From *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* to *Princess Kaguya*: Metamorphoses of the Tale in Manga and Beyond

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Introduction

Taketori monogatari 竹取物語, or *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, written presumably at the beginning of the tenth century, is one of the most widely known literary classics in Japan.[1] Needless to say, one of the reasons for its popularity has been its inclusion in Japanese textbooks used in junior high school since the early twentieth century. More importantly, however, there are numerous visual adaptations of the tale designed for both children and young adults such as picture books, manga, and anime, that are widely available from the Japanese book market. It is worth noting, that almost all of these works are titled *Kaguya-hime* かぐや姫, or *Princess Kaguya*, after the tale's heroine. It is through these later adaptations that the majority of Japanese people today have come to know *Taketori monogatari.*

Although the medium of manga is generally considered to be entertaining rather than educational, many manga versions of *Taketori monogatari* are produced to meet academic needs of students. Knowledge of classical literature is required in order to pass Japanese university entrance exams. Since many Japanese children and students prefer to read manga rather than scholarly editions of classical (often considered tedious) texts, a large portion of literary works of the distant past circulate in the form of manga. Like all present-day adaptations of ancient texts, manga versions of *Taketori monogatari* differ significantly from the classical tale. As a result of these differences, many questions arise, such as: What factors have triggered new interpretations of this story? What do these recent readings reveal about Japanese society?

These are questions I will address in this article by examining three manga versions of *Taketori monogatari*: *Komikku sutōrī watashi-tachi no*

koten: Taketori monogatari コミックストーリーわたしたちの古典竹取物語 (1991), *Manga koten bungaku Taketori monogatari* マンガ古典文学竹取物語 (2014), and *Manga de yomu Taketori monogatari* まんがで読む竹取物語 (2015). I will compare modern manga representations with versions of the story from the fourteenth to the early twentieth century, specifically examining the adaptations of the main theme, representations of Princess Kaguya (Kaguya-hime) and the bamboo cutter, as well as the manner in which *Taketori monogatari* has metamorphosed into *Kaguya-hime* over time, to uncover and possibly identify some of the reasons the modern story has changed significantly from the classical version.

There are many illustrated versions of *Taketori monogatari* in Japan today, including picture books, anime films, and short animation. The majority of the extant picture books and illustrated scrolls of *Taketori monogatari* belong to the late Muromachi (1338−1573) and the Edo (1603−1867) period, in forms known as *nara ehon* 奈良絵本 (Nara picture books) and *nara emaki* 奈良絵巻 (Nara picture scrolls). *Nara ehon* and *nara emaki* are general terms for picture books and picture scrolls produced from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. They consist of pictures and written text. Although little is known about their dissemination, according to some postscripts to such illustrated books, they were used as trousseau items for daughters of feudal lords and wealthy merchants and as gifts for special occasions. *Nara ehon* were produced in large quantity by anonymous authors because, as bound books (*sasshi* 冊子), they were of inferior quality compared to *emaki*.[2] The mass production allowed these works to reach a large audience, which included not only aristocrats but also commoners, especially women and children.[3] Comparing these premodern sources with modern manga will reveal some of the differences in the visualization of the story over the centuries and offer insights into some of the factors that contributed to new interpretations.

The Theme of *Taketori monogatari*

Before undertaking a concrete analysis, I would like to offer a synopsis of *Taketori monogatari*. One day, an old bamboo cutter comes across a shining stalk of bamboo. In it, he finds a tiny beautiful person (*hito* 人) whose height is only about three centimeters. The bamboo cutter takes her home and names her Kaguya-hime. Three months later, Kaguya-hime grows into a woman of ordinary size. Five suitors approach her, but she is unwilling to give in and concocts impossible tasks for them. Eventually,

all suitors fail. After this, the emperor comes to see Kaguya-hime and asks her to marry him but is also rejected. Three years later, Kaguya-hime confesses that she has come from the moon and that moon inhabitants will soon arrive to take her back. Although the bamboo cutter tries hard to protect her, at the close of the story Kaguya-hime returns to the moon.

Many Japanese literature scholars have interpreted the theme of *Taketori monogatari* to be the gain or loss of human emotions and what such gains or losses imply. Arima Yoshitaka points out that Kaguya-hime acquires human emotions through interaction with the bamboo cutter and the emperor, and that this process has a very important meaning in the story. Okutsu Haruo also asserts that the main theme of *Taketori monogatari* revolves around the concept of what it means to be human. He supports his assertion by pointing out that this concept is depicted through the process of Kaguya-hime's acquisition of human emotions. Takahashi Tōru states that the author of *Taketori monogatari* seems to imply that although humans are foolish (*oroka* 愚か), they are still noble because they have *kokoro* 心 (hearts and, as such, feelings).[4]

The story centers around a juxtaposition between two worlds: the world of human beings and the world of the moon inhabitants, and how people of each world face the existential question of life and death. The inhabitants of the moon are immortal and extremely beautiful, whereas human beings age and eventually die. Humans are not necessarily beautiful. The only thing that humans possess and the moon dwellers lack is *kokoro*, which roughly translates as the spiritual heart or feelings. Kaguya-hime, who has been exiled to earth as punishment for a sin she once committed, is initially deprived of *kokoro.*[5] As the story develops, however, so does Kaguya-hime who acquires the capacity to embrace human emotions. The main factor for this development is the love of the bamboo cutter and his wife, who raise Kaguya-hime as their own child. In the first half of the story, Kaguya-hime heartlessly jilts her five suitors and is not persuaded by the bamboo cutter who attempts to change her attitude. The tale includes very few descriptions of the emotions Kaguya-hime experiences.

