



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Ewijk, A. van

Citation

Ewijk, A. van. (2022, September 1). *Memory, modernity and children's literature in Japan: premodern warriors as national icons in nineteenth and twentieth century literature and curriculum*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3454722>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3454722>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

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

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

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 1 september 2022
klokke 11:15 uur

door
Aafke van Ewijk

geboren te Winterswijk
in 1985

Promotor: Prof. dr. Ivo B. Smits

Copromotor: Dr. Doreen Müller

Promotiecommissie: Prof. dr. Gabrielle van den Berg

Dr. Madeleine Kasten

Prof. dr. Michael Kinski (Goethe Universität)

Dr. Laura Moretti (Cambridge University)

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 <i>ie</i> and filial piety	29
3. Auspicious children and Edokko identity in <i>nishiki-e</i>	35
4. <i>Ōrainono</i> : literacy and cultural knowledge	40
5. Children as an audience of popular literature	47
6. Yoshitsune in <i>ōrainono</i> and <i>kusazōshi</i> for children	60
6.1 Representations of Yoshitsune in <i>ōrainono</i>	60
6.2 Yoshitsune in <i>kusazōshi</i> : 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 <i>retsujo</i> 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 <i>Nippon mukashibanashi</i> and <i>Nippon otogibanashi</i>	175
6.1 The strong-willed, brave boy Ushiwakamaru	176
6.2 Hiyoshimaru, the epitome of <i>wanpaku</i>	180
7. Conclusion	184
Chapter 4 Childlike warriors: Taishō picture magazines and <i>rekishi dōwa</i>	187
1. Concepts of childhood and the middle class in the early twentieth century	189
2. The pantheon of heroes in the picture magazine <i>Yōnen gahō</i>	194
2.1 <i>Yōnen gahō</i>	196
2.2 Iconographies of Yoshitsune	200
2.3 Picture-explanation: the <i>katei</i> as 'dual audience'	207
2.4 The larger picture: imagining national history	210
2.5 Play and gendered spheres	213
3. 'Childlikeness' in <i>rekishi dōwa</i> 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

Acknowledgements

This thesis has been made possible with the support of many people. First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude for the advice and enthusiasm of my advisor at Leiden University, Ivo Smits. As a BA and MA student I greatly enjoyed his classes which introduced the amazing landscape of literature research. I am forever thankful to him for sharing his expertise, for the many hours of consultation about this thesis, and for his trust in my abilities which facilitated the improvement of my research and teaching skills, as well as other explorations. He is certainly in my personal canon of heroes. I furthermore wish to thank Doreen Müller, my second advisor who joined the project at a later stage, for her insightful comments on the manuscript. Her detailed explanations of images always remind me that I should not flip over the pages of my sources too quickly but cultivate an art historian's eye. I wish to thank the Japan Studies section for their support: my teachers who became colleagues and friends, the library staff, and supporting staff.

I thank the committee for their time and feedback: Chair Gabrielle van den Berg and members Madeleine Kasten, Michael Kinski, and Laura Moretti. Gabrielle and Madeleine's graduate classes on respectively the Mongol Empire and children's literature were a source of inspiration for this thesis. (The origin of this thesis lies in a paper on the legend that Minamoto Yoshitsune would have become Genghis Khan.) My copy of Michael's edited volume *Childhood in Japanese History* provided excellent research to chew on during the first COVID-19 lockdown and compensated for a meeting that should have happened at a conference that was cancelled. I am glad that two years later, we did meet in Leiden at my first in-person conference since the pandemic. Laura's summer school on early modern Japanese palaeography which I attended in 2017, was one of the highlights of my PhD trajectory and I am thankful for her continued support and encouragement.

This project was funded by the Isaac Alfred Ailion Foundation. My sincere gratitude goes out to the IAAF for making it possible to concentrate on a project of my own design, attend conferences and summer schools, buy any book I needed, and spend the academic year 2018-2019 for research in Tokyo.

During my research stay at Rikkyo University, I received invaluable assistance from Suzuki Akira, who shared his expertise on medieval war tales, and also his network. He

welcomed me in his graduate seminar, where rigorous close reading and unconventional ideas are equally valued. I would like to thank Doi Yasuko and Endō Jun for welcoming me at the International Institute for Children's Literature in Osaka, and also the staff who helped me during my many visits. I would furthermore like to thank Shibata Yoshinari for patiently guiding me through many early modern texts during the initial stages of my research at Osaka University. I am also much obliged to the anonymous reviewers of the article for *Japan Forum* that forms the basis of chapter three and who encouraged me to work more on my theoretical foundation.

I would furthermore like to thank those who made my stays in Japan a fulfilling experience, took an interest in my project, and contributed in various personal ways: the Nanri family, the Hirasawa family, Atsuta Mami, Joachim Iden, Yukitomo Shirō, Ogura Yoshirō, and many others. Fellow PhD candidates and friends from all over of the world accompanied me on longer or shorter legs of the journey, and I am grateful for their tips, reflection, and merriment. My gratitude also extends to Chiel van Vliet, whose karate lessons first sparked my interest in Japan, and who taught me and many other kids to give things a try and to keep fighting. Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents for sharing their love of books, and my brothers, who joined in the re-enactment of our favourite children's stories as well as the exploration of the wondrous world of academia.