

KLAUS ANTONI
Universität Hamburg

Momotarō (The Peach Boy) and the Spirit of Japan: Concerning the Function of a Fairy Tale in Japanese Nationalism of the Early Shōwa Age*

Abstract

This article is concerned with a famous Japanese fairy tale, Momotarō, which was used during the war years in school readers as a primary part of nationalistic propaganda. The tale and its central motif are analyzed and traced back through history to its earliest forms. Heroes from legend and history offered perfect identification patterns and images for the propagation of state ideals that were spread through education, the military, and war propaganda. Momotarō subtly transmitted to young school pupils that which official Japan looked upon as the goal of its ideological education: through a fairy tale the gate to the “Japanese spirit” was opened.

Key words: Momotarō — Japanese spirit — war propaganda
Ryūkyū Islands

NATIONALISM AND FOLK TRADITION IN MODERN JAPAN

FOUNDATIONS OF JAPANESE NATIONALISM

JAPAN is a land rich in myths, legends, and fairy tales. It possesses a large store of traditional oral and literary folk literature, which has not been accounted for or even recognized in the West. The very earliest traditional written historical documents contain narratives, themes, and motifs that express this rich tradition. Even though the *Kojiki* of the year 712, the oldest extant written source, was conceived of as a historical work at the time, it is a collection of pure myths, or at least the beginning portions are. It was obviously put together for a clearly formulated political purpose: the rule of the imperial house was to be established and legitimized for eternity. The *Real*-political intent comes out even more clearly in the *Nihongi*, finished just a short time later in the year 720. Here, too, the first chapters, where the mythology of the imperial house is laid out in great detail and rich variety, serve the sole purpose of establishing the power of this imperial house in a quasi-natural way. Myth, legend, and fairy-tale materials that were once independent and came from the most different cultural-historical regions and ages, were gathered together here into a homogeneous whole to serve a political and legitimizing purpose, and were united into a universal mythical tale. From this point on these tales were considered as both a basis for and a manifestation of Japanese culture and the Japanese essence, at least in traditional Shinto circles.¹

Nevertheless, during the centuries of the Japanese Middle Ages, this Shinto-nationalistic intent moved into the background and continued to thrive only in smaller circles. It was covered over by thoughts and concepts from Buddhism, which was more universal in scope, and still later by Neo-Confucianism.

With the beginning of the New Age in Japan, however, with the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate and the raising of Neo-Confucianism to the sole state doctrine, an opposition developed ever

more clearly, one that argued for the nation, that was anti-Confucian, and that was completely opposed to China and "foreign countries." It called for removing power from the *Bakufu* (shogunate) and returning it to the one considered to be the only legitimate ruler of Japan: the emperor. This ideological countermovement, given the stamp of approval of the *Kokugaku* (National Learning), appealed to the sources of antiquity from its very beginning in the eighteenth century. Its myths and legends were based on its ideology and were defined as the only true expression of the Japanese essence. The *Kokugaku* was thus a strictly nationally oriented spiritual tendency, for which it was increasingly important that it exercise its political goals. As a consequence it was united in the early nineteenth century with the other nationalistic school of the period, the so-called Mito School (*Mitogaku*). This latter movement also postulated a special and unique identity for Japan, expressed in the concept *kokutai* (national polity), and was based on the special place of the imperial house in Japan and its divine legitimization through its mythology.² In contrast to the *Kokugaku*, the *Mitogaku* included Confucian ethics in its concept of the Japanese "national essence" (national polity) and was not satisfied merely with argumentation, but took an active part in the battles to do away with the shogunate.

Thus the Meiji Restoration of the year 1868, which brought an end to the shogunate as a governmental form and restored to the emperor his "ancient" right to rule, can only be traced back partially to the effects of foreign powers, particularly the U.S.A. and the famous "black ships" of Commodore Perry. Japan's transformation into a national state in the modern mold, in accordance with the state concept of the nineteenth century, would scarcely have been possible without this deeply embedded opposition taking shape in the country during those waning years and preparing for change, and without the actions of imperial loyalists from the *Kokugaku* and the *Mitogaku* schools already during the Tokugawa period.

It is thus quite logical that the spiritual substance and objectives of these early nationalist schools would also be handed down and propagated in the increasingly strong Japanese nationalism of the Meiji period.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century Shinto was declared to be a "supra-religious" state cult³ that every citizen had to take part in no matter what his personal credo might be. The central role in the process of national unification fell to the institution of the imperial house. Its position, which the Nationalists declared to be unique and incomparable, was regarded as being based in the mythical tradition of antiquity.

The image of Japan, propagated as a state ideology, reached its pinnacle in the postulate of a singular and unique "national essence," a specific Japanese *kokutai*, which was to distinguish Japan from all other nations.

In domestic politics this *kokutai* ideology offered a guideline for the spiritual maxims of a unified Japanese folk-nation and served the purpose of forming a unified folk state out of a heterogeneously divided populace. On the surface, this kind of homogeneous-appearing nation was intended to frighten off potential opponents as well as create the basis for the expansionistic power claims of the new Japanese empire. The ideological goal of these attempts at unification was applied to the creation of a Japanese "family state" that joined all its citizens, or subjects, with one another on the basis of kinship, and then projected this mystical-mythical community onto the figure of the emperor as the father of this national extended family.⁴

As a result, the Japan of the early modern age engaged in an incredible wave of navel contemplation at the same time as Western science and technology were streaming into the land; this was "taking on Western technology while preserving the Japanese spirit." In uniting these two opposing principles modern Japan saw its chance to assert itself in the world.

THE FUNCTION OF SCHOOL EDUCATION

In the view of the rulers the implementation of these national-state and nationalistic concepts was hindered by a serious problem: the consciousness of the simple folk. They had been accustomed for centuries to think and exist in terms of small spatial categories, and thus it was for the most part quite strange to conceive of belonging to a nation of "Japanese." After the Meiji Restoration, messengers had to be sent throughout the land to report to the people that there was indeed an emperor for all of Japan. Since time immemorial the peasants and the citizens had paid their tribute and respect directly to the local lords. Everything that lay outside the boundaries of their own territory was "outside"—and thus "foreign." For other groups, e.g., the aristocratic samurai, their membership in a class or a caste served as the touchstone for being "inside" or "outside," for belonging or being foreign. Outside the nationalistic schools of *Mitogaku* and *Kokugaku*, prior to the Meiji Restoration practically no one had thought in national categories. Modern Japan found itself confronting here a very fundamental problem. The world of states at the close of the nineteenth century was one in which national states and their egotistical interests dominated. The Western countries, encouraged in spirit by social-

Darwinistic speculations, carved out gigantic colonial empires. Traditional societies like those of India and China proved to be powerless against this imperialistic assault, and had to submit to the rule of hated strangers. This danger was clearly recognized in Japan, and Japanese leaders attempted to prevent it. The real powers in the Meiji state, the so-called Meiji Oligarchs, who exercised de facto rulership in the name of the emperor, entered upon a path whereby the West could be beaten at its own game. Besides adopting Western standards in technology and science, they needed to create a nation, "Japan," which was no longer divided into social castes and territorial units but based on an identity-building "axis," a nation that could act for itself and eventually enter the world scene as an imperialistic national state. As the Japanese theoretician of culture, Maruyama Masao, so impressively states, this "axis" was located in the institution of the imperial house, onto which all the old patterns of loyalty and retainership could be projected and transferred.⁵ This fundamental change encompassed all areas of society. Thus the martial virtues of the former samurai caste were from this point on transferred to the entire Japanese folk, who, within the framework of a general military obligation, now had to be responsible for an army and a navy in the interest of the new state. For centuries the peasants, and later on the citizenry, had been strictly forbidden to bear arms. Now, however, these groups formed the backbone of the national interests of Japan.

It is obvious that such a general change in the consciousness of the general populace was only possible by means of far-reaching state measures. The state needed a state populace (in Japanese, "*koku-min*") even to be capable of existing. Like everywhere else in the world, the rulers of Japan during the Meiji period discovered two particular institutions to be especially useful for their objectives: the military, and basic schooling.

By means of a general military obligation practically all young men could be indoctrinated ideologically into the meaning of the state. The basis for this was formulated in special governmental guides that provided the rules for all military life.⁶

Even so, the military was only a secondary objective. The true "school of the nation" was the school itself. In October 1890, in the famous "Imperial Rescript on Education," the ethical values and the moral standards that were to form the basis of the modern Japanese nation were set down.⁷ The Rescript on Education was intended mainly to regulate the pedagogical foundations of education in Japanese primary schools by laying down the primary principles for an obligatory moral instruction (*shūshin*). Its real meaning, however, goes far beyond

this. In reality the Rescript presented the moral foundation of the late Meiji State and thus the official foundation of *kokutai* thought, as a “non-religious religion” of “magical power,” as Maruyama Masao has called it.⁸

The real mystical value given to the text of the Rescript itself can be seen by the fact that, along with the portrait of the emperor, an official copy of the text was to be honored in the schools as a holy object, just three months after it was proclaimed. With this the Rescript itself became the object of quasi-religious worship. It was the incarnation and materialization of the spiritual essence of Japan, its *kokutai*.

By means of the Rescript on Education the dominant doctrine was made obligatory, and its dissemination to the people through moral education and military training was assured. Official commentaries on the Rescript, particularly the famous (and infamous) *Kokutai no hongii* of 1937,⁹ thus became key means for maintaining and disseminating the entire ideological system. This condition essentially persisted until the end of the Pacific War in 1945, when the defeat of Japan led not only to a change in the constitution but also a revision in school instruction. Until 1945 the school was the principal channel for the nationalistic education of the folk.¹⁰

Primary education in particular played a decisive role in this regard. By means of centrally unified teaching plans and curriculum, regional differences were to be leveled out, including linguistic and dialectical differences. National pride and a pan-Japanese sense of community were instilled in children by means of stories in the readers for primary education (*Shōgaku kokugo tokuhon*) [SKT]. It is thus of enormous value to look at the contents of these school primers closely. The books of the early Shōwa period will receive our special attention.