As the story goes on, Kaguya-hime begins to slowly acquire human emotions. These emotions become enriched through the various interactions she has with humans. For example, Kaguya-hime begins to feel love through the protective nature of her terrestrial parents: the bamboo cutter and his wife. She also develops empathy, as she watches her five suitors risk their lives to fulfill her requests. Finally, she begins to

develop feelings of intimacy for the emperor through a written exchange of letters. For example, when Kaguya-hime hears about an injury to the fifth suitor, Isonokami no Marotari 石上麿足, she sends a poem of consolation. Marotari tries to get the "easy-delivery charm of the swallows" (*tsubame no koyasu gai* 燕の子安貝) and plummets from a basket because the rope had snapped.

[6] Breaking his back, he grows psychologically weaker as well because he worries that he may become a laughingstock. His unfortunate condition leads Kaguya-hime to compose and send him a poem, which is the first occasion on which she sends a letter to a suitor. Marotari is pleased and mustering all his strength, sends her a reply but unfortunately dies soon after. After hearing of Marotari's untimely death, Kaguya-hime feels "a bit sorry" (*sukoshi aware to oboshikeri* すこしあはれとおぼしけり) for him, which is the first sign of sympathy she ever displays.[7] Another example comes from her interaction with the emperor. Although Kaguya-hime rejects the emperor's marriage proposal, both do maintain some intimacy by writing to each other: "They passed some three years in this way, each consoling the other" (*o-kokoro o tagai ni nagusame tamō hodo ni, sannen bakari arite*).[8] The word *o-kokoro* (feelings) here indicates that by this point Kaguya-hime has already gained some human emotions.

The process of Kaguya-hime's emotional development is completed by the shedding of tears. As the tale nears its end, she confesses to the bamboo cutter that she is to return to the moon, and "sitting outside, suddenly burst into a flood of tears. She now wept without caring whether or not people saw her" (*Kaguya-hime ito itaku naki tamō. Hitome mo ima wa tsutsumi tamawazu naki tamō*).[9] From a creature that hardly has feelings, Kaguya-hime transforms into a highly sensitive being who can love, sympathize, and grieve. When the citizens of the moon finally arrive to take her back, Kaguya-hime despises her destiny to leave the bamboo cutter and his wife, and writes a farewell letter, again in tears. Her fellow moon citizens, however, are unable to grasp the situation and the meaning of her emotional distress and only urge her to depart. This scene illustrates the transformation of Kaguya-hime and her capacity to acquire human emotions through her time on earth and interactions with the people she encountered.

In the final scene of the story, Kaguya-hime's emotional growth reaches its apex when she defiantly refuses to wear her home world's robe of feathers (*hagoromo* 羽衣). Kaguya-hime explains by saying, "They say that once you put on this robe your heart changes" (*kinu kisetsuru hito wa*

kokoro koto ni naru nari to iu).[10] In the end, left with no choice, she puts on the robe brought by the moon inhabitants and her memory of her life on earth and the feelings she developed are wiped out. Losing "all recollection of the pity and grief she had felt for the old man" (*okina o itooshi kanashi to oboshitsuru koto mo usenu*), she departs.[11] Kaguya-hime leaves behind the elixir of immortality and a letter addressed to the emperor, but he burns both of them. The emperor's actions can be interpreted as exalting human beings, who are mortal but emotionally sensitive, as opposed to the moon people, who are beautiful, immortal, but completely emotionally numb. The lunar world where people do not die and stay extremely beautiful seems like an ideal world. However, Kaguya-hime cannot achieve happiness because she must lose the emotions that she has gained during her valuable time on earth. Moreover, the emperor rejects immortality by burning the elixir. In other words, *Taketori monogatari* does not present the moon inhabitants' world as an ideal existence. Rather, this story emphasizes the importance of human emotions.

Representations of Kaguya-hime and the Bamboo Cutter in *Nara ehon*, *Nara emaki*, and Modern Versions

Surprisingly, the theme of human emotions, together with the juxtaposition of the two worlds, is altogether missing in most of the present-day adaptations of the tale. Moreover, there are several crucial differences between the premodern versions of *Taketori monogatari* and modern versions known as *Kaguya-hime*.[12] Comparing *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* with modern manga, I examine the images of Kaguya-hime and the bamboo cutter, and consider why *Taketori monogatari* manga differ significantly from versions of the tale in *nara ehon* and *nara emaki*.

