

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COMIC PANEL IN JAPANESE
MANGA

by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Department of English
and the Robert D. Clark Honors College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts

Spring 2017

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Grace Shum for the degree of Bachelor of Arts
in the department of English to be taken June 2017

Title: The Evolution of the Comic Panel in Japanese Manga

Approved: _____

Dr. Elizabeth Wheeler

The comic panel is an integral but not always obvious part of comic literacy. This is especially true in Japanese manga, in which panel layouts can be extremely abstract. I endeavored to examine the history of manga to observe its panel evolution to discover how manga panel layouts evolved to what they are today. At the same time, I created a manga of my own, *Kaguya*, which is adapted from the folktale, *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, to showcase the evolution of panel examples throughout manga history. Through my research, I discovered that manga panels were at first confined to the dimensions of their media formats like in the proto-panels of *emaki* scrolls and *ukiyo-e* prints. Later, due to the influence of European and American comics, Japanese comic panels diversified, with the caption-picture format becoming the most popular. Japanese manga panels evolved even further when *shôjo* and *shonen* manga developed with panel layouts designed to emote emotion and action, respectively. Today's manga panels are variations of the *shôjo* and *shonen* panels that evolved after WWII, but with Japan's deep cultural roots in manga and habit of intermixing manga into different media, perhaps it is only a matter of time before manga panels develop even further.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my thesis committee panel members Professor Elizabeth Wheeler, Professor Akiko Walley, and Professor Casey Shoop for helping me to fully examine the specific topic and consider the various perspectives and contexts related to this subject matter. I also want to thank my professors for their understanding and patience. I especially want to thank Professor Wheeler for her continued support and advice during my entire thesis process; also, thank you for humoring me when I went off track. Professor Walley's class ARTH: 399 History of Manga inspired this thesis, and I want to thank her and the Comic Studies program at the UO for providing us with the opportunity to study comics. I also want to thank my friends Jordyn and Yufang for their advice and steadfast encouragement and for their willingness to be my study buddy. I want to thank both Yufang and my sister Miranda for helping me to ink some of the panels. I also want to thank the UO librarians and the Summit Library system, without either of which, this thesis would not have been possible. Last of all, I want to thank Miriam Jordan for her background support – I know I tried her patience as well – and all the work she puts into preparing and helping others in their honors college theses.

The creators of this template (CHC Librarian Miriam Rigby & CHC Academic & Thesis Coordinator Miriam Jordan) would like to thank Reed College for providing their Thesis Template for the inspiration of many elements of this template.

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Introduction

People who haven't read manga, or those who start reading as adults, can find it hard to read. Even kids who read manga have a hard time reading sometimes with the vast amounts of panel layout variations and graphic elements that can appear in manga. The psychiatrist Fredric Wertham who launched an era of censorship in American comics even admitted that reading comics required a special literary skill.¹ So how do people read manga?

According to a study conducted by John E. Ingulsrud and Kate Allen, Japanese schoolchildren – if faced with difficulty reading a manga – utilize two major reading strategies: 1) Decode the manga by following a sequential pattern that gives page elements an order to be read and prioritized 2) Reread.² Of the first strategy, Ingulsrud and Allen found that children placed first priority to reading the speech balloons, then to studying the characters' faces, and then next, to following the panel order.³ The first two priorities seem requisite: the dialogue allows the narrative to unfold and the graphics contain further information that can hint at the narrative's humor, melancholy, dynamism, or etc. However, the panel order is another matter.

Often, in English translated manga, diagrams or layouts are included to show readers the correct order of the panels. Ingulsrud and Allen calls the standard reading pattern *ki-shô-ten-ketsu*, in which the story begins at the top right, moves left and down as the story develops, something unexpected occurs, and at the bottom of the page there

¹ Wertham actually pointed out the difficulty of reading comics to highlight comics as abnormal literacy that was causing juvenile delinquency. Ingulsrud and Allen point out the implications of Wertham's observations. John E. Ingulsrud and Kate Allen, *Reading Japan Cool: Patterns of Manga Literacy and Discourse*, 173-199 (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009), 183.

² John E. Ingulsrud and Kate Allen, *Reading Japan Cool: Patterns of Manga Literacy and Discourse*, 130.

³ Ibid.

is a resolution.⁴ Unfortunately, most modern manga artist deviate from this pattern, which only adds to the complexity of manga literacy.

But how did this reading pattern develop? And how has the panel come to contribute to the reading pattern and complexity of manga? My thesis strives to address these questions by exploring one facet of the manga reading technique: the manga panel, *koma*. Specifically, I will be examining the development of the panel shape in Japanese manga to find out how manga panel layouts became the way they are now. Furthermore, I will compile some of my findings into a story manga of my own in order to illustrate visually – for manga is both a graphic and literary medium – the development of the panel.

⁴ Ibid., 133.

Methodology

In comics, panels are the frames that the images are drawn in. Often, panels are rectangular, but they can come in many different shapes and sizes with panel borders present or nonexistent. Additionally, the placement of panels and the presence or absence of gutters (the space between the panels) can affect notions of time as we read a comic narrative. Thus, the varied characteristics of panels not only help with the sequential order of the panels but also convey a sense of time and mood when reading.

In manga literary theory, there are two approaches to the history of manga: cultural-historical and socio-economical.⁵ The cultural-historical approach is one often favored by manga artists and creators. It theorizes that the origins of manga started during ancient times from around the era of *emaki-e* scrolls. The socio-economic approach argues the origins of manga should be started around the 1950s because of the social conditions and innovating work that occurred which allowed for the number of published manga to balloon and diversify.

For the purposes of this thesis, I will be taking the cultural-historical approach.

In an interview with Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *mangaka* Takahata Isao said:

[T]here has been continuity in Japanese painting and culture since the appearance of the *emaki* scroll. One cannot explain the existence of manga and Japanese animation solely by reference to American cartoons and comic strips, and still less by the caricatures of Hogarth, Goya, and Daumier. One has to go back well before then, to the *Scroll of Birds and Animals* and to that of *The Legends of Mount Shigi*.⁶

⁵ Ibid., 35.

⁶ The titles named are famous *emaki-e*. Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, trans. David Radzinowicz, (Paris: Flammarion, 2007), 133.

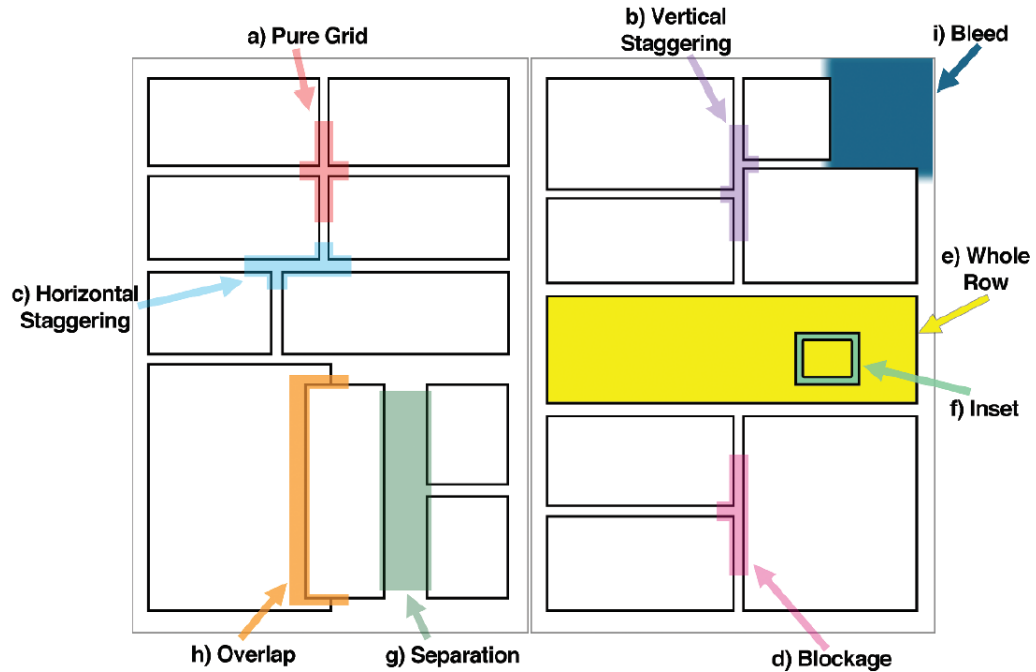


Figure 1: Schematized features of panel arrangements in page layouts.

Figure 1: Panel layout terms

In order to properly discuss the panel layouts, I will be using some terms helpfully diagrammed by Kaitlin Pederson and Neil Cohn in their study, "The Changing Page of Comics: Page Layouts across Eight Decades of American Superhero Comics."⁷

While Takahata was referring more specifically to Japanese cartooning style, in Japanese culture, it is undeniable that art and literature have been intertwined since ancient times, starting with the *emaki* scrolls. Therefore, I felt the development of manga panels could not be complete without examining the history of the mix of literature and graphics that are linked with the history of Japanese caricature. The mixed quality of Japanese culture is also why I placed emphasis on the text in early *emaki* and *ukiyo-e*. For, text played an important role in these media, as it does today in contemporary manga, albeit in a different, truncated fashion.

⁷ Available from: Pederson, Kaitlin, and Neil Cohn. "The Changing Page of Comics: Page Layouts across Eight Decades of American Superhero Comics." *Studies in Comics* 7, no. 1 (2016): 7-28. Accessed April 21, 2017. doi: 10.1386/stic.7.1.7_1.

To carry out my exploration of the panel, I first examined the history of manga. Due to limited amount of research on panel development specifically – or at least the limited amount of translated research – I transitioned from secondary sources to primary sources, to try and observe any development I could see visually. Consequently, I sometimes found myself examining manga in its original Japanese – a language I regrettably do not know. However, with some knowledge of Chinese characters and manga’s obvious graphic characteristic, I was able to somewhat guess or interpret the panels.

However, comic panels, as we know them today, were not officially present in ancient Japanese media forms, such as *emaki-e* scrolls and *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints. Today’s panel definition necessitate that panels delineate a comic – especially a sequential, narrative comic. For my thesis, I based my observations on the manga panel evolution by following the media formats many historians include as part of manga history as according to the cultural-historical approach, which is why I looked at *emaki-e* scrolls, *ukiyo-e* prints, and *kibyôshi* booklets, which are considered by some scholars to be proto-comic books. I also considered such early media as containing “proto panels,” formatting that has similarities or roots to the modern panel, especially if images or text were “sectioned off” as panels delineate images and text today. Thus, I explored the unique layout of *emaki* handscrolls, whose layout in monoscenic and continuous *emaki* allowed for a sequential narrative. I also looked at *ukiyo-e* prints in a similar fashion. Many popular *ukiyo-e* prints were also later compiled into booklets or produced as part of a series. These prints could then be collected and an index was provided. This index allowed readers to figure out which print of the collection they

were missing. The index also gave an ordered sequence to the *ukiyo-e* prints, just as comics today are sequential. Thus, by these characteristics I undertook my observations of the panel evolution.

Yet, the history of manga is vast, its publications and forms numerous, my research only examining a fraction of manga and manga literary criticism. More research, specifically on panel development, should be made or translated to examine or address media I missed or misinterpreted.

Visual Representation of the Panel Evolution: Kaguya

While I could have made an educational manga to explain the panel evolution, like Natsume Fusanosuke's short manga, "Komatopia," I chose to depict the evolution in a story. For the visual representation of my thesis, I chose to use "The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter," also known as "The Tale of Princess Kaguya," as the basis of my narrative. The tale is considered the oldest prose narrative in Japan.

The original story involves an old bamboo cutter, who discovers a beautiful, tiny baby inside one of the bamboo stalks he cuts. The old man takes the child home to his wife, and they call her Kaguya-hime. From then on, the bamboo cutter finds gold nuggets in every bamboo stalk he cuts. Soon, he becomes rich, and the baby girl grows into a woman of extraordinary beauty. Word of Kaguya's beauty spreads, and five noblemen come courting. Kaguya gives each of them an impossible task in exchange for her hand in marriage. One by one, the men fail or try to deceive Kaguya who sees through their lies. Soon after, the emperor of Japan comes to see her and falls in love. But Kaguya rebuffs his advances, saying she is not of this world. That summer, Kaguya becomes sad every time she gazes at the moon. She reveals she is not of this world and must return to her people of the Moon. Before she leaves, she sends a letter and an elixir of immortality to the emperor. The emperor, saddened by her departure, destroys the elixir and burns her letter on the highest mountain closest to the heavens and thus, the moon. It is said that is how the word immortality became the name of Mount Fuji.

For the visual representation, I chose select panel examples or formats from the panel's development in history. I then drew the panel layouts as an exact copy of those examples or adaptations thereof. Japanese script is traditionally written vertically. The

columns of text then read from right to left. Because the creative portion of my thesis is in English, I made layout changes to the text of these panel examples accordingly.

Below are some examples from my manga, *Kaguya*.



Figures 1a-b: (Above) Panel examples from the *emaki-e* section



Figures 1c-d: Panel examples of the *ukiiyo-e* section



Figure 1e: Panel example from the political cartoon era

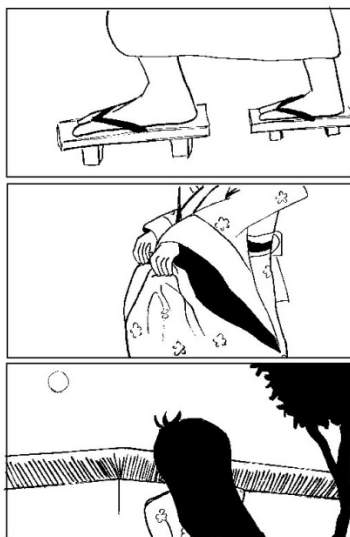


Figure 1f: Panel example from shonen manga.

Periods of Japanese History

Asuka Period	538-710
Nara Period	710-784
Heian Period	784-1185
Kamakura Period	1185-1333
Muromachi Period	1336-1573
Azuchi-Momoyama Period	1573-1598
Edo Period	1603-1867
Meiji Era	1868-1912
Taishô Era	1912-1926
Shôwa Era	1926-1989
Heisei Era	1989-

Evolution of the Panel

Emaki-e, Narrative Picture Scrolls

The earliest known caricatures in Japan were little doodled faces found on the backs of temple ceiling planks during the 6th and 7th centuries,⁸ but the first panels, or rather the first influencers to Japanese manga panels today, appeared in narrative picture scrolls, called *emaki* or *emakimono*, which became popular as a Japanese art form during the Heian period. These illuminated handscrolls were long strips of paper, which were wrapped around a stick, and were read by unrolling the paper from right to left in

⁸ During this time period, there was a frenzy of temple building due to the introduction of Buddhism. These early caricatures were found in Hôryûji and Tôshôdaiji Temple and were most likely made by the builders or scribes as the temple was constructed. The doodles were not, at least for the Hôryûji Temple caricatures, discovered until 1925. Frederik Schodt, "A Thousand Years of Manga," in *Manga! Manga! the World of Japanese Comics*, (New York: Kodansha International Ltd., 1983), 28.

sections 20 to 24 inches long.⁹ Made for the aristocratic and religious elite, *emaki* consisted of expensive covers, gold and silver dusted paper, and silk braid cords.¹⁰

Emaki originally appeared in Japan as a Chinese import. During the 6th and 7th centuries, the imperial Japanese court was infatuated with Chinese civilization and culture, and the court adopted, imported, or simply copied many Chinese methods and art, including *emaki*.¹¹ Thus, early Japanese *emaki* were imitations of Chinese handscrolls, secular paintings mostly of the Buddhist narrative tradition.¹² The oldest existing *emaki* are the *E-Inga-kyō* (Illustrated Sutra of Cause and Effect) from the mid-eighth century (Figure 2), and Japanese copies of the Chinese illustrated handscrolls of the *Kako Genzai Inga-kyō* (Sutra of Cause and Effect of the Past and Present) from the early sixth century.¹³ The Japanese, following the Chinese, chose not to draw the scrolls' images in frames or panels. Instead, scenes would often bleed into another, drawn in multiple angles, and were often interspersed with sections of calligraphy.¹⁴

⁹ The scroll was rolled back up as each section was finished. Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, trans. David Radzinowicz, (Paris: Flammarion, 2007), 9.