In the 12 small volumes of the SKT of the Shōwa years 8 to 13 (1933–38),¹¹ there is a wide variety of subject areas. The curriculum included the most varied topic groups, insofar as they could be presented to children of this age. But the reading materials were not supposed to teach only reading skills; they were chosen for forming the minds of children along the lines of the Rescript on Education and its diverse clarifications. Thus it is not surprising that the very first item in the first volume (booklet 1, 1933) begins with a picture of a cherry blossom, the national symbol of Japan, and is followed by a picture of marching toy soldiers, with the caption below: *susume susume heitai susume* (“Advance, advance; army, advance!”).¹² Then comes a drawing of little children under a rising sun with an appropriate text and a portion of the Japanese national flag: *hinomaru no hata banzai banzai* (“The flag of the rising sun, forever, forever!”). Next come more “civil”

readings about nature, good behavior, and technical things (the telephone). Scattered throughout, however, are texts with a clear political and national intent, as, for example, items about the wartime navy and air force. In this way the picture is created of a patriotic, nature-loving, cultivated, and constantly valiant country, i.e., exactly the picture of Japan and its *kokutai* that is drawn in the official clarifications of the Rescript on Education, as in the *Kokutai no hongī* of 1937. School education is thus from the very beginning placed at the service of national ideology.

A certain group of reading pieces is particularly well represented in booklets 1, 2, and 3: fairy tales.¹³ In book 1 one finds the fairy tales *Shitakiri suzume*,¹⁴ *Usagi to kame*¹⁵ and *Momotarō*;¹⁶ book 2 contains four fairy tales: *Saru to kani*,¹⁷ *Nezumi no yomeiri*,¹⁸ *Kobutori*,¹⁹ *Hanasaka jiji*;²⁰ book 3 contains: *Issunbōshi*,²¹ *Kachikachi-yama*,²² *Nezumi no chie*,²³ *Kin no ono*,²⁴ and *Urashima Tarō*.²⁵ Even someone with a limited knowledge of Japanese fairy tales will recognize most of these. They form the core of Japanese "national fairy tales," stories now familiar to every person in Japan. Their great popularity can be attributed to the fact that they were included in these elementary school readers. In this way they gained the status of widely disseminated pan-Japanese fairy tales. Though some of them might have been known in different regions in different variant forms, the school had a normative effect on the tales and thus fulfilled its task of developing a common national consciousness.

Booklet number 3 is interesting in this regard. Here one finds five fairy tales similar to those in the first two booklets. Also included here is a tale with the title *Kunibiki*, which at first looks like a fairy tale but in reality is a simplified form of an archaic Japanese myth, the myth of "The Pulling of the Land."²⁶ This tendency is continued in booklet 4, where there are no more fairy tales, but only tales from that fuzzy realm where myth, legend, and fairy tale come together, which were then adapted by the use of children's expressions: *Kaguyahime*,²⁷ *Shirousagi*,²⁸ *Yuriwaka*,²⁹ and *Hagoromo*.³⁰ These tales have clearly been placed where fairy tales appeared in the first three booklets.

A quick look at the subsequent booklets verifies this picture. In booklet 5 we find no fairy tales or legends at all, only the most important materials of traditional Shinto mythology. First there is a treatment of the heavenly cave where the sun goddess has retreated (*Ame no iwayado*),³¹ then the "eight-forked serpent" that the god Susanoo conquered (*Yamata no orochi*),³² followed by the myth about the little god *Sukuna-hikona no mikoto*.³³ This volume concludes with a descrip-

tion of the descent of the "heavenly grandchild" Ninigi no Mikoto³⁴ to earth and the fate of the two gods Hoderi and Hoori no Mikoto.³⁵ The core of Japanese mythology is thus presented in these tales. Then booklets 6 and 7 finish off the cycle with stories about the "first emperor of Japan" (Jinmu Tennō)³⁶ and conclude with the conquests and other deeds of the first great Japanese hero, Yamato Takeru, the "Brave Man from Yamato."

The fairy tales, legends, and myths in these readers clearly have a specific and easily recognizable objective: to familiarize children with what the political leadership of the country viewed as the core of national tradition. In this way fairy tales are placed alongside tales about gods, heroes, and emperors from the most ancient Japanese stories.

Just how clearly individual motifs and materials from this tradition are bound up with recent Japanese nationalism will be pointed out next, using one example that highlights the function of fairy-tale materials in this context.

THE "PEACH BOY" MOMOTARŌ AND JAPANESE PROPAGANDA

Just as in National Socialistic Germany, folk tradition played a recognizable ideological role in the Japanese *kokutai* ideology of the Meiji period. Quite obviously this is much truer for the realm of myth and legend than it is for the rather "apolitical" fairy tale.³⁷ Even so, the fairy-tale tradition was also interpreted and utilized in a nationalistic sense. Thus the Japanese folklorist ASHIYA Mizuyo (1939) comments in his dissertation published in Germany on the theme "Japanese and German Animal Tales, Especially the Fox Tale, Their Essence and Their Folk-Nationalistic Basis." Concerning the famous Japanese animal tale, "The Race between the Fox and the Tiger,"³⁸ he says:

The foxes do not appear here as selfish, deceptive animals, but rather as intelligent and industrious animals that have, out of communal feelings toward each other, fought off the foreign enemy in a battle forced on them. This well-known animal tale is thus adapted to the patriotic feeling of the Japanese folk. The tiger comes from Korea, often from China; in any case it is closely related to the idea of an enemy from the continent. (ASHIYA 1939, 25)

The fairy tale appears here as a political allegory of the confrontations of that time. Japan and its continental enemies are easily identified with the well-known figures of the fairy-tale tradition. It is thus easy

for the recipients to subject the fairy tale to the clear-cut ethics of "good" versus "evil."

The function of fairy-tale material can be grasped, in an especially clear way, by looking at the Japanese fairy tale "Momotarō." No other material from fairy-tale tradition was so subject to nationalistic interpretation and war propaganda as the story of the little "Peach Boy."

THE STANDARD VERSION OF THE FAIRY TALE

The story of the "Peach Boy" not only is one of the few Japanese fairy tales that have become well known outside Japan—there is scarcely a European-language collection that does not include a version of "Momotarō"³⁹—it is looked upon as *the* Japanese fairy tale. Folklore collecting and scholarly research have brought to light numerous variants; these enable us to see how rich the local tradition was.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it was not the number of orally preserved variants that gave the "Peach Boy" its shape, but the edition in the primary school readers that became the standard version. There the tale was adapted to a youthful readership by reducing it to simple sentence construction and rudimentary contents. The adventure of the "youth who came from a peach" is told in brief sentences. Together with his companions, a dog, a monkey, and a pheasant, he overcomes the devils on "Devils' Island" (*Oni-ga-shima*) and then returns home laden with their wonderful treasures.⁴¹

Many, many years ago there was once a grandfather and a grandmother. One day the grandfather had gone to the mountains to collect twigs, and the grandmother had gone to the river to wash clothes. While she was washing the clothes a large peach came tumbling, floating down the river. The grandmother plucked the peach out and returned home with it. When the grandfather returned home from the mountains, the grandmother showed him the peach. The grandfather was pleased and said: "That is an unusually large peach!"

But when the grandmother cut the peach in two pieces, a boy came out of its center. Because he was born out of a peach, the grandfather gave the boy the name Momotarō ("Peach Boy").

Momotarō grew up quickly and became unusually strong. One day he spoke to the grandfather and the grandmother and said: "Because I will go to Devils' Island to conquer the devils, I ask that you give me millet dumplings to take along." Then both of them made him dumplings. Momotarō left the house enthused.

After he had gone a short distance he encountered a dog: "Momotarō, Momotarō, where are you going?" "I am going to Devils' Island to conquer the devils." "What is that you have hanging at your side?" "These are the best millet dumplings in Japan." "If you will give me one, I'll follow you as your companion." So Momotarō gave the dog one dumpling and the dog followed him as his servant.

After a while they met a monkey. "Momotarō, Momotarō, where are you going?" "I am going to Devils' Island to conquer the devils." "What is that you have hanging at your side?" "These are the best millet dumplings in Japan." "If you will give me one, I'll follow you as your companion." And thus the monkey also received a dumpling and followed him as a servant.

Accompanied by the dog and the monkey, he met a pheasant after a little while. "Momotarō, Momotarō, where are you going?" "I am going to Devils' Island to conquer the devils." "What is that you have hanging at your side?" "These are the best millet dumplings in Japan." "If you will give me one, I'll follow you as your companion." And the pheasant too received a dumpling and followed him as a servant.

Accompanied by the dog, the monkey, and the pheasant, Momotarō reached Devils' Island. The devils had closed the iron door of their castle for protection. So the pheasant flew up and observed the condition of the enemy from on high. The monkey climbed nimbly up on the gate and succeeded in this way in getting inside (the castle). Now he could open the gate. Momotarō and the dog pushed their way in and attacked. Suddenly the pheasant flew up and picked at the devils' eyes. With scratching and biting, the monkey and the dog tormented the devils. Finally Momotarō drew his sword and turned toward the devils' general. The devils' general fought with all his might, but he was nonetheless defeated. Then all of the devils fell down before Momotarō. "Never again will we torture humans and steal things. If you will only let us live!" they said. Momotarō had mercy on the devils. Out of gratitude they gave him various pieces of their treasure. Momotarō took the treasures and left Devils' Island. The wagon, on which the pieces of treasure were tied, was pulled by the dog. From behind the monkey pushed. And the pheasant tugged at the rope. "Enyara, enyara, hei, hei," Momotarō called out the rhythm, and finally returned home as a hero.

Filled with joy, the grandfather and the grandmother received their Momotarō once again.

This is the form in which the fairy tale was known to every Japanese school child. Scarcely anyone would have had thoughts about the “ideological function” of such material, which looks so unpolitical and child-like. And yet this fairy tale leads to the very heart of Japanese nationalistic ideology and the war propaganda of the 1930s and 1940s.

WAR PROPAGANDA AND THE “MOMOTARŌ-PARADIGM”

In his enormously successful 1986 book, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, the American Japanologist and historian John Dower points out an unusual circumstance in this regard.

