Jaqueline Berndt

Manga: Medium, Kunst und Material
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VORWORT

Wenn man Manga-Studien zu betreiben versucht, gerät man zwischen die Stühle. Diese Erfahrung unterliegt den hier versammelten Texten. Entstanden seit 2007, sind nur zwei davon ursprünglich für einen Comics-Kontext geschrieben worden. Die Mehrzahl hatte japanwissenschaftliche Tagungen und Buchprojekte zum Anlass. Wie nicht zuletzt daran erkenntbar, findet der Gegenstand Manga innerhalb der Japan-Studien mittlerweile durchaus Beachtung. Aber meistens dient er dort als Material, welches auf Darstellungsinhalte hin untersucht wird, so man nicht gleich die sorgfältige Textanalyse dem sozialen Kontext opfert und vielleicht noch ignoriert, das auch der Manga eine Diskursgeschichte hat und eine Beschäftigung mit ihm ohne Kenntnis der Standardliteratur wissenschaftlich unsolide wirkt. Symptomatisch sind die Sektionen der EAJS (European Association of Japanese Studies): Beiträge zum Manga werden tendenziell der Soziologie/Anthropologie zugeordnet, selbst wenn sie narratologisch oder adaptionstheoretisch vorgehen, also methodologisch eher der Literaturwissenschaft nahestehen. Zugegebenermaßen gibt es seit 2014 auch eine Sektion für Medien. Doch diese bleibt der Sozialwissenschaft subsumiert und weckt den Eindruck, vornehmlich auf traditionelle Massenmedien wie Fernsehen und Zeitschrift orientiert zu sein, während methodologisch institutionelle Bedingungen und kommunikative Praktiken interessieren, nicht aber die ästhetische Materialität, die diese Praktiken ebenso wie die textlichen Darstellungen letztendlich vermittelt.

Sich mit Manga-Studien zwischen den Stühlen wiederzufinden, ist eine Herausforderung und zwar dafür, die Balance zwischen dem Manga als Mittel und als Ziel, zwischen seiner Beanspruchung als Material und seiner spezifischen Materialität, zwischen dem

Was und dem Wie zu wagen. In diesem doppelwertigen Sinne sind die drei Titelwörter „Medium“, „Kunst“ und „Material“ gemeint. „Kultur“ bleibt demgegenüber bewusst ausgespart. Schließlich wird der Manga schon genug „kulturalisiert“. Für die Japan-Studien gehört er tendenziell zur Populärkultur (obwohl er das auch, aber nicht nur ist). Der wissenschaftliche Nachwuchs interessiert sich für ihn vor allem als Vermittler von Fankulturen. Auf japanisch ist im öffentlichen Diskurs von *subculture* die Rede (was keineswegs im Widerspruch zur neueren Rolle des Manga als japanischer Leitkultur steht). Und seine nationalkulturelle – „japanische“ – Identität hat nach wie vor Distinktionspotenzial, in der orientalistischen Ausrichtung ebenso wie deren Kritik, aber auch in der Wissenschaft, den Comics-Studien beispielsweise, die sich mitunter schwertun, andere als amerikanische oder frankobelgische Traditionen zu berücksichtigen.

Beim Überarbeiten der Texte für diesen Band hat sich eine Verschiebung des Interessenschwerpunkts herausgestellt: Wo Mitte der 1990er Jahre noch „Japan“ für mich im Zentrum stand, sind jetzt Manga als Comics von Belang, speziell das Potenzial dieser oft hochgradig konventionalisierten graphischen Erzählungen, „Geschichte“, „Autorschaft“, „Literatur“ und „Kunst“ in einem anderen, gegenwartsgemäßeren Licht erscheinen zu lassen. Um dieses Potenzial zu entfalten, frage ich nicht mehr nur danach, welche Diskurse im Umfeld des Manga wirken, sondern versuche eher, das Material selbst zum Sprechen zu bringen und unterschiedliche Sichten auf dieses einzuräumen. Damit aber gerät man leicht zwischen die Wissenschaftskulturen. Statt zuerst Begriffe zu definieren (und zwar jenseits ihrer Gebrauchszusammenhänge), dann einen historischen Abriss des Phänomens zu bieten (ausgehend von einem „Ursprung“) und schließlich die gewählten Theoreme auf Fallbeispiele anzuwenden (ohne diese selbst zu historisieren), versuchen die Texte in diesem Band, diese verschiedenen Aspekte zu verschränken, statt sie systematisch nebeneinander zu stellen.

Für eine Akademikerin, die nicht durch die Manga-Fankultur sozialisiert wurde, besteht eine weitere Herausforderung darin, zwischen „alten“, an Kunst und Kritik interessierten Intellektuellen, die normalerweise keine Comics lesen (können), und „neuen“ Leser/innen,

die auf fankulturelle Gemeinschaften ausgerichtet und medial versiert sind, zu vermitteln. Die Texte dieses Bandes verdanken sich solchen Vermittlungsversuchen. Anstatt der Vielzahl neuerer Studien zur Fankultur oder zur Mangaproduktion nichtjapanischer Autor/innen einen weiteren Artikel hinzuzufügen, versucht dieser Band, den Gegenstand Manga mit traditionelleren Fragestellungen aus Kunst- und Literaturwissenschaft zu verbinden und dabei die Schnittstellen von Manga-Studien und Japan-Studien auszuloten.

Auch sprachlich nimmt der Band eine Zwischenposition ein. Ursprünglich als rein deutsche Version geplant, hat sich aus Zeitgründen sowie im Hinblick auf das mögliche Einsatzspektrum – vor allem Lehrveranstaltungen außerhalb des deutschsprachigen Raums – dann doch das Englische in den Vordergrund geschoben. Vier der neun Texte wurden für diese Ausgabe ins Deutsche bzw. Englische übersetzt. Für Transkriptionen japanischer Wörter kommt in beiden Sprachen das Hepburn-System zur Anwendung. Lange Vokale werden mit Makron gekennzeichnet außer bei den Namen bekannter Orte (z.B. Kyoto) und Verlage (z.B. Kodansha) sowie im Falle von Zitaten. Die japanische Hauptstadt erscheint auch in den deutschen Texten dieses Bandes in der Schreibung „Tokyo“; als Ortsangabe von Verlagen entfällt sie, um Redundanz zu vermeiden. Die Bibliographien am Ende der einzelnen Kapitel enthalten über die zitierten Titel hinaus einige wenige zusätzliche Einträge, die zur jeweiligen Standardliteratur zählen. Mit „Web“ gekennzeichnete Internetquellen sind bei Stichwortsuche auffindbar, sodass sich die Angabe von URLs erübrigt. Das Wort „Manga“ verwende ich auf deutsch im Maskulinum wie auch den „Comic“. Titel von japanischen Manga, die zuerst in einem Magazin serialisiert wurden, erscheinen in Anführungsstrichen, Magazinnamen sowie Buchtitel, einschließlich Manga, die von Anfang an als Buch publiziert wurden, kursiv. Japanische Personennamen werden in der in Japan üblichen Reihenfolge – Nachname Vorname – angeführt und nur im Literaturverzeichnis durch ein Komma getrennt, so es sich um Publikationen in japanischer Sprache handelt.

Abschließend möchte ich mich bedanken bei allen, die mit Geduld, Verständnis, praktischer Hilfe und fachlicher Kompetenz zur Fertigstellung dieses

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Kyoto/Venedig, im März 2015

Jaqueline Berndt

PREFACE

Pursuing manga studies may easily lead to being caught in the middle. Precisely this experience underlies the essays collected here. Written since 2007, only two of them were initially intended for a comics-related context. The majority was rather induced by conferences and book projects in Japanese studies, which as such evidence the notice taken. Yet, in many cases, manga serves as mere material in that field. Not only do its representations attract attention, but social contexts are often given preference over thorough textual analysis, and the fact that manga, too, has a discourse history is often disregarded as are the standard references shared among experts. The sectioning of the European Association of Japanese Studies (EAJS) is symptomatic in that regard. Papers about manga tend to be allocated to Sociology/Anthropology, even if they adopt a narratological or adaptation-theory approach which comes close to literary studies. Admittedly, since 2014 there is also a media section. But this section stays subsumed to social sciences and seems to put the main emphasis on traditional mass media like TV and magazines, methodologically focusing on institutional settings and communicative practices, while excluding the aesthetic materiality that mediates such practices – and the above representations – in the first place.

Finding oneself caught in the middle is a challenge, first and foremost with respect to keeping the balance between manga as means and end, between its utilization as material and its specific materiality, between the What and the How. Precisely with this two-sided sense in mind, I have chosen the title words *medium*, *art* and *material*. *Culture*, on the other hand, is deliberately omitted. After all, manga is being "culturalized" enough. Japanese studies regard manga by tendency as popular culture (which it is in part, but not entirely). Young

researchers limit their scholarly interest in manga mainly to its mediating of fan cultures. Japanese-language public discourse calls manga *subculture* (which does not necessarily contradict its recent role as mainstream culture). And manga's national-cultural, i.e. "Japanese" identity still holds potential for distinction, in terms of Orientalist desires as well as their critique, but also in academia, for example, comics studies which is occasionally reluctant to open itself up to other then the American and Franco-Belgian traditions.

While revising the essays for this volume, I realized that my interest emphasis has shifted. Whereas „Japan" was clearly at its core in the mid-1990s, now manga as comics are the central issue, in particular the potential of these highly conventionalized graphic narratives to shed new light on modern notions of "history," "authorship," "literature" or "art." In order to unfold that potential I do not focus anymore primarily on the discourses that surround manga, but I rather try to make the material itself talk, so to speak, and to acknowledge different views onto it. This, however, does not easily comply with academism. Instead of first defining terms and surveying concepts (preferably beyond their contexts of usage), then providing a historical survey of the phenomenon (starting from an "origin"), and finally applying – or imposing — theories onto typical examples (without historicizing the theories and without giving the examples themselves a voice), the essays collected here aim at interrelating all these aspects without systematically juxtaposing them.

But for an academic who did not experience her socialization within the manga-related fan culture, there is another challenge to face, that is, the task to mediate between "old" intellectuals interested in art and criticism, yet unfamiliar with comics, and a "new" generation of readers, at home in fan-cultural communities and in command of a high-degree manga literacy. The chapters of this volume are grounded in attempts at such mediation. Instead of adding another article to the already large number of fan-culture studies or discussions of manga production by non-Japanese authors, which insiders can achieve in a much better way, this volume tries to relate graphic narratives to art history and literary studies, while exploring where manga studies and Japanese studies may meet.

Last but not least, this volume is caught in the middle linguistically. Initially intended to be an end-to-end German language collection, the English language has finally come to the fore for time reasons but also in view of this book's possible applications, for example, in university courses outside of the German-language realm. Four out of the nine essays were specially translated for this edition. The romanization of Japanese words follows the Hepburn system, with macrons indicating long vowels, except in citations where they appear in standard English, in globally known place names (such as Kyoto) and names of major publishing houses (such us Kodansha). Wherever a Japanese publisher is indicated in the references without a place name, it is located in Tokyo, which applies to the majority of them. The bibliographies at the end of each chapter contain not only cited works in the strict sense, but also a few additional standard references. Online articles are indicated only with "Web" (instead of URLs) if easily traceable. Titles of manga which were first serialized in a magazine, are given in "…", whereas titles of magazines and books, including manga without previous magazine serialization, are italicized only. And throughout this volume, Japanese, Chinese and Korean names are given in the domestic order, family names preceding given names (except in citations to authors' works published in Western languages, where they appear in the English order).

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to all those who contributed to the completion of this volume with their patience, understanding, practical help and professional expertise, namely José Andrés Santiago Iglesias (Universidade de Vigo), Steffi Richter (Leipzig University), Gerald Diesener (Leipzig University Press), Kiriyama Yoshio (Kyoto Seika University), *mangaka* Christina Plaka, Marcella Mariotti und Toshio Miyake of Ca'Foscari University in Venice, where this book was finalized, and Enno Berndt (Ritsumeikan University), my co-author of the chapter on the manga market.

Kyoto/Venice, March 2015

Jaqueline Berndt

TEACHING MANGA STUDIES

THE CASE OF KSU'S GRADUATE SCHOOL

Outside of Japan, manga is taken up in part within comics studies, often tied to English and literature departments,[1] but in the main, manga surfaces in the broader field of Japanese studies which exhibits a peculiar inclination to allocate it to sociology/anthropology (not literature) and address it as mere material (not an end in itself). In contrast, in Japan, manga studies has already become institutionalized, centered around the Japan Society for Studies in Cartoons and Comics (*Nihon manga gakkai*, since 2001) and its annual conferences, specialized facilities such as the Kyoto International Manga Museum (since 2006) and the Yonezawa Yoshihiro Memorial Library of Manga and Subculture (since 2009), as well as a number of private universities with courses for training manga artists. Courses of this type have been pioneered by Kyoto Seika University (KSU, or Seika, in short), which offers not only practical undergraduate education at its Manga Faculty (*manga gakubu*, since 2006), but also masters and doctoral programs with a greater focus on theory at the Graduate School of Manga (*manga kenkyūka*, since 2010). The 2-year masters program (max. 20 students per annum) was launched in 2010, followed in 2012 by the doctoral program supposed to be completed, ideally, within three years (three to five students per annum).

1 This probably forms the background to Brienza's assumption (2012, 2013) that research on comics/manga as 'cultural work' has been underrepresented as compared to the attention paid to single authors, including Tezuka Osamu, which is not necessarily the case with Japan-based manga studies.

In Japan as well as in other East Asian countries, manga courses at university level have so far prioritized industrial practices and given preference to production over reception. In contradistinction, this article focuses on teaching manga *studies* and places more emphasis on readings, stretching from everyday manga consumption to critical accounts of manga as graphic narratives.[2] The respective experiences are shaped by a number of particularities though. First of all, teaching manga studies in Japan, and moreso at a specialized Graduate School, differs significantly from other locales and sites in regard to the accessibility of and familiarity with Japanese-language material. For many years, Japanese manga research has evolved outside of academia, within the domestic realm of journalism and fan criticism (*hyōron*); in the main, it has been highly contextual and non-systematic, with major positions not necessarily deducible from publications, not even for academics who are in command of the Japanese language.[3] The common knowledge among experts is only to a small extent recorded in writing, as comparisons with on-site communication reveal. Furthermore, KSU's Graduate School is part of an art college where practitioners and scholars interact as both graduate students and professors. Finally, pedagogy here is to meet the requirements of a highly intercultural site, as the majority of students are not native Japanese speakers. Yet, such particular conditions may very well raise awareness for more general conditions, as I plan to sketch out below.

KSU's Graduate School of Manga

Kyoto Seika University is a private art college founded in 1968; it has offered manga-related classes since 1973. The realm of 'manga' had been confined to caricatures and newspaper comic strips, until in 2000 when the manga department within the Faculty of Fine Art was reformed to include a new section on graphic narratives (namely, industry-oriented serialized

2 This essay relates back to the *Teaching Japanese Popular Culture* Conference at the National University of Singapore, 11-12 November, 2012. I would like to express my gratitude to the Department of Japanese Studies, especially Dr. Deborah Shamoon for her support and patience.
3 For a summary see Berndt 2014a.

story manga) in addition to the more art-oriented 'cartoon' section. The separation between the two has continued to exist within the later established Manga Faculty which came to offer also courses for animation (with director Sugii Gisaburō as the leading artist) and manga production (recently represented by editor Mikawa Kaori, renowned for the bestselling series *Nodame Cantabile*).[4] Regarding KSU as a whole, the manga sector proves the most economically sound and the most popular with applicants. Thus, it is only right and proper that an experienced practitioner in the field, manga artist Takemiya Keiko, who had already served as dean of the Manga Faculty 2008-2011, took office as university president in April 2014.

As KSU's Manga Faculty was a novelty, Takemiya and some other artists had to compile their own textbooks[5] in order to meet the requirements of a university-level pedagogy dedicated to graphic narratives. Theoretical classes on manga history and culture were initially also regarded as crucial, but they proved to be less functional than anticipated; students who aim at becoming manga artists focus almost exclusively on creation, which, in the case of manga, is a very time-consuming matter. Accordingly, the number of non-practical classes was decreased in 2013. In accordance with the redesigned undergraduate curriculum on the one hand,[6] and on the other hand, the increased requirements for future doctoral students, teaching manga studies finds its primary site in the theoretical classes of the masters program, and not only with respect to 'studies' but also 'manga' as anime attracts actually more PhD students from outside Japan. Not limited to the Japan-based media, comics in general seem to be ascribed less cultural and social relevance in academia than moving images. Suffice to note the institutional power of film studies, and the strong ties between movies and the public realm of modern societies, leaning on cinema culture. At KSU, 'animation' (putting emphasis on experimental short-films and animated documentaries instead of entertaining TV series) can be studied with

4 Takekuma Kentarō, the editor of the independent Magazine *Dennō Mavo*, served also as a professor here 2009-2014.
5 Takemiya 2001, 2010; Sagawa 2010; Sasou 2009.
6 Two new courses—Gag Manga and Character Design—were introduced to replace the Manga Production course in 2013.

artist professors of the Faculty and Graduate School of Art (*geijutsu kenkyūka*), while the Graduate School of Manga provides special guidance for theoretical and historical *anime* research without excluding the wider realm of 'animation'.[7]

As distinct from the undergraduate level, the curriculum of the masters program offers two tracks. Students have the choice to enroll in the practical arts track (*jitsugi-kei*; with a focus on art and narrative, mostly resulting in a completed short story to be presented at the graduation show and in printed form) or the theoretical track (*riron-kei*; with a focus on manga and/or anime criticism and research, leading to a M.A. thesis).[8] All students, regardless of specialization, have to attend a total of five lectures. As for the optional lectures, they can choose from the whole range of KSU's Integrated Graduate School (including also the three Schools of Fine Art, Design and Humanities). The Graduate School of Manga offers lectures on anime/animation studies, manga-related gender and queer studies, art-sociological approaches to manga and anime, and marketing. The mandatory lecture on comics theory (*manga riron*) is intended to expose students to the core of manga/comics studies. Because the course is aimed at students on both tracks, however, this has to be accomplished in a twofold way. With respect to practitioners—mostly graduates of art courses who lack academic foreknowledge—the emphasis is on challenging naturalized notions of manga by introducing multiple perspectives on history, geopolitically defined cultures and diverging positions within one's own society, especially between industrial insiders, fans, and non-fannish readers. Often, graphic narratives which most students do not know and would not choose to read—older manga such as Takemiya's

7 Indicative of the gap between 'anime' and 'animation' were the 15th Media Arts Awards: the Grand Prize of the Animation Division went to *Puella Magi Madoka* (2012, dir. Shinbō Akiyuki, Studios Shaft and Aniplex), while Yamamura Kōji had to make do with an Excellence Award for his *Muybridge's Strings* (2011).

8 Theoretical students account for approximately 20% of the total at the masters level while forming a majority at the doctoral level. In addition, there is an increasing number of research students (*kenkyūsei*), mainly non-Japanese nationals granted with a MEXT scholarship, who aim for entry to the doctoral course and attend masters program classes in preparation for the entrance exam.

classic *Poem of Wind and Trees* (*Kaze to ki no uta*, 1976-84) or non-Japanese graphic novels such as Alison Bechdel's *Fun Home: A Family Tragicomic* (2006, Jap. 2011)—serve as points of departure. With respect to students who aim at an academic career path in general and the doctoral program in particular, the lecture introduces and critically questions current scholarship on the matter, raising analytical awareness for not only different methods (semiotics, iconography, ethnography etc.), but also methodologies (related to media studies, cultural studies, film studies etc.).

In view of the two tracks, classes work best when facilitating exchange between the divergent participants. Teacher-centered instruction, that is, classes in which teachers deliver lengthy lectures, do not work well with art practitioners, especially if such classes take the form of a mere introduction to factual knowledge which can be easily obtained online. But not only the information age, manga itself—an initially non-authoritative and by now highly participatory media which works mainly through playful, equivocal texts—calls for a dialogic pedagogy. Through dialogue with their methodologically versed instructor, students may discover the benefits of a theoretical discourse to communicate their concerns, while learning to accept different readings and to discern where those come from. But students also teach each other. In discussions of specific cases or works, the instructor may exercise restraint, encouraging students to participate and guiding them via questions instead of authoritative answers, before finally offering a summary as well as further contextualization referring to historical background, social discourses, and research positions.

This dialogic approach which gives lectures in part a seminar-like character is also the cornerstone of promoting scholarly standards in the study of manga, understood, first of all, as consideration of more than one perspective on the same topic. Students on the theory track in particular are expected to acquire knowledge of existent manga/comics-related research and discourse (something which cannot necessarily be expected when manga attracts topical interest within established disciplines), as well as basic academic skills related to citing sources, conducting surveys, and assessing the respective results. But students

are also advised to hone their theoretical knowledge with respect to non-manga specific fields of research, as manga studies alone cannot provide the mainstay for an academic career. Institutionally, its position may differ from that of Japanese studies, even in Japan, but methodologically, they are not that far apart, forming fields, not disciplines. Hence, a combination of the two without any further theoretical specialization does not seem expedient, at least not from the perspective of KSU's Graduate School.

Focus on Manga

At Japanese universities, the inclusion of manga as a topic of study is not exceptional anymore. But how this topic is included differs broadly, depending, of course, on the respective disciplinary framework. Only rarely do graduate students have the opportunity to focus specifically on manga and the related practices of making shared meanings. KSU provides such a site (which includes anime studies, but the discussion below shall be limited to manga as graphic narratives). In consideration of the fact that manga does not constitute an exclusive scholarly discipline but rather prompts multidisciplinary research—suffice to mention the transformation of Japanology into Japanese, or Japan, studies—such a site would ideally have to gather experts from all relevant disciplines (a historian, a sociologist, an economist, an art historian and so on). In reality, this is impossible. One option to cope with limited resources is to privilege a distinctive perspective, asking, for example, why precisely manga magazines gave rise to fan communities which anticipated the virtual communities of the information age; why the genre of Boys' Love, or *yaoi*, has taken its departure from comics, whereas in the US, its equivalent assumed the form of (slash) *literature*; why manga has been more prone to exoticizing and nationalizing than anime and games. As a matter of fact, recent attempts at regulating 'virtual child pornography'[9] take their departure from manga, not anime or games, which may be due to ease of access for outsiders and also to the low degree of transnationality in the production mode. Interest in issues like these manifests itself in both subjects recently favored by graduate students and a fundamental particularity of manga discourse

in Japan, that is, its media studies orientation. This means, first of all, to contextualize individual texts according to initial publication site rather than author. Critics distinguish, for instance, between genre-specific manga magazines, manga *tankōbon* (book) editions without prior magazine serialization,[10] and manga appearing in magazines not exclusively devoted to manga.[11]

Accordingly, the focus on manga's specificity is careful not to privilege an already anachronistic autonomy of this 'art' form. Manga is primarily conceived as media—in the sense of practices which entwine artists, editors and readers, and which are tied but not limited to technical medium and industrial organizations. These practices and their institutional frameworks, magazine-based genres to begin with, affect the actual shape of individual works to such an extent that any textual analysis must consider contexts from the very beginning. Resting on the everyday reality of manga culture in Japan—its massive presence, the preponderance of magazine serializations, the 'amateurish' creativity it incites—this media-studies orientation entwines humanities and social science approaches, instead of imposing a macro-perspective on economic and political 'structures,' often related to an 'average' consumer, over individual cases and multiple uses which reveal their potential only through diligent micro-perspective investigations. Nissim Otmazgin and Eyal Ben-Ari assume that "one criterion for the legitimacy of a subject in the academic world is when economists and political scientists start to take it seriously" (2013: 3); their understanding of culture remains largely geopolitical, sometimes even equating the 'local' with the 'national' (2013: 18). In contradistinction, KSU's manga studies favors (context-conscious) textual analysis while acknowledging that contemporary manga texts are not confined to reading

9 See Galbraith 2011a; McLelland 2011.

10 This applies, for example, to *gakushū manga* (instructional comics) and to translations of foreign graphic novels, impeding their reception as 'manga proper' by regular readers, something easily overlooked by scholars unfamiliar with manga culture.

11 Manga artist Nishijima Daisuke started out that way. Likewise noteworthy are female manga artists publishing in fashion magazines, such as Yazawa Ai and Anno Moyoco.

material, but are also material artefacts which lend themselves to more applications than reading and as such to diverse kinds of meaning. Manga, as it dominates today, calls for considering not only what certain texts *mean* but also what they *do*, how they 'perform,' and what activities they trigger.

This is not to say that representation does not matter. In fact, manga studies classes have to provide bridges between practitioners and theoreticians in general, and more specifically, between their (not always congruent) approaches towards representation. On the one hand, representation is by tendency treated as a technical matter and pragmatic issue. Students who aim at becoming manga artists would assess, for example, panel layouts, placement of speech balloons and the direction in which characters turn their faces and bodies (to visually guide the reader's gaze) in regard to whether the specific action is represented 'correctly.' In a way mirroring their own practical lessons, some students tend to assume that a clear message and a seamless visual flow is the ideal, that stylistic distraction or semantic barbs have to be avoided at any cost. Applying criteria whose validity they take for granted, they miss the possibility of multiple readings (apart from the popular 'queering' of straight characters by mainly female users). Students with a fannish expertise often tend to focus on the genealogy and intertextuality of individual motifs, or look into the availability of characters for derivative appropriation (such as fan art and CosPlay), while neglecting any consideration of the narrative as a whole with respect to non-manga specific issues. On the other hand, there are students, often those who lack an artistic background, who wish to put forward counter-hegemonic readings and critical accounts of larger ideological discourses. But without exposure to manga studies, they tend to shortcircuit meticulously analyzed individual texts with large-scale societal and cultural issues neglecting mediascapes, generic conventions and established 'horizons of expectations.' This has long been dismissed by Japanese-language manga research as *shakai han'eiron* (passively reflecting, or mirroring society).[12]

Manga studies in the narrow sense—that is, as appearing in well-founded scholarly writings and related to the

academic context—started to gain momentum in Japan after the turn of the century. As pointed out above, media-oriented interests have predominated, often at the expense of narratological scrutiny and socio-political interpretation. Investigations of manga's specific visual expression (*hyōgenron*)[13] have also played a crucial role, serving as a tool of legitimization, among other things. More recently, this is being complemented, if not replaced, by a strong focus on usages, stretching from gender-specific readership (mainly shōjo/girls and other female manga genres) to subcultural practices (particularly otaku's *moe*, and *fujoshi*'s 'coupling,' or 'pairing').[14]

Consequently, the Comics Theory course at KSU prioritizes two methods of interpretation, in addition to the media studies approach: manga as style (literally 'expression,' *hyōgen*), and manga as culture. In general characterized by a high degree of codification and modularity, manga invites semiotic scrutiny. In the mid-1990s, this focus on 'expression' or manga's 'visual language'[15] aimed at refuting accusations of simplicity. But practitioners and readers such as KSU manga students do not necessarily find the respective literature eye-opening as they practice the complexity, which these publications try to substantiate by often structuralist means, in daily life. Students immediately associate a certain style of line work, panel arrangement, screentone employment or typography with a specific manga genre. Yet, when individual manga texts are to be introduced or reviewed, such stylistic characterization gets overshadowed by plot concerns and configuration of characters (which applies to Japanese manga criticism in general, not only to the student level). In other words, style is usually separated from narrative content, foreclosing discussion of larger ideological and social issues.

To invite reflection on manga-specific ways of representation, I asked students, for example, to portray a "recognizably Asian manga character." This exercise sprang from a heated discussion in class about the

12 For the critique see Uryū 1998; Natsume 2002.
13 Representative are Natsume et al. 1995; Itō 2005; Izumi 2008.
14 See Galbraith 2011b.
15 See, for example, Cohn 2013, chapter 8 "Japanese Visual Language."

relevance or irrelevance of ethnicity and race, especially in regard to the tradition in female manga to picture allegedly Caucasian characters, which some critics read as representations of Occidentalism, while fans claim their transracial functioning. Taking the assignment in a straightforward way, most of the students tried hard to illustrate 'Asianness' through either stereotypical facial features or traditional accessories and clothes; they felt obliged to 'represent.' But even students on the theory track could have achieved the task easily if they had grasped the comics-specific interrelation between word and image conceptually: just by drawing a simple stick person, or smiley face, and adding the words 'an Asian person.' Further, students remained uncritical toward the fact that only one frame was offered, although they innately know that in manga, "iconic solidarity"[16]—the both close and remote interrelation between images—affects each single panel as does the flow of the narrative.

How personal and social meaning is generated through manga applies also to the course's third main approach, 'manga as culture.' Starting, for example, from the fact that in Japan, comics have been legitimized not in the name of 'Art' (as in French, *bande dessinée* as *neuvième art*) but 'culture' (*bunka*) since the 1970s, the aim is again to denaturalize notions whose connotations go easily unnoticed within manga discourse. Calling manga 'culture' in Japanese puts emphasis on the things one shares—as a nation, a region, or a taste community. Significantly, in 1997 the newspaper *Asahi Shinbun* established a manga award which foregoes the word 'manga' in favor of 'culture': the Tezuka Osamu Cultural Prize. Using this prize as an opportunity to think about 'culture' in a manga-related way, students are assigned to make proposals by chosing from the manga publications of the current year. In order to justify their choice, they need not only assess 'expressive' qualities, but also define their take on the manga tradition constituted by Tezuka Osamu. One possibility is to regard Tezuka as a creator of narratives which have found appreciation across generations, genders and tastes, that is, from the perspective of 'culture' as something widely shared.

16 Term coined by Groensteen in 1999.

Aiming at Critical Thinking

Whereas pedagogy does not surface in Japanese manga studies and, conversely, manga has not yet been made the subject of pedagogical research in Japanese either, there is an increasing body of publications in English, mainly authored by literacy instructors and related more to the requirements of high school than university education. Whether pertaining to popular culture in general or comics and graphic novels in particular, most authors cite the development of critical thinking skills as their aim.[17] Even the use of manga in the liberal arts curriculum is examined: "it is vital that students be trained to view these products with a critical eye" (Hutchinson 2009: 263). On closer inspection, the 'critical eye' is often directed at the meaning-making potential of words and images, that is, multimodality in the narrow sense. How layout in graphic narratives guides the reader's gaze and how it affects meaning is also highlighted, but if the awareness raised in that regard is limited only to a few pages (in the case of a series which fills dozens of volumes such as *Naruto*) and if it stays unrelated to both a reading of the larger story and other uses than reading, then the attempt to entwine 'function' and 'ideology' (Huang and Archer 2012: 55) is doomed to fail, and the endeavor which may appear critical to the instructors themselves remains as technical and small-scale as that of the students on the art practice track mentioned above. Besides, it is interesting to note that instructors seem to feel the need to introduce manga-specific conventions of storytelling (pictograms, speed lines etc.), not reckoning with students who may have a higher degree of manga literacy than they have. Likewise striking is the almost self-evidently presumed importance of critical thinking.

Manga studies classes, however, may be particularly able to provide an opportunity for reflection on the fact that the importance attached to critical thinking differs largely between generations and cultures. At KSU, the reluctance of students, primarily from Japan and China, to relate manga to larger ideological frameworks or

17 Exemplary in regards to comics is Hammond (2009). In general, see Jenkins et al. 2009.

anything 'political,' poses a more severe problem than manga literacy as such. Students are concerned about censorship and regulations (mainly of sexual representations), that is, public intrusions into their activities, but rarely social issues such as poverty and precarity, environmental pollution and remilitarization, human rights of homosexuals and so on. In order to bring them in touch with such issues without overly politicizing the classroom, the instructor may address social issues indirectly, make their recognition quasi a byeffect of presenting theories of manga expression and representation, genre, and media by means of manga works which reference such issues on the level of representation. While Japanese studies classes would use manga texts on the Fukushima Daiichi accident as a springboard to and illustration of political, economic and social issues, manga studies classes can employ the same texts with a pretense of being interested solely in formalism.

Obviously, the challenge which manga studies courses pose to the instructor is not that students may bring an encyclopedic knowledge of manga to the classroom, as allegedly characteristic of Japanese studies and more general humanities courses (where it, if detected, could be dealt with by engaging the most adept students, as sketched above). The real challenge springs from the different experiences with different sorts of manga, resulting in different social and cultural expectations towards comics. Consequently, in manga studies classes, critical thinking means, first and foremost, to face difference: different notions of manga and graphic narratives as they manifest themselves in both texts and discourses evolving around texts, including different ways of historical storytelling.

The usual way to critically approach the issue of manga's alleged origin in *Hokusai Manga* (1814-1878), for example, would be a thorough media-historical argumentation, especially in Japan where media studies dominates manga research to such an extent that technologies of reproduction, publishing institutions, accessibility, readership, fictional narratives and empathetic characters matter more than decontextualized visual resemblances (which have been very popular with European and American modernists since the first wave of *Japonisme* in the late 19th century). Such a

take would help students not only recognize that even the word 'manga' is not as homologous as they often assume, but also to gain historical knowledge about both the Edo era and the Edo Boom of the 1980s. Yet many of them exhibit indifference toward the all too distant past, let alone projections by other people (for example, European comics critics) onto 'manga.' In order to counter such lack of critical enthusiasm, the instructor may provide a visual experience, precisely, a contrasting of *Hokusai Manga* with contemporary manga narratives featuring Hokusai himself as a character—such as Kamimura Kazuo's *Furious Love* (especially vol. 1, 1973), Ishinomori Shōtarō's 3-volume *Hokusai* (1987), and Sugiura Hinako's *Sarusuberi* (Crape Myrtles, 1983-88) as well as the latter's attempts at adopting *ukiyoe* style in *Futatsu makura* (Two Pillows, 1981)—and continuing with manga narratives set in the Edo period, preferably those available in translation, such as Koike Kazuo and Kojima Gōseki's *Kozure ōkami* (*Lone Wolf and Cub,* 1970-76), Inoue Takehiko's *Vagabond* (1998-), Anno Moyoco's *Sakuran* (2001-03) or Yoshinaga Fumi's *Ōoku: The Inner Chambers* (2004-). The formal differences between past and present, but also among the modern examples themselves are so obvious that questions arise concerning the ground on which *Hokusai Manga* can actually be tied to contemporary manga, and the elements which are supposed to be particularly Japanese, in other words, the relation between familiar visible expressions and easily overlooked invisible discourses.

In order to explore this relation further and substantiate one's findings, an examination of the existent research and criticism on the matter becomes vital. It is a commonplace that academic scholarship requires the exposure of particular material to theories and vice versa. Yet, how this is achieved diverges significantly. Lacking a solid research tradition, manga especially seems to entice researchers into applying theories uncritically. On the one hand, this shows up in the ahistorical employment of Scott McCloud's first meta-comics;[18] on the other hand, it surfaces in the form of imposing established critical theory onto the

18 See for example, Hutchinson (2009); for a critique, see Berndt (2014b: 260-262).

material without considering an opportunity which manga itself provides: the opportunity to critically revisit established notions in light of the new subject. This may also affect the notion of 'Japanese culture.' Educators have stressed the potential which the topic of manga holds "to encourage students to think critically about other cultures without essentializing them" (Hutchinson 2009: 269). But this will only yield critical success if the culture of manga itself is equally considered, and specifically as something that with its ambiguities, exaggerations, and parodies may easily escape the straight 'anthropological' grasp. Merely taking up a subject like manga may help attracting applicants to Japanese Studies departments. But if the aim of critical thinking is to be more than a platitude, the academic study of manga, and anime, must contribute to revising naturalized preconceptions of culture, identity, authorship, society, subversiveness and so on instead of ennobling or legitimizing the new subject by means of already established authoritative, and as such safe, tools.

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TRADITIONSBEZÜGE

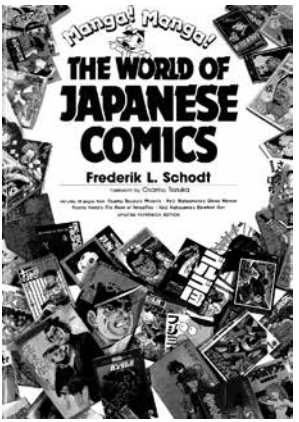
„MANGA", BILDROLLEN UND HOKUSAI MANGA

Nur selten wird die erstaunliche Verbreitung des Manga auf ein bestimmtes Produktionssystem und Businessmodell zurückgeführt. Eher vermutet man kulturelle – „japanische" – Gründe und sucht diese in bildkünstlerischen Traditionen. So gehört es zu den Gemeinplätzen des inländischen wie internationalen Diskurses, zum einen mittelalterliche Querrollen (*emakimono*), zum anderen das 15bändige Handbuch *Hokusai Manga* als „Ursprung" der gegenwärtigen japanischen Comics zu betrachten.

Die Suche nach Traditionen bringt bekanntermaßen diese „Traditionen" erst hervor, und sie dient verschiedenen Zwecken, je nach Kontext und Fürsprecher. In Japan haben bis in die 1980er Jahre hinein Zeichner und Publizisten traditionelle Kunstwerke herangezogen, um narrativen Comics eine über den Markt hinausgehende Anerkennung zu verschaffen. Das spiegelte sich z.B. in Frederik Schodts wegweisendem Überblick *Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics* (1983; Abb. 1), wo derartige Quellen zwar im Haupttext nicht erscheinen, aber in der Literaturliste. Seit den 1990er Jahren, als der Manga ins Ausland vordrang, ist im Traditionsbezug der kulturelle Kontrast stärker gewichtet worden als der Kunststatus. Unter dem Vorzeichen japanischer Eigenart haben weithin bekannte Bildwerke comics-spezifischen und damit subkulturellen Belangen zu gesamtgesellschaftlicher Anerkennung verholfen. Diese pragmatische Leistung lässt sich aus ideologischer Sicht schnell verkennen (insbesondere wenn man „gesamtgesellschaftlich" mit „nationalkulturell" gleichsetzt): „Manga critics who rose to prominence during the 1990s, notably Ishiko

Junzo,[1] Kure Tomofusa [Go Chiei], Natsume Funosuke,[2] Takeuchi Osamu, and Yomota Inuhiko, represented the full-time personnel of the project of assimilating manga into national culture." (Kinsella 2000: 97). Außenseitern der Manga-Studien mag zudem entgehen, dass die meisten Kritiker damals weder mit der japanischen Kunstgeschichte noch mit ausländischen Comics vertraut waren, was ihnen die Annahme japanischer Einzigartigkeit erleichterte. Doch die Lage hat sich geändert. Heute zeigen sich japanische Mangaexperten äußerst vorsichtig, wenn nicht gar skeptisch gegenüber den angeblichen „Ursprüngen", und es sind vielmehr Politiker, Journalisten und Kunsterzieher,[3] die Kontinuität betonen, sei es um nationale Identität zu beschwören oder um jüngere Leute an das Museum heranzuführen.

Welche Traditionen in den Blick geraten, hängt selbstverständlich davon ab, wie man „Manga" versteht: als vorrangig visuelle Kunstform oder als *graphic narrative*; als Witzbild und Parodie oder *sequential art*; als Comics, erkennbar an Sprechblasen, Bewegungslinien, Piktogrammen sowie Panel-Layouts, oder als Charaktere mit großäugigen Gesichtern; als Druckerzeugnis und Verlagsprodukt; als fankulturelles Medium und Amateuren gegenüber offene Ausdrucksform oder *liminal art* (Schwellenkunst), wie Tsurumi Shunsuke es nannte.[4] Anders gesagt, je nachdem ob man Stilistik, Darstellungsinhalte, Medienspezifik oder Gebrauchszusammenhänge ins Zentrum rückt, wechseln auch die Traditionen, die ins Spiel kommen. Im Folgenden wird zuerst resümiert, in welchen Bedeutungen „Manga" als Wort Verwendung gefunden hat. Außerdem interessiert, inwiefern mittelalterliche Bildrollen, insbesondere die *Chōjū* [*jinbutsu*] *giga*, als „Ursprung" des Manga betrachtet worden sind, und schließlich wird erwogen, was dagegen spricht und was dafür, die *Hokusai Manga* als Vorläufer gegenwärtiger japanischer Comics zu betrachten.



1_ Frederik L. Schodt: *Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics*, Kodansha International, 1998 [1983].

1 Kinsella verzichtet auf Längungsstriche über Vokalen. Ishiko Junzō (1928-77), um 1970 am „prominentesten", wurde in den 1990er Jahren wenig zitiert, erlebt jedoch in letzter Zeit eine Wiederentdeckung. Vgl. Kajiya (2011), Uryū (2011).
2 Korrekt: Fusanosuke. Das Buch ist voller Transkriptionsfehler, bis hin zum Literaturverzeichnis.
3 Z.B. Hidaka (2003).

漫画　まんが　マンガ

2_ Schriftzeichen für *manga*.

Der Name „Manga“

Im modernen Japanisch wird *manga* wahlweise mittels dreier Silbenschriftzeichen (*ma-n-ga*) oder eines Kompositums aus zwei ursprünglich chinesischen Ideogrammen wiedergegeben (Abb. 2). Letzteres hat sich in Ostasien bereits im frühen 20. Jahrhundert verbreitet (Chines. *manhua*, Korean. *manhwa*), begünstigt durch die gemeinsame Schrifttradition und die japanische Kolonialpolitik.[5] Das erste, *man* gelesene Ideogramm umfasst so unterschiedliche Bedeutungen wie „impulsiv“, „exzessiv“, „unwahrscheinlich“ und „ungebührlich“. Das zweite, *ga* gelesene steht für „Zeichnung“ und impliziert deren traditionelle Verwandtschaft mit der Schrift. Tsuji Nobuo, ein Kunsthistoriker, der relativ früh schon Manga als Comics in sein Gebiet einzubezog,[6] äußerte vor einigen Jahren, dass das Wort in der späten Edo-Zeit „random sketches“ bezeichnete, nun aber „cartoon-like art created in Japan or rendered in a Japanese style“ (2001: 54). Abgesehen von der Betonung japanischer Eigenart – sowie mangahistorischer Unkenntnis – verdient Beachtung, dass Tsuji (bzw. sein Übersetzer) das Wort *sketch* verwendet. Dieses lässt eher an Striche und Linien als an Farbflächen, mithin das Graphische gegenüber dem Malerischen denken. Entfernt erinnert es daran, dass in der ostasiatischen Tradition Pinsel und Tusche im Dienste sowohl des Bildes als auch der Schrift standen. Die sinojapanischen Schriftzeichen für „Bild“ (*ga*) und „schreiben“ (*kaku*, *sho*) stammen aus der gleichen Quelle, und bis heute ist es schwer, auf japanisch das „Zeichnen“ vom „Malen“ abgrenzen, auch wenn sich der Unterschied als solcher mit der

4 Siehe Tsurumi (2012 [1967]).
5 Das Wort *manga/manhua* gehört zu den wenigen linguistischen Importen aus Japan nach China im frühen 20.Jahrhundert, auch wenn es bis zu den 1990er Jahren für Karikaturen und Cartoons verwendet wurde. Feng Zikai (1898-1975), der Anfang der 1920er Jahre in Japan studiert hatte, spielte dabei ein zentrale Rolle. Vgl. Barmé (1989).
6 Vgl. z.B. Tsuji (2005: 428-433).

Modernisierung der Institution Kunst seit dem späten 19.Jahrhundert in Japan eingebürgert hat.[7] Um diese Nähe von Bild und Schrift als direkte Grundlage des heutigen Manga bemühen zu können, muss man allerdings vernachlässigen, in welch geringem Maße die Ideogramme tatsächlich als Bild funktionieren. Außerdem muss man Comics vereinseitigend als visuelle Kunst definieren.[8]

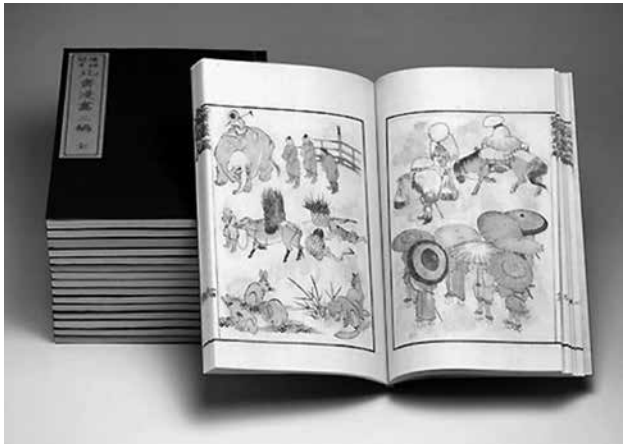
Das *man* von *manga* ist schwerer zu fassen. Gemeinhin wird es nicht nur mit „absichtslos, nicht zusammenhängend" (*random*), sondern auch mit „lustig, witzig" übersetzt.[9] So bestimmt das *Dictionary of Japanese Art Terms* Manga für das vormoderne Japan als „comic pictures intended to make the viewer laugh [...] free pictures of self-indulgence in case of *Hokusai*'s *Manga*" (1990: 599). Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), in Europa vor allem für Holzschnittserien bekannt, begann 1814, seine *Hokusai Manga* zu veröffentlichen. Bis 1878 erschienen insgesamt 15 Bände (besser gesagt, Hefte, da in Fadenbindung; Abb. 3), die letzten drei nach dem Ableben des Meisters. Hokusai hat das Wort *manga* aber nicht erfunden, wie gern angenommen wird, z.B. von Comicskritiker Andreas Platthaus (2008: 89) oder der Japanologin Brigitte Koyama-Richard (2008: 64). Eigentlich auf die Akteure des Pariser Japonismus um 1900 spezialisiert, stützt sich Koyama-Richard hauptsächlich auf Edmond de Goncourt; dieser aber hatte keinen Zugang zu kunsthistorischen Quellen, die heute als verlässlich gelten könnten, als er 1896 sein Buch Hokusai publizierte. Dem Sammler und Historiker Shimizu Isao zufolge, war *manga* zu Hokusais Zeiten

7 Oft wird *kaiga* (絵画 Malerei, Gemälde) für „Bild" i.w.S. verwendet. Vgl. auch die japanische Übersetzung von McClouds Definition von Comics als „juxtaposed pictorial and other images [*kaiga-teki imēji to sono ta no gazō*] in deliberate sequence" („zu räumlichen Sequenzen angeordnete, bildliche oder andere Zeichen"; 2001: 12). In den Manga-Studien gebräuchlich sind *gazō*, *e*, *egara*, *gafū* für den bildlichen Teil von Comics, *senga* für die Spezifik dieser Bilder als Strichzeichnung, *mangaka* für „Zeichner/in". Das Zeichen für *egaku* (描く malen, illustrieren) wird oft *kaku* gelesen, womit es an „schreiben" (書く) erinnert; schließlich tun viele *mangaka* beides.

8 Zu einer Relativierung der populären Annahme, der Manga fuße auf dem Bildcharakter der japanischen Schrift, vgl. Köhn (2005), Wittkamp (2014: 177-191).

9 Vgl. Bowie (1960).

10 Zur „Bildhaftigkeit" der japanischen Sprache vgl. Wittkamp (2014: 191-199).

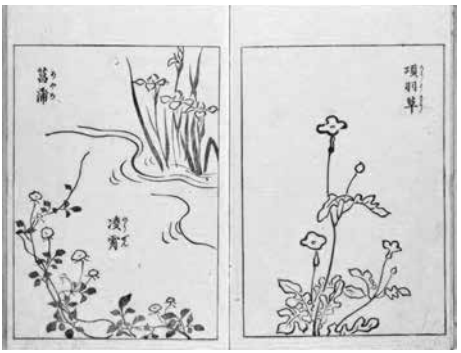


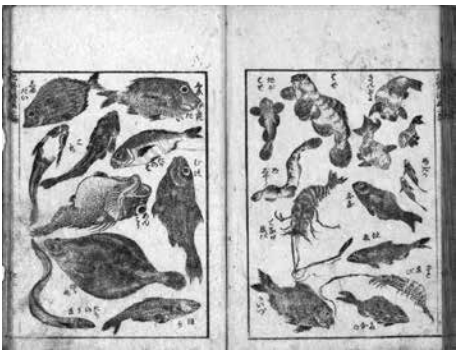
3_ *Hokusai Manga* (15 Hefte, 1814-1878).

noch kein Bestandteil der Alltagssprache: Die *Hokusai Manga* seien zwar damit betitelt, aber in deren Vorworten habe der Meister *kyōga* (aberwitzige Bilder) oder *ryakuga* bzw. *ryakuhitsu* (Skizzen, verkürzte Zeichnungen) verwendet (Shimizu 2014: 70).

Das Wort *manga* soll, so Shimizu (1991: 17), von dem Wort *manpitsuga* abgeleitet worden sein. Ursprünglich auf das Gestakse des Löffelreihers zurückgehend und im Chinesischen auf essayistisch umherschweifende, miszellenartige Texte angewandt, scheint es erst in Japan auf Bilder bezogen worden zu sein, was im Zusammenhang mit der gelegentlich beobachteten Affinität der ästhetischen Kultur Japans zum Visuellen Beachtung verdienen mag.[10] In diesem Zusammenhang ebenfalls bemerkenswert ist Stephan Köhns Beobachtung, dass in Japan, anders als in China, Traditionen des mündlichen Erzählens eher in Bildgeschichten als in neue literarische Genres mündeten (2005: 129).

Im frühen 19.Jahrhundert bezeichnete Manga Bilderkompendien, ob als Stadtführer, Gemäldekatalog oder Vorlagenbuch für Amateurzeichner. Wegweisend für letztere waren die *Hokusai Manga*. Im gleichen Jahr wie deren erstes Heft, 1814, erschien Aikawa Minwas *Manga hyakujo*, ein „Katalog" von Kyoto-Frauen, bestehend aus 31 Illustrationen. Und anläßlich des hundertsten Todestages des Malers Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716) verlegte Eirakuya Tōshirō ein Musterbuch





4_ [links] *Kōrin Manga* (1816).

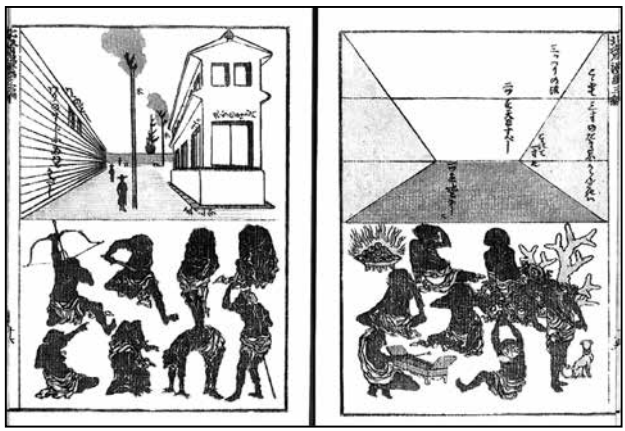
6_ [rechts] *Hokusai Manga*, Heft 2.

mit Zeichnungen von Pflanzen (und ein paar Vögeln) unter dem Titel *Kōrin Manga*[11] (Abb. 4). Wie die *Hokusai Manga* auch war letzteres als Lernhilfe für das Zeichnen (*edehon*) gedacht. Publikationen wie diese erfreuten sich großer Beliebtheit bei den immer zahlreicheren Amateurzeichnern jener Zeit, und sie kamen dem generellen Verlangen der Städter nach visueller Information und Stimulation entgegen. Von heutigen „typischen" Manga unterscheidet sie, dass sie nicht stringent erzählen und nicht in erster Linie unterhalten wollen. Doch das macht sie noch nicht zu „spontan entworfenen Skizzen". Immerhin erforderte bereits ihre Herstellung als Druckerzeugnis mehr Planung und Sorgfalt als das Skizzieren von Hand.