¹⁰ Hideo Okudaira, *Narrative Picture Scrolls*, trans. Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, (New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1973), 23,25.

¹¹ The Japanese also adopted the Chinese writing system during this time, having no prior system. Today, Chinese characters still appear in Japanese script in the form of *kanji*. "A Thousand Years of Manga," in *Manga! Manga! the World of Japanese Comics*, (New York: Kodansha International Ltd., 1983), 28.

¹² Hideo Okudaira, *Narrative Picture Scrolls*, trans. Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, (New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1973), 19.

¹³ Okudaira, *Narrative Picture Scrolls*, 17.

¹⁴ Koyama-Richard, Brigitte, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, trans. David Radzinowicz (Paris: Flammarion, 2007), 9. While the earliest existing *emaki* date from the mid-eighth century and the six century, these *emaki* were not included in the creative portion of the thesis because the *emaki* in question are imitations of Chinese narrative handscrolls and are not considered an original work of Japanese culture. Thus, they were not used as example panels for this thesis. Similarly, because no existing Japanese *emaki* early narrative handscroll period (early 10th –early 11th century) exist, no example panels from this time period were used. Instead, the first example comes from the *Genji Monogatari Emaki*.



Figure 2: *E Inga-kyō* (Illustrated Sutra of Cause and Effect), Nara period, 8th century. © Nara National Museum. Available from: *E inga kyo*. Nara National Museum, Nara. In *Future Learn*. Accessed March 5, 2017. Available from: <https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/japanese-rare-books-culture/0/steps/17255>. Figure 1.

Here the scenes bleed into the next scene in one continuous image. Notice how the layout of text underneath the images and the confines of the paper delineate a sort of two-panel layout.

However, during the Nara and Heian periods, the influence of China began to decline, though it remained strong.¹⁵ As a result, many Chinese imports became “Japanized,” made with a Japanese perspective and style instead of a copy of Chinese art. This included Japanese-style painting and the Japanese writing system, hiragana and katakana script, which developed around the 9th century; this new writing system allowed writers to write in their native script and freed Japanese literature of Chinese influence.¹⁶ Although most *emaki* during this time period did not survive, we know from literary works of that time that most *emaki* of this period were illustrations of literary works.¹⁷

During the developing stage of *emaki* (12th century), different layout and painting styles began to be used, which in turn affected the panel structure of these proto-panels. While earlier *emaki* focused on literary works, *emaki* of this time were

¹⁵ <http://www.japan-guide.com/e/e2132.html>

¹⁶ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, trans. David Radzinowicz (Paris: Flammarion, 2007), 9. Okudaira, *Narrative Picture Scrolls*, 22.

¹⁷ There were also *emaki* that were illustrated diaries, illustrated scrolls of the months of the year, illustrated scrolls of monthly events or annual rites and ceremonies, or *emaki* that depicted new customs or manners. Okudaira, *Narrative Picture Scrolls*, 23.

more focused on plot and dynamic narratives, introducing bits and pieces of the lives of the common folk instead of purely the lives of the elite.¹⁸ Even the drawing technique was changed; in addition to the *tsukuri-e* technique, free-style drawings were used to create a sense of movement and dynamism.¹⁹

Though these scrolls do not have panels such as the ones we use today, *emaki* are seen as a predecessor of manga, which makes their layout formats interesting to study in the evolution of manga panels. There were two layout formats most often used in *emaki*: the first are monoscenic *emaki*. In these *emaki*, every section of calligraphy had a corresponding illustrated section that illustrated the text to form what we might call proto-panels, one with only text and one with only the illustrations.²⁰ This traditional structural layout was used in the Heian period and utilized the *tsukuri-e* technique of using heavy opaque pigments. Perhaps the most well-known example of monoscenic *emaki* is the *Genji Monogatari Emaki* (The Tale of Genji). The *Genji Monogatari Emaki*, following the literary tradition of the Heian period, is a retelling of the novel *The Tale of Genji*, a tale about the nobleman Genji, his adventures, and love life. While only 15% of the scroll remains today, this *emaki* was originally around 450 feet long, consisting of twenty rolls.

¹⁸ Ibid., 28.

¹⁹ *Tsukuri-e* was a painting technique in which the paper was first outlined in black and white. Next, heavy opaque pigments were painted to add color and detail, completely obliterating the original lines. Finally, black ink was used to outline the images again to make them stand out. Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid. The *Chôjû Jimbutsu Giga* is an example, one of few, of *emaki* that contain no textual portions.



Figure 3: Excerpts from Genji Monogatari Emaki (c. 1120-1140). ©Tokugawa Art Museum. Available from: *Chapter 45 Hashihime*. Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya City . In *E-Art Co., Ltd.* Edited by Terukazu Akiyama. Accessed May 10, 2017. <http://www.e-art.ne.jp/EN/EMAKI/index.html>.

(*Top*) Surviving image section on chapter 45 Hashihime.

(*Bottom*) From the same chapter, a surviving calligraphy section, which would have been placed right next to an illustrated section.

This emaki represents the art of the Heian court tradition. The drawing style is characterized by the *tsukuri-e* painting technique of heavy, opaque pigments; abstract images; *fukinuki yatai* (“blown-off roof”), which was a compositional technique that allowed a bird’s eye view by not depicting the roof and ceiling; and *hikime kagibana*, in which the faces were all drawn with similar features (i.e. slit eyes and a hook nose).

As mentioned previously, the 12th century was a developing stage of *emaki*.

During this time, a feudal social structure began to emerge as military leaders began to seize control, leaving the emperors in Kyoto to act as titular rulers.²¹ Another type of *emaki* emerged as well, one in which the narrative appeared in a continuous composition. In *emaki* with continuous narration, each pictorial scene bleeds into the next, but there also usually portions of text: most notably at the beginning, at choice

²¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

moments in the narrative, and also at the end of the scroll.²² Two well-known examples are the mid-12th century *Shigi-san Engi* (Legends of the Shigi-san Temple) and the *Ban Dainagon Ekotoba* (Story of the Courtier Ban Dainagon) (Figure 4). The *Shigi-san Engi* currently only has three sections of surviving text, the *Ban Dainagon Ekotoba* none, but both *emaki* are actually missing sections of text and are presumed lost.



Figure 4: *Ban Dainagon Ekotoba*, attributed to Tokiwa Mitsunaga, end of 12th century, three scrolls © Idemitsu Museum of Art. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radzinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007: Figures 11-14.

The *Ban Dainagon Ekotoba* uses both the *tsukuri-e* and the free-style line styles, but its composition is, like the *Shigi-san Engi*, a continuous composition spanning more than twenty feet to depict the Ôtemmon Conspiracy of 1177.

Another well-known *emaki* of this time period is the *Chôjû Jimbutsu Giga* (Scroll of Frolicking Animals and People). The *Chôjû Jimbutsu Giga* (second quarter of the 12th century) is also an *emaki* of continuous narration. Its illustrations are entirely done in black ink, a style most likely derived from Buddhist iconographic drawings, which Kôzan-ji temple, where the scroll is kept, was known for.²³ The scroll's narrative follows frolicking animals which caricature humans. Because of this, some consider the *Chôjû Jimbutsu Giga* to be Japan's first masterpiece of cartooning.²⁴ Unlike the other *emaki* mentioned, the *Chôju Jimbutsu Giga* has no sections of text, which was unusual.

²² Ibid., 66.

²³ Ibid., 31.

²⁴ Frederik Schodt, "A Thousand Years of Manga," 28.



Figure 5: Attributed to Toba Sôjô, Excerpt from *Chôjû Jimbutsu Giga*, second quarter of the 12th century, four scrolls in Chinese ink from 30 to 40 ft. long. ©Kôzanji. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radzinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figures 6-7.

As *emaki* developed over the centuries, the placement of calligraphy also began to evolve. Instead of separate sections of calligraphy like in monoscenic *emaki*, text could also be found in small oblong areas or above the illustrations.²⁵ *Otogi zôshi emaki* were a small genre of *emaki* that began to develop during the Kamakura period (the golden age of *emaki*).²⁶ These were often short tales of folklore or other genres that began to replace the *emaki* of classic literature and poems. These short stories were meant to be read orally with a storyteller showing the audience its illustrations, but the narrative descriptions of the text were also supplemented with captions amongst the illustrations that provided additional dialogue, character identification, or explanation of scenes.²⁷ This use of text can also be found in other *emaki*, not of the *otogi zôshi* genre, during this time. Later, in the middle of the Muromachi period, *otogi zôshi emaki* were replaced by *nara ehon*, handmade picture books, which took over as the more popular narrative medium as *emaki* declined.²⁸

²⁵ Okudaira, *Narrative Picture Scrolls*, 67.

²⁶ Virginia Skord, trans., Introduction to *Tales of Tears and Laughter: Short Fiction of Medieval Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), 4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁸ Okudaira, *Narrative Picture Scrolls*, 39.



Figure 6: Anonymous, *Fujibukuro-sôshi emaki (The Wisteria Basket Story)*, 16th century, 2.75 x 7.25 in. ©Suntory Museum. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radzinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figures 16-17.

Here, small captions of text appear amongst the illustrations. The highly-stylized clouds that border the image were used as an indicator of the passage of time in early *emaki* but were later used as a decorative motif.



Figure 7: Sumiyoshi Jôkei, *Tamamushi monogatari (Tale of the Jewel-Beetles)*, extract from a hand scroll, 17th century, 450.75 x 8 in. ©Kumon Institute of Education. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radzinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 38.

This later example shows how captions in the illustrations were used in conjunction with sections of narrative text.

Emaki continued to be produced in the Muromachi period and the following Momoyama and Edo periods, but very few *emaki* of importance appeared after the sixteenth century. *Emaki* were eventually replaced by the numerous and varied *ukiyo-e*

woodblock prints as the *yamato-e* tradition went out of fashion, and as a new consumer, the rising middle class, demanded more inexpensive and accessible art.²⁹

***Ukiyo-e*, Woodblock Prints**

In 1603, Tokugawa Ieyasu established the Tokugawa Shogunate, ruling as the *sei-i-tai shogun*, the supreme chief, and moved the government to Edo (present-day Tokyo), thus beginning an era of feudal dictatorship and seclusion policies.³⁰ Under the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Edo period was a time of peace, which allowed the warrior class (the elite) to indulge in a life of luxury. This resulted in the rise of the middle class, the *chônin* (merchants and artisans), as the warrior class commissioned craftsmen to design silk clothing and lacquer, bronze, ceramics, and ivory objects; as the warrior class became increasingly in debt, they borrowed money from the merchants.³¹ As the *chônin* began to gain power and wealth, they began to demand their own form of entertainment, entertainment like the elite warrior class but which was specifically catered to the *chônin*'s whims.³² The *ukiyo-e*, or Japanese wood-block print, thus

²⁹ *Yamato-e* is the Japanese style of painting. Often done in color, the tradition depicts Japanese scenes and subject matter. The *tsukuri-e* technique is an extension of the *yamato-e* tradition. Ibid., 41.

³⁰ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, 37.

³¹ At this time, Japanese society was divided in four classes: warriors, peasants, artisans, and merchants, with the warriors as the supposed elite in power. *Chônin* literally means “townspeople” and is used to refer to the merchant and artisan classes. To control the *daimyôs* (overlords or governors of a province) and maintain peace, the Tokugawa Shogunate implemented a political system called *sankin kôtai*. Under this system, the *daimyôs* were forced to live in Edo with their families. When the *daimyôs* had to travel back to their provinces, their families remained in the capital as hostages. Thus, the warrior class had to hold two residences, which was costly. When they did travel back to their outlying feudal estates, tradition and culture dictated that the journey to and from the capital be a grand, costly exhibition, which likewise drained the samurais' coffers. The warrior class earned a fixed revenue from their feudal properties, but these funds became stretched with the demands of the emperor's *sankin kôtai*. Combined with the societal demand to have the latest in artisanal invention and a steadily increasing standard of living, many of the warrior class fell into debt. This forced some to borrow from the merchant class, which only increased their debt. Thus, while the warrior class was at the top of the power hierarchy in name, the *chônin* were steadily becoming the ones in power. Susugu Yoshida, “Images of the Floating World,” in *Ukiyo-e: 250 years of Japanese Art*, (New York: Mayflower Books, 1979), 20-22.

³² Frederik Schodt, “A Thousand Years of Manga,” 33.

became a perfect conduit for the merchants and artisans' desire for popular entertainment. Meaning "images of the Floating World, the term lost its religious connotation as the Japanese, now in a society in which success could be gained via ability, began to see the term as a "floating world," one in which life's fleeting pleasures were prized.³³ These prints and paintings embodied the sensual, day-to-day life of the middle class, whose low-class ranking barred them from political participation and resulted in a general disregard for the ruling elite's code of behavior; thus, they used their money, which was useless in terms of social mobility, to enjoy the present and all of life's fleeting pleasures, whether that was mass-produced *ukiyo-e*, picnics, travel, or revelry in the brothel district of Yoshiwara.³⁴

Created in the 1650s, *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints started out as vertical painted scrolls, *kakemono*, but soon appeared as single-sheet, woodblock prints.³⁵ Wood-block printing had come into Japan from China, and many prints concerned moralistic Confucian ideals.³⁶ Bored by these, Edo's populace began to seek paintings of a more erotic nature, and thus, *ukiyo-e* got its start as an erotic form of entertainment catered for the wealthy *chônin*.³⁷ In fact, many *ukiyo-e* artists also made *shunga-e*, erotic prints, and these prints were often quite humorous, with exaggerated body parts, mimicking the lines of caricature.³⁸

³³ Susugu Yoshida, "The Dawn of Ukiyo-e" in *Ukiyo-e: 250 years of Japanese Art*, (New York: Mayflower Books, 1979), 53.

³⁴ Susugu Yoshida, "Images of the Floating World," 23.

³⁵ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, 38.

³⁶ Susugu Yoshida, "Images of the Floating World," 28.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Other influential single-sheet prints were *Zenga*, zen pictures and *Ôtsu-e*. Both exhibited elements of caricature. *Ôtsu* pictures were cruder and simpler than *ukiyo-e* prints and were also printed on single sheets. Frederik Schodt, "A Thousand Years of Manga," 30-32, 36.

Ukiyo-e prints portrayed a range of subjects, but they also served as advertisements for stores, beauty products, and restaurants; as portraits of popular *kabuki* actors or beautiful courtesans who popularized the latest fashion trends; as public service announcements, delivering news or supplying recipes to cure disease; as educational prints for children to learn reading and writing, functioning as “encyclopedias” or playful rebuses; as prints that could be cut up as paper toys or dolls; and as Edo period “postcards,” which became a much-sought-for souvenir.³⁹

In general, *ukiyo-e* prints were single-sheets, and the dimensions of the paper formed a natural panel border. Again, *ukiyo-e* prints did not have true panels like what we think of today, but that doesn’t mean artists didn’t play with the borders and confines of the paper much like how today’s *mangaka* manipulate panel shapes and boundaries. *Ukiyo-e* prints could have lined borders or no delineated border besides the paper’s boundaries. Some borders could be simple rectangles, curled motifs, or thick patterned borders. Some borders were polygonal and didn’t fill the page. The prints were also used in landscape or portrait format, or the printed image could span two or three pieces of paper to make diptychs or triptychs. Regardless, the *ukiyo-e* prints were confined to the borders of their printed pages such as the *ôban* format, which measured about 10.5 in x 5.5 in.

³⁹ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, 38-40.



Figure 9-12: (Above Left) Hishikawa Moronobu, 1[*Illustration of the Ise Monogatari*], no date. Available from: Ukiyo-e Search, <https://ukiyo-e.org> (accessed March 15, 2017). Assorted *Ukiyo-e*

(Above right) Suzuki Harunobu, Poet Ono no Komachi, from the series One Hundred Poems for One Hundred Poets (*hyakunin isshu*), Edo period. (c. 1765-1770). Available from: Ukiyo-e Search, <https://ukiyo-e.org> (accessed March 15, 2017).

At the top of the print, the text, a poem, is separated by a cloud, acting as a text panel.

(Below left) Hishikawa Moronobu, *A Young Man Embracing a Standing Courtesan*, 1680. Available from: Ukiyo-e Search, <https://ukiyo-e.org> (accessed March 15, 2017).

(Below right) Kitao Masayoshi, *Clearing Weather at Awazu* (*Awazu seiran*), from the series *Eight Views of Ôni* (*ôni hakkei*), Edo period. Available from: Ukiyo-e Search, <https://ukiyo-e.org> (accessed March 15, 2017).

