Deviating from "Art": Japanese Manga Exhibitions, 1990–2015

Jaqueline Berndt

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Japan has seen an increasing number of comics exhibitions since the 1990s, held in commercial spaces, public art galleries, and also specialized manga museums. This article looks back upon a major shift in the public sector from leaning on the authority of fine art to deviating from that institutional crutch in favor of manga as media culture, and recently a return to aestheticization in a technical rather than conceptual sense. Taking as its example three representative exhibitions in public museums held in 1990, 1998, and 2008, respectively, the article looks at which notion of manga manifested in each, and how this notion materialized in presentation techniques. All three exhibitions featured graphic narratives, or *story-manga*, that is, primarily entertaining fiction for younger readers that had come to dominate the domain of Japanese comics since the late 1950s with the spread of the manga magazine format and its gendered genres. Yet, magazine manga is not easily displayed. Initially produced as throwaway reading material, its monochrome visuals on acidic paper look much less attractive than eye-catching covers, colored supplements, or merchandising goods. In addition, this kind of manga consists usually of lengthy serialized narratives that are inclined to facilitate reader participation rather than authorly self-expression. While crucial characteristics of commercial manga such as the collaborative mode of production, the importance of imitative copying, and the possibility of sharing due to conventions seemed to work against gallery exhibitions, in recent years, the alleged shortcoming is being turned into a strength: Domestic manga exhibitions in public institutions are increasingly oriented at the broader community of readers.

Leaning on "Art"

Similar to other countries around the world, in Japan exhibitions in public art galleries have played a significant role in raising the cultural status of comics. Beginning at the end of the 1960s with the tiny museum for cartoonist Kitazawa Rakuten[1] (1876–1955; today *Saitama manga kaikan*, lit.: Manga Hall, Saitama), this trend gained momentum in the 1990s, making not only newspaper cartoons but also magazine-based graphic narratives socially acceptable. The first major attempt was the posthumous Tezuka Osamu retrospective held at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo in 1990. Unfamiliar with exhibiting reading matter in the gallery space and simply overwhelmed by the amount of drawings, "the narrative nature of [Tezuka's] manga" posed the biggest challenge, according to chief curator Iwasaki Yoshikazu (1990, 12). As it seemed technically impossible to pay tribute to that nature, the organizers decided to highlight Tezuka's "originality in technique and his manga's visual appeal" (ibid.). This orientation was innovative at the time, as the following dismissal of Tezuka's manga by critic Iizawa Tadashi, longstanding member of the jury for the Bungei Shunjū Cartoon Award, evinces:

> In terms of the pictorial, there is nothing new here [. . .], as one cannot sense the unique personal touch indispensable for an artist. [. . .] The brushstroke and the freely changing tension of the line, to which traditional Japanese painting attached great importance, cannot be found; in short, his picture planes are without life. [. . .] After all, the Tezuka fan is indifferent to the picture-plane, putting emphasis rather on the story. (Iizawa 1989, 7)

To Iizawa, manga qualified as "art, as a type of painting," which employed vivid strokes. He defined the *man* in *manga* as "ideas, esprit, laughter," and the *ga* as a picture rendered with brush and ink, foregrounding a notion that as a rule formed the core of calligraphy and monochrome ink-painting, but also applied more to caricature and cartoon than story-manga as pioneered in postwar Japan by Tezuka.

