murasaki Shikibu (born around 973). Hideyoshi's biographies not only focus on his remarkable social ascendance and loyalty, but also on his unruliness as a boy. In late Edo period biographies of Hideyoshi, unruliness, flaunting one's studies, self-determination, but also loyalty, culminates in martial success and a much higher social status in later life. The lady-in-waiting and author Murasaki Shikibu represented erudition, beauty, modesty, and chastity, but only the quality of erudition is connected to a commonly depicted 'good' childhood disposition, namely the diligent study of writing. Murasaki Shikibu would become the only female exemplar who had a stable presence within the male-centered modern history curriculum.

In chapter two, I discuss the development of a canon of historical icons and exemplars in the modern elementary school curriculum. Following the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890), elementary education started to be interpreted as a place for creating loyal subjects. Yet the creation of metaphors was based on the pedagogical ideals of Herbartianism and 'progressive' insights into the child's cognitive development. Late nineteenth-century German Herbartians proposed to appeal to the child's imagination through narratives and pictures, and present material that relates to the nation, such as heroic tales. This idea was translated to the Japanese sphere, by making selective use of warrior legends. The heroes functioned as ethics exemplars and an expedient means for imparting 'historical consciousness' (*rekishiteki kannen*), in the sense of a collective identity. Yoshitsune was incorporated into the national language (*kokugo*) textbooks for the lowest grades as the brave boy Ushiwakamaru who beat Benkei on Gojō bridge. Both Ushiwakamaru and the audience became younger in the process, while references were made to future lessons about this hero. Hideyoshi was taken up in the history curriculum as a man of ambition, the unifier of Japan, and a figure who almost provided Japan with a precedent for the colonization of Korea. Whereas his social ascendance became one of the chief metaphors of the Meiji slogan *risshin shusse*, textbooks obscured the legends of his disruptive behavior. Murasaki Shikibu became one of the rare female historical exemplars in

the canon, first in the history textbooks but eventually only in the *kokugo* textbooks. While representing feminine virtues such as modesty and chastity, she was also an exemplar of intelligence and studiousness for children of both genders.

In chapter three I discuss how authors and publishers after initially paying lip-service to the government started to create their own versions of ideal young citizens and historical heroes. I focus on magazines and book series of the successful Tokyo publishing house Hakubunkan, and the pioneering author and editor Iwaya Sazanami (1870-1933). I re-examine the early development of the genre of children's literature in Japan through the lens of Juri Lotman's theory of cultural memory. In Lotman's spatial model of culture, or semiosphere, foreign concepts travel from periphery to center of a given cultural (sub)sphere through amalgamation with established texts, in a process of 'creative memory'. The genre of youth literature was such a foreign concept. Following a discussion of exemplary heroes in Hakubunkan's magazines and history series of the early 1890s, I zoom in on Iwaya's essays and book series, in which he explores the codes of nineteenth century youth literature from the West in adaptations of Japanese warrior legends. He shaped his protagonists into exemplary boys who display *wanpaku* (spirited) dispositions, in opposition to moralism and 'narrow-minded nationalism' imparted at home and in schools. These dispositions he explored and disseminated in his fictionalizations of Ushiwakamaru and Hiyoshimaru (the young Hideyoshi). Most strikingly, he made the legends of Hiyoshimaru's unruliness a focal element of the story, in contrast to textbook interpretations in the ideal young citizen.

The fourth and last chapter examines the re-use of early modern warrior iconographies and asks how the Taishō period trope of the 'childlike child' and the modern family intersected with representations of the remote national past and national icons. Images of warriors in Hakubunkan's successful magazine *Yōnen gahō* ('Children's Illustrated') were largely based on premodern iconographies, as seen in early modern warrior prints and illustrated books. The re-interpretations construct the young middle-class child as a 'pre-reader' and connect warrior icons and young boys to future soldierhood. *Yōnen gahō* expects all members of the nuclear family to recall and tell the stories about the selected heroes and legends, thereby forging strong connections between personal and collective memory. Ushiwakamaru appears as the most popular hero, as a martially gifted little boy who beat the big monk Benkei. The 'progressive' children's magazines *Akai Tori* ('Red Bird') and *Kin no hoshi* ('Gold Star') are known for their Romanticism and focus on 'the child's (innocent) heart' (*dōshin*), yet they also introduced adaptations of war tales that

realistically represent violence and idealize notions of loyalty and sacrifice. In this remote past, the 'innocence and sincerity' of children shines as a sublimation of the warrior spirit.