This is an example of a landscape *ukiyo-e*, which deviated from the standard landscape or portrait format.

Despite their seemingly minimal influence on panels, some *ukiyo-e* prints have elements that are similar to modern panel elements, and these prints appeared more frequently towards the end of the Edo period. If we look at the famed *Hokusai manga** volumes from acclaimed *ukiyo-e* artist Hokusai Katsushika (1760-1849), we can see early examples of manga techniques and perhaps, origins of panel diversification. The *manga* volumes are essentially filled with Hokusai's sketches and works: the images were not meant to be viewed sequentially but elements of cartooning exist. In some images, Hokusai sketched figures in various positions in an attempt to study and capture movement, the "synchronization of different moments in time" – a concept that predates Englishman Eadweard James Muybridge's sequence photographs.⁴⁰ These exercises tended to be confined to a single page, but evidence of different layouts exist. For example, in the sketch, "The Vertical and Horizontal Face" (Figure 13), the paper is split into two frames with the same subject in both frames, acting as a precursor to more intentional sequential paneling.

* Hokusai was the first to coin the term, *manga*, but while we use this term in the West today to refer to Japanese comics, Hokusai used the term to refer to his volumes of sketches which were initially intended as a model for his students. In essence, they were printed copies of his sketchbooks. Later, at the end of the 19th century, the term started to mean "caricature" and then comic strip. By the end of the 19th century, the term "*manga*" began to fall out of favor; older terms such as "*giga*" or "*Toba-e*" began to be used to refer to caricatures or cartoons, while other terms, like "*ponchi-e*" appeared during the Meiji Period. Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, 64-79.

⁴⁰ Hideki Nakamura, "The Modern Significance of *Hokusai manga*," Trans. Pamela Miki, *Hokusai Manga* (Tokyo: Daiichi Publishers Co. Ltd., 2011).

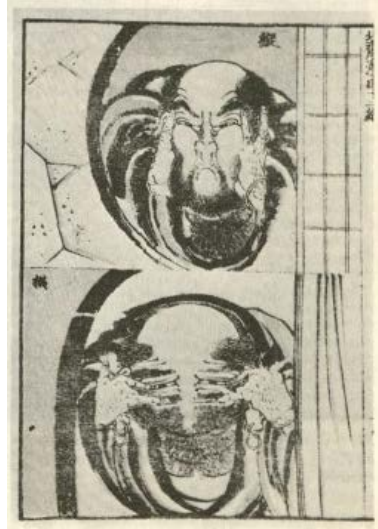
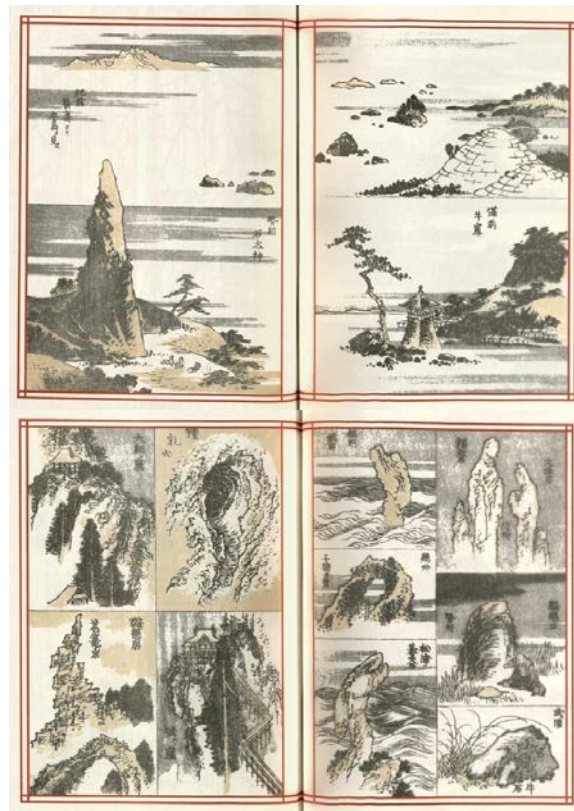


Figure 13: Katsushika Hokusai, "The Vertical and Horizontal Face," *Hokusai Manga*, 1814-1878. From: Frederik L. Schodt, "A Thousand Years of Manga." In *Manga! Manga! the World of Japanese Comics*, 28-67. New York: Kodansha International, 1983. Figure 31.



Figures 14-17: Excerpts from *Hokusai Manga*. From: Katsushika, Hokusai, Takaoka, Kazuya, Uragami, Mitsuru, and Nakamura, Hideki. *Hokusai Manga*. 初版.; Shohan. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Pai Intānashonaru; パイインターナショナル, 2011.

(Above) Possible *harimaze-e* prints from *Hokusai manga*.

(Below) Different ways images were framed and laid out in *Hokusai manga*. Vol. 10, 6.



There are also a few examples in *Hokusai manga* of several prints that were arranged together on one sheet (Figures 14-15). These were probably a type of *harimaze-e* print. Begun in the late Edo period, *harimaze-e* were prints that combined two or more (usually three or five) images together in one sheet. The images on a *harimaze-e* were not necessarily related – they were not meant to be read sequentially. Instead, the individual images could be cut out and pasted as decorations or used to patch up holes in screens and sliding doors.⁴¹ In format, these prints could be laid out in perfect grids or staggered grids. The great caricaturist, Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831-1889) also had several *harimaze-e* prints in his own *manga* volume, *Kyōsai Manga* (Figures 18-19). In both Hokusai’s and Kyōsai’s prints, we can also see some evidence of bleed – not of a panel – but bleeding of an image across another “panel” or bleeding beyond

⁴¹ Kyōsai Kawanabe, Shigeru Oikawa, Timothy Clark, Matthi Forrer, Tōkyō Shinbusha, and Odakyū Bijutsukan, *Gyōsai No Giga, Kyōga Ten = Comic Genius, Kawanabe Kyōsai* (Tōkyō); [東京] :: Tōkyō Shinbun; 東京新聞, 1996), 207, 225.

the borders of a print. In addition, the *Hokusai manga* volumes, the first of which appeared in 1814, were extremely popular, generating numerous copies, with the last volume published posthumously thirty years after Hokusai's death.⁴² Similarly, Kyōsai was hailed as the next Hokusai, and his prints were also very popular. Even if *harimaze-e* prints were not narratively sequential, the printed copies could have had a subtle influence on the reading literacy of the Edo population and future comic artists.

Similarly, text panels or captions in *ukiyo-e* varied, depending on the type of print. Some, like the early captions in *emaki*, appeared above or amongst the images, which seems to be the most common format besides the absence of text. This was especially true in the early stages of *ukiyo-e*. Some early *ukiyo-e* prints that depicted poetry had the verse in a “cloud panel” separated from the



Figures 18-19: Kawanabe Kyosai, excerpts from *Kyosai Manga*. From: Katsushika, Hokusai Katsushika et al, *Hokusai to Kyōsai : Kisō No Manga = Katsushika Hokusai and Kawanabe Kyōsai : Fantastic Comics*. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan; 太田記念美術館, 2013. Page 220.

⁴² Mitsuru Uragami and Hideki Nakamura, “Hokusai Manga,” Trans. Pamela Miki, *Hokusai Manga* (Tokyo: Daiichi Publishers Co. Ltd., 2011).



Figure 20: Various *harimaze-e* by Kawanabe Kyōsai. From: Kawanabe, Kyōsai, Shigeru Oikawa, Timothy Clark, Matthi Forrer, Shinbunsha Tōkyō, and Odakyū Bijutsukan. *Gyōsai No Giga, Kyōga Ten* [Comic Genius, Kawanabe Kyosai. Tōkyō]. Tokyo: 東京新聞, 1996. Figures 123, 127, 129.

image (Figure 10). We can see some *ukiyo-e* with text in caption panels separated from the image (Figure 12), and later, captions and titles came to be delineated by boxes that were placed on the image, and not in separate word panels (Figure 25). Examples of these were also commonly found in *nishiki-e shimbun*, a type of *ukiyo-e* newspapers that appeared in the early Meiji period (Figures 30-31); this layout also appeared in other *ukiyo-e* during the Edo period. A lot of other *ukiyo-e*, especially landscape *ukiyo-e*, had no other text panels or captions besides the title. Speech bubbles also appeared for the first time in *ukiyo-e* prints during the Edo period. Some of these speech bubbles also had images in them along with text, which made the speech bubble act as a separate panel (Figure 22-23). Other “bubbles,” usually for thinking or dreaming, contained only images, creating a separate panel, although this technique was not common (Figure 24).

In the prints of the Tōkaidō series Kawanabe Kyōsai did in collaboration with other artists in 1872, we can also see some of these captions, as well as some image

juxtapositions. Again, these images were not intended to read sequentially, but unlike the *harimaze-e* prints, the images are tied to the same subject: the station or view along the Tōkaidō road the print depicts.⁴³



Figure 21: Anonymous, *People Assembled in an Original Manner*, *namazu-e* catfish print, after 1855. ©Edo-Tokyo Museum. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, Trans. David Radcinowicz, Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 56.

Here is an example of a typical ukiyo-e panel layout in the portrait form. The image is confined by the paper and the printing block technology borders and text is written in the background around the image. The other most common layout would be without the text included.

⁴³ Tōkaidō was the road that led directly from Edo, where the shogun ruled, to Kyoto, where the emperor dwelled. One popular genre of *ukiyo-e* prints depicted famous scenes or landscapes. One of the great landscape *ukiyo-e* artists, Utagawa Hiroshige, created the print series, *53 Stations of the Tōkaidō*, which became very popular. This spawned more Tōkaidō prints by other artists, including Kyōsai.



Figures 22-23:

(Left) Anonymous, *The Insects*, *nishiki-e* print, no date. ©Kumon Institute of Education. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radcinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 92.

(Right) Kitagawa Utamaro, *A Child Pestered by a Nightmare with his Mother*, *nishiki-e* print in the *ôban* format, c. 1800-01. ©Kumon Institute of Education. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radcinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 90.

The images in these speech bubbles make the speech bubbles their own separate panel.



Figure 24: Anonymous, *nishiki-e* print of the *namazu-e* variety, no date. ©Edo-Tokyo Museum. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radcinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 61.

Here this man is dreaming, but the way the dream is drawn is almost like a separate panel.



Figure 25: Utagawa Yoshitsuya, Horse Race – Tokaido No Uchi, 2 *ôban* sheets, 1863. Available from: Ukiyo-e Search, <https://ukiyo-e.org> (accessed March 15, 2017).

This is an *ukiyo-e* print with a text caption panel situated within the borders of the print.



Figure 26: Kawanabe Kyōsai, *Elegant Picture of a Great Frog Battle*, color woodblock print, *ōban* triptych, Oikawa Shigeru Collection, 1864. © Kawanabe Kyōsai Memorial Museum. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radcinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 48.



Figure 27-29: Prints from Kawanabe Kyōsai's Tôkaidô collaboration.

(Left) Kawanabe Kyōsai, *53 Stations by Calligraphy and Painting: Kawasaki, Yajiro and Kitahachi*, nishiki-e print, 1872. © Oikawa Shigeru Collection. From: Kawanabe, Kyōsai et al. Bijutsukan. *Gyōsai No Giga, Kyōga Ten* [Comic Genius, Kawanabe Kyōsai. Tôkyō]. Tokyo: 東京新聞, 1996. Figure 172.

(Previous page center) Kawanabe Kyosai, 53 Stations by Calligraphy and Painting: Mariko, Mischief at the Station, nishiki-e print, 1872. © Oikawa Shigeru Collection. From: Kawanabe, Kyōsai et al. Bijutsukan. *Gyōsai No Giga, Kyōga Ten* [Comic Genius, Kawanabe Kyosai. Tōkyō]. Tokyo: 東京新聞, 1996. Figure 173.

(Previous page right) Kawanabe Kyosai, 53 Stations by Calligraphy and Painting: Otsu, Relic of Tosa, nishiki-e print, 1872. © Kawanabe Kyosai Memorial Museum. From: Kawanabe, Kyōsai et al. Bijutsukan. *Gyōsai No Giga, Kyōga Ten* [Comic Genius, Kawanabe Kyosai. Tōkyō]. Tokyo: 東京新聞, 1996. Figure 176.

In all the above Tōkaidō prints, not only are the pages sectioned off, but we can also see images bleed into other sections of the prints.



Figure 30: Utagawa Yoshitsuya, Gong Forty-five Places, Edo period

「瓢軍談五十四場」「三十一 佐藤正清四方
伝左二馬頭を討」「佐藤正清」「四方伝左
二馬. Available from: Ukiyo-e Search,
<https://ukiyo-e.org> (accessed March 15, 2017).

This is an example of a print with a patterned border.



Figures 31-32:

(Left) Ikkeisai Yoshiiku, "Treacherous Couple," *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun*. No. 220, 1872.
Available from: News Nishikie, www.nishikie.com (accessed April 13, 2017).

(Right) Taiso Yoshitoshi, "Convicts Learn to Read," *Yubin hochi shinbun*, No. 449, c. 1875.
Available from: News Nishikie, www.nishikie.com (accessed May 5, 2017).

As *ukiyo-e* became increasingly popular, some prints were compiled into small booklets, creating a sort of precursor to manga magazines and volumes. These contained twenty or more pages of prints, with or without text.⁴⁴ One type of these booklets was *Toba-e*, which appeared in the early 18th century.⁴⁵ *Kusa-zôshi*, picture books that were identified by the color of their covers are also considered to be proto comic books. One example was the *kibyôshi*, or "yellow cover" booklets, which appeared towards the end of the 18th century (Figure 33).⁴⁶ These picture books were

⁴⁴ Frederik Schodt, "A Thousand Years of Manga," 36.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 36-7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

inexpensive and contained simple texts filled with illustrations – a more condensed version of *ukiyo-e* prints, which were made to be read out loud to an audience.⁴⁷



Figure 33: *Edo umare uwaki no kabayaki*, kibyôshi. Waseda University Library. From: Smith, Christopher. “Who said that? Textuality in eighteenth century kibyôshi.” *Japan Forum* 29, no. 2 (November 2016): 279-298, accessed April 28, 2017, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/>

Ukiyo-e artists also made *e-sugoroku* or “picture roll-and-move games.” These were a type of board game similar to “Snakes and Ladders” that were also used for educational purposes” (Figures 34-36).⁴⁸ The panels of these educational *ukiyo-e* were most often rectangular or square-shaped, and some were laid out spatially like how simple comics and manga are read. Some of these panel layouts had gutters with the text written in the background of the image, while others had no gutter whatsoever. During the Meiji Period though, *e-sugoroku* started to have irregular panel shapes, depending on the subject (Figure 36), which might have been due to the influence of foreign comics and Japanese experimentation around the turn of the century. Towards the end of the Edo era and the beginning of the Meiji Period, illustrated prints of stories and tales of this educational genre began to use the boxes as panels to tell the

⁴⁷ *Kusa-zôshi* were illustrated picture books of the Edo period. Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, 42.

⁴⁸ Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. 60.

narrative.⁴⁹ These narrative *e-sugoroku* were numbered to help kids read the panels in order, a trait that began to show with the influx of foreign comic influence and the variety of panel sequencing that occurred (Figure 35).



Figure 34: Utagawa Hiroshige, *True Views of Tokyo*, roll-and-move game, 1885.© Waseda University Library. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radcinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 103.

This *e-sugoroku* teaches you about different sights of Tokyo.

⁴⁹ Ibid.



Figure 35: Anonymous, *Working the Fields*, *nishiki-e* print, 1898. ©Edo-Tokyo Museum. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radcinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 99.

This one tells a story from the end of the Muromachi period about an old man who finds treasure because of his dog. Each panel is numbered.



Figure 36: Anonymous, *Japanese Revenge*, Meiji Period. © Waseda University Library. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radcinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 102.

This particular *e-sugoroku* has different panel shapes than the usual rectangular ones. This print might have been published later in the Meiji Period, during the time when a lot of panel experimentation was happening around the turn of the 19th century, which would explain the usual panel shapes.

Ukiyo-e prints continued to be produced in the Meiji Period, but they soon fell out of style. Instead, caricature started to takeover mainstream media in the form of political cartoons and comics strips that were printed on the steadily rising newspaper.