In contrast to Iizawa's depreciation, *Reading Manga* (*Manga no yomikata*, 1995), the first systematic attempt to illuminate the grammar of story-manga, regarded Tezuka's "lifeless line" as an achievement. According to Takekuma Kentarō, Tezuka's use of uniform lines with little variance in weight suggested an ideal of modern dynamics controlled by reason, and it also met perfectly the requirements for relief printing: "If brush and pencil had been the mainstream, the mass-distribution of manga we know today would not have happened"

(Inoue, ed., 1995, 41). Although not specifically with respect to the line, Scott McCloud, too, acknowledged Tezuka's achievements, foregrounding panel transition and his conception of comics as a system of highly codified signs that correlates the visual and the verbal for the purpose of storytelling. Famously, Tezuka himself defined his visuals as hieroglyphics:

> I realized that I am not aiming at drawing pictures. This isn't my profession anyway, right? I've never done sketching, my drawing is completely self-taught. That's why, as an instrument of expression, as a tool for telling stories, I draw something like pictures, but as I really came to think recently, these aren't pictures to me. [. . .] They are something like hieroglyphs. (1979, 43)

Like Tezuka, many creators of narrative manga draw from the reservoir of patterns and ciphers in their head that they have acquired through copying the style of their favorite manga artist as if doing writing exercises. Taking this into consideration, Takekuma has suggested that to understand manga, one must think of it in terms of script rather than visual art (Takekuma and Yamamoto 2006, 9–10). Historically, this suggestion can be supported by considering the transition from brush to pen and the decreasing relevance of academic painting skills. While early manga professionals like Okamoto Ippei were "fluent in pen drawings, ink brush paintings, Japanese color paintings" (Tezuka cited in Onoda Power 2009, 26), from Tezuka onward the assumption that such skills formed a necessary basis for creating manga, had, at least in the realm of story-manga, been dismissed (Inoue, ed. 1995, 64).

Tezuka's preference for the pen—and a specific pen at that (namely, the *kabura*, or turnip, pen nib)—was, admittedly, motivated by his actual lack of academic painting skills, but likewise by his focus on storytelling, initially aiming at Disney-like animated films. Naturally, this implied a distance toward fine art, and this distance seems to resurface in contemporary manga fans' deeply held distrust against high culture, an affect that distinguishes the situation in Japan not only from Europe and America but also neighboring Asian countries such as the Republic of Korea (cf. Yamanaka 2011). The fans' skepticism is not uncommon and can be traced back to Japan's particular modernization, which included the state-driven implementation of Western concepts and institutions. The concept of fine art was one of these. Under the neologism of "painting" (*kaiga*), it united reconstituted forms of traditional art (renamed *nihonga*, Japanese-style painting) with Western oil painting (*yōga*). Turned into cartoon, manga was categorized as a lower kind of "painting" (cf. Miyamoto 2002). During the first decades of the twentieth century the institution of fine art with "painting" as its core was mainly focused on "the demonstration of

national prowess" (Satō 2014, 343). As such it served as a vehicle both for claiming cultural parity with Euroamerica and emphasizing Japanese particularism. Against this historical backdrop sociologists have explained fans' skepticism by allocating the institution of the art museum to "the West" and manga to "indigenous Japanese culture" (Murata 2009, 166; Yamanaka 2013, 45).

Apart from the fact that both manga and museum are cultural hybrids, the "spatialization" of West vs. East does not hold historically, either. Most importantly, it overlooks differences between prewar and postwar Japan, in particular the shift from state-nationalism to democracy and internationality (Satō 2014, 349), which for manga meant to loosen its prewar ties to "Japanese art" as epitomized in brush painting. Tezuka's preference for the pen implied not only distance toward the authority of painting, but also toward the emphasis on brush painting's cultural particularity. With an eye on American (animated) film and European novels, Tezuka opted for internationality instead. This is worth remembering in view of recent manga exhibitions targeted at non-Japanese audiences,[2] which all too often promote particularly Japanese traditions and suggest a continuity with premodern visual art, such as *Manga Now: Three Generations* (curated by Nicole Rousmaniere for the British Museum, 2015); *Edo Giga*: *Great Manga History: Traces from Edo Toba-e, Punch, Manga* (*Edo kara tadoru dai manga-shi ten: Toba-e, ponchi, manga*, curated by Shimizu Isao for the Kyoto International Manga Museum, 2015–2016); and *Hokusai x Manga: Japanese Pop Culture since 1680* (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe [MKG] Hamburg, 2016, curated by Nora von Achenbach and Simon Klingler).