Dower describes the function of racist propaganda in the course of the Pacific War, on both the American and the Japanese sides. In the course of his presentation Dower turns to a theme that at first seems unusual. Beginning with the Momotarō fairy tale, DOWER treats a specific cycle of Japanese war propaganda that he calls the “Momotarō-paradigm” (1986, 252–59).

Dower documents that in an entire series of Japanese magazine articles, caricatures, and films of the war years,⁴² no one other than the little Momotarō appears in the role of the patriotic hero. One and the same idea is at the center of all these materials: Momotarō is the embodiment of Japanese heroic courage and succeeds in overcoming a seemingly superior enemy, who, in an analogy to the fairy tale, is a devil.

A particularly good example is found in a film produced in 1945 with the title “Momotarō—Divine Troops of the Ocean.” Dower comments on this:

In this innovative seventy-four-minute film, Momotarō and his followers were presented as the prophesied “divine troops from an eastern land” who were destined to liberate the peoples of southern Asia from their enemies and oppressors. The film was a fascinating exercise in both transparent and subtle symbolism, in which Momotarō was the great commander (and essence) of Japan. . . . When at long last the foe appeared, they were gangling and pale human figures soon revealed to have the telltale horns of demons. They spoke, or rather stuttered and whined, British English—with subtitles appearing in none-too-simple Japanese. (DOWER 1986, 254)

Still other plot elements, like the location of the opponents, follow the pattern prescribed by the fairy tale: the demonic enemy resides on

a horrible island, as in a film ("Momotarō and the Eagles of the Ocean") from the year 1942, where Hawaii appears as the "Island of the Devils."

In films and caricatures of this type, Momotarō appears as a youthful and strong embodiment of the "new" Japan, in sharp contrast to Americans and the British, who are presented as aging and feeble "demons with a human face" (DOWER 1986, 255). A favorite motif in this regard was the propagandistic identification of Momotarō with the young pilots of the "Special Attack Forces, tying on their headbands and preparing to depart on their first and last great missions" (256).

According to the Japanese doctrine of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere," the peoples of Southeast Asia were to be freed of Euro-American, i.e., "white," imperialism. The former appear conceptually as Momotarō's helpful troops (in the role of the accompanying dog, monkey, or pheasant of the fairy tale) or as child-like and naive natives suppressed by the "demons," and they are freed by Momotarō and his companions from their oppression by the demons.

In this way the events of the war could be presented in generally-known and thus easily comprehended categories. Momotarō was the "pure Japanese hero," the enemies were "foreign demons." Dower asserts in his commentary that at the core of this Momotarō-paradigm there is an antagonism that can be described through the polar opposites "the pure self" and "the demonic other." The postulated "purity" of Japan is documented in moral superiority (DOWER 1986, 205). The "homogeneity" of the nation (216), based on a common origin, was functioning as a foundation for Japanese purity and was making the Japanese into a "leadership race" (*shidō minzoku*) (203). These are the well-known ideological pillars of wartime Japanese nationalism, propagated especially at that time through the school and the military. A presentation that assigns the enemy to a diametrically opposed position and brands him as a "demonic other," must have proven to be an exceptionally useful propaganda instrument. One's own "purity" can glow all the more brightly the darker the "demonic" enemy is drawn.

Dower notes that this pattern took shape shortly after the outbreak of the war. "Phrases such as 'devilish Americans and English' (*kichiku Bei-Ei*) and 'American devils' (*Beiki*) were firmly in place as everyday Japanese war words, and the juxtaposition of a pure and sacred homeland imperiled by bestial and demonic outsiders was sharply drawn" (DOWER 1986, 248).

In light of this fact the assumption could be made that the Momotarō-paradigm, within this ideological context, was serving the function

of a simply folkloristic motif. Was "Momotarō" just a pure folk-national illustration of Japanese war propaganda? An in-depth, historical-cultural, and anthropologically based analysis reveals that precisely the "modern" Momotarō-paradigm, described by Dower as a phenomenon of that age, can lead one into central realms of traditional Japanese self-understanding.⁴³ An historical view reveals that we are dealing here with material that functions as an "archetypal" expression of a Japanese attitude toward what is "foreign."

CULTURAL ARCHETYPES: "DEVILS' ISLAND"
AND "FRONTIER HEROES"

MINAMOTO NO TAMETOMO: SUBDUER OF THE WEST AND SOUTH

As I have said in an earlier article (ANTONI 1983-86), the Momotarō theme is part of a clearly recognizable historical motif complex that leads into the realms of legend and myth.

The oldest recorded version of this tale is found in the *Enseki zasshi*, the "Swallowstone Miscellany,"⁴⁴ of the famous literatus of the Edo period, Takizawa (Kyokutei) Bakin. Bakin had put together in this collection, among other works, the most popular children's stories (*dōwa*) of his age, and thus had compiled in the year 1811 the earliest folktale collection of Japan.⁴⁵ Of course, the "Peach Boy" tale was not missing from this collection. Momotarō, in the *Enseki zasshi* version, goes out to acquire the treasures of the demons. The text names three treasures: a magical cloak, a cape of invisibility, and an *uchide-no-kozuchi*, or "lucky hammer" that fulfilled all wishes.⁴⁶ But the importance of Bakin is not limited to the fact that we attribute the earliest version of the fairy tale to him. Far more important is the detailed philological commentary that he adds to individual fairy tales.

In his commentary to the Momotarō fairy tale we find a suggestion that proves to be decisive for an understanding of all the material. Bakin points out a historical parallel to the island trip by Momotarō, a parallel associated with one of the greatest heroes of Japanese history: Minamoto no Tametomo, a hero of the "Civil Wars" at the end of the twelfth century.

The fate of this warrior is presented in full detail in a medieval Japanese war history, the *Hōgen monogatari*, "The Story of the Uprising of the Hōgen (Period)."⁴⁷ The historical Minamoto no Tametomo, a warrior of enormous physical strength who was a brilliant bowman, played an important role in the battles for imperial succession in the year 1156. As one of those who lost out, he was banished to the Izu Islands in eastern Japan after victory by the supporters of Emperor Go-

Shirakawa, led by Minamoto no Yoshitomo, a half-brother of this same Tametomo and of Taira no Kiyomori. But even in banishment the warrior who had been feared since his youth for his wildness offered no peace, and he soon brought the islands under his control.⁴⁸ It is within this longer story that we find an episode of great importance for the historical roots of the Momotarō paradigm.

TAMETOMO'S TRIP TO THE "ISLAND OF THE DEMONS"

In the year 1165, according to the most popular version of the *Hōgen monogatari*, a most unusual event occurred.

Tametomo sees two wonderful birds, a blue and a white heron, flying over the ocean toward the horizon. He says:

Not even the eagle can fly a thousand miles without stopping; how is a heron supposed to be able to fly more than one or two miles? For sure an island lies in that direction, so let us follow them.⁴⁹

Tametomo climbs into a boat with his companions and in the early morning they finally see the outlines of an island. When Tametomo lands, several unusual and mysterious beings come upon them. They are more than ten feet tall, covered all over with black hair—like cattle, the source says—and wear swords at their sides.

The monsters speak an incomprehensible language, nevertheless one can communicate with them. Never before, they indicate, has a man from Japan come to them and been able to return again afterwards. Throughout the ages the rough winds had destroyed all the boats. Nevertheless, Tametomo has succeeded in landing. He gets to know an island where there are neither wet nor dry rice fields, nor fruits nor silk nor cotton—an uncultivated region in the true meaning of the word. The inhabitants live on fish and birds, but they know neither nets nor boats, neither bird traps nor bird-lime.

Tametomo shows them the art of shooting with a bow, whereupon the frightened monsters submit to the hero.

And when he was resting and asked the name of the island, they said it was the "Island of the Demons" (*Oni-ga-shima*). "Then you yourselves are the descendants of demons?" "Yes, that is so," they answered. Then he called upon them: "For sure you have famous treasures, fetch them so that I can look at them!" Then they said: "At that time, when there still were real demons (*kijin*), they possessed such treasures as a cloak of invisibility (*ka-kure-mino*), a hat of invisibility (*ka-kure-gasa*), floating shoes, and

a [magical] sword. At that time there were indeed no boats, but still they went across to other lands and also took the "sun-eating-people" as a sacrifice along with them. But now our luck has run out, the treasures are gone, and we have become humans in shape; we can also not reach any foreign lands anymore."⁵⁰

Tametomo takes possession of the island, changes its name to "Reed Island," and makes it pay tribute to the Hachijō Island that belongs to the Izu group. Now he is ruler over all the islands. As proof he had been on "Demon Island," he takes one of the horrifying figures along with him on his return trip.

The people of Ōshima are very much afraid of this "demonic being," *oni-waraha*.

TAMETOMO AND THE RYŪKYŪ ISLANDS

The theme of "Tametomo and the Island of the Demons" is still not finished. In later versions of the material there is an unusual restructuring of the theme. Now we find Tametomo did not meet the demons in the outer Izu Islands but in another distant archipelago: the Ryūkyū Islands (Okinawa). This version is still popular in Japan today. A novel by Bakin paints this theme in full color. As late as the year 1969 none other than Mishima Yukio directed a play with this theme, whose political motivation is quite transparent. According to this version, Tametomo had ostensibly reached Okinawa during the confusion of the war, had married a native prince's daughter, and had conceived a son by her. The real core of the tradition is found in the statement that this son later became the first historical king of the land and the founder of the Kingdom of Ryūkyū.⁵¹

What, however, is the connection of this legend with the problem of the "Island of Demons" discussed here? A careful philological study reveals that in the case of the Tametomo-Ryūkyū legend several narrative traditions have come together. The statesman Shō Shōken (1617-76) from Okinawa has woven them together into one form, consciously falsifying what represented the original independent traditions (ANTONI 1983-86, 96-99). On the one hand we are dealing with the tradition of a trip by Tametomo to an "Island of the Demons." On the other hand we find added here a branch of tradition whose central notion is that Okinawa and the Ryūkyū Islands are in general "demonic worlds." Since it is unclear in the *Hōgen monogatari* version exactly where the "Island of the Demons" is located, the idea developed early on that Tametomo had in fact visited Okinawa when he traveled to the "Island of the Demons."