Newspapers: Political Cartoons, Comic Strips, and the Rise of Caricature

Before the eventual establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Japan had been in a state of civil war for over a century. Tokugawa Iemitsu enacted a series of seclusion policies to protect the now stable and peaceful Japan (Edo period) from foreign influence, a threat he felt was partly responsible for the upheaval in Japan.⁵⁰ As a result, foreign contact with Japan was extremely regulated and limited for over two centuries. But in 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry entered Uruga Bay offering friendly relations with the United States' President Millard Fillmore to the Emperor of Japan.⁵¹ By that time, Japan had come to the slow realization that it could no longer maintain its seclusion policies and finally opened up two ports in 1854.⁵² In 1857, a European settlement was established in Yokohama, beginning the period of Westernization in Japan.⁵³

⁵⁰ European traders, namely Portuguese and Dutch, had fought for exclusive trading rights with Japan, ever since the first Portuguese ship landed in 1542. At the same time, Christian missionaries, brought on trade ships, arrived to convert the locals to their respective denominations. This caused strife for the government as some traders and missionaries not only chose to ignore or disrespect imperial edicts, but they encouraged their new Japanese converts to do the same. The government's displeasure culminated when the Protestant Dutch unveiled a plot between Japanese Christians and Jesuit Portuguese traders against the emperor's throne wherein the Portuguese, backed by the Church of Rome, had pledged their support. From that point on, the Portuguese were banned from Japan and an imperial edict was made forbidding any Japanese ship or citizen to leave the country, forbidding any citizen from purchasing items from foreigners, and demanding all Christians to be executed. Because of this, Tokugawa Iemitsu considered any foreign influence a threat to Japan's internal stability. Susugu Yoshida, "Images of the Floating World," 16-19.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., 47.

⁵³ Ibid.

In 1867, the Tokugawa shogunate was removed from power by partisans who had opposed the *bakufu*'s opening of the country. One year later, in 1868, the partisans restored power to the emperor, rejecting the feudal society of Edo, and changed the political, economic, legal, and educational system. This transformation is now known as the "Meiji Restoration," and under this new power, Edo – renamed Tokyo – became a modern capitalist state.⁵⁴ By request of the government, the West began to teach and introduce technology and science into Japan. Soon, Tokyo was lit by streetlights; rickshaws, then bicycles, then horse-drawn carriages appeared; a railway line was introduced; and the citizens started to adopt Western styles of dress.⁵⁵

During this period of change, the newspaper began to rise as a new media and along with it, caricatures and comic strips. The first newspaper in Japan appeared in 1861, and the first major national dailies appeared a decade later.⁵⁶ At first, many daily newspapers were of the *nishiki-e shinbun* ("brocade picture newspapers") type (Figures 31-32), which used the traditional xylography to make *ukiyo-e* prints that augmented the text.⁵⁷ However, by the late 1870s, publishers began to abandon this form of newspaper as modern newspapers replaced xylography with Western printing techniques.⁵⁸

Caricatured and satirical drawings began appearing at the end of the Edo period despite the fact the Tokugawa Shogunate had banned the dissemination of political opinion or news since the beginning of the 17th century.⁵⁹ So, *ukiyo-e* artists like Hokusai, Kyôzai, Utagawa Kuniyoshi, and others began to use "iconography of

⁵⁴ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, 99.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁵⁷ <http://www.myjapanesehanga.com/home/articles/nishiki-e-shinbun-and-newspapers-in-meiji-japan>

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁵⁹ Peter Duus, "Presidential Address: Weapons of the Weak, Weapons of the Strong – The Development of the Japanese Political Cartoon," 968.

concealment” to insinuate political opinions in their prints.⁶⁰ During the Meiji era, as the new government resorted to political censorship, political satires appeared and multiplied, starting with the likes of the short-lived *E Shinbun Nipponchi* (Illustrated News), the first review with caricatures in 1874 and in 1877, *Marumaru Chinbun*.⁶¹

Western comics that had come into Japanese hands once the ports reopened undeniably influenced political prints of the Meiji period. The Englishman Charles Wirgman (1832-1891) established *The Japan Punch*, a review that was catered to the expatriate community in Yokohama in 1862.⁶² His review left a deep impression of the style of caricature as well as the beginnings of the Japanese comic strip. Similarly, Frenchman Georges Bigot (1860-1927) founded the review *Toba-e* in 1887, its satires being one of the first to divide drawings into squares or panels, arranged in a narrative sequence.⁶³

The aforementioned *E Shinbun Nipponchi* was the first manga magazine in Japan. The review was a collaboration between Kyôsei and Kanagaki Robun, but the review only lasted three issues: the drawings had a simple, spontaneous style, which proved to be unpopular. The review was basically a *tobe ehon*, a *toba-e* picture book, which was basically a simple *ukiyo-e* picture book.⁶⁴ Thus, its text wound around the images, and while Wirgman’s *Punch* heavily influenced the review, the *E Shinbun Nipponchi* had no captions.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 972.

⁶¹ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, 106.

⁶² The *Japan Punch* was printed in English and Japanese.

⁶³ Ibid., 107.

⁶⁴ Peter Duus, “Punch Pictures: Localizing Punch in Meiji Japan,” *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affair*, ed. Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler, (Heidelberg: Springer Sciences & Business Media, 2013), 319.

In contrast, *Marumaru Chinbun* more closely followed the format of Wirgman's *Punch*, or rather London's *Punch* magazine, and was printed with careful draftsmanship in the Western style.⁶⁵ Unlike *E shinbun Nipponchi*, *Marumaru Chinbun* also printed English captions with their cartoons. These first appeared just like the Japanese text, printed within the border of the cartoon, usually in a row near the bottom. Soon, these English captions began to appear on the outside the panel boundaries of the cartoon, typically above or below the bounded cartoon.

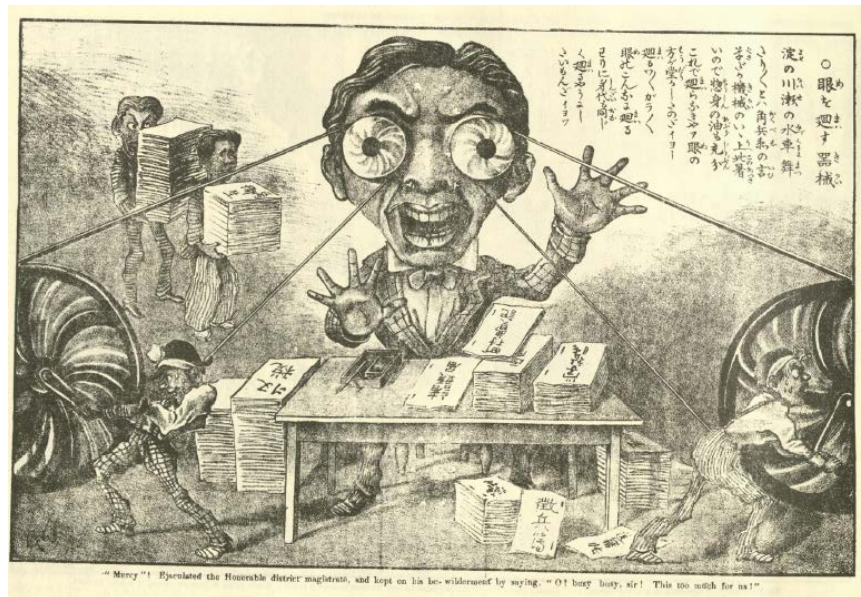


Figure 37: Kiyochika Kobayashi, “眼を廻す器械,” *Marumaru Chinbun* no. 508, September 5, 1885. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第1版.; Dai 1-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 125.

A typical panel of political cartoons. Originally an *ukiyo-e* artist, Kiyochika Kobayashi (1847-1915) was a caricaturist who started drawing images for *Marumaru Shinbun* in August 1882. He is known for his work depicting the Westernization of Japan and his mix of Western techniques in his *ukiyo-e* prints.

⁶⁵ Western style of drawing and printing started to permeate Japanese art prior to the opening of Japan's ports. After the ports opened though, the appearance of Western technique and style quickly accelerated. Thus, we can see *ukiyo-e* prints with Western subject matter or Western style of drawing. *Marumaru Chinbun* was printed in a distinct British style: its artwork is done with a pen and not a brush.

Many panel traits of *ukiyo-e* prints continued to be used in political cartoons and continued to evolve. Bleeding of images across panel boundaries appeared more often. Like other early Japanese cartoons, the satires of *Marumaru Chinbun* most often appeared like *ukiyo-e* prints, in rectangular panels with the text amongst the images. There were also a few panel variations. In Figure 38, for example, the panel is rectangular but with rounded corners; more interestingly, the panel borders fade away leaving the bottom half of the cartoon unbounded. Speech bubbles also frequently appeared more often, though we can still see some Edo style speech bubbles with images within the speech bubbles (Figure 40). Cartoons appeared that had the same figures in different positions or scenes as free-floating drawings within the same panel, like Hokusai's sketch exercises in his *Hokusai manga* volumes: unlike Hokusai's sketches these cartoons were captioned and were drawn with a narrative purpose since most of them are numbered. This type of cartoon soon became a standard format, which later was expanded upon in the 20th century.



Figure 38: Kiyochika Kobayashi “書生道中四難所の図,” *Marumaru Chinbun*, no.534, March 6, 1886. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第1版.; Dai 1-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 155.

An example of bleed. This image bleeds over the panel and actually underneath it. Bleeding of images appeared more frequently during the Meiji period.



Figure 39: 筆者不詳, “美術館の入口,” *Marumaru Chinbun*, no. 958, April 21, 1894. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第2版.; Dai 2-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986, p. 60.

This cartoon has an interesting panel border. Not only does it have rounded edges, but the panel disappears. The cartoon’s title is about the entrance to an art gallery; the panel is mimicking the shape of the entrance.

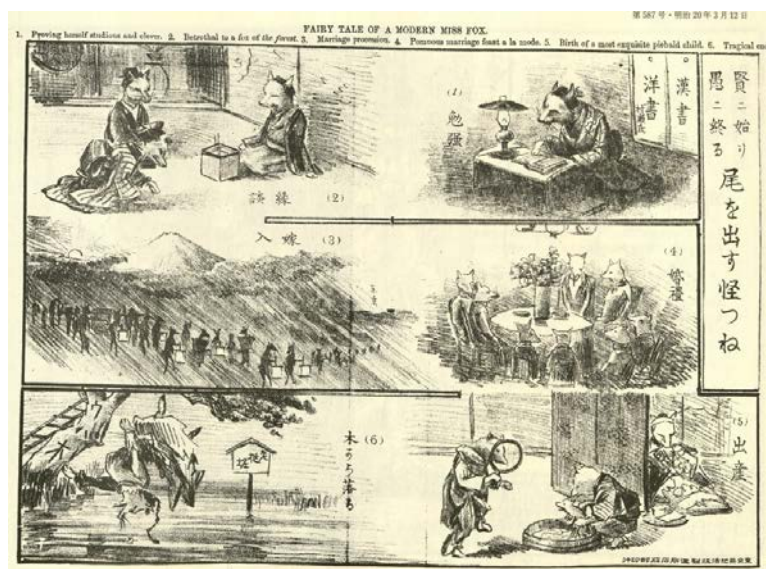


Figure 40: Kiyochika Kobayashi, “賢に始まり愚に終る。尾を出す怪つね,” *Marumaru Chinbun*, no. 587, March 12, 1887. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第1版
 ..; Dai 1-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. p. 174.

Another example of panel variation. Here we have a rare oddity of paneling. The images of this 1887 comic technically sit in one big panel, but they are laid out in a narrative, numbered manner in a zigzag fashion.



Figure 41: Kiyochika Kobayashi, “山の洋犬に諭達,” *Marumaru Chinbun*, no. 547, June 5, 1886. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第1版.; Dai 1-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 156.



Figure 42-43: Examples of panels with free floating images

(Left) Kiyochika Kobayashi, “泰平腹鼓チヤンポン打交” *Marumaru Chinbun*.no. 518.

November 14, 1885. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第1版.; Dai 1-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 135.

(Right) 上等ポンチ, no.4, November 15, 1906. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi*

Hakubutsukan. 第3版.; Dai 3-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986.

Page 110.

Made in the early 20th century, the images here are numbered. The panels are read vertically from right to left.

Although Charles Wirgman published some sequential narrative manga in 1868 to the expatriate foreign community in Yokohama, Japanese audiences were not truly introduced to sequential panels until 1881.⁶⁶ Thus, the division of cartoon drawings into multiple panels was not very common until the late 19th century. Most works consisted of single panels.

But during the late 19th century, the use of sequential panels accelerated rapidly. In addition to single, un-paneled illustrations that appeared amongst the articles, simple sequential images began to be laid amongst the articles' during the 1890s. Some of these sequential comics were wordless. Some had individual panels, others did not. Cartoons without panels that lay amongst the articles were often again numbered if they contained two or more images. And, in the late 1890s, these 3-4 sequence cartoons started to be delineated from the magazine articles (Figure 44, 48, 51). It soon came to be standard to put these small cartoon sequences in panels like cartoon strips. Some of these mini strips had no text.

⁶⁶ Fusanosuke Natsume, "Where is Tezuka? A Theory of Manga Expression" *Mechademia 8: Tezuka's Manga Life*, ed Frenchy Lunning, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 92.

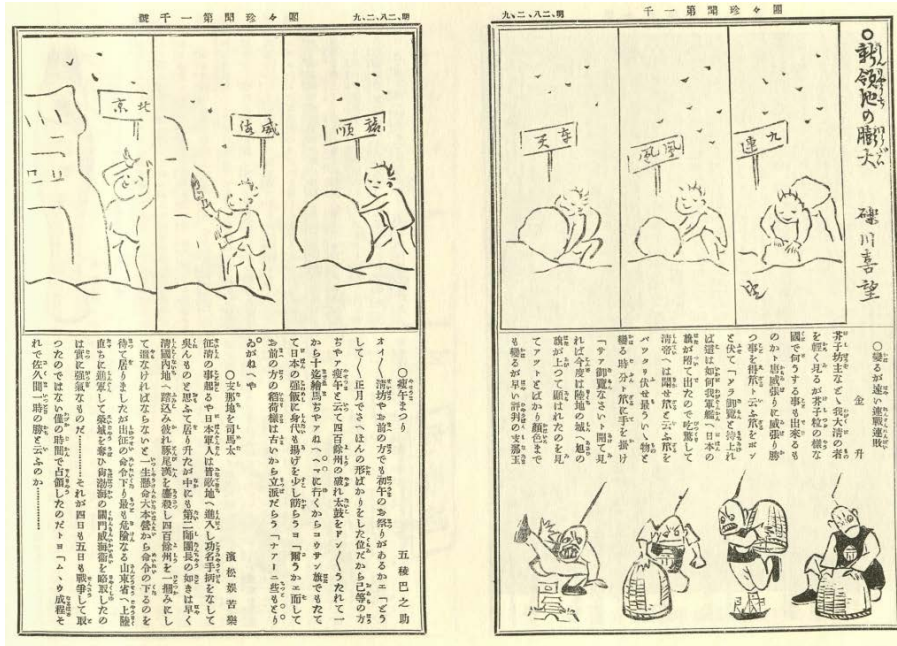


Figure 44: *Marumaru Chinbun*, no. 1000, February 9, 1895. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第2版.; Dai 2-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986, p. 66.