Whenever manga is ascribed a role similar to "painting" a century ago, visual (instead of narrative) achievements, original drawings (instead of printed matter), and individual authorship (instead of shared conventions) come to the fore. Within Japan, this inclination became evident through the Tezuka exhibition. It surely raised appreciation for manga as extended imagetext and had a significant social impact, but it did not contribute to an aesthetic conceptualization of comics that could have wielded influence on critical scholarship.

Foregrounding Media Culture

The 1990s saw a shift of focus from outstanding artists to the media as a whole and, relatedly, from visuals to narratives, which manifested in the preference for copied pages over original drawings. This culminated in *The Manga Age* (*Manga no jidai*) exhibition. Shown first in the Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo in 1998 and subsequently in the Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, it was the largest ever of its kind with 380 manga works by more than 250 artists presented in twenty-seven sections. As the subtitle and the images on

the poster made abundantly clear, the "manga age" was to be understood as the age of graphic narratives ranging from Tezuka's *Astro Boy* (1950s) to Ayanami Rei as pictured in Sadamoto Yoshiyuki's manga version of the mid-1990s TV anime series *Neon Genesis Evangelion*.

The exhibition seemed to resist the conventions of the art museum in that it focused on manga as media. This showed, first of all, in the exhibits and their material display. Unlike its predecessors, which had favored original drawings framed and put behind glass, *The Manga Age* exhibition pinned slightly enlarged monochrome copies of whole pages or double-page spreads to the wall (and it offered the visitor an audio-guide with explanations by a voice actress, acknowledging manga's ties to anime).

Following the conventional periodization still predominant in manga criticism at the time, the exhibition took its historical departure from Tezuka's *New Treasure Island* (*Shin Takarajima*, 1947),[3] leaving the scenarist Sakai Shichima as well as the Donald Duck inspiration unmentioned (cf. Holmberg 2012). Then it proceeded to present four parts in chronological order—the 1950s, the 1960s, the 1970s, and "Since the 1980s"—in which certain themes were repeated: "Humor, Gag, Nonsense," "SF and Fantasy," "Genealogy of Heroes and Heroines," "Manga for Youth," and "The World of Horror and Occultism." The integration of the latter appeared especially innovative, as it pointed to subcultures within manga. Clearly, the curators did not keep to the established industrial genres, gendered as they were. Female productions, for example, were foregrounded only in section 10, "The Golden Age of Girls' Manga." But precisely this deviation from the industry's genres allowed for a different, cross-genre approach, for example, with respect to representations of violence (primarily under the heading "The Expanding Body" and unconnected to social and political issues, though) as well as nudity, male and female. It goes without saying that the *ero-gekiga* of the 1970s, which in its treatment of sexuality can be compared to American Underground Comix, and the *yaoi* production initially centered around the magazine *JUNE* (1978–2012) had to be left out to accommodate the administration.[4] At least a page showing a male-male couple from Ozaki Minami's boys' love manga *BRONZE* was included. Fan-made *dōjinshi* did not surface at all.

In general, the emphasis was on serialized graphic narratives targeted at non-infant readers (and as such in line with the usual museum visitor). In order to avoid the impression of manga as "art," the organizers raised the issue "What Is Manga? Its Expression and Grammar" in an extra section (No. 25), and they commissioned catalog essays not from the authors of *Reading Manga*, but from the critic Murakami Tomohiko and from anthropologist Yamaguchi Masao. The privileging of story-manga did not connect to an actual reading experience