Taketori monogatari was transformed into a picture scroll immediately after its production, as is evident from a reference to a picture scroll of the tale in *Genji monogatari* (源氏物語, The tale of Genji, early eleventh century).[13] Chapter "The Picture Contest" (E-awase no maki 絵合巻) describes the use of the picture scroll in a contest involving illustrated tales: "In the first round *The Old Bamboo Cutter*, the ancestor of all tales, was pitted against the 'Toshikage' chapter of *The Hollow Tree*" (*Mazu, monogatari no ideki hajime no oya naru taketori no okina ni utsuho no Tosikage o awasete arasou*).[14] *Genji monogatari* attributes the pictures in the scroll to Kose no Ōmi and the calligraphy to Ki no Tsurayuki (*e wa Kose no Ōmi, te wa Ki no Tsurayuki kakeri*).[15] However,

no picture scroll from the Heian period remains. The *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* versions of *Taketori monogatari* are the earliest extant pictorial depictions of the story. For this reason, I will use them as my sources of comparison between premodern and modern visual interpretations of the story.

Although the majority of the *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* are stories from the Muromachi period called *otogi-zōshi* 御伽草紙, adaptations of literary works from the Heian period such as *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, *Genji monogatari*, and *Taketori monogatari* also appear within these genres. Among the large number of illustrated versions of *Taketori monogatari*, for the sake of this article I have consulted fifteen *nara emaki* and eighteen *nara ehon*.[16]

Kaguya-hime

I begin my analysis of the image of Kaguya-hime in modern manga by comparing it to representations of the heroine in *nara ehon* and *nara emaki*. In these premodern illustrated versions of the tale, Kaguya-hime often appears as sitting in a box or basket and is depicted as a lady with long hair and dressed in many-layered garments (*jūni hitoe* 十二単) (Figure 1).[17]

Figure 1. Kaguya-hime appears with long hair in *nara-ehon* (Courtesy of Ishikawa Tōru).

Many *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* present Kaguya-hime as a "transformed being" (*henge no hito* 変化の人) rather than a human. This view of the heroine is best illustrated in scenes that feature the emperor's visit.[18] Japanese illustrated scrolls and picture books produced from the Heian period through the Edo period often portray emperors with their faces hidden behind bamboo blinds (*misu* 御簾), since artists were inclined to avoid drawing the emperor's face. As Yamamoto Yōko's study has shown, among the twenty-four illustrated scrolls and picture books produced between the twelfth and sixteenth century that portray the figure of the emperor, many of them do not reveal his face. Some of these scrolls are *Genji monogatari emaki* 源氏物語絵巻 (The tale of Genji illustrated scroll, twelfth century), *Shigisan engi emaki* 信貴山縁起絵巻 (Legends of Shigisan temple, twelfth century), *Bandainagon ekotoba* 伴大納言絵詞 (The illustrated story of Counselor Ban, twelfth century), and *Nenjūgyōji emaki* 年中行事絵巻 (Picture scrolls of annual festivals, twelfth century). Specifically, the emperor's face and even his whole body are hidden in forty-six scenes and there are only eighteen exceptions. Yamamoto concludes that "it was more common to hide the figure of the emperor through some means in *emaki*, rather than to paint him blatantly."[19] Yamamoto further explains that the scenes in which the emperor's face is painted are such that present the emperor as sharing the space with superior beings, such as deities or Buddha.

Following Yamamoto, I have confirmed that twenty-eight of the *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* of *Taketori monogatari* include an illustration of the emperor's visit to Kaguya-hime.[20] It is only in one of them that the emperor's face is hidden behind bamboo blinds and in all other twenty-seven images the emperor's face is visible.[21] This is highly unusual because in many other scenes in *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* of *Taketori monogatari* the emperor's face is hidden. Examples include an illustration that features the emperor and his Handmaid Nakatomi no Fusako (*naishi Nakatomi no Fusako* 内侍中臣のふさ子) as well as the scene in which the emperor receives the letter and elixir of immortality from Kaguya-hime at the end of the story. There are nine versions of *emaki* and *ehon* which contain images of the emperor with Kaguya-hime and without her. In all these versions, the emperor's face is visible when he is in the presence of Kaguya-hime, while his face is hidden when he is portrayed with others (Figure 2 and Figure 3). Building on Yamamoto's discovery that the emperor's face is visible only in scenes where he is depicted together with more superior creatures, I argue that the visible face of the emperor in *nara*

ehon and *nara emaki* suggests that between the fourteenth to the nineteenth century Kaguya-hime, a moon-lady, was considered more esteemed than the emperor.

Figure 2. The emperor is depicted with his face visible (Courtesy of Rikkyo University).

In addition, many *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* versions of the tale open with an image of several children who have come to the bamboo cutter's residence, although the tenth-century *Taketori monogatari* does not mention children (Figure 4).[22] In contrast to the princess (Figure 5), these children have short hair and bangs (Figure 6). This difference suggests that Kaguya-hime was not regarded as a child between the fourteenth to the nineteenth century.