Anders als das populäre Verständnis meint, zirkulierte das Wort *manga* zunächst als Sammelbegriff: Es stand für Vielfalt im gegenständlichen wie stilistischen Sinne. Weniger qualitativ (spontan, satirisch) als quantitiv orientiert, bezeichnete es eine „Gesamtheit von Handlungen, jegliche Art von Gegenstand in jeglicher Art von Stil darzustellen und im Ergebnis dessen eine große Menge an Bildern" hervorzubringen (Miyamoto 2003b: 322). Tatsächlich finden sich in den *Hokusai Manga* Bilder im Stil der chinesisch ausgerichteten Literatenmalerei (*nanga*), eine Darstellung der europäischen Zentralperspektive (Abb. 5), Witzzeichnungen von Figuren mit überlangen Gliedmaßen (*toba-e*) und v.a.m. Aneinanderreihungen

11 Das British Museum, in dessen Sammlung sich zwei Exemplare befinden, verwendet als Übersetzung des Titels „Random Drawings by Korin".

von durchaus lustigen Posen und Grimassen wechseln sich ab mit sachlichen, datenbankartigen Seiten voller Geschirr, Wasserfälle und Berge, Vögel und Fische (Abb. 6). Im Sinne einer solchen „Gesamtheit" schlug Ishinomori Shōtarō (1938-98) in seinem *Manga-Manifest* (1989) vor, das *man* mit dem gleichlautenden Schriftzeichen für „zehntausend" bzw. „alles" (*yorozu* 萬 bzw. 万) wiederzugeben und *manga* als *million art* ins Englische zu übersetzen, um der Bandbreite des Mediums gerecht zu werden anstatt sein Verständnis auf die Bestsellerserien der auflagenstärksten Wochenmagazine zu beschränken (Onodera 2001: 56). Auch Shimizu stellt den quantitativen Aspekt in den Mittelpunkt, wenn er den *Hokusai Manga* folgende Besonderheiten zuschreibt: erstens, ein Handbuch für die bildliche Darstellung aller möglichen Geschöpfe und Schöpfungen zu sein; zweitens, eine spielerisch-skurrile Beschreibung der menschlichen Gesellschaft; und drittens, eine Werbung für das „Bild" im weitesten Sinne, als Abbild ebenso wie als Phantasiegebilde (Shimizu 1985: 59-61). Zum letzten Punkt gehört aus stilistischer Sicht auch Hokusais „Zweifachkonzeption des Bildes" – „the delicately-wrought combination of pictorial contrivance and direct observation" (Bell 2007: 33), also das Miteinander von Spiel und Ernst, Materialität und Darstellung, welches sich z.B. darin zeigt, dass das „größte" Bildelement (der Fuji) am kleinsten dargestellt oder dass in ein und demselbem Bild die isonometrische neben die Zentralperspektive gesetzt ist. Solche Raffinessen enthalten die *Hokusai Manga* jedoch nicht.



5_ *Hokusai Manga*, Heft 3.

Das edozeitliche Wort *manga* meinte also weder absichtslose Skizzen noch lustige Bilder, die ihr Publikum zum Lachen bringen – zumindest nicht direkt. Rosenfield gibt zu bedenken: „Randomness dissolves a sense of structural formality; it negates order and hierarchy." (2005: 305). D.h., nicht *manga* an sich, sondern die in solchen Bildern – nicht immer, aber auch – vorhandenen stilistischen wie motivischen Bezüge auf das Absichtslose, Uneindeutige, Wirre, Unfreiwillige mochten komische Effekte zeitigen, insofern sie soziale Normen und ästhetische Konventionen in Zweifel zogen. Shimizu preist das 12. Heft der *Hokusai Manga* (2014: 12) für die Satire auf Hof- und Militäradel (Abb. 7), eine kritische Haltung, die sich hier viel deutlicher artikuliere als in den von Hokusai illustrierten Romanen (*kibyōshi)*.[12] Rosenfield stellt allerdings fest: „Hokusai's imagery contains little direct reflection of the turbulent social atmosphere and no apparent challenge to the political establishment. Whether he was natively apolitical or deliberately circumspect is hard to determine." (2005: 323). Mit Shimizu (2014) lässt sich dagegen leider nicht argumentieren, denn das Büchlein breitet zwar eine Fülle an Material aus, behauptet aber Einflüsse und Analogien eher als dass es sie begründet (wie von dem *shinsho*-Publikationsformat eigentlich auch nicht anders zu erwarten).

7_ *Hokusai Manga*, Heft 12. Ein hoher Kriegsadliger auf dem Abort.

Ein Aspekt des „Lachens" zu Hokusais Zeiten manifestierte sich in den erotisch-pornographischen Drucken. Diese sogenannten Frühlingsbilder (*shunga*) hießen auch Lachbilder (*warai-e*), nicht allein weil sie sich – oft parodistisch-exzessiv – über den dargestellten Geschlechtsverkehr mokierten, sondern vor allem weil sie einen gegenkulturellen Ort verkörperten (Linhart 1999: 139), eine „cognitive condition of being apart from the 'fixed' world of daily life and duty" (Screech 1999: 8).[13] Witzzeichnungen nannte man *toba-e* (im Bezug auf den mittelalterlichen Abt Toba Sōjō), *kyōga* (aberwitzige, verrückte Bilder) oder *giga* (komische Bilder). Besonders das letztgenannte Wort ist mit den angeblichen Ursprüngen des Manga eng verbunden. Es findet sich im Titel der Bildrollen mit Abbildungen von Vögeln, Vieh und Menschen – *Chōjū* [*jinbutsu*] *giga* –, die in der Edo-Zeit Toba Sōjō (1053-1140) zugeschrieben worden waren, und es wird auch zur Beschreibung der *Hokusai Manga* verwendet: Shimizu (2014: 12) hat deren

8_ Kitazawa Rakuten: *Jiji Manga*, erste Folge, 1902.

4000 Bilder auf insgesamt 821 Seiten durchgezählt und ist zu dem Ergebnis gelangt, dass ein Drittel davon *giga* seien, konzentriert in den Heften 1, 3, 8-12 und 15. Tsurumi Shunsuke übersetzt *giga* mit Cartoon in seinem englischsprachigen Artikel zu „*Shō-chan no bōken*" (Die Abenteuer des kleinen Shō, 1923-51), einem der ersten Kindercomics. Interessanterweise trennt er ihn von „the Japanese cartoonist tradition of long standing closely bound up with the use of the brush as a writing instrument" (Tsurumi 1984: 750) – und damit auch von den *Hokusai Manga*, die sich nicht zuletzt wegen des dort zum Einsatz kommenden Pinsels (statt den seit der Nachkriegszeit im Manga dominierenden Federn) für „Skizzen" halten lassen.

Das Wort *giga* wird heute oft mit Karikatur übersetzt. Ebendiese Bedeutung nahm das Wort *manga* im Laufe der Modernisierung Japans an, und zwar etwa zeitgleich mit der Erhebung der *Chōjū-giga*-Rollen zum Nationalschatz.[14] Einer der führenden Intellektuellen Japans, Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), hatte in seiner Zeitung *Jiji shinpō* (1882-1936) eine Kolumne namens *Mangen* (Vermischtes; jap. gen: Worte). Von 1890 bis 1899 beschäftigte er seinen Amerika-erfahrenen Neffen Imaizumi Ippyō (1865-1904) als Cartoonisten, um politische Probleme leichter zugänglich zu machen. Dieser wiederum veröffentlichte im Jahre 1895 eine Sammlung seiner Zeichnungen unter dem Titel *Ippyō manga shū* und stellte zwei Jahre später im Salon der *Hakubakai*, einer Vereinigung junger Maler in westlicher Manier, einige sogenannte „Manga" aus. Sein Zeitungsjob ging aus gesundheitlichen Gründen an Kitazawa Rakuten (1876-1955) über. Dieser sollte als der erste professionelle Mangazeichner des modernen Japan in die Geschichte eingehen. Im Jahre 1902, als sich die Zeitung *Jiji shinpō* nach dem Tod ihres Gründers vor finanzielle Schwierigkeiten gestellt sah, durfte er mit einer Sonntagsbeilage namens *Jiji Manga* beginnen (Abb. 8). Ausgehend davon etablierte sich *manga* im frühen 20.Jahrhundert als Name für das prägnante satirische Einzelbild und den Comicstrip in Zeitungen.

12 Zu den *kibyōshi* vgl. Kern (2006), (2011).
13 Vgl. auch Gerstle & Clark (Hg., 2013).
14 1899 zunächst unter dem Namen *Chōjū giga* als Nationalschatz registriert, wurde 1952 *jinbutsu* hinzugefügt (den Menschenfiguren in Rollen 3 und 4 entsprechend).

9_ [links] *The Japan Punch*, Titel, Juli 1878.

10_ [rechts] *Tôbaé: Journal Satirique*, 1887.

Kitazawa[15] verwendete das Wort jedoch nicht aus Traditionalismus, sondern um sich von der Tradition abzusetzen: Deren Vorliebe für Wortspiele, Bilderrätsel und Sinnlichkeit lebte in den zeitgenössischen *ponchi-e* fort, „Punch-Bildern", die namentlich dem satirischen Magazin *Japan Punch* (Abb. 9)[16] folgten und von 1870 bis 1910 ihre Blütezeit erlebten. Um sich von diesen abzugrenzen, stand neben „Manga" auch der Name „Puck-Bilder" zur Wahl, wie Ronald Stewart anhand der Schriften Kitazawas aufgezeigt hat. Die Bedeutung, die das US-amerikanische Modell für diesen hatte, offenbarte sich schließlich im Titel der ersten Zeitschrift, die er selbst herausgab, *Tokyo Puck* (1905-41, ediert durch ihn bis 1912). Kitazawa war der Ansicht, dass *ponchi* über Formen lachen, *puck* und *manga* aber über Inhalte.[18] Das Lachen über Inhalte sollte, in einem sehr modernen Sinne, über regionale und soziale Schranken hinweg sowie ohne Vorwissen möglich sein. Gerade dafür aber brauchte es Spezialisierung – auf ein prägnantes Bild, welches unabhängig von verbalen Elementen und intertextuellem Spiel auf einen

15 Außer bei Hokusai wird hier darauf verzichtet, die Meister bei ihrem Vornamen zu nennen, wie es bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts japanischer Brauch war. Anders als „Rakuten" ist Tezuka im offiziellen Diskurs nie „Osamu", Takemiya nie „Keiko" gewesen.

16 1862-1887 herausgegeben durch den Briten Charles Wirgman (1832-1891) in Yokohama für Ausländer.

17 *Puck*: US-amerikanisches Satiremagazin, 1871-1918. Vgl. Miyamoto (2003a).

18 Vgl. Stewart (2013) & (2014). Außerdem Duus (2001).

19 Vgl. Miyamoto (2001).

ノキナキ大ハリタフ (四)
●ダンコビト ニロツウ

ンヤチ正ニイレオ ハスリ (三)
●タツナニトコルスイナンアヲ

ニダエヲヲリシ ガスリ (二)
●夕井テイナ テレマサハ

ヘマヤ ハンヤチ正 (一)
●クケカデ ニビソア

11_ Kabashima Katsuichi (Bild) & Oda Nobutsune (Text): „*Shō-chan no bōken*“ (Die Abenteuer des kleinen Shō), erste Folge, in *Asahi Graph*, Januar 1923.

individuellen Betrachter zu wirken versteht, so wie das Gemälde (*kaiga*), dem der Manga untergeordnet wurde, als die wort-bildkünstlerischen Ausdrucksformen der Edo-Zeit in Literatur einerseits, Bildende Kunst andererseits aufgespalten wurden.[19] An ebendiesem Prozess war Kitazawa beteiligt. Mittlerweile scheint die Tradition, die er zu überwinden suchte, in postmoderner Form in die Mangakultur zurückgekehrt: das intertextuelle Spiel, das sinnliche Vergnügen und die Indifferenz gegenüber (politischen) Inhalten.

Erst in den 1920er Jahren wurde das Wort *manga* im modernen Japan alltäglich. Bis dahin konnte es der Terminus *toba-e* noch mit ihm aufnehmen; der Franzose Georges Bigot (1860-1927) hatte eine gleichnamige Satirezeitschrift in Yokohama herausgebracht (1887-89; Abb. 10). Mit den ersten Kindercomics – z.B. dem 4-Panel-Strip „Die Abenteuer des kleinen Shō“ (*Shō-chan no bōken*, in Zeitungen der Asahi-Gruppe, ab 1923; Abb. 11) oder „Norakuro“ (von Tagawa Suihō, 1931-41 im Jungenmagazin *Shōnen Kurabu*) – begann das Wort serielle Bilderzählungen zu konnotieren. Damals veröffentlichte auch Okamoto Ippei (1886-1948), der *manga kisha* (Mangareporter) der Tageszeitung *Asahi Shinbun*, seinen „Mangaroman: Das Leben eines Menschen“ (*Manga shōsetsu: hito no isshō*, 1921), in dem er mit einer Kombination von Bild und Text experimentierte, die er *manga-manbun* nannte: Wenngleich die beiden Teile getrennt voneinander blieben wie bei einem Bilderbuch, so ergänzten sie sich doch auf eine nicht redundante Weise, und durch die relativ engmaschige Aneinanderreihung der Bilder entstand ein Sog, der auf die späteren *story manga* deutet. Okamoto hatte übrigens noch eine Vorliebe für den Pinsel und versuchte sich auch an traditioneller Malerei. Durch die kriegszeitliche Einstellung unterhaltender Druckerzeugnisse erschien vielen Japanern dann „Die neue Schatzinsel“ (*Shintakarajima*,

1947) von Tezuka Osamu (und Sakai Shichima, 1905-69) als eigentlicher Beginn des *story manga*, ein Mix aus westlichen Abenteuergeschichten, der mit einer filmisch wirkenden visuellen Dynamik daherkam. Tezuka orientierte sich an europäischen Romanen und amerikanischen Filmen, insbesondere Disney, mehr als an ostasiatischer Tuschemalerei oder Kalligraphie.

Im Laufe des 20.Jahrhunderts hatte das Wort *manga* ein Vielzahl von Bedeutungen inne: Es bezeichnete satirische Einzelbilder und – im Prinzip aus vier Panels bestehende – Comicstrips, *story manga* (*graphic narratives*) und aus diesen hervorgehende *gekiga* (dramatische Comicerzählungen). Bis zu den 1970er Jahren wurde es im Kompositum *manga eiga* auch für Zeichentrickfilme verwendet. Aber im Laufe der Zeit wechselte die Schreibweise. In den 1960er Jahren begann man, den unterhaltsam erzählenden *manga* zunehmend in *katakana*-Silben wiederzugeben, während der stärker bildkünstlerisch akzentuierte Zeitungscomic – die anspruchsvolle Karikatur – weiterhin in sinojapanischen Ideogrammen erschien. Die jeweilige Schreibung konnotierte nicht zuletzt Distanz bzw. Nähe zu japanischen Besonderheiten. Dass der erzählende Manga, als Langserie in speziellen Magazinen, sich eher transkulturell definierte, legen neben der *katakana*-Schreibung auch die vielen neuen Titel der späten 1960er Jahre nahe, die das Lehnwort *komikku* einsetzten und kraft Anglizismus Modernität suggerierten: *Shōjo Comic* und *Big Comic* (beide Shogakukan) gehörten dazu. Zur gleichen Zeit etablierte sich das Geschäftsmodell des Manga, den Magazinserien *tankōbon*-Ausgaben zur Seite zu stellen. In Abgrenzung von *manga* im eigentlichen Sinne – bis heute werden damit die Magazine assoziiert – bürgerte sich für die Bucheditionen die Bezeichnung *komikkusu* ein.

Tausend Jahre Manga?

„Japans Mangakultur, die ihren Ausgang vom satirischen Einzelbild nahm, ist mit Comicsromanen zur Blüte gelangt und eben damit zur narrativen Welt

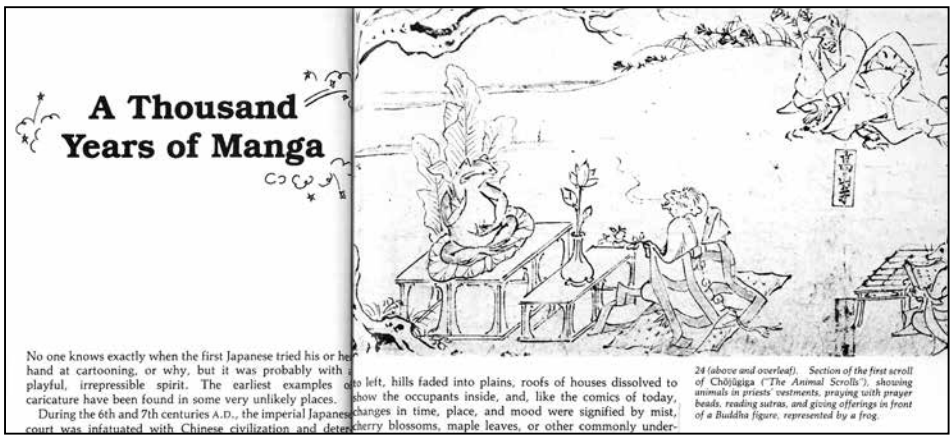
20 Der Text enthält zahlreiche Sachfehler, z.T. der fachfremden Übersetzung geschuldet.
21 Zu letzterer insbesondere Köhn (2005), Wittkamp (2014).

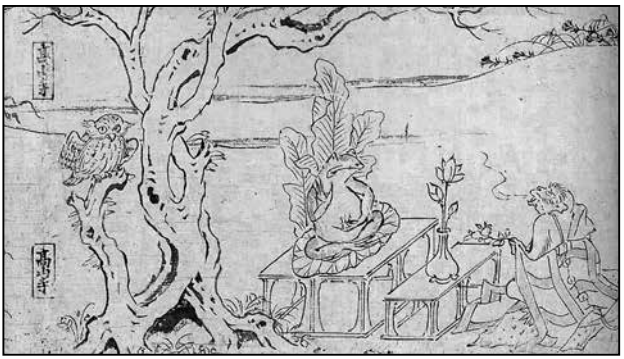
12_ Brigitte Koyama-Richard: *Mille Ans de Manga*. Paris: Flammarion, 2008.

der Bildrollen (*emakimono*) zurückgekehrt." (*Anime no hajimari* 2002: 36). Sowohl Publikationen, die mit Hilfe des Manga alte Kunst zu popularisieren versuchen, als auch historische Überblicksdarstellungen zum Manga greifen gern auf die mittelalterlichen Bildrollen zurück. Exemplarisch dafür ist Koyama-Richards Bildband (2008, Abb. 12).[20] Inwiefern gegenwärtige japanische Comics auf eine tausendjährige Tradition zurückblicken können und sollen, lässt er allerdings offen. Bezeichnenderweise äußert sich die Autorin auf japanisch nicht zum Manga, obwohl sie die Sprache bestens beherrscht: Sie schreibt für ein ausländisches Publikum. Wenn sie japanische Sekundärquellen und deren Verfasser überhaupt konsultiert, dann in Gestalt des Sammlers Shimizu Isao, der erstaunlicherweise immer noch behauptet: „Der Ursprung narrativer Manga findet sich in handgemalten Bildrollen wie den *Chōjū jinbutsu giga* und den *Hōhi gassen emaki* [den Furzwettbewerben]." (2014: 31).

Kunsthistorisch ausgerichtet, ist die tausendjährige Tradition des Manga als comicspezifische vor allem in Monochromie (*hakubyō*), Bildsequenzen, Sprechblasen und Bewegungs- bzw. Konzentrationslinien gesucht worden – neben der Integration von Worten ins Bild.[21] Materiell-mediale Aspekte wie Adressaten, Zugänglichkeit und Reproduktion hat man zugunsten augenscheinlicher formaler Ähnlichkeiten oft vernachlässigt. Dabei fand von den *Chōjū giga* – „Japan's first undisputed masterpiece of cartooning" (Schodt 1988: 28; 13a) – vorzugsweise die erste Rolle

13a_ Frederik L. Schodt: *Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics*, Kodansha International, 1998, S. 28-29.





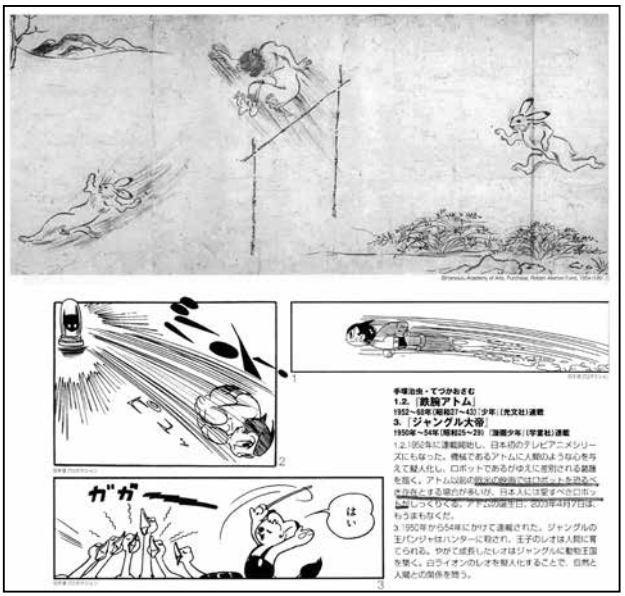
13b_ *Chōjū [jinbutsu] giga*, Rolle 1, Gebet für einen Verstorbenen.

Beachtung.[22] Oft wird daraus jene Stelle angeführt, in der rauchartige Linien aus dem Mund eines Affenmönches entweichen, der vor der Statue eines Froschbuddhas sitzt: Er rezitiert eine Sutra (Abb. 13b), offenbar für einen Verstorbenen, wenn man die Eule auf dem Baum dahinter als Symbol des Todes versteht und nicht als Mittel der Ironisierung (wie Koyama-Richard 2008: 14). Die Kunsthistorikerin Yamamoto Yōko – eine der wenigen ihres Fachs, die mit gegenwärtigen Comics tatsächlich vertraut ist – hat vorgeschlagen, die Linien eher als Laute denn als Worte zu betrachten, also nicht als Vorläufer der Sprechblase, sondern der *sound words* des Comics (2011: 25). Sie hat außerdem aufgezeigt, dass dieses Ausdrucksmittel nicht kontinuierlich bis ins moderne Japan tradiert worden ist ebenso wenig wie die Bewegungslinien, die sich in einigen mittelalterlichen Bildrollen finden. Die letzten Bewegungslinien seien im *Ishiyamadera engi emaki* nachzuweisen, die letzten Lautlinien im *Fukutomi zōshi*, beide aus der Zeit um 1400 (Yamamoto 2011: 24).

Animationsregisseur Takahata Isao entdeckt Bewegungslinien im *Shigisan engi emaki* (Legenden vom Berg Shigi, 12.Jahrhundert), das von Myōren, dem Begründer des Tempels Chōgōsonshi-ji bei Nara handelt. Dort unterstützen solche Linien den Eindruck,

22 Rolle 1 (*kō*, 23 Blatt) und Rolle 4 (*tei*, 32 Blatt) sind im Nationalmuseum Tokyo, Rolle 2 (*otsu*, 20 Blatt) and Rolle 3 (*hei*, 18 Blatt) im Nationalmuseum Kyoto.
23 *Anime no hajimari* (2002: 19) zufolge einst im Besitz der Familie Nagao. Vgl. auch Kanō Tanyūs *Chōjū-giga*-Kopie aus der Honolulu Academy of Arts.

14_ *Shigisan engi emaki* (Legenden vom Berg Shigi, 12.Jahrhundert): *Gohō-no-dōji*, Ausschnitt.



15_ [re.] *„Anime no hajimari, Chōjū giga", Shūkan Nihon no bi o meguru*, Nr. 15, Shogakukan, 6 August 2002, S. 19.

ein ganzes Lagerhaus voller Reissäcke hebe vom Boden ab und schwebe durch die Lüfte – Myōrens magische Almosenschale war darin eingeschlossen. An anderer Stelle rauscht auf wolkenartigen Linien ein übermenschliches Wesen von rechts ins Bild: Myōren hat die jungenhafte Gottheit Gohō-no-dōji an seiner Statt zu dem erkrankten Kaiser ins Tal gesandt (Takahata 1999: 36f.; Abb. 14). In den *Chōjū giga* wird man weniger fündig, abgesehen von einer Kopie aus dem 17.Jahrhundert (Abb. 15)[23]. Allerdings übernehmen die Konturen der Figuren sowie die Linien ihres Umfelds, z.B. des Wassers, die Funktion, Bewegung zu suggerieren, was auch auf die *Hokusai Manga* zutrifft.

In Beschränkung auf die erste Rolle haben Shimizu (1991) u.a. die *Chōjū giga* lange Zeit im Namen von Satire zum Ursprung des Manga und sogar zum Sitz des „ureigenen Lachens der Japaner" erklärt (insbesondere die zweite Rolle enthält Darstellungen des Fressens und Gefressen-Werdens, die keineswegs lustig sind). Tezuka Osamu, der Wegbereiter des modernen erzählenden Manga, äußerte 1982 in einer Fernsehsendung, dass er an den *Chōjū giga* dreierlei schätze – Verkürzung, Übertreibung und Metamorphose im bildlichen Ausdruck –, dies aber nicht direkt mit Comics verbinde. Außerdem erwähnte er, dass er die *Chōjū giga* zum ersten Mal im Jahre 1955

gesehen habe, und zwar als Teil der *Iwanami shashin bunko*.[24] Das ist insofern bemerkenswert, als er seine Art des *story manga* bereits 1947 voll ausgeprägt hatte, womit sich die Frage nach dem tatsächlichen Einfluss der mittelalterlichen Bildrollen auf moderne *mangaka* erhebt. Immerhin wird in Mangaserien heute auf die *Chōjū giga* kaum Bezug genommen, ganz im Unterschied zu Hokusai und seinen Werken.

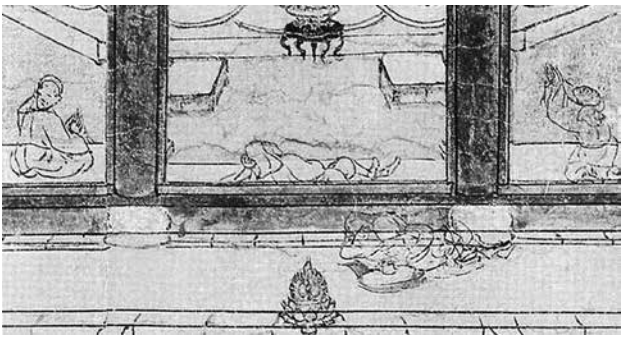
Dass zumindest die erste Rolle der *Chōjū giga* als Satire auf die Hofaristokratie und die buddhistischen Mönche gemeint war, sei kunsthistorisch nicht nachweisbar, so Mimi Yiengpruksawan. Sie könne genauso gut als Lernhilfe im Tempel Kōzanji eingesetzt worden sein, z.B. um die dortigen Mönche bei ihren Schülern in ein positives Licht zu rücken. Kein Zweifel besteht daran, dass die *Chōjū giga* nicht als Unterhaltung für ein mehr oder weniger anonymes Publikum gedacht waren, denn sie wurden weder vervielfältigt noch als Ware vertrieben. Von Hand auf recycltes Japanpapier getuscht, waren sie nur zu bestimmten Zeiten an einem bestimmten Ort zugänglich. Zudem fällt es schwer, sie als Erzählung zu lesen, da ihnen sowohl eine durchgehende Handlung als auch ein Begleittext fehlt (Yiengpruksawan 2000: 75).

Stephan Köhn wendet sich ebenfalls dagegen, den mittelalterlichen Querrollen mangahafte Züge zuzuschreiben, doch er begründet das mit dem Vorwissen und den begleitenden mündlichen Erläuterungen, auf die sie im Unterschied zu modernen Comics angewiesen waren (2005: 133f.). Für ihn sind Comics durch das Erzählen von Geschichten mit Wort und Bild charakterisiert, Geschichten, die sich wie von selbst öffnen. Seiner semiotisch ausgerichteten Studie unterliegt eine Vorstellung von Comics, die nicht die Unvereinbarkeiten und die daraus resultierende Mehrdeutigkeit, nicht die möglichen Spannungen zwischen der Materialität der Zeichen und ihrer Darstellungsleistung akzentuiert, sondern Konventionalität. Bei aller Enge, die ein solcher Begriff aufweisen mag, hat er doch seine produktiven Seiten. Zunächst einmal wird das bisherige diskursive

24 Die *Chōjū giga* waren das Thema des Bandes 163 (von insgesamt 286), der 1955 erschien.
25 Vgl. z.B. Fukushima (2003).

Privileg der Bildlichkeit gebrochen, womit auch andere Kunstformen und Medien in Betracht kommen können, das Theater beispielsweise.[25] Aber das ist es nicht allein. Während aus kunsthistorischer Sicht vor allem die Bildlichkeit interessierte, wird nun Sprachlichkeit betont und zwar in einem weiten Sinne: Im Namen von „Sprache" kann es ebenso um die Anteile an Schrifttext im Comic gehen wie um Erlernbarkeit, Teilhabe und eine vermeintliche Transparenz der Zeichen, die den Eigenwert der Bilder und die Materialität der Schrift vergessen lassen mag. Der Kunsthistorikerin mögen die *Chōjū giga* als „flat-footed if not amateurish in form and composition" erscheinen, ihr Pinselstrich „rather workman-like and economical" (Yiengpruksawan 2000: 79), aber gerade das kann eine andere, pragmatische Qualität nahelegen. Ausgerichtet auf einen bestimmten Gebrauch – die Bilder sollen in erster Linie vermitteln – hatten bei den *Chōjū giga* die schnelle Ausführung und die eingängige Symbolik offenbar Vorrang, und ebendas rückt sie in die Nähe des modernen Manga. Die historisch zunehmende Konventionalität jener Dunstschleier, die in den narrativen emakimono einzelne Szenen voneinander trennen und damit entfernt dem Zwischenraum zwischen den Panels eines Comics (jap. *mahaku*) gleichen, kann man ebenfalls als künstlerischen Niedergang abwerten oder aber als manga-nah interpretieren, wie Yamamoto es tut (2011: 26). Sie macht deutlich, dass Manga-Nähe nichts Überzeitliches und oft im vermeintlich Randständigen zu entdecken ist.

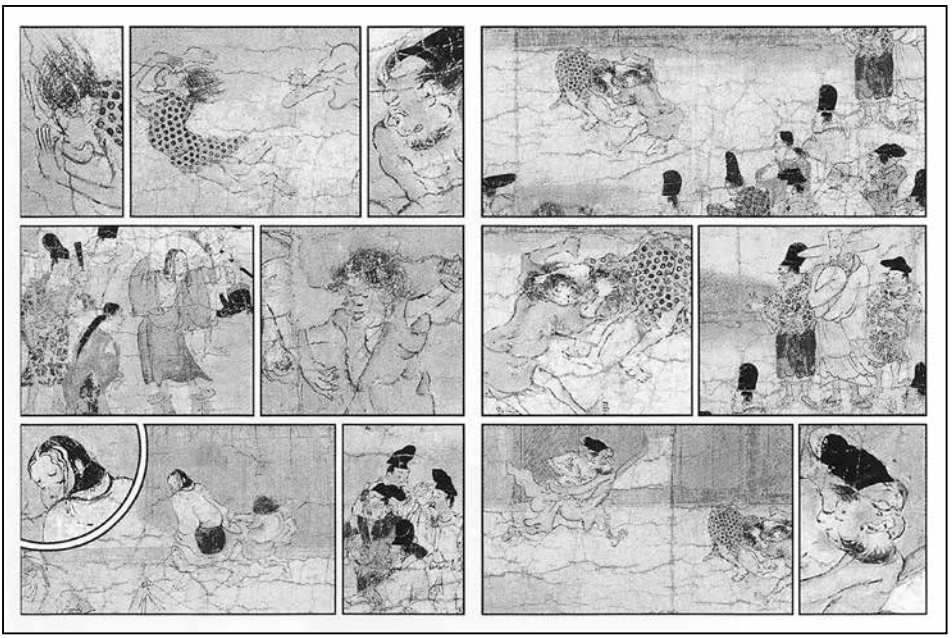
Die *emakimono* verräumlichen Zeit, aber sie unterteilen diese nicht in diskrete Momente, d.h. sie legen sich nicht unbedingt auf einen Zeitpunkt pro Bild fest, wie es der klassische Comic tut, wenn er die Sequenzialität der einzelnen Panels stärker gewichtet als die Simultaneität der Seiten- bzw. Bildfläche. Das zeigt sich z.B. in den traditionellen Polyphasenbildern (*ijidōzu*), die vor einem unveränderlichen Hintergrund ein und diesselbe Figur sukzessive vorführen. Ein berühmtes Beispiel stammt wiederum aus dem *Shigisan engi emaki* (Abb. 16): Die Schwester des Mönches Myōren verbringt auf der Suche nach ihrem Bruder eine Nacht vor dem Großen Buddha des Tempels Tōdaiji in Nara – knieend, betend, schlafend und schließlich aufbrechend am nächsten Morgen, nachdem ihr im Traum eingegeben worden war, wo er sich aufhalte.



16_ *Shigisan engi emaki* (Legenden vom Berg Shigi, 12.Jahrhundert): Die Nonne vor dem Großen Buddha des Tōdai-ji in Nara (Ausschnitt).

Darauf bezieht sich Takahata Isao in der gemeinsam mit Tsuji Nobuo konzipierten Ausstellung *Emakimono, Ursprung des Anime* (1999) und in seinem Begleitbuch. Dieses enthält sogar den Versuch, ein Polyphasenbild in ein Panel-Layout zu übertragen – konkret handelt es sich um die Szene des Kinderstreits, in den sich einer der Väter einmischt, woraufhin die Mutter der Gegenseite das zentrale Geheimnis des *Bandainagon ekotoba* enthüllt (Takahata 1999: 86; Abb. 17). Eher filmisch als comicspezifisch wird hier die Doppelwertigkeit des Ausgangsmaterials aufgelöst und unterschätzt, dass der zeitgenössische Manga ebenfalls Sequenzialität und Simultaneität verschränkt, z.B. als Wechselspiel von Panel und (Doppel-)Seite. Aber Takahata ist wohl mit den bewegten Bildern des Animationsfilms mehr vertraut als mit Manga und mit männlichen Mangagenres mehr als mit weiblichen.

Hinsichtlich des Panel-Layouts in der Tradition hat Yamamoto Yōko (2004) folgende Beobachtung zur Diskussion gestellt: Bereits vor dem späten 19.Jahrhundert sei die Unterteilung einer Bildfläche in panel-artige Vignetten in Japan bekannt gewesen, in kreativer Hinsicht aber nicht unbedingt geschätzt worden. Denn die Eindeutigkeit, die dadurch entstand, ließ nicht viel Raum dafür, bildliche Sequenzen selbst spielerisch zu entdecken. Die Zerlegung einer Fläche in kleine Rahmen war für Kinder und Ungebildete gedacht und zugleich stark religiös konnotiert: Man kannte sie aus Hängerollen mit Mandala und *setsuwa-ga*, die Szenen aus dem Leben Buddhas oder eines berühmten Mönches wiedergaben und oft von Priestern als Anschauungsmaterial verwendet wurden. Um das Darstellungsmittel für den modernen Manga



17_ Ein Teil des *Bandainagon ekotoba*, übersetzt in eine Panel-Sequenz. Takahata Isao: *Jūni seiki no animēshon.* Tokuma shoten 1999.

einzusetzen, brauchte es offenbar Abstand, d.h. den Filter einer ausländischen Kultur.

Natsume Fusanosuke hat angemerkt: „In der Meiji-Zeit kam es für Japans traditionelle Ästhetik zu einem Bruch mit der Vergangenheit, als diese mit dem vollkommen andersgearteten euroamerikanischen Comicstrip kollidierte […]. Bald darauf wurde eine moderne Form importiert, die Panel-Sequenz […] (mit anderen Worten, die Funktion, diskrete Moment in einem Verlauf von Ereignissen zu artikulieren)“ (1995: 209). Zwar entdeckt Shimizu mittlerweile sogar in den *Hokusai Manga* „Panel-Layouts“ (2014: 106ff), dort wo Seiten in zwei oder vier Kästchen zerlegt sind, und tatsächlich sind einige Seiten als Sequenzen gemeint, aber der Kunsthistoriker Bell spricht davon, dass Hokusai sich normalerweise auf isolierte Momente und „broken sequences“ konzentrierte, wenn er Geschichten illustrierte (2007: 6), sich also gewissermaßen zwischen dem Bilderfluss der Querrollen und dem geometrisch-klaren Panel-Raster moderner Comics bewegte. Natsume und sein Schüler Miyamoto verstehen Manga als ein grundlegend modernes Phänomen, was sie nicht nur am Konzept

des Panels, sondern auch der Entstehung moderner Zeitungen und Zeitschriften sowie der Modernisierung Japans insgesamt festmachen. Argumente wie ihre helfen gegen populistische Ursprungsbehauptungen, zumal sie sich auf sorgfältige historische Forschungen stützen. Dennoch lässt sich beispielsweise Shimizu nicht umstimmen, und auch Tsuji Nobuo beharrt: „Still I believe there is merit in looking from a broader art historical perspective to examine transhistorical resonances when they can be discovered […]“ (2001: 54). Nur geht es ihm, anders als den modernen Formalisten, um nationalkulturelle Eigenart. Manga und Anime in eins setzend, meint er: „[…] we should not simply look at *anime* as a direct import from the West, which evolved in Japan according to postwar consumer tastes.“ (ibid.) Aber nationalkulturelle Selbstbehauptung ist nicht das einzige Ziel, zu dem Formalismus führen mag, und Historisierung nicht das einzige Mittel dagegen, insbesondere nicht bei denjenigen, die entgegen aller Argumente nicht von den Ursprungslegenden lassen wollen. Dann bietet es sich an zu fragen, nicht ob *Chōjū giga* und *Hokusai Manga* historische Vorläufer sind, sondern *inwiefern*.

Hokusai im Manga

Nur wenige sind mit Hokusai und seinen *Manga* ebenso vertraut wie mit gegenwärtigen japanischen Comics. Das scheint die unbefangene Zusammenführung beider zu erleichtern. Doch stellt man beide nebeneinander, fallen – vom Erzählerischen bzw. seiner Zweitrangigkeit einmal abgesehen – stilistische Unterschiede auf. Diese betreffen neben den bereits angesprochenen Aspekten die zentrale Rolle von Gesichtern, insbesondere der Augen. Für Comiczeichner und -kritiker Robert C. Harvey wie für viele andere auch sind Manga „digest-sized tomes printed backwards and populated by large-eyed, pointy-chinned, pinch-faced adolescents who all look so much alike… “ (2007: 167). Andere sprechen von „Suppenteller-Augen“ (Nielsen 2009: 339). Die heute so auffällige Privilegierung des Gesichts im Manga ging mit der Psychologisierung der Charaktere und der affektiven Einbeziehung des Lesers einher. Gesichter und vor allem große Augen wecken Aufmerksamkeit, halten aber auch collageartige Seitengestaltungen zusammen. Als „Spiegel der Seele“ mögen sie zwar auf

18_ Ishinomori Shōtarō: *Hokusai*, Bd. 2. Sekai bunkasha, 1987, S. 3.

19_ Saeki Kōnosuke „*Adandai*", *Shōnen Sunday Special Comics*, Bd.1. Shogakukan, 2012, S. 14.

ein modernes Individuum verweisen, wie es so zu Zeiten Hokusais nicht existierte, doch sind kleine Augen in der bildlichen Darstellung als solche noch kein Indikator für Typisierung: Diese bedient sich im Manga auch großer Augen. Außerdem waren im *ukiyoe* nicht alle Augen klein – Krieger z.B. wurden mit großen dargestellt (*musha-e*), nicht zuletzt in Anlehnung an das Kabuki-Theater, und das machte sie nicht westlicher als die Schönen mit ihren schmalen Mandelaugen. Mit anderen Worten, große Augen als Merkmal des gegenwärtigen Manga und kleine als Merkmal des *ukiyoe* zu verstehen, geht am tatsächlichen Material vorbei.

Zeitgenössische Manga, in denen Hokusai als Charakter auftritt – und davon gibt es nicht wenige –, bieten sich als Material an, um zu erkunden, was man unter „Manga" verstehen will. Fast im Sinne der quantitativen Definition des frühen 19.Jahrhunderts scheint alles und jedes möglich: Es gibt semi-fiktionale Sachcomics (*gakushū manga*; ABB. 18) und ausgedehnte *story manga*, insbesondere aus männlicher Feder – man denke z.B. an Samura Hiroakis *Blade of Immortal* (Bd. 1, 1993) oder Kamimura Kazuos „Furious Love" (Bd. 1, 1973) –, aber in jüngster Zeit auch Serien aus Webmagazinen wie Saeki Kōnosukes „*Adandai*" (2012-; Abb. 19) und

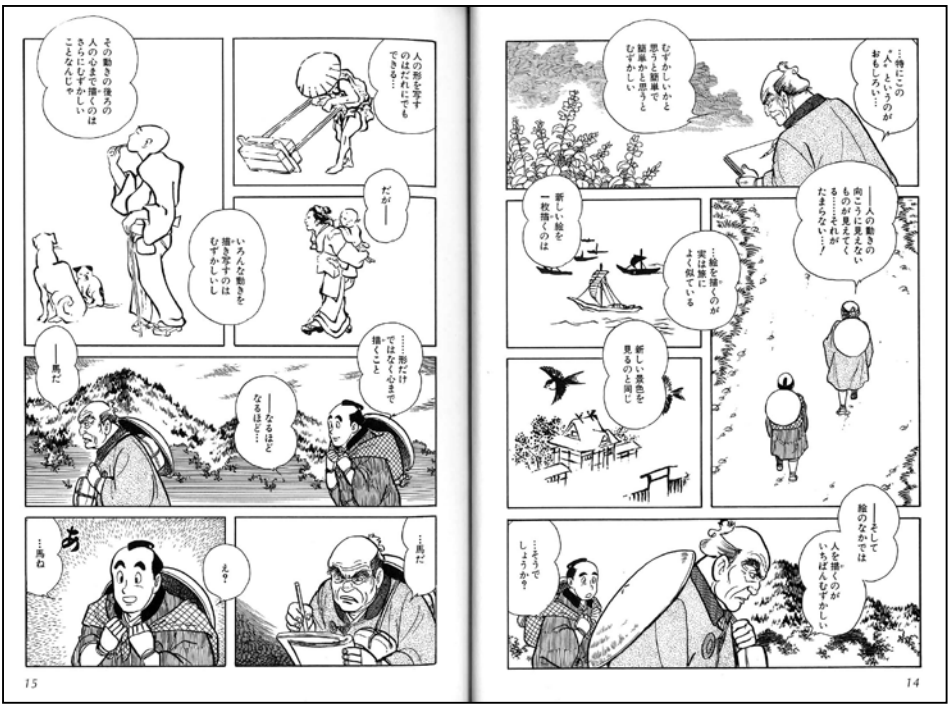
Mitsukos Blog (Abb. 20). Im Folgenden sollen zwei längere Erzählungen vorgestellt werden, die beide Ende der 1980er Jahre, zu Zeiten des Edo-Booms, entstanden sind und mangahistorisch zwischen dem realistisch ausgerichteten *gekiga* der 1970er Jahre und den fankulturellen Simulakren der 2010er Jahre stehen: die dreibändige Biographie von Ishinomori Shōtarō (1938-98), die von einem nicht auf Manga spezialisierten Verlag in Buchform herausgebracht wurde, und eine Serie von fast gleicher Länge, nämlich etwa 700 Seiten, aus einem *seinen*-Magazin, gezeichnet von Sugiura Hinako (1958-2005).

20_ Mitsuko: *Tōsei ukiyoe rui kō: Nekojita gokoro mo koi no uchi* [Gedanken zu *ukiyoe*-artigen Bildern von heute: Selbst die Empfindlichen sind verliebt]. Fusion product, 2009, S. 10.

Ishinomori war ein Pionier des *gakushū manga*, d.h. fiktionalisierter Präsentationen von Wissen wie z.B. *Japan GmbH: Eine Einführung in die japanische Wirtschaft* (jap. 1986)[26] oder der 55 Bände umfassenden Langserie zur japanischen Geschichte (*Manga nihon no rekishi*, Chūōkōronsha), deren auf die Edo-Zeit bezogene Teile 1992-93 herauskamen. Seine Sicht auf Hokusais Leben beginnt und endet mit dessen Sterbestunde. Dazwischen erzählen neun nicht chronologisch angeordnete Kapitel von verschiedenen Erlebnissen des erwachsenen Mannes. Das erste Kapitel des zweiten Bandes (S. 3-68) ist der Entstehung der *Hokusai Manga* gewidmet. Es beginnt mit einem doppelseitigen Zitat des Berges Fuji aus den *Hokusai Manga* selbst (Heft 5) und bietet auf der folgenden Seite mit dem detailliert gezeichneten Anblick einer Berglandschaft und einer kleinen Hütte ein weiteres Panorama. Im zweiten Panel zeigt sich, wer auf diese Landschaft schaut: der zeichnende Hokusai und sein Schüler. Was der Meister beobachtet und festhält, offenbart sich in Panelsequenzen, die zwischen „Nahaufnahmen" des Protagonisten, Verbildlichungen dessen, was dieser sieht, sowie Zitaten aus den *Hokusai Manga* wechseln (Abb. 21). Obgleich angehalten, sich darauf zu konzentrieren, *was* Hokusai zeichnet, mag der Leser doch auch stilistische Unterschiede wahrnehmen: im Strich, in der Behandlung von Hintergründen und in der Vordergründigkeit der Gesichter.

Wie die Augen zu vermuten geben, modernisiert Ishinomori seinen Helden, nicht nur stilistisch, sondern

26 *Manga nihon keizai nyūmon* (Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1986, 4 Bde, dt., Bonn: Rentrop, 1989, Verlag Deutsche Wirtschaft, 1997).



21_ Ishinomori Shōtarō: *Hokusai*, Bd. 2. Sekai bunkasha, 1987, S. 14-15.

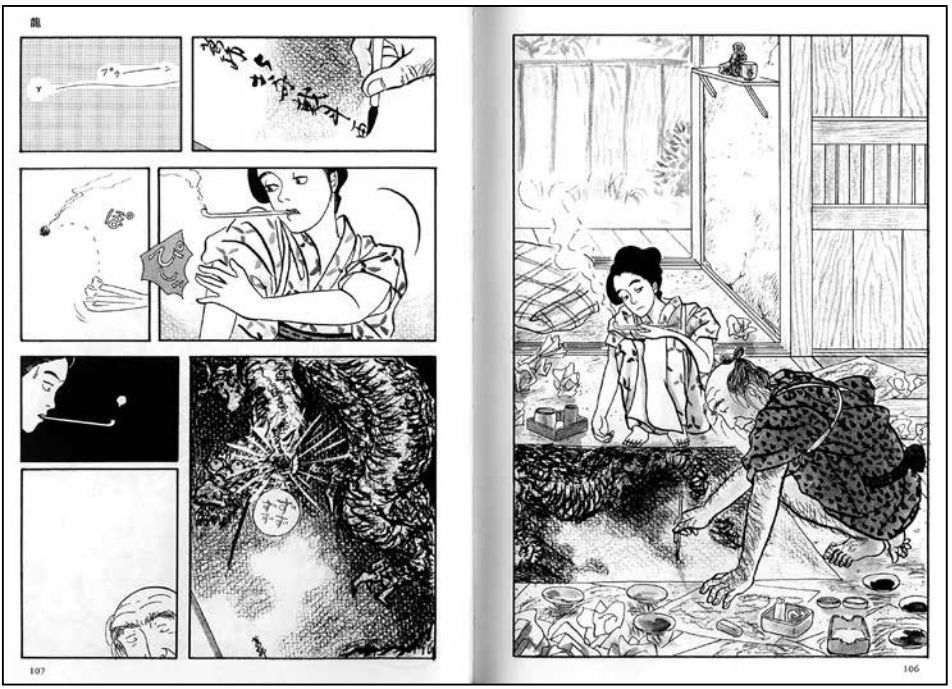
auch narrativ. Während andere Figuren sich leicht in cartooneske Gestalten verwandeln, Grimassen zeigen und schrumpfen, bleibt Hokusais Erscheinung sich mehr oder weniger gleich. Dieser Mann hat eine Identität. Er besitzt eine besondere Beobachtungsgabe, wie die vielen Panels mit seinem Gesicht suggerieren. Schnelle Panelabfolgen sowie Lautwörter und Piktogramme vermitteln den Eindruck, dieser Mann sei unermüdlich gewesen und habe eine Heldentat nach der anderen vollbracht – fast wie ein Renaissancemensch. Geradlinige Vorwärtsbewegung, schnelles Tempo und auch „Physikalisierung" von Emotionen lassen an den Jungenmanga der 1970er Jahre denken.

Ein ganz anderes Bild von Hokusai zeichnet Sugiura Hinako (Abb. 22). So wie der Titel *Sarusuberi* (Kräusel- oder Kreppmyrten) auf einen unspektakulären, spät blühenden, doch unverwüstlichen Strauch anspielt, so „focused on the humble, the everyday, the unremarkable" (Bell 2007: 60) wie Hokusai selbst gibt sich die undramatische, episodische Erzählung. Sie setzt im Jahre 1815 ein, als Hokusai 55 Jahre alt ist und

das Heft 1 der *Hokusai Manga* bereits erschienen, nur wird das erfolgreiche Kompendium nicht ein einziges Mal erwähnt. Der Meister lebt mit seiner Tochter Oei, die ebenfalls Malerin ist, zusammen. Statt einem kämpfenden Helden begegnet man einem stillen Mann, der die meiste Zeit zeichnend daheim verbringt – während der kalten Jahreszeit bevorzugt unter seinem Futon oder *kotatsu* –, wenn er nicht gerade auf das Dach seines wackligen Häuschens steigt oder sich flach auf die Straße legt, um die Perspektive der Vögel bzw. Ameisen zu studieren. Manchmal trifft er Kunden, alte Freunde oder seine junge Geliebte, aber insgesamt führt er ein abgeklärtes, selbstgenügsames Leben und hat es nicht nötig, die Welt zu erobern.

Sugiura erzählt indirekter als Ishinomori. Die einzelnen Episoden beginnen nicht mit einem *establishing shot*, sondern oft mit mysteriösen Vorfällen, die sich erst später aufklären, und Hokusai wird nicht zum Gegenstand einer mangatypischen emotionalen Identifikation. Bei aller Alltagsnähe bleibt eine Distanz zu ihm, u.a. dadurch, dass meistens seine Tochter den

22_ Sugiura Hinako: *Sarusuberi*, Bd. 1. Chikuma bunko, 1996, S. 14-15.