though. What could be seen on the walls were single pages or double-page spreads, not longer sequences, and there were no reading areas. Instead of highlighting specific narratives, the exhibition presented a meta-narrative: manga as culture in the twofold sense of a purely Japanese culture and a community of kindred spirits, who share the same media memory. Apart from section 26 "Between Art and Manga," which featured alternative comics, for example, by Takano Fumiko, Matsumoto Taiyō, and Hatanaka Jun, manga and fine art were neatly segregated: Section 27 presented Roy Lichtenstein's *Girl with Hair Ribbon* (1965), a 6-million-dollar splurge purchased to commemorate the opening of the Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo in 1995; a 1970 paneled oil painting by Tiger Tateishi (1941–1988),[5] a DOB balloon by Murakami Takashi, paintings by Nara Yoshitomo and Tarō Chiezō, as well as a project by female artist Nishiyama Minako.

With *The Manga Age* exhibition, a deviation from "art" loomed that has grown since. Besides the fact that a younger, manga-accustomed generation had entered the curatorial departments, the shrinking authority of public art galleries in the age of neoliberalist economization has been most instrumental in that regard. At present, public museums have to justify their expenditure of taxpayer money primarily by means of visitor numbers. In Japan, funding authorities expect manga museums—and exhibitions in other facilities as well—to emphasize the local community's identity and industry, not individual acquisition of knowledge or societal communication (Yamanaka 2013, 32). Occasionally, this is extended from the local to the national. In April 2017, regional revitalization minister Yamamoto Kōzō made headlines when he called museum curators "the biggest cancer" for not engaging enough in the tourism industry and, in extension, the nation's economy. Although an official apology was issued shortly after, the remark as such is highly symptomatic of the present situation in Japan. As for manga, the decreased relevance of art museums as venues for manga exhibitions (Kanazawa 2011, 127) has in part been compensated by an increase in specialized museums, approximately fifty in total (Masuda 2013, 208–9; Murata 2009, 182–83). Most of those related to comics in a stricter sense are dedicated to single artists and run by local municipalities. A national manga museum, or archive, does not exist.

One of the few comprehensive facilities aimed to focus on manga in all its facets is the Kyoto International Manga Museum (abbr. MM, 2006–), equaled only by the Kawasaki City Museum (which was the first to employ two full-time curators in its manga department when it opened in 1988) and the Kitakyūshū Manga Museum (opened 2012). The Yonezawa Yoshihiro Memorial Library of Manga and Subculture, established in 2009 by Meiji University Tokyo,[6] could become the fourth player, if the long-announced establishment of a bigger

facility actually manifests. In regard to manga exhibitions, the Kawasaki City Museum advanced the field in the 1990s and early 2000s, while the MM has come up with several spectacular exhibitions in the 2010s, mainly curated by Itō Yū.

The MM is based on a public-private partnership between the City of Kyoto, Kyoto Seika University, a private art college founded in 1968,[7] and a local civic association.[8] Ninety percent of the museum's start-up funds were provided by a five-year subsidy called Open Research Center, which Seika had received from the MEXT (the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology). As is typical in these situations, the city shifted management responsibility for the museum from its board of education to the Bureau of Industry Promotion in 2010.

Like *The Manga Age* exhibition, the MM concentrates on printed matter instead of original drawings, that is, on manga as it arrives at the reader's hands. Its collection of 300,000 items is composed of 30,000 magazine issues and 250,000 *tankōbon* volumes (mostly book editions of magazine series). At the heart of the museum is the so-called manga wall, consisting of shelves in the hallways which make a total of 50,000 *tankōbon* available to the visitor. On the ground floor, the "wall" contains foreign comics, translated manga and boys' manga, on the first floor, girls' and women's manga, and on the second floor, manga for youth and adults. Visitors do read while standing or sitting on the floor, the stairs, or the wooden deck and the artificial lawn outside. Thus, the MM may give the impression of a library, but it is not registered as one and lacks the function of lending. Also not library-like is the constantly running background music. Composed by Seika professor Komatsu Masafumi, this soundscape seems to perform two interrelated functions: It relieves Japanese visitors of the requirement of socializing, while saving them from the feeling of social isolation.