The earliest version of this material can be found in a source from the end of the sixteenth century, the *Nanpo bunshū* (Anthology of Nanpo)⁵² of the Japanese priest Bunshi Genshō (1555–1620).

Bunshi Genshō, alias Nanpo Bunshi,⁵³ born in Hyūga, worked throughout his entire life as a priest in the Shimazu family of Satsuma. He was associated through friendship with a series of Buddhist priests from Okinawa.⁵⁴ His work contains the first detailed version of the Tametomo legend:⁵⁵

Approximately 200 miles (*li*) south of Satsuma lies an island with the name Liu-ch'iu. It governed the smaller islands that surrounded it on all sides, swallowed them up, and united them all, making itself the leader.

I am reporting this on the basis of the tale of an old man. In olden days there was a descendant of the 56th monarch of the Japanese, Emperor Seiwa, with the name Rokuson'ō. He is the ancestor of the House of Minamoto of our land. His descendant in the eighth generation, Prince Yoshitomo, commanded his younger brother, the Prince Tametomo, a General, to pacify the western part (*chinzei*) of the land. On this day he placed a thousand hooks and hung his mighty bow on the Fusang Tree,⁵⁶ and he became mighty and strong, subjugating the distant barbarian regions (*saien*) and all of nature.

Thus he crossed the ocean, subjugating and pacifying islands and highlands. So it was that the boat, following the tide, moved along until it finally reached an island. For this reason it was in the beginning called Liu-ch'iu.⁵⁷ Tametomo saw mountains on the island; there were beings who, even though they were most unusual, were similar in shape to humans; on the right side of their head they bore horns. They were such that they were called demons.⁵⁸

After Tametomo had subjugated and pacified them it was his sons and his grandsons who down through the generations were the rulers of the island.⁵⁹

Of special note here is that the inhabitants of Ryūkyū are presented as non-human demons, similar to those of the "Island of the Demons" of the *Hōgen monogatari*.

Tametomo's role as a bringer of culture—a culture hero and an originator of nearly mythical dimensions—can also be explained in this way. The hero from Japan was not only the physical father of the founder of the first "real" dynasty of the land, but in the final analysis

was responsible for changing the inhabitants of these distant southern islands from demon-like beings into true humans!

In the *Hōgen monogatari* the demons are released for the first time from their barbarian, pre-human existence by Tametomo. Through their annexation to Japan, which meant the duty to pay tribute to Hachijō, they gained entrance into the circle of the cultivated, i.e., the human world. By the replacement of the indefinite "Island of the Demons" of the *Hōgen monogatari* with the concrete geographical realm of Ryūkyū, this view of what is demonically foreign and living at the edge of the known world could also be transferred to that specific place. If the "Island of the Demons" and Okinawa were identical, then the inhabitants must have originally been truly demons.

Still, the *Nanpo bunshū* establishes only one popular viewpoint, according to which the islands south of Japan were in general "demon worlds" and their inhabitants ate humans.

This estimation of the people obviously goes back to a short note in a relatively old source, the *Konjaku monogatari*. There, in a travelogue of the Tendai monk Enchin (814–91), we find the following concerning Ryūkyū: "This land lies in the middle of the ocean; it is a land where humans are eaten."⁶⁰

The Chinese *Sui-shu* annals report on the barbaric land Liu-ch'iu, where under certain conditions—after battles take place—humans are eaten.⁶¹ It is doubtful, however, that the archipelago really knew cannibalism or head-hunting. A diametrically opposed interpretation seems much more meaningful. Because demons or "devils" (*oni*) are, according to folk belief, by definition devourers of humans, the inhabitants of distant regions that are considered uncivilized and considered to be "demon worlds" *must* be cannibals. The strength of this prejudice is seen in full clarity in the case presented by the monk Enchin, who, even though he never set foot on the islands, was convinced of the cannibalism of the inhabitants.⁶²

Yoshida Tōgo comments in his summary article on the concept of the "demon-world island" (*kikat-shima*),⁶³ that this represents from a Japanese viewpoint a general designation for the southern islands.

The *Heike monogatari* of early medieval Japan, the most important Japanese war history, supplies another reference. In it, a "demon-world island" plays a role as a place of banishment.⁶⁴ In the year 1177 Taira no Kiyomori had banished his opponents Fujiwara no Naritsune, Taira no Yasuyori, and the monk Shunkan to this undesirable island. The text describes the island as a horrible place difficult to reach. The inhabitants had a completely different look about them; they were dark and as hairy as oxen; they did not understand the Japa-

nese language; they owned no clothing; they did not know how to farm, only how to hunt. Overall, they did not resemble humans.⁶⁵

Upon closer scrutiny it can be found that this non-human demon world did not refer to an island a long distance from the Japanese main islands, but to the island Iō-jima, situated only 40 kilometers south of Satsuma.⁶⁶ The realm of devilish non-humans thus began right at the "threshold" of the Japanese mainland.

THE DEMON ISLAND IN JAPANESE TRADITION

Japanese tradition contains a series of tales in which the motif of an Island of Demons appears.⁶⁷ Still, the Island of Demons in these stories does not represent a central plot element: it is but one plot element among many others. The function the Devils' Island fulfills in the Momotarō fairy tale and in the Tametomo legend cannot be compared with any other versions, with the exception of the Yuriwaka-daijin tale (see below).

Let us turn once again to the Tametomo material in the *Hōgen monogatari* version. The description of Tametomo's stay on the Island of the Demons consists for the most part of a dialogue between the hero and the horrible non-human inhabitants of the island: gigantic creatures whose bodies are covered with hair and whose horrible appearance is described in full detail. Tametomo is not intimidated, and he extracts from them almost ethnographic detail about their lifestyle and their origins. Here they refer to themselves for the first time as the descendants of real *oni*, "demons," who were still the possessors of the demon treasures.

This description makes one think immediately about other tales in Japanese tradition in which the central point is the trip of a hero to a Demon Island, especially the most famous tale, that of the "Peach Boy," Momotarō.

It can be seen that Momotarō's trip over to the Devils' Island follows the pattern of the "historical" trip of Tametomo. Must we thus conclude that the description of the trip by Tametomo to the Island of the Demons is nothing more than a "fairy-tale-like" element in the tradition surrounding Tametomo? Such an interpretation as that presented by WILSON (1971, 127) fails to recognize not only the depth of the basic problem, but also confuses cause and effect. It is not the "fairy-tale-like" element that has found entry into the legend; rather, it is those believed notions of the historical legend that have "sunk down" to the realm of the fairy tale!

At the basis of this description of the demon world in the *Hōgen monogatari* there is a concrete image of such "devils' islands," which

are presented as barbarous, in the sense of "uncultivated" regions. Their most essential characteristic is a lack of "culture," for example, the cultivation of wet and dry rice fields, the growing of fruit, the use of silk and cotton. The inhabitants know neither nets nor boats, neither bird traps nor bird-lime. They also speak foreign, incomprehensible languages. Here we have a description of the demonic nature of what is foreign and culturally undeveloped, as measured by contemporary Japanese norms. The Japanese conception of the Devils' Island is deeply ethnocentric.

This notion, as we saw, is found in other parts of tradition, for example in the *Heike monogatari*, which also knows about a "Demon-World Island" (*kikai-ga-shima*), whose inhabitants are described exactly the same way. Only in this case the story is about the small island of Iō-jima, which is known in Japanese history as a place of banishment, similar to the Izu Islands.

In this way, any distant island or region on the periphery of the Japanese world could become the realm of threatening demons. Its demonic nature consisted exclusively in its foreignness and, in regard to the ethnocentric standpoint, the "uncultured nature" of its inhabitants. Every distant and foreign region could appear as a potential "devil's world" that needed to be "cultivated." It was the task of the warrior to pacify these peripheral regions, to subjugate them to the Japanese order and thus open them up to its culture.

MINAMOTO NO YOSHITSUNE, SUBDUER OF NORTH AND EAST

The most famous of these warriors is yet another warrior from the lineage of Minamoto whose idealized career suggests parallels in more than one point to the development of Tametomo. It is Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159–89), the subduer of the Taira family and the victor of Dan-no-ura in the year 1185, who, in spite of his great deeds, was hunted down by his mighty half-brother, the jealous Yoritomo, and finally put to death.

Even more than the deeds of the historical Yoshitsune, those of the legendary Yoshitsune remained alive in tradition. An abundance of well-known stories and fantastic legends surround this noble hero who, usually accompanied by the enormous Benkei, is forced into the most unusual adventures.⁶⁸

For our purpose there are two narratives, or cycles, of special interest. The one, contained in a collection of the Muromachi period called the *Otogizōshi* (Booklets for Entertaining a Party), presents the trip of the youthful Yoshitsune to Chishima, the "Demon Island" in the north.⁶⁹

On his venture Yoshitsune passes a series of mysterious islands— islands of cats, dogs, pines, bows, etc.—and he lands in succession on islands of giants, naked people, women, and long-lived dwarfs. Finally he reaches Chishima, island kingdom of the demon king Kanehira.

He succeeds in subduing the demonic king and robbing him of his treasure, a secret military document. Here too, in the highest artistic form, is found the motif of battle against threatening island demons, only in this case it is the north that is the region of demons, rather than the Izu Islands in the east or the Ryūkyū Islands in the south (west).

The deeply embedded parallelism between the legendary figures Yoshitsune and Tametomo can also be documented in a cycle of traditions that have the larger fate of Yoshitsune as their theme.