23_ Sugiura Hinako: *Sarusuberi*, Bd. 1. Chikuma bunko, 1996, S. 106-107.

Blick auf ihn vermittelt (Abb. 23). Zudem setzt Sugiura Bilder des Meisters intradiegetisch ein, als Teil dessen, was die handelnden Personen tun, und gibt sie mit dem gleichen Strich wieder, während Ishinomori Ausschnitte aus den *Hokusai Manga* in extra Panels unterbringt und den Leser zur Annahme verleitet, mit den Augen des Meisters, der im Panel daneben erscheint, zu schauen.

Ähnlich unaufdringlich wirken in „*Sarusuberi*" die Gesichter: Obwohl sie eine zentrale Rolle spielen, werden sie selten frontal gezeigt und selten von Piktogrammen begleitet, die die Gefühlslage klarstellen. Manchmal erscheint nur ein Fragment in einer Panelecke; manchmal fehlen Augen, Nase, Mund, wie um Verblüffung oder Anonymität zu vermitteln. Sprechblasen schweben ohne Dorn im Raum und lassen unbestimmt, wer ihr Sprecher ist. Oft bleibt der Hintergrund leer. Bildlich herrscht Zurückhaltung hinsichtlich des Einsatzes von *sound words*, Piktogrammen, Konzentrations- und Bewegungslinien. Dabei ist das Seiten-Layout keineswegs ungewöhnlich:

Einem *seinen*-Magazin angemessen, kann der Blick von Panel zu Panel gleiten, und die Textteile sind weitgehend minimiert. Trotzdem gelingt es nicht, durch diesen Manga hindurchzupreschen, denn es tauchen immer wieder Einzelbilder auf, die den Erzählfluss unterbrechen, weil sie nicht in einem direkten Zusammenhang mit diesem zu stehen scheinen. Satō findet, dass sie die Zeit einfrieren und eine Gefühlslandschaft (*jōkei*) entstehen lassen, die assoziativ ihre eigene Geschichte hervorbringt (2011: 56). Solche Bildelemente sind nicht zu „lesen". Und sie implizieren, dass die Vergangenheit nur im (erst noch in Bewegung zu setzenden) Standbild zugänglich ist und nur im Fragment.

Durch diese Ästhetik des Andeutens mag der Manga „japanischer" als Ishinomoris wirken. Carol Gluck, die den Edo-Boom der späten 1980er Jahre analysiert hat, meint Sugiura (und zwar eine von deren Nicht-Manga-Publikationen), wenn sie schreibt: „Meanwhile Edo-the-city became a media fetish, its '*yaminabe* culture' described as a bubbling social stew of who-knows-what, preferable to present-day society, which separates people by clear partitions like a pot of oden." (1998: 274).

Auch wenn „*Sarusuberi*", ebenso wie Sugiuras andere Manga, auf sorgfältiger historischer Recherche beruht und keineswegs Verschiedenes in einen Topf wirft, so wird doch modernisiert und das mit einem Hang zu

24_ Kamimura Kazuo: *Kyōjin Kankei*, Bd. 1. Shōeisha, 1995, S. 290-291.

25_ Sugiura Hinako: „Yukino“, *Futatsu makura*. Chikuma bunko, 1997, S. 98-99.

gewissermaßen geruchslosen, glatten, dekorativen und also solche „medialen“ Bildern. Das zeigt sich zum einen bei einem Vergleich mit Kamimura Kazuos Serie „Furious Love“ aus den frühen 1970er Jahren, die vor allem im ersten ihrer drei Bände direkt von Hokusai handelt. Wie bei „*Sarusuberi*“ wird aus Sicht der Tochter (Abb. 24) erzählt, aber anders als dort haben die Figuren hier einen Körper, der furzt, kopuliert, juckt und schmerzt, nicht zuletzt weil er mit ärmlichen Lebensbedingungen zurande kommen muss. Eine solche Leiblichkeit ist vielen gegenwärtigen Leser/innen, so sie nicht historische *gekiga* mögen, zu direkt; der Manga, mit dem sie vertraut sind, privilegiert den Augensinn gegenüber dem Tastsinn. Zum anderen passte es wohl zu Edo als Medienbild, dass Sugiura nicht die *ukiyoe*-nahe Bildsprache verwendete, mit der sie zu Beginn ihrer Laufbahn als *mangaka* experimentiert hatte.[27] 1981 veröffentlichte sie im alternativen Monatsmagazin *Garo* eine kleine Serie von Kurzgeschichten namens „Zwei Kopfstützen“ (*Futatsu makura*). Diese spielen in Yoshiwara, dem Vergnügungsviertel von Edo, und nähern sich dem dortigen Alltag im bildlichen Idiom eines jeweils anderen *ukiyoe*-Meisters: Utamaros (Abb. 25), Harunobus und Eisens. Die Frauengestalten in „*Sarusuberi*“ sehen nicht edozeitlich aus, vielmehr wie Schönheiten (*bijin*)

27 Debüt 1980 in *Garo*. Abbruch der Tätigkeit als *mangaka* 1993 aus gesundheitlichen Gründen.

des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts, etwa aus den Drucken von Hashiguchi Goyō (1880-1921). Sugiuras Entscheidung für die „westlichere“ und moderner wirkende Variante schien damals zu bestätigen, dass sich Langserien in einem Mangamagazin nicht auf kleinäugige Gesichter stützen können.

Doch seit 2013 veröffentlicht Nakama Ryō (*1990) in *Shōnen Jump* seine „Geschichten von Isobe Isobee“ (*Isobe Isobee monogatari*), einem kleinäugigen, vom Gesicht her an Sharakus Schauspielerbilder angelehnten *hikikomori* der Edo-Zeit, der bei seiner fürsorglichen Mutter lebt und sich vorgeblich in der Kunst des Kriegers versucht (Abb. 26). Die Augengröße des Protagonisten tut der Eingängigkeit dieses Gag-Manga keinen Abbruch – immerhin liegen bereits 6 Buchbände vor. Nicht Isobees Augen, sondern sein Kopf und die geschickt platzierten witzigen Textteile setzen jenes visuelle Gleiten über die Seitenfläche in Gang, das als mangatypisch gilt; das variierende Panel-Layout tut ein

26_ Nakama Ryō: „*Isobe Isobee monogatari: Ukiyo wa tsurai yo*“ [Geschichten von Isobe Isobee: Die fließende Welt macht es einem nicht leicht] (in *Shōnen Jump*, 2013-, bislang 6 Bde). Bd.1, Shueisha, 2013, S. 146-147.

27_ Kyrie: „Edomoiselle“ (in *Comic Spica*, 2012-), Bd.1 (Birz Comics, Spica Collection). Gentõsha, 2013.

Übriges. Ohnehin geht es statt um Gefühlslandschaften um Parodien sowohl von Medienbildern der Edo-Zeit als auch von kulturellen Phänomenen der Gegenwart. Und Isobee ist keine Ausnahmeerscheinung (Abb. 27). Viele der neueren auf die Edo-Zeit oder gar Hokusai bezogenen „Medienfetische“ beginnen zudem nicht auf gedruckten Magazinseiten, sondern online und sind Teil einer virtuellen Gemeinschaft, die gleichermaßen produziert wie rezipiert. Diese beerbt die *Hokusai Manga* jenseits aller sichtbaren stilistischen Ähnlichkeit. Als Übersetzungen japanischer Comics Ende der 1990er Jahre im Ausland zu zirkulieren begannen, erschienen fast gleichzeitig Anleitungsbücher darüber, wie man sie zeichnet: Japanische Comics wurden bei Jugendlichen so außergewöhnlich populär, weil sie nicht nur zum lesenden Konsumieren einluden. Wenn man Berührungspunkte zwischen dem gegenwärtigen Manga und den *Hokusai Manga* entdecken will, dann in dieser partizipativen Kultur, im zeichnenden Leser.

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HISTORICAL ADVENTURES OF A POST-HISTORICAL MEDIUM

JAPAN'S WARTIME PAST

AS REPRESENTED IN MANGA

Introduction: History Light

Since graphic narratives, or narrative comics, enjoy remarkable popularity, it is not surprising that they are attracting increasing attention as educational and research material. In regard to Japan, with its exceptional proliferation of manga, a substantial influence on historical consciousness is especially easily assumed. While sociological audience research might be an obvious place to begin, a consideration of manga's media-specific properties is no less required, in particular if content readings are to take center stage. As distinct from most historians to whom the interest in history precedes interest in the form in which it is addressed in importance, this essay concentrates on the historical as a mode, a way of representation in graphic narratives and a specific approach to the past. With the word 'manga' it refers to graphic narratives first serialized in weekly or monthly magazines before republished in book form; it deliberately excludes *gakushū manga* (educational or instructional comics) which usually appear only in book form and thus position their contents differently for the reader. This is not to belittle the relevance of non-fiction manga, but rather to acknowledge differences within manga.

Historians have pointed out that art (literature included) is inclined to ascribe meaning to time in a way which differs from the historical mode insofar as imagination and fictionalization are privileged over factual accuracy (Rüsen 2004: 373; Bann 2002). Art's particularity has grown into a general aesthetization of culture since the advent of the information age.

Depoliticized ahistorical experiences of time as a chain of disconnected moments, and lifestyles without a genuinely historical orientation have emerged, facilitated by new post-Gutenberg galaxy media (Rüsen 2004: 379; Angehrn 2004: 399). Contemporary manga series which revisit Japan's militarist past in the form of SciFi-like simulations provide telling examples of such a state of posthistoire on the level of everyday media culture. Two of them shall serve as our point of departure here.

The first one is a series by Kawaguchi Kaiji (b. 1948), launched in 2000 and titled not "Japan" or "Nippon" but "Jipangu" (Zipang). The narrative commences almost in 'real-time' when in the summer of "200X" the Japanese Maritime Self-defence Force casts off on its first foreign mission. On their way to Ecuador, the ships meet an exceptionally strong typhoon which transports one of the destroyers back in time. The name of this time-travelling ship is Mirai, meaning future, and thus the future literally intrudes on the past sharing with it the same present on the pages of the manga. Confronted with the allegedly unsinkable battleship Yamato, which sank in 1945, the captain of the Mirai finds himself in the lucky position of having a military-history geek (*otaku*) among his crew who is able to identify the place and time as the Battle of Midway (1942). When soon after Kadomatsu Yōsuke, executive officer and second in command, rescues Imperial Navy officer Kusaka Takumi from drowning, a suspense story unfolds revolving around historical facts and the endeavours of the fictitious protagonists to alter the course of history. Rendered in the same pictorial style, past and present are interlocked also in terms of narrative: in volume 5, for example, Kusaka rushes to Kyoto to see Ishiwara Kanji (1889–1949), "the person who pulled the trigger for this war" (vol. 5 [2001], p. 62); meanwhile, crew members of the Mirai search for this unfamiliar name on their computer.[1]

1 A 2007 military history book on Ishiwara Kanji recommends two manga as introductions to his life, Kawaguchi's "Jipangu" and Motomiya Hiroshi's "Kuni ga moeru" (to be discussed in section 3 of this essay). The latter is described as follows: "There are some problems with respect to historical facts, but it allows for an interesting read insofar as you can grasp the tide of history" (Kobayashi 2007: 119).

History seems to be, first and foremost, a matter of data knowledge.

While "Jipangu" was being serialized in the weekly manga-magazine *Morning*, a similar manga appeared in *Evening*, another of Kodansha's periodicals, from February 2006 onwards, "Fantasy Warship Yamato" (*Mugen no gunkan Yamato*). The tagline which adorned the first volume of the book edition read: "With the support of the Yamato Museum and inspired by Abe Nobuhiro's original story, the hero of documentary manga, Moto Sōichi is challenging the 'what if...' of history!" Previously known for comics about leukaemia and bone-marrow banks, or North-Korean kidnappings, this story by Moto (b. 1963) focused on seventeen-year old Uehara Kurusu who is taken by his father, a TV producer, to the site of the sunken Yamato. After mysteriously fainting, he finds himself on board the battleship where he meets the young recruit Kaiba, the only crew-member to whom he is visible. Back to the present, he posts a photo taken with his mobile phone on the internet and learns, again thanks to a military-history buff, that he visited the past in late 1941.

What sets Kurusu apart from the protagonists of "Jipangu" is not only his younger age and initial reluctance. Although he soon develops a similar interest in altering the course of history, to him, the war is a "game" (vol. 1, p. 80). Fired by a gamer's ambition, he is determined to "become the bug that changes history" (vol. 2, p. 136). "After all, history is the greatest scenario ever [...]" (vol. 2, pp. 134f.), his only problem being the (historical) characters who are not listening. Mentioned in passing, dialogue lines like the ones quoted here suggest aesthetic self-referentiality which, from a modernist perspective, is supposed to engender critical distance by disclosing the very mechanisms of fiction. Yet, used to such devices, skilled readers of contemporary manga may feel invited to take the narrative lightly rather than critically reading such devices as signals of playfulness—it is only a comics, after all.

The mingling of historical figures with fictitious ones applies to both series, as does the restraint shown towards pictorial experimentation, that is, towards any clouding of narrative or symbolic transparency.

But Moto's manga does not intertwine the different time settings as closely as "Jipangu"—vol. 2 depicts mostly the past in the present tense without Kurusu intruding—and, if internet discussions are indicative of its overall reception, it is read more as a coming-of-age story than as a war tale. It does, however, provide some glimpses into contemporary historical consciousness.[2] The following aspects are especially noteworthy: first, Moto depicts a youth, who abruptly turns from historical ignorance to neo-nationalist identity claims once he lets himself encounter the past;[3] second, history appears as a matter not of critical investigation but of data collected and preserved by otaku experts; and third, the pastness of the past is underplayed in favour of its individual consumption here and now, which echoes not only manga's, or the manga industry's, general inclination towards reducing otherness, but also consumerist nationalism described by Aaron Gerow as "reducing the nation to an object of consumption and reducing national memory to the recollection of such popular cultural representations of history as children's manga" (Gerow 2000: 87), a stance that is not necessarily disadvantageous for undermining neo-nationalist historical revisionism.

Below, I will first clarify some of the general properties of comics, a medium which has been characterized as a non- or post-historical one. In light of manga's diversity, I will then point out cultural particularities related to historical indifference before discussing three examples which approach the Manchuria of the 1930s-1940s from different stylistic angles. Realistic representation is a

2 Not in regard to Japan, but to US-American allohistorical depictions, Winthrop-Young (2006: 892) arrives at the following conclusion: "It appears that the evolution of the Third Reich in official history and in alternate history have followed fairly similar paths. [...] Not that the work of 'alternate' historians presupposes that of 'real' historians; obviously, alternate histories do not profess to copy or compete with historiography." For a historian's account of how the war-time past has been revisited in Japan see Conrad (2003).

3 This is reminiscent of the reception of Kobayashi Yoshinori's (b. 1953) history-related manga which since the late 1990s have been striving to retrospectively assign meaning to the lost war in order to cope with the confusing present (Kobayashi 1998, 2001, 2003). Being the most politically-charged sample from Japan, Kobayashi can only be examined in Japanese. I shall not discuss his controversial works in this essay because they are not *story manga* and explicitly political. I will refer to them only occasionally.

key issue here. Although well aware of the necessity of investigating historical consciousness in manga works which picture a fictitious past,[4] I will focus on narratives with verifiable historical subject matter in order to make the discussion of manga as cogent as possible. Such a choice might also make it easier to compare prominent comics like Art Spiegelman's tale about the holocaust, *MAUS* (1989/1992),[5] Joe Sacco's committed reportage *Palestine* (1992-1994), and Marjane Satrapi's childhood memories about Iran, *Persepolis* (2000-2003), with some of the few historical manga available in translation, especially Nakazawa Keiji's (b. 1939) semi-autobiographical "Barefoot Gen" (*Hadashi no Gen*, 1973-1987) about a boy's survival in Hiroshima,[6] or Tezuka Osamu's (1928–1989) "Adolf" (*Adorufu ni tsugu*, 1983-1985) whose action stretches from Nazi Germany in the late 1930s to the military conflicts between Israel and Palestine in the latter half of the 20th century.

Comics, Manga and Historical Indifference

If history is to be understood as the arranging of incidents in a temporal order which allows for contact with the real and, consequently, meaningful, or to put it differently, as an endeavour which interrelates occurrences with their representation in coherent narratives,[7] comics share some of its structural characteristics, at least pertaining to the deliberate sequentiality and developmental structure found in graphic narratives, or *story manga*. What complicates the matter, however, is that comics are, first, not only temporal but also spatial narratives; second, not necessarily obliged to the same 'real' as

4 For example Miyazaki Hayao's "Nausicäa of the Valley of the Wind" (*Kaze no tani no Naushikā*, 1982–1994), or "Imperial Guards" (*Kōkoku no shugosha*) by Itō Yū (artwork) and Saitō Daisuke (scenario), serialized in *Ultra Jump* 2004-2007. Based on the scenarist's fantasy novel (1998-2005), the latter presents a war tale in which a small island state reminiscent of Meiji Japan resists its almost overwhelming neighbour, an empire that resembles 19th-century Germany as much as Russia; it intermingles dragons and tigers with unprettified depictions of war.

5 See Frahm 2006.

6 See Itō & Omote 2006; Sabin 2006; Ōgi 2006; Yoshimura & Fukuma, eds, 2006, Berndt 2013: 67-71.

7 See White 1987.

historians;[8] and third, only rarely self-contained works, being fundamentally open mediators of communication dependent upon relationality, above all their readers' participation. I shall explain these aspects briefly.

Comics are a highly ambiguous medium. They intertwine the verbal (as script) and the visual (mainly as pictorial) to such an extent that the first assumes qualities of the latter and vice versa. Likewise they interrelate time and space, as is evident, for example, from the disconnected moments materialized in single panels which get connected spatially on the page. Being translations of time into space, comics make readers shift their attention as much between reading and watching within the single panel as between panel and page, in other words, between sequential parts suggesting temporal succession and the (double) page as a whole which offers these parts simultaneously. Whereas in film, the present constantly replaces the past evoking impressions of development, at least visually, in comics, previous images can much more easily be revisited. Although the single panel gains its raison d'être mainly by reaching beyond its frame and often forward, this almost historical aspiration to other single moments of the pictorial sequence is levelled out by the very coexistence of these moments on the same page, or as part of the same book. Thus, comics provide preconditions for a peculiar parity between temporality and spatiality.

Attributing temporality to comics' verbal component and spatiality to its visual side, while ascribing historical potential to the first, is tempting but simplistic. Almost concurrently with Scott McCloud's influential book *Understanding Comics* (1993) which disseminated comics' definition as sequential art, Sabine Gross published her study on cognition, medium and materiality in the reading process. Although she did not touch upon comics, her discussion of scriptural and pictorial text is stimulating insofar as

8 Without directly touching upon manga but certainly applicable to it too, Witek (1989: 13) states: "Comic books in America have not often been used to tell stories about real lives and actual events. The comics tradition for us lies elsewhere: in the realms of fantasy, of wish fulfilment, of projections of power, and in the ritual repetition of generic formulas."

it challenges established assumptions. Interrelating cognitive psychology and reception aesthetics, she demonstrates on the one hand how "astonishingly little sequential" (Gross 1994: 15) reading verbal text is, and on the other, how sequential the perception of two-dimensional pictures: "The picture is in its entirety accessible to the eye, but perceptible only through the temporal succession of scanning it [...]" (id.: 100). Challenging Susanne Langer, the equations of discourse with succession and of presentation with simultaneity are questioned here. Furthermore, Gross foregrounds the fact that conceptions of verbal text and its allegedly linear reading actually rest upon oral, not written language. According to her, the encoding of script as well as pictures involves both spatial and temporal operations.

Whereas Gross highlights the materiality and iconicity of script on the one hand, she pursues a constructivist discussion of pictures on the other. Her emphasis on reading points less to representational contents than referentiality, that is, the actually unnatural relation of pictorial signs to external reality often deliberately overlooked in modern culture. Although pictures appear to be more hetero-referential than script at first sight and, thus, invite mimetic readings, subjecting comics to criteria of mimetic realism runs the risk of underplaying their specific critical potential. Assertions of how certain works represent historical events need to consider that the medium's semiotic heterogeneity potentially distracts the reader from treating signs constantly as direct gateways to (in our case, historical) reality. After all, unlike photography or film, comics do not depend on an object to be shot. In effect, they escape more easily the kind of realism which rests upon naturalizing semiotic arbitrariness by means of highly motivated signs. According to Ole Frahm (2000), reading comics requires as much attention to external references as to the internal intertwining of the signs. Consequently, he characterizes comics as a form of parody. Deploying neither the comical nor Linda Hutcheon's definition of parody as "repetition with critical distance" but rather Judith Butler's concept of performative identity, Frahm points out that comics parody structurally, especially modernist notions of truth and authenticity, or, semiotically speaking, the existence of a factual link between sign and external reality.

> The parody of comics, therefore, is to be found in the constellation of, on the one hand, the stabilizing of a common object of reference of the signs and, on the other hand, its destabilizing character because of the material heterogeneousness of the signs. Because of their own identity of 'signness' which refers to nothing but further repetitions, the repetitions both confirm and diffuse one identity. We can read the different repetitions, for the sake of their being different, as confirmations of a common object of reference, or as transgressions of referentiality: a reading of comics always works both ways. (Frahm 2000: 189)

As parody, comics embrace ambiguities not only between the scriptural and the pictorial or between the materiality and the representationality of signs, as pointed out by Frahm, but also between silliness and earnestness, exaggeration and authenticity claims, escaping historical reality and confronting it. Thus, comics are structurally capable of raising doubts about conventional binaries and respective certainties. However, in daily life, such an intricate balance is less often called for than the privileging of one side over the other at the expense of ambiguity. Among regular readers, comics are either appreciated as a comforting medium which reduces complexities and as such is especially welcome in times of rapid social change accompanied by an informational over-kill. Or they are praised for the opposite, that is, their aesthetic ability to reconcile the semiotically and perceptually incompatible.

Understanding comics as a "parody on the referentiality of signs" (Frahm 2000: 179) helps reconsider the actual relevance of representational contents. Obviously, this relevance is as much relativized by the general characteristics of the comics medium as by recent cultural change. Whereas in Europe and America autobiographical accounts are highly appreciated, contemporary manga culture favors the codified, playful and fantastic over the authentic, serious and natural, a tendency that applies also to stylistically more idiosyncratic creations. On top of that, many younger readers today are less attracted by story content than by technical craftsmanship, well known artists whose previous works they like, visual spectacle, intertextual references, and cute characters. Noteworthy in this regard is also the community-building capacity of

manga. That is not to say, that representation does not matter, or to "uniformly dismiss the *potential* of the [manga] medium to connect with wider discourses" (Penney 2013: 149). Rather, it is meant as a word of caution against rashly equating the potential with its realizations, and a call for diligently identifying—as well as creating—conditions under which this potential might be realized. In other words, content-oriented readings are not necessarily obsolete but need to be contextualized. This applies, last but not least, to extractions of political messages from certain manga—by teachers, for example, who have been using Nakazawa's "Barefoot Gen" for peace education, or historians who have been criticizing Kobayashi Yoshinori's revisionist accounts of Japan's militarist past. After all, the political quality of specific manga works is not necessarily an issue of contents.[9]

However, more often than not, even content-oriented readings get off the allegedly main subject. Recent inquiries of what people remember about their childhood experience of reading "Barefoot Gen" at school have revealed that memories of spectacular, exciting or horrific images are usually more prevalent than pacifist messages; some even recall their being attracted by Gen's freedom of action under the completely unregulated conditions in Hiroshima after the dropping of the bomb (Itō & Omote 2006). This deviates, of course, from Nakazawa's initial intentions, but the reception by the general Japanese public has not matched these intentions either. Instead of encouraging a critical pacifism by confronting the reader with recurring horrific images, the horror has become digestible, the intended provocation harmless (Fukuma 2006b: 49).

9 Whereas Penney (2007) tries to refute those historians who do not acknowledge the pluralistic and partially subversive character of manga by applying their very means, that is, clinging to content analysis as if the content could be separated from entertaining impacts and issues of form, Ōtsuka (2006: 133) points out that the political is also to be found in the stylistic, referring to *Manga kenkanryū* (2005, 2006, by Yamano Sharin), which deliberately deploys the popular *moe* style for malevolently attacking the recent "Korea boom" in Japan. For a discussion of pacifist intentions in Japan's post-war media history from a sociological perspective, see Fukuma (2006a).

Apparently, "Barefoot Gen" has contributed to an apolitical remembering of WWII. The very medium of manga as well as Nakazawa's specific style which was heavily influenced by his series' first publication site, the boys' manga magazine *Shōnen Jump*, may be suspected to be crucial in that regard. Irrespective of the changes the medium has seen since the 1970s, manga differ from history textbooks insofar as the reader cannot be made to read them. Manga have to captivate in a consumable manner. This raises the issue of how to narrate the horror of the atomic bomb and keep the reader hooked at the same time, as discussed, for example, by Yoshimura (2006).

A slightly older example, war tales for boys (*senki manga*) which were familiar to Nakazawa himself and the first generation of his readers, deserve some attention. Peaking in 1964 and disappearing ca. 1970, this genre is usually analyzed from a contents-oriented perspective. "Manga war stories in the years 1956–1967 were, then, much in line with the dominant discourse of war [...]. Children were being shown a war that was tamed, miniaturised and thereby rendered fascinating rather than terrifying" (Nadar 2003: 73). Similarly content-oriented, Penney introduces an example of the "war fantasy formula" which reveals itself to be a "powerful counter-narrative" insofar as it "focuses on the tragedy of war for all sides while still clearly showing the Japanese side as the agent of victimization" (Penney 2007: 40). According to sociologist Itō Kimio, however, the idealized boy protagonists of manga series such as Chiba Tetsuya's (b. 1939) "Hawk in the 'Shidenkai' Fighter" (*Shidenkai no taka*)[10] were popular among young male readers not so much because of their political meaning but rather because of their protagonists' courage, mobility and capacity to act as morally incorrupt young men against depraved adult Japanese characters.[11] In addition, in the early 1970s, readers of girls comics (shōjo manga) caused a shift in their generic realm, from quasi-documentary and

10 Serialized in *Shōnen Magazine*, 1963-1965. The protagonist is a young pilot of a "Violet Lightning (Modified Version)" (*Shidenkai*), a type nicknamed "George" by the Americans (Nadar 2003: 60, footnote 3). Coming to acknowledge his enemies as humans, he struggles with growing disbelief in the war, but finally sets off on a kamikaze mission from which he does not return.

autobiographical accounts of civilians' (and, as such, mostly women's) suffering at the end of World War II to romantic dramas taking place against a backdrop of war as an exceptional circumstance permitting the expression of heightened emotions. Although pacifist at first glance, the clean and pretty girl protagonists whose hardships are obviously not so unbearable, soon make it clear that peace education is not at the heart of these stories.[12]

In addition to the above-mentioned aspects which affect the historical impact of certain manga, there are general doubts as to whether comics should be expected to contribute to historical discourse. Drawing not on comics but on cyborg cinema, Sue Short states, "Popular culture promises, at best, to give narrative and symbolic coherence to popular questions and anxieties. It does not promise structural solution; historical analysis and practice—history, in a word, is supposed to do that" (Short 2005: 178–179). German film historian Georg Seeßlen (2002), for example, has emphasized that comics cannot escape their 'mythological' inclination—as long as they aim at characters with which the reader can empathize—and that they therefore are to be assessed not in relation to an 'objective historical truth,' but rather to "the availability of symbols and the possibilities for partaking in significations." On top of that, he maintains that there are basically three ways of highlighting history in comics: first, an apparently 'objective' kind of narrative which affirms rationality in its attempt at resisting mythologization; second, a critically 'biased' kind which aims at counter-myths, in other words, at resisting one form of mythologization by means of another; and a third kind which engages in the exploration of historical myths by mobilizing the specific devices of comics as an open form of questioning. A manga example of the first of Seeßlen's categories would be Egawa Tatsuya's (b. 1961) series about the Russo-Japanese War (*Nichiro sensō*

11 See also Masuda et al. (2005: 152-163).
12 To Suzuki (2005: 35), Satonaka Machiko's (b. 1948) "Tomorrow Shines" (*Ashita kagayaku*, in *Shūkan Shōjo Friend*, 1972-1973) is representative of the "romanticizing" trend, whereas Tomoe Satō's (b. 1932) "The Red Rucksack" (*Akai ryukkusakku*, in *Ribon*, 1972) is typical of the more realistic war stories in shōjo manga.

monogatari),[13] and of the second the above-mentioned "Barefoot Gen",[14] while for the third—best exemplified by *MAUS*—one may think of works like Maruo Suehiro's or Tsuge Yoshiharu's which question historical time by means of an intensified spatialization. There, graphic perfection brings the speedy progression typical for manga to a halt, and pictorial spaces become laden with signs of 'nature' to such an extent that they render the attempt at historical understanding futile (see Berndt 2006).

Already in 2000, art historian David Carrier disputed comics' historical potential. He claims that comics are a post-historical art form, in regard to both their lack of an autonomous history comparable to that of painting, for example, and their way of storytelling, due to usually serial publication as essentially open-ended narratives. With the help of Arthur Danto's *After the End of Art* (1997) Carrier points to the local (European) and temporal (modern) relativity of his own professional tradition when he observes, "One of the reasons that comics are difficult to analyze is that the working tools of art historians are designed to deal with historical development. Perhaps comics are thought marginal because in art we expect progress" (Carrier 1997: 114).[15]

At first glance, Carrier's assumption does not seem to apply to contemporary Japanese comics. As magazine series, manga rely necessarily upon a developmental narrative which, unlike mostly open-ended American comics, typically reaches a final conclusion if it is not abruptly cancelled. On top of that, many magazine

13 Serialized in *Shūkan Big Comic Spirits* (2001–2006), this manga had just reached the occupation of Port Arthur in the Sino-Japanese War (1895) when it ceased publication in the fall of 2006 due to a diminished interest in its continuation both by the author and the readers.

14 In contrast, Adams (2003) foregrounds "Barefoot Gen" as an example of realism next to Spiegelman's *MAUS* and Joe Sacco's *Palestine*. To him, realism is "resistance to assimilation into the myth-making process" (Adams 2003: 241), and he explains, among other things, that "The gratuitous violence of the children depicted throughout the [graphic] novel was resistant to US sanitizing of comics as manifested in the 1950s Comics Code" (Adams 2003: 56).

15 This interrelation between 'art' and 'progress' can also be found in comics histories, for example, Mazur & Danner 2014.

series deal with the subject of growing up, in other words, individual development which has been of crucial interest to manga's main target readership since the 1970s. But, as mentioned above, teenagers who regularly consume manga exhibit increasing indifference towards the priority of the narrative nowadays. In view of this situation, Itō Gō published a book titled provocatively *Tezuka is dead*. Challenging established critics and their complaints that manga had lost its earlier (narrative) appeal, he argued that the source of this appeal had changed, from dramatic stories to that of game-like settings and cute characters, so-called *kyara*. As distinct from traditional realistic characters (*kyarakutā*) these *kyara* lack indexical corporeality as well as psychological depth, and fascinate consumers by means of their non-realistic actuality. Recalling Vilém Flusser, they can be understood as 'technical images' which, unlike 'traditional images,' serve as screens for projections of various desires rather than as representations, offering symptoms instead of symbols and, thus, furthering easy consumption while resisting intellectual reflection. Admittedly, the manga works chosen for this essay do not fall into the *kyara*-centred category, even if they display resemblances between their stories and games, as through the voice of the protagonist, Kurusu, in "Fantasy Warship Yamato." But the increasing disinterest in conventional narratives forms one context (among others) for intentionally historical manga, especially with regard to young readers, and therefore deserves attention.

What manifests itself as an indifference towards reading stories is a historical indifference which applies to a whole range of phenomena within contemporary manga culture, from particular subject matter and ways of storytelling to manga history in general. Japanese bookstores and manga cafés (*manga kissa*, which function partly as comics libraries and internet cafés) shelve the book editions of manga according to the site of their publication (the respective magazine and/or publisher) and, within that category, according to author, but not year. In other words, affiliation to a specific industrial location is given more importance than historical categorization. Admittedly, thanks to the increasing number of reprints since the 1990s, there are now more old works available than ever before. Yet, at the same time, these old manga are

less and less approached historically, not least due to the overwhelming quantity of them. Under such circumstances, it does not come as a surprise that holding onto data prevails over attempts at coherent interpretation.

The indifference towards both the history of manga and historical narratives within manga is twofold. First, it can be understood as part of a world-wide transformation influenced by globalization and information technologies. From this perspective, the proliferation of certain—that is, fundamentally post-historical—kinds of manga seems to partially replace older, modernist forms of narrative comics. Whereas such an assertion is underpinned by a temporal approach, there is a spatial one, too. The indifference appears to involve Japanese as local peculiarities. Not only recent bestselling series, but even alternative (often short-story) manga show an inclination to escape history, although for different reasons. In the works of manga artists who have not been at the centre of mainstream production—such as Tsuge Yoshiharu, Hanawa Kazuichi, Maruo Suehiro, Taniguchi Jirō, or Takano Fumiko—history is often only indirectly present as a violent form of progress, a modernization which has facilitated standardization and efficiency at the expense of the essentially weak individual. Their mangas rejection of historical storytelling (apparent in both subject matter and stylistic preference for spatializing time) can be regarded as a simple withdrawal from but also as a critical stance towards a society whose elites have been emphasizing development in terms of economic growth as their favourite political strategy.

From a comparative perspective, there seems to be a profound cultural difference between comics authors like Art Spiegelman and their Japanese colleagues, as if historical interest were much more deeply rooted in modern European and American culture than among those Japanese comics artists who are not willing to settle for simple answers to historical and cultural issues. Part of Japan's modernization has been a discourse of cultural self-definition which replaced temporal as historical with spatial categories, calling traditionalism 'Japaneseness' and modernism 'Westernness.' Alternative manga apparently respond to this discourse by overplaying it to a degree which allows for critical

reflection. But although they may exhibit an interest in complexities similar to Spiegelman's, they often refrain from becoming historically explicit. On the whole, Japan's manga culture is characterized by a remarkable split. While alternative and short-story manga as well as the recent *kyara*-centred productions demonstrate an indifference, if not refusal to participate in the construction of meaning in a historical sense, many mainstream comics indicate a persistent desire for such narratives, whether underpinned by an awareness of the impossibility of ultimately realizing it, or by a belief in the necessity of representations which ease the burden of contemporary complexity by providing clarity and order.

Favoring Historical Representation: Three Manga about Manchuria

It goes without saying that there are various ways of approaching the past in comics, but what actually attracts the most discursive attention are realistically rendered manga and/or realistic readings. Adams (2003), who dedicated a whole dissertation to this subject, defines realism as a socially engaged, radical practice which disseminates information hitherto unknown and resists distortions by the dominant media. He pursues "realism as politics, a critique of beliefs and values, as opposed to realism understood as the correspondence of depictions to pre-existing ideas about lifelike representations" (Adams 2003: 26). In this regard, he cites "Barefoot Gen" as an example of a politically aware artistic work, a realistic historical account whose "cartooneyness" he finds reinforces the authenticity and marginal status of its narrator (Adams 2003: 89).

Remarkably, Adams' discussion suggests that the "critique of beliefs and values" in comics is generally realistic, namely in the sense of leftist demystification. Penney's pursuit of "subversion" and "resistance" is also based on an opposition—that between established views and critical counter-narratives—and it would probably not occur to him to seek an example of the latter in Kobayashi Yoshinori's works. In his highly biased comics essays, Kobayashi claims to speak for the displaced and dispossessed when he recalls the patriotism of his grandfather's generation while

deploying manga-specific exaggeration and graphic-design techniques of pictorial agitation. Apparently, to him and his readers, the reality of Japan's past and present can only be accessed by discarding established versions of historical and political realism, especially liberal and leftist ones.[16] On that score, Kobayashi's work appears to be in line with a dominant characteristic of manga. As Schodt (1988: 132) has put it, "Comics [manga] thus depict a fantasy world outside rigid conventions, where the truly impossible is possible. While comics can convey a message about reality, very few of them depict it realistically." Although in different ways, Adams and Kobayashi both escape realism in the narrow sense of mimesis or indexicality. But as readings of Kobayashi's manga indicate, both his fans and critical analysts turn a blind eye to the fantastic, the stylized and the caricatured when dealing with historical topics.

Below, I shall introduce three historical manga that are much more realistic than "Barefoot Gen," due in large part to their sites of publication which attract an older readership: Takemiya Keiko's (b. 1950) "The Scent of Crimson" (*Kurenai nihofu*),[17] Yasuhiko Yoshikazu's (b. 1947) "Rainbow-coloured Trotsky" (*Niji-iro no Torotsukii*),[18] and Motomiya Hiroshi's (b. 1947) "The Country is Burning" (*Kuni ga moeru*),[19] the last of which caused a political scandal in autumn 2004.

Published by artists of almost the same age, these manga all tell stories about pre-war Manchuria, and more specifically Manchukuo, introducing contemporary readers to concealed parts of Japanese history. The very fact that the first two series were created in the early 1990s indicates a popular-cultural interest in the subject

16 His well-researched manga against nuclear-power plants (Kobayashi 2012), however, complicates the picture, as it turns against Japan's political and economic elites.
17 First serialized in the (now defunct) monthly *Big Gold*, 1994-1995.
18 1990-1996 serialized in the manga monthly *Comic TOM* (Shio Shuppan, 1965-2001 under changing names), and thus hardly to be categorized as a "semi-fictionalized *gakushū* manga series" (Rosenbaum 2013: 11).
19 First serialized in *Shūkan Young Jump*, November 2002 to March 2005, with an interruption in fall 2004. For a discussion of this manga as a "barometer of political development in contemporary Japan" see Rosenbaum (2007).
20 For a survey of respective publications in English see Wilson (2005).

1_ Takemiya Keiko: "Kurenai nihofu", vol. 1, 1994, pp. 112-113.

which paralleled or even preceded the 'Manchuria boom' in historiography.[20] All three manga have in common not only that they frequently add syllables which make Sino-Japanese characters readable for a non-specialized audience, but also that they insert historical information into the flow of the fictional narrative to ground it in history—explanatory text and footnotes about imperialist vocabulary, verbal quotations, maps, redrawn photos, and collages of newspaper fragments (fig. 1). In order to emphasize historical indexicality further, they all deploy photo-realist pictures of cities and landscapes, especially at the beginning of a sequence. Such panoramic 'shots' stay with the reader as afterimages which add weight and visual depth to the following character-dominated, often planar panels. Last but not least it is noteworthy that the three examples chosen here refrain from visualizing ethnic differences. Apart from clothes and accessories which were not necessarily reliable signifiers in the multi-ethnic region of Manchuria, the reader has to cling to names and other linguistic signs to identify

ethnicity. Thus, the graphic idiom as such facilitates the impression of equality. Whether this works as a visualization of the ideal underlying the establishment of the Republic of Manchukuo, the concord between different peoples, or alternately, a levelling of otherness (which is dominating contemporary manga in a commercial way), depends on the reader.

Takemiya Keiko, one of shōjo manga's innovators, has demonstrated since the 1970s that comics for girls are very much capable of tackling with issues such as gender, violence, and social power even while appearing decorative, romantic and small-scale at first sight. In "The Scent of Crimson" she tells a story about Manchuria in a generically female idiom which, unconventionally, does not settle for romantic love but rather demonstrates its impossibility under the conditions of modern patriarchy—as if the romance which Manchuria embodied for numerous Japanese men was not available to women. Actually autobiographical, although with altered names, the narrative begins in the early 1990s when forty-year old Makiko, the first-person narrator, meets her elegant eighty-year old great-aunt. Acting as the readers' focalizer, Makiko admits to not knowing enough about the past (vol. 1, p. 22). She soliloquizes that she was nine years old when she first learned about her mother's Manchurian origin, and a high-school student when she was let in on the fact that both her grandmother and great-aunt had been working

2_ Takemiya Keiko: "Kurenai nihofu", vol. 1, 1994, pp. 90-91.

3_ Takemiya Keiko: "Kurenai nihofu", vol. 3, 1995, pp. 312-313.

over there as geisha, that is, in a profession whose reputation was diminished by the anti-prostitution law passed after WWII. Numerous flashbacks introduce these women's lives in a (interrupted) chronological order, spanning three tankōbon volumes.

Volume 1 begins by recalling the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 when Makiko's great grandfather married the owner of a geisha house in Manchuria. It depicts the arrival of two girls who are being adopted by this establishment in 1917 (fig. 2), and follows their lives—as a married woman harassed by her mother-in-law, and as an unmarried geisha who has to live off her patron—until the time of the battle of Nomonhan in 1939. Due to her protagonists' rather small realm of action, Takemiya refrains from letting well-known political personalities appear as characters, but she introduces basic historical facts, for example, quotes from the 1932 Proclamation of the Establishment of the State (vol. 1, p. 171). Thus, the political framework of these women's lives enters the picture. This seems to have been personally negligible for some time, namely the time narrated in volume 1. Volume 2 takes the narrative up to 1946, at which point the protagonists leave Manchuria only to experience different hardships in post-war Japan, as described in volume 3. The last pages of the manga pay respect to people like Makiko's aunts "who despite losing everything built the world of today, understandably at the cost of psychological repression" (fig. 3).

By deploying the grammar of shōjo manga with its constant switching between different time periods, Takemiya succeeds in highlighting the distant past in a way which brings it close to the contemporary female reader while making its otherness felt, or to borrow Penney's words from a different context, to invite readers "to think historically about their relationship to the past" (2013: 157). As distinct from Satonaka's girls manga about the Japanese withdrawal from Manchuria (see footnote 12), Takemiya does not privilege the highly subjective perspective of one girl but introduces the views of several women in different periods. It is through such devices, not merely because of Makiko's age, that this manga addresses a readership beyond teenagers, and whoever is able to detect the parable about male romance and female hardship may also appreciate the 'authorship' at play.

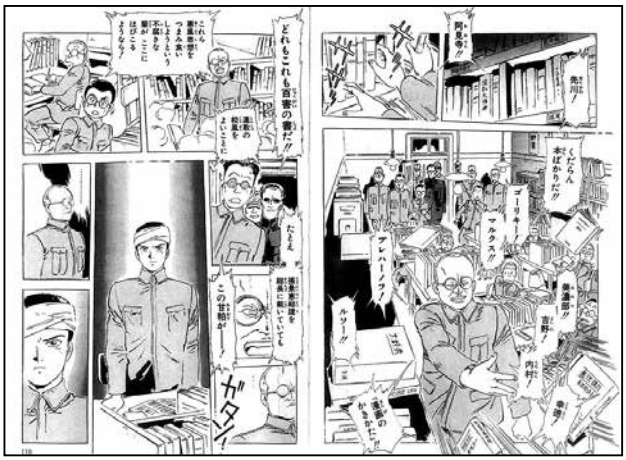
Whereas Takemiya deliberately chooses to tell a rather small story insofar as she re-approaches Japan's problematic past from the angle of women more or less bound to the domestic realm, Yasuhiko Yoshikazu outlines a much larger historical scale in his series "Rainbow-coloured Trotsky." Quite exceptionally, Yasuhiko began his career as an animator and character designer for animated TV series—he contributed, for example, to the famous "Mobile Suit Gundam" (*Kidō senshi Gandamu*),[21] before he converted to manga, a genre which, according to him, allows for a more personal mode of expression, not least concerning Japan's history. In a panel discussion with Kure Tomofusa on 18 February 2007, organized by the International Manga Museum Kyoto, Yasuhiko

21 First TV series 1979, directed by Tomino Yoshiyuki. In 2001, Yasuhiko began publishing the new manga adaptation "Kidō senshi Gandamu THE ORIGIN" in the magazine *Gundam Ace* (Kadokawa shoten).
22 In June 2013, he was invited to the Annual Conference of the Japan Society for the Study of Cartoons and Comics to participate in a panel discussion together with Murakami Motoka on the subject of "Asia and Manga" (Yasuhiko et al. 2014). For an execllent account of Yasuhiko as a "public historian" see O'Dwyer (2013).
23 The romanization varies: "Hunbord" (O'Dwyer), "Humboldt" (Rosenbaum 2013).
24 For an account of this university see Tamanoi (2005). In his study on Manchukuo as being developed not as a colony but as a nation-state, Duara (2003: 65) introduces the slogan *kenkoku* (founding the nation-state) as a crucial expression of Manchukuo's governmentality.

4_ Yasuhiko Yoshikazu: "Niji-iro no Torotsukii", vol. 1 (2005), pp. 178-179. Ishiwara Kanji appears in the last panel of the right page (bottom tier, left).

explicated his intention to interest young people in political and social issues through historical manga.[22] Not confining himself to modern history, Yasuhiko created, for example, a manga about Japan's alleged first emperor, Jinmu tennō (1989-1991), in which he tried to approach the *Kojiki* mythology with a decidedly historical imagination. Remarkably, he did not first publish this series in a magazine, but right away as a book in order to circumvent the otherwise usual editorial interference.

Subsequently serialized in a rather minor magazine, the story of "Rainbow-coloured Trotsky" revolves around Umbolt,[23] an orphan from Inner Mongolia whose parents, a Japanese secret-service officer and a Mongolian-Buryat woman, were murdered. After a short flashback to Umbolt as a child catching sight of someone he later learns to have been Trotsky in his parents' hut, the manga's action begins in 1938, when he becomes a student at the newly founded Nation-Building University (*Kenkoku Daigaku*) in Xinjing, the then "New Capital" of Manchukuo established on the site of the city Changchun.[24] Today rather remembered in the context of Aikidō due to Tomiki Kenji and Ueshiba Morihei who taught there (fig. 4), Yasuhiko introduces this university as an astonishingly multicultural place populated by idealist young men of Han Chinese, Korean, Manchu, Japanese, even Russian descent, or to rephrase it, as a rare manifestation of the Concordia Association's initial pan-Asianist



vision (fig. 5). Historian Emer O'Dwyer, however, in her extraordinarily diligent discussion of this manga, points out "the failure to consult primary sources detailing the hardships encountered by non-Japanese students at Ken-Dai" (2013: 129). Against the backdrop of Japanese public discourse she also maintains that "there is reason to be wary of contributions that propagate doubt or uncertainty about events previously brought into clear focus by careful archival research and the accumulated wisdom of informed historical scholarship" (2013: 141).

In the course of the manga narrative, Umbolt gets involved in anti-Stalinist Japanese plans to invite Trotsky as guest professor. Taking this setting as his starting point, Yasuhiko unfolds a narrative in which historical and fictitious figures appear on the same stage, exhibiting the same physical presence and psychological depth. Umbolt frequently meets Ishiwara Kanji as well as Tsuji Masanobu (a historical figure who apparently invites frequent caricature, not only in this manga). He also encounters Amakasu Masahiko, and once even Kawashima Yoshiko, but these persons also live a life of their own within the fiction. The reader follows the protagonist on his way through a labyrinth of political interests and power relations between Japanese military, local warlords, Chinese farmers and Russian spies, while also being provided with information of which the protagonist himself is unaware through sequences without him as well as

5_ Yasuhiko Yoshikazu: "Nijiiro no Torotsukii", vol. 1 (2005), pp. 118-119. The books found objectionable include, as the speech balloons indicate, "Marx," "Rousseau" and a "How to Draw Manga" volume (bottom left corner).

through verbal explanations that often employ the future perfect tense (an eminently historical language stressing the causal link between the fictional present as past of the future and the future as the more immediate past of the reader).

Without over-psychologizing, the narrative invites the reader to empathize with Umbolt. Just as his multi-ethnicity and his parents' tragedy make him an outsider, so does his explicit refusal to fight for Japan. Although due to specific circumstances, both aspects recommend him to those contemporary readers who are unfamiliar with that period and place and also with committing themselves to something beyond their personal realm. Similar to highly privatized worldviews of the late 20th century, people are more important to Umbolt than nations. Accordingly, the driving force behind the narrative is a very personal quest: to disclose why his parents were murdered and by whom. In volume 8, shortly before he dies near Nomonhan fighting for the Japanese side (and without being finally reunited with his pregnant Mongolian-Uighur wife), he finds out that his parents were sacrificed as unwelcome witnesses by those for whom they were working—the commanders of the Guandong Army, including the admired Ishiwara—as they had been involved in underhand dealings related to the failed attempt to establish Mongolia's autonomy from the USSR. Combining an outsider's personalized view with action rendered in strong, dynamic lines, Yasuhiko manages to captivate the reader, turn private views into an interest in the past, and introduce a historical spectrum which was not common knowledge in the early 1990s, and probably is not today either.[25] After all, even historians maintain that, "With the importance that post-war historians have placed on the Manchurian Incident of September 1931, Inner Mongolia has often been overlooked" (Boyd 2002: 290). Yet, beyond serving

25 Yamada (2004) discusses nine manga series in regard to their representation of pre-war Manchuria, especially the respective post-war taboos. Referring to the works by Takemiya and Yasuhiko, she points out that the maturation of manga genres for adult readers in the 1980s was crucial for such explicitly historical accounts of the past, but she also concedes that such accounts became possible only at the expense of 'manga-likeness' (i.e., the mere consumption of historical background for the sake of entertainment).

6_ Motomiya Hiroshi: “Kuni ga moeru”, vol. 6, (2005), pp. 14-15.

as an entry point to this barely known past, the manga also “risks inviting nostalgic reflections on a utopian world in which good Japanese wanted good things for those they colonized” by not facing the “indisputable fact that the very imagining of such worlds [...] relied fundamentally on military force,” as O’Dwyer has so convincingly demonstrated (2013: 137).

Yasuhiko’s pictorial style is not exactly idiosyncratic, but compared to Motomiya Hiroshi’s it is highly elaborate. The latter’s manga reveal the deployment of a modular principle, especially evident in characters who look the same (and thus reduce pastness) whether performing as contemporary salaryman Kintarō, the protagonist of Motomiya’s most popular series of the same name,[26] or as imperial bureaucrat Honda Yūsuke in pre-war Manchuria, the central character of his manga “The Country is Burning.” Interiors which look too large for the figures placed within them may suggest political tasks too large for the protagonists to cope with (fig. 6), but they also raise doubt about Motomiya’s ‘authorship,’ in the twofold sense of artistic ineptitude and leaving most of the job to assistants,[27] neither of which is necessarily detrimental to a manga’s success, as long as the storytelling works, which is certainly the case here.