This thesis challenges the idea that 'books for children' only developed in the West or in relationship to (early) modernity, and proposes to understand the conceptual shift to children's literature as modern genre in nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Japan as a process of 'creative memory', rather than the outcome of an universally applicable evolutionary development, or a sudden paradigm shift. This thesis furthermore shows that the development of a modern Japanese children's literature – that so far has been peripheral to Japanese Literature Studies and studies on the history of Japanese education – played a central role in the production of the necessary narratives and metaphors in Japan's nation-building process. The re-appropriation of warrior legends in a dedicated literary genre for children contributed to the coherence of culture during Japan's modernization and the formation of a national identity among 'young citizens'. It moreover signified Japan's status as a modern society that separates the sphere of childhood from adulthood and provides the latter with a sense of Selfhood and the right to guide both real and metaphorical children in their development.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt de rol van kinderliteratuur in de vorming van de Japanse natiestaat en moderne maatschappij. Kinderliteratuur uit de Meiji-periode (1868-1912) zou achterlopen op zowel de ontwikkelingen in het Westen als Japanse literatuur voor volwassenen, en moderne inzichten in het kind zouden niet of nauwelijks aanwezig zijn. Echter, uit de inspanningen van schrijvers en uitgevers in de jaren 1890 (en verder) blijkt duidelijk dat kinderliteratuur als moderne literaire categorie en expressiemiddel een belangrijke behoefte vervulde. Deze studie analyseert enerzijds de instrumentele rol van Japanse kinderliteratuur in de Meiji en Taishō (1912-1926) periode; anderzijds stelt hij de vraag wat de ontwikkeling van het nieuwe genre betekende voor de volwassenen die zich hiermee bezighielden. Deze studie laat zien hoe de krijgerslegenden uit de Edo periode (1600-1868) bijdroegen aan de ontwikkeling van een moderne kinderliteratuur en de creatie van rolmodellen voor (voornamelijk) jongens. Het perspectief van de kinderliteratuur werpt nieuw licht op de transitie naar de moderne tijd, de rol van het cultureel geheugen en iconografische afbeeldingen in die transitie, en de ontwikkeling van 'het kind' als discursieve categorie binnen de Japanse natiestaat.

Het eerste hoofdstuk richt zich op de conceptualisering van het kind in de Edo periode, vóór de influx van Westerse concepten, en de betekenis en inhoud van 'boeken voor kinderen' in deze context. Hoewel een specifiek literair genre voor kinderen nog niet bestond, werden kinderen wel degelijk gezien als lezerspubliek en waren er ook boeken voor kinderen, onafhankelijk van Westerse modellen. Volksverhalen en krijgerslegenden werden geassocieerd met de interesses van kinderen, evenals een voorliefde voor plaatjes. Representaties van beroemde krijgers in didactische teksten (*ōraimono*) en prentenboeken uit Edo (*kusazōshi*) maakten kinderen bekend met het brede palet aan personages, plots en iconografieën waarop entertainment zoals theaterstukken waren gebaseerd. De belangrijkste casus richt zich op representaties van de generaal Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159-1189). 'Biografische' *kusazōshi* introduceerden de belangrijkste plots uit de cyclus van legenden in beeld en woord, maar vooral populair onder kinderen waren de legenden over de jonge Yoshitsune (Ushiwakamaru), waarin de kleine, behendige krijger strijd levert met de mythische *tengu* en de rijzige monnik Benkei. De idealen vertegenwoordigd door de (jonge) Yoshitsune waren moed, loyaliteit en ijver. Didactische teksten over Yoshitsune waarschuwden bovendien voor de gevolgen van laster en een verstoorde verhouding (volgens het Confucianisme) tussen oudere en jongere broer, heer en volgeling. Twee

aanvullende casussen richten zich op de representatie van Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) en Murasaki Shikibu (geboren rond 973), de enige vrouw die een vaste plek in de patriarchale canon van het moderne basisonderwijs zou verwerven. Geïllustreerde biografieën van Hideyoshi uit de late Edo periode en vroege Meiji periode introduceren zijn verbazingwekkende sociale klim van boerenzoon naar militaire leider, zijn loyaliteit, maar ook zijn onhandelbaarheid als jongen. De hofdame en auteur Murasaki Shikibu was onderdeel van de canon van voorbeeldige vrouwen (*retsujo*) vanwege haar eruditie, schoonheid, bescheidenheid, en kuisheid, maar haar jeugd (waar gerepresenteerd) werd slechts geassocieerd met een generiek 'ijverig studeren', zoals verwacht van literati in de dop en kinderen van goede afkomst.