According to these, the hero withstood the cowardly attack on his life that the historical Yoshitsune, just like Tametomo, could only escape by suicide. One branch of this tradition reports that he was able to save himself in the Kurama Temple where he had spent his youth. Other more fantastic versions have him fleeing to Mongolia, where he became none other than the great Genghis Khan.⁷⁰

The most revealing version for us, however, is the one that reports the flight of Yoshitsune to Ezo, i.e., Hokkaido, where he finally becomes the cultural hero of the Ainu.⁷¹ According to KINDAICHI (1925, 307; also PHILIPPI 1979, 187), the legend that Yoshitsune became the "Okikirmui" of the Ainu was passed on by such illustrious researchers as Chamberlain and Batchelor. The earliest written report of the ostensible flight of Yoshitsune to Hokkaido can be found, according to WATANABE (1966, 214), in the miscellany of the scholar from the Edo period, Arai Hakuseki,⁷² who also had played an important role in the spread of the Tametomo material.⁷³

The comparison between Tametomo and Yoshitsune indicates that both figures—as prototypical Japanese heroes—not only traveled to the foreign regions on the borders of the known Japanese world, which were conceived of as uncultivated and existing outside of human existence, and thus were demonic, but also conquered them and brought them under Japanese control. Hokkaido in the north, the Izu Islands in the east, Ryūkyū in the south/southwest—those were the originally barbaric regions now considered to be within the sphere of Japanese influence.

YURIWAKA-DAIJIN

If one deals with the adventures of Japanese heroes on demon islands, another man's name must be included, a man whose fate is closely as-

sociated with the Devils' Island tradition: Yuriwaka-daijin (Minister Yuriwaka). As a field officer he defeated the Mongolians, but through the treason of his companions he had to remain behind on a lonely island. Only after a long time does Yuriwaka find his way back, and then he takes revenge on the unfaithful ones. Dorson cites the primary version, in which, however, there is no mention of a demon island. Yuriwaka is presented as a warrior who—like Tametomo—possesses extraordinary physical strength. “By order of the emperor he was appointed governor of Bungo, and went down to Tsukushi [Kyūshū] to destroy the Mongolian forces that were attacking Japan at that time” (DORSON 1979, 154). Upon his return Yuriwaka lands on the small island where he is deceived by his own companions.

The fate of Yuriwaka-daijin, like that of Yoshitsune, was given a varied literary treatment.⁷⁴ In the fairy-tale versions and local legends of Iki Island (in Kyūshū) there is a notable difference in the contents: there Yuriwaka is not sent out against the Mongolians but against the demons of the “Devils' Island”! With great courage and still greater trickery he succeeds in subduing the king of the island's demons. Thereafter, however, he is, as in the “historical” reports, deceived by his companions.⁷⁵

Here, too, we recognize a specific equating of the threatening foreigners (in the legend it is the attacking Mongolians) with the devils of the demon island (*Oni-ga-shima*). And yet this hero is lacking one essential element that unites Yoshitsune and Tametomo: Yuriwaka is no cultural hero who conquers the primitive demonic worlds and subjugates their inhabitants to his own culture. At the center of his story stands the deception, the treason, of his companions and his delayed return home. It is obvious, however, in this case, how easily tradition was able to replace the realm of the real foreigners (Mongolians) with the sphere of the unreal, the demonic. *Oni-ga-shima*, the “Devils' Island,” could thus become a synonym for the realm of the only real enemies that had ever attacked Japan: the Mongolians.⁷⁶ We do not find another such obvious association of foreign conquerors with the island demons of the fairy tale until the modern age, in Japanese war propaganda of the 1930s and the 1940s that had the motif of Momotarō's battle against the European-American “island demons.”

YAMATO TAKERU, THE ARCHETYPAL CONQUEROR

Let us return to the heroic figures Tametomo and Yoshitsune.

Just how much their behavior follows traditional patterns in regard to what is “barbarously foreign” can be seen in the case of yet another hero, one who can be conceived of as the archetype of these “frontier

heroes," as I would like to call them. This hero leads us, finally, into mythical times and places and reveals the depth of Japanese patterns of dealing with what is foreign.

We are dealing here with Yamato Takeru, the legendary son of the equally legendary twelfth emperor, Keikō. According to the sources, that "first Japanese hero" distinguished himself already in his youth, just like Tametomo in a later age, through such enormous physical strength that even his own father, Keikō, was so afraid of it that he sent his son to the south (also west), up against the Kumaso. With the help of tricks of war the youthful hero was able to annihilate the Kumaso chieftains.⁷⁷

When he returned to the court, Yamato Takeru was immediately sent out once again, this time against the Emishi in the north (or east).⁷⁸ Here, too, he was victorious. Only when, full of impetuosity and bold infatuation, he turned against a godhead⁷⁹ was the fate of Yamato Takeru, the "brave man of Yamato," fulfilled.

One detail in the tradition surrounding Yamato Takeru is reminiscent of the Tametomo material. In the Tametomo legend, the presence of his wife on board the ship is a hindrance to their sea voyage, causing her to leave the ship. Yamato Takeru's wife Oto-tachibana-hime makes a safe sea voyage of the hero possible by "abandoning" their common ship, i.e., she sacrifices herself by jumping into the ocean!⁸⁰ Even more obvious is the parallel in the Bakin novel version, where Shiranui, the wife of Tametomo in the novel, secures a safe sea voyage for the hero by drowning herself in the stormy sea.⁸¹

In the figure of Yamato Takeru is revealed the archetype of the Japanese "frontier hero": one who pacifies with trickery and power those frontier regions that were looked upon as barbarian—and thus as "demonic"—and subjugates them to his own culture.

CONCLUSION

THE TAMETOMO LEGEND AND THE IMPERIAL STATE IDEOLOGY

In the year 1940 Imperial Japan celebrated the 2,600th anniversary—in fact purely fictitious—of the "inauguration of the Emperor Jinmu." Because of these celebrations an historical work was also printed in a jubilee edition that attempted, in a way that scarcely any other writing had done, to legitimize the imperial system historically. It was the History of Great Japan (*Dainihonshi*), the great historical overview of the nationalistic-Confucian Mito School.⁸²

Begun under Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1701), the main body of the work was completed in 1715. Before its completion and printing

(in 1906) almost two hundred years were to pass. The work treats the history of Japan from Emperor Jinmu up until the separation into northern and southern courts in the year 1392, and from the vantage point of a decidedly imperialist view of history.

Following its Chinese predecessors, the body of the text also contains a section about Japan's relationships to foreign peoples (Vol. 5, Fasc. 232-43). Here, in addition to the Korean states and the Chinese dynasties from the Sui to the Ming, still other distant lands, such as Tokuhara (Afghanistan), are treated. The "foreign peoples" on or near Japanese territory are also mentioned: the Emishi in the north and Ryūkyūans in the south.

There is no talk here of including the Ryūkyū Islands within the Japanese nation. The description is rather of a dependent, subordinate area according to the pattern of the "barbarian" lands that lie on the frontiers of China. This can be seen at the beginning of the section about Ryūkyū: the (ostensible) cannibalism of its inhabitants and the nickname *kikai* (demon world) are singled out as essential characteristics (Vol. 5: 732).

With this kind of orientation the reader is confronted with a collection of citations from historical sources that, without exception, present the southern islands either as barbarian regions that owe duty to Japan or as being revolutionary. Of course, there is once again a report—based among other things on the *Genkō shakusho* and the *Konjaku monogatari* (NKBT 24: 84)—of the trip by the monk Enchin to China in the year 853:

The monk Enchin traveled on a ship of the Chinese merchant Ch'in Liang-hui to T'ang. Along the way they ran into a typhoon, which took them off course and to Ryūkyū. There they saw in the distance ten men standing on the coast who were armed with spears. Because of the great storm they saw no way out, so Liang-hui spoke with great concern: "Soon we will be devoured by the Ryūkyū people, what shall we do?" Enchin prayed to Buddha and presently a southeast wind arose; they were thus able to escape (*Dainihonshi* Vol. 5: 733).

It is worth noting that this report represents the main source for the ostensible cannibalism of the islanders, even though the people in the story never set foot on the island but merely follow their own preconceived opinions!

Also, in further reports of the *Dainihonshi*, Ryūkyū is, as you might expect, presented in an unfavorable light. Finally, however, Tame-

tomo appears on the scene, and the Tametomo material is laid out according to the "classical" version, in accord with the *Nanpo bunshū* and other traditions.

In the *Dainihonshi* the eminently political function of the Tametomo material can be seen. Here it is categorically asserted that only those who are legitimized as coming from "Yamato Japanese" can belong to the Japanese nation. This legitimization derives exclusively from mythology. Only those realms that are mentioned in Japanese mythology, and are thus legitimized, belong within the circle of what is "actually" Japanese. By means of mythology the boundaries of what is "internal," as opposed to what is "external," are determined.

Regions like Okinawa, Hokkaido, the Izu Islands, and others that lie not only geographically on the periphery of this ethnocentric world view, remain either barbarian/non-human, i.e., "demonic," or they are subsequently brought by Japanese culture heroes (Tametomo, Yoshitsune, Yamato Takeru) into this circle, without standing a chance of really entering into the inner core of the mythologically legitimized community.

MOMOTARŌ AND THE "SPIRIT OF JAPAN"

As I said in the beginning, this mythological-legitimizing concept has played a decisively ideological role, especially in modern Japan. The entire structure of the Japanese *kokutai* was based on the idea of a Japanese "family state" that united the entire Japanese folk into an inclusive mystical union, and that was conceived of as real. The ideological quintessence states: the emperor and the folk are one, united through their common heritage.⁸³

As laid out in the beginning, the maxims of this nationalism based on religion have been disseminated in the schools (and the military) ever since the year 1890, ever since the Imperial Rescript on Education. The textbooks of primary school instruction played a decisive role in this. They assumed the function of transmitting to children, by means of didactic and penetrating examples, the primary principles (*hongī*) of Japanese ethics.

It is thus more understandable why the story of Momotarō had to acquire in this regard a special meaning.

It can be seen now, based on the historical motif analysis, that a subtle ideological net had indeed been woven by placing together the contents of fairy tale, legend, and myth in the form of reading materials for textbooks. First there were the fairy tales with Momotarō in a prominent position, followed by the important materials of legends and myth traditions, and finally there appeared, as an end to this cycle, in

booklets 6 and 7, the deeds of the great hero of antiquity, Yamato Takeru. With the two figures of Momotarō and Yamato Takeru the circle is closed. We recognize that Momotarō in the textbooks is simply the child-like, naive form of the ancient Japanese hero and conqueror, Yamato Takeru. Children who were familiarized at the beginning of their school years with Momotarō arrive, at the end of a spiritual cycle so decisive for propagating the Japanese national ethic, at the figure of Yamato Takeru. It was Yamato Takeru who was the first one, following the myth, to formulate in a very powerful way the love of homeland and the special "spirit of Japan" (*Yamato damashii*). He was also the first one to confront the "foreigners" on the outermost frontiers of the known world, to conquer their regions for Yamato, thus to become the primary image of the brave, homeland-loving Japanese warrior—and he also belonged to the imperial house, as his name indicates: *Yamato Takeru* (The Brave Man from Yamato).