Highlighting manga as media is evident not only from the "manga wall" and the reading visitors, but also the bilingual introductory exhibition in the main gallery installed in 2010. Instead of beginning with the medieval *Chōjū giga* scrolls of frolicking animals and humans, the historical survey starts with printed material of the late nineteenth century. As crucial as printed material may be for critics, most domestic visitors expect to see originals. This demand, however, does not necessarily indicate an inclination toward fine art. On the contrary, the majority of domestic fans tend to presume that the institution of the museum—as distinct from commercially motivated manga exhibitions increasingly held by media corporations as part of their marketing campaigns—benefits from showcasing manga, which helps to increase visitor numbers (whether displaying original drawings or not), while not offering much in return (cf. Murata et al. 2010).

Resorting to Design

The narrative nature of manga forms one of the major obstacles for museum exhibitions, conceptually as well as technically. Precisely because of this, the show *Inoue Takehiko: The Last Manga Exhibition* appeared to have broken new ground when it opened in Tokyo in 2008. Conceived exclusively for the Ueno Royal Museum, a public art exhibition space without its own collection, it toured from there to the Contemporary Art Museum Kumamoto, the Suntory Museum Tenpozan, Osaka, and Sendai Mediatheque in 2009–2010. For the first time, a manga artist had been invited to curate his own exhibition in a museum space, and when the critic Fujimoto Yukari pointed out that Inoue had made a successful effort to "change our notion of a 'manga show' completely" (2008, 68), she meant first and foremost the reading experience that the exhibition provided. Instead of printed pages, the gallery space itself served as the support for a newly created episode of Inoue's famous manga *VAGABOND* (serialized in *Morning* 1998–2014, 37 vols. in total). Doorways attained the role of manga frames, while pictures of varying size, hung on the wall in different height, guided the visitor forward, sometimes across zigzag partitions, sometimes through darker rooms, and exhibited were not only sequentially arranged hand-drawn paneled pages in A3 format, but also large ink paintings on Japanese paper. This arrangement put the visitor in the position of both reader and viewer, prompting them to follow the flow of the narrative and admire the artist's brushstroke at the same time. Art historian Yamashita Yūji, who specializes in Japanese ink painting (*sumi-e*), spoke highly of Inoue's mastery of the brush, maintaining that "no one in contemporary *nihonga* [modern Japanese-style painting] excels him" (cited in Akiyama 2008).

More than any neatly framed original drawings, the brushwork's evoked the impression of fine art painting and accomplished precisely what Iizawa had missed in Tezuka's manga almost two decades earlier. The gallery-specific aura was further enhanced by the fact that the artist presented an episode that was not available in print, not to mention the fact that photographs were strictly prohibited. But while the latter has been traditionally motivated by commercial concerns, especially in manga shows, Inoue did not engage in the exhibition project in order to raise his own market value; at the expense of having his regular magazine work affected, he aimed at "transcending the usual limits, becoming free" (cited in Murata 2009, 144).

The layout of the exhibition space, the strong sensory appeal, and the presentation of manga as hand-drawn narrative elicited fulsome praise, including the assertion that Inoue accomplished this only because he was unimpeded by museum conventions (Murata 2009, 141). The disregard toward such conventions

led to a stance that was refreshingly unaffected by status claims, but it also made Inoue's exhibition stay within the conventional frame of both museum and manga. The drawings did not spill over to the walls of the White Cube. And as a whole the exhibition did not raise any questions about the possibilities and limitations of the museum by virtue of manga, or reversely, raise questions about manga. Apparently, it was a technical issue that took center stage, namely, how a manga narrative could be presented within a large three-dimensional space. The narrative itself, however, and the visual style in which it appeared gave a rather conservative impression.