In modern manga versions, on the other hand, Kaguya-hime is portrayed as a female human being. She is usually depicted as a baby (*ningen no akanbō* 人間の赤ん坊) or a young girl at the beginning of the story (Figure 7 and Figure 8). In *Manga koten bungaku,* Kaguya-hime appears as a naked baby (Figure 9). The bamboo cutter says: "This is truly a human baby" (*masashiku kore wa ningen no akanbō ja*), and his wife responds "It's a human baby, isn't it" (*kore wa ningen no akago de wa arimasenu ka*), which stresses the fact that Kaguya-hime was viewed as a

Figure 3. The emperor is depicted with his face hidden. (Courtesy of Rikkyo University).

Figure 4. Several children have come to the bamboo cutter's residence (Courtesy of Kuyō bunko).

Figure 5. Kaguya-hime appears with long hair and dressed in multi-layered garments (Courtesy of Kuyō bunko)

Figure 6. A child with short hair and bangs (Courtesy of Kuyō bunko).

baby (*akago* 赤子) as the repetition of that word suggests.[23] Also, the manga adaptation presents her as a lovely child, as suggested by the lines "How cute she is!" (*mā nante kawaii koto!*) and "How adorable she is!" (*sore ni shite mo nante kawaii no kashira ne*).[24]

In the classical tale, it is noteworthy that despite her small size Kaguya-hime is referred to as a person, not a child (*chigo* 稚児). The text reads:

> He examined it, and there he found a most lovely little girl about three inches tall. The old man said: "I have discovered you because you were here among these bamboos I watch over every morning and evening. It must be you are meant to be my child.[25]

In the tale, Kaguya-hime is described as "a person of about ten centimeters in height" (*sanzun bakari naru hito*), who is "meant to be" the bamboo cutter's child. [26] These earlier representations must have influenced the portrayals of Kaguya-hime in *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* as a lady. They also suggest that in premodern Japan she was viewed as a "transformed being." Moreover, the princess's description as "incomparably beautiful" (*utsukushiki koto kagiri nashi*) implies that she human beings.[27]

On the other hand, manga portray Kaguya-hime as a naked baby or a cute girl, who is definitely human. Recent adaptations often present her as

is a moon inhabitant who is extremely beautiful and immortal, unlike an ordinary girl who grows into a lady, with only a single idiosyncrasy of being born from a bamboo stalk. Accordingly, manga have elided the juxtaposition between the world of human beings and the world of the moon inhabitants, which is deeply related to the theme of *Taketori monogatari* as suggested by modern scholars.[28] The portrayal of Kaguya-hime as a baby or a cute girl quickly implies that this interpretation has emerged recently. If modern Japanese people still regard the juxtaposition between moon people and human beings as an important fact in the story, Kaguya-hime would be described as "a transformed being" in some form or another. For example, a representation of the princess as a respectable lady could easily convey that she is somehow different. However, most modern versions contain no aspects that imply Kaguya-hime's superior

Figure 7. Kaguya-hime appears as a young girl. *Komikku sutōrī watashi-tachi no koten: Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Gakkō tosho).

Figure 8. Kaguya-hime appears as a young girl. *Manga de yomu Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Gakken kyōiku shuppan).

nature or extraordinary qualities. Although Kaguya-hime appears as an adult in *nara ehon* and *nara emaki*, her small size may be viewed as suggesting that she differed from humans. Her depiction in manga as a baby and infant, on the other hand, reveals that the producers saw no need to present her as an unordinary being.
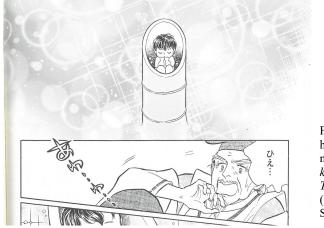

Figure 9. Kaguya-hime appears as a naked baby. *Manga koten bungaku Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Shōgakukan).

As mentioned above, in the tale, Kaguya-hime is polite but cold in the beginning because she has no heart and is unable to express any feelings. In manga versions, however, she is extremely emotional from the very beginning (Figures 10−13). Kaguya-hime is described as a young child who smiles and laughs profusely. She grows into an emotional lady as featured in the episodes about the advances of the five suitors (Figures 14−16). In other words, the princess in the modern versions does not gain a human heart: she is born with it. The centrality of the process through which Kaguya-hime gains and loses human emotions in the tale is absent in the modern versions. This change shows how the classical tale *Taketori monogatari*, that once posed a universal question about human existence, has since been transformed into a simple fairy tale for modern children.
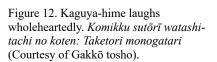
This new image of Kaguya-hime as similar to modern girls appears not only in manga but in other popular renditions of the tale as well. This representation is particularly reinforced in Studio Ghibli's anime feature film titled *Kaguya-hime no monogatari* かぐや姫の物語 (2013). In this movie, Kaguya-hime is portrayed as a tiny princess wearing a kimono in the beginning, but as soon as an old woman puts her on her palm, she

Figure 10. Kaguya-hime appears as a smiling baby. *Manga koten bungaku Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Shōgakukan).