Our analysis has shown that a direct line of tradition leads from Yamato Takeru by way of Yoshitsune and Tametomo directly to Momotarō. Yamato Takeru as a mythical figure is followed by the legendary heroes of the Middle Ages Yoshitsune and Tametomo, and Momotarō, finally, is the child-like and decisive hero of the fairy tale. The thought that the "foreigners" are devils, uncultivated and non-human, is an integral part of this cycle. Thus it should come as no surprise that the material concerning Yamato Takeru and Momotarō was taken up so willingly, particularly in imperialistic Japan up to 1945.

Just how the reception of this historical pattern resulted in the details of war propaganda, is shown in the examples offered by Dower. The demonism of the foreigners that Momotarō encounters corresponds exactly to the descriptions of the Demon Islands that we find in the Tametomo legend. The Momotarō of propaganda meets demons who, on the one hand, are characterized by their external appearance (a horn on their head) and an incomprehensible language (English)—we are reminded that these are typical characteristics of the "classical" island demons. On the other hand, we find a further typical element of the "demon worlds" is the trait of cultural underdevelopment in the inhabitants of "Devils' Island." In the film the peoples of Southeast Asia are shown in the role of culturally underdeveloped "demons" toward whom the viewer is sympathetic, since Momotarō, functioning as a classical cultural hero, frees the uncivilized people and raises them to true human beings, just as Tametomo did with the inhabitants of the "Demon Island" in the Izu Islands. In the film the demons are actually pitiful creatures under the yoke of European, i.e., "white" imperialists who play the role of the classical

demon king Kanehira in the Yoshitsune legend. Momotarō's freeing of the Southeast Asian peoples from the yoke of colonialism is analogous to the salvation of Okinawa, Hokkaido and other frontier regions from the condition of demonic non-culture by the archetypal Japanese frontier heroes of antiquity and the Middle Ages.

The inclusion of further analogous cases indicates that giving famous heroic figures and motifs of Japanese tradition a role within the framework of modern nationalism did not come about by chance, but followed a clear ideological intent: the heroes and deeds of the past presented the pattern for the accomplishments required of the people in the present. The *Kokutai no hongî* of the year 1937 continued to present this kind of relationship.

The superiority of their own nation, their virtues that outshone those of all other lands, legitimized from the viewpoint of *kokutai* nationalism Japan's claim for leadership in East Asia. Here, too, it is once again mythical antiquity that offered the model. In the *Kokutai no hongî* it is stated that the wars against Russia and China for the annexation of Korea during the Meiji period, as well as the founding of Manchukuo, were analogous to—and a continuation of—the expansion of the Japanese folk in antiquity, the battles against the Ainu in northern Japan, and the procedure against the ancient Korean kingdom of Shiragi in the early historical age.

The heroes from legend and history thus offered perfect identification patterns and images for the propagation of state ideals that were spread through education, the military, and war propaganda.

The fairy-tale hero Momotarō thus played the important role of appearing right at the beginning of this series of didactic images. In this way the story of Momotarō transmitted subtly to the smallest, the youngest, school pupils what official wartime Japan considered the goal of its ideological education. With the fairy tale of the "Peach Boy" the gate to "Japanese spirit" was opened.

ABBREVIATIONS

- MOAG: *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens.*
 NKBT: *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* [Classic literature of Japan], 1958–66.
 Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
 NMBS: *Nihon mukashibanashi shūsei* (SEKI 1950–58).
 NMBT: *Nihon mukashibanashi taisei* (SEKI 1978–82).
 NOAG: *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens.*
 SKT: *Shōgaku kokugo tokuhon* [Language readers for primary schools].
 1933–38. 12 vols. Monbushō [Ministry of Education], Tokyo.

NOTES

* Translated by James R. Dow

1. *Kojiki* is in *NKBT* 1; see PHILIPPI 1969. *Nihongi* is in *NKBT* 67/68; see ASTON 1975. Concerning the problem of the mythical legitimization of political might in Japanese antiquity, see NAUMANN 1970; also ANTONI 1989.

2. In my opinion the most convincing analysis of the *kokutai* problematics is found in MARUYAMA 1971 (1988); see also the discussion of the concept *kokutai* and its spiritual-historical roots in the thought of the *Kokugaku* and *Mitogaku* in ANTONI 1987.

3. Concerning so-called State Shinto see, for example, LOKOWANDT 1978.

4. IROKAWA (1985, 280-81) distinguishes all together four constituent parts of the family-state idea based on the *kokutai* concept: (1) the myths based on the imperial house; (2) ancestor worship; (3) the transference of the structural principle of the family to the state; and (4) a commonly held national ethic.

5. See MARUYAMA 1971 (1988), esp. p. 44.

6. The ethical education of the military was governed by a decree, the "Imperial Decree for the Military" (*Gunjin chokuyū*) proclaimed on 4 January 1882. A detailed discussion of the moral education in the school and the military is presented in TSURUMI 1970, 99-137.

7. Text editions: ŌKUBO 1965, 425; MURAKAMI 1977, 154. Translations: WITTIG 1973, 89-91, Doc. 27; TSUNODA et al. 1964, Vol. II, 139-40; LOKOWANDT 1978, 345, Doc. 113. Cf. SUGIURA 1976, in WITTIG 1976, 118-25, Doc. 32.

8. MARUYAMA 1971, 31 (=Maruyama 1988, 45).

9. Text edition: Monbushō (Ministry of Education) 1937; see GAUNTLETT and HALL 1949.

10. Concerning moral education, see WITTIG 1976, Docs. 35 and 38; FOLJANTY-JOST 1979, 13-34; WITTIG 1972, 119-22; WEEGMANN 1935; WRAY 1973; FRIDELL 1970.

11. *Shōgaku kokugo tokuhon* [SKT] 1933-38. Also see *Nihon kyōkasho taikai* [NKT] 7, 557-715, and NKT 8, 1-250. Because the NKT edition does not contain the original pagination, only the original editions of 1933-38 are used here.

12. SKT 1, 5.

13. Hereafter I shall list the fairy tales appearing in the readers. In order to make the material available for scholarly investigation I shall give the tale-type number of each fairy tale using the standard tale-type indices: Ikeda-AT=IKEDA 1971; Seki No.=NMBS (SEKI 1950-58) and NMBT (SEKI 1978-82). Note: IKEDA 1971 also gives a concordance to Seki, but this is based on the English-language typology in SEKI 1966; it is not clear why Seki uses completely different numbers in his Japanese typologies for identical tales! In addition, I use INADA/OZAWA 1976-89 in several cases.

14. SKT 1, 34-7: *Shitakiri suzume*, "Tongue-Cut Sparrow"=Seki-No. 191 (NMBS II, 719-29; NMBT, No. 191) / Ikeda-AT 480 D.

15. SKT 1, 48-53: *Usagi to kame*, "The Rabbit and the Turtle"=Seki-No. 14 (NMBS I, 104-105; NMBT, No. 14) / Ikeda-AT 275 A ("A Race Between a Fast and a Slow Animal").

16. SKT 1, 54-75: *Momotarō*, "Peach Boy"=Seki-No. 143 (NMBS II, 328-36; NMBT, No. 143) / Ikeda-AT 302.

17. SKT 2, No. 5: *Saru to kani*, "(The Fights Between) the Monkey and the Crab"=Seki-No. 25-26 (NMBS I, 142-48; NMBT, No. 25-26) / Ikeda-AT 210 (Saru-kani kassen).

18. SKT 2, No. 10: *Nezumi no yomeiri*, "The Mouse as Wife"=Sekino.— (NMBS II, 548-49; NMBT—) / Ikeda-AT 980 B (*Nezumi ni Natta Yome*, "Aged Mother-in-law Abandoned").
19. SKT 2, No. 12: *Kobutori*, "The Gifts of the Tengu"=Sekino. 194 (NMBS II, 735-42; NMBT, No. 194) / Ikeda-AT 503 A.
20. SKT 2, No. 16: *Hanasaka jiji*, "The Old Man Who Makes a Cherry-Tree Blossom"=Sekino. 190 (NMBS II, 705-19; NMBT, No. 190) / Ikeda-AT 503 F ("Magic Ashes Make a Cherry-Tree Blossom").
21. SKT 3, No. 15: *Issunbōshi*, "One-Inch Boy"=Sekino. 136 (NMBS II, 293-301; NMBT, No. 136) / Ikeda-AT 425 B.
22. SKT 3, No. 16: *Kachikachi-yama*, "Kachi-Kachi Mountain"=Sekino. 32 (NMBS I, 175-210; NMBT, No. 32) / Ikeda-AT 176.
23. SKT 3, No. 17: *Nezumi no chie*, "The Wisdom of the Mouse," not found in Seki (NMBS, NMBT) nor in IKEDA 1971.
24. SKT 3, No. 20: *Kin no ono*, "The Golden Axe"=Sekino. 226A (NMBS II, 1025-30; NMBT, No. 226) / Ikeda-AT 729 ("Woodman and the Gold Axe").
25. SKT 3, No. 24: *Urashima Tarō*, "Urashima Tarō"=Sekino. 224 (NMBS II, 1009-15; NMBT, No. 224) / Ikeda-AT 470* ("Dragon Palace").
26. The myth of "Pulling the Land," *kunibiki*, is found for the first time in the ancient Japanese province topography *Izumo no kuni fudoki*, Chapter 1, *District Ou* (=NKBT 2, 99-103); see ASAKURA 1988, 169-70.
27. SKT 4, No. 5: *Kaguyahime*, "Princess Kaguyahime" (=Taketori)=Sekino. 189 (NMBS II, 695-705; NMBT, No. 189) / Ikeda-AT 503 D (*Take Kiri Jiji*, "The Bamboo Cutter").
28. SKT 4, No. 16: *Shirousagi*, "The White Hare (of Inaba)"=Sekino.— (NMBS—; NMBT, No. "new" 6) / Ikeda-AT 58; cf. *Kojiki* 1 in NKBT 1, 91-3; see ANTONI 1982.
29. SKT 4, No. 18: *Yuriwaka (daijin)*, "(The Minister) Yuriwaka"=Sekino. 651 (NMBS III, 766-71; NMBT, No. "new" 36) / Ikeda-AT 974 (*Yuriwaka Daijin*, "The Homecoming Husband").
30. SKT 4, No. 21: *Hagoromo*, "The Feather Robe"=Sekino. 118 (NMBS II, 172-96; NMBT, No. 118) / Ikeda-AT 400 (*Tennin Nyōbō; Hagoromo*, "The man on a Quest for his Lost Celestial Wife").
31. SKT 5, No. 1: *Ame no iwayado*; see NKBT 1, 81-5.
32. SKT 5, No. 5: *Yamata no orochi*; see NKBT 1, 84-91.
33. SKT 5, No. 13: *Sukuna-hikona no mikoto*; see NKBT 1, 107-109; concerning the gods Sukuna-hikona and Ōkuninushi, see ANTONI 1982, 1988b.
34. SKT 5, No. 14: *Tenson*; see NKBT 1, 127-29.
35. SKT 5, No. 25: *Futatsu no tama*; see NKBT 1, 135-43.
36. SKT 6, No. 1: *Jinmu tennō*; see NKBT 1, 149-67.
37. Concerning the function of mythical materials in modern Japanese nationalism and in German National Socialism, see ANTONI 1988a.
38. Ikeda describes the opening sequence of this fairy tale in the following way: "I. The International Competition. The Japanese fox and the Korean tiger have a running match. The fox rides on the back of the tiger undetected and wins." (IKEDA 1971, 63=*Shishi-Gashira no Yurai*, "The Lion's Roar," Ikeda-AT 275 B; Sekino. 17 (NMBS I, 109-10; NMBT, No. 17).
39. In the earliest Western collections one finds a version of the "Peach Boy"; among others, in MITFORD 1871 (1978), 222-24; BRAUNS 1885, 3-9; GRIFFIS 1887, 62-71.