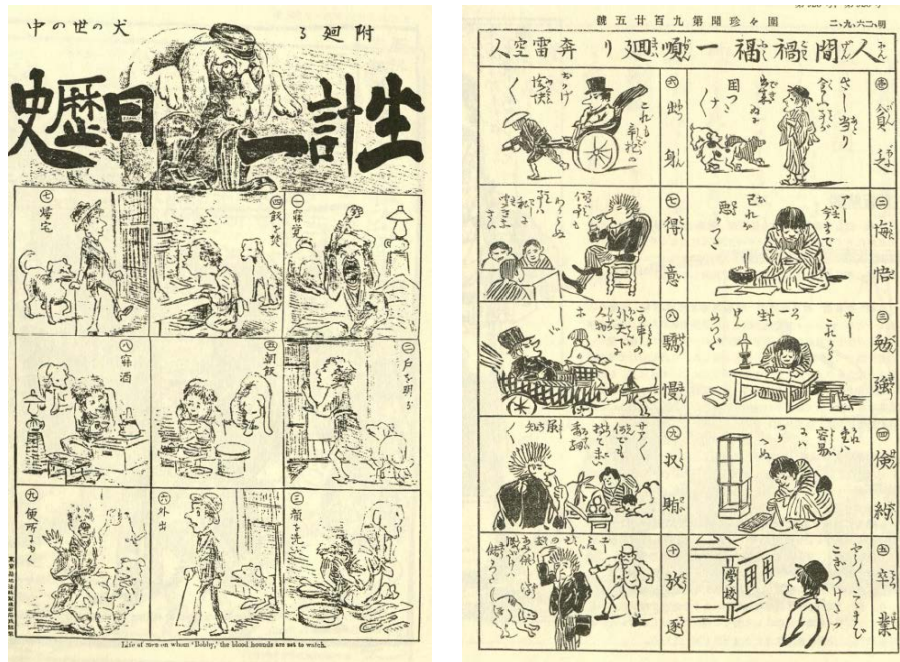
This is an early example of a simple, sequential cartoon that appeared alongside the articles in *Marumaru Chinbun*. The slight line that cuts each page in half was how the pages were laid out, with an article filling the top half and then the bottom. In the lower right hand corner there is another sequential comic; this one is panel-less. Soon, text in the form of captions would appear alongside these small narratives.



Figure 45: *Marumaru Chinbun*, no. 1107, March 17, 1887. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第2版.; Dai 2-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986, p.100.

An example of a typical page layout in *Marumaru Chinbun*. Illustrations like these would appear amongst the articles.

The longer sequenced numbered narrative comic strips also started to appear on pages separated from the articles. These strips stuck to a pure grid layout and were similar to the layouts of educational *e-sugoroku*. They were also numbered to tell the Japanese audience the reading sequence, but the direction in which the panels were read coincided with the traditional format of reading text columns from right to left. Indeed, most Japanese sequential comics follow the direction of Japanese script. The early multi-paneled cartoons in *Marumaru Chinbun* were also accompanied by some sort of header panel, which could be simple text or an illustrated title. Otherwise, they often had no gutter. If captions, *ekotoba* (i.e. accompanying text that explained the plot), were needed, they were placed outside the panels on the side or above if the panels were too small.



Figures 46-47: Early comic strip examples

(Left) Kiyochika Kobayashi, *Marumaru Chinbun*, no. 624, May 28, 1887. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第1版.; Dai 1-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. p.188.

The panels are numbered vertically in columns from left to right following the traditional direction of Japanese script.

(Right, previous) 奔雷空人 · “人間禍福一順廻り,” *Marumaru Chinbun*, no. 925, September 2, 1893. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第2版.; Dai 2-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986, p. 48.

Another comic strip from around the time when multi-paneled comics started to appear more often. The panel order also follows the direction of Japanese script.

Captions or *ekotoba* had been present since *emaki* handscrolls. (The accompanying text supplements in *emaki* are often considered *ekotoba*.) The same was true for *ukiyo-e*, where the captions were often interspersed with the images. But, in the turn of the century, as sequential manga became more standardized, the captions were moved to the side of the panel (the English translations were usually placed below the panel) (Figures 50-51).⁶⁷ In time, the panel images that used to be static started to add movement, then speech bubbles, until the captions only explained what the image and dialogue could not.⁶⁸ In fact, Kitazawa Rakuten, an influential cartoonist during this time, said he wanted to distinguish his comics from the more staid *ponchi-e*, single panel political cartoons of circa 1870-1890. Instead of letting the caption explain, Rakuten strove to let the pictures speak and allow readers to “perceive the story without

⁶⁷ Fusanosuke Natsume, “Manga: Komatopoeia,” *Mechademia* 3, trans. Margherita Long, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), Accessed May 12, 2017, ProQuest Ebook Central.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

explanation.”⁶⁹ By the 1920s and 30s, panel manga (manga of multiple sequenced panels) began to depict drawings, not of separate actions and scenes, but of transitions of disparate events.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Ronald Stewart, "Manga history: Shimizu Isao and Miyamoto Hirohito on Japan's first modern 'manga' artist Kitazawa Rakuten." *Manga Studies* #2, June 14, 2014. Accessed May 12, 2017.

⁷⁰ Natsume Fusanosuke, "Where is Tezuka? A Theory of Manga Expression," 92.



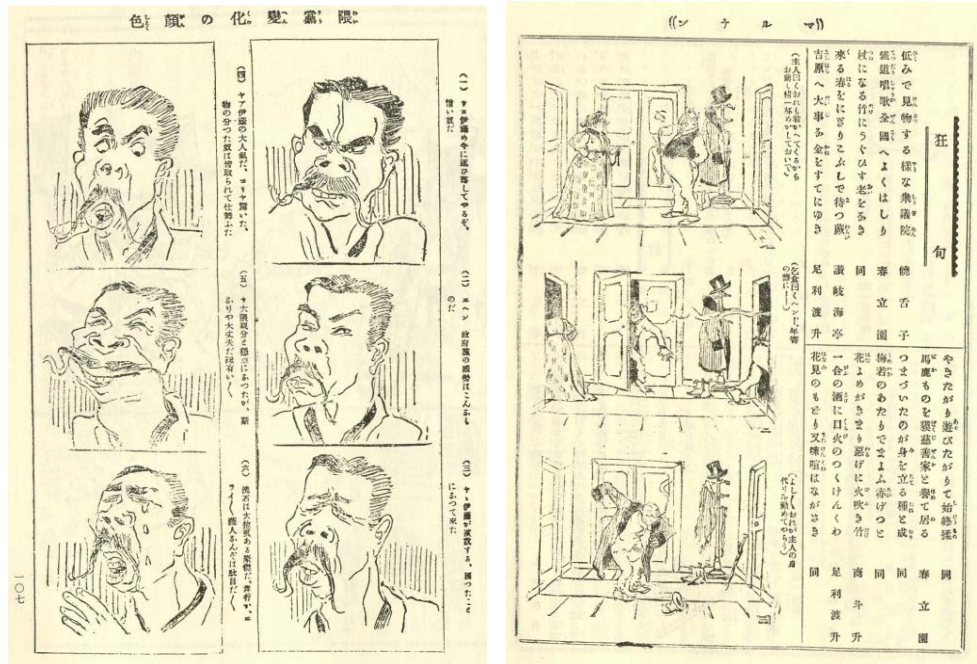
Figures 48-49: Different forms of sequential panels around the turn of the century

(Left) *Marumaru Chinbun*, no. 1485, June 25, 1904. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第2版.; Dai 2-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986, p.175.

This strip is vertical with some bleed as the image in the second panel overlaps the first panel. Note the bending of the illustrated header, a sign, which is perhaps bending in the wind.

(Right) *Marumaru Chinbun*, no. 1205, March 4, 1899. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第2版.; Dai 2-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986, p.124.

This large panel holds six frames (image) that run in a sequence without any other panels. This was also a standard format.



Figures 50-51: Appearance of captions outside of the panel around the turn of the century

(Left) 田口米作, “隈党变化の顔色,” *Marumaru Chinbun*, no. 1111, May 15, 1897. From:

Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第2版.; Dai 2-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986, p.107.

Here the captions appear in the gutter. This would become a common format of the caption-picture comic in the early 20th century

(Right) *Marumaru Chinbun*, no. 1310, March 9, 1901. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第2版.; Dai 2-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986, p.149.

Again, this comic has all its frames in one single panel; it is still numbered.

As more artists adopted the Western style of drawing and the Western format of cartoons – such as sequential narratives – an explosion of different panel layouts and

comics emerged as artists mixed in Japanese caricature style and traits. Perhaps, the range of different comics and their comic panels can best be seen in the work of Rakuten (1876-1955), who is considered the father of the Japanese comic strip, the first *mangaka*, and precursor of the modern Japanese graphic novel. In 1899, Rakuten ended up working for the review *Jiji Shinpô*, whose publisher, Fukuzawa Yukichi, sought to raise Japanese caricature.⁷¹ In 1902, Kitazawa created the first serialized Japanese comic strip called *Tagosaku to Mokubê no Tôkyô Kembutsu* (“Tagosaku and Mokubê Sightseeing in Tokyo”), which ran in *Jiji Manga*, a colored Sunday supplement (Figure 52).⁷² Thus, Rakuten, influenced by Western comics, became the first in Japan to design comic strips with six panels.⁷³ Rakuten began to call his comics, “manga,” perhaps the first use of its more modern meaning. Inspired by Western culture, the French journal *Rire*, and the American magazine, *Puck*, Rakuten published his own review, *The Tokyo Puck*, in 1905, the year the manga magazine publishing boom started. This extremely successful magazine was the first to be printed in color and featured caricatures with English, Chinese, and Japanese captions. In order to expand his audience, Rakuten established two more reviews in 1912, *Rakuten Puck* and *Katei Puck*, as well as the *Kodomo no tomo* in 1914, a review he created after noticing the lack of comic strips for children.

⁷¹ Caricature prior to this was a minor genre. Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, 115.

⁷² Frederik Schodt, “A Thousand Years of Manga,” 42.

⁷³ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, 116.



Figure 52: Rakuten Kitazawa, “Tagosaku to Mokubê no Tôkyô Kembutsu (“Tagosaku and Mokubê Sightseeing in Tokyo”),” *Jiji Manga*, 1902. From: Schodt, Frederik L. “A Thousand Years of Manga.” In *Manga! Manga! the World of Japanese Comics*, 28-67. New York: Kodansha International, 1983, Figure 46.

The first serialized comic strip.

Thus, by the beginning of the 20th century, many elements of modern panels were already present due to the work of Rakuten and other artists like Okamoto Ippei (1886-1948), who had been inspired by the Sunday comic strips and political cartoons of American comics. After 1901, the number of manga reviews expanded rapidly as well. At this point, rectangular panel shapes were still by far the norm, but the size and placement of these panels began to vary along with variations of the grid. There were pure grid panels interspersed with whole row panels or blockage, most often with gutters or separated by captions. Or, conversely, there were pure whole-row panels or cartoons that appeared without any panels. Still numbered, some cartoons now read horizontally from right to left instead of vertically. Full page, single panel cartoons confined to the dimensions of the paper still appeared, but column-shaped, single panel cartoons began to appear next to text as well. Other comics began to show more overlap and separation of panels, often with captions filling up the separation.

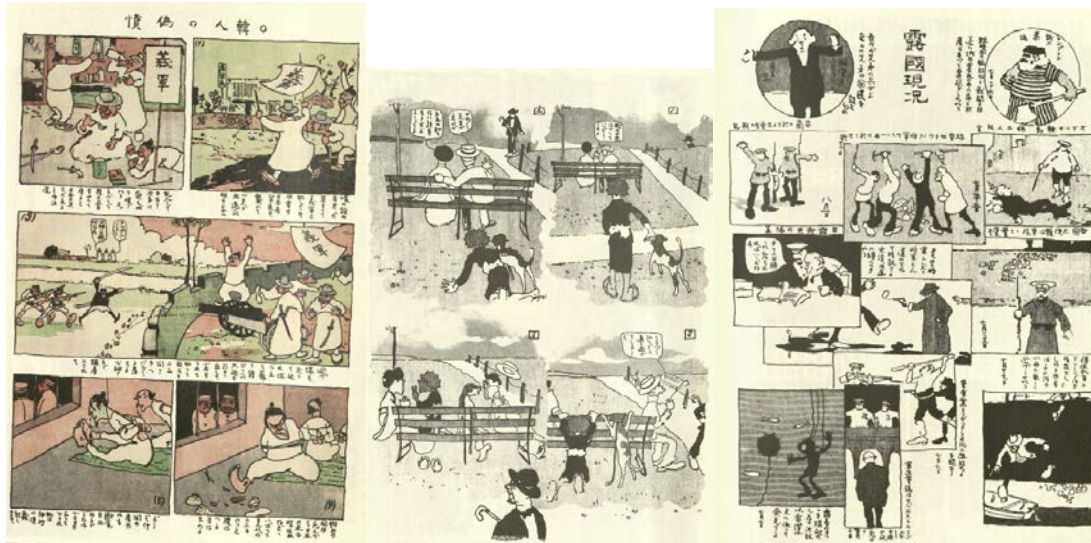


Figure 53-55:

(Left) “韓人の偽憤,” 上等ポンチ, no. 1, August 15, 1906. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第3版.; Dai 3-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page. 9.

This panel is split between whole row panels and pure grid panels. The text is still written vertically, but it is squashed into the gutters.

(Center) 上等ポンチ, no. 1, August 15, 1906. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第3版.; Dai 3-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986, Page 11.

There are no panel borders.

(Right) 上等ポンチ, no. 1, August 15, 1906. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第3版.; Dai 3-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986, Page 22.

Here, the panels seem to be laid almost at random, with panels overlapping, and text crammed every which way in the gutters. The illustrated header is still present but without a panel border to contain it.



Figures 56-57:

(Left) 上等ポンチ, no.3, October 15, 1906. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*.

第3版.; Dai 3-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 78.

(Right) 上等ポンチ, no.2, September 15, 1906. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi*

Hakubutsukan. 第3版.; Dai 3-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986.

Page 39.

Here we can see panels with more images than before, but both strips are contained in one large panel – or rather, with the comic on the left side of the page, the lack of a panel.



Figure 58: 上等ポンチ, no.2, September 15, 1906.

From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第3版.; Dai 3-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 40.

(Left) The panel sequence starts in the top left panel with the perforated line that separates the man and the woman. The second panel is to the right, and then the sequence goes down the two panels in the center. The two full body figures on the right and left edges almost seem like they might have influenced the style pics of *shōjo* manga that would appear in the late 1950s.



Figure 59: 上等ポンチ, no.2, September 15, 1906. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi*

Hakubutsukan. 第3版.; Dai 3-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Pages 42-43.

Overlapping panels and background frames sit in this large two-page panel.

Still more creative comic layouts appeared only a few years later. Cartoons with no gutters were still present, but their rectangular panels didn't necessarily stick to a

grid layout. Instead, they overlapped and sat next to other panels in a slightly haphazard fashion. By 1906, numbered panels that read from right to left horizontally, instead of left to right, began to appear perhaps due to the influence of translated Western comic: this reading format was not very common. Simple styled cartoons that had no numbers since they were often laid out close together and vertically down the page. Still more panel shapes appeared that were irregular, drawn to adhere more to the panel's image or neighboring panels (Figure 63). A common cartoon format, perhaps more unique to Japanese cartoons, had a final panel or image sit at the center of the page, while images – with or without panel delineations – surrounded the final panel to tell the narrative or portray different aspects of the subject matter (Figures 64-66).

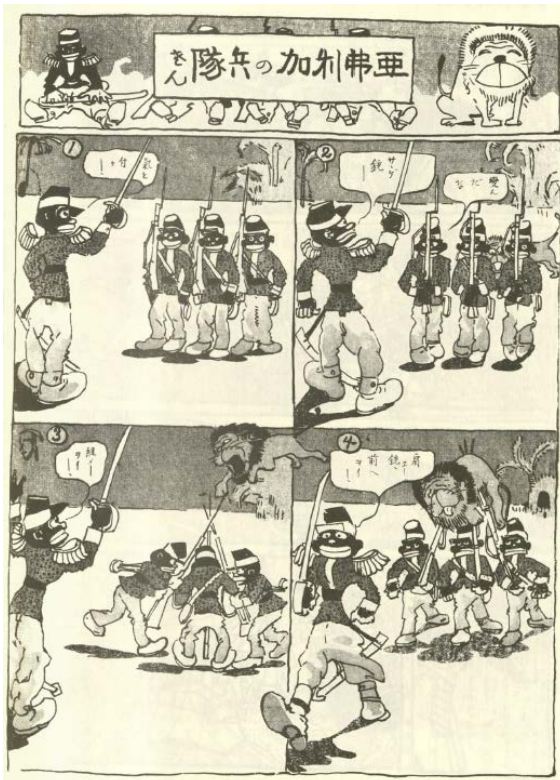


Figure 60: 上等パンチ, no.2, October 15, 1906.

From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi*

Hakubutsukan. 第3版.; Dai 3-han. ed. Tōkyō;

東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986.

Page 66.

This panel is rare because the panel order actually reads from left to right. This sequence order did not become standard, and it is hard to find any other panels that read in this order unless they are translated American comics.