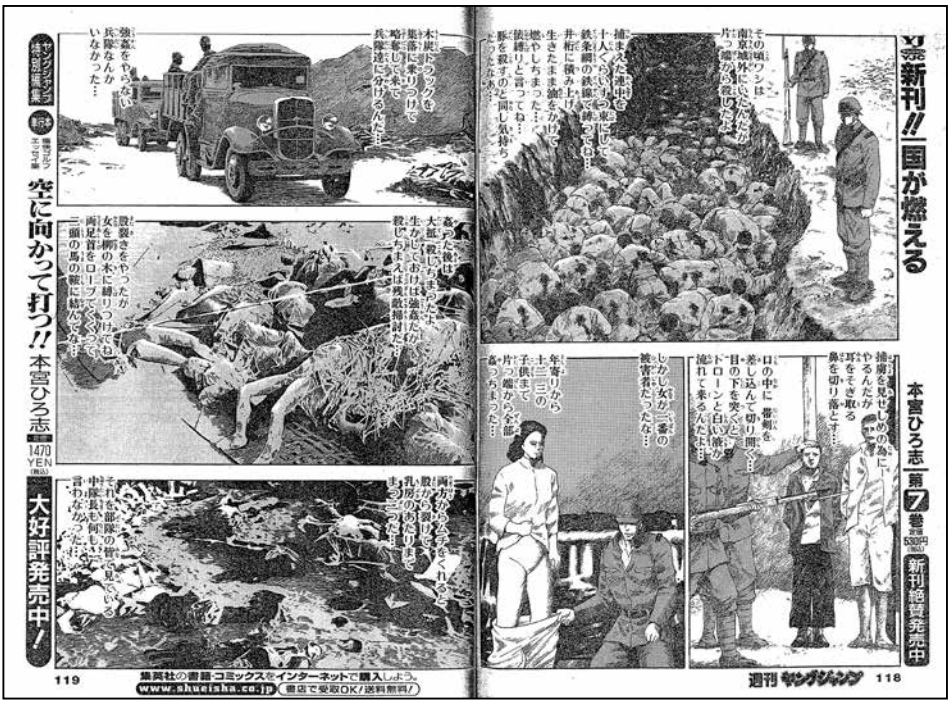
“The Country is Burning” portrays the life of fictitious Honda Yūsuke, the son of a poor farmer, who, thanks to his adoption by a rich landlord, has been able to pursue

7_ *Young Jump*, no. 42, 2004, p. 164. "Manchukuo is not an appendage of the Japanese empire" is the primary tagline of the advertisement for vol. 7 of the manga's *tankōbon* edition, placed next to the first page of installment no. 87.

a career as a civil servant in Tokyo. The narrative begins in spring 1927 when Yūsuke has just begun to work in the Ministry of Commerce, and it concludes in 1985 when he dies in Sakata, outliving the narrative's other two main characters, the equally fictitious Matsumae Yōhei and the historical Ishiwara Kanji. Right at the beginning, the 25-year old Yūsuke is invited to a study group where Ishiwara spectacularly cuts a map of the world in two with his sword, in order to remove Japan from the centre. This anticipates not only the close relationship between him and his young protégé, but also the theme of this manga to be developed later: that it is wrong to regard Japan as the centre of the world, and that "Manchukuo is not an appendage of the Japanese empire" (fig. 7). Yūsuke is sent to the new state for the sake of "wedding agriculture to empire" (Young 1998: 100), and in 1932, he is put in charge of the Japanese settlers. Other characters also in Manchukuo are Yūsuke's initial rival in love, Yōhei, the son of a wealthy *zaibatsu* entrepreneur who rejects his father's involvement in Japanese imperialism and chooses the pan-Asianist path by joining Chang Kai-shek; Shōko, who later becomes Yūsuke's wife; and Yōhei's Chinese companion Meika, who is close to the 'last emperor' Puyi. All of them embody the early ideals underlying the Concordia Association, voicing anti-imperialist as well as anti-capitalist criticism. The men even try to discard their Japaneseness in order to become truly Manchukuo citizens (vol. 7, p. 113).

The series consists of a total of 99 installments (subsequently republished in book form in 98 chapters). During its first two years, it progressed rather slowly with each *tankōbon* volume depicting about six months of the protagonists' lives. The setting of the characters allowed the introduction of numerous political and economic issues, including the role of the South Manchurian Railroad and the Guandong Army, the living conditions of the Japanese settlers and their conflicts with Chinese residents, and relations between the Kuomintang and the Communists. Besides, since

26 Initially serialized in *Young Jump*, 1994-2002, 30 vols.
27 Whereas each installment of the manga-magazine series was attributed to "Motomiya Hiroshi AND Third Line, Ltd. (*Sādo rain kabushiki gaisha*)," the *tankōbon* edition credits only Motomiya himself.



the characters' social position is rather close to the Japanese political elites, the latter's decision-making processes feature at greater length and more directly than in Takemiya's or even Yasuhiko's narratives. Sometimes, these elites' power play is demonstrated through its effects on the characters, for example when Shōko and her baby-son are kidnapped by alleged Chinese bandits but actually used by Amakasu to get photographs for propaganda purposes on the eve of the Manchurian Incident (vol. 5, pp. 28-29). Violence—in an economic sense (the poverty of Chinese farmers), and in a military sense (battles and tortures, for example, of a Korean independence fighter in volume 7)—is depicted in two, often alternated ways: on the one hand, in the style of press photographs redrawn in impersonal lines which show anonymous people from a distance, without recognizable facial expressions, and on the other, in the style of mangaesque exaggeration.

This stylistics applies also to installments 87 and 88 which were subjected to a degree of censorship unprecedented in manga.[28] When in September 2004,

8_ Motomiya Hiroshi: "Kuni ga moeru", *Young Jump*, no. 43 (2004), pp. 118-119.

9_ Kobayashi Yoshinori: *Shin Gōmanzimu sengen SPECIAL: Sensōron II* [New Manifesto of Arrogantism SPECIAL: On War II], Gentōsha, 2001, pp. 346-347. On the right page, top tier, he refers to a manga also serialized in *Young Jump*, "The Peaceable" (*An'onzoku*) by Ishizaka Kei (b. 1956).

the Nanjing Massacre was depicted, *Young Jump*'s editorial department received fierce complaints in regard to this manga's "distortion of history," and felt compelled to interrupt the series temporarily on 13 October.[29] The bone of contention was a redrawn photograph of a Japanese soldier and a half-naked woman (fig. 8), the use of which in Iris Chang's book had already been attacked in manga form by Kobayashi Yoshinori (fig. 9). Just like he three years earlier, critical voices now accused Motomiya's manga of falsification. Pointing to alterations of the soldier's uniform as well as the exclusion of a third (Chinese) man, apprehension was expressed that the reference to a highly charged but inauthentic photograph—which had not been proven to have been taken in Nanjing

28 Vol. 9 of the revised book edition omits 23 pages completely: the latter half of installment 87, actually printed in issue No. 42 (16 September) and the whole installment 88, printed in no. 43 (22 September 2004).

29 See Anonymous 2004, 2005, and for a political contextualization Rosenbaum 2007.

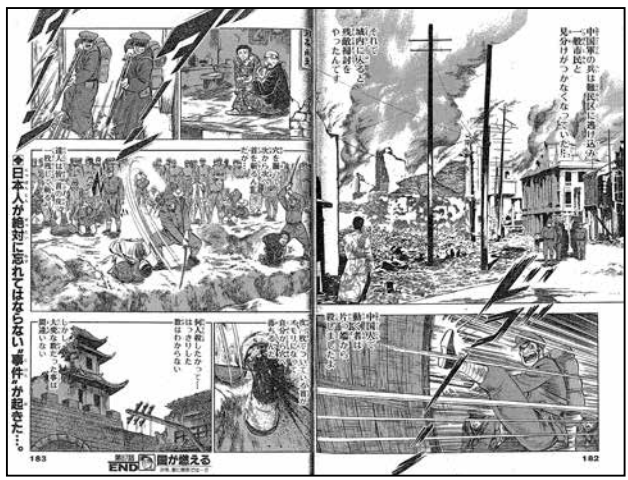
after a rape—would have a bad effect on young readers due to its presentation "as if it were the truth." Apart from the fact that the magazine *Young Jump* is not addressed to under-age readers, the concern for such details is as much noteworthy here as the conviction that this manga would have an (undesirable) realistic effect. First of all, this raises the question of how Motomiya achieves such a 'truthful' impact, usually leaning heavily upon exaggerations, for example by means of stereotypically physicalizing emotions, which includes Ishiwara Kanji mischievously poking out his tongue like a little boy and thus appearing amiable (fig. 10).

Installment no. 87 commences with a night-time fight between two Japanese settlers and two Chinese, apparently bandits, during which one of the latter dies by a Japanese sword. The rural swordsman is appalled at having killed for the first time, and to compound his distress, his victim is discovered to be a fifteen-year old boy. In retrospect, the deadly sword and its under-age victim anticipate the following depiction

10_ [left] Motomiya Hiroshi: "Kuni ga moeru", vol. 1, (2005), p. 78.

12_ [right] Motomiya Hiroshi: "Kuni ga moeru", *Young Jump*, no. 43 (2004), p. 105.

of the Nanjing Massacre. Abstract and therefore left untouched were the two two-page spreads at the beginning, showing explosions, aeroplanes and the name Nanjing, before presenting *The Asahi Newspaper*'s (rearranged) headlines about the occupation of the enemy's capital. Then, the scene switches to Tokyo where the population celebrates the event with a lantern procession, and here the omission sets in. On the next double spread, the last one of this installment, an anonymous off-screen narrator emerges who recollects the indiscriminate killings of civilians, including the technical details of decapitation with the sword (fig. 11). The first page of installment no. 88 (fig. 12) features General Matsui Iwane at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, engaged in a kind of internal monologue voicing his helplessness in Nanjing and his regret, before the date of his execution—23 December 1948—is mentioned in the lowest panel. Inconsistent with this historical fact, however, the reader is instructed at the very bottom of the page, "This work is fiction. There is no relation at all to real persons, groups, events etc." The next double spread takes us back to 13 December 1937, and the anonymous narrator who is temporarily replaced by a (pictorially present) Japanese newspaper journalist witnessing the death march of countless civilians to be gunned down at the port on the pretext of executing disguised Chinese soldiers, as one officer explains. The following double-spread switches back to the narrator's voice whose confession about his involvement in the torture



11_ Motomiya Hiroshi: "Kuni ga moeru", *Young Jump*, no. 42 (2004), pp. 182-183.

of prisoners as well as the rape of Chinese women is accompanied by redrawn photographs, among them the above-mentioned one (fig. 8). Bibliographical references (limited to book titles and publishers) are given at the bottom of the following page, on which finally, two familiar characters appear: Yōhei and his girl-friend Meika (fig. 13). Paralleled by the narrator's last words that "we" ordinary soldiers were ordered to kill, Yōhei bawls at some soldiers to fetch their commander-in-chief Matsui Iwane. With the words "he will never be forgiven as a human being,"[30] installment no. 88 comes full circle. In the last page's margin, the readers are encouraged to write to Motomiya about the representation of Japan and the Japanese; the address given is that of the editorial department.

Motomiya takes sides. But whereas, for example, Kobayashi Yoshinori was in charge of his own journal for a while,[31] Motomiya published his series next to others in a manga magazine which is not committed to a specific political orientation and treats politics as a means of satisfying its consumers rather than as

13_ Motomiya Hiroshi: "Kuni ga moeru", *Young Jump*, no. 43 (2004), pp. 120-121.

an end in itself. Although Motomiya's manga was not cancelled after the interruption in October 2004, in the narrative the years 1938 to 1985 pass by as if shot by a time-lapse camera, occupying only a dozen chapters. Deeply disappointed by the state, Yūsuke does his utmost to help the settlers return to Japan before spending more than a decade in a Siberian camp. When he finally comes home and is approached by a ministry official with recruitment intentions, he knocks the man down expressing once again disgust for Japan's elites. During his last years, he mostly follows political events on TV. After his death, the manga's last double-spread lists how many people died in World War II.

Remarkably, the accusations of misrepresenting the Nanjing Massacre focused on the adaptation of one single photograph and deliberately refrained from discussing the connectedness of historical events and their representation within the narrative. Such attention to matters of detail is not rare in Japan; among other things, it is consistent with a certain notion of realism which Ōtsuka Eiji has traced back to the late 1930s. Just as Ishiwara Kanji calls for rationality in the conduct of war in volume 9 of "The Country is Burning" (p. 59, about 100 pages before the depiction of the Nanjing Massacre), realistic (scientifically-based) representations marked the beginning of a truly modern manga for children, mostly boys, at about the same time. While retaining cartoonesque characters and fantasy settings, accuracy in every detail of machinery and bird's eye views of panoramic landscapes, rendered according to the principles of European central perspective, made children experience the war not as something related to ideology or politics, but first and foremost to technical skills. Manga like "Mars Expedition" (*Kasei tanken*, 1940)[32] even inserted photographs of unseen landscapes. Thanks to the camera's mediation, young boys obtained the perspective of a pilot or scientist and enjoyed realistic effects without being able to verify these effects' reality. According to Ōtsuka, this photorealist, accurate and visually distancing mode of representation allowed for a technology-centred

30 *Young Jump*, no. 43 (2004), p. 123.
31 *Washizumu*, 2002-2009.

fascination unclouded by corporeality, death[33] or politics. As *mecha*, that is, machinery which is not anthropomorphized and, as such, distinct from Disney-like cartooning, the war-time interest in technical details has been inherited by Japan's post-war subculture and handed over to the otaku. In the world of manga (and anime), realism is often limited to a "fetishism of weapons" (Ōtsuka 2006: 132).

By focusing on the relation between parts and wholeness, Ōtsuka provides an explanation of manga's often observed vacillation between realism and (not mythology but) fantasy: "The settings [of the 1960s war tales] were depicted with an intense realism, in striking contrast to the romantic fantasy of the plotline" (Nakar 2003: 61).[34] In view of Ōtsuka's discussion, the attacks on "The Country is Burning" appear rather otaku-ish insofar as they isolate the panel under scrutiny from its context within the manga narrative and insist solely on technical accuracy. But neo-conservative critics of Motomiya's manga and otaku have more in common; their deliberately apolitical stance may prove to be highly political, whether unconsciously or not.

"The Country is Burning" does not resist such 'realistic' readings, especially because its fictional world is structurally too self-contained. Whereas "Rainbow-coloured Trotsky" finally arrives at the reader's present (in 1992-1994) and closes with a picture of Umbolt's grown-up son, Motomiya's manga narrative does not explicitly refer to contemporary Japan. Admittedly, in the magazine, the reader is addressed by extra-diegetical means such as words in the page margins.

32 By Ōshiro Noboru (artwork) & Asahi Tarō (scenario), published by Nakamura shoten as part of their manga book series.
33 Miyamoto (2002) has demonstrated how the destruction of characters' bodies was gradually removed from the long-running manga series "Norakuro" (by Tagawa Suihō, 1931–1941 in *Shōnen Kurabu*), for the sake of both rendering death invisible, even in codified form, and, closely related, increasing diegetic realism.
34 To add another example: "Japanese comics may be among the most violent in the world, but when World War II is portrayed romantically the emphasis is usually on the bonds formed between men under stress; on death, not of the enemy but of Japanese troops (tragic death has a romantic overtone to it); or on the machinery of war—*the planes, ships, and weapons*." (Schodt 1988: 75, emphasis J.B.).

These relate the protagonists' rather personal story to national issues as does the pictorial and verbal alteration between personalized and generalized modes of representation. Unlike Umbolt, Yūsuke defines himself with respect not only to persons but also to a nation, albeit a utopian one. Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that neo-nationalists take this manga at its word.

Their response stems also from the manga's emphasis on story content and empathy which is not distracted by any radicalism of form. The narrative advances smoothly without disturbing flashbacks or anticipations (the above-mentioned Matsui Iwane example being rather exceptional); the characters' emotional responses and respective facial expressions lack complexity; the specific ambiguity of comics is not deliberately exhausted. Instead of making felt that comics (as spatial and highly self-referential narratives) structurally escape authenticity, and playing this disposition off against political discourses of authenticity, for example, by juxtaposing and layering different notions as well as media in a way which reveals their relativity, "The Country is Burning" opts for an impression of coherence. Its rather conventional aesthetics allows for only one kind of counter-narrative, that is, for countering one sort of nationalism with another, while abstaining from problematizing nationalism as such. Thus, this manga merely illustrates what Duara clarified for Manchukuo as the "regime of authenticity." To Duara's method however—"a spatial (or perhaps hyperlinked) mode of historical writing that presents a challenge to linear histories based mainly upon a causal and evolutionary method" which still considers "causal and linear analysis" (Duara 2003: 4)—there is no equivalent despite this method's closeness to some of the aesthetic properties of comics outlined in section two. Not incidentally has Duara developed his historical method with regard to "a place of paradoxes, where it becomes difficult to disentangle imperialism from nationalism, modernity from tradition, frontier from heartland, and ideals of transcendence from ideologies of boundedness" (Duara 2003: 1). Manga, although fundamentally paradoxical itself, has not yet met that place's challenge.

Concluding Remarks

In his *On the Concept of History* (1939) Walter Benjamin argued against a narrow notion of historical realism (in the mould of Ranke): "[...] to articulate the past historically does not mean to know that past 'as it really was'. It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger" (Benjamin 2003: 292-293).[35] With regard to comics, which have mainly served as a medium for expressing dreams and desires, Benjamin's claim can be seen as a call to consider the facts as well as the fantasies revolving around them. But his words raise not just the issue of to what degree historical consciousness is necessarily tied to realism, rational coherence and 'readable' messages. They also suggest a challenge to the very significance of historical approaches to the past, and favour the coexistence of incommensurable temporalities and spatialities. Not in regard to manga but to recent animated films, first and foremost from Japan, Thomas Lamarre has pointed out that the descendant of Benjamin's dialectical image, the "multilectical image," relates to the past in an iconic and fetishist, that is, non-historical, non-indexical way, which nonetheless "does force movement and produce subjects in time" (Lamarre 2006: 177). Here, imagination outweighs documentation, and multilayered coexistence, for example between different modes of representation, takes precedence over a coherence-seeking resolution of alleged inconsistencies.

The examples introduced in sections one and three of this essay suggest that manga should be considered as symptomatic of general cultural transformations, yet not to expect too much of content-oriented readings. Unlike Penney, I do not take entertainment or fantasy for something which has to be put aside in order to access deeper critical meaning. I rather find appearances as well as the intricate balance between surprising readers while meeting their expectations (or vice versa) to be crucial for any pop-cultural

35 Noteworthy enough, O'Dwyer also cites Ranke when she aims at analyzing Yasuhiko's series with respect to "the ways in which he reconciles the manga form's need for dramatic tension with Clio's (or at least Leopold von Ranke's) imperative that history be told *Wie es eigentlich gewesen ist* [how things actually were]" (2013: 124).

form of resistance to established political views. Although I do not wish to diminish Penney's efforts at foregrounding the pluralistic character of Japanese war representation and the existence of challenging counter-narratives, from the perspective of manga studies I find such endeavours of decreasing relevance beyond the academic realm. As I have demonstrated above, entertainment is less threatening to the development of critical views of Japan's wartime past than an exclusive obsession with technical details at the cost of political and historical thinking, the refusal to change perspectives (between past and present, distance and empathy, various persons and social groups), or the neglect of manga's particular potential to raise doubts about certainties and boundaries. One of these is the notion that the past can be narrated either by historical means or fantasy, another that fictional accounts of the past can be either enlightening or amusing. While focusing on such oppositions, the very importance of specifically historical recollections is unlikely to enter the field of vision.

In asserting the critical potential of manga, it is vital to explain why certain works are chosen and how 'typical' they are. For example, Maruo Suehiro's comics cannot easily be compared to Matsumoto Leiji's (due to their different generation, site of publication, relation to genre stylistics, readers' horizon of expectation etc.). Likewise, an unreflective equation of Kobayashi Yoshinori's essayistic provocations with Kawaguchi Kaiji's longwinded narratives risks appearing unfounded, not to mention different periods of origin. With respect to the manga series discussed here, I pursued on the one hand their respective realistic effects (regarding the representation of historical facts as well as pictorial and narrative particularities of style), and on the other hand, how they captivate and involve their readers. It is feasible and necessary, even for those who confine themselves to textual analysis, to take into account the fact that readers do not form a homogeneous group, and that artists cannot prevent them from reading 'against the grain,' however laudable their intentions.

Unlike Kobayashi Yoshinori's publications, all narratives discussed above exhibit an inclination to recollect ideals and sacrifices which does not indicate

a direct influence of globalization on the choice of subject matter, and which is rarely linked to the Japanese people as such; even if this is the case, as in "The Country is Burning," it does not lead to a national success story. Furthermore, these works do not address Japanese citizens as such but, more specifically, manga readers, and not in general, but preconditioned by the respective site of publication and genre. Widely deploying conventional realism, that is, favoring a high degree of semiotic transparency, they risk critical contents staying ineffective. At the same time, these graphic narratives are certainly capable of opening doors to the past, mediating between memories and experiences. As with historical fiction in literature or film, in manga, too, the historical is, if relevant at all, just one aspect among many, and as such should neither be over- nor under-estimated.

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TAKEMIYA KEIKO

MANGAKA WITH AN EDUCATIONAL MISSION

In tandem with the global proliferation of manga a new field of research has been emerging as well, Manga Studies. In Japan, this new field has been predominated by media-historical research, semiotic analyses of manga's specific visual language (*hyōgenron*), and social-science based investigations of gender-specific readership and fan cultures. Studies on single artists (*mangaka*) are astonishingly rare. The death of Tezuka Osamu (1928-1989) triggered a tremendous amount of publications in the early 1990s, including graduation theses, but critical academic monographs on other grand artists are still the exception. One obstacle for such studies may be related to the fact that Japanese mangaka usually match their aspirations towards self-expression to the assumed needs of their magazine editors and readers; in the humanities, however, distinct 'authorship' is vital to justify research. Another obstacle can be found in manga readers' general disinterest in intellectual interpretation. After all, regular consumers of popular narratives such as manga do not exactly ask for the kind of mediation by critics, scholars or curators which 'high art' and 'serious literature' have been benefiting from. Against this backdrop, the attempt at applying criteria tried and trusted within literary studies to mangaka, in order to prove that these creators are no less original, that they too are unique 'authors' may easily lead astray. For the huge majority of Japanese mangaka the point is not to meet literary standards. Even 'underground artists' such as Maruo Suehiro (b. 1956) care more about being read and, in order to reach their readers, being sold than about artistic honors granted by academics (Berndt 2006: 114-115).

This applies also to Takemiya Keiko (b. 1950), one of Japan's leading female mangaka, whose artistic merits rest, first and foremost, on several outstanding graphic narratives published in the 1970s and 1980s. Her series have not generated the amount of discourse that the graphic novels of her coeval Hagio Moto have. Yet, Takemiya's career epitomizes the changes which manga underwent over the last four decades, from substantial 'literary' narrative to participatory media, from a subcultural realm where shōjo manga (girls comics) ranked even lower than manga for boys, to a subject of academic degrees. In order to pay tribute to her particular achievements and to cope with manga's general challenge to the modernist notion of authorship, this chapter attempts at combining textual and contextual concerns, or humanities and social-science approaches, while paying attention to manga as a specific media culture.

Educator

In 2000, after more than thirty years of working as a professional mangaka, Takemiya was appointed full professor at Kyoto Seika University (KSU, or just Seika) (fig. 1). At that time, Seika expanded its small 'cartoon' department, then still located within the Faculty of Fine Art, to include a 'story manga' course. Seika had been offering classes in political caricature and newspaper comic-strips[1] with a special emphasis on fine-art skills since 1973, but magazine-based long-running graphic narratives created for the purpose of entertaining did not find institutional recognition at the level of higher art education. Besides, this kind of manga is not just a matter of drawing or design; to a greater degree it requires the ability to structure a narrative and translate it into page layouts,[2] as one of Takemiya's recent textbooks elucidates (2010: 108-111).

1 In Japanese manga discourse, the English loanword *cartoon* is used to signify the antipole of page-long graphic narratives; it does not include TV animation.

2 Storyboards, Jap. *nēmu* from Engl. *names*, as the arrangement of the verbal parts, especially speech balloons, often precedes the visual artwork.

3 Launched in 1978 by Sun, an erotic-pornographic publisher initially not specialized in manga. Former *JUNE* editor Sagawa Toshihiko is now one of the KSU manga professors.

1_ *"K-ko-chan no kyōju seikatsu?!* [K-ko's life as a professor?!] file 16," Takemiya Keiko: *Toki o yuku uma* [The horse that passes through time], Shogakukan 2006, p. 162.

In retrospect, a strong educational drive seems to have been running through Takemiya's whole career. Teaching was not new to her when she agreed to shift the center of her professional life from manga production to university education. As a student at Tokushima University 1968-70, she had majored in art education (although she dropped out before graduation, due to her increasing commitments as a mangaka). Later, that is, between 1978 and 1988, she committed herself to raising both young female artists-to-be and sophisticated readers through maintaining a column in the magazine *JUNE*.[3] But above all, it was her familiarity with the industrial hardships of serializing graphic narratives in addition to the wide generic range of her creations which recommended her for the job in the

first place. For more than three decades, she had been publishing manga in weekly and monthly magazines addressed not only to girls but also boys, and women. This versatility harked back to her fundamental unease with the gender divide of Japanese manga genres. In the end, she did not succeed in becoming an artist for not-yet-gendered children as initially intended.[4] But in the course of her career she managed to cross the existing borders, be it by changing the gender of her protagonists (from girls to homosexual boys) or the publication site (from *Shōjo Comic* to *Manga Shōnen*), and further by interrelating stylistic elements supposed to be either 'feminine' or 'masculine' (decorative stills and dynamic action, reverie and physicality, and so on).

For a *Japanese Classics in Manga Form* series, she adapted a text with a strong masculine connotation, the *Azuma kagami* (Mirror of the East), a chronicle of the military rulers compiled in late 13th century. And when the French fashion house Hermès commissioned a 200-page comics version of the company history on the occasion of their 160th anniversary, Takemiya demonstrated her ability to present historical facts in a docu-fictional form that went beyond child-oriented educational comics (*gakushū manga*). Admittedly, the more fashion took center stage in the narrative, the more the visual style became shōjo-manga like, employing stylized flowerly backgrounds, panel-less collages and delicate line work. But as a whole, *Erumesu*

2_ *Erumesu no michi* (*Le Chemin d'Hermès)*, 1997, pp. 184–185.

no michi (*Le Chemin d'Hermès*, 1997)[5] exhibited a cross-genre potentiality which convinced the predominantly male appointments committee at Seika in 2000. As a side note, in the manga Takemiya confessed that she was not really into fashion or brands, but accepted the commission because she felt close to the craftsmen who laid the foundations of Hermès (fig. 2). Incidentally, she was also able to meet the condition by the then company principal who wanted an artist familiar with horse-riding. Precisely this she had practiced in Mongolia when starting her series "Blood relatives of the Heavenly Horse" (*Tenma no ketsuzoku*) in 1991.

Once a professor, Takemiya broadened her field of activity. Since 2002 she has been engaged in the so-called *Genga Dash'* project, an attempt at reproducing fragile original manga artwork full-scale and with all visible flaws, by combining manual skills with digital technology. In addition to conservational and educational purposes, the reproductions are intended to accommodate the increasing demand from abroad for manga items-to-loan. Although of a premium quality which only a supervising manga artist can guarantee, European and North American curators still tend to reject them in favor of 'real originals.' With regards to her teaching at the university, Takemiya has been promoting so-called functional manga (*kinō manga*), a kind of short graphic narratives that relate complex social issues in a more multifaceted way then the usual educational comics.[6] Such productions help students to experience practical relevance beyond the manga industry and even earn some money, as there is a significant demand by public institutions and private companies. So far, Takemiya and her students have created booklets and whole volumes for Kyoto

4 During the 1970s, the decisive years of Takemiya's career, so-called school-year magazines (*gakunenshi*) as the main site for children's manga began to see their decline in favor of manga genres which reduced the age specification to the difference between boys, or girls, on the one hand, and 'youth' (*seinen*), or later 'ladies' and 'women' (*josei*) on the other hand. The declining birth rates also contributed to manga becoming a culture of teenagers at the expense of materials for pre-teens.

5 The Japanese edition is the only available official publication, as the original French version was limited to internal use.

6 For a list of such projects illustrated by Takemiya's students under her supervision see Ogawa & Tsuru (2011: 83).

University, for hospitals, and—in collaboration with Kobe University—for the West-Japan civic movement dedicated to the asbestos issue (Takemiya et al. 2012). Thus, Takemiya stayed in touch with her primary profession at a time of growing administrative duties. Between April 2008 and March 2012, she served as the dean of KSU's Manga Faculty,[7] and since 2009 she has played a crucial part in the newly established Graduate School, supervising Korean, Chinese, Iranian and Brazilian alongside Japanese students, participating in scholarly as well as popular events, and contributing articles to publications which go far beyond fan service.[8]

But Takemiya's educational ambition is not limited to teaching in the narrow sense; it manifests itself also in her most representative series, one of which is "To Terra…" (or, "Toward the Terra," Jap. *Tera e*, 1977-80).[9] In 1978, it was the very first manga to receive the Sei'un Award for Science Fiction, probably benefitted by its appearance not in a manga magazine for girls but boys and as such more easily noticed by the predominantly male Sci-Fi community. The issue of education is at the heart of "To Terra…," a tale about coming to terms with one's inability to match the requirements of a universally controlled society, adhering to 'deviant' ethics and cherishing one's childhood memories which are supposed to be erased in a brainwashing 'adulthood exam' at the age of 14 in order to ensure the reproduction of functional and as such convenient humans. Thus, "To Terra…" reads like a parable on Japan's educational system and corporate society. However, against the backdrop of the 3.11 disaster and its aftermath, this manga's emphasis on self-determined thought and action, including solidarity with marginalized groups, achieved an astonishing up-to-dateness. Quiet exceptional for a work by a female

7 Her fame among students' mothers (who decide whether to pay the expensive tuition for a private art college like KSU) is an important factor to secure applicants.
8 See, for example, Takemiya 2003, 2008, 2011.
9 In *Monthly Manga Shōnen*; 28 installments.
10 In Japanese abbreviated as *Kazeki*. 1976-82 in *Weekly Shōjo Comic*, 1982-84 in *Petit Flower*; 139 installments.
11 See Ōgi 2001.
12 Organizer of the so-called Ōizumi Salon (in Nerima-ku, Minami Ōizumi) where the artists gathered between September 1970 and 1973. Scenarist of Takemiya's "*Hensōkyoku*" (Variation), finally acknowledged as such in the 2007 edition by Magazine House (Ishida 2008: 309-311).

mangaka of that time, "To Terra" does not focus on love. This distinguishes it from Takemiya's most famous series "*Kaze to ki no uta*" (Poem of Wind and Trees),[10] which aims at sexual education. But before touching on it, some extra-textual remarks about Takemiya's position within contemporary manga culture, especially in relation to Hagio Moto, seem to be indicated.

Pioneer of Shōnen'ai Manga

Takemiya made her professional debut with the one-shot "*Ringo no tsumi*" (The apple's fault), in January 1968 (in *Margaret*, additional New Year's issue). Only a few years later she became one of those shōjo manga pioneers who went into history as the Magnificent 49ers, or the Year 24 Group (*Hana no 24nen-gumi*), a naming applied retrospectively to some outstanding female artists born around 1949 (or Shōwa 24 in Japanese calender), including Hagio Moto (b. 1949) and Yamagishi Ryōko (b. 1947).[11] With the first, Takemiya shared an apartment in the early 1970s. With both and their mutual friend Masuyama Norie (b. 1950)[12] she untertook a 40-day journey through Europe in 1972, without any support by a Japanese travel agency and without much knowledge of foreign languages (legend has it that the young women drew pictures to communicate with hotel personnel).

Allowing for a fictional distance towards the patriarchal reality of contemporary Japan, Europe[13] was of outmost importance for revolutionizing girls' manga by means of 'boy-loves-boy' narratives, a subgenre of shōjo manga initiated by Takemiya, Hagio and a few other female artists in the 1970s. In Japan today commercially circulating under the anglicized name of Boys' Love (BL),

13 Takemiya (2011) points out that to her and her readers, 'Europe' was conterminous with 'Fine Art,' that is, something Utopian as compared to ordinary life in Japan. Ishida (2008: 116-125) compares Mishima Yukio's penchant for Europe with that of the Magnificent 49ers, and finds a commonality in their distance towards the United States which formed a tangible part of the everyday in postwar Japan, last but not least in relation to the Vietnam War. According to Ōgi (2004), the 49ers aspiration for Europe is less to be interpreted as a form of Occidentalism, but rather as a subversion of the basically masculine connotation of Japan's modernity, and the normative femininity in postwar Japan, privileging the roles of wife and mother.

and the Japanese loanword *yaoi* abroad, it was called *shōnen'ai* in the beginning.[14] According to Takemiya, her editor coined the term more or less unintentionally by placing the phrase "Isn't this boys' love?!" (*Kore ga shōnen'ai?!*) at the page margin[15] of her early series "I like the sky!" (*Sora ga suki!*, 1971-72). This comment positioned the narrative about two pubescent boys as a story about love between equals. Indeed, to Takemiya and Hagio, *shōnen'ai* did not mean pederasty, and it did not refer to the medieval Japanese tales about an elderly man loving a beautiful youth (*chigo monogatari*) either. Their sources of inspiration were modern, and they were European (including French movies,[16] and Hermann Hesse's novels). Yet, under Masuyama's guidance they familiarized themselves also with Inagaki Taruho's monograph *Shōnen'ai no bigaku* (The aesthetics of boys' love, 1963),[17] which focused on modern Japan.

Two series in particular were breaking the ground for *shōnen'ai*, Hagio Moto's "Heart of Thomas" (*Tōma no shinzō*, 1974)[18] and Takemiya Keiko's "Poem of Wind and Trees" (1976-1984). Without these two series, manga culture would not be what it is today. In fact, BL narratives form a significant part of worldwide manga fandom, enjoying an astonishing popularity among teenage girls and young women, regardless of whether they are subjected to a conservative gender hierarchy or enjoy relative gender equality. But fans who are not in command of the Japanese language know usually only the rudimentary anime of "Poem of Wind and Trees" (1987).[19] While amateur-made scanlations are available

14 Yaoi, abbreviation of *yama nashi, ochi nashi, imi nashi* (no climax, no punch line, no meaning), emerged from female fandom of same-sex male love stories, centered around the magazine *JUNE*, in which Takemiya was actively involved, also via cover illustrations. The term denoted fans' refusal of narrative development, closure and messages in favor of erotic scenes. In contemporary Japanese manga discourse, *shōnen'ai* refers to the classics of the 1970s and early 1980s, *BL* stands in for the commercial genre established around 2000, and *yaoi* is used mainly for sexually explicit and barely reasoned narratives from the subcultural fanzine (*dōjinshi*) realm.
15 A device typical for a magazine series, but usually absent from the subsequent book editions of manga.
16 Such as *Les amitiés particulières* (novel by Roger Peyrefitte, 1943; film by Jean Delannoy, 1963), but also *if...* (film by Lindsay Anderson, 1968) as well as Jacques Demy's *Les parapluis de Cherbourg* (1964) and *Les Demoiselle de Rochefort* (1967)—the latter two stimulated "I like the sky!"

online, an official translation of the manga is not likely to appear, due to its explicit sexual content involving minors, at least not in the U.S., Australia and the like. Out of Takemiya's works, only Sci-Fi narratives have seen official English-language translations. The global circulation of BL manga—its surfacing outside of Japan and Japan's subcultural realm—has sparked off legal concerns which in return were picked up by Japanese politicians. In December 2010, the Metropolitan Assembly of Tokyo passed a revision of its Juvenile Act (the Tokyo Child Porn Bill in common parlance). Sexual depictions of fictional characters who appear to be under 18 years of age, and are referred to in the bill as "non-existent youths," are now being restricted, including for the very first time BL, or yaoi materials, that is, erotic manga with homosexual contents by female artists for mostly heterosexual female readers. Takemiya participated in the protest movement, moving for a *zoning*, that is, age-related recommendations. For "Poem of Wind and Trees" she suggested a G-12 classification designating girls of 12 years and older.

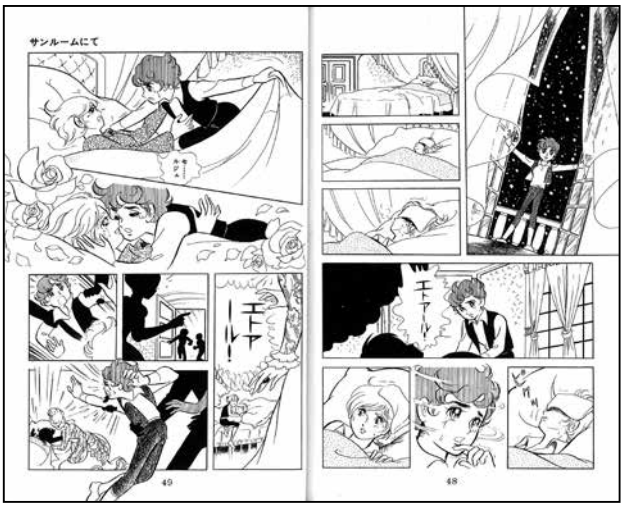
As distinct from Takemiya's still unsettling classic, Hagio's "Heart of Thomas" was published in English translation in 2013 and shortly after also in French, presumably due to the more sublime, implicit treatment of sexuality in the manga itself, its greater emphasis on spirituality than physicality. However, both artists have in common that foreign manga readers became interested in their works at a rather late point in time, similar to the works of their inspiring examples Tezuka Osamu[20] and Ishi(no)mori Shōtarō (1938-1998).[21] This fact hints at a striking difference of early *shōnenai*

17 Ishida (2008: 87-92, 282, 297), Takemiya (2008: 52).
18 In *Shōjo Comic*, Shōgakukan, 33 weekly installments.
19 60 min., covering only the beginning of the manga narrative. Voice-actresses Ohara Noriko (prior to that known as the voice of Nobita in *Doraemon*) and Sasaki Yūko impersonate the effeminate boy protagonists. Directed by now manga artist Yasuhiko Yoshikazu (b. 1947) one of whose work is discussed in the book chapter on Japan's Wartime Past.
20 Prior to her professional debut, Takemiya submitted several one-shots to Tezuka's alternative manga magazine *COM* (1967-1971) which was partially devoted to nurturing young talents.
21 In 1984, he changed his penname from Ishimori to Ishinomori. Deeply impressed by his *Manga-artist primer for boys* (1965), Takemiya contacted him in 1966 and was granted the opportunity to publish in his fanzine.

from today's BL mainstream, namely the great importance which the pioneers attached to the issue of finding one's personal identity, of growing up into an autonomous modern individual. Theirs are weighty stories about conflict-laden characters torn between social requirements and inner self in regards to gender, sexuality, age, ethnicity and class. Accordingly, page design and wording attain a degree of intricacy which thwarts easy consumption and slows down the reading process: Here, the verbal segments have to be actually read, a requirement which does not necessarily apply to the majority of mainstream manga, due to their emphasis on *visual* storytelling. Thus, the early works by Takemiya and Hagio pose a big challenge for today's younger consumers. Considering how time-sensitive manga is, and how susceptible manga style to passing fads, it also has to be admitted that the *shōnen'ai* classics may look slightly anachronistic: The protagonists' body size gives a rather puerile impression; screen tone—one of manga's distinctive characteristics by now—does not play a major role as a device of filling background or enhancing decorative appeal; monologue and dialogue as well as different voices are not clearly distinguished from each other visually by means of varying typefaces. But readers with a broad knowledge of manga history agree upon one point, i.e. that the aesthetics of the Magnificent 49ers should be regarded as an exception. After all, they did not only challenge the norm in the 1970s but they also have remained without successors.

With respect to both BL and Sci-Fi series created by female mangaka, Hagio and Takemiya are often traded off against each other. This involves the question of who came first. In fact, Hagio's "Heart of Thomas" was published two years before Takemiya finally gained her editor's approval to begin the serialization of "Poem of Wind and Trees"—first, she had to put to the test her ability to carry a long-running series and get it top-ranked by the magazine readers, which she did with "The Pharaoh's Grave" (*Farao no haka*, 1974-1976). But already in December 1970, she had published the

22 In *Bessatsu Shōjo Comic*, a monthly by Shogakukan launched in May 1970 and as a newcomer open to experiments.
23 Launched in 1968 by Shogakukan, and published weekly from 1970 onwards, it has been a biweekly since 1978.



3_ "Sanrūmu nite" (In the Sunroom), in: *Takemiya Keiko kessaku shirīzu 1: Sanrūmu nite* (Series of Takemiya Keiko's Best Works, vol. 1: In the Sunroom), Asahi Sonorama 1976, pp. 48-49.

50-page one-shot "In the Sunroom"[22] and anticipated crucial elements of the later "Poem of Wind and Trees," ranging from the retrospective monologue at the beginning to the central characters, dark-skinnend Serge and self-destructive Etoile, whose kiss (on the 22nd page; fig. 3) was supposedly the very first male-male kiss in (shōjo) manga (Ishida 2008: 21). The story was initially titled "*Yuki to hoshi to tenshi to...*" (Snow and a Star and an Angel...), hinting at the main character Etoile, his younger sister Angel and the time of Etoile's death on a winter day, and implying the observer who remembers, namely Serge.

At any rate, rather than playing off the two artists against each other on quantitative grounds, it makes probably more sense to acknowledge that in 1970s Japan, the time was ripe for something like Boys'-Love manga, and to pursue how each one of them substantiated the given consistencies qualitatively on their own terms. The possibility of mutual influences due to the shared publication sites, *Shōjo Comic*[23] and its offshoot *Bessatsu Shōjo Comic*, should not be underestimated either. Noteworthy enough, in the 1970s, these magazines addressed girls, that is to say, their readership was gendered but otherwise not yet as differentiated as today's taste communities, including those specialized in BL.

"The Poem of Wind and Trees"

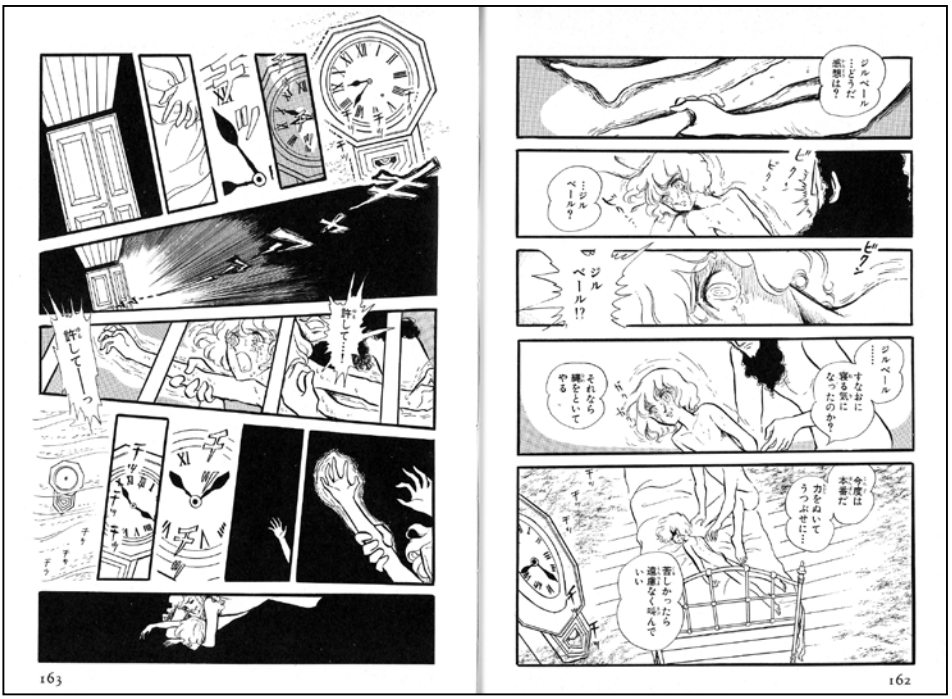
Takemiya's most famous, and internationally least available manga series is "The Poem of Wind and Trees." The book edition begins abruptly with a monologue written into the sky above a house with a gabled roof,[24] the first word indicating a male I (*boku*): All "I" need is "our hot skin bringing us in touch with each other, feeling our throbbing hearts and your gentle breath." Mysterious, sensual and even reminiscent of a certain strand of modern Japanese 'pure' literature, this monologue introduces one of the protagonists, Serge Battour, orphaned son of a French viscount and a Roma woman who, in the early 1880s, enters the all-boy boarding school in southern France depicted on the very first page. But before this is unveiled, the reader bangs into a bed scene on the second page: two hands, two naked male bodies—one seen from behind, the other one half-covered in sheets—and the latter sighing "Gilbert." In this way, the second protagonist makes his appearance although not yet related to the first. He just had sex with a senior student during lunch break in return for some homework.

The opening contains all the distinct characteristics of that manga in a nutshell. To begin with, there is the allusion to literariness evident in the highlighting of an inner self but also in the choice of language. Takemiya refrains completely from the use of slang or colloquial speech, thereby investing the narrative with a certain timelessness. But drawing attention to style itself—to the 'beauty' of the wording as well as the visuals—serves also to cushion the sometimes shocking representation, making it digestible for a young female readership which at the series' start was around the same age as its protagonists, that is, 14 years old. Although her editor demured, Takemiya insisted on beginning her series with an explicitly sexual, that is, pointedly physical and therefore scandalous scene, instead of increasing the tension gradually. As she herself testifies,[25] the intention was to confront well-protected girls with the hard facts of life: the gap between the notion of romantic love and real life, the multifacetedness of gender and sex, the intertwining of sexuality and power. Clearly, she aimed at sexual education.

In the mid-1970s, Japanese girls were still raised to avoid bodily contact, as distinct from boys who were allowed to tussle, hug and squeeze each other, and even appear half-naked outdoors. For girls, such physicality was taboo, and sexuality in particular was supposed to be irrelevant. Heterosexual sex scenes could simply not be depicted in a magazine targeted at minor females. The situation was completely different with Boys' Love though. One may feel tempted to trace this fact back to Japan as a non-Christian culture and a respectively different attitude towards homosexuality. However, girls-manga magazines in the 1970s were too marginal to represent Japanese culture as such, and their editors tolerated *shōnen'ai* in the first place because it seemed totally out of touch with their readers' reality.[26] This fundamental distance towards homosexuality as both social issue and realistic representation was reversely confirmed by Japanese homosexuals who protested against this sort of manga in the early 1990s, branding it as an exploitation of gay men for the pleasure of heterosexual women.

In the beginning, "Poem of Wind and Trees" is driven by the mystery why Gilbert behaves the way he does: homosexually promiscuous, imprudent, apparently passive but also highly manipulative. Roomed with Gilbert and trying to befriend him, at first in vain, Serge wants to know—and with him the reader. As we learn later—that is, via a multi-volume flashback starting at the end of vol. 1—Gilbert had been exposed to homosexual assaults from early childhood on. Vol. 3 reveals that Auguste, who pretends to be Gilbert's uncle but actually fathered him with his sister-in-law, was abused by his own adoptive brother (vol. 3, pp. 114ff.). Mentally not able to care for his son, he lets Gilbert grow up like a savage, unspoiled by civilization and submissively dependent on himself, longing for his love. One day, when still small, Auguste cedes him

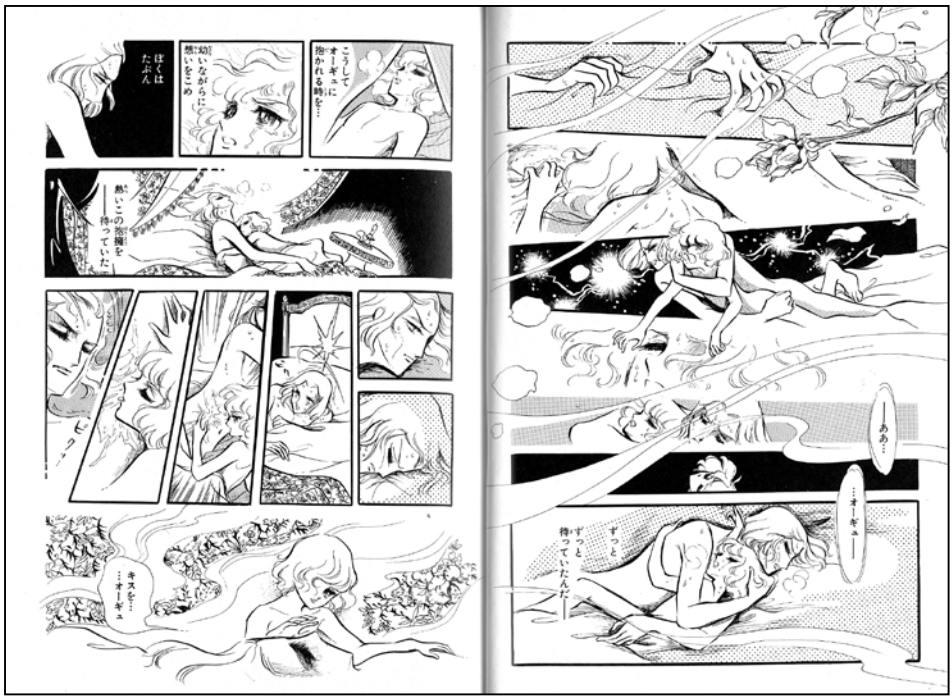
24 This monologue appeared initially in the second installment of the magazine series, but was shifted to the top in the book (*tankōbon*) edition for the sake of clearer focalization.
25 For example, in the seminar on "The Poem of Wind and Trees" which Takemiya held during the very first semester of the newly established Graduate School of Manga, April-July 2010.
26 Ishida (2008: 150) compares the protagonists of Takemiya's work to Mishima's, finding their bodies idealized and lacking gravity.



to the so-called sodomite Bonnard, a homosexual and pedophile painter who rapes him (vol. 3, pp. 149-164). Shortly after, Auguste himself has sex with Gilbert (vol. 3, pp. 184-202). The two scenes (fig. 4, 5), however, are visually characterized as completely different cases via the amount of flowers and flowery patterns employed. Bonnard's conduct is clearly marked as inexcusable, while Auguste's appears ambiguous, obviously affirmed by Gilbert, but at the same time remaining a power play as indicated by Auguste's accompanying monologue (Antononoka 2012: 57). In the course of the narrative, Bonnard turns out to be much more caring about Gilbert than his own father, but it is Auguste whom Gilbert hallucinates when he runs in front of a horse carriage (vol. 10, pp. 176-177), an accident which leads to his death.

By reference to this narrative of sexual abuse and to depictions of Gilbert in still images accompagnied by floral ornaments, Japanese critics have been interpreting him as a stand-in for the female reader.

4_ *Kaze to ki no uta*, 10 vols, Hakusensha bunko 1995; vol. 3, pp. 162-163.



5_ *Kaze to ki no uta*, 10 vols, Hakusensha bunko 1995; vol. 3, pp. 200-201.

But as Antononoka (2012) has demonstrated, attention to manga-specific renderings complicates the picture: not only does Gilbert give a completely different impression according to whether he keeps still or whether he moves; compared to the amount of speed-lines and the scope of space-consuming action characteristic of him, it is Serge who often looks more feminine. Whoever ascribes femininity or masculinity to specific characters misses the critical core of this manga, which emphasizes precisely the fluidity of such ascriptions, the possibility to combine and shift them.