40. See SEKI (NMBS, NMBT) No. 143; Ikeda-AT 302.
41. SKT 1, 54-75.
42. Concerning the role of films in Japanese war propaganda, see DOWER 1987, which includes further secondary references.
43. The sentence that the American cultural anthropologist Harold Schneider formulated in regard to the traditionality of culture in general is also valid for Japanese culture: "The core in the definition of culture is transmission of ideas from generation to generation" (SCHNEIDER 1977, 21); see also BARGATZKY 1985, 35.
44. KYOKUTEI (Takizawa) Bakin, Yūhōdō Bunko 84, 486-95.
45. Bakin's collection thus precedes the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm for the years 1812-14 by one year.
46. Yūhōdō Bunko 84, 486, Commentary p. 494.
47. *Hōgen monogatari* in Kokumin Bunko 17; *NKBT* 31; also see WILSON 1971.
48. Finally, however, Tametomo had to yield to the pressure of the imperial troops and committed suicide in the year 1170 on Ōshima, the main island of the archipelago; this deed is traditionally looked upon as the beginning of the tradition of seppuku. See Kokumin Bunko 17, 1-92; *NKBT* 31, 49-184. See also WILSON 1971.
49. Kokumin Bunko 17, 87; WILSON 1971, 102; not contained in the text version in *NKBT* 31.
50. Kokumin Bunko 17, 88; WILSON 1971, 103.
51. According to tradition the historical dynasties of Okinawa were preceded by an age of mythical-legendary rulers that is called the Tenson (Heaven's Grandchild) dynasty and is traced back to an ancient parental couple (cf. the historiographical source *Chūzan seikan* in SHŌ 1962, 8; also MAJIKINA and SHIMURA 1966, 22-33. The late age of the first written documentation in the 17th century and the ideological annotation of sources in question (see below) cause me to doubt the authenticity of the transmission as one of completely local tradition.
52. Text edition is in *Sappan sōsho*, Vol. 1.
53. See *Okinawa daihyakka jiten* III, 97, "Nanpo Bunshi."
54. *Okinawa daihyakka jiten* III, 97; see also SAKAMAKI 1963, 30, n. 31.
55. *Nanpo bunshū*, Fasc. III, 21 and 44-45; see also TSUBOI 1908, 151; HIGASHIONNA 1957, 20-21.
56. A reference to the mighty world tree of Chinese cosmology that rises up in the eastern sea. It marks the point where the sun rises, and was thus also equated with Japan. The fruit of the mulberry tree thus serves as food for the immortal geniuses.
57. See *Chūzan seikan*, Fasc. I, in SHŌ 1962, 22.
58. *kuei-kuai*, "strange/unusual spirits."
59. A reference to the traditional hairstyle of Okinawa, which is here characteristically traced back to the devilish demons.
60. *Konjaku monogatari* XI/12, in *NKBT* 24, 84.
61. *Sui-shu*, Fasc. 81/46, in *Chung-hua shu chū*, p. 1823.
62. *Konjaku monogatari* XI/12, in *NKBT* 24, 84.
63. YOSHIDA 1911, II: 1806.
64. *Heike monogatari*, Fasc. II/10, in *NKBT* 32, 186-97; KITAGAWA and TSUCHIDA 1977, 127-28.
65. *NKBT* 32, 237; KITAGAWA and TSUCHIDA 1977, 190.
66. See HIGASHIONNA 1906, 312; YOSHIDA 1911, II: 1806 (Article "Iwojima"); PAPINOT 1982, 222; *NKBT* 32, 186, n. 3 (here too reference is made to the designation *kikai-ga-shima* for all of the islands south of the Satumas.

67. IKEDA 1971 cites under the motif F 743.5 "Island of ogres" the type No. 301B (*Rikitarō*), 302 (*Momotarō*), 303 (*Futari kyōdai*), 425B (*Issun bōshi*), 725 (*Yume-mi kozō*), and 974 (*Yuriwaka daijin*).

68. Ivan MORRIS (1980, 67-105) gives a sensitive and comprehensive presentation of the historical person as well as the legendary figure of Minamoto no Yoshitsune.

69. See *NKBT* 38, 102-23, *Onzōshi shima watari*.

70. MORRIS (1980, 101) comments on this tradition: "This theory, concocted in the late Meiji period, was no doubt related to current Japanese ambitions in northern Asia Minamoto no Yoshitsune's name can be read 'Gengikei,' which is indeed close to 'Genghis Khan.' Unfortunately, the circumstances that do not fit are somewhat more numerous and persuasive. Still another theory is that Yoshitsune crossed to China and became the ancestor of the Manchu Dynasty." A connection between Yoshitsune and Mongolia is established in the already mentioned tale *Onzōshi shima watari* (see n. 69). Here the hero, in the framework of a trick of war, deceives his enemies by reporting he has left with 100,000 warriors to conquer Mongolia. But we are dealing in this context with an open lie that helps rescue Yoshitsune from an apparently hopeless situation (see *NKBT* 38, 107).

71. See, among others, WATANABE 1966, 241. The political connotations of this material are likewise emphasized by MORRIS (1980, 370): "During the Meiji period, steam engines in Hokkaido were sometimes named after people who figured in the legend, and Emperor Meiji himself during his state visit to Sapporo travelled in a train that was pulled by an engine called 'Yoshitsune.' Other engines in Hokkaido were called 'Shizuka' and 'Benkei'; it is significant that none was ever named after the successful Yoritomo."

72. See *Hakuseki sensei shukan*, in KOKUSHO KANKŌKAI 1905-06, V: 299-301.

73. See the treatment of the Tametomo material in Hakuseki's works *Nantōshi* and *Ryūkyū koku jiryaku*, which themselves served as prototypes for later treatments.

74. The classical version of the material is found in a *Kōwaka-mai* dance with the title "Yuriwaka daijin." It presents "the fate of the legendary Japanese commander who fought off the invasion of the Mongolians under Emperor Saga After long battles against the superior forces of the sorcerous intruders, Yuriwaka is victorious and with the aid of a magical letter he kills . . . the enemy commanders. While he is resting on Genkai Island, his representatives, the treasonous Brothers Beppu, go away and leave him on the island in order to claim the reward for his victory, and they then tell troops back home of his death" (SCHNEIDER 1968, 78). In regard to the question of the possible influence on this material by European tradition (the *Odyssey*), see SCHNEIDER 1968, 108, n. 41 and IKEDA 1971, 218 (No. 974).

75. The largest number of fairy-tale versions of the Yuriwaka material is found in the collection NMST (vol. 4, No. 244; 5, No. 265; 8, No. 191; 20, No. 184; 23, No. 144; 24, No. 45; 25, No. 109; 26, No. 150; 27, No. 333). Here is found a clear local concentration of the material on Kyūshū, where most of the variants with a "demon island" as the place of action are found. RUMPF (1938, 208-13, No. 77) had already presented a corresponding version where a direct connection to the Momotarō tale follows; see Ikeda-AT No. 974 and also above, note 29.

76. The dance "Yuriwaka-daijin," however, is not related to the historical invasion of the Mongolians but to an ostensible attack carried out in the year 816 during the rule of Emperor Saga (SCHNEIDER 1968, 78). In folk tradition, however, there is only talk of "the" Mongolians, which implies a reference to historical events.

77. *NKBT* 1, 206/207ff.

78. *NKBT* 1, 210/211ff.

79. *NKBT* 1, 218/219.
 80. *NKBT* 1, 214/215.
 81. *NKBT* 60, 425-34; *NKT* 20: 77-80.
 82. The colophon of the edition mentions specifically that it is a special edition on the occasion of the 2,600th anniversary (Vol. 12, 355); the publication took place in the years 1938-41.
 83. See ANTONI 1990.