Figure 61: 上等ポンチ, no. 1, August 15, 1906.
 From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi*
Hakubutsukan. 第3版.; Dai 3-han. ed. Tōkyō;
 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986,
 Page 24.

This is actually two comic strips placed next to each other. Maybe the narratives are related. The comic strip on the left though, has a very interesting panel layout. The last panel of the sequence is placed slightly to the right and overlapped instead of directly underneath the other panels. What's more, the whole sequence is connected by some kind of string, which binds the panels together. This, along with the numbers, tells you the panel order.



Figures 62-63: 上等ポンチ, no.4, November 15, 1906. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi*
Hakubutsukan. 第3版.; Dai 3-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986.
 Some more creative panel layouts. Pages 89; 96-97.

(Previous page left) This strip (not the lower left corner box) is made up two parallel panel sequences, from a woman's and a man's point-of-view. Their narratives run in their own columns that are separated by a slight gutter, before continuing on to the second set of columns in the top left.

(Previous page right) This page spread shows how neighboring images would accommodate another panel. The center frame by the bottom center panel breaks up the square shape of the left bottom panel.



(Above Left) 滑稽界, no. 1, August 30, 1907. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第4版.; Dai 4-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 11.

(Above Right) Rakuten Kitazawa, 東京パック2, no. 6, March 15, 1906. Available from: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第5版.; Dai 5-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 16-17.

(Left) 林田太三郎, "失敬辞典," 東京パック4, no. 17, June 10, 1908. Available from: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第5版.; Dai 5-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 71.

Figures 64-66: These panels are placed in a circular manner, some with a center panel



Figure 67: *東京パック* 3, no. 10, April 10, 1907. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第 5 版.; Dai 5-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 11.

A simple four panel comic strip popularized by Kitazawa Rakuten

By the Taishō era, four-panel or six-panel cartoons were still a common format, but cartoons could also have anywhere from 12-20 panels in pure grid layouts with an illustrated title header. These most often had gutters, but cartoons without gutters were still present. The increased numbers of panels also affected the size of the panels. Besides single panels that filled the entire page spread, tiny, often wordless panels emerged as well (Figure 68).



Figure 68: “Puck’s Motion Pictures,” *東京パック* 11, no. 21, September 1, 1914. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第 7 版.; Dai 7-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 124.



Figures 69-72: More varied caption panel examples.

(Top Left) 東京パック6, no. 26, November 10, 1910. Available from: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第5版.; Dai 5-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 112.

(Top Right) 東京パック4, no. 17, June 10, 1908. Available from: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第5版.; Dai 5-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 72.

(Bottom Left) 東京パック6, no. 27. Available from: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第5版.; Dai 5-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 113.

(Previous page bottom right) “当世百矛盾(2),” *東京パック* 6, no. 35, December 10, 1910.

Available from: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第5版.; Dai 5-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 125.

Comic layouts in the early 20th century could also be very chaotic, for different cartoons were often laid out on the same page. Some were unrelated. Others followed similar subject matter. Yet at times, it appears publishers chose to overlay these different comics slightly on top of each other, instead of laying them out neatly on a page like the *harimaze-e* prints. Alternatively, neighboring panels were specifically drawn to accommodate a central or more important panel. These layout decisions only served to make each page more dynamic and chaotic.

Figure 73-76: (Next Page) Creative panel layouts from *時事漫画*,

(Upper) Rakuten Kitazawa, “都会か田舎か,” *時事漫画*, April 10, 1921. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第6版.; Dai 6-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 11.

Rakuten Kitazawa, “軍備縮小を行,” *時事漫画*, April 10, 1921. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第6版.; Dai 6-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 10.

(Lower) Rakuten Kitazawa, “不良老年たちの問答集,” *時事漫画*, June 19, 1921. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第6版.; Dai 6-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 15.

Rakuten Kitazawa, “無用から必要へ,” *時事漫画*, July 10, 1921. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第6版.; Dai 6-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 17.

時事漫画
北洋楽天主

花王 石鹸

的際實
最良の洗滌用品として
家庭内外大活躍して
無数に愛用され、
「最良の洗滌用品」として
名を馳せ

的理學
多量の水分を洗い落とす
洗滌の効果を最も高める
洗滌用品として、
「最良の洗滌用品」として
名を馳せ

時事漫画
北洋楽天主

ハロウ
洗のガサウ

オリヂナル

時事漫画
北洋楽天主

不良少年

ホノ自膠薬

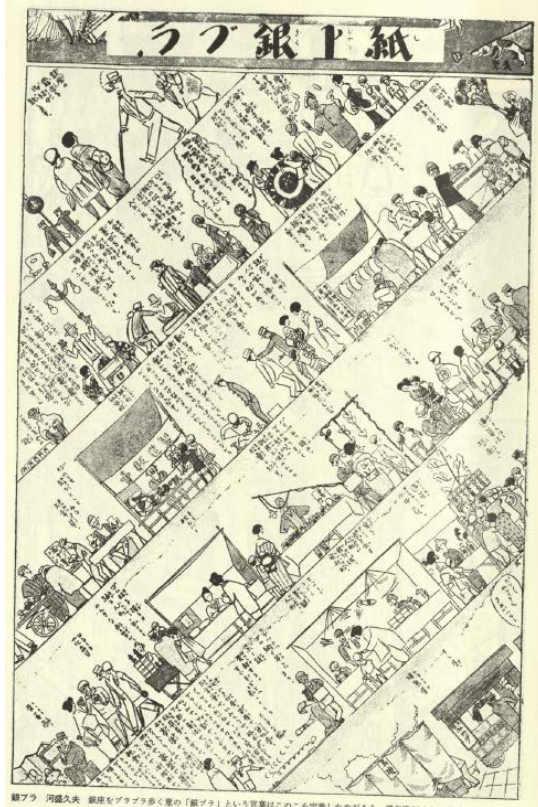
百萬圓

一番よい酒
サワカメ

時事漫画
北洋楽天主

カテイ
石鹸

クラブ
白粉



Figures 77-78:

(Left) 河盛久夫, “銀ブラ,” *時事漫画*, May 17, 1926. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi*

Hakubutsukan. 第 6 版.; Dai 6-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986.

Page 145.

All the panels in this comic are laid diagonally.

(Right) 河盛久夫, “ポーチ十景,” *時事漫画*, June 21, 1926. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga*

Zasshi Hakubutsukan. 第 6 版.; Dai 6-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会,

1986. Page 147.

This comic has panels that act within other panels. The people viewing the pictures are in a top panel, but the pictures themselves partly act as their own panels in the background.



Figure 79: 河盛久夫, “煙草号,” 時事漫画, July 12, 1926. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第 6 版.; Dai 6-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 151.

The text is actually written on the sides of objects, making the faces of the objects the panels themselves.

Figure 80: (Below) 東京パック 11, no. 24, October 15, 1915. From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第 7 版.; Dai 7-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 132-133.





Figure 81: 小川治平, “傍に寄つて其の正体を見よ,” *東京パック* 14, no. 10, October 1, 1921.

From: Shimizu, Isao. *Manga Zasshi Hakubutsukan*. 第7版.; Dai 7-han. ed. Tōkyō; 東京 :: Kokusho Kankōkai; 国書刊行会, 1986. Page 146-147.

Birds are using this panel’s borders as a roost.

The first serialized comic strips for children also appeared around this time in newspapers. Some of these strips used word balloons, but others used the captioned-picture style that remained in use until the 1950s.⁷⁴ Miyao Shigeo was one of the first artists who specialized in children’s comics. His six-panel comic strip, *Manga Tarō* (“Comics Tarō”) was serialized in a newspaper before being compiled into book form; unfortunately, the 1923 earthquake destroyed many copies.⁷⁵ Notwithstanding, in 1924, Shigeo created *Dango Kushisuke Man’yūki*, whose hardbound book form became a

⁷⁴ Frederik Schodt, “A Thousand Years of Manga,” 48.

⁷⁵ In 1923, an earthquake leveled Tokyo and killed over 100,000 people. After this disaster, comics were used as way to cheer up the nation. *Ibid.*, 49.

long-time bestseller.⁷⁶ In short, while these children's comic strips were first comic strips, their compilation was another indicator of the forthcoming manga comic book.

Children's Manga

During the 1920s, the law "safeguarding peace" was enacted to stifle the freedom of the Press.⁷⁷ Anyone who broke the law was severely punished. Consequently, all major national dailies, which by this time all had their own manga magazines, were forced to only print "politically correct" stories.⁷⁸ Thus, persecuted artists started to pursue safer genres, and this inadvertently, created a boom in children's comics.⁷⁹ But reviews for children started appearing earlier with the likes of *Shōnen Kurubu* (Boy's' Club) in 1914 followed by the *Shōjō Kurubu* (Girls' Club) in 1923.⁸⁰ These magazines had literature, illustrated stories, didactic articles, as well as serialized manga, which were later compiled into hardbound books.⁸¹

Prior to this, children manga were mainly 16-24 page supplements to women magazines like *Shufu no tomo* (*The Housewife's Friend*) or *Fujin kurabu* (*The Club for Women*). Other children's manga appeared as individual volumes, 8-10 pages long, which were intended for mothers to read to their children: many no longer exist. From some existing images of these comic books, we can tell they were extremely colorful and their format simple. Their format style seem to be more in tune with the *ukiyo-e* print booklet format than the crazy multi-paneled political cartoons or comic strips.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, 122.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Frederik Schodt, "A Thousand Years of Manga," 51.

⁸⁰ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga*, 122.

⁸¹ Frederik Schodt, "A Thousand Years of Manga," 51.



Figure 82-84: Select pages from early children comic books. Shown with their covers

(Above Left) Anonymous, Kongotarô, tale for children, lithograph, c. 1912-1926. ©Kumon Institute of Education. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radcinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 195-196.



(Center) Anonymous, The Snoozing Doctor, comic book, lithograph, c. 1912-1926. ©Kumon Institute of Education. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radcinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 197-198.



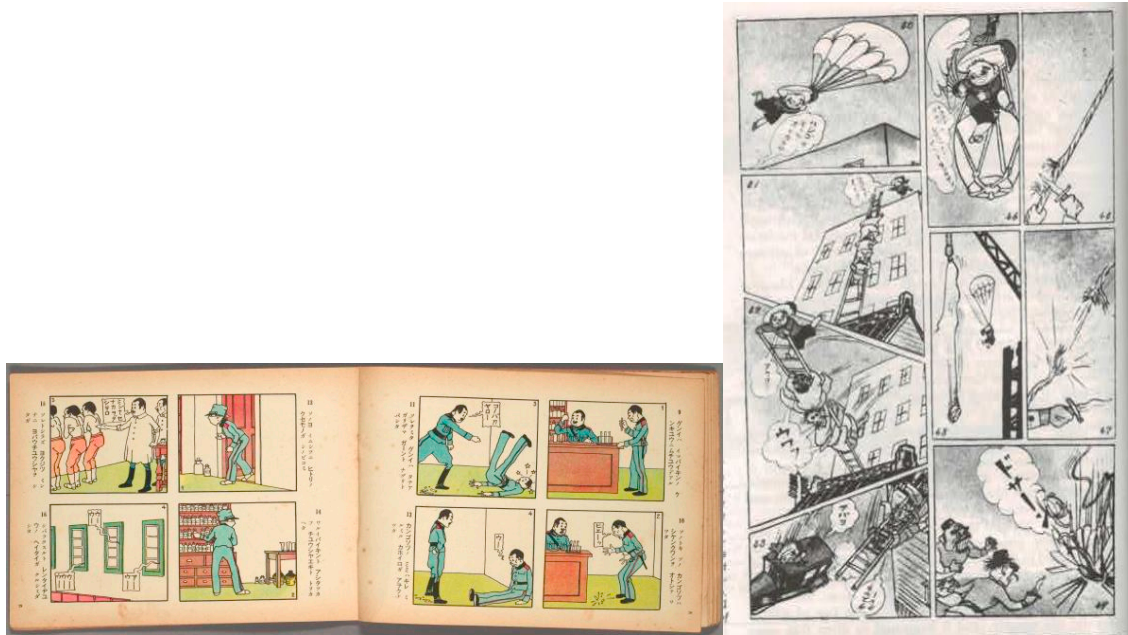
(Bottom Left) Anonymous, Nikoku Ponchi, lithograph, c. 1912-1926. ©Kumon Institute of Education. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radcinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 203-204.

Comic strips in the 1920s were typically of the four frames format. However, in the 1920s and 1930s, monthly children's magazines like Kôdansha's *Shônen Club*, began to include longer, serialized comics.⁸² Each episode could run to 20 pages long, which were later compiled into hardback books of around 150 pages.⁸³ Some of the most classic children's manga appeared during this time, such as adventure manga *Norakuro* (Black Stray) by Tagawa Suihō, *Supîdo Tarô* (Speed Tarô) by Shishido Sakô, and *Shôchan no bôken* (The Adventures of Shôchan) by Kabashima Katsuichi, which was the first comic

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

strip to use speech bubbles when it first appeared in 1923.⁸⁴



Figures 85-86: Classic popular children's manga circa 1930.

(Left) Katsuichi Kabashima, excerpt from *Shôchan no bôken* (*The Adventures of Shôchan*), 1923. Available from: Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library. "Shôchan no bôken = Adventures of Shôchan." New York Public Library Digital Collections.

(Right) Sakô Shishido, *Supido Tarô* (*Speed Tarô*), 1930. Available from: Frederik L.Schodt. "A Thousand Years of Manga." In *Manga! Manga! the World of Japanese Comics*, 28-67. New York: Kodansha International, 1983. Figure 58.

The panels on the left are polygonal versus rectangular as the main character makes a getaway; these panels were a novelty that didn't catch on until after WWII.

⁸⁴ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *A Thousand Years of Manga*, 126.

Comic panel layouts of these manga and manga in the 1940s were generally unimaginative when compared to today's manga. But, they are more recognizable to today's manga because the manga format – the use of speech bubbles and panel layouts – had more or less become standardized. Their panels tended to follow the grid layout, using variations of rectangular panels, horizontal or vertical staggering, or whole row panels. There were some dynamic panel layouts and shapes though, as can be seen in the trapezoidal and oblong panels in this example from *Supido Tarô* as the protagonist makes his getaway (Figure 85). Regardless, the norm of panel layouts tended to follow the standard fixed and uniform rows of panels, such as in *Norakuro* (Figure 85).⁸⁵



Figure 87: Excerpts from *Norakuro* by Suiho Tagawa. From: Paul Gravett. *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004. Page 22.

This was a typical standard layout of children's manga prior to WWII.

However, in 1937 Japan entered WWII against China, and cartooning was used for propaganda purposes. Thus, if comic artists were not fighting on the front, they either made family-friendly strips with themes of national solidarity; single-panel

⁸⁵ Natsume Fusanosuke, "Where is Tezuka? A Theory of Manga Expression" *Mechademia 8: Tezuka's Manga Life*, ed Frenchy Lunning, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 97.

cartoons for manga magazines or other media; or propaganda for the government and military.⁸⁶ As such, production of children's manga and other comics petered off. Of the comics that remained, their layouts tended to be of the same format of previous years or simpler. It was only after the war ended that manga was revolutionized by a single individual: Tezuka Osamu.

Shōnen Manga and Tezuka Osamu

Like the U.S., Japan also experienced a baby boom after the war, and this generation became the founders of today's manga and its faithful readers. After the war ended, the comic strip began to reappear as did weekly cartoons, such as *Sazae-san* in 1946.⁸⁷ The children's review *The Shōnen Club* and *The Yōji Club* had continued to print during the war, while others reviews ceased publication. In 1946, the magazine, *Shōnen*, was established, ushering the return of other reviews and the rise of magazines that printed purely manga.

Soon, youngsters were no longer satisfied with monthly manga magazines. As such, publishers Shogakukan and Kōdansha revolutionized the manga industry with the introductions of their weekly manga magazines, *Shūkan Shōnen Sunday* and *Shukan Shōnen Magazine* on March 17, 1959.⁸⁸ Because of this weekly format, *mangaka* had to work at breakneck pace, which resulted in the work structure the industry performs at today.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Frederik Schodt, "A Thousand Years of Manga," 56.

⁸⁷ *Sazae-san* was written by Hasegawa Machiko, the first publicly recognized female *mangaka*. Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *A Thousand Years of Manga.*, 133.