Figure 11. Kaguya-hime cries vigorously. *Manga koten bungaku Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Shōgakukan).

Figure 12. Kaguya-hime laughs wholeheartedly. *Komikku sutōrī watashi-tachi no koten: Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Gakkō tosho).

Figure 13. Kaguya-hime
appears as a smiling girl.
*Manga de yomu Taketori
monogatari* (Courtesy of
Gakken kyōiku shuppan).

Figure 14. Kaguya-hime smiles. *Manga
koten bungaku* (Courtesy of Shōgakukan).

Figure 15. Kaguya-hime cries vigorously.
*Komikku sutōrī watashi-tachi no koten:
Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Gakkō
tosho).

Figure 16. Kaguya-hime smiles.
*Manga de yomu Taketori
monogatari* (Courtesy of Gakken
kyōiku shuppan).

transforms into a human baby. From this point on, viewers are presented with a detailed account of Kaguya-hime's childhood. The director Takahata Isao 高畑勲 (1935–2018) states that the most important aspect of the anime is "how attractively I could describe her childhood, which is lacking in the source text."[29] In the anime, Kaguya-hime is an active cheerful girl with rich emotions. She loves animals and plants and enjoys her life with boys, running around in the mountains. However, the bamboo cutter decides to move to the capital to bring up Kaguya-hime as a noble lady. Although she loses her emotions through her life in the city, initially she is described as a sensitive girl.

In the premodern text, Kaguya-hime acquires human-like emotions because of the love of her terrestrial parents. In other words, she learns such feelings from the old couple. The film, on the other hand, presents Kaguya-hime as gradually losing her emotions because she must behave like a princess. Her move to the city transforms her from an emotional girl into an impassive being. Similar to other modern versions of the tale, in this anime, too, a contrast between human beings and moon inhabitants is absent.

Instead of juxtaposing the two worlds, the film chooses to take up a different theme: freedom over material wealth. The protagonist Kaguya-hime gradually grows withdrawn as she is being brought up as a noble lady. In the end she returns to the moon having realized that she lived life to the fullest not when she was immersed in wealth in the capital but when she was running freely in the mountains, despite being poor. The film thus links the notion of happiness to freedom.

The only dramatic aspect left in the film is the return of the beautiful moon lady. Ghibli's version of *Taketori monogatari* encourages a narrower understanding of the tenth-century tale and reflects contemporary views of it. Because only a short excerpt from *Taketori monogatari* has been included in the junior high school National Language curriculum, the tale in its entirety is not generally known in Japan. Many Japanese are familiar only with the picture book *Kaguya-hime* as included in series such as *mukashibanashi* 昔話 (old tales) and *otogibanashi* おとぎ話 (fairy tales) and thus regard the work as a fairy tale. These modern versions construct Kaguya-hime as the "ideal" child who is cute, emotional, and honest. As such, she is no longer portrayed as beautiful, but as cute. In contrast to the common images of Kaguya-hime as representing non-human existence from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, in modern versions of the tale she epitomizes the human child. The premodern view of the princess

as an unworldly creature superior to the emperor has given way to a new perception of her, namely a human being, as evident from the manga versions of the tale. The shift in images of the heroine has led to new interpretations of the work. Thus, manga renditions focus on a parent-child relationship rather than attempting to define human nature.

The Bamboo Cutter

The descriptions of the bamboo cutter in manga are also quite different from those in the premodern text. As suggested by the title *Taketori monogatari*, the bamboo cutter is the main character in the versions that circulated before the twentieth century. Not only does he discover the little princess, but he also teaches her the rules of human society and tries to persuade her to accept them. He further exemplifies human values, feelings, and emotions. Naturally, in *nara ehon* and *nara emaki*, the bamboo cutter appears in almost all pictures. Moreover, in almost all cases, it is the bamboo cutter and not Kaguya-hime who meets with the suitors (Figures 17 and 18). In fact, in the classical tale, Kaguya-hime does not meet her suitors face to face, unlike in modern versions, where Kaguya-hime herself often talks to the suitors directly. She concocts tasks for each suitor, but it is the bamboo cutter who speaks instead for her. For example, there is a scene in which Kaguya-hime proposes that she will marry the man who can bring her the special items she wishes to see.

> The five men all agreed that it was indeed an excellent suggestion, and the old man went back into the house to report what had happened. …"I'll tell them, at any rate," said the old man and went outside.[30]

Another significant difference in the classical tale versus modern adaptations is the role of the bamboo cutter at the end of the story. For example, in the classical text the bamboo cutter desperately tries to detain Kaguya-hime. He appears armed, ready to combat the moon warriors who seek to take the princess away (Figure 19). While he is unarmed in the tale as well as in the narrative of *nara ehon*, he still desperately tries to prevent her from returning to the moon and to persuade the moon dwellers to leave her on earth.

Figure 17. The bamboo cutter meets the suitors (Courtesy of the National Diet Library).

Figure 18. The bamboo cutter converses with a suitor (Courtesy of the National Diet Library).