REFERENCES CITED

- ANTONI, Klaus
 1982 *Der weisse Hase von Inaba. Vom Mythos zum Märchen.* Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 28. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
 1983-86 Zur historischen Legitimation des japanischen Anspruches auf die Ryūkyū-Inseln. Tametomo oder die Dämonie der Fremde. *Oriens Extremus* 30: 85-119.
 1986-87 Fritz Rumpf und das japanische Volksmärchen. *NOAG* 139-142: 168-85.
 1987 Kokutai—Das "Nationalwesen" als japanische Utopie. *Saeculum* 38: 266-82.
 1988a Mythos und Ideologie im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland und im kaiserlichen Japan der frühen Shōwa-Zeit. In *Referate des VII. Deutschen Japanologentages in Hamburg*, eds. K. Antoni, P. Pörtner, and R. Schneider, 38-51. *MOAG* 111. Hamburg.
 1988b Miwa—*Der Heilige Trank. Zur Geschichte und religiösen Bedeutung des alkoholischen Getränkes (sake) in Japan.* Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 45. Stuttgart: Steiner.
 1988c Yasukuni-Jinja and folk religion: The problem of vengeful spirits. *Asian Folklore Studies* 47: 123-36.
 1989 Taisō no rei—Die Beisetzung des Shōwa-tennō (24. 2. 1989) in historischer Sicht. *Japanstudien, Jahrbuch des Deutschen Instituts für Japanstudien* 1: 89-134.
 1990 Der "göttliche Untertan." Das Menschenbild der Shintō Mythologie. *Universitas* 10: 939-50.
- ASAKAWA Kan'ichi
 1955-57 *Iriki bunsho* [The documents of Iriki]. Tokyo: Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai.
- ASAKURA Haruhiko et al., eds.
 1988 *Shinwa densetsu jiten* [Dictionary of myths and legends]. First pub. 1963. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan.
- ASHIYA, Mizuyo
 1939 *Japanische und deutsche Tiermärchen, besonders Fuchsmärchen, in ihrem Wesen und nach ihrer volkstunskundlichen Grundlage.* Ph.D. thesis. Köln: Orthen.
- ASTON, William G.
 1975 *Nihongi. Chronicles of Japan from the earliest times to A.D. 697.* Reprint. Tokyo: Tuttle.
- BARGATZKY, Thomas
 1985 *Einführung in die Ethnologie. Eine Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie.* Hamburg: Buske.
- BRAUNS, David
 1885 *Japanische Märchen und Sagen.* Leipzig: Verlag Friedrich.

Dainihonshi [History of Great Japan]

1938-41 Edition: *Gendai shisō zenshū*, 12 vols. Tokyo.

DORSON, Richard M.

1979 *Folk legends of Japan*. Rutland/Tokyo: Tuttle.

DOWER, John D.

1986 *War without mercy: Race and power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon Books.

1987 Japanese cinema goes to war. *Japan Society Newsletter*, New York, July: 2-9.

FOLJANTY-JOST, Gesine

1979 *Schulbuchgestaltung als Systemstabilisierung in Japan*. Bochum: Brockmeyer.

FRIDELL, W. M.

1970 Government ethics textbooks in late Meiji Japan. *Journal of Japanese Studies* 29: 828-33.

GAUNTLETT, John Owen, trans., and Robert K. HALL, ed.

1949 *Kokutai no hongī: Cardinal principles of the national entity of Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

GRIFFIS, Wm Eliot

1887 *Japanese fairy world. Stories from the wonder-lore of Japan*. London: Trübner.

Heike monogatari

NKBT 32-33.

HIGASHIONNA Kanjun

1906 Tametomo Ryūkyū-torai ni tsukite [On Tametomo's visit to the Ryūkyūs]. *Rekishi chiri* VIII/4: 309-14.

1908 Tametomo Ryūkyū-iri Ryūkyū ni tsuite no saikyūki [The oldest account of Ryūkyū and Tametomo's visit to the Ryūkyūs]. *Rekishi chiri* XI/2: 377-83.

1957 *Ryūkyū no rekishi*. Nihon Rekishi Shinsho series. Tokyo: Shibundō.

Hōgen monogatari

Editions: Kokumin Bunko vol. 17; NKBT 31.

IKEDA, Hiroko

1971 *A type and motif index of Japanese folk-literature*. FFC 209. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.

INADA Kōji and OZAWA Toshio, eds.

1976-89 *Nihon mukashibanashi tsūkan*. 28 vols. (thus far). Kyoto: Dōhōsha Shuppan.

IROKAWA, Daikichi

1985 *The culture of the Meiji period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Izumo no kuni fudoki

NKBT 2.

KAIGO Tokiomi and NAKA Arata, eds.

1961-67 *Nihon kyōkasho taikai* [Encyclopedia of Japanese school textbooks]. 27 vols. Tokyo: Kōdansha.

KINDAICHI Kyōsuke

1925 *Ainu no kenkyū* [Studies of the Ainu]. Reprinted 1940. Tokyo: Yashima Shobō.

KITAGAWA, H. and B. T. TSUCHIDA, trans.

1977 *The tale of the Heike*. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press.

Kojiki

NKBT 1.

- KOKUSHO KANKŌKAI, ed.
 1905-06 *Arai Hakuseki zenshū*. 6 vols. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.
- Kokutai no hongī*
 1937 Edition of the Monbushō [Ministry of Education], Tokyo.
- Konjaku monogatari (shū)*
 NKBT 22-26.
- KYOKUTEI (Takizawa) Bakin
Chinsetsu yumiharizuki, editions: NKBT 60-61; Yūhōdō Bunko 49. *Enseki zasshi*, edition: Yūhōdō Bunko 84.
- LOKOWANDT, Ernst
 1978 *Die rechtliche Entwicklung des Staats-Shintō in der ersten Hälfte der Meiji-Zeit (1868-1890)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- MAJIKINA Ankō and SHIMURA Ryūji
 1966 *Okinawa issennenshi* [One thousand years of Okinawan history]. Tokyo: Ryūkyū Shiryō Kenkyūkai.
- MARUYAMA Masao
 1971 *Nihon no shisō* [The thought of Japan]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
 1988 *Denken in Japan (Nihon no shisō)*. Trans. Wolfgang Schamoni and Wolfgang Seifert. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- MITFORD, R. A. (Lord Redesdale)
 1871 *Tales of old Japan*. Reprinted 1978. Tokyo: Tuttle.
- MORRIS, Ivan
 1980 *The nobility of failure: Tragic heroes in the history of Japan*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- MURAKAMI Shigeyoshi
 1977 *Tennō no saishi* [Religious festivals of the emperor]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Nanpo bunshū*
 1906 Edition: *Sappan sōsho* vol. 1. Tokyo: Sappan Sōsho Kankōkai.
- NAUMANN, Nelly
 1970 Einige Bemerkungen zum sogenannten Ur-Shintō. *NOAG* 107/108: 5-13.
Okinawa daihyakka jiten [Okinawa encyclopedia]
 1983 4 vols. Naha: Okinawa Taimusu Sha.
- ŌKUBO Toshiaki et al., eds.
 1965 *Kindai-shi shiryō* [Sources of modern history]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
- Otogizōshi*
 NKBT 38.
- PAPINOT, E.
 1982 *Historical and geographical dictionary of Japan*. Reprint of 1910 ed. Tokyo: Tuttle.
- PHILIPPI, Donald L.
 1969 *Kojiki*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
 1979 *Songs of Gods, songs of humans: The epic tradition of the Aimu*. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press.
- RUMPF, Fritz
 1938 *Japanische Volksmärchen*. Die Märchen der Weltliteratur, ed. F. von der Leyen. Jena: Diederichs.
- SAKAMAKI, S.
 1963 *Ryukyū: A bibliographical guide to Okinawan studies*. Honolulu: U. of Hawaii Press.

- SCHNEIDER, Harold K.
 1977 Prehistoric transpacific contact and the theory of culture change. *American Anthropologist* 79: 9–25.
- SCHNEIDER, Roland
 1968 *Kôwaka-mai. Sprache und Stil einer mittelalterlichen japanischen Rezitationskunst.* MOAG 51. Hamburg.
- SEKI Keigo
 1950–58 *Nihon mukashibanashi shûsei* [Old tales of Japan, revised]. 3 vols. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.
 1966 Types of Japanese folktales. *Asian Folklore Studies* 25: 1–220.
 1978–82 *Nihon mukashibanashi taisei.* 12 vols. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.
- SHÔ Shôken
 1962 *Chûzan seikan.* In *Ryûkyû shiryô sôsho* 5: 3–81. Tokyo: Inoue Shobô.
- SUGIURA, Shigetake
 1976 Vorlesungen über das Erziehungsdikt. In WITTIG 1973, 118–25.
- Sui-shu*
 Edition: Chung-hua shu chü, Beijing.
- TSUBOI Kumazô
 1908 Minamoto Tametomo Ryûkyû-iri ni tsuite no saikyûsetsu. *Rekishi chiri* XI/1: 151–52.
- TSUNODA, Ryusaku et al., eds.
 1964 *Sources of Japanese tradition.* 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press.
- TSURUMI, Kazuko
 1970 *Social change and the individual: Japan before and after defeat in World War II.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- WATANABE Tamotsu
 1966 *Minamoto no Yoshitsune.* Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan.
- WEEGMANN, Carl von
 1935 *Die vaterländische Erziehung in der japanischen Volksschule: Tokuhon und Shûshinsho.* MOAG 28/D. Tokyo.
- WILSON, Wm R.
 1971 *Hôgen monogatari: Tale of the disorder in Hôgen.* Monumenta Nipponica Monograph. Tokyo: Sophia University Press.
- WITTIG, Horst E.
 1972 *Bildungswelt Ostasien, Pädagogik und Schule in China, Japan und Korea.* Paderborn: F. Schöningh.
 1976 *Pädagogik und Bildungspolitik Japans, Quellentexte und Dokumente von der Tokugawa-Zeit bis zur Gegenwart.* München: Ernst Reinhardt.
- WRAY, Harold J.
 1973 A Study in contrasts: Japanese school textbooks of 1903 and 1941–45. *Monumenta Nipponica* 28: 69–86.
- YOSHIDA Tôgo, ed.
 1911 *Dai Nihon chimei jisho* [Dictionary of Japanese place names]. 7 vols. Tokyo: Fûzanbô.