Het tweede hoofdstuk richt zich op de ontwikkeling van een canon van historische iconen en rolmodellen in het curriculum van de moderne basisschool. Het Keizerlijk Edict over Educatie (1890) vormde een belangrijk uitgangspunt voor het idee dat het basisonderwijs niet slechts om kennis draait, maar vooral om de vorming van loyale burgers. Wat echter nauwelijks aandacht heeft gekregen is de manier waarop de pedagogische idealen van het Herbartianisme en 'progressieve' inzichten in de cognitieve ontwikkeling van kinderen hebben bijgedragen aan de creatie van een lexicon van begrijpelijke en 'voelbare' metaforen voor kinderen. Laat negentiende-eeuwse Duitse Herbartianen stelden voor om gebruik te maken van het voorstellingsvermogen van kinderen door middel van narratieven en afbeeldingen die verband houden met de natie, zoals heldenverhalen. Deze helden functioneerden (ook) volgens Japanse Herbartianen als rolmodellen en hulpmiddel om 'historisch bewustzijn' bij te brengen, in de betekenis van een collectieve identiteit. Yoshitsune werd onderdeel van de leesles in de laagste klassen, als de moedige jonge Ushiwakamaru die Benkei versloeg op de Gojō brug in Kyoto. Zowel de gerepresenteerde Ushiwakamaru als het beoogde publiek werd jonger tijdens dit proces, en de lessen bereiden voor op toekomstige lessen over de historische figuur Yoshitsune. Hideyoshi kreeg een prominente plek in het geschiedenis curriculum als een man van ambitie die Japan verenigde onder één militair regime onder het toeziend oog van de keizer, en bovendien Japan voorzag van een 'precedent' voor de kolonisatie van Korea. Hoewel Hideyoshi een vaak geciteerde metafoor van de Meiji slogan *risshin shusse* ('opklimmen in de maatschappij') was, maken lesboeken geen gewag van zijn opstandige jeugd. De historische canon zoals deze aan het eind van de negentiende eeuw werd ontwikkeld voor het gemengde basisonderwijs was sterk gericht op mannen en jongens. Murasaki Shikibu was een zeldzame representatie van een historische vrouw en rolmodel, eerst in de

geschiedenisboeken maar uiteindelijk alleen geschikt bevonden voor de leesles. De lesboeken benadrukken enerzijds 'vrouwelijke deugden' zoals bescheidenheid en kuisheid, en anderzijds haar intelligentie en ijver, wat relevant was voor zowel meisjes als jongens.

Hoofdstuk drie analyseert hoe auteurs en uitgevers na een korte periode van lippendienst aan het Keizerlijk Edict over Educatie ook hun eigen variaties van de ideale jonge burger en historische helden begonnen te creëren. De nadruk ligt op tijdschriften en boekenseries van de succesvolle uitgever Hakubunkan (Tokyo), en de pionierende auteur en redacteur Iwaya Sazanami (1870-1933). Dit hoofdstuk kijkt naar de vroege ontwikkeling van de kinderliteratuur in Japan door de lens van Juri Lotman's theorie over cultureel geheugen. In Lotman's ruimtelijke model van cultuur, ook wel semiosfeer genoemd, verplaatsen nieuwe concepten die vreemd zijn aan de bestaande cultuur zich geleidelijk van de periferie naar het centrum van een gegeven culturele (sub)sfeer door samensmelting met bestaande teksten, in een proces dat hij 'creatief geheugen' noemt. Het genre kinderliteratuur of jeugdliteratuur was zo'n nieuw concept in negentiende-eeuws Japan. Na een analyse van heldenverhalen in Hakubunkan's tijdschriften en historische boekenseries in de vroege jaren 1890, gaat dit hoofdstuk in op Iwaya's essays en adaptaties van krijgerslegenden voor kinderen, waarin hij de codes van de Westerse negentiende-eeuwse jeugdliteratuur (inclusief sprookjes) verkent. Hij vormde zijn protagonisten tot jongens met een *wanpaku* (wilskrachtig, energiek) karakter, in tegenstelling tot het moralisme en 'kleingeestig nationalisme' dat volgens hem de overhand heeft in Japanse huishoudens en op basisscholen. Iwaya werkte zijn idealen uit in bewerkingen van krijgerslegenden, waaronder *Ushiwakamaru* (1896) en *Hiyoshimaru* (1898). Iwaya's overtuigingen culmineren in dit laatste boek, waarin Hiyoshimaru's onhandelbaarheid juist gepresenteerd wordt als veelbelovend gedrag, in tegenstelling tot de lesboeken.