Serge acts as the main focalizer of the narrative; he guides the female reader into uncharted territory and mediates between the familiar and the unfamiliar. To lower the bar further, Takemiya introduces also secondary female characters, namely the sisters of Serge's school friend Pascal, one of whom, Patricia, becomes attached to Serge and assists him at the side of Gilbert's deathbed. The narrative follows the male-male couple over a period of two years. Being both

outsiders—the first by skin color[27] and social rank, the latter by personality and behavior—Gilbert and Serge fall in love with each other. Eventually, they manage to escape from the school and settle in Paris, where they have to cope with prejudices against their relationship and also poverty. While Serge abandons his dream of becoming a pianist in order to support themselves, Gilbert refuses to grow up and take responsibilities, prostituting himself again and taking drugs, and finally dying an untimely death. A happy ending for the homosexual couple was utterly out of the question in a girls-manga magazine of the early 1980s; also indicative of the scandalous character of the setting as such is the pirated Korean edition published in 1981 which feminized almost all male characters (fig. 6).

6_ Choi Gyeong-tan: *Gyeoul namu e norae* (The song of winter trees), vol. 1, Seoul: Eomoongak Co., Ltd., 1981, pp. 28-29. Pirated edition under the name of a Korean author. Not only the protagonists were feminized (Serge becoming Mary, Gilbert Anne), but even the principal (see small panel on page 29, right).

But the narrative's own logic, too, called for Gilbert to decease in order to allow Serge to grow up. Finally, Serge returns to music and seems to opt for a 'respectable' life with a woman who resembles Gilbert, while treasuring his first love's memory. Thus, the manga closes with both a closure and an open ending—a 48-page epilogue, set three years after Gilbert's death (in 1886), completes vol. 10 of the book edition.

The last double spread before the epilogue (fig. 7) shows a leafless tree crown with delicate lines that indicate a breeze, heading towards the left (that is, the future of the Japanese reading direction). Gilbert's symbol flower, the rose, as well as portrayals of himself are

7_ *Kaze to ki no uta*, 10 vols, Hakusensha bunko 1995; vol. 10, pp. 256-257.

inserted, as if he were weaving from heaven down at (the reader and) Serge whose presence takes a mainly verbal form, a short poetic monologue. These lines are not new. Appearing for the first time in vol. 1 (p. 44), they close the circle here: "Gilbert Cocteau, greatest flower, brightening my life [...] you were the wind which rushed my treetop. Can you hear the poem of wind and trees (*kaze to kigi no uta*)? The turmoil of youth?" Not explaining Gilbert's behavior but focusing on Serge's feelings for him, the poem touches upon the manga's title, clarifying that it refers to one wind and a plural of trees.[28] The wind stands in for Gilbert, who in his volatility literally moves a number of men during his short life and beyond: August, Bonnard, Serge and several schoolmates.

27 This ethnic issue is visually indicated by means of screen tone only when Serge has his first entrance. Screentone was still too expensive at the time to use it recurrently. But once established, the fact as such stays with the manga reader who does not need further visual support to perceive Serge as 'colored.'

28 Only Toku (2003) uses the singular of 'tree' in the translation of her interview with Takemiya.

Education and politics

In her 2008 monograph which is largely about "The Poem of Wind and Trees," Ishida Minori relates Takemiya's *shōnen'ai* manga to education in a threefold way. Firstly, she highlights that girls manga, although ascribed a subcultural status in the 1970s, were not at all antithetical to 'high culture' as epitomized by literature: artists like Takemiya and Hagio turned to literature for inspiration and aimed at creating 'literary' comics, so to speak. Secondly, Ishida points out that in the wake of these artists' groundbreaking series, young female readers as well as manga-artists-to-be turned more and more to manga instead of literature in their quest for the meaning of life: since the late 1970s, popular narratives such as comics had gradually taken over the 'educational' role that literature once held in modern society. And thirdly, Ishida raises the question whether "The Poem of Wind and Trees" really served literary aims, or rather erotic, if not even pornographic purposes. Referring to Luchino Visconti's *La caduta degli dei* (1969) which was very well received in Japan while apparently not found critical in Europe, Ishida arrives at the conclusion that 1970s *shōnen'ai* manga turned away from the political implications characteristic for the eroticization of the male body in the 1960s, for example, by Mishima Yukio. According to Ishida, "The Poem of Wind and Trees" appears to use sexuality as a means to tell a complex and as such 'literary' story, but it may also very well suggest the opposite, namely that the 'literary' elements are put in the service of erotic arousal. And this she assesses as 'apolitical' (p. 154).

However, girls manga in general and Takemiya's works in particular do usually not make explicit political claims. In order to determine their political potential, it is vital to contextualize, historically as well as generically. Around 1980, the very appearance of erotic fiction for women in the form of manga affected gender politics in a media-specific way.[29] But once BL had become an established genre, other uses took priority. In addition, manga like "The Poem of Wind and Trees" call for revisiting the notion of the political itself, searching for it not only in references to alternative symbolic orders, but also in the dismissal of, or indifference to, symbolic order as such.

INTERVIEW WITH TAKEMIYA KEIKO

Conducted by Jaqueline Berndt
Kyoto Seika University, 2 February 2011

Self-image as Manga Artist

JB: Ōgi Fusami (2008) has introduced you as a feminist. How do you see yourself? As a creator of girls comics, a shōjo mangaka, or rather as a mangaka in general?

TK: I am not really a shōjo mangaka, but simply a mangaka. At the time of my debut, I actually aimed at creating comics for children (*jidō manga*). It didn't cross my mind to pursue a career in shōjo manga.

JB: Would you define yourself as a craftswoman (*shokunin*) or rather as an 'author' (*sakusha*)? Masuyama Norie has called you "a person with a special craftsperson talent" (*shokuninteki sainōhada no hito*; 2008: 304).

TK: I know her view well, since she has often told me, and I think, it's an apt description of my attitude towards work. Instead of drawing unconditionally what I want to draw, I rather try to meet the requirements and expectations which come along with the respective publication site.

JB: But when you were creating *The Poem of Wind and Trees*, it was probably not so easy to figure out readers' demands.

TK: Yes, they couldn't be predicted then. In that respect, *The Poem of Wind and Trees* is probably one of my more 'authorly' works. I felt the urge to create it.

JB: In other words, your work oscillates between self-expression and satisfying readers' demands?

29 Likewise taking its departure from the gendered media-space of shōjo manga while surpassing it, Takemiya's 3-volume narrative "The Scent of Crimson" (*Kurenai nihofu*, 1994-95) approaches World War II from a female perspective—as discussed in the book chapter on Japan's Wartime Past.

TK: Yes, I am a craftswoman insofar that I am able to take an unbiassed attitude towards any project, regardless of my personal likings. I am quite persevering. I don't want to feel embarrassed by the results of my work, that is, I want my readers to be content.

JB: Do you yourself distinguish between commissioned and independent work?

TK: Yes, I do. I was really headstrong in the case of *The Poem of Wind and Trees*. In regard to obstinacy and personal commitment, it is the No. 1 among my works.

JB: Why especially *The Poem of the Wind and the Trees*?

TK: Because I knew, that it would lay open to prejudices. With my other works, I didn't feel the need to fight. I have been asked quite often, whether I weren't unhappy with the way publishers treated my work. Self-assertation or intervention would be characteristic of an 'author,' I suppose. But I don't do that, and therefore might be denied 'authorship.' I prefer to focus on what a certain environment calls for. Sometimes this can mean to create more shōjo-manga-like stories. Anyhow, at a rather early stage I realized that 'authorship' is not in my line. I haven't had strong aspirations in that regard.

JB: Does this mean that you prefer teamwork?

TK: When I became a mangaka, I expected precisely that: teamwork. What I didn't expect was that I had to fight.

JB: Which of your works do you like best?

TK: That would be *To Terra*. I was able to serialize it without any self-doubt and with a lot of joy.

JB: Which of your works was the most difficult for you?

TK: *The Legends of Iserlohn* (*Izarōn densetsu*). I agreed to create this series although I don't like fantasy. This caused problems. For example, whereas I wanted the setting of the narrative to be as elaborate and realist as possible, the audience obviously would have liked it to be lighter, more airy.

JB: And which work is your most representative?

TK: The one which resembles, which matches me most? That's probably the Sci-Fi comedy series *Fly me to the moon* (*Watashi o tsuki made tsuretette*).

Recently, I am not creating manga series for magazines anymore. I stopped when I came to Kyoto Seika University in 2000. Creating manga is a lot of fun, but it also requires physical stamina. Around 2000, I had reached the age when I needed to cut back my work load. Compared to a mangaka, a university professor moves her body a lot, by walking through the classroom, for example. Becoming a professor has really improved my health.

Working process

JB: How did your days and weeks look like at the time when you were most busy as a mangaka?

TK: When I ran series in weekly magazines, it took me about ten days from the first layout draft (*nēmu*) to the completion of one installment. Then I took 2-3 days off, before entering the next cycle. My daily rhythm was rather regular; it had to be, last but not least, for my assistants. I got up at 8 a.m., worked three hours, had lunch at noon, and after a one-hour break we continued work until dinner time, around 6 p.m. We worked again until midnight, and when the assistants went to bed, I continued about two more hours. I myself slept about 4-5 hours per night. On my days off, I went shopping or to the doctor's. There wasn't any time left for sports.

JB: Already in 1975, you established your own company, being the second female mangaka after Satonoka Machiko to do so.

TK: I was deeply influenced by the book *A Primer for Manga Artists* (1965). Actually, it made me want to become a mangaka. In that book, author Ishinomori Shōtarō gave a detailed account of his own production studio and its teamwork, which led me to believe that such a studio must be fun. Therefore, I wanted to have my own production company as soon as possible. And even before my debut, I already knew how I would call

it: Tranquilizer Product (Tra-Po.com). Sometimes, people ask me whether we are a pharmaceutical company. But when I had the name registered, the civil servant in charge liked it very much. I will never forget that moment.

JB: Such a company must have been useful when you negotiated your rights with publishers...

TK: In the beginning, it was indeed mainly about taxes. As an individual, only a small percentage of your operating costs is tax-deductable.

JB: Was the company located inside your residence?

TK: Of course! I was living in a manga production, so to speak. At first, I had two assistants, but no manager. My friend Masuyama Norie helped out. But she liked much more to produce than to do office work or manage my drawings. Although she was of great support, she had never been my employee. When people began to call her manager, which she didn't like, she opted out. In 1980, the advertising campaign for the animated movie *To Terra* was about to get too much for us, and so, my younger sister stepped in as manager. She has been working for me since. Previously employed by a stock company, she was good at dealing with business partners as well as at the acquisition of new projects. In addition, she began to catalog my drawings and manuscripts. Thanks to her, I am in possession of all my pages, and when asked for a certain one, I am also able to find it.

JB: ... which is rather exceptional for mangaka. How many assistants do you have?

TK: My assistants changed in the course of time. Usually, I had four or five, mostly women. For *To Terra*, a Sci-Fi series with numerous images of spaceships and other machinery, I thought I needed to lean on a man's hand; so, I employed Hio Akira, whose name also appears in the book version. At the peak, I worked with about six assistants, although I can't handle more than four actually. At present, I don't have assistants, because I don't create magazine series anymore. But there are some free-lancers whom I can call when the necessity arises.

JB: When was your busiest time?

TK: During the advertising campaign for the animated movie *To Terra*. Back then, I had to appear on TV, approve of merchandising goods and so on, but I had two major series running at the same time, *To Terra* and *The Poem of Wind and Trees*.

JB: How did you manage to work for the magazine *JUNE*, in addition to your busy schedule?

TK: I did it for *The Poem of Wind and Trees*, which I wanted to provide with covering fire, so to speak. But *JUNE* was also attractive to me since it allowed for experiments.[30] To draw a title illustration for the cover of *JUNE*, for example, was something completely different from work for a conventional shōjo-manga magazine.

Acknowledgment

JB: The profession of mangaka had not ranked highly for a long time. When did its acknowledgment begin to go beyond the publishing industry? For example, when did mangaka achieve a social position comparable to the authority of literary authors?

TK: That might have begun in the mid-1980s. In those days, prominent intellectuals confessed for the very first time in public, that they liked manga. One person who lacked prejudices the most, was Terayama Shūji. My friend Masuyama-san was very happy to meet him thanks to my works. I myself had been completely unfamiliar with that realm of culture and therefore rather ignorant, but due to the changes of manga's position I got in touch with a whole new world.

JB: Whose acknowledgment did you aspire for in the 1970s when you started your groundbreaking series?

TK: I didn't think of acknowledgment at all. To me, manga was something unacknowledged, but that

30 Takemiya was in charge of the "*Oekaki kyōshitsu*" (Manga School) section.

didn't bother me. I did what I had to do, without expecting people from other fields to be attentive. This kind of 'authority' was not interesting to me. Crucial to me were my readers. Money was also secondary. I didn't assume to make big money with manga in the first place. And later I had such a heavy workload that I didn't know how to spend the money that I had earned. I just didn't have the time. In short, I would have been content to just make a living.

JB: Apparently, you had a very good income when you were still quite young...

TK: Because I published numerous manga series, because I worked hard, and because I didn't insist unconditionally on what was important only to myself. When I was 25 years old, I bought my first piece of land. Otherwise, the money would have just sat in the bank account.

JB: So, you never struggled as a penniless mangaka?

TK: In those days, manga was seeing an upswing, and mangaka were rare. That is to say, there was enough work available. And I was a 'craftswoman' with the ability to meet that demand. Furthermore, shōjo-manga editors were in principle male, and they lacked self-confidence, for example when they had to assess which manga submission looked likely to become a hit among girl readers. They just hoped things would go well. And that made it easy for artists like me in the field of shōjo manga.

JB: How was your relation to the publishers?

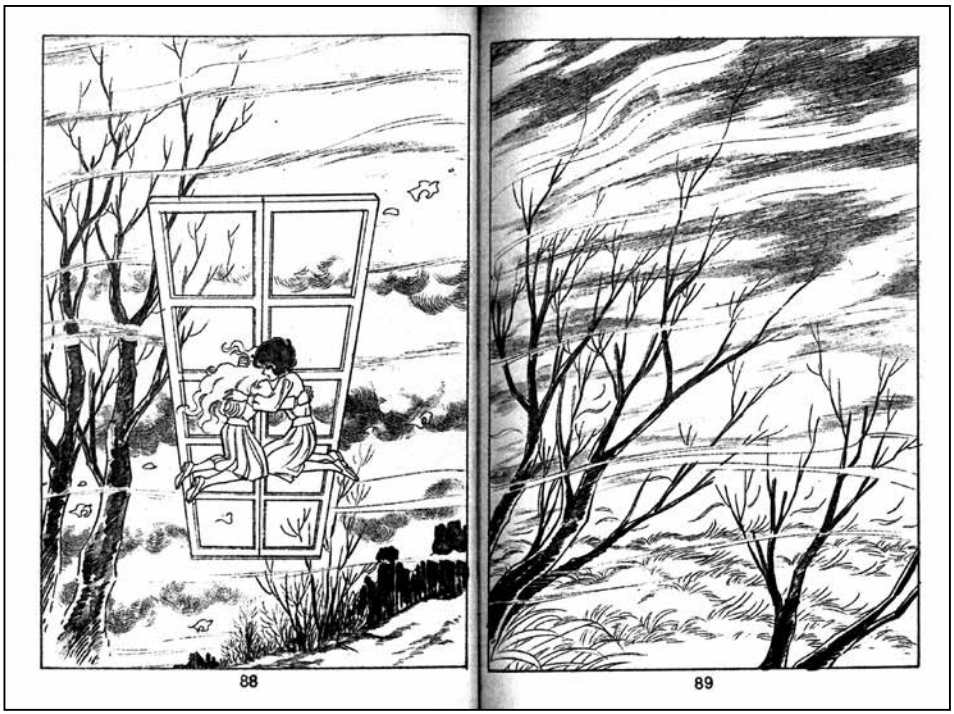
TK: In the 1970s, it was common for publishers to make exclusive contracts. A mangaka would receive approximately 50.000 Yen per month, regardless of having a series or not. In addition, the mangaka received royalties, when the publication's profit exceeded the amount of the monthly salary. In return, exclusive affiliation was to be observed. I never made such a contract, because I wanted to keep my freedom. From my debut on, I had worked for several publishers: Kodansha, Shueisha, Shogakukan. And I had met different kinds of editors. Eventually I opted for Shogakukan, which didn't insist on an exclusive contract and gave me the most

space, last but not least, because they were a latecomer in the manga industry, in contrast to Kodansha and Shueisha. But when I had been with them for two years, I realized that my payment per page wouldn't increase if I didn't negotiate. As a newcomer, I received about 5.000 or 6.000 Yen, if I remember correctly. In the late 1970s, when I was established as a creator of manga series, it exceeded 20.000 Yen. This may sound like a lot of money, but I needed most of it for my assistants. The main source of my personal income were the post-magazine book editions (*tankōbon*). Business went very well then, and so, the publishing houses gladly increased the payment of their major artists. However, 30.000 Yen per page was the limit. Manga magazines couldn't afford to pay such fees to, let's say, five of their major artists without running the risk of collapsing.

Another source of income lies in merchandising goods. CLAMP were the first manga artists to develop that, and they made a lot of money, but mangaka like me care only about their stories and drawings. In addition to my manga publications, some posters were sold via a venture business. But that's about it.

JB: Have you ever had difficulties getting along with editors?

TK: Oh, yes, and not only once. It happened, for example, that the publisher changed my editor-in-charge during the course of a long serialization, and that this new person was not only unfamiliar with the manga world, but didn't even show the slightest interest in my story. So, I asked the chief editor to substitute him, which led people to think I were an 'editor killer,' although I was only concerned with the quality of our work not a certain person. Usually, I met my editor once or twice a month. I didn't need him to be a producer or collaborator. There are only very few with such abilities after all. I just wanted him to follow me, get involved in the progress of the narrative, voice his impressions. I couldn't have done without editors though. As my first reader, so to speak, they checked the correctness of the verbal parts, and they pointed out incomprehensible turns of the narrative, almost like a secretary. But creative proposals were rare. Perhaps, they were scared. My chief editor Yamamoto Junya had suggested to them not to meddle with established mangaka.



JB: When did you first learn about pirated editions of your work?

TK: That must have been after I completed the serialization of *The Pharaoh's Grave* (*Farao no haka*, 1974-1976). At that time, Japanese nationals were finally able to go abroad, and some fans went to Egypt because of my manga. One reader who had traveled to China, sent me a letter and a pirated edition of *Pharaoh*. That was my very first. Later, pirated versions of *The Poem of Wind and Trees* appeared, for example, in Korea (fig. 8, 9). I am not sure whether to regard them as adaptations of the manga, since Gilbert was changed into a girl. There is even one copy which used a title illustration by Ōshima Yumiko for contents derived from my work.

JB: Have you never thought of copyrights in that regard?

TK: Of course, I have. But when I was a child, I myself read a lot of books in Japanese, which must have been legally dubious. And I found it interesting to see how much even foreign readers were attracted by my work.

8_ Choi Gyeong-tan: *Gyeoul namu e norae* (The song of winter trees), vol. 2 [out of 4], Seoul: Eomoongak Co., Ltd., 1981, pp. 88-89.

9_ *Kaze to ki no uta*, 10 vols, Hakusensha bunko 1995; vol. 1, pp. 318-319.

JB: A propos fans, early fanzines of the 1970s reveal that readers who liked your work also liked Hagio Moto's.

TK: Until today, many of them mix up titles of our works. Certainly, our basic orientation was similar in those days. Together, we created a new wave in manga. But while fans prefer to read our works from the angle of similarity, as artists we are rather different, I suppose. Hagio-san is, for example, the better partner to discuss gender issues. She has an extraordinary sensitivity for the mental and emotional dimensions of femininity. I myself am more interested in physical things, in how the animal inside people influences their state of mind, their soul. And I like failures, whereas Hagio-san has a strong inclination towards ideals, towards what is right. After two years living and working together in our so-called Ōizumi Salon, we were too close and thus separated. But I am still reading her works.

JB: Do you read many works by other mangaka?

TK: Admittedly, I have been reading manga mainly since 2000, when I started my university position, although I felt the necessity even earlier. At the moment, I browse through the magazines *Shōnen Jump* and *Morning* on a weekly basis, and I read works by mangaka in book form, for example, those appearing in *IKKI Comix*.[31] But since my highschool days, I have never bought shōjo-manga magazines. This doesn't mean that I wasn't eager to facilitate 'shōjo power.' I just didn't want to do it in a hermetic, closed way. I have been able to win over even male readers, by means of carefully constructed narratives.

JB: Thank you very much.

31 See website *IKKI Paradise*, successor of the printed monthly *IKKI* (Shogakukan, 2003-2014).

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GENJI MANGA

DAS „ASAKIYUMEMISHI" IM **WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN** DISKURS

Einleitung

2008 wurde in Japan das tausendjährige Jubiläum der *Geschichte vom Prinzen Genji* (*Genji Monogatari*) begangen. Im Zusammenhang mit der Rezeptionsgeschichte interessierten auch Popularisierungen des Klassikers, beispielsweise im Manga. Tateishi Kazuhiro und seiner *Datenbank der Genji-Bearbeitungen* (*Genji Monogatari kakū bunka*) zufolge, war die allererste Comics-Version eine auf dem *Yūgao*-Kapitel basierende Kurzgeschichte, die am Neujahrstag 1970 in dem Frauenmagazin *Josei Comic ELLE* (Nr. 9) erschien, und die erste Buchausgabe ein Einzelband der Reihe Akebono Comics vom April 1974, der sich neben *Yūgao* auf die Kapitel *Kiritsubo* und *Wakamurasaki* konzentrierte. Seither sind dutzende „Genji-Manga" herausgekommen. Je nach medialer Ausrichtung lassen sie sich in zwei große Gruppen unterteilen: Serien in kommerziellen Mangamagazinen, die in erster Linie unterhalten wollen, und Bildungsmaterial in Buchform, bei denen der Manga eine Mittlerrolle übernimmt.[1] Repräsentativ für letztere sind die Adaptionen durch die namhaften *mangaka* Hasegawa Hōsei (*1946) und Mihashi Mari (*1960) für Manga-Reihen zur klassischen japanischen Literatur sowie den ausschließlich im Bildungscomic tätigen Tsuboi Koh (*1951). Für erstere wiederum stehen

1 Miyake (2008: 360) versteht „educational" (*gakushū*) manga als eine „topical category" neben „romance, adventure, gag, horror [...]", was nur geht, wenn man vernachlässigt, dass neben den alters- und geschlechtsspezifischen Genres auch Publikationsformate bestimmte Erwartungen wecken.

vor allem die Zeichnerinnen Yamato Waki (*1948) und Maki Miyako (*1935) sowie der Zeichner Egawa Tatsuya (*1961). Darüber hinaus lassen sich die Genji-Adaptionen nach den geschlechtsspezifischen Manga-Genres klassifizieren; Zeichnerinnen und als feminin markierte Publikationsorte sind besonders stark vertreten, wie Tateishis Datenbank zeigt. Ein anderes Kriterium ist, ob gelacht werden kann und soll. Im Potenzial des Lachens, Idealisierungen zu unterlaufen, sieht eine der wenigen positiven Besprechungen von Egawas Adaptionsversuch dessen eigentliches Verdienst (Azuma[2] Reiko 2002: 215). Lynne Miyake, die aus japanologischer Sicht sechs Genji-Manga betrachtet, ordnet Egawas Version den „footsteps of *Genji shunga* erotic art of the Edo period" (2008: 370) zu. An humoristischen Beispielen i.e.S. bezieht sie Koizumi Yoshihiro's Comic-Strip-Version ein sowie eine humoristische Bearbeitung durch den Altmeister des Gag-Manga Akatsuka Fujio (letztere versteht sie als Nachfolgerin der edozeitlichen Parodien, z.B. *Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji* von Ryūtei Tanehiko und Utagawa Kunisada, 1829-42; Miyake 2008: 385).

Im Mittelpunkt der folgenden Überlegungen steht eine Langserie, die ihre Leserinnen nicht zum Lachen bringen will, der Shōjo- bzw. Young Ladies-Manga „Asakiyumemishi".[3] Mit über 17 Mio. verkauften Buchbänden sowie einer für Manga außergewöhnlich großen Anzahl an Besprechungen ist „Asakiyumemishi" der am stärksten präsente Genji-Manga. „Dass dieses Werk eine so herausragende Popularität im Bereich der Genji-Comics entfaltet hat, liegt an seiner ästhetischen Konstitution – es eignet sich als Lernhilfe und Nachschlagewerk und baut doch zugleich auf die Stilistik des Mädchencomics." (Tateishi 2005: 197). Kitamura Yuika meint: „This comic book for girls had a major impact on the reception of the Genji in contemporary Japanese culture." (2008: 334). Allerdings geht sie nicht darauf ein, wie das möglich gewesen sei. Die Bildsprache des Mädchenmanga verbindet sich ja leicht mit einer geschlechtlichen Schließung, scheint auf den ersten Blick also nicht unbedingt geeignet, eine universale, sogar gesamtnationale Leserschaft zu anzusprechen. Satō Chihiro hat aus Sicht des Muttersprache(*kokugo*)-Unterrichts auf zwei pragmatische Aspekte aufmerksam gemacht: „Für die Ausweitung der Rezeption von ‚Asakiyumemishi' in

jüngster Zeit war die Strategie seitens des Verlages nicht unerheblich." Und: „Das ‚Asakiyumeishi' dient bis in die Gegenwart hinein als eine Art Lernhilfe, [...] die ein Gesamtbild der *Geschichte vom Prinzen Genji* vermittelt." (Satō 2006: 28). Tatsächlich soll es nicht wenige junge Männer geben, die den Manga als Oberschüler empfohlen bekommen und dadurch ihr erstes Erlebnis mit der Grammatik des Shōjo-Manga hatten. Es ließe sich schlußfolgern, dass „Asakiyumemishi" dank der spezifisch japanischen Eintrittsexamen Nationalgut werden konnte, so man denn seine Verbreitung nicht auf die schleichende „Feminisierung" (gar Shōjo-isierung) der japanischen Kultur seit den 1970er Jahren zurückführen will. Wie dem auch sei, das „Asakiyumemishi" bietet eine von der Mädchenkultur ausgehende Vergegenwärtigung der *Geschichte vom Prinzen Genji*, was der Mangazeichner Egawa Tatsuya bestätigt, wenn er betont: „Die *Geschichte vom Prinzen Genji* ist doch kein Shōjo-Manga!" (2002: 197). Symptomatischerweise hat sich der Regisseur Dezaki Osamu für den TV-anime *Genji Monogatari sennenki GENJI* (2009, Fuji TV, 11 Folgen) gerade nicht auf „Asakiyumemishi" bezogen, angeblich um sich bei der Darstellung der männlichen Figuren nicht von den Konventionen des Mädchenmanga einengen zu lassen.

Die folgende Annäherung an „Asakiyumemishi" geht weder adaptionstheoretisch noch japanologisch vor. Anders als bei den meisten Literaturwissenschaftlern und Kunsthistorikerinnen, die sich bislang mit dieser Serie beschäftigt haben, interessiert der Manga hier nicht als Mittel zum Zweck, sei dieser nun das klassische literarische Werk[4] oder dessen Geschlechterdiskurs. Abwechslungshalber rückt das Medium Manga ins Zentrum, und um dessen spezifische ästhetische Leistungen und Grenzen zu verdeutlichen, wird die Takarazuka-Mädchenrevue als Kontrastmaterial

2 Nicht Higashi, wie bei Miyake transkribiert (2008: 390).
3 Der Wechsel des Publikationsortes nach etwa der ersten Hälfte der Serie brachte einen inhaltlichen und stilistischen Wandel mit sich. Wie um die feminine Ausrichtung zu verstärken, verzichtet der Titel auf den Namen des männlichen Helden zugunsten eines Zitats aus dem *iroha*-Gedicht, das „substanzlos-flüchtige Träume" anspricht.
4 Zum *Genji Monogatari* selbst sowie seinen Übersetzungen vgl. Quenzer (2008) und Jelbring (2010).

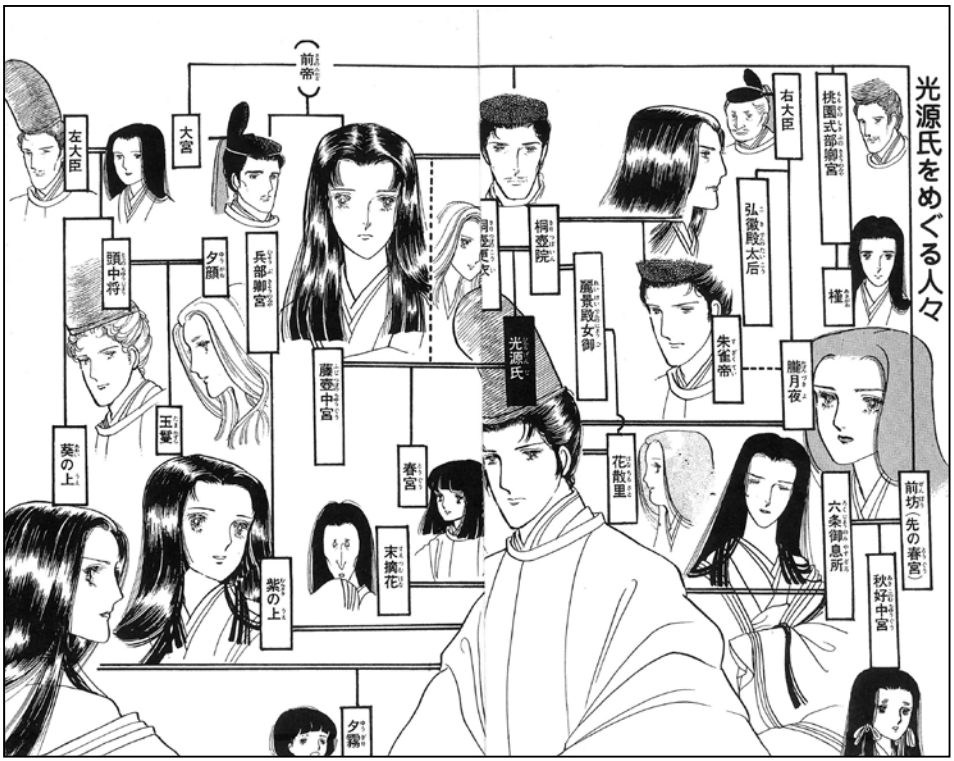
herangezogen, genauer gesagt, die gleichnamige Bühnenversion durch die Blumentruppe aus dem Jahr 2000 unter der Regie von Kusano Akira (Abb. 1). Als Leitfaden dient der bisherige wissenschaftliche Diskurs. Dieser weist drei Grundtendenzen auf: erstens, die Neigung, „Asakiyumemishi" an der literarischen Vorlage zu messen, zweitens, das Verhältnis von Manga und Literatur an „Psychologisierung" zu binden, und drittens, die Figuren unter geschlechterkritischen Gesichtspunkten zu analysieren.

1_ Vorderseite des Programmhefts zur Takarazuka-Adaption *Asakiyumemishi*, Blumentruppe, 2000. Links: Aika Mire als Prinz Genji.

Treue zum „Original"

Eine hierarchische Beziehung von Quelle und Bearbeitung voraussetzend, konzentrieren sich die meisten Wissenschaftlerinnen darauf, wie getreu der Manga das literarische Werk bzw. dessen Entstehungskultur („the Heian world – its material culture, interior and exterior spaces, conventions, and rituals", Miyake 2008: 360) wiedergibt. Aus einer solchen Perspektive interessiert „Asakiyumemishi" vorrangig als Medium im Dienste des Klassikers: einerseits begrüßt man seine Fähigkeit zu popularisieren, andererseits beklagt man die damit einhergehende „Verflachung". Häufig wird angeführt, dass im Unterschied zum Original mit seiner Vielzahl höchst individueller Figuren die Charaktere des Manga vom Gesicht her schwer zu unterscheiden seien. So beobachtet die Kunsthistorikerin Doris Croissant, dass sich zwar am Anfang eines jeden Bandes eine Figurengalerie finde (Abb. 2), diese aber der tradierten Vorstellung eines Porträts insofern zuwiderlaufe, als die Gesichter der Frauen sich durchweg stark glichen (Croissant 2002: 224). Sich nur auf die Wörter, Namen beispielsweise, nicht aber die Bilder verlassen zu können, gehört zu den Besonderheiten des klassischen Shōjo-Manga. Auf die Bedeutung der bildlichen „Angleichung" sei später zurückgekommen.

Einen Aspekt der beanstandeten „Verflachung" entdeckt man im Rationalisieren: die Handlungen der Personen werden begründet. Charakteristisch für „Asakiyumemishi" ist „eine Darstellung von Innerlichkeit, die auf für die jeweilige Szene konsistenten Wertvorstellungen beruht" (Satō 2006: 34). Satō nennt außerdem die Einfügung neu erfundener Episoden, die



2_ „Porträt"-Galerie. Yamato Waki: „*Asakiyumemishi*", Bd. 3 (KCmimi), Kodansha 2001, S. 2-3.

Änderung der Reihenfolge von Geschehnissen sowie die Verlagerung von Prosaschilderungen ins gesprochene Wort, aber da sie nicht nur über eine Ausbildung als Muttersprachelehrerin verfügt, sondern auch über Kenntnisse der Manga-Studien weiß sie sehr wohl, dass der (typische) Manga auf Einfühlung nicht verzichten kann. Vor diesem Hintergrund stellt sie realistischerweise fest: „Gerade aufgrund seiner Eigenständigkeit und Intensität als Werk vermittelt das ‚Asakiyumemishi' die Illusion, die *Geschichte vom Prinzen Genji* tiefgehend kennengelernt zu haben, und birgt damit die Gefahr des Mißverstehens." (Satō 2006: 41).

Von populären Medientexten darf man eigentlich erwarten, dass sie die Mehrschichtigkeit und Polyphonie ihrer literarischen Vorlage im Zweifelsfall der Leichtverständlichkeit opfern. Die meisten Akademiker aber beanstanden nach wie vor, dass „die Genji-Kultur das Original verfremdet und verschleiert" (Tateishi 2005: 215), und messen den Loyalitätsgrad der

Adaptionen. Aber welche Art von Loyalität ist eigentlich erstrebenswert und welche möglich? Als moderne, auch visuelle Ausdrucksform muss der Manga das Erscheinungsbild von Personen und Orten, welches in der Literatur vage bleiben kann, explizieren, nicht zuletzt um die Schaulust seiner Leser zu befriedigen. Und obwohl es für diese Vergegenwärtigung eine Reihe von Optionen gibt, sei insgesamt beim Manga, wie einige Literaturwissenschaftler meinen, „der Informationsgehalt geringer als bei der Literatur, da es sich um Bilder handelt" (Yamada 1994: 68).

Oft wird außerdem übersehen, dass Manga mit Bild *und* Wort (oder genauer: Schrift) operiert. Über die Funktion als inhaltlicher Stichwortgeber hinaus, findet der verbale Ausdruck selten Beachtung. Als Besonderheit von Hasegawas Genji-Manga ist immer wieder die emotionale Zurückhaltung herausgestellt worden, dabei sind es die Worte, die, und sei es in der Rückschau, die Gefühle aussprechen, die die unspektakuläre Mimik nicht offenbart (Abb. 3). Philologen könnten auch das Verhältnis von mittelalterlichem Originaltext und dessen Übertragung ins moderne Japanisch sowie deren Wirkung im Manga diskutieren. Inwieweit das

3_ Hasegawa Hōsei: *Genji Monogatari* (*Manga Nihon no koten*), Bd. 1, Chūōkōron shinsha, 1999, S. 101 unten links, Denkblase: Nach der Nacht mit Fujitsubo fragt sich Genji, ob das Traum oder Wirklichkeit war.

4_ Egawa Tatsuya: "*Genji Monogatari*", Bd. 1, Kapitel 6 (SC Allman), Shueisha, 2001 (ohne Paginierung): Vier verschiedene Textsorten und dazu die Paraventbeschriftung.

„Asakiyumemishi", welches seinen Protagonisten von Kindesbeinen an bildlich *und* sprachlich shōjo-isiert, sich auf Tanabe Seikos modernes Japanisch stützt und wo es selbst erfinderisch wird, wäre eine Untersuchung wert. Egawa Tatsuya bringt in seiner Adaption den alten Text, seine eigene Übertragung ins moderne Japanisch, erfundene Dialoge und erklärende Anmerkungen auf ein und derselben Seite zusammen (Abb. 4) und schafft es damit, „den Interpretationsakt an den konsumtiven Ort der Genji-Bearbeitungen zurückzuholen", wie Tateishi anerkennend feststellt (2005: 218). Hier vergegenwärtigt die Schrift selbst in ihrer Materialität – der Kalligraphie gegenüber dem Phototype-setting – die Andersartigkeit des Zurückliegenden, die historische Vielschichtigkeit dazwischen.

Erörterungen von Genji-Manga, die auf solche Medientexte als japanologisches Material zurückgreifen, halten die literarische Vorlage oft für authentisch, neigen bei dieser dazu, „die Schilderungen und die Aussagen des Werkes wiederum als Quelle für die historische Realität zu nehmen" (Quenzer 2008: 65). Während Quenzer vorschlägt, sich Fiktion als anderes Wirklichkeitsmodell bewusst zu machen, plädiert

Wittkamp dafür, die jeweiligen Ausdrucksmedien zu berücksichtigen: „Wäre eine bei Faltschirm und Bildrolle beginnende Geschichte des Erzählens mit Wort und Bild nicht viel besser als *Technikgeschichte* angelegt, die den unterschiedlichen Medien samt ihrer Materialitäten und Medialitäten sowie ihren Möglichkeiten und Bedingungen für das Erzählen nachgeht, anstatt die Semiotik zu strapazieren […]?" (Wittkamp 2014: 27).[5]

Außerdem fällt auf, dass diejenigen, die den Maßstab der historischen Genauigkeit an Genji-Manga anlegen und Treue zum Originals verlangen, kaum Lesarten ebendieses Originals vorlegen. Eingedenk von literaturwissenschaftlichen Hinweisen auf das Fehlen eines thematischen Zentrums stellt sich zwar die Frage, welche Lesart überhaupt möglich sei, doch die wie selbstverständliche Annahme, dass das Thema das Klassikers bekannt sei, kann nicht genügen. Im Zusammenhang damit sind Vorbehalte erhoben worden, inwiefern das Original überhaupt als Original zu verstehen sei:[6] was könne in einem so stark intertextuellen Fall wie der *Geschichte vom Prinzen Genji* als Original gelten, und in welchem Kontext wäre die Suche nach einem solchen Original überhaupt sinnvoll? In der den Shōjo-Manga umfassenden Mädchenkultur sind solche Fragen ebenfalls von Belang. Bekanntermaßen stützt sich Yamato Wakis

5_ [links] Yamato Waki: „*Asakiyumemishi*", Bd. 1 (KCmimi), Kodansha 2001, S. 81 oben. Der dunkelhaarige Prinz Genji und der „blonde" Tō-no-Chūjō.

6_ [rechts] Tō-no-Chūjō (Darstellerin Takumi Hibiki) auf der Takarazuka-Bühne 2000. Aus dem Beilageheft der DVD (Geneon Entertainment, 2002).

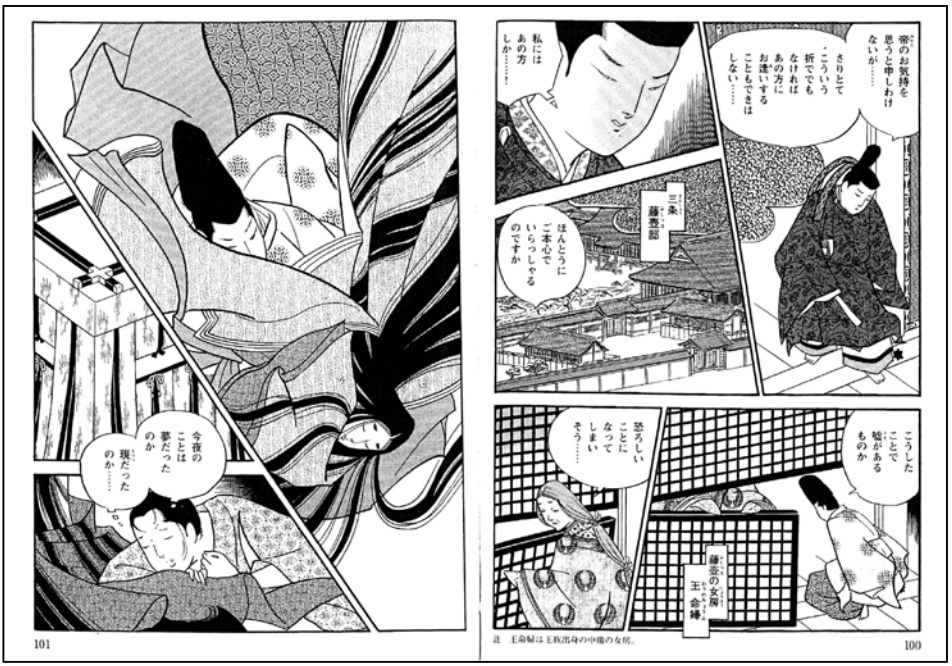
„Asakiyumemishi“ auf Tanabe Seikos Übertragung ins moderne Japanisch, aber das Takarazuka-Publikum hat weniger das literarische Werk, sondern den Manga als „Original“ verstanden und die Bühnenversion von 2000 an ebendiesem gemessen, mit streng vergleichendem Blick, wie die damalige Darstellerin des Prinzen Genji berichtet (Aika 2002: 87). So verwundert es auch nicht, dass Genjis Gefährte Tō-no-Chūjō, der im Manga aus Kontrastgründen eine hellere Haarfarbe hat, in der besagten Bühnenversion als blonder Jüngling auftritt (Abb. 5, 6).

„Literatur“ als Psychologisierung?

Neben Klagen über eine „Verflachung“ des Originals gibt es die Neigung, den Manga als Literatur zu behandeln. Bekanntermaßen versuchten Tezuka Osamu u.a. seit den 1950er Jahren, dem Manga einen Literatur-nahen Status zu verschaffen, indem sie zum einen die Personen psychologisierten und zum anderen eine mit Entwicklung und Tod verbundene Unumkehrbarkeit in ihre Erzählungen hereinnahmen.[7] Den Shōjo-Manga der 1970er Jahre, vor allem die Werke der sogenannten 24er (*Hana no 24nen-gumi*) verstand man als „literarisch“, weil er die Innenwelt seiner Protagonisten erkundete und auf Subjektivität im Ausdruck setzte.[8] In diesem Zusammenhang bemerkenswert ist Tateishis Lob für Yamato Waki, die zwar nicht zu dieser Gruppe von Zeichnerinnen zählt, aber viele Gemeinsamkeiten mit ihnen aufweist. Eigentlich äußerst kritisch gegenüber der „Genji-Bearbeitungskultur“ äußert er: „[Das Augenmerk für die Psyche] ist als ein Inhalt zu begrüßen, der die durch das Recycling ästhetischer Hofphantasien entstandenen Hohlräume in der Genji-Kultur wieder auffüllt“ (Tateishi 2005: 199).

Die Darstellung von Innerlichkeit stützt sich im „Asakiyumemishi“ nicht auf die Übereinstimmung von Empfindung und Landschaft (*jōkei itchi*) als „Gefühlslandschaft“, sondern vielmehr auf Bilder

5 Zur Wort-Bild-Erzählung am Beispiel des *Genji Monogatari* vgl. Wittkamp (2014: 78-177).
6 Vgl. Shirane (1987) und Mitani (1989) als frühe Beispiele.
7 Vgl. Washitani (2001).
8 Vgl. Takemiya (2002).



von Gesichtern – Großaufnahmen sozusagen – sowie eine Fülle von Text außerhalb der Sprechblasen. Wie zentral diese Ausdrucksmittel sind, zeigt sich bei einem Vergleich mit Hasegawas Adaption, die sich stilistisch an die Genji-Bilder der Tosa-Schule der Edo-Zeit anlehnt (Abb. 7) und bildlich weniger die Personen selbst als deren räumliche, und damit auch soziale, Position ins Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit rückt. Als Fallbeispiel wird gern jene Sequenz angeführt, in der Genji Fujitsubos Bambusvorhang zurückschlägt und in deren Intimsphäre vordringt (Abb. 8). Die Dialogteile in den Sprechblasen, der Monolog sowie die Bilder von Fujitsubos Mimik legen widerstreitende Gefühle nahe, worauf spätere Erinnerungssequenzen[9] zurückkommen. Diese gleichzeitige Präsenz des Verschiedenen, welche die Mangaseite erlaubt, ist auf die Bühne nicht direkt übertragbar, selbst wenn diese der Mangavorlage so sehr gerecht zu werden versucht wie die Takarazuka-Adaption durch die Blumentruppe im Jahre 2000. Dort wurde zunächst einmal Genjis Monolog hörbar

7_ Hasegawa Hōsei: *Genji Monogatari* (*Manga Nihon no koten*), Bd. 1, Chūōkōron shinsha, 1999, S. 100-101.

9 Z.B. Yamato Waki (2001, Bd. 2: 136f.).

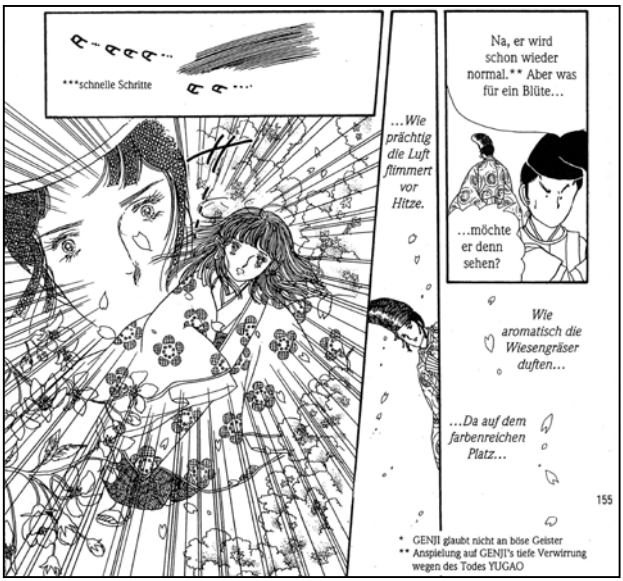
gemacht, also durch die Männerdarstellerin deklamiert. Interessanter noch war aber die Transposition der Erinnerungssequenzen von der Seitenfläche in den Bühnenraum: So rückte die siebte Szene („Trauriger Traum“) Genji an den vorderen Rand und ließ das von ihm erinnerte Eindringen bei Fujitsubo im Hintergrund als Szene von einer jüngeren Darstellerin spielen. Wechselnde Scheinwerferbeleuchtung unterstützte das Hin und Her zwischen Genjis Monolog im Präteritum und dem Präsens des Dialogs.

Aber lässt sich das Miteinander von Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, von Innen und Außen auf den Seiten des

8_ Yamato Waki: „*Asakiyumemishi*“, Bd. 1 (KCmimi), Kodansha 2001, S. 183.

„Asakiyumemishi“ überhaupt mit den Schilderungen von Innerlichkeit vergleichen, wie wir sie aus der modernen Literatur kennen? Einem Manga wie dem „Asakiyumemishi“ fehlt das ihnen zugrundeliegende Individuum, das moderne Subjekt. Der Shōjo-Manga mag eine solche Subjektivität postmodern unterlaufen. Nur sind die großen Gesichter keineswegs dazu da, Innerlichkeit zu vermitteln. Als Projektionsflächen, ob nun für Genjis Empfindungen oder die der Leserin, dienen sie auch der affektiven Einbeziehung der Rezipienten.

Wenn Manga als „Literatur“ behandelt wird, stehen normalerweise die Figuren und ihre Gefühlsbewegungen sowie die damit verbundenen Themen im Mittelpunkt der Diskussion. Das verbindet sich mit der im vorigen Abschnitt angesprochenen Treue zum Original, die ja auch auf Inhalte orientierte. Will man qua Manga ein besseres Verständnis der *Geschichte vom Prinzen Genji* erreichen, dann sollte nicht nur interessieren, was erzählt wird, sondern auch wie und im Weiteren, inwiefern die Leser/innen über die Entschlüsselung von Themen und Motiven hinausgehen. Comics im Allgemeinen und Manga im Besonderen verschränken Handlungen und Zeichensorten, die sich nicht so leicht verschränken lassen: eigentlich kann man nicht gleichzeitig lesen und betrachten. Letztlich pendelt man zwischen den beiden Polen, was – wie Ole Frahm (2000) meint – die Lektüre selbstbezüglich, gewissermaßen der Parodie ähnlich macht. Anders gesagt, beim Lesen von Comics achtet man keineswegs nur auf die Referenzen der Zeichen bzw. die Bedeutungsinhalte. Auch wenn die meisten Mangaleserinnen sich die Besonderheiten der Ausdrucksform und die Bedeutungen, die diese ins Spiel bringt, nicht bewusst machen, so wissen sie jenseits aller Psychologisierung doch spektakuläre Kostüme, dekorativ fließendes Haar und die designhafte Schönheit der Bilder zu schätzen. Im Shōjo-Manga spielen Oberflächenreize eine wesentliche Rolle, und diese öffnen das vermeintlich in sich geschlossene Werk für verschiedene Interaktionen. 2008, anläßlich des tausendjährigen Jubiläums der *Geschichte vom Prinzen Genji*, fanden zahlreiche Ausstellungen statt. Deren Publikum schien sich vorrangig am Wiedererkennen bestimmter Szenen und der visuellen „Schönheit“ der Verbildlichungen zu erfreuen. Demgegenüber wurde kaum thematisiert, wie man den Klassiker interpretieren könnte, oder



9_ Yamato Waki: *Genji Monogatari: Asakiyumemishi*, dt., Bd. 1, Böblingen 1992, S. 155 (Ausschnitt): Fußnoten erklären dem Unkundigen mangatypische Ausdrucksmittel.

welche Lesarten in den vergangenen tausend Jahren für welche Leser eigentlich von Belang waren. Eine derartige Behandlung des Klassikers kann hilfreich sein für die Auseinandersetzung mit einem Manga wie „Asakiyumemishi". Ob hinsichtlich der Vielfalt der geschilderten Liebesbeziehungen oder eines Zugang zum klassischen Roman, „Asakiyumemishi" funktioniert in Japan vor allem als Kommunikationsmedium von Leserinnen, auch wenn er sich offenbar gegen Appropriationen in Form von Fan Art und Cosplay eher sperrt. Bezeichnenderweise hat er auch nicht den globalen Verbreitungsgrad anderer Mädchenmanga erlangt. Auf deutsch erschien 1992 eine dreibändige Fassung, selbstverlegt durch eine ältere Dame, der es eindeutig um die Popularisierung des Klassikers, nicht um das Medium Manga ging, wie ihre erklärenden Anmerkungen zu manga-spezifischen Ausdrucksmitteln zeigen (Abb. 9).[10] Eine japanisch-englische Ausgabe in vier Bänden wurde 2001 herausgebracht, unmissverständlich auf das Erlernen der japanischen Sprache zugeschnitten.