Another important difference in the depiction of the bamboo cutter in the premodern texts of *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* versus modern manga is the status of his wealth. In the premodern texts, the wealth of the bamboo cutter is not as important as the depiction in modern versions. For example, in the premodern texts, the change of residence suggests the bamboo cutter is now well off. This detail along with the scene of him being poor and discovering a piece of gold in the bamboo shoots is completed elided. Except for one example that features the bamboo cutter as holding a piece of gold in his hand, almost no *nara ehon* nor *nara emaki* describe gold.[31] In contrast, the scene in which gold pours out from the bamboo stalk is very popular in the modern versions. It appears in almost all manga and picture books, including the three versions that I discuss here (Figures 20−22). The bamboo cutter finds a piece of gold at each of the bamboo joints in the premodern version, while pieces of gold overflow the bamboo stalk in modern versions.

Figure 19. The bamboo cutter carries a bow (Courtesy of Ferris University)

Figure 20. Gold pours out of the bamboo stalk. *Komikku sutōrī watashi-tachi no koten: Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Gakkō

Figure 21. The gold pours out the bamboo stalk. *Manga koten bungaku Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Shōgakukan).

Figure 22. Gold pours out of the bamboo stalk. *Manga de yomu Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Gakken kyōiku shuppan).

Moreover, in many versions of *nara ehon* and *nara emaki*, the garment of the old woman, the bamboo cutter's wife, changes from shabby robes to gorgeous garments, whereas the bamboo cutter's clothes remain the same. In *Rikkyō daigaku emaki* 立教大学絵巻 (Rikkyo University illustrated scroll, mid-Edo period), the bamboo cutter's attire changes from poor to rich between the first and the second picture, but in the third picture, he is again portrayed in his shabby clothes (Figure 23). Considering the omission of the picture of gold and the bamboo cutter's clothes, it seems that the creators of *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* did not want to emphasize the change of the bamboo cutter. Instead, he is described as armed near the end, which suggests that he is not interested in money but only in protecting his dearest child.

In modern versions, money is an important aspect that represents the happiness which Kaguya-hime brings to the bamboo cutter, and its use allows even young readers to understand the idea. On the other hand, in *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* the bamboo cutter gains a daughter. By omitting the fact that the bamboo cutter eventually becomes wealthy, these premodern versions emphasize the importance of Kaguya-hime. Such an interpretation of the tale may be related to one of the functions of *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* as trousseau books (*yomeiri-bon* 嫁入り本). Moreover, this emphasis on the daughter may originate from differences in views of child-parent relationships in the Heian period and in early modern Japan. Presumably, readers of *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* had closer relationships with their children compared to aristocrats in the Heian period, who entrusted their children to wet nurses (*menoto* 乳母).[32]

Another example that emphasizes the bamboo cutter's centrality in *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* is the scene where the emperor's servant Fusako arrives at the bamboo cutter's house. The emperor hears about Kaguya-hime's unrivaled beauty and asks Fusako to visit the old man's house to discover what kind of a woman Kaguya-hime is. In the premodern tale, unlike other scenes, the old woman mediates between Fusako and Kaguya-hime in this scene. However, many *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* depict the

Figure 23. The bamboo cutter appears in rich clothes (Courtesy of Rikkyo University).

bamboo cutter in this scene. After all, the bamboo cutter is the protagonist of *Taketori monogatari* in the tenth-century tale. In *nara ehon* and *nara emaki*, the old woman always appears accompanied by the bamboo cutter, even in the scenes in which only the old woman is mentioned in the premodern text.

In modern versions, however, the bamboo cutter is given a marginal role and is often replaced by other characters. For example, in the classical tale the bamboo cutter tries to persuade Kaguya-hime to marry. However, in *Manga Taketori monogatari*, a new female character is added as a mentor. In *Komikku sutōrī*, the person who orders the suitors to bring back treasures is Kaguya-hime; in the premodern text, it is the bamboo cutter. In fact, in most modern versions the bamboo cutter seldom appears except at the beginning and the end of the story and his main role seems to be as the person who finds Kaguya-hime in the bamboo grove.

Moreover, even from the viewpoint of the parent-child relationship, the bamboo cutter plays a marginal role. In most modern versions, the relationship between Kaguya-hime and the old woman (who rarely appears in premodern versions) is closer than that between the bamboo cutter and Kaguya-hime. The old woman is described as an understanding mother who stays by her daughter on many occasions. She is given a spot in many scenes that do not originally include her. One such example is the episode where the bamboo cutter persuades Kaguya-hime to marry a suitor. In *Manga de yomu Taketori monogatari*, both the bamboo cutter and his wife are present (Figure 24). Kaguya-hime says, "Why should I reject a suggestion that comes from both of you" (*Dōshite watashi ga ofutari no tanomi o kotowaru to o-omoi deshō*).[33] The fact that both parents insist on her marrying a suitor seems to be highlighted here.