The exhibited narrative related how the manga's protagonist, the swordsman Miyamoto Musashi (1584?–1645), spends his old days recalling the people he met, dreaming of past friends and rivals, and trying to come to terms with his (already deceased) father. Ultimately, he resorts to being an infant in his mother's arms, before he vanishes into the horizon, rejuvenated, together with his lifelong rival Kojirō. The return to the mother took the form of seven monumental Madonna paintings. Placed near the end of the exhibit, in the largest room with the highest ceiling, they provided an emotional climax, and many visitors shed tears in front of these images, which oscillated between being comics panels, and as such narratively interrelated with each other, and self-contained autonomous paintings. Insofar as they deployed ink, brush, and Japanese paper, they invoked East Asian painting traditions. But not only did Inoue create these pictures standing, as if in the tradition of Western easel painting; the body of the mother-like figure was rendered in a manner close to traditions of European academism. Undressed, she would have only remotely looked Asian, not to mention her cheekbones.

In Japan's modernization, mastering Western academic painting was part of mastering Western civilization, and what looked conservative from a European avant-garde perspective appeared to be highly innovative in the domestic context. Until the postwar period, when the first public museums for modern art finally opened, the social role of painting was defined by its service to the modern nation, or empire, to be precise. As art-historian John Clark has demonstrated in his discussion of "world art," in the twentieth century "the nation-state both naturalizes its domination over the inheritances of the past as well as creates hermeneutic hegemony over how this domination is to be expressed in various social representations" throughout Asia. "Art is thus not an autonomous domain of discourse which may criticize reality" (2008, 410). Although resting on different cultural bonds, that is, not national, but fan-cultural ones, the similarity is striking. Affirming positive values instead of raising critical awareness characterizes Inoue's Madonna images as much as Chinese (or even North Korean) "social-realist" paintings. Eventually it matched the exhibition's general promotion of manga as a postcritical art form. The confirmation of

one's relation to an already familiar protagonist and thereby a huge taste community of kindred spirits eclipsed any discussion of the presented narrative's closure. But the very fact that the somehow politically correct antiviolence theme—"Musashi's trajectory from solitary brute to thoughtful hermit" (Kosaka 2017)—led to the immersion into a comforting mother readily evoked, for example, the discourse of "maternal society" (*bosei shakai*) prevalent in Japan before the burst of the bubble economy (cf. Yoda 2000). Whatever the specific position held by the participating critics, ranging from regrets about the "loss of masculinity" to accounts of gender segregation in corporate Japan, social power and individual agency were at issue. The exhibition, however, invited neither reflection on such issues nor the representation of violence in manga.

In consideration of the above, *Inoue Takehiko: The Last Manga Exhibition* was groundbreaking less with respect to foregrounding manga's narrativity but rather spatiality, and in this way the gallery space was organized to provide an astonishing aesthetic experience. In retrospect, it appears to have set off a whole new current in gallery exhibitions of manga, a trend that evinces a heightened awareness of display, replacing earlier aspirations toward fine art (and its ideology) by an embrace of design that foregoes any conceptual meta-narrative, for example, related to what manga is and could be. Especially impressive with regard to "unflattening" manga in the gallery space were three exhibitions. *Manga Realities: Exploring the Art of Japanese Comics Today*, curated by Takahashi Mizuki for the Japan Foundation (2010–2011), literally spatialized one manga story-world in each room: In the case of Igarashi Daisuke's *Children of the Sea* (2006–2011), the visitor was invited to "dive" into an installation with a maritime soundscape and semitransparent drapes, and then read a long sequence of original manga pages, placed on a curved table (figure 44). Less noticed but noteworthy was the reversion of word and image in the one-room exhibit of Sasou Akira's manga short-story *Fujisan* (2001, available in French translation): Curator Lee Hyunja attached part of the manga's narration in enlarged vertical lines of Japanese script to the walls and inserted small manga panels into it (figure 45).[9] Itō Yū's *18,000 Original Manga Drawings by Tsuchida Seiki* (MM, 2014) "provided its visitors [. . .] with the unique experience of walking over original drawings placed under acrylic plates" (Natsume 2016, 3, figure 46).