Het vierde en laatste hoofdstuk gaat over de herinterpretatie van traditionele iconografieën van krijgers in kleutertijdschriften uit de Taishō periode en onderzoekt hoe het ideaal van het 'kinderlijke (onschuldige) kind' en het moderne gezin worden verbonden met representaties van het (verre) nationale verleden en nationale iconen. Plaatjes van krijgers in Hakubukan's succesvolle tijdschrift *Yōnen gahō* ('Children's Illustrated') waren voornamelijk gebaseerd op premoderne iconografieën, zoals deze verschenen in de prenten en *kusazōshi* in de Edo periode. Deze herinterpretaties construeren het jonge kind uit de middenklasse als een 'pre-lezer' en verbinden iconische krijgers en jonge jongens met een toekomstige rol als soldaat. *Yōnen gahō* verwacht dat de oudere leden van het gezin de bijbehorende legenden zelf vertellen, een (her)beleving die de beelden en verhalen verankert

in zowel de persoonlijke herinnering als het collectief geheugen. Yoshitsune wordt het vaakst afgebeeld als het martiale jongetje Ushiwakamaru, dat de enorme Benkei verslaat. De 'progressieve' kindertijdschriften *Akai tori* ('Rode Vogel') en *Kin no hoshi* ('Gouden Ster') staan bekend om hun Romantische inslag en verheerlijking van het onschuldige 'hart van het kind' (*dōshin*), maar publiceerden ook bewerkingen van krijgerslegenden die geweld niet schuwen en bovendien loyaliteit en opofferingsgezindheid idealiseren. Deze verhalen over het verre Japanse verleden presenteren de onschuld en oprechtheid van kinderen als de sublimatie van de krijgersgeest.

Deze studie laat zien dat 'boeken voor kinderen' ook bestonden buiten een moderne of Westerse context. Het stelt voor om de overgang naar het concept 'kinderliteratuur' in de negentiende- en vroeg twintigste-eeuws Japan niet te zien als *ofwel* een lineaire ontwikkeling voortkomend uit een 'vroegmoderne' proto-kinderliteratuur, *ofwel* een plotselinge paradigmaverschuiving, maar als de uitkomst van een proces binnen het 'creatief geheugen'. Het proefschrift laat bovendien zien dat kinderliteratuur – tot nu toe een perifere aangelegenheid in de studie van de opkomende natiestaat, Japanse literatuur en educatie – een zeer geschikt medium vormde voor de creatie en disseminatie van de nieuwe narratieven en metaforen van de natiestaat. De herinterpretatie van krijgerslegenden in een specifiek literair genre voor kinderen droeg bij aan de coherentie van de cultuur tijdens de transitie naar de moderne natiestaat, en aan de vorming van een nationale identiteit onder 'jonge burgers'. Het bestaan van zo'n genre bevestigde bovendien de status van Japan als een moderne, geciviliseerde samenleving die het kind op vele vlakken onderscheidt van de volwassene, en geeft deze laatste het recht om zowel echte als metaforische kinderen te begeleiden in hun ontwikkeling.

Curriculum Vitae

Aafke van Ewijk was born in Winterswijk on September 20, 1985. She studied graphic design at ArtEZ University of the Arts in Enschede and graduated in 2007. Having developed an interest in the visual culture of Japan, she decided to continue her studies at Leiden University, where she obtained a BA in Japanese Language and Culture in 2011. During the academic year 2010-2011 she attended the Japanese Studies Program at Osaka University on a Japanese government (MEXT) scholarship. She subsequently entered the research MA Area Studies: Asia and the Middle East at Leiden University and graduated in 2013. Her MA thesis focused on Yoshitsune legends and the imagination of Hokkaido in eighteenth and nineteenth century Japan. She returned to Osaka University as a government funded (MEXT) research student in 2014-2016, there studying Edo period popular literature and developing her PhD project proposal. Upon her return from Japan, she commenced her PhD project at Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS), with a full scholarship from the Isaac Alfred Ailion Foundation (IAAF). She participated in summer schools on Early Modern Japanese Palaeography (Cambridge University, 2017) and Children's Literature (Antwerp University, 2018) and was based at Rikkyo University (Tokyo) during the academic year 2018-2019 for research and fieldwork. Since 2016 she has designed and taught various courses on Japanese literature and visual culture in the BA programme Japanstudies at Leiden University. She presented her research at many international conferences, and recently published the article "Premodern Warriors as Spirited Young Citizens: Iwaya Sazanami and The Semiosphere of Meiji Youth Literature" in the peer-reviewed journal *Japan Forum* (December 2021).