In the premodern version, however, this scene is described as a conversation between the bamboo cutter and Kaguya-hime only. Trying to persuade Kaguya-hime, the bamboo cutter says:

> My precious child, I realize you are divinity in human form, but I have spared no efforts to raise you into such a great, fine lady. Will you not listen to what an old man has to say? […] In this world it is customary for men and women to marry and for their families to flourish afterwards.[34]

The old woman does not appear in this scene in the premodern text. In *Manga koten bungaku*, the close relationship between her and Kaguya-hime is emphasized because of the centrality of the parent-child relationship in this manga. There is a scene where Kaguya-hime's mentor

suggests to the old woman that she host a coming-of-age ceremony for the girl. Again, the mentor does not exist in the premodern text, hence this scene is newly crafted to show the close relationship between the old woman and the girl. Here, the bamboo cutter is completely absent; he will only learn about the conversation later on from the old woman. This new episode reveals the importance of the old woman in this manga. It should seem natural for modern readers that the old woman, a female character, takes the main role of parenting. In the scene, the old woman laments that Kaguya-hime has grown up, as her words reveal: "It's sad that she grows up so fast" (*Konna ni hayō seijin shite shimōte.… Nani yara sabishūte narimasenu no ja*) (Figure 25).[35] Moreover, when the bamboo cutter persuades Kaguya-hime to marry a suitor, he t ells her that she is not his

Figure 24. The bamboo cutter and his wife try to persuade Kaguya-hime to marry a suitor. *Manga de yomu Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Gakken kyōiku shuppan).

child but he had discovered her in a bamboo stalk. This conversation also appears in the premodern text. As mentioned above, the bamboo cutter tells Kaguya-hime that he regards her as "a divinity in human form" (*henge no hito*). Kaguya-hime replies "You say I am a divinity in human form, but I know nothing of that. I think of you and you alone as my father"

(*henge no mono nite haberi ken mi to mo shirazu oya to koso omoi tatematsure*).[36] From this exchange, it becomes clear that Kaguya-hime regards the bamboo cutter as her father. However, this episode differs in manga versions.

In *Manga koten bungaku*, the old woman also appears in this scene. When the bamboo cutter tells Kaguya-hime that she is not his child, she begins to cry and implores "Please forgive me. I have been selfish because you love me so much" (*Ofutari no fukai aijō ni amaeppanashi de wagamama bakari mōshiagete kita watakushi o dōzo oyurushi kudasaimase*).[37] The old woman hugs Kaguya-hime tightly and comforts her (Figure 26).
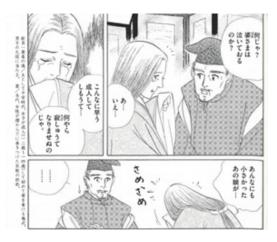

Figure 25. The old woman laments that Kaguya-hime has grown up. *Manga koten bungaku Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Shōgakukan).

Figure 26. The old woman hugs Kaguya-hime tightly and comforts her. *Manga koten bungaku Taketori monogatari* (Courtesy of Shōgakukan).

Though not featured in the premodern text, modern manga versions have added the old woman for a reason. Again, for modern readers, it is natural that a mother figure takes the main role in parenting. It must be for

this reason that the old woman appears more frequently in modern versions than in the premodern text. As a result, the bamboo cutter's role is marginalized and minimized. Since the bamboo cutter is important as Kaguya-hime's father in the premodern text, he is no longer a central character in modern versions in which the old woman has taken his place as the parent.

The close relationship between the old woman and Kaguya-hime appears in many modern versions, including the Ghibli film. This film is one of the most extreme examples so far. In it, the bamboo cutter cannot understand Kaguya-hime's true feelings. This is exemplified by the change in clothes. Contrary to *nara ehon* and *nara emaki*, it is the bamboo cutter who remains in his gorgeous cladding, whereas the old woman puts on her poor robe again. In the movie, the moon people arrive because Kaguya-hime wishes to return, and this occurs during the emperor's visit. Kaguya-hime says "It has been painful for me that you wish my happiness in that way" (*Otōsama ga negatte kudasatta sono shiawase ga watashi ni wa tsurakatta*).[38] As Kaguya-hime leaves, the bamboo cutter tearfully regrets, "Please forgive me, princess" (*Watashi wo yurushite kure, hime*).[39] In the premodern text, the bamboo cutter is the closest person to Kaguya-hime, while in modern versions, his role is not only minimalized, but he even becomes the reason for Kaguya-hime's departure in the feature film.

In the premodern text, the bamboo cutter appears as Kaguya-hime's father and a representative of the world of humans. Although education in the Heian period was often taken charge of by a wet nurse (*menoto* 乳母) as depicted in modern movies and manga editions, wet nurses or mentors do not appear in *Taketori monogatari*. The bamboo cutter is solely responsible for explaining the rules and customs of the human community and as such he functions as a representative of the entire human world. His marginalization in modern versions implies that the juxtaposition between the world of human beings and the world of moon inhabitants is no longer viewed as important.