Conclusion

Manga exhibitions call for the consideration of a multitude of aspects, including funding, venue, availability of exhibits, target audience, and so on. While the actual organizers tend to get caught up in practical issues, academic criticism, especially if informed by cultural studies, is inclined to foreground concepts,

Figure 44. *Manga Realities: Exploring the Art of Japanese Comics Today* (2010). Installation view at Contemporary Art Gallery, Art Tower Mito. Photo by Ken Kato. Courtesy of Contemporary Art Center, Art Tower Mito.

Figure 45. ~~Jason~~ Sasou Akira's "Fujisan" as seen in the *Five Stars* exhibition, 2011. Photo courtesy of the Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center, Kyoto International Manga Museum.

Figure 46. Installation view of *18,000 Original Drawings by Tsuchida Seiki*, 2014. Photo courtesy of the Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center, Kyoto International Manga Museum.

so far mainly related to manga's legitimization and representation of either national or fan culture or social minorities. In its recapitulation of three major exhibitions held over the last fifteen years, this article has focused on how setting, structure, and display became conceptual themselves and not only in regard to representation but also the notion of manga. Deliberating what manga is and could be seems to be vital at a time when this media has passed its commercial and policy-related peak. Regardless of whether manga exhibitions can bolster up the cultural industry or art galleries, they are certainly a site of exploring "manga" for a general public. The three exhibitions reviewed in this article suggest a course from artist-centrism (Tezuka) to artist-centrism (Inoue), and from displaying originals to displaying originals with a brief detour via presenting an overview by means of copies. Even if this course is to be representative (given all the other things happening in parallel), it is not a mere return from the "cultural" to the "aesthetic," as the meaning of the latter has changed: Whereas the early 1990s saw attempts at adjusting manga to "art" as an institution, by now it is, if not art as such, the gallery or museum that gets adjusted to manga. In other words, a shift from "what" to "how" has taken place, which also holds the potential to reconceive "art" as a medium of societal communication and manga as part of it. To unfold this potential, however, conceptual efforts are vital.

Notes

1. Japanese names are indicated in the Japanese order, surname preceding first name without separation by comma, except in the references.

2. For a detailed discussion, cf. Berndt (2019).

3. Tezuka was not the sole originator of story-manga, but previous entertaining narratives had fallen into oblivion due to discontinuation for wartime austerity reasons and lack of paper.

4. Against the backdrop of the Japanese penal code, up-to-date, public art museums do not hold exhibitions with erotic representations. For example, a thematic exhibition on yaoi, or boys' love, manga is still impossible. The first exhibition of so-called spring pictures (*shunga*, 18–19 cent.) was held at a privately run museum in 2015.

5. Finally honored with a representative exhibition in 2016. *The world is strange! The manga and paintings of Tiger Tateishi and Yūichi Yokoyama* (*Sekai ga myō da! Tateishi Tiger and Yokoyama Yūichi no manga to kaiga*), Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art.

6. Yonezawa Yoshihiro (1953–2006), one of the founders of the now biggest convention for fanzines and fan art (*komike*, abbr. for Comic Market) in 1975 and its longtime representative (cf. Berndt 2017).

7. Kyoto Seika University was the first to introduce a manga class into its design curriculum in 1973, but the notion of manga was limited to caricature and newspaper strips until 2000, when a story-manga program was established, first within the Department of Fine Art and 2006 as a stand-alone Manga Department.

8. Local citizens had established this school prior to the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890). The association still owns the ground and the building of the former Tatsuike Elementary School (1869–1995).

9. *Five Stars: Seika's Manga Universe*/*Gonin goshoku ten*, MM, 2011, featured also manga by Takemiya Keiko, Itahashi Shufo, BELNE, and Tsuru Daisaku.

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