10 Vgl. Phillipps (1996: 204-207).

Geschlechterkritische Sicht

Eine dritte Gemeinsamkeit im Diskurs bildet die Konzentration auf die Darstellung von Geschlechterrollen. So heißt es beispielsweise zu Genjis Übertretung der Grenze in den Gemächern von Fujitsubo: „Schlechte Seiten werden als notwendiges Übel, das es braucht, um die Liebe zu vollziehen, schön geredet." (Satō 2006: 34). Durch „die Privilegierung einer entschlossenen, besonders seitens des Mannes unbeirrbaren Liebe" werde Genjis Verhalten legitimiert, sei es in der Beziehung zu Fujitsubo oder Murasaki (ebd.: 35) (Abb. 10). Solange es sich um Shōjo-Manga handelt, ist mit Mädchen- bzw. Frauengestalten zu rechnen, die den Mann selbst als gewaltsamen Fremden bedingungslos annehmen. „Die Liebesillusion des Mädchencomic ist letztlich nur eine Erzählung, die das männliche Begehren befriedigt. Die Zeichnerinnen und Leserinnen des Ladies' Comic wissen das sehr wohl." (Tateishi 2005: 211).

10_ Gewalt aus der weiblichen Perspektive: Die junge Murasaki erinnert sich an ihre Defloration durch Genji. Yamato Waki: „*Asakiyumemishi*", Bd. 3 (KCmimi), Kodansha 2001, S. 78-79.

Im Vergleich mit Darstellungen der Grenzüberschreitung in traditionellen Genji-Bildern stellt Doris Croissant für das „Asakiyumemishi“ fest: „So plötzlich wie er auftaucht, verletzt Genji die räumliche Grenze zwischen Mann und Frau, aber er wirkt nicht wie ein Schuft. […] Das erinnert an den Topos, dass frau erst durch Vergewaltigung und erzwungenen Sex ihr eigenes Begehren akzeptieren könne.“ (Croissant 2002: 234). Der Bambusvorhang, der ebendiese Grenze markiert, fehlte auf der Takarazuka-Bühne von 2000, wohl nicht zuletzt aus Gründen des Spektakels. Das Publikums musste seine Stars ja sehen können.

Wenn das Frauenbild bzw. die Mann-Frau-Beziehungen im „Asakiyumemishi“ aus geschlechterkritischer Sicht beanstandet werden, dann bleibt die Leserin als aktive, selektive meist unberücksichtigt. Unter der Voraussetzung, es mit einem in sich geschlossenen Werk zu tun zu haben, geht man vielmehr davon aus, dass die Leserin den gebotenen Bedeutungsinhalt direkt empfängt. Aber wer sagt denn, dass sie die Position der weiblichen Charaktere einnimmt oder sich auf die Darstellung von Geschlechterrollen konzentriert? Solche Fragen weckt z.B. eine der eindrucksvollsten Stellen in der Takarazuka-Bühnenfassung von 2000, die mit „Lied der Eifersucht“ betitelte 14. Szene. Hier singt sich Genji, der soeben von der Affäre zwischen Kashiwagi und Onna-Sannomiya erfahren hat, auf eine für die Mädchenrevue erstaunlich kraftvolle Weise seinen Zorn von der Seele. Als Zuschauerin mag man menschliches Mitgefühl empfinden – oder aber die Darstellerin des Genji, Aika Mire, bewundern, denn für die Fans ist ja die Beziehung zu den Stars oft wichtiger als die konkrete Thematik eines Stücks.[11] Das galt auch für die revolutionäre Aufführung der Mondtruppe anläßlich des 1000jährigen Jubiläums 2008, *Genji Monogatari sennenki jū: Yume no ukihashi* (Hymne auf ein Jahrtausend *Genji Mongatari*: Die schwebende Brücke der Träume): Im Bezug auf den Mittelalter-Historiker Amino Yoshihiko hatte Autor und Regisseur Ōno Takuji (*1970) den klassischen Stoff politisiert – ohne dass es weiter auffiel.

Abschließend noch ein Beispiel dafür, dass die anhaltende Attraktivität des „Asakiyumemishi“ nicht (allein) auf der

11 Vgl. Azuma Sonoko (2007) und Stickland (2008).

Verdeutlichung der Geschlechterverhältnisse beruht. Aika Mire, die in der Aufführung der Blumentruppe aus dem Jahr 2000 als Männerdarstellerin brillierte, hat in einem Interview betont, dass es sich bei der Vorlage um ein „tiefgründiges Werk [handle], welches nicht in einem ‚Oh, wie schön' aufgeht" (2002: 92). Azuma Reiko aber behauptet in ihrer Besprechung das Gegenteil: Um den als Helden eines Shōjo-Manga nicht gerade tauglichen Genji für die Leserinnen annehmbar zu machen, sei der Zeichnerin nichts Anderes übrig geblieben als ihn „zur bloßen Augenweide" zu erheben (2002: 207). Damit scheint sie in die Kritik von Doris Croissant einzustimmen: Der idealisierte Genji sei eigentlich ein notorischer Fremdgeher und Vergewaltiger, den man nur ertragen könne, wenn man Gewalt als Liebesbeweis verstehe und all die unglücklichen Damen als mädchenhafte Heldinnen (ebd.). Die „Augenweide" hat aber auch eine pragmatische Funktion: Sie befriedigt die Schaulust und relativiert damit das Primat der Darstellungsinhalte.

„Angleichung"

„Angleichung" (*dōka*) ist ein Grundmerkmal des Manga. Yoshii Miyako, die das „Asakiyumemishi" aus narratologischer Sicht betrachtet, schreibt: „Bei Manga, die von Liebe handeln, sind der Held oder die Heldin mit einem konsistenten Charakter ausgestattet und als Figuren so angelegt, dass sie eine Angleichung [Identifikation] der Leserin befördern, was man auch als Teil der sogenannten ‚Grammatik' des Manga verstehen kann." (Yoshii 1994: 58). Angleichung meint aber nicht nur die Identifikation der Leserin mit einer Figur, sondern auch eine Assimilierung im weiteren Sinne, als Verwandlung von Heterogenem in Homogenes: Einander Fremde – Mann und Frau, Europäer und Japanerin – werden sich gleich. Das verbindet sich mit einer Konfluenz auf bildlicher wie sprachlicher Ebene und schließlich mit der Resonanz zwischen Manga und Leserin.

Vergangenheit und Gegenwart

Das „Asakiyumemishi" hinterlässt den Eindruck, es opfere die Andersartigkeit der Vergangenheit zugunsten der für die Mangaleserin vertrauteren Gegenwart.

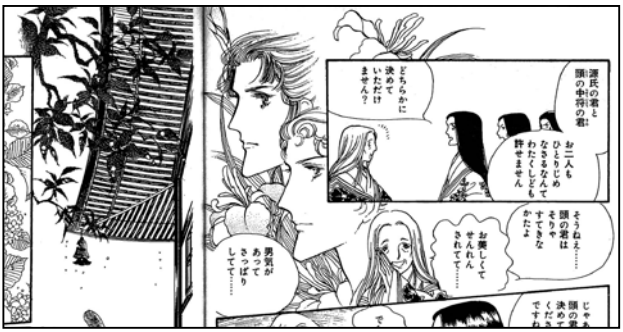
„Vergangenheit“ beschränkt sich aber nicht auf die historische Entstehungszeit und den Handlungsort des „Originals“. Sie ist auch eine Dimension der zeitlichen Beziehungen innerhalb der Erzählung sowie der Lektüre, und als solche umfasst sie das Präsens und Präteritum der Schriftsprache, die Worte in den Sprechblasen, den Eindruck von Gegenwärtigkeit, den die Bilder bewirken, sowie das Davor und Danach der Bildsequenzen. Insbesondere bei Rückblicken kommen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart in ein Resonanzverhältnis – wenn verschiedene Momente auf der gleichen Seitenfläche nebeneinander rücken, wenn die Zeit (durch ihre Darstellung auf Papier) mehrschichtig wird. Bemerkenswert ist außerdem, dass die Personen zwar narrativ altern, ihnen das aber nicht anzusehen ist. Aus inhaltlicher Sicht mag das als für den Shōjo-Manga typische Idealisierung und Wirklichkeitsflucht erscheinen, aus ästhetisch-stilistischer Sicht lässt es sich auf das Ineinanderfließen von Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, auf die comics-spezifische Verräumlichung von Zeit beziehen.

Angleichung wirkt schnell konservativ: Das Frauenbild ist eher traditionell, und die Konfrontation mit Fremdheit wird minimiert. Der Shōjo-Manga hat Angleichung vor allem im Zeichen der Feminisierung betrieben. Wie die „schönen Jünglinge“ in Boys-Love-Beziehungen und die Männerdarstellerinnen der Takarazuka-Revue zeigen, gerieten auf Opposition beruhende Identitäten – Mann *oder* Frau – dabei in die Schwebe. Das mag auf Außenseiter unkritisch wirken, ist von Insiderinnen jedoch als Widerstand gegen die männlich dominierte Gesellschaft und Kultur interpretiert worden. Nur hat der feministisch orientierte Shōjo-Manga-Diskurs tendenziell fixiert,[12] was als fließendes Ineinander von Männlichem und Weiblichem, Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, „Ost“ und „West“ sein größtes kritisches Potenzial zu entfalten vermag.

Visuelle Angleichung der Charaktere

Als klassischer Shōjo-Manga lässt „Asakiyumemishi“ die Gesichter seiner Figuren gleich aussehen. Doch

12 Als kritischen Überblick siehe Monden (2015).



11_ Genji (oben) und Tō-no-Chūjō (unten) sehen für die ältere Gen-no-Naishinosuke gleich aus. Yamato Waki: „*Asakiyumemishi*“, Bd. 2 (KCmimi), Kodansha 2001, S. 72 oben.

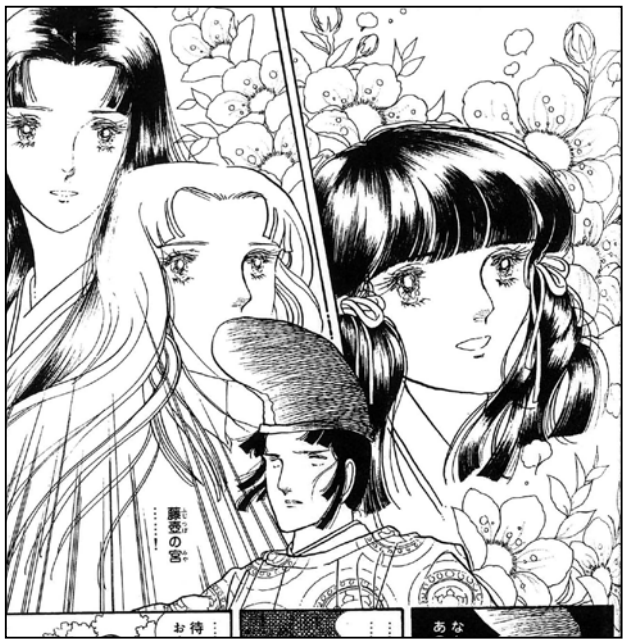
diese visuelle Ähnlichkeit betrifft vor allem die Protagonisten, ob weiblich oder männlich (Abb. 11). Geübte Leserinnen mögen in der Lage sein, die feinen Unterschiede zu bestimmen, doch ebenso bemerkenswert ist, dass sich in dem ähnlichen Äußeren eine Idee von Gleichheit manifestiert, mitunter sogar eine Utopie der Gleichwertigkeit. Wenn Genjis Mutter Kiritsubo, seine Stiefmutter und Geliebte Fujitsubo sowie die kleine Murasaki in Gesichts- und Augenform einander angenähert werden (Abb. 12), dann mag das darauf deuten, dass Genji in allen Frauen immer nur die eine sucht. Zugleich bringt diese Ähnlichkeit die heianzeitlichen Hofdamen mit den jungen Leserinnen der Gegenwart auf eine Ebene. Solche Beziehungen gehen über das Werk selbst, das Mitfühlen der Leserin mit den Charakteren hinaus; sie gründen in der virtuellen Gemeinschaft der Leserinnen und halten diese am Leben.

Eine kurze Abschweifung zu den traditionellen Genji-Bildern (*Genji-e*), in denen die Figuren ähnlich schwer zu unterscheiden sind, bietet sich an dieser Stelle an. Die Gesichter hochrangiger Figuren, die nur aus wenigen Strichen bestehen (*hikime kagibana*), legen nahe, dass damals weniger direkt „dargestellt“ als stilisierend angedeutet wurde. Durch das Umgehen einer direkten Schilderung von Gefühlen und Temperamenten entstand Raum für die Vorstellungskraft des Betrachters, stellte sich eine Schönheit ein, die sich nicht auf einen Einzelnen beschränkte.[13] Aus kunsthistorischer Sicht ist auch darauf hingewiesen

13 Vgl. Akiyama (1968: 136), Tokugawa (1983: 145-146), Hirota (1997: 34).

worden, dass die Figuren in den monochromen Genji-Bildern (*hakubyō*) des 14./15. Jahrhunderts erst einem modernen Blick gleichartig und redundant erscheinen, dass erst die Herauslösung dieser Bilder aus ihrem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang mit der Literatur, ihre Darbietung in Bildbänden beispielsweise, den Eindruck der „Gleichheit" aufkommen lässt (McCormick 2008: 105). Nebenbei bemerkt, wirken die Darstellerinnen der Takarazuka-Revue vor allem im unbewegten Zustand, z.B. bei Posen für Fotografien, ähnlich, aber wenn sie sich auf der Bühne zu bewegen beginnen, zeigt sich Individualität. Gerade der Zustand der Unbewegtheit lässt Gemeinsamkeiten in den Vordergrund rücken, und das spielt beim Manga, wo die Bewegung ja im Kopf der Leserin entsteht, eine entscheidende Rolle. Das „Asakiyumemishi" etwa wird von Frauenfiguren bevölkert, die sich körperlich kaum bewegen; es suggeriert die Bewegung ihrer Herzen über collageartige Seitengestaltungen. Die Blickbewegung über solche Flächen verwandelt die Leserin in eine Teilnehmerin.

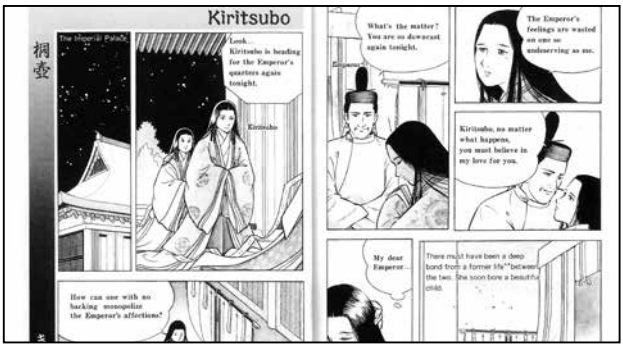
Im „Asakiyumemishi" spiegeln sich die Bewegungen des Herzens in großen Augen, die modernisiert und „verwestlicht" wirken. Bezeichnenderweise hat



12_ Yamato Waki: „*Asakiyumemishi*", Bd. 1 (KCmimi), Kodansha 2001, S. 165.

sich Yamato Waki bei architektonisch-räumlichen Darstellungen von alter Malerei leiten lassen, nicht aber beim *character design* (Hirota 1997: 41). Das heißt nicht, dass es keine Berührungspunkte mit den traditionellen Genji-Bildern gibt, nur sind diese vor allem in der affektiven Gemeinschaft der Nutzerinnen zu suchen. Die Literaturwissenschaftlerin Adachi Noriko hat an den Manga Hagio Motos und Ōshima Yumikos beobachtet, dass sie Frauen und Männer so darstellen, als handele es sich um „ein Einpersonenstück", als würden alle Figuren vom gleichen Akteur verkörpert (2002: 264). Ähnliches trifft auf das „Asakiyumemishi" zu. In sprachlicher Hinsicht treten verschiedene „ich" auf, doch wie deren ähnliches Erscheinungsbild nahelegt, sind das nicht unbedingt verschiedene Personen mit ihrer je eigenen Individualität, sondern vielmehr ein geteiltes „ich" und dessen geteilte Affekte. Formal wird das gestützt durch die dem Shōjo-Manga eigene „Angleichung" bzw. das Ineinandergreifen von Bildgrund und Figur, Panel und Seite, erster und dritter Person, Innerlichkeit und äußerer Erscheinung. Adachi zufolge, ist die Verschränkung zwischen „dem mechanischen Kameraauge und dem inneren Monolog des modernen Romans" grundlegend für den klassischen Shōjo-Manga: „Ein unbestimmtes, geradezu fließendes ‚Panel-Arrangement', dekorative, das Designhafte betonende Seitenflächen, Überlagerungen, miteinander verschmelzende Bilder. Und eine Fluidität, die es schwer macht, zwischen Dialog (der sich ohnehin nicht direkt auf die Bildfläche bezieht), Monolog und Narration zu unterscheiden." (Adachi 2002: 260). Dadurch kann die Leserin „gleich nachdem sie die Perspektive einer Figur eingenommen hat (oder sogar gleichzeitig damit), zur Position der ‚Kamera', die nur die Mimik aufzeichnet, zurückkehren […]. Das ‚Gefühl', das hier zum ‚Ausdruck' kommt, ‚gehört' keineswegs einer Figur allein, wie es der moderne Roman so selbstverständlich voraussetzt. Manchmal taucht der erzählte Affekt in seltsamer Entfernung von einer Figur auf und bringt die Geschichte dadurch voran, dass er zwischen die Figuren geworfen wird und eine feine Resonanz hervorruft." (Adachi 2002: 261)

14 Vgl. Ōgi (2004).



„Ost“ und „West“

13_ Tsuboi, Koh: *The Illustrated Tale of Genji: A Classic Japanese Romance*, Engl. (transl. Alan Tansman), Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1989, S. 12-13.

Das generelle Pendeln des Comics zwischen den Polen hat der Mädchenmanga zur „Angleichung“ hin entwickelt, und diese beeinflusst gemeinhin auch die Verbildlichung von „Ost“ und „West“. Auf den ersten Blick scheint das „Asakiyumemishi“ ausschließlich von kaukasischen Charakteren bevölkert, doch paradoxerweise dient genau dieses „verwestlichte“ Erscheinungsbild dazu, Fremdes wie die Heian-Zeit, das *Genji Monogatari* und den Mann dem Eigenen anzugleichen und damit eben auch zu japanisieren. Kitamura Yuika zufolge, hat die „Wiederentdeckung Japans“ in den 1980er Jahren u.a. dazu geführt, den Handlungsort von Mangawerken ins Inland zu verlegen (Kitamura 2008: 355, Fußnote 39). Das brachte für den Shōjo-Manga einschneidende Veränderungen mit sich. Um das auf das „Asakiyumemishi“ zu beziehen, dessen Serialisierung 1979 begann: Die Heian-Zeit des *Genji Monogatari* war zwar „Japan“, aber nicht so nah wie Europa, welches bis dahin die Bühne vieler Mädchenmanga abgegeben hatte. Um die aus einer fremdartigen Vergangenheit stammende Erzählwelt jungen Leserinnen zu vergegenwärtigen, verwendete „Asakiyumemishi“ einen diesen vertrauten visuellen Ausdruck, den Code des Shōjo-Manga. Ursprünglich in „Verwestlichung“ wurzelnd, war dieser in den 1980er Jahren bereits so naturalisiert, dass sich weder „West“ noch „Ost“ beim Mangalesen in den Vordergrund drängten.[14] Schließlich entsprach er gerade in seiner kulturellen Hybridität dem zeitgenössischen Japan. Das zeigt sich z.B. bei einem Vergleich mit der Genji-Adaption durch den Zeichner von Bildungscomics Tsuboi Koh (Abb. 13). Die Gesichter sind runder als im

14_ Nicht sichtbar gealtert: Genji erinnert sich an die Frauen seines Lebens. Yamato Waki: „*Asakiyumemishi*“, Bd. 10 (KCmimi), Kodansha 2001, S. 190-191.

„Asakiyumemishi“, die Augen kleiner. Konaka Yōtarō lobt im Nachwort der englischen Ausgabe ebendiese Bildsprache: „Tsuboi Koh, a cartoonist who specializes in historical tales, has succeeded in making his illustrations remarkably authentic…“ (Tsuboi 1989: 301, Fußnote 4). Tsubois eher steife Charaktere und Panel-Layouts sprechen offenbar vor allem jene an, die mit Manga nicht als Manga umgehen. Wer sonst würde vom Manga „Authentizität“ erwarten?

Schlussbemerkung

Noch als die Magazinserie von „Asakiyumemishi“ lief, machte die Kunsthistorikerin Sano Midori auf Ähnlichkeiten des Shōjo-Manga mit der Erzählliteratur des heianzeitlichen Hofes aufmerksam, wobei sie die Rezeptionsformen fokussierte.[15] Wenn man unter dem Aspekt der „Rezeption“ im weitesten Sinne das *Genji Monogatari* mit dem Manga zusammendenkt, dann zeigen sich einige Berührungspunkte zwischen den beiden; mitunter wirkt der Klassiker sogar mangahaft. Eine der größten Besonderheiten des „typischen“ Manga ist beispielsweise seine Publikationsform als Magazinserie. Auch das *Genji Monogatari* wurde, Spezialisten zufolge, Kapitel für Kapitel geschrieben – „rather than revising those chapters already in circulation, Murasaki Shikibu preferred to move on“

(Shirane 1987: xx) –, und die Reaktionen ihrer Leser hatten offenbar Einfluss auf den Fortgang der Geschichte. Wenn man zudem das *Genji Monogatari* nicht im modernen Sinne als konsequenten Selbstausdruck seiner Autorin versteht, sondern als einen Text, der in ein ästhetisch-kulturelles Beziehungsgefüge eingebettet war, dann rückt es dem Manga weiter nahe. Auch Ähnlichkeiten hinsichtlich des kulturellen Status und der Diskursgeschichte bieten sich zum Vergleich an: Ein Genre von ursprünglich niedrigem Rang, das für Frauen und Kinder gerade gut genug war, schaffte es schließlich und endlich zur „Nationalliteratur". Nicht zuletzt das Problem, was denn in diesen Fällen das „Original" sei, sowie das fehlende Zentrum gehören zu den Gemeinsamkeiten, deren Erkundung sich lohnen würde. Gerade indem sie ein modernistisches Verständnis von Literatur unterlaufen, können Genji-Manga wie das „Asakiyumemishi" zu einem zeitgemäßen und multiperspektivischen Umgang mit dem Klassiker beitragen. Dieses Potential aber gilt es erst noch wissenschaftlich zu entfalten.

15 Vgl. Sano (1991); auch Yamada (1994: 67). Wittkamp (2014: 108ff) setzt sich ausführlich mit Sanos Diskussionsbeiträgen auseinander; dass er Yamato Waki als „Yamato Kazunori" transkribiert, verrät eine gewisse Unvertrautheit mit dem Manga.

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MANGA AS LITERATURE

COMICALIZATIONS OF **CRIME AND PUNISHMENT** (1953-2011)

Introduction

The graphic novel boom of the 2000s has put the relationship between comics and literature once more on the agenda. This is especially obvious in Europe and North America, those cultures which set the standard for modern notions of literature. In the late 19th century, Japan's modernization, partly taking the form of westernization, gave rise to purifying fictional reading material and even a new name, *bungaku*. This 'literature' was supposed to develop its own aesthetic identity, independent from previous ties to pictorial expression that were, for example, characteristic of illustrated entertaining novels (*kibyōshi*) of the Edo period.[1] Within manga studies, literary critic Tsubouchi Shōyō's essay *The Essence of the Novel* (*Shōsetsu shinzui*, 1885-86) is often cited in that regard (Miyamoto 2001: II-296). But when it comes to contemporary discourse, manga's relation to literature seems to be less relevant. In contrast to recent currents in English-language academia where English and French literature departments provide a major site for university courses and publications on graphic narratives, in Japan, manga tends to be allocated to sociology and cultural studies, and graduation theses about manga address gendered usage rather than adaptations of literary texts or literature-derived narratology. This, however, does not mean that interrelations between manga and literature are scarce in practice (even before and beyond 'light novels').

1 See Kern 2006, also for examples translated into English.

1_ *Manga de yomu meisaku* editorial board: *Tsumi to batsu* [Crime and Punishment], Bungeisha Publ., 2010, pp. 92-93.

Adaptations and appropriations of canonic literary works have formed a noticeable part of manga since the 1950s, taking the form of both works by renowned artists and versions clearly positioned as *gakushū* (educational) *manga* and published in editions such as *Famous Literary Works in Manga* (*Komikku sekai no meisaku*), the Japanese equivalent to *Classics Illustrated*.[2] Still vital today, such editions date back to the late 1950s. But entertaining 'manga proper' and primarily instructing texts are not always easy to distinguish. Criteria such as authorship vs. anonymity, magazine serialization vs. book edition, or manga-specific publication site vs. general publisher do get blurred occasionally. For example, manga adaptations of the medieval *Tale of Prince Genji* (*Genji Monogatari*), probably the first which come to mind in regard to manga as 'literature,' may appear instructional due to their employment in the preparation process for university entrance exams, even if authored by someone like Yamato Waki and initially serialized over the course of fourteen years like her "Asakiyumemishi."[3] Then again, astonishing visual renderings, usually not expected in educational manga (fig. 1), may lead the reader astray with respect to positioning the book at hand as 'educational.'

2 For a knowlegeable introduction, not focused on literary works, see Itō 2013.
3 See previous chapter of this volume.
4 For the respective theoretical framework see Sanders 2006, and also Hutcheon 2006.

2_ Variety Artworks: *Dostoyevsky Tsumi to batsu*, East Press Publ., 2007, pp. 30-31.

This essay surveys manga's historically changing relation to literature with regards to status and media-specific storytelling by using comicalizations of Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* as its example. Mainly linked to media convergence or, as its Japanese variant is called, media mix, the neologism 'comicalization' has become adopted to the Japanese language in recent years. As it comprises not only adaptations in the strict sense, but also broadly understood appropriations,[4] it recommends itself to a discussion that includes manga from different genres and periods like the one below. Aiming less at adaptation theory and the pursuit of fidelity towards the literary source work but at manga studies and, more precisely, the role that literature has played for manga, *Crime and Punishment* suites this essay well, on the one hand, because it indicates the fundamental cultural hybridity framing narratives in modern Japan, and on the other hand, because it has seen a remarkable number of comicalizations, not only but also in the form of introductions to world literature. One of these is the more or less mechanical version of the *Manga de Dokuha* imprint (Variety Artworks 2007). Created by an anonymous collective for a clearly informatory purpose, it stays faithful to the original in an illustrative way, while its excessive use of close-ups and text-spreading dialogue may disappoint readers who look for manga-specific pleasure (fig. 2). But there are more elaborate adaptations in the same 'educational' field, like the one by Shiomi Asako (b.

1950)[5] for a *World Literature Edition* in comics form (fig. 3), or the overtly nameless volume for the series *Reading Famous Literary Works in Manga* (*Manga de yomu meisaku*) by publisher Bungeisha.[6] In addition, this essay considers works which are received in Japan as 'manga proper' due to their publication site and/or their authors' reputation as mangaka. Already in 1953, four years before the first boom of educational comicalizations set in, Tezuka Osamu (1928-1989) published his adaptation of *Crime and Punishment*. Twenty years later, in 1973, Ōshima Yumiko (b. 1947), one of the innovators of Japanese girls comics, serialized her "Rodion Romanovich Raskolnikov: From *Crime and Punishment*" in the then revolutionary girls-manga monthly *Bessatsu Shōjo Comic*. In recent years (2007-2011), Ochiai Naoyuki (b. 1968) appropriated the classic in the *seinen* mode for *Manga Action*. Titled "Crime and Punishment: A Falsified Romance," this version is not limited to one small volume as the adaptations by his predecessors but taking up ten volumes in total, each approximately 180 pages long.

3_ Shiomi Asako: *Tsumi to batsu: Seigi ka hanzai ka (Komikku sekai meisaku shiriizu)* [Crime and Punishment: Justice or Crime?], Futabasha, 2002.

Japan's Dostoyevsky

The fact that there are at least six manga versions of *Crime and Punishment* available in Japanese,[7] raises the question why this particular author and this particular novel have attracted so much attention. According to Japanese critics, Dostoyevsky has been more popular than Tolstoi or Turgeniev in modern Japan. *Crime and Punishment*, initially published in 1866, influenced Japan's very first modern novel, Futabatei Shimei's *Drifting Cloud* (*Ukigumo*, 1887)[8] (Yokota-Murakami 2006: 39). More importantly, until the late 1960s, Dostoyevsky's later novels had been read not as translated European literature, but as modern Japanese literature; in other words, to many Japanese authors and readers they

5 Initially a girls-manga artist, she has worked mostly in the field of *ladies' comics*. Manga adaptation of 2002 with preface, character gallery and afterword.

6 With a double-spread introducing the characters. The name of the (male) artist Iwashita Hiromi appears not on the cover, only among the credits at the end of the book.

7 Further, Man-F-Ga Tarō's gag series (in *Monthly Comic@Bunch*, 2012-2013), and Aoki Yūji's short story "*Meguriai*" which adopts the setting to Osaka (first published in 1997), could be added. Hashimoto

4_ Alain Korkos & David Zane Mairowitz: *Crime and Punishment: A Graphic Novel* Illustrated Classics), London/ NY: Sterling Publ., 2008.

represented a model of modernity. Critic Matsumoto Ken'ichi (1975) even spoke of "Yamato Dostoyevsky" in that regard. Already in 1918, a first collection of his works was published; the latest translation of *Crime and Punishment* came out in 2008. Adding the fact that widely read intellectual monthlies such as *EUREKA* and *Gendai Shisō* dedicated special issues to Dostoyevsky in November 2007 and April 2010 respectively, it becomes obvious that the recent manga adaptations have not emerged out of a vacuum.[9] Admittedly, the fields of manga and classic literature are not engaged in mutual exchange. Most contemporary Japanese university students, who do not major in literature, may not have noticed the recent Dostoyevsky boom, which differs fundamentally from the past, especially the author's popularity around 1970. Back then, even manga critic Natsume Fusanosuke was exposed to the novel as he himself admits (1995: 99).

Representing Social Issues

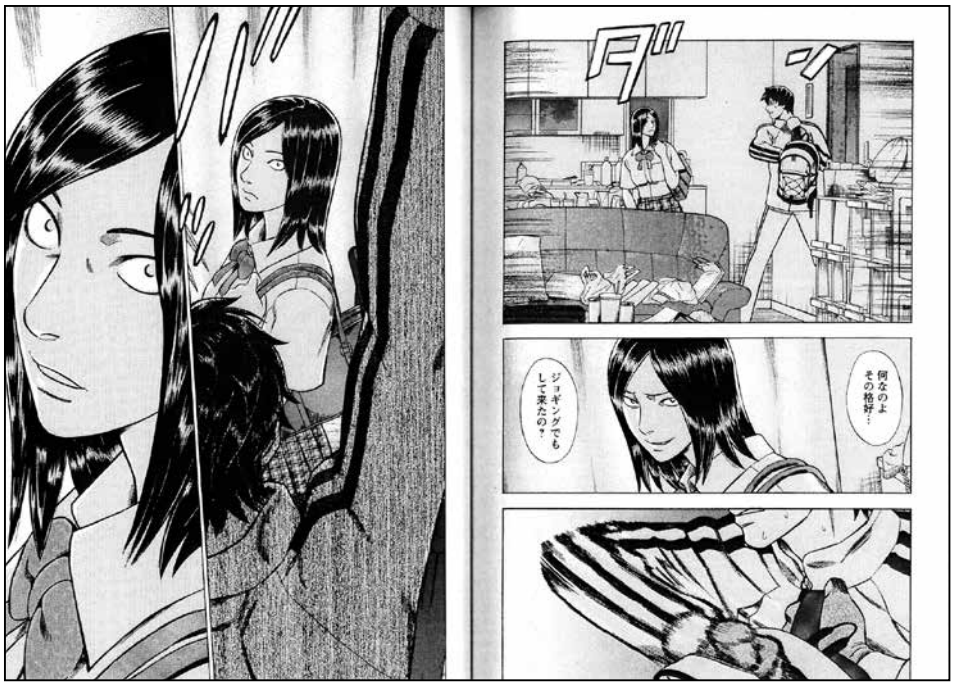
The recent manga adaptations of *Crime and Punishment* draw attention less to the literary particularities of the original, but rather to its subject matter, linking it to contemporary social issues. Such a transition to the 21st century is also characteristic of *Crime & Punishment: A Graphic Novel* (Korkos & Mairowitz 2008; fig. 4).[10] But while this attempt at modernization invites the English-language reader to visit contemporary Russia as a nightmarish foreign country, Ochiai Naoyuki tells a horrific story about his own society. In his manga series, Dostoyevsky's protagonist Raskolnikov, a poor student with literary aspirations in St. Petersburg, is replaced by young Japanese Tachi Miroku, the surname Tachi (裁) meaning 'cutting' and the first name Miroku (弥勒) signifying the Maitreya, the future Buddha who stays on earth to serve as a mediator between the

(2011: 122) finds also "DEATH NOTE" (2003-2006) reminiscent of *Crime and Punishment*, conceding that the creators themselves have not indicated anything in that regard.

8 Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909) learned Russian and later worked for the *Asahi Newspaper* in Moscow.

9 See *Gendai shisō* (April 2010) for the Dostoyevsky reception by Japanese literary authors, and for a discussion of the general phenomenon Hirano & Kameyama (2010); Fukui (2010); Ōe (ed., 2007).

10 With explanatory preface and Dostoyevsky biography at the end.



human world and the Nirvana. At the end of volume 2, that is, after approximately 300 pages, Miroku murders the female high school student Hikaru with a huge Japanese kitchen knife (fig. 5). Under the patronage of the *yakuza*, Hikaru—the equivalent of Dostoyevsky's pawnbroker Alyona—had been running a lucrative prostitution business exploiting her class-mates, first of all, her allegedly best friend Lisa who plays the role of Alyona's half-sister here. Whereas many bestselling manga picture phantastic otherworlds, Ochiai confronts central social issues of neoliberalist Japan: *hikikomori* (social withdrawal), *NEET* (youth not in education, employment or training), *enjō kōsai* (dating with compensation, i.e. schoolgirl prostitution), *ijime* (bullying), internet malignancy, and the increase in seemingly groundless murders resulting from alienation in a society which has only recently lost the last remains of its traditional communities. Even Southeast Asia enters the picture: Sudō Kai, the equivalent of Dostoyevsky's Svidrigailov, is involved with a Chinese nightclub owner who employs mainly Indonesian prostitutes. Sonya, who has become Echika in Ochiai's manga, is not the daughter but the wife

5_ Ochiai Naoyuki: *Tsumi to batsu: A Falsified Romance*, vol. 2, Futabasha, 2007, pp. 150-151.

6_ Ochiai Naoyuki: *Tsumi to batsu: A Falsified Romance*, vol. 7, Futabasha, 2007, pp. 120-121.

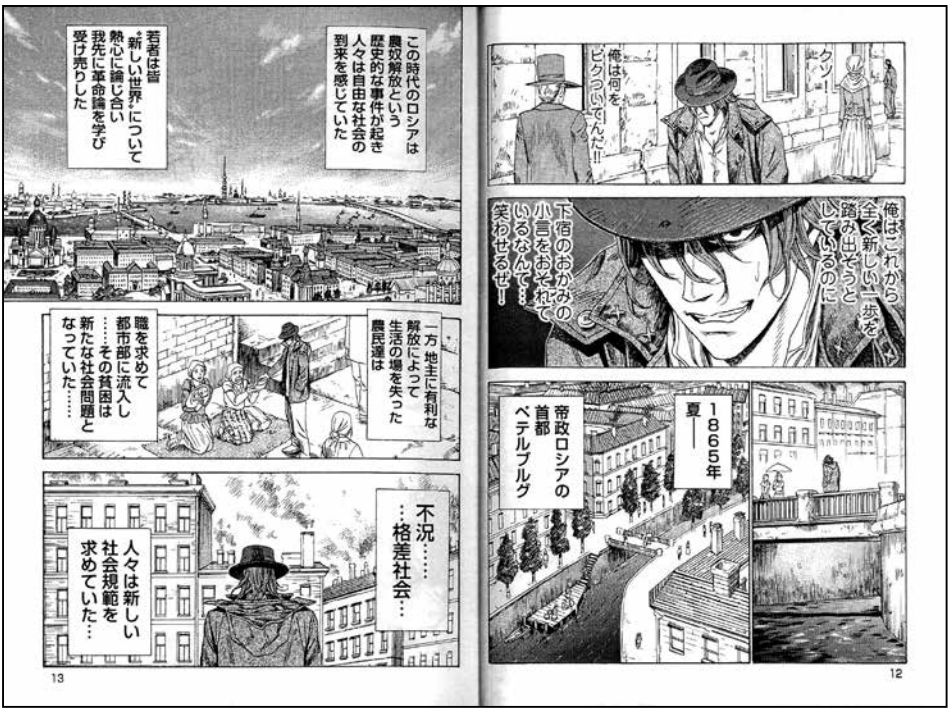
of Marmeladov aka Ameya Kikuo and raises his three children, although, or probably because, it was him who contributed to her being raped, and filmed for pornographic purpose, by a gang of male students. When blackmailed into complicity, Ameya was still Echika's high school teacher, and as such his case echos that of Miroku's father, also a teacher in love with a student who eventually committed suicide together with his under-age lover. In sum, Miroku is surrounded by factitiousness, sexual violence, and dubious dealings to come into money (fig. 6). Public prosecutor Goi Kurōto, who stands in for the initial Porfiry, is the first to introduce him to a different vision of human society. In the end, the manga features Miroku's virtual

rescue of Lisa from being raped in the street (fig. 7) and an inner monologue in which he accepts his crime in view of Echika. Whether the imposed death sentence is carried out or not, remains open.

7_ Ochiai Naoyuki: *Tsumi to batsu: A Falsified Romance*, vol. 10, Futabasha, 2007, pp. 210-211.

Compared to Ochiai's panorama of contemporary Tokyo, the outwardly nameless educational manga actually illustrated by Iwashita Hiromi (*Manga de yomu meisaku* editorial board, 2010) cannot go that far in its modernization of the subject matter, due to the format of the series it is framed by. Neither strongly historicizing nor ethnicizing 19th century St. Petersburg, it employs narration for introducing basic information

9_ Variety Artworks: *Dostoyevski Tsumi to batsu*, East Press Publ., 2007, pp. 186-187.



8_ *Manga de yomu meisaku* editorial board: *Tsumi to batsu* [Crime and Punishment], Bungeisha Publ., 2010, pp.12-13.

about Russia at that time. But it uses contemporary vocabulary for that, including highly connotative terms such as "recession" (*fukyō*) and "stratified society" (*kakusa shakai*) (fig. 8). Pictorially, Raskolnikov could pass as a contemporary Japanese student, in keeping with mainstream manga's general inclination to visually de-Japanizing Japanese characters. In short, this version sets a contemporary tone verbally in the beginning and maintains it pictorially thereafter, but without returning to the 21st century in the end. By contrast, the *Manga de dokuha* piece jumps abruptly into our time eight pages before the end, inserting a dark vision of the "new world" with skyscapers and holy wars into Raskolnikov's Siberian fever dream (fig. 9). The last dialogue line is Porfiry's, who sounds like a teacher when he says: "You will make it" (Variety Artworks 2007: 190).

Not only recently has *Crime and Punishment* attracted Japanese artists and readers in times which fail to provide ideas to believe in, and which force the members of an allegedly homogenous nation to accept social Otherness within their own society. In

the early 1950s, when Tezuka published his manga adaptation, Japanese tried to come to terms with the lost war, the abolition of the imperial system, postwar poverty and criminality. In the early 1970s, when Ōshima's appropriation appeared, the ritual suicide of Mishima Yukio (1970), the ineffectual students' movement and the tragic mutual killings of Japanese Red-Army members (1972, *Asama sansō*) were still virulent. But in addition to exploring social issues which were not addressed otherwise, *Crime and Punishment* has also mediated manga artists' aspirations to 'literariness.' Seen from the perspective of Japanese manga discourse, this inclination implied at least three aspects: first, manga's legitimization as a field of cultural production in the name of literature, which included to reach out for non-infant readers and complex stories attractive to them; second, stories which do not only require a certain number of pages to develop, but are complex also insofar as they involve inner monologue (*naimen byōsha*) and depictions of characters' psyche, first-person narration, alternations between subjectivity and objectivity, or ploryphony, in a broader sense; and third, a reliance on dialogue as a means of expression, including an interest in figurative language, as well as a multitude of other verbal elements, onomatopoetic words included, and their increasing distinction by typeface. The last aspect formed one particularity of the new girls manga of the 1970s, created by Ōshima and other female artists of the so-called Magnificent 49ers (*Hana no 24nen-gumi*). Tezuka is acknowledged for having pioneered aspects one and two.

Status, Interiority, and Metaphor: Tezuka (1953)

As a novel, *Crime and Punishment* takes more than 400 pages to unfold, depending on edition. In view of that length, comicalizations have to be selective, and certain scenes recur in most of them, providing entry points for comparison: Raskolnikov's murder of the money lender Alyona, his later talks with prosecutor Porfiry and the lure of confession—often likened to moth and flame—and Raskolnikov's relation to Sonya to whom he finally admits his guilt, and who accompanies him to Siberia in the end.

10_ Tezuka Osamu: *Tsumi to batsu, Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū 10* [Crime and Punishment, Tezuka Osamu Works, vol. 10], Kodansha, 1977, pp. 10-11. The speech balloon in the top-left corner reads "I can't lend you more then 50 Yen."

Tezuka's early adaptation begins with a stage-like setting on which the protagonist appears. From the second double-spread on, we see him heading to the pawnshop in almost identical, still panels on the right side, and on the left retrospecting his previous visit in thought balloons, which themselves contain vivid images as well as speech (fig. 10). Such a distinction between exterior and interior was new to manga expression: More than half a century after its introduction to Japanese literature—by Futabatei Shimei's novel mentioned above—this distinction found its way into manga, according to Yokota-Murakami (2006). Although Tezuka's Raskolnikov is otherwise presented from a distance and does not exhibit much of an interior voice anymore, the opening sequence went down into manga history as an early example of psychologization (Natsume 1995: 72-82; Takekuma 2001).

While some people assert that "it is fruitless to look for the complexity of the original" (Phillipps 2000: 406), Tezuka himself was aiming at a "new style of manga which will take its readers through a wider range of

emotions such as sadness, excitement, and even profound rumination" (Onoda Power 2009: 117). But as several critics have pointed out, the actual rendering of his *Crime and Punishment* adaptation undermines his own words that he "wanted to introduce to children works of world literature by means of manga" (Tezuka 1977b: 137). The subject matter as such as well as the initial English preface and the novel's Russian title in Cyrillic letters suggest that Tezuka had students and Dostoyevsky readers in mind rather than elementary-school children to whom the publication format addressed his manga. Back then, in 1953, Tezuka was already serializing his *Kimba, the White Lion* (*Jungle taitei*) as well as *Astro boy* (*Tetsuwan Atomu*) in magazines in Tokyo. *Crime and Punishment* was his last work for the Osaka-based booklets called *akahon*. But precisely this publication format allowed for experiments like those in the opening sequence of *Crime and Punishment*. The use of two double-spreads—followed by five double-spreads which depict the staircase of the pawnbroker's house—would not have been possible in a magazine as those usually ran serializations in 6-page episodes at that time.

Apparently, *Crime and Punishment* attracted Tezuka's interest not only because it provided psychological conflict, but also because it allowed for an appeal to older readers and, by means of that, for a status claim. The latter does not necessarily take the form of deadly

11_ Tezuka Osamu: *Tsumi to batsu, Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū 10* [Crime and Punishment, Tezuka Osamu Works, vol. 10], Kodansha, 1977, p. 95, bottom tier. Tezuka is the man with the black fur hat and the glasses (third from the right, if counting only the fully visible persons).

seriousness though. Tezuka often inserts humorous elements. According to his translator Frederik Schodt, "the gags are often slapstick, the puns are often 'corny'..." (Tezuka 1990: 133). Inappropriateness seems to be the issue here, and Japanese manga historians maintain that humour and slapstick in 1950s manga also served to mitigate social prejudices against the not-yet acknowledged medium. But the considerable number of pages which Tezuka dedicated to the Luzhin dinner leads, for example, critic Shimizu Tadashi to the conclusion that "Tezuka drew attention to a side of Dostoyevsky's which had previously been neglected by Japanese authors and critics, that is, laughter" (Shimizu 2009: 320). Tezuka himself appears in that sequence as one of four beggars (fig. 11), implying a parody of his own profession's reputation by attaching portraits of himself and three of his colleagues to these characters. Shimizu refers to Bachtin [Bakhtin] when he points out the productive role of Tezuka's apparently groundless gags. And he is right: What seems to be merely unsettled at first sight, can surely be conceived as carnivalesque. Comics in general and manga in particular show an inclination to "merry relativity" (Bachtin 1990: 62)—they leave it open whether they are to be watched or read, taken seriously or not. Some of the above-mentioned manga examples intertwine also past and presence, or depict their characters as both non-Japanese and Japanese. It can, however, not be overlooked, that Tezuka was aiming at clear distinctions, not only between interior and exterior, but also between looking and being looked-at, similar to Hollywood conventions of shot/reverse shot. After all, he juxtaposed Raskolnikov as a bold and nice schoolboy with Alyona as an ugly Disney-style witch. Taken all together, Tezuka's adaptation vacillates between a mangaesque lightness and an interest in society at large. He puts emphasis on the fact that this story takes place on the eve of the revolution, and he even turns the country aristocrat Svidrigailov into an activist (still pursuing his desires, although not the sensual ones). In the end, he does not send Raskolnikov to Siberia, but rather presents him as a would-be genius who is just one small human being among others: His confession goes unheard amidst the final spectacular uprising, and there is no salvation to be gained. Tezuka's manga does not exhibit any interest in absolute values.

With respect to intermedia relations, Tezuka's adaptation has so far been related to animation (the non-mecha rendering of moth and flame, for example, or the silhouette sequence visualizing Raskolnikov's essay and Napoleon, pp. 37ff.), to cinema (specifically *The Third Man* and its deep focus as applied to the canalization sequence, pp. 120f), and to theatre (theatrical over-acting which seem completely non-Japanese, backgrounds which look like stage settings and, more importantly, a favorization of scenes over close-ups). With respect to 'manga as literature,' however, another aspect is noteworthy: metaphors. The talk between Raskolnikov and Porfiry provides an excellent example in this regard (Tezuka 1977a: 108-115). At the beginning Porfiry, 'impersonated' by Duke Red from Tezuka's star system, points with an unmissable gesture to a kerosene lamp voicing "Criminals are like moths attracted by light" (p. 108, bottom-right corner, fig. 12). Then, two more speech balloons with his dialogue lines bridge not only the pages but also guide the reader from the diegetic encounter between the two men into the metaphorical interplay between

12_ Tezuka Osamu: *Tsumi to batsu, Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū 10* [Crime and Punishment, Tezuka Osamu Works, vol. 10], Kodansha, 1977, pp. 112-113.

moth and flame, the rendering of which leans heavily on Disney's *Silly Symphonies*, specifically *The Moth and the Flame* (1938). After three almost completely dialogue-free double-spreads full of anthropomorphized action, the flame morphs finally back into Porfiry's profile. This presents a 'literary' approach to comics: Raskolnikov and Porfiry are metaphorically replaced by moth and flame, as if pictorial elements of comics could be lined up like words in a sentence and, on part of the recipient, be treated like linguistic units.

Will Eisner (1983) comes to mind and his claim that comics may be regarded as literature because images are employed as language. Cognitive linguist Neil Cohn emphasizes that, "Comics are not a language, but they are written in a visual language of sequential images" (2013: 2). Philosopher Aaron Meskin maintains that "the visual meaning of comics does not seem to be compositional as it is in natural language [... that] there is no linguistic entity that can be extracted from the standard comic" (2009: 227). And German comics scholar Ole Frahm has pointed out, that comics should be understood as *parole*, not *langue* (2010: 5). Making precise distinctions between linguistic signs and visual signs, Hannah Miodrag understands only the latter as *parole*; to her, visual signification is highly contextual, characterized by "radical heterogeneity" (2013: 10): "Visual parole can create new signs, and while repetition is possible it is not inevitable as it is with inherited language." (ibid.: 132). The theoretical issue of understanding comics as a 'language' cannot be discussed in depth here. Suffice to say that contemporary manga are more often 'read' than 'watched.' Neil Cohn speaks even of Japanese Visual Language in that regard, dedicating one chapter of his new monograph to this subject (2013: 153-171). The inclination to treat pictorial elements as highly conventionalized symbols, which are supposed to hide their materiality, can be traced back to the early Tezuka. His *Crime and Punishment* invites comparisons with literature not only in relation to status and representational subjects (be it society, be it inner thoughts), but also differences in metaphorical expression between literature and graphic narratives. Not incidentally has the technique which Tezuka applied in the case of moth and flame vanished from 'manga proper' since the 1970s. While all 'educational'

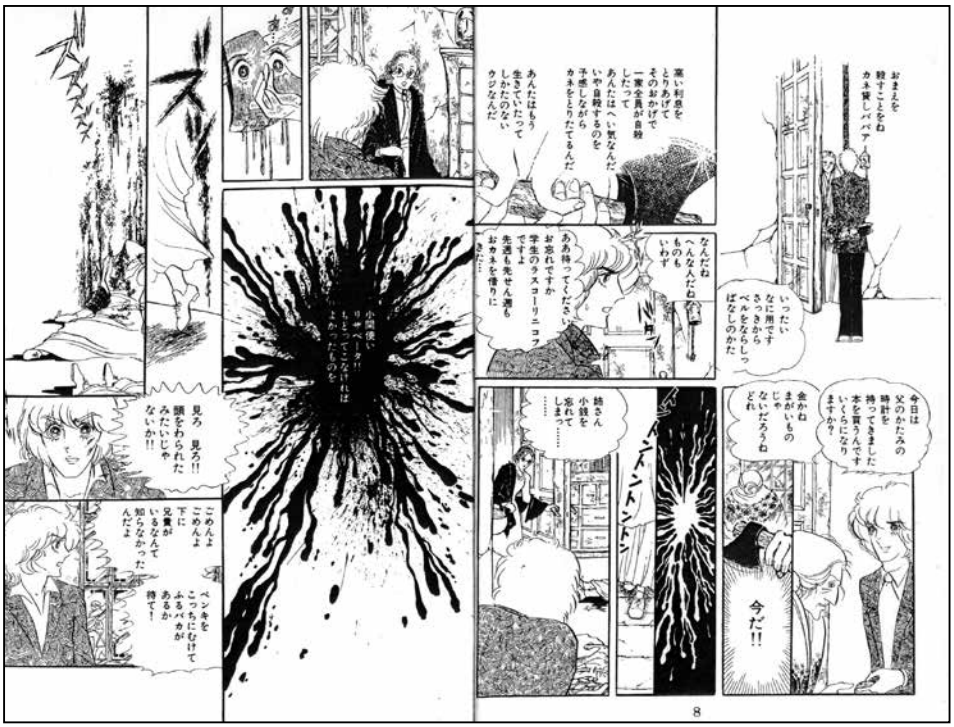
manga considered in this essay adhere to the juxtaposing of human characters and insect (fig. 13), Ōshima takes a pass on the moth metaphor altogether, and Ochiai confines himself to inserting a small panel that shows not a moth, but a cicada (*semi*) on a tree (fig. 14). In line with his general retelling of the story, the cicada indicates, first of all intra-diegetically, a typical Japanese summer day, but when a similar panel appears again almost thirty pages later (vol. 8, p. 177), readers who are familiar with the literary source work and/or Tezuka's adaptation may come to regard the cicada as a remote echo of Porfiry's initial moth.