⁸⁸ Shogakukan, Kōdansha, and Shūeisha are the three publishers that dominate 75% of the manga market. *Ibid.*, 155-6.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 156.

Tezuka Osamu (1928-1989) is nicknamed the “God” of modern manga, a master *mangaka*, who was an innovator in many fields of manga – who also, due to his influence, inspired other *mangaka* to deviate or expand upon his style and ideas.

Yet the immediate postwar period was dominated, not by magazines, but by *akahon*, “red books,” so-called because of their gaudy, mostly red cover.⁹⁰ These were cheap, hardbacks of compiled manga sold in toy and candy stores, mainly in Osaka; these books would serve as Tezuka’s first platform of publication.

Both *akahon* and *kami shibai** influenced Tezuka’s manga, but more importantly, Tezuka was inspired by American cinema. When his first manga, *Shin Takarajima* or *New Treasure Island*, came out in 1947, it was a runaway hit that sold 400,000 copies.⁹¹ The dynamism of his panel drawings caught the readers’ attention because Tezuka’s panels changed the perspective of images to mimic cinematic techniques; reading his manga was almost like watching a movie. Thus, his panels used close-ups and varied perspectives, his images a series of montages that carried the reader through the action. With Tezuka, an action that used to take two panels to convey now took several pages to unfold. As a result, his manga grew into dense volumes of around 200 pages.⁹²

* *Kami shibai*, also known as paper theater or picture plays, was a storytelling format popular in the 1930s and in the 1950s after the war that served as cheap entertainment for children. A storyteller would have slides of colored paintings and would narrate the story by reading text written on the back of the last slide. Children would flock around these storytellers like how they later flocked around the newly introduced television. Many *mangaka* got their start as illustrators for *kami shibai*. Mark Steinberg, “Limiting Movement, Inventing Anime,” *Anime’s Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 20-22.

⁹⁰ These were not the same as *aka-hon*, “red-cover” books of the Edo period.

⁹¹ Paul Gravett, *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*, (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004), 28.

⁹² Frederik Schodt, “A Thousand Years of Manga,” 62.

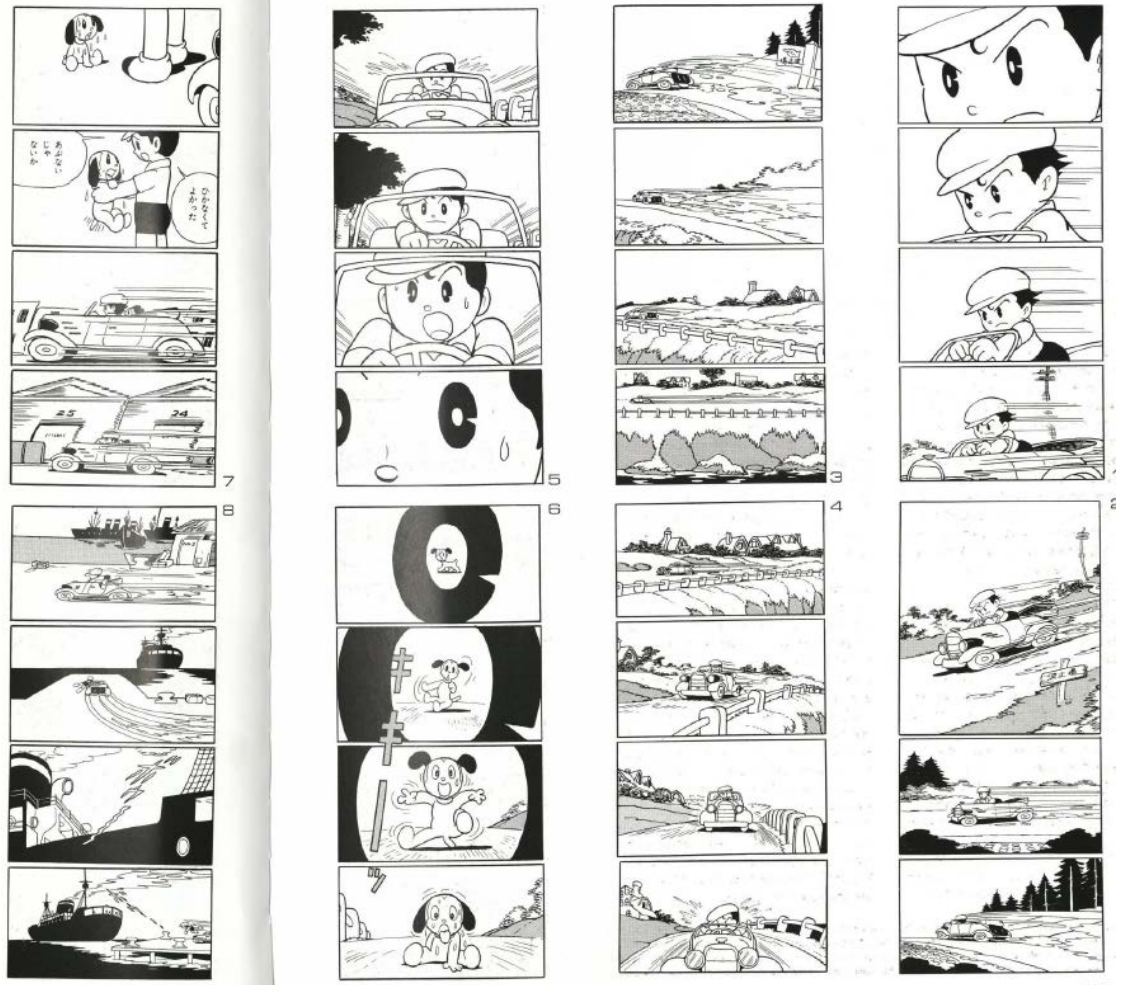


Figure 88: Osamu Tezuka, excerpts from *New Treasure Island*, 1984. From: Paul Gravett. *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004. Page 26-27.

These are the original layouts for *New Treasure Island* (recreated in 1984), but only four of these panels were actually printed in Tezuka's 1947 hardcover. Nonetheless, we can see the varying perspectives in the different panels, a cinematic technique. We can also see how uniform the panel layouts were.

But while earlier critics lauded Tezuka for his creative panel layout in *New Treasure Island*, if we just looked at the panel shapes of this manga, Tezuka's first work is not actually very innovating (Figure 88).⁹³ Indeed, some modern comic critics wonder if some of Tezuka's work was as innovating as critics of the 1970s thought.

⁹³ Fusanosuke Natsume, "Where is Tezuka? A Theory of Manga Expression," 96.

Cinematic techniques and more innovated paneling had appeared in manga like *Supîdo Tarô*, as the comic used trapezoidal panels to depict action and movement, and the first science fiction manga *Kansei Tanken* (A Voyage to Mars) in 1940.⁹⁴ Obviously, the panel techniques shown in *Supîdo Tarô* and *Kansei Tanken* did not catch on. Early Tezuka work like *New Treasure Island* followed a more traditional grid layout and only later expanded into more variations of staggering and panel size.



Figure 89: *Kansei Tanken* (A Voyage to Mars), drawn by Ôshiro Noboru, texts by Asahi Tarô, 1940, republished 2005. From: Brigitte Koyama-Richard. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Trans. David Radzinowicz. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Figure 219-220.

Yet, Tezuka did not only write children’s manga. He would go on to expand *shonen*, *shôjo*, and other manga genres, as well as create the structure for TV anime. As Tezuka’s career continued, we can see Tezuka use more of the panel techniques that defined *shonen* manga: polygonal, often trapezoidal or triangular, panel shapes that narrated and heightened the intensity of the action. These were created by “leaning” the panel sides or sides of the frame, and Tezuka and his monthly magazine contemporaries

⁹⁴ Ibid.

fully explored and utilized this technique.⁹⁵ In his *shonen* manga, *BlackJack*, which started serializing in 1973, we can see the maturity of his panel layouts and shapes (Figure 92-93). Thus, panel layouts of *shonen* manga were action-oriented.



Figure 90-93: The development of leaning frames throughout Tezuka’s career.

(Above two images) Osamu Tezuka, excerpt from *Tetsuwan Atom (Astro Boy)*. Serialized from 1951-1968. From: Paul Gravett. *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004. Page 32.

(Bottom two images) Osamu Tezuka, excerpt from *Black Jack*, which ran for 6 years in *Shonen Champion* starting from 1973. From: Paul Gravett. *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004. Page 68-69

⁹⁵ Fusanosuke Natsume, “Manga: Komatopia” trans. Margherita Long, *Mechademia 3*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008) Accessed May 12, 2017, ProQuest Ebook Central.

Shôjo Manga



Figure 94-97: Examples of *shôjo* manga from “the golden era,” the 1970s

(Above left) A page from *Utsukushiki iitsukushiteyo* (*Express Your Beauty*) by Toshie Kihara, 1978 ©Toshie Kihara. From: Mizuki Takahashi. “Opening the Closed World of Shôjo Manga.” In *Japanese Visual Culture*, edited by Mark W. MacWilliams, 91-113. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2008. Page 133.

(Above right) Excerpt from Keiko Takemiya’s *La Poème du Vent et des Arbres* (*The Poem of the Wind and Trees*). Serialized in *Shojo Comic* from 1976. From: Paul Gravett. *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004. Page 89.

(Bottom two) Kyoko Ariyoshi, excerpts from *Swan*, published in *Margaret* 1977-1981. This manga used panel layouts with kaleidoscopic effects. From: Paul Gravett. *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004. Page 93.



Today, *shôjo* manga, which developed soon after *shonen* manga, is recognizably different from *shonen* manga with page layouts that can be extremely abstract and freeform. As Frederik Schodt describes them:

[*Shôjo* manga] depend greatly on the use of montage. Pictures flow from one to another rather than progress with logical consistency from frame to frame. They may fuse into a medley of facial close-ups, free-floating prose attached to no particular character, rays of light, and abstract flowers and leaves that waft slowly across pages with no seeming relationship to the story. To the uninitiated this makes for confusing reading, but when the page is absorbed as a whole it evokes a mood.⁹⁶

In short, the purpose of the panel layout and panel shape of contemporary *shôjo* manga is not to evoke action like in *shonen* manga but to evoke emotions.

Shôjo manga of the immediate postwar period and prior adhered strictly to the standard grid layout present in *shonen* manga with very few exceptions. Observations made by Fujimoto Yukari in the article, "The Origin of Shôjo Manga Style," note that panel layouts in the two years prior to 1958 were more rigid than expected. Only bits of a drawing, such as the tip of a sword or foot, would break a panel's borders; these small breakages were rare. Furthermore, there were almost no examples of panels without borders or oversized panels.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Frederik Schodt, "Flowers and Dreams," *Manga! Manga! the World of Japanese Comics*, 88-105 (New York: Kodansha International, 1983), 89.

⁹⁷ Fujimoto Yukari and Matt Thorn. "Takahashi Macoto: The Origin of Shôjo Manga Style." *Mechademia* 7, no. 1 (2012): 24-55. <https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed May 12, 2017), 28.



Figure 98: Toriumi Yasuto, "Mama's Lap," *Nakayoshi*, September 1956: 70. From: Yukari Fujimoto and Matt Thorn. "Takahashi Macoto: The Origin of Shōjo Manga Style." *Mechademia* 7, no. 1 (2012): 24-55. <https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed May 12, 2017). Figure 6.

Here we can see the typical unimaginative panel layouts of early *shōjo* manga. Also, the right middle panels have an early version of a style pic.

Tezuka's *Ribon no Kishi* or *Princess Knight*, which started serializing in 1953, is often hailed as a breakthrough for the *shōjo* genre, but if we are strictly examining panel evolution, we must look elsewhere. *Princess Knight* was more innovating for its storyline; the first serious plotline in *shōjo* manga that dealt with a cross-dressing, adventurous main character. Early *shōjo* manga were drawn mostly by male artists and had themes in accordance with Victorian notions of womanhood: mother-daughter relationships, qualities of good wives, or traditionally suitable feminine activities like ballet.



Figure 99: Tezuka Osamu, excerpt from *Ribon no kishi* or *Princess Knight*, published in *Shojo Club*, 1953-56 ©Tezuka Productions. From: Mizuki Takahashi. “Opening the Closed World of Shōjo Manga.” In *Japanese Visual Culture*, edited by Mark W. MacWilliams, 91-113. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2008. Page 129.

The original panels of *Princess Knight* were of the typical rigid and staid panel layouts of pre-war manga.⁹⁸

Yet, the start of *shōjo* manga’s abstract layouts is attributed to the introduction of the style pic, “the three row overlaid style picture.”⁹⁹ The style picture refers to, usually, a full-body drawing of a character that is placed on top of or besides other panels and fits the page’s length. Takahashi Makoto is credited with this new technique’s introduction, in his serial manga *Beyond the Storm*, which started to appear in January 1958.¹⁰⁰ Previous versions of the style pic had appeared before, but its appearance in *Beyond the Storm* is when the technique caught on and became

⁹⁸ Tezuka had a habit of redrawing some of his manga, which is what happened when *Princess Knight* was re-serialized in 1958-59 and 1963-66. Thus, you can see versions of *Princess Knight* which have much more diverse panels.

⁹⁹ Fujimoto Yukari and Matt Thorn. “Takahashi Makoto: The Origin of Shōjo Manga Style,” 24.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

standardized. *Beyond the Storm* proved to be popular, and in the next month's installation, Takahashi made sure to include a style pic in every chapter.¹⁰¹ Within a year, other artists and *shōjo* magazines had begun using the same technique.



Figure 100: Takahashi Makoto, *Arashi o koete* (*Beyond the Storm*), *Shōjo*, January 1958: 36-37. From: Yukari Fujimoto and Matt Thorn. "Takahashi Macoto: The Origin of Shōjo Manga Style." *Mechademia* 7, no. 1 (2012): 24-55. <https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed May 12, 2017).
Figure 1.

Above are the style pics that started the standardization of style pics. The full body drawings bleed across the panels, starting the layering of panels that would takeover *shōjo* manga.

Takahashi's original style pics had no narrative purpose, but roughly half of the style pics that came after *Beyond the Storm* do.¹⁰² In essence, Takahashi's style pic laid the groundwork for the eventual transformation of page layouts, which are marked by the characteristic style pics and full face images that are part of the layering that occurs on the page.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

In creating the style pic, Takahashi brought techniques of *emonogatari* into *shōjo* manga. *Emonogatari* literally means “picture story” and was an intermediate form between illustrated stories and manga that was popular during the postwar period and 1950s before story mangas took over. These were works of heavily illustrated fiction arranged across a two-page spread with special detail to an overall design.¹⁰⁴ Originally, *emonogatari* were simple alternating blocks of text and images (Figure 100), but eventually, they took on a form that was almost indistinguishable from manga although *emonogatari* have far more expository prose than in manga (Figure 101).¹⁰⁵ Takahashi’s inclusion of the *emonogatari* technique of using prose to tell the narrative allowed the images in manga to no longer break down action, and this started the eventual transformation to panels that embody psychological mood.



Figure 100-101: *Emonogatari*

(Left) Yasumoto Ryōichi’s *Ikteita Momotarō*. From: Natsume, Fusanosuke. "Where is Tezuka? A Theory of Manga Expression." In *Mechademia 8: Tezuka's Manga Life*. Edited by Frenchy Lunning. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013. Figure 2.

A traditional *emonogatari*.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 47.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

(Previous page right) Nagamatsu Takeo, *Golden Bat*, Bōkatsu, no. 1 (August 1948). Available from: Ryan Holmberg. "Emonogatari in the Age of Comics, 1948-1957." *The Comics Journal*, November 17, 2011. Accessed May 12, 2017. <http://www.tcj.com/emonogatari-in-the-age-of-comics-1948-1957/4/>.