13_ [left] Variety Artworks: *Dostoyevsky Tsumi to batsu*, East Press Publ., 2007, p. 133.

14_ [right] Ochiai Naoyuki: *Tsumi to batsu: A Falsified Romance*, vol. 10, Futabasha, 2007, p. 149.

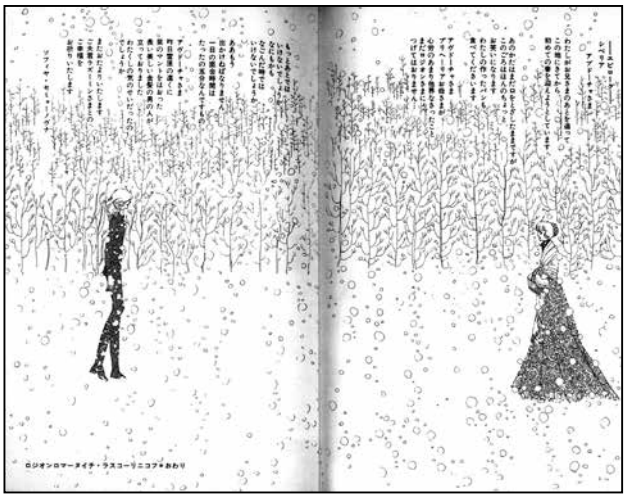
Parodying 'Yamato Dostoyevsky': Ōshima (1973)

Created and published in the early 1970s, Ōshima's approach to *Crime and Punishment* has almost the same length as Tezuka's adaptation, and it also shows an inclination towards psychologization, although—as may be expected from a 1970s shōjo manga—to a



15_ Ōshima Yumiko: *Rodion Romanovich Raskolnikov: Tsumi to batsu yori*, Asahi Sonorama (Sun Comics), 1976, pp. 8-9.

heightened degree. What goes on in the characters' minds, is rendered here mainly in two forms: flashbacks (sometimes instead of dreams) which gain their own present tense and actuality thanks to visualization, and inner monologues which are placed outside of balloons. At first sight, Ōshima's manga looks much more 'literary' than Tezuka's, simply because of the amount of words per page which invite reading in the conventional, literal sense and slow down the visual reception (fig.15). But this manga does not recommend itself at all as an introduction to the original. Raskolnikov's ideas stay completely out of the picture, which makes it difficult to understand the murder of the pawnbroker in the first place. Altogether, the narrative seems to be badly plotted, leaving many actions unmotivated due to its gaps. Furthermore, Raskolnikov as well as the other supposedly needy characters do not *look* needy at all, they only *speak* of their neediness which gives the impression that they just make pretence of being needy. In view of that, one cannot help but conclude, that this story is



16_ Ōshima Yumiko: *Rodion Romanovich Raskolnikov: Tsumi to batsu yori*, Asahi Sonorama (Sun Comics), 1976, pp. 122-123.

not to be taken seriously, at least not with respect to representational contents. What else then is at this manga's core?

Aestheticization provides a key. Ōshima's characters do not only look unneedy, but also extremely beautiful, or more precisely, beautified. Her manga features beautiful people who suffer beautifully. Consequently, it refrains from depicting Raskolnikov in Siberia. A letter by the now-married Dunya to Sonya evokes his stay there verbally, the words being printed on the top of a double-spread which shows a slender, long-haired Raskolnikov and a nicely dressed Sonya approaching each other in a winter-wonderland (fig. 16). Seen from a representational angle, Ōshima's beautification may suggest that Raskolnikov can be forgiven. Yet, there is another dimension at play here. Not only Raskolnikov, but also Porfiry and Svidrigailov are depicted as smart, elegant and fashionable men; Porfiry even has a butler. Sometimes, their bodies get very close to each other (fig. 17). Although nothing happens, some readers may take this as subliminal homoeroticism and, furthermore, an open invitation to 'pairing' (in Japanese 'coupling'), a practice in female manga fandom which has evolved since the 1970s, when artists like Ōshima began to publish *shōnen'ai* (Boys Love) stories in girls-manga magazines. After all, she published one of the very first BL short stories in 1971 ("*Dansei shikkaku*"/Failed as a man, in *Shūkan Margaret*), which was followed by at least

one more in 1973 and two in 1976. And her adaptation of *Crime and Punishment* was serialized in *Bessatsu Shōjo Comic*, the same magazine where Takemiya Keiko had published her first BL story "In the Sunroom" three years earlier. Apart from original BL stories, parodies too have gained momentum since the 1970s. These revisit male characters from famous fictions as homosexual couples. Ōshima's adaptation seems to revisit *Crime and Punishment* as an implicitly erotic story about the 'couple' of Porfiry x Raskolnikov (Porfiry being the attacker and Raskolnikov the pressed one).

Admittedly, this manga is superficial; moral seriousness, social issues, and depth of characterization, that is, components which usually count for substantive literary values (Meskin 2009: 220), are clearly omitted. But precisely this superficiality makes Ōshima's manga usable within fandom, transforms the work into a medium in the hands of its readers, and thus, anticipates one major current of today's global manga culture. Even without taking fandom into consideration, Ōshima's manga appears to be carnivalesque. Although it does not aim at relativizing ideological authority as

17_ Ōshima Yumiko: *Rodion Romanovich Raskolnikov: Tsumi to batsu yori*, Asahi Sonorama (Sun Comics), 1976, p. 26, bottom left (facing the gutter).

Tezuka's adaptation which sheds doubt on any kind of 'absolute' values, and it may therefore be diminished as apolitical, it certainly relativizes gender, especially masculinity, by consequently feminizing the male protagonists of a novel that was crucial to political activists around 1970. Ōshima's adaptation does not honor Dostoyevsky's work, but it does not dishonor it either. As less as it exhibits interest in society at large, it exhibits interest in the novel as such. Within the then-newly established realm of female manga, it offered a parody of those who biassed the classic in a politicized, masculine manner.

18_ Ōshima Yumiko: *Rodion Romanovich Raskolnikov: Tsumi to batsu yori*, Asahi Sonorama (Sun Comics), 1976, book jacket.

Concluding Remarks

Actually, the topic of 'manga as literature' calls not only for a survey of what literature can do for comics (like the one in this essay), but also for a discussion of what comics may contribute to literature, or in a lowlier sense, the study of literature. During the last decade, literary scholars have tried to question their own field by means of comics, rediscovering literature as "a synthetic art" (Kuskin 2008: 5), or exploring "what literature is in a culture where boundaries will ceaselessly continue to move" (Baetens 2008: 87). This essay approached the topic from a different direction, favorizing manga over

11 Karin Kukkonen (2008), for example, discusses this with respect to Alan Moore's *WATCHMEN*.

literature and pursuing what 'literature' has meant for this field of cultural production in Japan, namely attaining cultural status, aiming at complex narratives, developing expressive devices for the representation of interiority, and challenging the verbal side of graphic narratives. But crucial questions remain untouched, for example, whether the Japanese examples introduced here can be read as 'graphic novels.' More important, however, is the kind of polyphony comics in general and manga in particular are capable of,[11] and how this polyphony differs from literary works such as *Crime and Punishment*.

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IMAGES TO BE "READ"

MURAKAMI TAKASHI'S MANGAESQUE PAINTINGS

The discussion of Murakami Takashi's paintings has been dominated, if not by art-historical concerns, by representational issues. Critics usually read these pictures in regard to manga and Japanese painting (mostly *nihonga*). Often, the word *manga* serves as a mere cue for cute characters, and nihonga (traditionalist modern painting) attracts attention as a bridge between premodern art and pop-cultural imagery.[1] Informed by the perspective of manga studies, this essay intends to illuminate where *nihonga* and manga meet by shifting the focus from reading motifs to viewing images, while pursuing what kind of manga and what kind of *nihonga* are at play here. It focuses on highly codified and in that sense 'readable' images which are, aesthetically, as much reminiscent of war-time *nihonga* as of the globally most popular kind of manga.[2]

Return to nihonga

As is widely known, after eleven years of studying *nihonga* at Tokyo University of the Arts (*Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku*), Murakami Takashi (b. 1962) was the first *nihonga* painter to graduate from the then-new doctoral program in 1993. Retrospectively however, he dates the beginning of his career back to installations of the early

1 For example, artists such as Matsui Fuyuko, Machida Kumi, and Tenmyouya Hisashi; see Katō & Yamamoto, eds (2006).

2 A first version of this paper was presented on the occasion of the *@Murakami* exhibition at the MMK Museum Frankfurt, on 1 November 2008. Then, the discussion of 'readable images' was not yet part of Berndt (2005), but later developed further in Berndt (2011).

1990s, that is, to his departure from *nihonga*. His early installations—for example, *Randoseru Project* (1991), *Sea Breeze* (1992) or *Lucky Seven Stars* (1993)—do not impress with superb craftsmanship while leaning on Japanese subject matter and stylistic conventions, but rather challenge the viewer to conceptually question contemporary society and its art. In 1991, Murakami made his debut with a gallery show called *Takashi, Tamiya*, in which he referred to toymaker Tamiya, by intertwining the company's logo, the American flag and figures of American soldiers in the *Signboard TAMIYA* series. Favoring contemporary art (*gendai bijutsu*), he distanced himself from 'Japanizing' with respect to material, technique, motifs and (comforting) impact, that is, central characteristics of *nihonga* as modern academic art (*kindai bijutsu)*. Yet, it has almost fallen into oblivion that at the very same time, he himself created and exhibited *nihonga*, for example *Matamata* (Again and again),[3] and *Colours* (1991),[4] monumental paintings with an emphasis on materiality, especially the visibility of pigments on the painting's surface. Whereas these works are apparently be kept under wraps now, Murakami explained them in his dissertation which pursued the *Meaning of the Meaninglessness of Meaning* (under the supervision of Kayama Matazō). In chapter III, he dedicated almost five pages to the *Colours* series, revealing his references to Yves Klein's monochrome blue (1955-) and *nihonga* master Higashiyama Kaii's *gunjō-iro* (especially in the latter's *fusuma-e* murals in the Tōshōdaiji temple, Nara, 1975-80), but also to Tokuoka Shinsen's unfinished *Fuji* (1965), for him an ironic response to Mark Rothko.

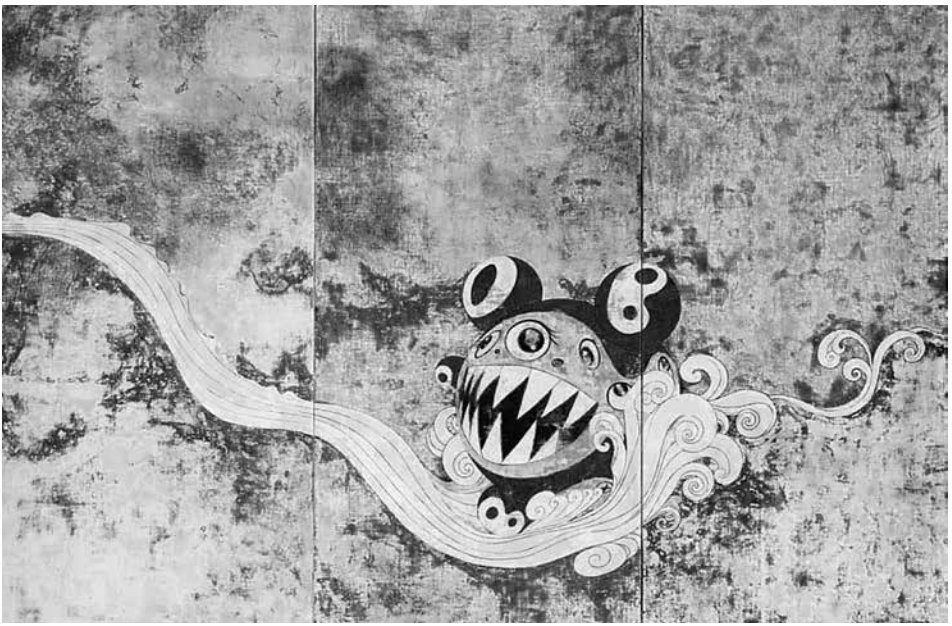
By blowing up his *Colours* paintings, Murakami meant to demonstrate their 'meaninglessness,' as he states himself:

> To their over-masterpiece size, I added experimentally irony regarding *nihonga*'s most indispensable items of nobility = ultramarine blue [*gunjō*] + the Japanese people's 'tears' + the Japanese art world (irony insofar as expensive material generates monetary value), and I created a work whose picture plane composition rested on entrance-exam assignments, trying out whether such a work could become a site of aura for Japanese viewers. (Murakami 1993: no pagination).

To art historian Kitazawa Noriaki, these paintings were a mere parody of pastose (or *matière* oriented) *nihonga*; they remained within the very circle they parodied or even criticized, as *nihonga* about *nihonga* discourse (Kitazawa 2003: 211-212). Shortly after, in the U.S., Murakami achieved an external perspective and seemed to have realized what art critic Nagoya Satoru summarized later in regard to neo-*nihonga* artists of the post-Murakami generation: "The art with which Japan can achieve 'internationality', is limited to *nihonga*, manga and anime" (Nagoya 2008: 49).

Remarkably, after adventuring into installations that did not look Japanese at face value, Murakami returned to painting in the mid-1990s, and precisely to a sort which suggested rapprochement toward *nihonga*, not only because of its cultural hybridity or decorative qualities, but rather because it involved viewers instead of confronting them. One way to achieve commonality is to lean on conventional symbols, such as mount Fuji, the cherry blossoms, or the rising sun in modern *nihonga*, posthuman characters and pop-cultural flower imagery in Murakami's case. Such signs invite the viewer to read motifs, while distracting him from the painting's materiality and haptic properties. This distraction is facilitated by Murakami's thin coating which obliterates the traces of the artist's hand. Deploying acrylic paint instead of traditional mineral pigments or water colours, Murakami's paintings achieve the look of prints or photographs. Their smooth surface does not draw attention to the artist himself; it serves the viewer's unrestrained eye movement instead. Although supposed to be rather 'read' than 'watched,' this 'reading' is not directed at critical meaning as in Murakami's former installations (which were related to the Atomic bombs, the American influence on Japanese postwar culture, and consumerism). Now, the motifs' 'readability' easens the burden of signification, opening up a space for emotional, affective, communal—and economic—meanings instead.

3 Appeared in NHK Kyōiku (1997).
4 Reproduction in Gendai (1993: 34-35).



1_ Murakami Takashi: *727* (1996), New York MoMA.

727

Murakami's acrylic painting *727* (pronounced: *sebun-tsū-sebun*; 1996, 299.7 x 449.6 cm)[5] is a good example in that regard (fig. 1). The New York MoMA gives the following description:

> Mr. DOB, the whimsical, sharp-toothed character riding the wave at center, is Murakami's first signature creation inspired by the anime (animated film) and manga (comic book) characters that have achieved cult status in Japanese youth culture. His name is a contraction of the Japanese slang expression *dobojite*, or *why*? and it is literally spelled out in his facial features and appendages, ensuring we recognize him in spite of his ever-changing appearance. Here Mr. DOB is borne on a tide of traditional Japanese forms. The wave, spanning the length of three panels that evoke a painted folding screen, is strongly suggestive of the well-known woodblock prints of the Japanese artist Hokusai (1760–1849). About twenty layers of paint, resembling lacquer, were built up then scraped away to create a variegated abstract background in Nihonga style, a fusion of Japanese and Western artistic approaches that developed in the late nineteenth century. Of *727* Murakami has said, "The work is not particularly representative of anything. It is simply a combination of all the available techniques that I had at the time". (New York MoMA).

Whether the wave actually points to Hokusai or rather, as Murakami himself (NHK Kyōiku 1997) and animation director Takahata Isao (1999: 36-37) have maintained, to those clouds on which the sword deity *Gohō no dōji* makes his entrance in the second scroll of *The Miraculous Origins of Mt. Shigi* (*Shigisan engi emaki*), is not as important as the above quoted words that *727* is indifferent to representation, either of the outdated West-Japanese cosmetic brand *727*, which its title invokes, or *nihonga*'s role in Japan's modernization. Michael Darling, one of the curators of the Los Angeles *Super Flat* show (2001), notes:

> The insistent abstract planarity of the Nihonga style, matched with the flatness of manga pictorial conventions make for paintings that push against the surface of the picture plane, both asserting their in-the-moment contemporaneity, and their emphasizing the superficiality of the imagery. These are just pictures of cartoon characters, the paintings feign, paper-thin confections of consumer culture that have no real meaning at all. If only that were the case. (Darling 2001: 67)

Intertwining planarity with shallowness, *727* allows for a different, relational kind of meaning through shared experiences. In his dissertation, Murakami pointed to the Japanese institution of entrance exams as one such experience with respect to his *Colours* paintings. In Japan, applicants to art colleges are not just to present their portfolio, but also to take a test: In order to come up to the given subject within the limited time frame, students are taught to put aside contents or concept-related thought and concentrate instead onto quickly making a picture which may impress the examiners, last but not least by suggesting solid technical skills. *727* meets such requirements with its clear L-shape composition and its misty space-like background. But it also addresses shared experiences in a wider sense, related to manga characters. No wonder that it was exhibited in the *The Manga Age* show (Manga no jidai 1998: 347), the very last section (No. 27), to be precise, next to Roy Lichtenstein's *Girl with Hair Ribbon* (1965) and a painting by Tiger Tateishi, among others.

5 For a discussion in German see Berndt (2005).

Mangaesque

In addition, Murakami's paintings point to a specific kind of *nihonga* which is not just super-flat but super-polished, or super-smooth. In the catalogue to his *Super Flat* exhibition (2000), Murakami mentions Higashiyama Kaii, Tsuchida Bakusen, Maeda Seison, and Yokoyama Taikan (1868-1951) as representatives. Being a revolutionary painter in his youth, Yokoyama's career saw a second peak around 1940, when he produced, for example, an astonishingly different kind of Fuji paintings, displaying Mount Fuji and cherry blossoms as accessible, sufficiently vague, unshocking, non-urban, beautiful, reassuring and comforting signs. Precisely such symbolism recommended *nihonga* for nationalist ideology in the first place (fig. 2). In order to serve the modern nation, pictures had to be more than perfectly made artifacts or decorative spectacles; they had to lend themselves to profound meanings which facilitated allegedly stable, unequivocal identities. Yokoyama's war-time *nihonga* are manifestations of what Walter Benjamin called the "aestheticization of politics." This aestheticization rested heavily upon the 'readability' of paintings, as can be confirmed, for example, by *nihonga*'s postwar development: Many artists turned from 'symbolism' to '*matiére*' (employing, for example, thick coating of paint [*atsunuri*]), instead of reviving Taishō-era attempts at a rather ugly and disturbing *nihonga* by Kyoto artists like Kainoshō Tadaoto. Painters such as Ōno Hidetaka, Yuda Hiroshi, and Sugiyama Yasushi favored haptic qualities and the viewer's corporeality over codification and 'readability,' pastose pigments over smooth surfaces, non-narrative, abstract painting or even the image as artifact over ideology. In addition, they exhibited a certain scepticism toward technical mastership of the kind which aimed at controlling materials and techniques, rather leaving things to chance eventually. Murakami's *727* obviously distances itself from these postwar attempts. Not unlike otaku culture which is said to have its beginnings in war-time Japan (Ōtsuka & Ōsawa 2005), Murakami's super-smooth painting seems to return to that past, i.e. a time when the majority of *nihonga* were made to be read. And precisely, its readability at the expense of materiality makes it 'mangaesque.'

2_ Yokoyama Taikan: *Yama ni chinamu jūdai: Ryū odoru* [Ten themes related to a mountain: Dragon dancing/Dragon and Mt. Fuji] (1940, 81 x 119,5 cm), painted in commemoration of the 2,600th anniversary of the founding of Japan.

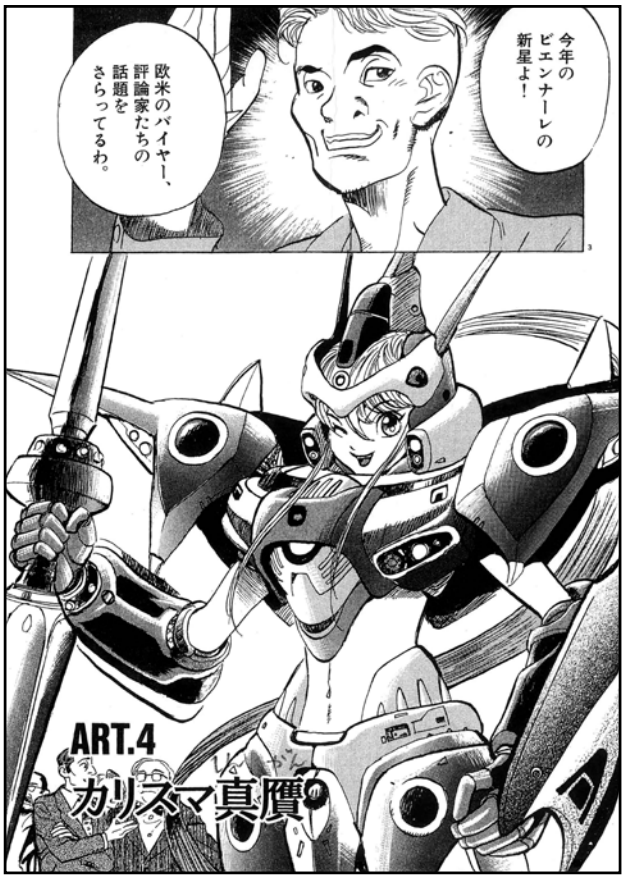
Murakami's works are often related to manga. Closer inspection, however, reveals that they do not refer to the sort of sequential art which Murakami himself was deeply influenced by, namely Miyazaki Hayao's *Kaze no tani no Naushikā* (Nausicäa of the Valley of the Wind, 1982-94) and Ōtomo Katsuhiro's *AKIRA* (1982-90) (Interview 2004: 36). Being anything but super-flat, neither in regard to their narratives nor their pictorial style, these series stem from an era when authorship and 'meaningfulness' were respected in manga culture.

The maturation of manga in Japan has given rise to an enormous range of expressions and readings. Yet, only very few readers enjoy manga in the plural. The majority clinges to one specific style, which has been shaped by a specific publication format, that is, serialization in monthly or weekly manga magazines and successive *tankōbon* editions. In Europe and America, this kind of manga is represented by pioneers such as "Dragonball" and "Sailormoon," which inaugurated the present manga boom in the late 1990s, as well as by more recent frontrunners such as "One Piece" and "NARUTO." These series are popular on a global scale, last but not least, because they invite derivative fan

creations (*dōjinshi*), a realm which has given rise to a significant amount of non-Japanese manga creators since the early 2000s.

Many people picture manga as graphic narratives that invite readers' immersion, first of all, by means of attractive, mostly cute characters. Fans are usually less interested in manga as a particular form of graphic storytelling, but rather in the 'language' which manga provides. Calling manga a language implies, at least, the following three aspects: firstly, that manga's pictorial elements are supposed to be read, or better, quickly grasped, rather than to be watched and contemplated. Noteworthily, this 'readability' is to be distinguished from the war-time past, as it remains indifferent toward signification on an ideological meta-level, being tied more to the immanence of images than 'symbolism,' and to relational effects than inherent meanings. In view of this, both today's most popular manga and Murakami's paintings raise the question what kind of 'reading' they actually call for.

Secondly, the highly codified mode of manga expression can be learned. And thirdly, manga lends itself to sharing with others; it is appreciated worldwide as a participatory culture. For dedicated fans, a single manga's intrinsic quality as a work is less important than its potential to facilitate relationships and mediate the formation of taste, or knowledge, communities. A typical manga is therefore not a self-contained 'graphic novel' by a single author, but a series which unfolds in proximity to its readers' responses, not necessarily heading toward a predetermined conclusion. Manga culture puts emphasis on relations—between readers, and between readers and characters, for example in the form of *kyara moe* (the 'burning' for certain figures). Sometimes accused for violent representation, many manga feature rather artificial or virtual bodies which do not necessarily affect readers in a physical way, be it in the form of immortal *kyara*,or 'odorless' *bishōnen* (beautiful boys). Thus, manga seems to match the highly mediatized reality of the 21st century. Likewise typical is the comforting effect which many readers expect from manga. Manga's emphasis on participation usually serves self-confirmation of one's own taste, or community.



3_ Hosono Fujihiko: *Gallery Fake*, vol. 22, chapter 4, 1st page; Shogakukan, 2001.

It is this kind of manga which Murakami refers to. His conceptual approach, however, is not necessarily welcome in Japan, at least not within the subcultural realm. Hosono Fujihiko's (*1959) manga *Gallery Fake*, for example, juxtaposes the real charisma of a poor *mecha* designer to the allegedly exploitative attitude of an artist reminiscent of Murakami who is introduced as "the new star of this year's biennale" (fig. 3, 4).[6] The protagonist of Hosono's manga, Fujita Reiji, owner of a gallery for replicas, regards the pure passion of the designer as real art and conceptual appropriation as "plagiarism." Clinging to the modernist binarism of 'real vs. fake' does not seem appropriate in the case

6 Vol. 22 out of a total of 32, chapter 4 "*Charisma shingan*" [True vs. False Charisma].

of manga which escapes such criteria derived from the modern institution of art, but the very fact that not a mangaka yet a mecha designer was chosen to perform the antipole to the conceptual artist appears convincing. After all, manga is not an indispensable ingredient of Murakami's work.

While in Europe and America Murakami is regarded as specifically Japanese and often also subversive, in Japan, he is denied such a position. Symptomatically, he has already held a show in Versailles, but not yet in the Japanese pavillion at the Venice Biennal. After all, his art has not influenced either *nihonga* or manga so far.

4_ Hosono Fujihiko: *Gallery Fake*, vol. 22, chapter 4; Shogakukan, 2001.

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»DEUTSCHLAND« IM MANGA

EIN **PARODISTISCHES** TERRAIN

Einleitung

Das Jahr 2011 stand im Zeichen eines Jubiläums: Man feierte 150 Jahre deutsch-japanische Beziehungen. In zeitgemäßer Weise versuchten die Veranstalter von Tagungen und Ausstellungen, populäre Medien einzubeziehen, z.B. Manga. Dabei interessierten diese vor allem als interkulturelles Material,[1] als Spiegel für das Eigene in den Augen des Anderen. Im Vordergrund stand ein motivisch-repräsentationaler Zugriff, wie er in der kulturwissenschaftlich orientierten Germanistik in Japan und der Japanologie in Deutschland nicht selten anzutreffen ist, erkennbar an Titeln wie „das Bild der/des XX in XX" (*XX ni miru XX*).[2] Demgemäß hätte also „Deutschland im Manga" als Thema nahegelegen. Nun stehen Comics als ursprünglich subkulturelles Medium aber nicht unvermittelt für die Nationkultur, und Manga zeichnen sich nicht unbedingt durch Realismus aus. Das wird von mit dem Medium nicht Vertrauten insbesondere mit Blick auf Darstellungen des Zweiten Weltkriegs moniert. Autoren mit Comics-Expertise halten dagegen, dass das Spektrum des Manga äußerst vielfältig sei und auch ernst zu nehmende Werke umfasse. So schreibt der Historiker Matthew Penny: „Romanticized images of war and military technology exist side by side with frank depictions of Japanese atrocities in a discourse that has produced an image of the Japanese side as victimizers as well as victims. This

1 Vgl. Richter (2012).
2 Z.B. die entsprechenden Analysen von Filmen und Fernsehserien in Gössmann et al. (Hg.) (2011). Mit Mangabezug z.B. Ophüls-Kashima (2004), Gildenhard (2006).

has been accomplished on a popular level in Japan by individuals like Tezuka Osamu […]" (2005: 185).[3] Schon im Jahr 2000 hat Ole Frahm jedoch darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass das legitimierende Bestehen auf Ernsthaftigkeit das eigentliche Potenzial des Comics verfehle. Denn dieses bestehe darin, „die Vorstellung eines Originals und damit eines vorgängigen ‚Außerhalb der Zeichen'", mithin die „Referentialität der Zeichen" (2002: 204) zu unterlaufen. Parodistisch in ebendiesem – strukturellen, nicht inhaltlichen – Sinne, können Comics eher Aufschluss über „Deutschland" als über Deutschland geben, d.h. über Vorstellungsbilder und Klischees, insbesondere solche, die sich, durch die jeweilige Medienlandschaft geformt, ins populäre kollektive Gedächtnis eingeschrieben haben.

Exemplarisch dafür ist ein blonder uniformierter Bursche namens „Deutschland" (*Doitsu*). Als Personifizierung einer der historischen Achsenmächte gehört er zu den Protagonisten von *Axis Powers: Hetalia*. 2003 als grob gestrichelter Webcomic von einem 18jährigen Japaner, der in New York Design studierte, begonnen, hat sich *Hetalia* innerhalb weniger Jahre zu einem der beliebtesten Bezugspunkte der Manga-bezogenen globalen Fankultur und zu einem außerordentlich erfolgreichen Franchise entwickelt: Es umfasst Anime, Hördrama und Computerspiel, CosPlay und Fan Art, Zeichnungen etwa, die historische Kontrahenten wie Russland und Deutschland, Japan und Korea, die VR China und Taiwan als homosexuelle Liebespaare verbildlichen.[4] Mehr als drei Dutzend Nationen bevölkern das Universum seither und alle in Gestalt (mehr oder weniger) halbwüchsiger hübscher Jungen. Wo nötig, haben z.B. südostasiatische Fans das eurozentrische Originalensemble um die eigenen Länder ergänzt. Ihren Ausgangspunkt nahm die Serie von der Begegnung „Deutschlands" mit dem um einen Kopf kleineren „Italien", der ständig an Pasta denkt. Doch auch wenn eine seiner Haarsträhnen ein Herzchen formt – „Deutschland" empfindet das Jüngelchen nicht als niedlich, sondern als feige und schwach, als *hetare*, d.h. einen Weichling. Ursprünglich für Bühnenkünstler

3 Vgl. auch Lenk (2011).
4 Als fankulturell akzentuierte Analysen vgl. Miyake (2013), Yang (2011).

gebräuchlich, die im Rampenlicht nicht ihren Mann stehen, ist das Wort im japanischen Internet-Forum 2channel auf Italiens Rolle im Zweiten Weltkrieg übertragen worden. Ausgehend davon hat Himaruya Hidekaz, wie sich der Zeichner außerhalb Japans nennt, den Titel *Hetalia* (*hetare* + *Italia*) erfunden.

Wie von Comics im Allgemeinen und Manga im Besonderen nicht anders zu erwarten, jongliert *Hetalia* mit Klischees, vor allem solchen ohne konkretes Gewicht – die USA zum *hetare* des Zweiten Weltkriegs zu erklären, dürfte dem Zeichner nicht nur wegen der Wortmelodie schwergefallen sein. Im Unterschied zu anspruchsvollen *graphic novels* operiert *Hetalia* mit nationalen Stereotypen. Von „Deutschland" z.B. erfährt man, dass er keinen Spaß versteht, Regeln streng beachtet, bei der Arbeit wie im Urlaub mit Ernst bei der Sache ist und dass Sparen, Saubermachen, Hundausführen und Kuchenbacken zu seinen Lieblingsbeschäftigungen zählen. Wegen derartiger Stereotypisierungen ist *Hetalia* mehrfach attackiert worden, am heftigsten von südkoreanischer Seite, woraufhin man 2009 in Japan sogar die TV-Anime-Ausstrahlung stoppte. Als Werk bezieht *Hetalia* tatsächlich keine Position, obgleich seine parodistische Leichtigkeit vertraute politische Gegensätze als absurd erscheinen lassen mag. Für die meisten seiner Fans funktioniert *Hetalia* als Medium, mit dem sie sich jenseits der Schule historische Fakten aneignen und bis in die Gegenwart hinein fortwirkende Konflikte in Frage stellen.

Auch wenn solche Aktivitäten erst mit dem Internet voll zur Entfaltung kamen, so waren sie doch im japanischen Comic schon länger angelegt, ebenso wie das parodistische Element. Manga erschienen schließlich bislang zuerst in speziellen Magazinen, die sich an ausgewählte Lesergruppen richten. Unter derart Gleichgestimmten ließ sich mit politisch inkorrekten Bildern leichter spielen als in einer anonymen und diversen Öffentlichkeit. Das zeigt sich exemplarisch an der Domäne der Fan-Kreationen (*dōjinshi*), in der seit den 1970er Jahren Mangacharaktere (homo-)sexualisiert und Urheberrechte großzügig umgangen wurden. „Parodie" bezeichnet hier im weitesten Sinne derivate and transformative Produktionen, im Unterschied zu Neuschöpfungen. Die Verlage profitierten davon, denn die Fanaktivitäten – unter welchem Vorzeichen auch

immer – steigerten den Verkauf der „Originale“ (*source works* oder Hypotexte, um mit Genette zu sprechen), und für industriellen Nachwuchs sorgten sie auch. Erst als die „Parodien“ online in andere Kulturen, Märkte und Rechtssysteme vorzudringen begannen, geriet das inländische Einvernehmen zwischen Fangemeinde und Verlagen ins Wanken.

Wie der fankulturelle Gebrauch des Wortes Parodie nahelegt, geht es nicht um eine gegenkulturelle Konfrontation (im Unterschied zu Satire und Karikatur, *ero-gekiga* oder Underground Comix), ein Verlachen, welches eines klaren Standpunkts bedürfte, sondern vielmehr um ein subkulturelles Pendeln zwischen Ablehnung und Annahme.[5] In der amerikanischen Tradition, die auf Linda Hutcheon (1985) u.a. zurückgeht, hat man Parodie vor allem Lachen als eine intertextuelle Beziehung definiert, die stets doppelt ausgerichtet bleibt, d.h. dem Urtext Respekt erweist und diesen gleichzeitig relativiert, sich der eigenen textuellen Tradition gegenüber also weder parasitär noch revolutionär verhält, sondern transgressiv und damit letztlich – im Sinne Gerda Baumbachs (1995) – der Untrennbarkeit von Leben und Tod, Himmel und Erde, Handlung und Darstellung usw. entspricht, also Paaren, die spätestens im Laufe der Modernisierung und vornehmlich für die „Hochkultur“ säuberlich geschieden wurden. Aus Sicht des Comics kommen Bild und Schrift, Differenz und Wiederholung, Ernst und Unernst hinzu. Thierry Groensteen hebt sich von dieser Tradition explizit ab, wie die Referenz an Gérard Genette im Untertitel seines Buches *Parodies: La bande dessinée au second degré* (2010) zeigt, und auch die Literaturwissenschaftlerin Monika Schmitz-Emans stützt sich auf Genette bei ihrer Untersuchung von „Literatur-Comics“ (2012: 11). Im Vergleich dazu zählt neben Linda Hutcheon Judith Butler zu den Grundlagen Frahms bei seiner Erörterung der „parodistischen Ästhetik“ des Comics. Diese erlaubt es, der Rolle der Wiederholung (inklusive Konventionalität) gerecht zu werden – im Unterschied zu Hutcheons letztlicher Favorisierung der innovativ-kritischen Differenz – und außerdem, „Parodie“ über die inter/textuelle Ebene hinaus als gleichermaßen pragmatisches

5 Vgl. Hebdige, insbesondere die Anmerkung 6 im vierten Kapitel.

und sozialkulturelles Phänomen zu verstehen. Der Unernst hat Methode, und er ist auf medienspezifische Gebrauchszusammenhänge zu beziehen – nicht nur auf gesellschaftliche und ideologische Kontexte, wie es ernsthafte Historiker tun, und nicht nur auf die Profilierung des Comics als Kunstform, wie sie Literaturwissenschaftlerinnen oder europäischen Comicstheoretikern am Herzen liegt. Beim Manga, selbst dem „ernsthaften", ist mit Parodie zu rechnen.

Männlich besetzt

Hetalia steht in einer parodistischen Tradition: Es bezieht sich auf bereits kodifizierte Deutschland-Bilder, wie sie sowohl das Hollywood-Kino als auch Manga und Anime in Japan zirkulieren ließen. Bis in die 1980er Jahre hinein war „Deutschland" im Manga vor allem männlich besetzt, militärisch, oft nationalsozialistisch, z.T. verbunden mit übernatürlichen Kräften und sogar Vampirismus. In Matsumoto Leijis „*Uchū senkan Yamato*" – als Anime namens *Space Battleship Yamato* (1974-75) im Ausland bekannter als der parallel serialisierte Manga – tragen die Feinde des Planeten Erde, die bösen Gamilonier, allesamt NS-artige Uniformen und deutsch anmutende Namen: Dessler, Dommler, Kreutz, Schulz. Aber auch das ritterliche „Deutschland" war in Matsumotos Manga präsent, insbesondere in dessen *Senjō* (Schlachtfeld)-Serie: „In Matsumoto's manga, Germany is associated with nobility and the tradition of the knight" (Penney 2005: 172), aber, so Penney weiter, „[the] romantic praise of the German tradition (i.e. a manufactured ‚German-ness' defined in relation to ‚Japanese-ness') replaces any serious attempt at commentary about Nazi history." (ibid.: 173). Das schließt jedoch auch Verklärung aus. In Yude Tamagos *JUMP*-Serie „*Kinnikuman*" (Muskelmänner), die auf Superhelden wie Ultraman anspielte, begegnet man u.a. dem jungen Westberliner Brocken Jr., der Kampftechniken wie den „Berliner Roten Regen" oder den „Bremer Sonnenuntergang" beherrscht und Hakenkreuz-Tatoos auf den Armen trägt, aber kein Nazi sein will. Asuka Langley aus dem Anime *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (GAINAX, 1995-96) weicht durch ihr Geschlecht von der Tradition ab. Außerdem ist sie nur zur Hälfte deutscher Abstammung. Aber die Schroffheit, mit der sie Befehle erteilt, ruft die vertrauten Muster auf den Plan.

1_ Franz (links) und Sapphire (rechts). Tezuka Osamu: „*Ribon no kishi*“ (1953-56) in *Shōjo Club*, hier zitierte Seite aus der Tezuka-Werkausgabe (Kōdansha 1979), welche auf der überarbeiteten Fassung (in *Nakayoshi*, 1963-66) beruht.

Deutsche Namen für Charaktere kamen in den 1980er Jahren außer Gebrauch. Bei Altmeister Tezuka Osamu gab es in „Princess Knight“ (*Ribon no kishi*, 1953-56) noch einen Prinzen namens Franz (Abb. 1). Mit Nachnamen hieß dieser allerdings Charming, was darauf hindeutet, dass das deutsche Mittelalter, das angeblich hier die Bühne abgibt, eine über Disney vermittelte Vorstellung desselben ist, auch wenn die Figuren mit einem „Prosit!“ anstoßen. In Tezukas berühmtem „Astro Boy“ (*Tetsuwan Atomu*, 1951-68), genauer gesagt dessen 55. Episode „Der größte Roboter auf Erden“ (*Chijō saidai no robotto*, 1964-65), verbündet sich der Titelheld mit einem Roboterdetektiv namens „Gesicht“ (Abb. 2). Letzteren hat Urasawa Naoki zum Protagonisten seiner Hommage an Tezuka gemacht: „Pluto“ (2003-09), einer Parodie, die alles andere als zum Lachen ist, da sie sich, in Anlehnung an die Jugoslawienkriege der 1990er Jahre und den Irakkrieg von 2003, mit ideologisch geschürtem Haß und Tod auseinandersetzt. Die unauslöschliche Erinnerung an den Krieg hat die Kampfmaschinen vermenschlicht – sie wollen nicht mehr kämpfen (Abb. 3, 4). Im Genetteschen Sinne handelt es sich bei „Pluto“ wohl um eine Transposition, auch wenn Tezukas Name als Koautor auf dem Titel erscheint (neben dem von Urasawas langjährigem Redakteur und Dramaturgen Nagasaki Takashi). Die Verwendung deutscher Personen- und Ortsnamen erinnert zumindest entfernt daran, was einst im Manga gängig war. Das betrifft auch

2_ Duell zwischen Gesicht und Pluto in der fiktiven deutschen Stadt Jungblumen. Tezuka Osamu: „*Chijō saidai no robotto*“ (1964-65), *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū*, Kodansha, 1981, S. 53.

3_ Tezuka Osamu: „*Chijō saidai no robotto*" (1964-65), *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū*, Kodansha, 1981, S. 184, unten, letztes Panel.

4_Urasawa Naoki & Tezuka Osamu, Nagasaki Takashi: „*Pluto*", Bd. 8, Shogakukan, 2009, ohne Pag. (letzte Doppelseite).

Urasawas 18bändigen Jugendmanga „Monster" (1994-2001). Geradezu fotorealistisch werden die deutschen Schauplätze vorgeführt und mit einer Genauigkeit, die sorgfältige Recherche verrät, die Geschichten einer Vielzahl erwachsener Nebenfiguren erzählt. Aber die männliche Hauptfigur – nun durch die ostdeutsche Stasi geprägt – aktualisiert das traditionelle Bild von „Deutschland" dann doch, und versierte Leser werden der Serie weniger neue Sichtweisen auf die jüngere deutsche Geschichte als auf die ernsthaft parodierte Vorlage abverlangen, schließlich vielleicht sogar erneut zu Tezukas Vorlage greifen.

So gesehen ist *Hetalia* eine Ausnahme: Es stellt „Deutschland" ins Zentrum, sogar in Form eines Protagonisten, und seine Anhängerschaft besteht vor allem aus jungen Frauen. Diese sind weniger auf historisch treue Darstellungen aus als auf das, was das vermeintlich sichere Wissen überlagert, und auf Manga, die ihnen als Ausgangspunkt für eigene Aktivitäten dienen können. Eine Plattform für solche Aktivitäten ist das Motiv der Knabenliebe. In den 1970er Jahren aus dem Mädchenmanga (*shōjo manga*) heraus entstanden, um die Vorherrschaft heterosexueller Romanzen zu unterlaufen, nennt man das Genre auf japanisch mittlerweile *Boys Love* (BL), während auf deutsch nach wie vor von *shōnen'ai* die Rede ist (Shōnen Ai, auch Shounenai). Seit den 1980er Jahren verwenden Amateurzeichnerinnen für Kurzgeschichten, in denen sie männliche Wesen sexuell miteinander verkoppeln, die Abkürzung *yaoi*.[6] Diese fasst kurz und bündig zusammen, dass es nicht um narrative Höhepunkte, Pointen und Bedeutungen (*yamanashi*, *ochinashi*, *iminashi*) geht, sondern um erotisch-pornographische Spektakel. Aufgrund der expliziten Sexdarstellungen sind *Yaoi*-Produktionen gemeinhin zu subkulturell für die gesellschaftliche Oberfläche – nicht von ungefähr wird die Abkürzung auch als *yamete oshiri ga itai* (Hör auf, mein Hintern tut weh) übersetzt. Um sich von solchen Konnotationen abzugrenzen, führten Verleger in den frühen 1990er Jahren die Bezeichnung *Boys Love* (BL) für handelsübliche Publikationen ein.

Higuri Yous Manga „Ludwig II." kann als Beispiel dafür dienen, welche Lektüreerfahrungen jene jungen Frauen mitbringen, die sich für die *Hetalia*-Nationen begeistern, verbindet er doch BL mit deutscher Geschichte (Abb. 5). Mitte der 1990er Jahre erschien er in dem Mangamagazin *Rekishi roman DX* (Historische Romanzen Deluxe), welches sich „alltagsfernen, süßen Träumen" verschrieben hatte. Erst ein Jahr zuvor hatte Higuri debütiert, und zwar im Fanzine-Bereich. Mit seinem Erstveröffentlichungsort und seinem Erscheinungsbild wendet sich ihr Manga an ein weibliches Publikum. Zudem beginnt er mit einer weiblichen Stimme, einem Monolog Sissis angesichts des Kreuzes im Starnberger See. Im Mittelpunkt steht aber die wechselvolle Liebesgeschichte zweier

5_ [links] Higuri You [Yū]: „Ludwig II.", Asuka Comics, Bd. 1, 1996.

6_ [rechts] Higuri You [Yū]: „Ludwig II.", Asuka Comics, Bd. 2, 1996, ohne Pag.

Männer: Ludwigs II. und seines Stallmeisters Richard Hornig. Ersterer tritt als Bedränger (*seme*) auf, mal gewaltsam, mal reuevoll und grundsätzlich ohne Vertrauen in die Liebe; letzterer spielt das sanfte, mädchenhafte Pendant (*uke*), welches duldsam leidet, als es vernachlässigt wird. Beide sind zwar keine Knaben, aber schöne Jünglinge, rank und schlank von ihrer ersten Begegnung 1866 bis zum Tod des Königs 1886 und äußerst ansehnlich beim Bade wie beim Liebesspiel.

Ludwigs Leiden wird gelegentlich mit einem Kreuz symbolisiert (Abb. 6), sogar in Bettszenen. Aber so wie in BL-Manga die homosexuellen Männerfiguren heterosexuellen Frauen dazu dienen, Beziehungen diesseits und jenseits der herrschenden Geschlechterordnung durchzuspielen, so bezieht sich das Kreuz nicht auf das Christentum als solches, sondern auf konsumkulturelle Bilder von diesem, assoziiert für japanische Leserinnen Hollywood-Romanzen und hausgemachte Wedding Chapels.[7] Im Unterschied zu Heterosexualität und Kirche, die parodistisch unterlaufen werden, bleibt Higuri bei einem anderen Symbol eindeutig: dem Hakenkreuz.

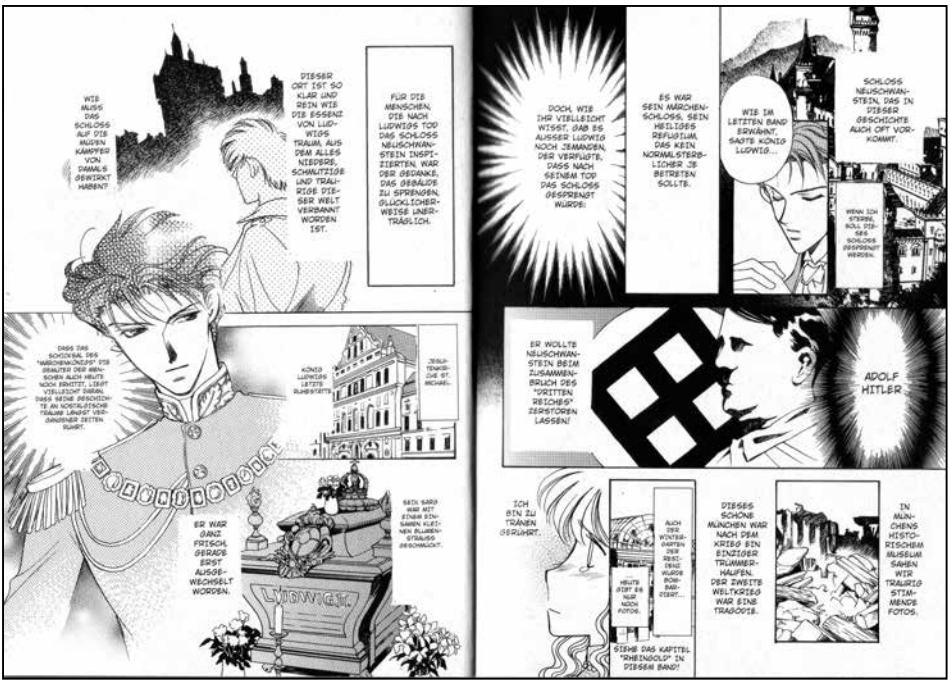
6 Der japanischen Aussprache der Zahlen folgend, auch: *801*.
7 Zu den Hochzeitskapellen vgl. Löffler (2011: 250-270), die zeigt, dass weniger die christliche Kirche, sondern vielmehr ihr Bild akkulturiert wurde und zwar als Teil einer kollektiven Phantasie, die sich, über Hollywood-Filme vermittelt, auf die romantische, „reine" Liebe bezieht.

Zusammen mit Hitlers Profil setzt sie es neben Ludwigs schreckgeweitete Augen, um jene Entwicklung Deutschlands anzudeuten, die mit dem Kaiserreich unter Preußens Vormachtstellung ihren Anfang nahm. Die in die Seite hineingesetzte körperlose Stimme Hornigs spricht: „Wenn in deine Seele der Keil der ‚Wirklichkeit' getrieben würde / […] bekäme sie Risse in Form eines Spinnnetzes, und dein Leib würde zermahlen werden / doch genau deshalb siehst du die Wirklichkeit klarer als andere!" (Abb. 7). In der deutschen Ausgabe wurde das Hakenkreuz retuschiert ebenso wie im Epilog zum zweiten Band „Eine Vision von Lohengrin" (Abb. 8).

7_ Higuri You [Yū]: „Ludwig II.", Asuka Comics, Bd. 2, 1996, ohne Pag.

Deutsche Verleger von Manga sind gehalten, Hakenkreuze zu retuschieren, sofern die Werke selbst sich nicht ausdrücklich gegen den Nationalsozialismus richten. Offenbar bestand beim Panini-Verlag Deutschland die Befürchtung, dass §86a des Strafgesetzbuches, der das Verwenden von Symbolen verfassungswidriger Organisationen ahndet, auf Higuris Darstellung zuträfe. Bei Tezukas „Adolf" (*Adorufu ni tsugu*, 1983-85) hingegen blieben die Hakenkreuze unverändert. Dass diese Geschichte nicht in einem normalen Mangamagazin, sondern in einer literarischen Wochenzeitschrift erstserialisiert worden war, dürfte für die deutsche Übersetzung weniger relevant gewesen sein als die Eindeutigkeit der antifaschistischen Grundaussage: „*Adorufu ni tsugu*, however, is unique among Tezuka's works of that period because of its serious treatment of

9_ Mizuki Shigeru: *Gekiga Hitler*, Chikuma bunko, 1990, Titel.



8_ Higuri You: „Ludwig II.“, Epilog zu Bd. 2, Panini, 2004, ohne Paginierung.