Because of its collage-like layout, *shōjo* manga actually favors the page as a single frame. *Mangaka* Ishinomori Shōtarō is credited with inventing “spatialization,” a trait that has become standard since the 1970s.¹⁰⁶ Ishinomori experimented with the space between the panels: he broke the page with decorative grids that broke up the temporal flow of the panels.¹⁰⁷ Elimination of the space between panels (gutters) allowed for layering and juxtaposition of images. Panel shapes varied in size, form, and location to highlight the emotional significance of an image; for example, bigger panels tended to denote important scenes. Thus, the panels didn’t emphasize temporal flow (action) but instead forced a reader to linger on a page and visually see a character’s inner feelings.¹⁰⁸

The maturity of abstract layouts in *shōjo* manga occurred in the early 1970s. At this point, young female *mangaka*, called *24 nen gumi* or Year 24 Flower Group after the year they were born (Shōwa 24 or 1949), began to take over the genre, making the *shōjo* heroine more relatable, less perfect, and more realistic compared to the *shōjo* made by male *mangaka* prior. These artists blended the *jojō-ga* pictures and fashion illustrations of past *shōjo* magazines with emotional stories that adolescent girls related to. Notable artists from this group were Ikeda Riyoko, whose work, *Versailles no bara* (*The Rose of Versailles*) 1972-3, is one of the bestselling manga of all time, and Hagio

¹⁰⁶ Mizuki Takahashi, “Opening the Closed World of Shōjo Manga,” *Japanese Visual Culture*, ed. Mark W. MacWilliams, 91-113 (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2008), 127.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

Motô, who published works that played with gender norms like her work, *The Heart of Thomas*.¹⁰⁹



Figure 102: Ikeda Ryoko, Excerpt from *The Rose of Versailles*, *Margaret*, a *shôjo* magazine. Started serializing in 1972. From: Paul Gravett. *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004. Page 87.



Figure 103: Excerpts from Moto Hagio's *The Heart of Thomas*, 1974. From: From: Paul Gravett. *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004. Page 88. And Hagio Moto. *The Heart of Thomas*. Translated by Matt Thorn. Seattle: Fantagraphics Books, 2012.

¹⁰⁹ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *A Thousand Years of Manga*, 187.

The most influential artist of the Year 24 Flower Group was Ôshima Yumiko, who developed the visual techniques in panel design that enhance the presentation of emotion.¹¹⁰ Ôshima was responsible for freeing inner monologues from word balloons, letting them float freely on the page and thus, creating the equivalent of the first person narrative.¹¹¹ She also drew panels with delicate, thin borders that were sometimes broken: this created the mosaic or collage-like style.¹¹² Additionally, the panels were not sequential, which forced readers to view the page as a whole.

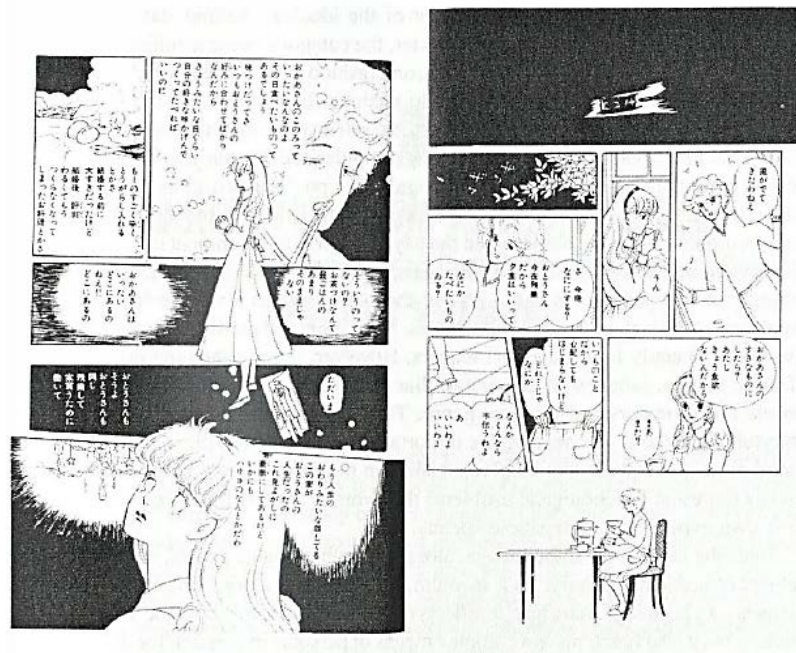


Figure 104: Ôshima Yumiko, *Akasuika kisuika* (Red Watermelon, Yellow Watermelon), 1979. From: Mizuki Takahashi. "Opening the Closed World of Shôjo Manga." In *Japanese Visual Culture*, edited by Mark W. MacWilliams, 91-113. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2008. Page 135.

On the left page, we can see free-floating text. The page is a dream sequence revealing the girl's worries.

¹¹⁰ Mizuki Takahashi, "Opening the Closed World of Shôjo Manga," 134.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

Shôjo manga artists also used layering to create a three-dimensional effect on the page to express emotional depth.¹¹³ Panels could be layered on top of one another (overlap) with dialogue, narration, or sound effects traversing two or more panels or with faces or full-body style pics on top of or beside other panels. Artists also experimented freely with the use of white space and diagonal lines. This made panels appear splintered or exploded and allowed characters to seemingly drift in space.

After the “golden age of *shôjo* manga” (the 1970s), some *shôjo* artists, like Tsumugi Taku and Yonezawa Ai, continued to experiment with layering, but many artists like Nananan Kiriko have embraced more of a visual flatness rather than the extensive 3-D layering of *shôjo* manga.¹¹⁴ Since the 1990s, *shôjo* manga has seen a marked decline of layering and an increase of “flatness” – so called because it does not use much layering.¹¹⁵ This is especially characteristic of manga targeted towards women in their twenties and thirties, where action is emphasized over interior monologue.¹¹⁶ These manga tend to have contiguous panels with white space eliminated. Hence, when compared visually to the *shôjo* manga of the 70s, these manga appear “flat.” Nevertheless, this is just one panel style utilized today amongst the variations of *shôjo* and *shonen* panel layouts.

¹¹³ Deborah Shamoan, “Situating the Shôjo in Shôjo Manga,” *Japanese Visual Culture*, ed. Mark W. MacWilliams, 114-136 (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2008), 146.

¹¹⁴ Deborah Shamoan, “Situating the Shôjo in Shôjo Manga,” 146.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 147.

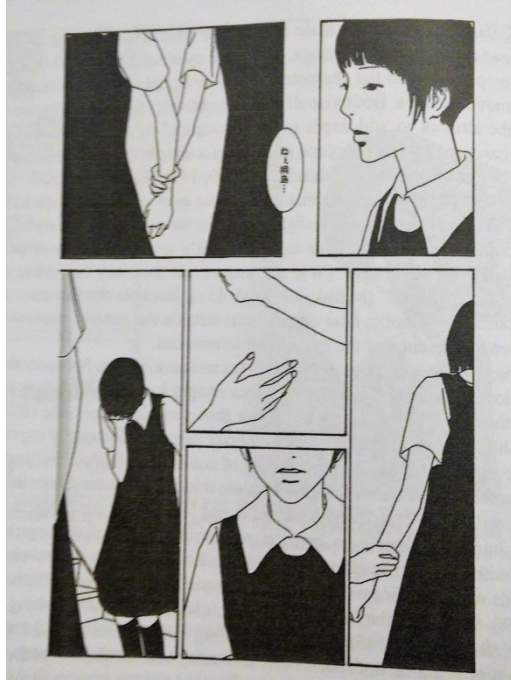


Figure 105. Kiriko Nananan, a page from *blue*, 1997: 154 © Kiriko Nananan. From: Deborah Shamoon. "Situating the Shôjo in Shôjo Manga." In *Japanese Visual Culture*, edited by Mark W. MacWilliams, 114-136. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2008. Page 152.

Conclusion

To sum up the evolution of the manga panel, manga panels originally depended on the format they appeared in. We can see this in the proto-panels of *emaki* scrolls and *ukiyo-e* prints. In these media formats, drawings were limited to dimensions of the paper or format, and artists used the free space within to draw images that floated and transitioned to another image confined to that same proto-panel – though the free-floating images in *ukiyo-e* prints did not depict a sequential narrative. Text was also an integral part of these early formats, as they usually are in comics, with the formatting of prose “sectioning off” text into their panels or becoming part of the panel’s characteristics as the text meandered around the illustrations. With the compilation of *ukiyo-e* prints into booklets, we had the makings of the first proto-comic book.

With the influence of Western comics, such as European comics and then American comic strips, Japanese cartoons and manga began to develop from their traditional single panel format and began experimenting with different panel shapes and sizes, blending Western techniques with Japanese techniques and culture. Sequential manga appeared with the panels numbered to instruct readers on the panel order, and numbering would remain in manga well into the 20th century.¹¹⁷ During this time, serialized comic strips emerged, and the caption-picture format became a standard panel format. Additionally, the free-floating images (i.e. they did not have individual panels) that used to appear in *ukiyo-e* prints now took on a sequential form, officially becoming cartoons.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ You can see numbering on *shôjo* manga panels during the inception and after of Takahashi Makoto’s style pic.

¹¹⁸ I attribute these types of panels with having roots in *ukiyo-e* prints. But, this type of panel could also have been a trait of American comics, which were influential during this time. Since I know very little

From that point, children's comic strips took on a longer narrative form, and slowly artists started experimenting with panels beyond a pure grid layout.

Unfortunately, the advent of WWII decreased the amount of comics in circulation and panel innovation lulled.

After the war, Tezuka Osamu used cinematic techniques to vary perspectives of the images, making this style of panels standard. This accelerated the development of manga panels, and *mangaka* of *shonen* manga experimented with the leaning of panel frames to create polygonal panels. The main purpose of these panels was to lead the action of the narrative. Soon after, Takahashi Makoto created the style pic, which launched the transformation of *shôjo* manga panels into abstract, three-dimensional layouts that, instead of conveying action, impressed upon the reader the characters' feelings and inner turmoil. Today, panel layouts are variations of the panel layouts established in *shonen* and *shôjo* manga of the postwar period.

In Japan today, the manga industry is extremely successful and has become almost inseparable from Japanese culture. However, manga sales have slumped with the growth of manga cafes, secondhand bookstores, and an increased mobile readership after reaching an apogee in the 1990s.¹¹⁹ Of course, there are now many other genres of manga, which developed as the manga readers of *shonen* and *shôjo* manga grew up, demanding manga suitable for their demographics or reacting to the manga of these genres. The panel layouts of these genres tend to be variations of the layouts established

about the development of American comics, my conjecture is solely based on my research concerning manga.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 159.

in *shonen* and *shôjo* manga with the style of panels varying, depending on the genre of manga, the topic, and the artist.¹²⁰

Additionally, other forms of panel layouts have continued to exist alongside the panels of *shonen* and *shôjo* manga. The four panel comic strip introduced by Rakuten in 1902 remains today as *yonkoma*, which is traditionally laid out with the panels stacked on top of each other. These can appear in manga magazines, graphic novels, the comics section of the newspaper, other magazines, etc.

While manga remains, to this day, a strong market in Japan, it would be interesting to see how manga evolves in the future, whether in style or format. Other countries like China, Taiwan, and South Korea have embraced web comics as manga industries in these countries have declined. China, especially, has censorship issues that limit artists and their content. Additionally, with the advent of the Internet and the popularity of smartphones, cartoonists have found an easily accessible audience on social media. In China, web comics appear on microblogs like Sina Weibo and other social media platforms, which cartoonists use to distribute satirical or critical content and to evade censorship.¹²¹

In 2015, Taiwan held a show ushering in the “Web comics era.”¹²² During the early 2000s, webtoons – comics or manhwa* that are published online – became

* Manhwa is the Korean equivalent of manga

¹²⁰ More research on the panel layouts of contemporary manga is needed as I do not have much knowledge on these.

¹²¹ Frank Langfitt, narrator, "Provocative Chinese Cartoonists Find an Outlet Online," in *All Things Considered*, transcript, March 16, 2012.

¹²² Chih-chi Kan and Wei-han Chan, "FEATURE: 'Web Comics era' is on Display at Taipei Show," *Taipei Times*, February 10, 2015, accessed May 2, 2017, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2015/02/10/2003611251/2>.

popular in South Korea, causing the manhwa industry to decline.¹²³ These comics have since spread globally and have been translated into English on various platforms. These comics are not confined to elaborate page layouts, the most common format being a continuous scrollable page (a long strip), which has allowed for new panel shapes and panel transitions. Furthermore, some webtoons are augmented by audio or animated effects, while some can even make phones vibrate upon reaching a certain scene.

Manga that is viewed on a computer or a mobile phone has, of course, appeared in Japan. These also have the ability to allow zoom and make tactile vibrations in conjunction with sound effects.¹²⁴ This format's single panel-to-panel scrolling is called *kamishibai*, after the postwar period paper theater plays. Based on this understanding, it sounds like manga viewed on the Web is still the traditional page layouts published in print media; but, this needs to be confirmed with further research.

Additionally, manga has also appeared on plasma screens in the Japanese subway, exhibiting the manga panel to panel in a PowerPoint presentation style.¹²⁵

What is more interesting is the appearance of intermedia in Japan, the process of stories moving across different media and formats.¹²⁶ Manga has been turned into television dramas, stage productions, and movies. Manga characters have been used as spokespeople in advertisements.

¹²³ In truth, the manhwa industry had almost collapsed due to the 1997-98 Asian financial crisis which caused bankruptcy among many publishers. "South Korean 'Webtoon' Craze Makes Global Waves." *Japan Times*, November 25, 2015. Accessed May 2, 2017. http://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2015/11/25/entertainment-news/south-korean-webtoon-craze-makes-global-waves/#.VIgE3r8nuJ9?utm_source=hootsuite

¹²⁴ John E. Ingulsrud and Kate Allen, *Reading Japan Cool: Patterns of Manga Literacy and Discourse*, 188.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*,

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

Additionally, manga stories and their characters also appear in toys, video games, anime, and light novels. Since the development of the panel layout helped establish the criteria with which manga is read, it will be interesting to see whether manga reading literacy changes, like in webtoons, as Japanese manga continues to penetrate other media forms.

Glossary

bakufu – refers to the *Tokugawa bakufu* or *Tokugawa shogunate*, the feudal military government of the Edo period; led by the *sei-i-tai shogun*, supreme chief

emaki-e, *emaki*, or *emakimono* – illuminated narrative picture scrolls that appeared from the early 8th century until the 16th century

emonogatari – “picture story,” an intermediate format between manga and illustrated stories popular during the 1950s

e-sugoroku - “picture roll-and-move games,” a type of board game similar to “Snakes and Ladders;” often used for educational purposes

harimaze-e – a type of *ukiyo-e* print that combined several prints, usually three or five, on a single sheet; besides the economic convenience for publishers, the prints were used by consumers as decoration as they could be cut out and pasted elsewhere

jojô-ga – literally lyrical painting or illustrations that were popular after WWI, these illustrations heavily influenced *shôjo* style of drawing inciting the use of large, round eyes and flowers in the background to depict a sensual girl that still retains a childish innocence

kakemono – vertical hanging scrolls; a form of *ukiyo-e* prints

kibyôshi – “yellow cover” booklets, which appeared towards the end of the 18th century

koma – the manga panel; also called a “frame” or “cell”

manga - currently, a term referring to comics and cartooning in Japan or comics made in the Japanese language; the term use to refer to Katsushika Hokusai’s volumes of sketches, which were published to help instruct his students in drawing techniques

mangaka – a professional manga artist

nishiki-e – literally “brocade pictures,” referred to a *ukiyo-e* print that used multiple colors (up to six) due to advancement of printing technology in the mid- 18th century; invention credited to *ukiyo-e* artist Harunobu Suzuki

nishiki-e shinbun – literally “brocade picture newspapers,” a type of sensational newspaper that used traditional xylography (woodblock printing) to make *ukiyo-e* prints that augmented the articles; started appearing in 1874 but soon abandoned by the late 1870s

shôjo manga – “girls’ manga,” manga targeted towards young females with stories usually centered around romantic relationships

shonen manga – “boys’ manga,” manga targeted towards young males with usually action-driven stories

toba-e – caricatures of the Edo period, named after the monk Tôba, the attributed creator of the *Chôjû jinbutsu giga*.

tsukuri-e – a painting technique used in Heian period *emaki* in which the paper was first outlined in black and white; next, heavy opaque pigments were painted to add color and detail, completely obliterating the original lines; finally, black ink was used to outline the images again to make them stand out

ukiyo-e – the Japanese woodblock prints or paintings; appeared from circa 1650 until the beginning of the Meiji Period

yamato-e – the Japanese style of painting; often done in color, the tradition depicts Japanese scenes and subject matter; the *tsukuri-e* technique is an extension of the *yamato-e* tradition

Note: All Japanese names are written in their traditional format: Surname First name

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