20th century history.“ (Penney 2005: 175).[8] Dabei geht es in dieser Geschichte um zwei Jungen namens Adolf und einen „Führer“ des gleichen Namens, dem jüdisches Blut nachgewiesen werden soll, keineswegs konsequent realistisch zu: Gewaltsamkeiten werden mit so vielen Geschwindigkeitslinien versehen, dass ihre Betrachtung nicht weh tut, Hitler und andere Nazis werden als karikatureske Figuren überzeichnet, die Genre-Register munter gewechselt. Solch Exzess ist anscheinend eher akzeptabel als Ästhetisierung aus weiblicher Hand. Allerdings soll bei der Vorbereitung der Jubiläumsausstellung „Ferne Gefährten“ im Reiss-Engelhorn-Museum Mannheim 2011 intern Widerspruch dagegen eingelegt worden sein, Tezukas „Adolf“ und Mizuki Shigerus „Hitler“ (Abb. 9) zu zeigen, allein der Titel wegen. Eine ähnliche Weigerung, Einzelwerke zu kontextualisieren und die Existenz anderer als der eigenen Kontexte in Rechnung zu stellen, wurde auch auf dem Internationalen Comic-Salon in Erlangen 2010

8 Wieviel Skepsis es dem Manga gegenüber gab, lässt sich der deutschen Wikipedia-Seite zu „Adolf“ entnehmen.

deutlich: Japanische BL-Manga gehörten verboten, meinte dort ein junger Mann; die Darstellung von Sex mit minderjährigen Jünglingen sei eine Aufforderung zur Pädophilie. Die gleiche Haltung zeigte die taz, als sie im Juni 2014 reißerisch titelte: „Japan verbietet Kinderpornografie: Mangas können schmutzig bleiben". Das japanische Parlament hatte endlich ein Gesetz gegen Kinderpornographie verabschiedet, Manga und Anime aber davon ausgenommen. Die meisten deutschen Zeitungen übernahmen einfach den dpa-Text: „Anzügliche Darstellungen von Kindern sind in Japan nicht schwer zu finden. In den Bahnen der Millionen-Hauptstadt Tokio sind immer wieder Männer zu sehen, die in Manga-Comics mit spärlich bekleideten Schulmädchen blättern." Die Forderung des japanischen Oberhausabgeordneten Yamada Tarō und des Autors Hirota Keisuke, Darstellungen im Manga nicht wahllos unter das Verdikt der Kinderpornographie zu stellen, sondern speziell „Aufzeichnungen von sexuellem Kindesmissbrauch" zu ahnden, kam bei den deutschen Medien nicht an, obwohl mehr als 700 japanische Kulturschaffende ihre Unterschrift dafür gegeben hatten. Abgesehen davon, dass man Manga lesende Männer in Tokyos Bahnen heutzutage regelrecht suchen muss, ließ die Berichterstattung zweierlei im Dunkeln: erstens, dass der Versuch, ursprünglich subkulturelle Medien staatlich zu regulieren, mit den Bemühungen der Regierungspartei um eine Verfassungsänderung Hand in Hand geht, und zweitens, dass nicht nur Männer das Medium Manga erotisch-pornographisch nutzen.

Higuri verwendet das Hakenkreuz nicht in einem erotischen Sinne, etwa um eine unheimliche und gleichwohl faszinierende, humorlose, doch überwältigende Kraft heraufzubeschwören. Das unterscheidet ihren „Ludwig II." von Ozaki Minamis „Bronze – Zetsuai since 1989", einem der ersten BL-Manga, die nach Deutschland gelangten. Die 1991 entstandene Eingangssequenz verwendet NS-Uniform und Hakenkreuz-Armbinde, um auf die konfliktgeladene Liebesbeziehung zwischen dem Popsänger Nanjō und seinem „Favoriten" einzustimmen. Aber auch wenn Higuri so etwas nicht tut, die Anlage ihrer Geschichte als BL-Manga an sich verhindert offenbar, ihre NS-kritische Einstellung zu wahrzunehmen. Zu sehr erinnern ihre sonst stark ästhetisierten Bilder an die rein stilistische

Inanspruchnahme nationalsozialistischer Symbole, wie man sie in Europa aus dem Punk kennt, der ja mit dem Hakenkreuz keine Ideologie zu repräsentieren suchte, sondern vielmehr ideologische Positionen als solche unterlief,[9] oder anders gesagt, Hakenkreuz-Diskurse parodierte (was eher mit einem provozierenden Grinsen als einem Lachen einherging).

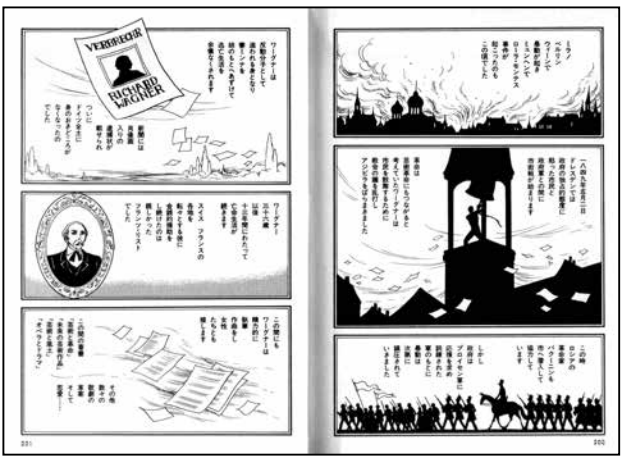
Die Verwendung des Hakenkreuzes in frühen japanischen BL-Manga verstärkte durchaus den Eindruck von BL als Subversion der Norm. Und sie ging gelegentlich einher mit der Erotisierung kaukasischer Männerkörper durch japanische Frauen, als Zeichnerinnen wie Leserinnen. In den 1960er Jahren hatten Mishima Yukio und sein Fotograf Hosoe Eikō eindrückliche Bilder des männlichen Körpers geschaffen, doch Mitte der 1970er Jahre begannen Zeichnerinnen von *shōnen'ai*-Geschichten, den Avantgardisten diese Form der Ästhetisierung aus der Hand zu nehmen. Dabei bezogen sie ihre Anregungen nicht, wie oft angenommen wird, aus dem japanischen Mittelalter (z.B. den *chigo monogatari*, Geschichten älterer Männer, die einen Knaben lieben), sondern von modernen Europäern wie Hermann Hesse und Luchino Visconti. Dessen Film *Die Verdammten* (1969) kam in Japan besser an als in Europa, wo man das vorherige kritische Potenzial des Regisseurs vermisste.[10] Higuri offenbart im Nachwort zum dritten Band ihres Manga, dass sie zumindest Viscontis *Ludwig II.* kennt.

Mizuno Hideko, eine der Pionierinnen des Mädchenmanga, hat ebenfalls eine Serie über „Ludwig II." (1986-88) herausgebracht, und selbst sie ästhetisiert ihren Protagonisten, obwohl sie eine Art Biographie anstrebt, wie die Zeittafeln am Ende jedes Bandes belegen. Im Rückgriff auf Moritz-von-Schwindt-Malereien und Jugendstil-artig geschwungene Schwanenhälse schildert sie das Eintauchen ihres Helden in die Sagen- und Opernwelt. Anders als bei Higuri sind diese Sequenzen aber nicht auf Erotisierung aus, nicht einmal jene, die von Ludwigs intimer Jugendfreundschaft zu Paul von Thurn und Taxis erzählt. Mizuno zeigt die beiden zwar beim Händchenhalten und

9 Vgl. Hebdiges Argumentation zum Stil am Beispiel des Punk.
10 Vgl. Ishida (2008: 133).

10_ Mizuno Hideko: „Ludwig II.“, Bd.1, Chūōkōronsha, 1987, S. 126-127.

11_ Mizuno Hideko: „Ludwig II.“, Chūōkōronsha, 1987-88, Bd. 1 & 2.



12_ Mizuno Hideko: „Ludwig II.“, Bd.1, Chūōkōronsha, 1987, S. 200-201.

sogar gemeinsam im Bett, aber sie verzichtet auf eine explizite Sexszene (Abb. 10). Ihr dient die Episode vielmehr dazu, Ludwigs wachsende Einsamkeit zu erklären: Nach der Verheiratung Sissis und dem Abschied von seiner Gouvernante Sybilla von Meilhaus trennt man ihn von einem weiteren Seelenverwandten. Gleichwohl bleibt bemerkenswert, dass Homosexualität ins Bild rückt. Das verdankt sich zweifelsohne dem Mädchenmanga, der damals schon ein Jahrzehnt lang Geschichten von „Knabenliebe" hervorbrachte. Dessen typische Stilistik wird hier allerdings zurückhaltend eingesetzt und dient vor allem dazu, emotionale Höhepunkte zu verbildlichen: Ludwigs erstes Erlebnis der Lohengrin-Oper sprengt alles, auch das Layout der Mangaseiten.

Mizunos „Ludwig II." erschien nicht in einem Mangamagazin, sondern in einer Frauenzeitschrift, deren Verlag 1987-88 auch zwei Buchbände herausbrachte (Abb. 11). Der dritte steht nach wie vor aus, so dass die Erzählung nur die Jahre 1845-1865 umfasst. Sie beginnt mit Ludwigs Geburt, um dann – anders als Higuris Manga – chronologisch fortzuschreiten, doch im Prolog wird auch hier das Ende von einem weiblichen Ich (der Gouvernante) vorweggenommen. Dass Mizunos Serie sehr viel realistischer als die meisten Mädchenmanga vorgeht, verdankt sie ihren erwachseneren Adressatinnen, die durch die Zeitschrift nicht als spezifische Geschmacksgemeinschaft, sondern als allgemeines Publikum angesprochen werden. So sind auch ausführliche historische Hintergrundinformationen möglich. Mizuno fasst sie in Schattenriss-Sequenzen, z.B. die Biographie Wagners bis zum Zeitpunkt seiner Begegnung mit Ludwig II. (Abb. 12).

Die Beziehung von König und Komponist steht für sie ganz offensichtlich im Zentrum (Abb. 13). Ihre Neigung zum deutschsprachigen Raum ist auch in anderen Arbeiten zu beobachten[11] und grundlegend durch die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts motiviert. Das zeigte sich übrigens bereits 1958, als sie mit den Zeichnern Ishi[no] mori[12] Shōtarō und Akatsuka Fujio ein Pseudonym für die

11 Z.B. *Hoffmanns Erzählungen* (1978-79) sowie *Elisabeth* (1993-96) – letztere erschien ein Jahr eher als Higuris „Ludwig II." im gleichen Mangamagazin.
12 Erst 1986 erweiterte er die Schreibung seines Familiennamens um das „no".

gemeinsamen Geschichten in der Mädchenzeitschrift *Shōjo Club* suchte. Alle drei waren Wagner-Fans und wollten deshalb einen deutschen Namen verwenden. Schließlich kamen sie auf die Ähnlichkeit ihrer Initialen M, I, A – bei englischer Aussprache – mit „Meier". Sie stellten noch ein U voran, so dass die Kombination auf Japanisch wie das umgangssprachliche *umai ya* (toll!) klang: U-MIA.

Ende der 1980er Jahre, als Mizunos „Ludwig II." erschien, arbeitete ihr Vorbild Tezuka an seiner Beethoven-Serie „Ludwig B." (1987-89) und an einer dritten Adaption des Faust-Stoffes („Neo-Faust", 1988).[13] Klassische Musik und Literatur boten sich für Manga-Adaptionen an, solange mit einem entsprechenden Vorwissen beim Publikum gerechnet werden konnte. In dem deutsch-japanischen Comic-Blog zum Jubiläumsjahr 2011 spielten sie jedenfalls keine Rolle.

13_ Mizuno Hideko: „Ludwig II.", Bd.2, Chūōkōronsha, 1988, S. 16-17.

„Deutschland" als alternativer Comics-Stil

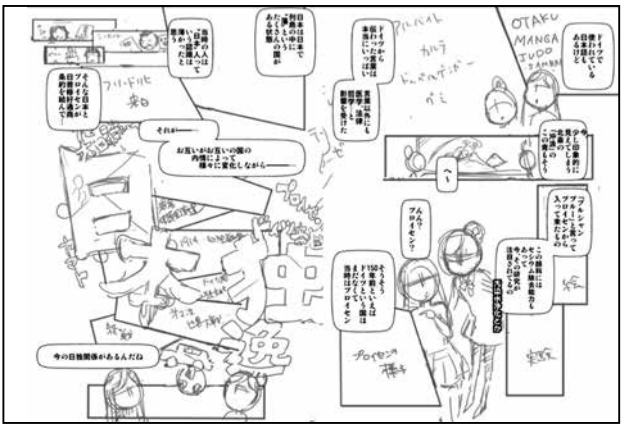
Unter dem Titel *Nichimandoku* erschienen zwischen dem 24. Januar und dem 7. Oktober 2011 in wöchentlichem Abstand insgesamt 36 Comics-Doppelseiten auf der Webseite des Goethe-Instituts Tokyo. Der Blog war als interkultureller Dialog gedacht, zwischen Japan (*nichi*) und Deutschland (*doku*) mittels Manga (*man*) (Abb. 14).[14] Anfangs nur in japanischer Sprache geplant, bezog sich das Kürzel *man* im Titel auf *Manga* als Oberbegriff für

14_ Dirk Schwieger: *Nichimandoku*, Flyer, 2011.

alle erdenklichen Formen von Comics (und nicht nur solche im Manga-Stil), doch stilistisch sollte erkennbar bleiben, dass sich zwei verschiedene Kulturen begegneten. Anreger war der deutsche Botschafter in Japan, Dr. Volker Stanzel, ein promovierter Japanologe. Er kannte den Comics-Blog *Moresukine: Wöchentlich aus Tokyo* (2005) und schlug dessen Zeichner Dirk Schwieger als Vertreter der deutschen Seite vor. Zur Vertreterin der japanischen Seite wurde Matsuoka Waka, deren handwerklich bestechende Mangaseiten durch die großäugigen Figuren ebenso wie durch die dekorativen Raster (*screentone*) und zudem durch die Variation der Schriften sofort eine mangaesque Japanizität suggerieren. Der Tatsache, dass die japanische Seite feminin besetzt wurde – mit einer Zeichnerin, die auch noch auf den Mädchenmanga spezialisiert ist –, mag man orientalistische Klischeehaftigkeit unterstellen: Seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert haben Europäer Japan ja gern im Zeichen des Kleinen, Feinen und mithin Weiblichen verehrt. In Wirklichkeit verdankt sich die Teilnahme von Matsuoka Waka einem Zufall. Denn es war nicht leicht, in der Kürze der Zeit und ohne öffentliche Ausschreibung in Japan jemanden zu finden, der professionell genug arbeitet, um einen monatelangen Austausch wie *Nichimandoku* durchzustehen, aber auch die dafür nötige Zeit aufbringen kann.

In *Nichimandoku* erschien das Verhältnis von „Deutschland" und „Japan" in Form verschiedener Stile: auf der einen Seite alternativer Comic, auf der anderen Seite konventioneller *shōjo manga* – und dazwischen Christina Plakas Bildsprache, die in ihrer Professionalität dem Manga sehr nahe kommt, aber z.B. auf manga-typische Rasterfolien oder computer-generierte Bildflächen verzichtet und sich auch thematisch keinem geschlechtsspezifischen Genre zuordnen lassen will. Während der alternative Comics-Künstler in eigener Person auftrat, erfand die japanische Zeichnerin die 17jährigen Oberschülerinnen Sakura und Yuri. Diese kannten sich mit Manga, Anime und Cosplay aus und ließen schon mal hören, dass sie *Heidi* ursprünglich nicht für eine japanische Produktion

13 Vgl. Phillipps (2000), Schmitz-Emans (2012: 302-316).
14 Vgl. auch Richter (2012: 118-123).



15_ Matsuoka Waka: *Nichimandoku*, Nr. 34 (Entwurf), 2011.

gehalten hatten. Aber ansonsten schienen sie jenseits von Gesellschaft, Politik und Kunst zu leben – auf handwerklich bestechenden Oberflächen (Abb. 15, 16). Einerseits also fließende Panels, dialogisches Geplänkel und ein induktives Vorgehen, welches die Doppelseite selten als Ganzes vorab entwirft, sich eher Schritt für Schritt von oben rechts nach unten links vortastet. Andererseits ein meist deduktiver Ansatz, der die inhaltliche Grundaussage mit einem gestalterischen Konzept in Einklang zu bringen sucht, um kritisch anzuregen. Das Bemühen, der Seitengestaltung als solcher die Vermittlung eines inhaltlichen Anliegens aufzutragen und eindeutige Blickführungen, wo nötig, dem Gesamtbild der Doppelseite zu opfern, wirkte auf das japanische Publikum fremdartig. Manchmal erschloß sich erst über die sprachliche Information, also im Nachhinein, in welcher Reihenfolge die Sprechblasen zu lesen seien, oder es wurden Vertikale und Horizontale aus forminhaltlichen statt vordergründig narrativen Gründen verschränkt.[15]

Im Manga, wie ihn Matsuoka Waka hier repräsentierte, gibt es keine Widerhaken, die den Fluss stören und zu ungewohnten Gedanken einladen würden, sei es über die heutige Welt oder über die Darstellungsmöglichkeiten und -grenzen von Manga. Aber die Dreifachkatastrophe vom 11. März verleitete sogar Sakura und Yuri zu erstaunlich politischen Äußerungen: Sie gaben zu,

15 Vgl. z.B. Matsuoka et al. (2014), inklusiver einiger neuer Seiten.

16_ Matsuoka Waka: *Nichimandoku*, Nr. 34 (Endfassung), 2011.

über Atomkraft nie richtig nachgedacht zu haben, auch wenn die in der Schule behandelt worden war, und sie gestanden, dem Regierungs-Mythos von den sicheren AKW geglaubt zu haben. Ohne den Dialog mit dem alternativen Zeichner wäre Matsuoka wohl nie so explizit geworden. Beispielsweise schien es von Anfang an schwierig, im Rahmen von *Nichimandoku* auf die Kriegsvergangenheit zu sprechen zu kommen. Nun aber bemerkte die Zeichnerin Wissenslücken hinsichtlich der Geschichte ihrer Heimatstadt Hiroshima, z.B. der Regionalisierung der Atombombenerfahrung oder der Diskriminierung der Opfer, aber auch der Rezeption des Atombombenmanga *Barfuß durch Hiroshima* von Nakazawa Keiji. Bei allem spontan geäußerten Unmut bestand sie allerdings darauf, in jede Folge einen Hoffnungsschimmer einzubauen: „Lasst uns die AKW-Arbeiter im Geiste unterstützen! Lasst uns nicht zu viel kritisieren, solange Menschen in Tōhoku leiden! Lasst uns Gemüse von dort essen!" Japanische Leser/innen des Comic-Blogs vermissten genau das auf der deutschen Seite.

Nach dem 11. März 2011 wurde *Nichimandoku* zum unter Zeitdruck produzierten Zeitdokument. In dem, was zur Sprache kam und was nicht, zeigten sich nicht nur die individuellen (oder genre-bedingten) Einstellungen der beteiligten Zeichner/innen, sondern auch grundlegende Unterschiede in der politischen Kultur Japans und Deutschlands. Christina Plaka, die von Juni bis September 2011 den deutschen Part inne hatte, erwähnte die Auswirkungen der Dreifachkatastrophe

eher nebenbei, gerade weil ihr diese nahe gingen, auch wenn sie sich nicht in Nordostjapan, sondern in Kyoto aufhielt. Und dass Matsuoko Wakas niedliche Mädchen das AKW-Problem überhaupt ansprachen, wird zu schätzen wissen, wer sich an die zeitgleiche (Nicht-)Berichterstattung der analogen Medien in Japan erinnert und die Politikabstinenz der Manga-Kultur kennt.[16]

Der 11. März 2011 verschaffte *Nichimandoku* auf deutsch eine Aufmerksamkeil, die der Blog sonst nicht erlangt hätte, auch dank der Veröffentlichung durch Martin Jurgeit in der *COMIX*. Durch die politische Aktualität rückte aber auch in den Hintergrund, dass die deutsch-japanischen Beziehungen hier ebenso Zweck wie Mittel waren und zwar für den Versuch, unterschiedliche Comics-Kulturen miteinander in Berührung zu bringen. Bei der Abschlussveranstaltung am 2. Oktober 2011 im Kyoto International Manga Museum sprachen zumindest die Zeichner/innen davon, dass *Nichimandoku* ihnen die Augen für vermeintliche Selbstverständlichkeiten geöffnet habe – nicht nur hinsichtlich „Deutschland" und „Japan", sondern auch „Manga" und „Comics".

16 Ganz offensichtlich aus einer Außenposition heraus kritisierend, zumal ohne den Versuch, die Zeichner/innen zu befragen: Osawa (2011).

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MAGAZINES AND BOOKS

CHANGES IN THE MANGA MARKET

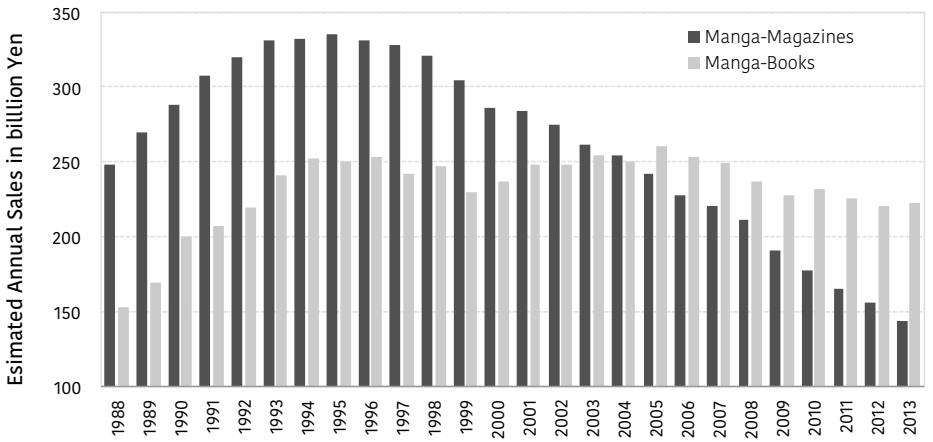
co-authored with **Enno Berndt**

Two-sided business model

Even with its shrunken annual sales volume of 367 billion Yen in 2013 (graph 1), printed manga holds still a market share of one third of all printed publications. In terms of its structure, however, notable changes have been going on since the early 2000s. This applies, first of all, to the 276 manga magazines which form the backbone of the manga industry and market.[1] Most of them serialize graphic narratives on a weekly or monthly basis, with individual *tankōbon* (book) editions to follow, if popular enough. The close interrelation between magazines as market makers on the one hand and *tankōbon* as profit generators on the other hand was at the core of the manga business model from the early 1970s to the late 1990s. This very model and its recent changes are at the center of attention below, whereas the increasingly important 'media mix,' manga's diverse distribution channels (including the specifically Japanese variant of wholesalers, discounters like *Book Off*, and internet cafés that provide graphic narratives [*manga kissa*]) as well as the recent relevance of foreign markets are not taken into consideration here.

After magazines for children had increased the share of manga pages successively during the 1950s, a new publication format was established in March 1959, the manga weekly, taking its departure from the concurrently launched *Shōnen Magazine* (Kodansha)

1 See Nagata (2014), based on AJPEA Research Institute for Publications, ed. (2013).



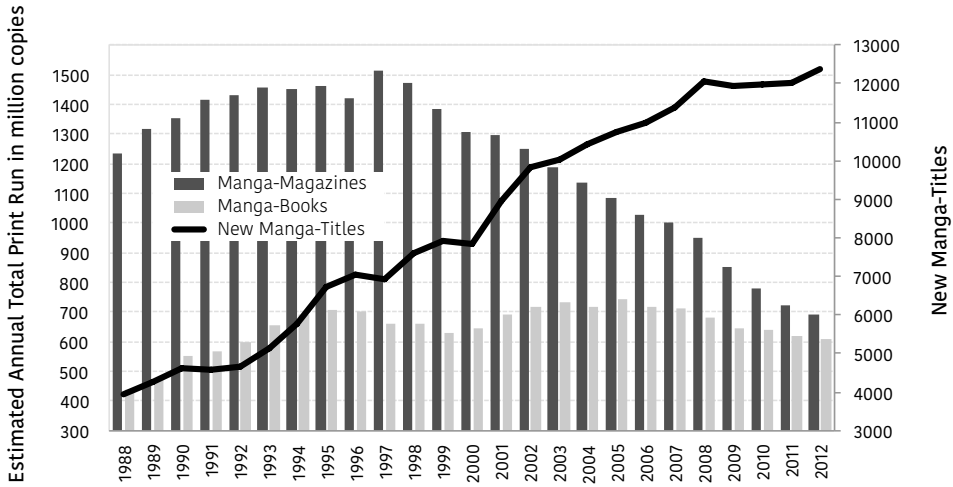
Fiscal Year, Source: All Japan Magazine and Book Publishers and Editors Association, Annual Report on Indicators on Publication Business in Japan (continued)

Graph 1: Estimated Annual Sales of Manga-Magazines and Manga-Books in Japan (in billion Yen).

and *Shōnen Sunday* (Shogakukan). Not quite a decade later, in 1968, the leading publishers introduced book editions under the name of *komikkusu* (comics). By average 12 x 18 cm in size and running to 200 pages, these *tankōbon* were supposed to make the cheaply produced, low-price and highly volatile manga material profitable. The first editions were *Kodansha Comic*, *Jump Comics* (fig. 1), and—shōjo manga-related—*Margaret Comics*.

As distinct from outside of Japan, where the publication format of the manga magazine did ultimately not take roots and manga have been circulating mainly in book form instead, in Japan, the *tankōbon* had remained second-rate with respect to print run and actually sold copies until recently (graphs 2 & 3). Magazines saw their commercial heyday in the mid-1990s. In December 1994, the weekly *Shōnen Jump* set a record with its print run of 6.53 million copies per weekly issue. But even the flagships among the magazines did not yield high profit margins for the publishing houses. In comparison to *tankōbon*, magazines have higher print runs (graph 2) and sell more copies, but with respect to sales, they are less lucrative (graphs 1 & 4), or to rephrase, books realize higher prizes. Magazines are similar to a catalog, supposed to introduce a broad

1_ A famous example of Jump Comics. Oda Eiichirō: "One-Piece", vol. 16; Shueisha, 2000.

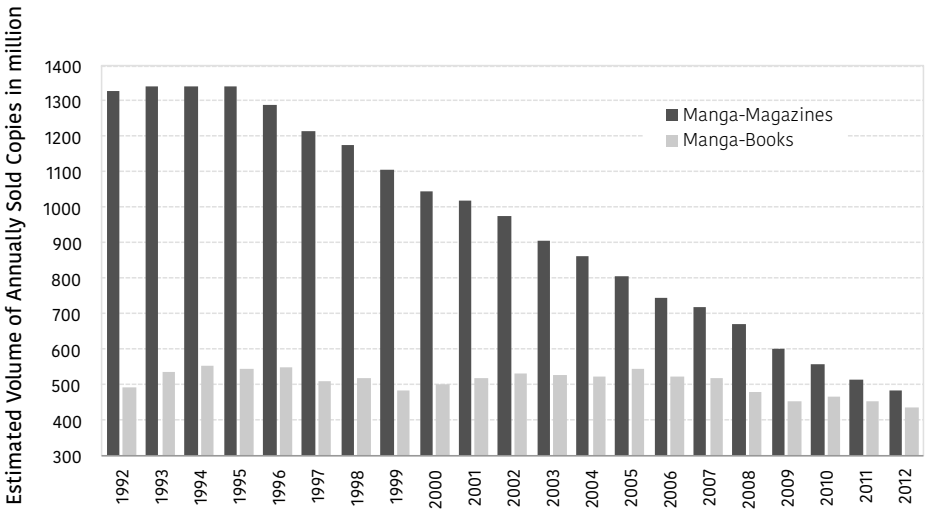


Graph 2: Estimated Annual Total Print Run of Manga Magazines and Manga Books in Japan (in million copies).

range and to draw attention. Furthermore, it is their task to hook readers and involve them in quasi-virtual communities via letters to the editor and columns, but also direct address by the artist in the page margins of their series. Thus, manga's business model has been characterized by the balance in segmentation and range of product line. This has manifested itself not only in age and gender-specific magazines (*shōnen*, *shōjo*, *seinen*), but also within one and the same magazine which serializes a dozen or more manga, and sometimes also one-shots, side by side on the pages of the same issue. But the times of plenty are over, and a new business model has not come in sight yet.

Books on the rise

In 1995, when the manga industry reached its absolute climax, the annual sales of all (officially published)[2] manga magazines and books amounted to 587 billion Yen (graph 1), roughly one and a half times more than the total print sales in 2013. Taking the highest figure as the standard leads necessarily to lamentations about decline, especially if manga is defined in terms of traditional print matter. The journal *The Tsukuru*, which publishes a special issue on the manga market

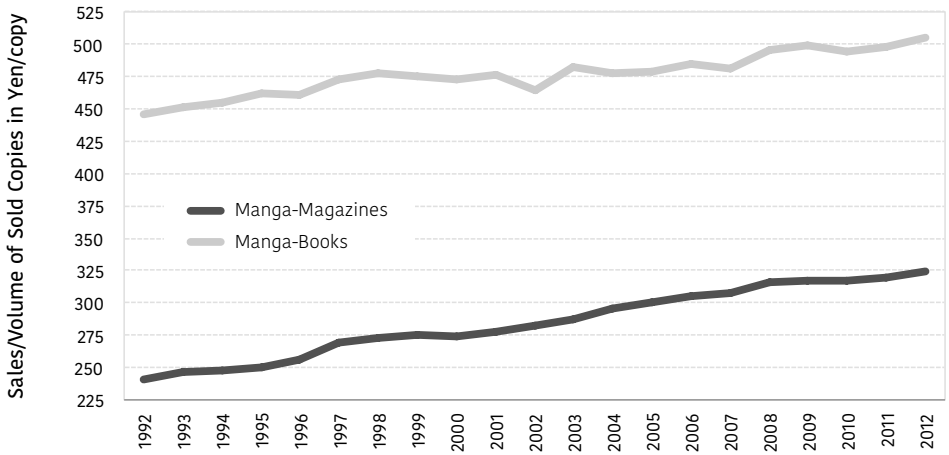


Graph 3: Estimated Volume of Annually Sold Manga-Magazines and Manga-Books in Japan (in million copies).

of the previous fiscal year each summer, sees only three clearly profitable manga magazines in 2013: the now-monthly *Korokoro Comic* (Shogakukan, 1977-) for children, whose position is closely tied to Fujiko Fujio's "Doraemon" in addition to the market leaders *Shōnen Magazine* (Kodansha, 1959-) and *Shōnen Jump* (Shueisha, 1968-; fig. 2, 3), weeklies targeted at boys. *Shōnen Jump* had experienced a crisis after the completion of its long-running bestsellers "Dragon Ball" and "Slam Dunk" in 1995 and 1996 respectively. Until the new series "One Piece" (1997-), "Hunter x Hunter" (1998-) und "Naruto" (1999-) had finally gained popularity, that is, between 1997 and 2002, *Shōnen Jump* held only second rank of all manga magazines. But even since recovering as number one, its print run has been declining continually, from 6.53 million copies

2_ Launched as a biweekly: *Shōnen Jump*, No. 1, 1 August 1968; Shueisha.

2 Yano Research Institute, Ltd., a leading market-research firm, has considered fan productions (apparent already since the 1990s increasingly distributed in Tokyo's Akihabara and Ikebukuro [*Otome road*], on fan conventions, and via the Internet) in its statistics since 2006 (graph 9). According to them, the "*dōjinshi* market" amounted to 47 billion Yen in 2006 and to 72 billion Yen in 2013 (the latter remaining still higher than the market for "E-comics"), but these data are to be handled with due care as the criteria of elicitation stay obscure.



Fiscal Year, Source: All Japan Magazine and Book Publishers and Editors Association, Annual Report on Indicators on Publication Business in Japan (continued)

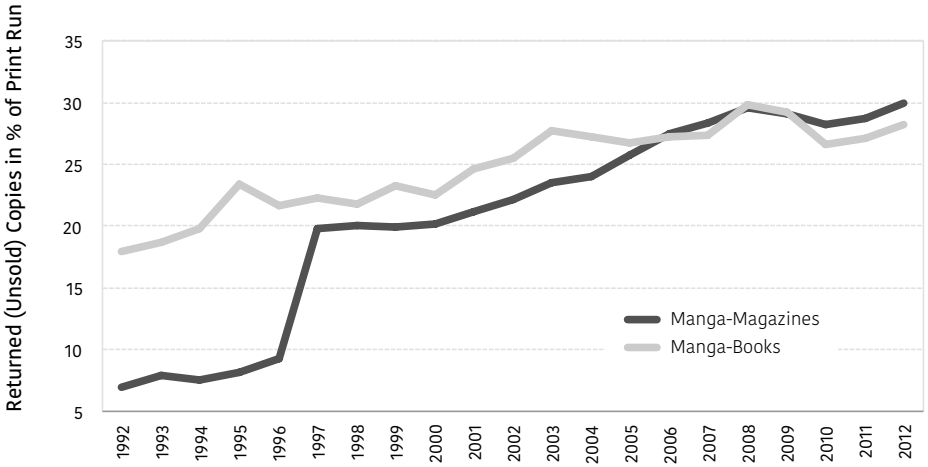
Graph 4: Estimated Average Price per Sold Copy of Manga-Magazines and Manga-Books in Japan (in Yen).

at the end of 1994 to 2.7 million in 2013. By comparison, the print run of the likewise weekly *Shōnen Magazine*, which had already fallen below 1.5 million in 2011, added up to approximately 1.3 million copies in 2013 (*The Tsukuru* 2014: 38).

Japan's manga market is still dominated by the three big players Shueisha, Shogakukan and Kodansha, which together hold a share of 60%, but during the last decade, their commercial emphasis has clearly shifted from magazines to books. In the fiscal year of 2013, the bestselling *tankōbon* were vol. 12 of Isayama Hajime's "Attack on Titan" (*Shingeki no kyojin*, in the monthly *Bessatsu Shōnen Magazine*, Kodansha) with a first edition of 2.25 million copies;[3] vol. 73 of Oda Eiichirō's "One Piece" (in *Shōnen Jump*, Shueisha, 4 million copies), and vol. 11 of Arakawa Hiromu's "Silver Spoon"

3_ Weekly magazine *Shōnen Jump*, No. 4-5, 2014; Shueisha.

3 The TV anime, broadcast April through September 2013, clearly affected the number of book copies sold until January 2014, and the serializing *Bessatsu Shōnen Magazine*, an offshoot of the second market leader, where newcomers are tested, was able to stabilize economically, increasing its print run from 60.000 to 140.000 (Nakano 2014: 67). Whereas the big publishers tended to confine themselves to licensing previously, now they engage actively in media convergence.

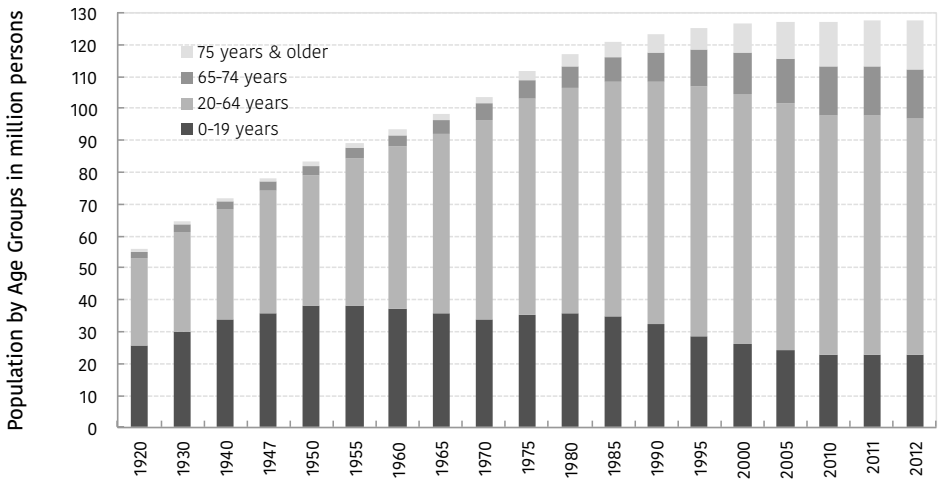


Fiscal Year, Own Calculatation, based on: All Japan Magazine and Book Publishers and Editors Association, Annual Report on Indicators on Publication Business in Japan (continued)

Graph 5: Estimated Percentage of Returned (Unsold) Copies of Manga Magazines and Manga Books in Japan (in % of Print Run).

(in *Shōnen Sunday*, Shogakukan) with 1.2 million copies, followed on the second rank by vol. 68 of Kishimoto Masashi's "Naruto" (in *Shōnen Jump*, Shueisha, 1.4 Mio.), vol. 79 of Aoyama Gōshō's "*Meitantei* [Detective] *Conan*" (in *Shōnen Sunday*, Shogakukan, 700.000), and vol. 9 of "Saint Young Men" (*Seinto Niisan*) by female artist Nakamura Hikaru (965.000). The latter is rather surprising as the manga is being serialized in a monthly with a print run of only 20.000, namely *Morning 2* [*tsū*] (2006-), an offshoot of Kodansha's renowned *Morning*.

The sales figures of the bestselling *tankōbon* suggest how important book editions have become for the publishing houses. Actually, from 2005 onwards, books have been prevailing (graph 1). By now, *tankōbon* generate 61% of the estimated annual sales of printed manga, and their sales increased by 1.3% in 2013 whereas the sales of magazines decreased by 8%. Obviously, enlarging the product line is not the only way to commercial success. So far the big publishers have been relying on a broad range of products which were not supposed to hit the demand completely, as can be deduced from the rate of returned copies (graph 5): about 30% more copies are printed than are actually sold—an astonishing waste, in economic as well as ecological regards. At the same time, the total

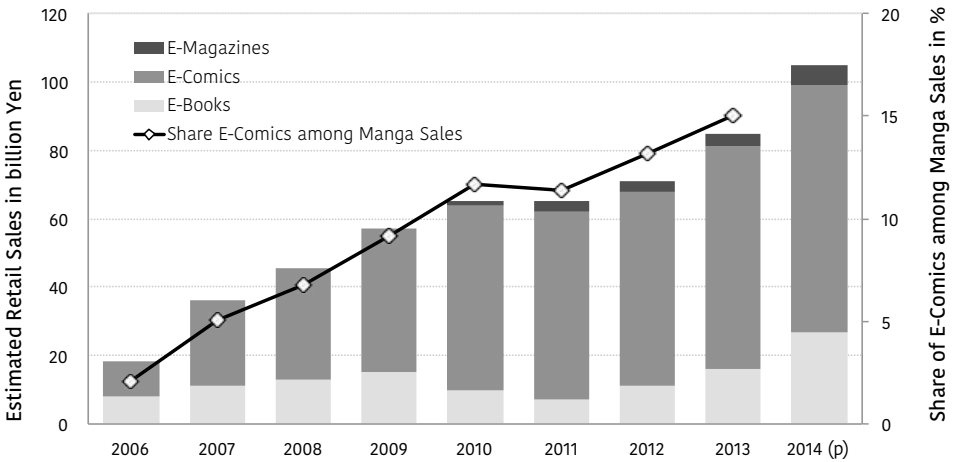


Graph 6: Population of Japan by Age Groups (in million persons).

amount of manga titles has leaped notably (graph 2). Some major magazines increased the number of series per issue: *Shōnen Magazine*, for example, to now 22-23 from previously 18. Others try to spread the risk on many shoulders, such as *Morning* with its offshoot *Morning 2* or the sister magazine *Afternoon* (1986-) with *good! Afternoon* (2008-). The latter has produced another manga which became first successful as a *tankōbon*, Sakurai Gamon's "Ajin: Demi-Human" (2012-); its vol. 4, released in May 2014, saw a first edition of 500.000 copies.

The new prevalence of the *tankōbon* rests, first of all, on Japan's demographic change. The prime target group of the magazines, that is, readers up to 20 years, is shrinking (graph 6).[4] Their media usage is dominated by smartphone, computer and TV rather than print matter; with regard to entertainment they turn to anime and digital games rather than the still, mute, and monochrome graphic narratives of manga. As older readers start to prevail, manga cannot easily be conceived as children's or youth culture anymore. Especially men stay loyal to the magazines they have been reading

4 The age range "0-19 years" in graph 7 relates to the fact, that the legal age is 20 in Japan.

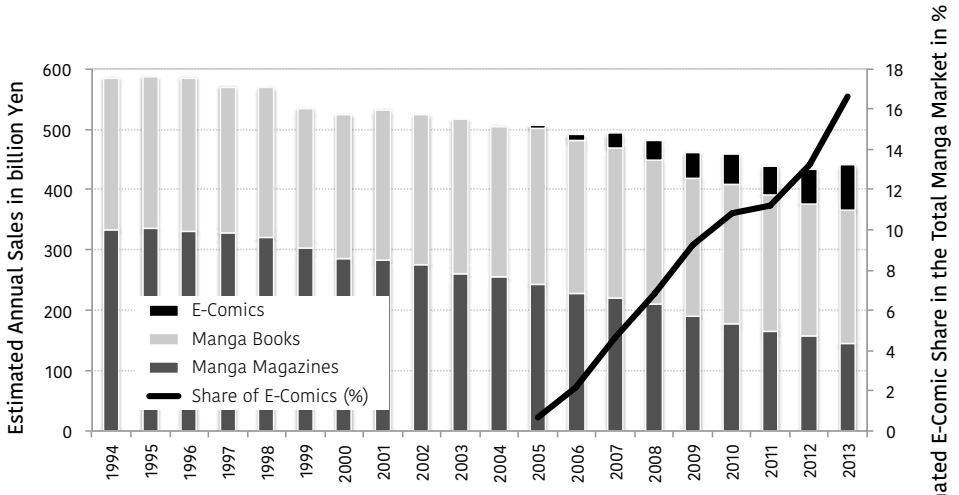


Fiscal Year, Own Calculation, based on: Yano Research Institute, Ltd., Survey on E-Publication Market, 2014 & Survey on Fan Market (continued)

Graph 7: Market Volume (based on Retail Prices) of E-Publications (in billion Yen) and Share of E-Comics among Manga-Sales (in %) in Japan.

from childhood on. Yet, due to the professional and domestic duties which come along with adulthood, most of them are not able to maintain the excessive kind of manga consumption they may have practiced in their youth. In addition, grown-ups usually have a specific demand. Instead of seeking for participation in a taste community or screening the product range offered by manga magazines, many older readers show an inclination to particular artists, works, and styles. The book form accommodates such inclination, and it holds also the potential to go beyond age and gender-related genres. This again affects the magazines, especially if their new role is to serve book sales. Especially *seinen* titles slump in numbers. In turn, the decline has led to a de-gendering of the *seinen* genre: initially targeted at non-infant male readers (fig. 4), it is, at least in part, becoming a non-gendered kind of manga for mature readers, not rarely appearing in 'alternative' magazines. Suffice to point to series such as "Emma" by Mori Kaoru (2002-2006, 7 vols) and "Therma-e Roma-e" by Yamazaki Mari (2008-13, 6 vols), both in the monthly *Comic Beam* (Enterbrain) which has a print run of only 20.000, the above-mentioned "Saint Young Men" by Nakamura Hikaru (2006-, 11 vols) or Yoshizaki Seimu's "*Kingyo-ya Koshoten*" (Gold-Fish Used Books, 2006-), both of which started out from the monthly *IKKI*. The fact that three

4_ Weekly *Young Magazine*, No. 5, 2012; Kodansha.



Graph 8: Estimated Annual Sales of Manga Magazines, Manga Books and E-Comics in Japan (in billion Yen).

of these four artists use pen names which obscure their own gender as women (Mori, Nakamura, Yoshizaki) also points to the de-gendering mentioned above.

Digitalization

The monthly magazine *IKKI* (fig. 5), launched by Shogakukan in 2013 and home to numerous non-gendered manga, released its last analog issue in October 2014. As the print run had not exceeded 10.000 in the end, the only option left was to aim at an online edition. In contrast to the Republic of Korea, in Japan, E-comics have started to gain momentum only in 2012, when smartphone and tablet finally began to spread. In March 2014, the respective market had a reported volume of 74 billion Yen (Nakano 2014: 68) (graphs 7 & 8). The very fact that the upturn resulted in part from the Triple Disaster of 11 March 2011, is not mentioned by any of the relevant Japanese White Papers. Back then, the manga industry had to face a severe shortage of paper supply, as the majority of such factories were located in the affected region of Tōhoku. And there was also a shortage of gas, which impaired the delivery of printed material. Against this backdrop a small bookstore in Sendai—the Itsutsubashi branch

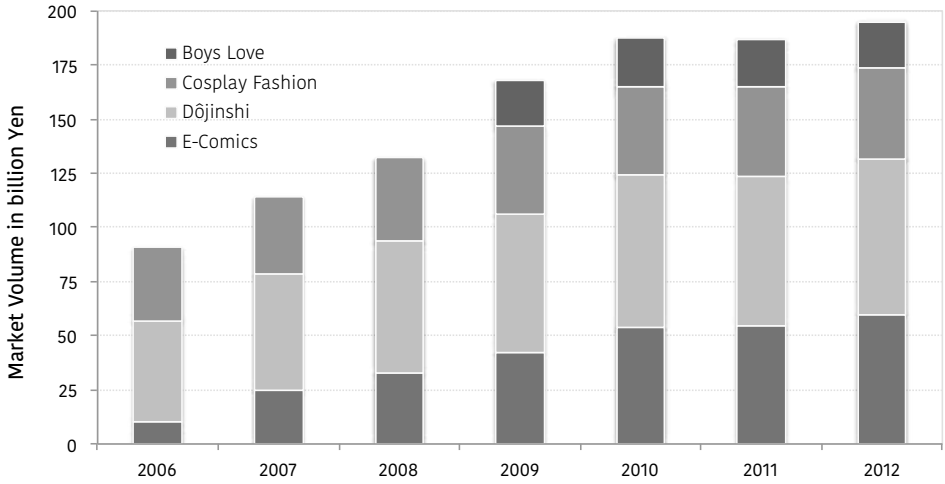
5_ Monthly magazine *IKKI*, No. 12, 2014; Shogakukan.

of bookseller Shiokawa—made the only new issue of *Shōnen Jump* which it could obtain available to anyone for free, three days after the disaster. The newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* honored the branch manager for his initiative and the manga magazine for its exceptional consent with one of the Tezuka Osamu Cultural Awards 2012. For a few weeks beginning on 24 March 2011, *Shōnen Jump* published their current issues on the Web for free, and other manga magazines followed.

At present, the digitalization expedited by major manga publishers takes mainly two forms: on the one hand, re-utilization of already published works (the major challenge being the adjustment of pages, especially verbal parts, to the smaller smartphone monitor), and on the other hand, the publication of newly produced manga online with a view to subsequent *tankōbon* editions. Labeled *born digital*, the latter usually occurs in the form of web magazines, some of which are released concurrently with their related print magazine, differing partially in contents; others take on the role of an additional issue with completely new contents. A pioneer in that regard was the web magazine *Gangan Online* (Square Enix, 2008-). Shueisha began in August 2013 to provide new and exclusive contents on a daily basis via *Jump LIVE*. The Kadokawa group followed a few months later with *Comic Walker*; Kodansha launched *Manga Box*. Shueisha's first *born digital* hit was "Wanpanman" by ONE (whose pen name reads *wan* as the first syllable of the manga title). Created in 2009 with the simple objective to practice the software "Manga Studio" (which is named "ComicStudio" in Japan), this gag-action series received 20.000 hits daily before long. In June 2012, *Young Jump Web Comics* (*Tonari no Young Jump*) began to publish the complimentary remake, subtitled "One-punch Man." Since December 2012, a *Jump Comics* book edition has been released, 7 volumes so far, the last of which saw first print runs of 450.000 copies.

Thus, the major publishers try to uphold the tried and tested business model with new technological means. At present, they seem to strive mainly for a site to generate manga contents that leads to the familiar *tankōbon* edition. Market observer Nakano Haruyuki considers it possible that digitalization amounts for nothing more than the cheap compensation of paper-

6_ Weekly magazine *Big Comic Spirits*, No. 25, 2014; Shogakukan.



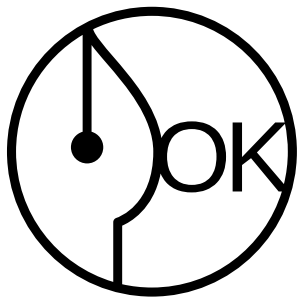
Graph 9: Volume of Fan (Otaku) Market in Japan (in billion Yen).

based products, as long as a new media-specific stylistics fails to materialize (2014: 72). So far efforts relate rather to quantity than quality: to a significant extent, the above-mentioned increase in manga titles harks back to the mere duplication of manga supply due to the web magazines.

If quality is understood not just as a matter of individual and readily available works, but in a broader sense related to conditions for unfolding creativity, then it deserves to be mentioned briefly, that the omnipotence of the major publishers and their distribution channels is beginning to be challenged. This manifests itself, for example, in the changing role of editors. Magazine editors have played a crucial part in making manga culturally and economically operate, so that artists can actually earn their living by creating comics. Editors have served as producers, mediators, even co-authors. But as employees, they have to give priority to their publisher, at least ultimately. Consequently, some prefer to work outside big companies, as agents of their artists. Mikawa Kaori, for example, who has been an independent editor since 1996, enjoys a good reputation within the industry for making Niimiya Kazuko's series "Nodame Cantabile" (in *Kiss*, 2001-2010; 25 vols) a bestseller. Nagasaki Takashi is known for his collaboration with *mangaka* Urasawa Naoki (explicitly with respect to "Pluto", 2003-09, 8 vols); before becoming a free author and

independent manga editor, he worked at Shogakukan for twenty years, 1999-2001 as chief editor of the weekly magazine *Big Comic Spirits* (fig. 6). Sadoshima Yōhei, since 2002 an editor of *Morning* and there in charge of Koyama Chūya's "Space Brothers" (*Uchū kyōdai*, 2007-), started his own business in 2012; with two partners, he runs the *Cork Agency* which represents, among others, Anno Moyoco. Also in 2012, Takekuma Kentarō launched his online manga magazin *Dennō MAVO* to promote up-and-coming artists which have difficulties catching the attention of the major publishers through the usual channels (such as submitting works and participating in rookie competitions).

Some artists take action themselves. Satō Shūhō, for example, has demonstrated how to contract out of a non-agreeable agreement. Tired of a certain editorial tutelage, he continued his bestseller "Say Hello to Black Jack" (*Black Jack ni yoroshiku*, in *Morning*, Kodansha, 2002-06) with a different magazine of a different publisher (in *Big Comic Spirits*, Shogakukan, 2007-10). He has even made it available online for derivative use by fans. Similarly committed to manga as a culture is Akamatsu Ken, creator of bestsellers such as "Love Hina" (in *Shōnen Magazine* 1998-2001, 14 vols). Since 2011, he has been operating the website *J-Comi*, since July 2014 also known under the name *Zeppan Manga Toshokan* (Library of Out-of-Stock Manga), which makes old works, fan creations, and even pirated editions available online, charging a fee only for erotica. In addition, Akamatsu has introduced a new license in 2013, the so-called *Dōjin Mark* (fig. 7). This symbol is supposed to indicate that an artist is at ease with fannish derivations and transformations of his work. Akamatsu himself placed it on the title page of his series "UQ Holder" (*Shōnen Magazine*) in August 2013; Nihei Tsutomu marked his series "Knights of Sidonia" (*Sidonia no kishi*, in *Afternoon*, 2009-) with it in October 2013. Although not widely accepted for different reasons, the initiative as such illuminates the importance that established mangaka attribute to the 'inofficial' realm of fan-created manga, which is often disparaged as imitative and amateurish and which not always comes into view when the 'manga market' is at issue. Last but at least it indicates that the sales revenue of major publishers and their print products is by far not the only criteria to assess the vitality of manga.



7_ *Dōjin mark*. Common Sphere (http://commonsphere.jp/doujin)

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Das „Asakiyumemishi" im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs

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