From the viewpoint of the parent-child relationship, the bond between the old woman and Kaguya-hime appears stronger than that between the bamboo cutter and Kaguya-hime. This tendency is especially prominent in recent Japanese language textbooks for elementary schools. As Ishihara Chiaki points out, Japanese language textbooks for elementary schools have erased the father figure to which he refers as the "absence of the father" (*chichioya fuzai* 父親不在).[40] Ishihara further states that fathers seldom appear in stories and narratives featured in textbooks, whereas

mothers and grandmothers are frequently present. This aspect is closely related to the persisting trend in Japanese society that regards child-rearing as the primary responsibility of the mother. It is deemed natural and comparatively easy for a mother to take parental leave from work, but this is not the case for male workers in many industries in Japan.

In a noble family in the Heian period, on the other hand, parents rarely educated or took care of their children. It was the role of a wet nurse. However, in *Taketori monogatari*, Kaguya-hime is not an ordinary child. The relationship between the bamboo cutter and Kaguya-hime is not a simple parent-child relationship. Rather, it is a relationship between a human being and a moon inhabitant. The bamboo cutter loves Kaguya-hime as his own daughter, but at the same time, he explains the rules of the world as a representative of human beings. The role of the bamboo cutter is more complex in the premodern text. This close relationship between Kaguya-hime and the bamboo cutter, however, is deemed unnatural in Japan today. Hence, the story has been transformed from one about a bamboo cutter to a tale that focuses on Kaguya-hime.

From *Taketori monogatari* to *Kaguya-hime*

Through the comparison between *nara ehon*, *nara emaki*, and modern manga adaptations, it becomes clear that medieval and early modern interpretations of the tale differ from those of the modern period. When did this metamorphosis occur and why? One important factor is school textbooks and their popularization of the tale.

In the 1880s, the government enforced national control on textbooks and adopted the textbook screening system. However, education at that time did not completely match the direction desired by the modern state, leading to the 1903 revision of the law that established the national system by which the government designed all textbooks. [41] Thus, from the beginning of the twentieth century through the Pacific War (1941−1945), government-sanctioned textbooks called *kokutei kyōkasho* (国定教科書) were used in all schools throughout the country and were renewed after a certain period (five to seven years). [42] Namimoto Katsutoshi points out that since the appearance of national textbooks in 1904, "the content of elementary school education of our country was completely controlled by the government." [43] Since national textbooks reflect the agenda of the government and its vision of proper education, children had to memorize much of the contents of textbooks. [44] As Hisatake Ayako notes, moral training (*shūshin* 修身) and national language (*kokugo* 国語) became the main subjects because they were viewed as able to mold children's minds

and establish fundamental principles necessary to fashion them into good citizens.[45]

With the Imperial Rescript of Education (Kyōiku chokugo 教育勅語, 1890), which provided a structure for national morality, the Ministry of Education pursued its mission of civic education centering on national textbooks and publicly trained and employed teachers. Government-sanctioned textbooks underwent four redactions following 1903 (when they first appeared) until the end of the Pacific War. Schools used uniform official national textbooks, not only in subjects such as ethics but also in history, language, and geography. Rules and guidelines for teachers were produced in abundance in order to regulate and unify education across the country. Schools, along with the army, clearly constituted the most pervasive tutelary apparatus of the state. Ideological messages purveyed to elementary schoolchildren were probably the most codified in content and single-minded in goal of any ideas to which late Meiji Japanese were exposed. [46]

Considering the important role that textbooks played in Japan in the first half of the twentieth century, let us see how *Taketori monogatari* was introduced to children. A section titled "Kaguya-hime" was included in textbooks published during the fourth (1933−1940), fifth (1941−1945), and sixth (1947−1949) editions.[47] This "Kaguya-hime" section included an abridged version of the premodern text and had omitted important themes from the tenth-century tale. For example, the juxtaposition between the two worlds of humans and moon people and the importance of having emotions do not appear in the twentieth-century textbooks. In the versions from the fourth and fifth editions of the national textbooks, Kaguya-hime is described as "a tiny girl" (*chīsana onna no ko* 小さな女の子) and portrayed as a child.[48] Moreover, when Kaguya-hime returns to the moon, she says: "I will never forget your kindness," which suggests that she does not lose her emotions.[49]

In contrast with early-twentieth-century school textbooks, the classical tale presents Kaguya-hime as becoming emotionless once she puts on the robe. She is aware of this effect and writes letters beforehand. Similarly, she knows that she will lose her love and appreciation for the bamboo cutter. The line "I will never forget your kindness," therefore, contradicts the main theme of the Heian text, but it frequently appears in modern picture books and animations. The authors of national textbooks rewrote *Taketori monogatari* into *Kaguya-hime* to teach students obedience to their parents. This adaptation of *Kaguya-hime* in national

textbooks is most likely at the root of many modern versions.[50]

One aspect that the government viewed as central to modern education—the cultivation of obedience to one's parents— is well reflected in the way the story about Kaguya-hime is transformed in government-sanctioned textbooks. The final scene that features Kaguya-hime's words to the old couple: "I will never forget your kindness" is a case in point. The concept of *on* 恩 (kindness or indebtedness) was one of the important values that children were expected to learn in the subject of *shushin*.[51] Another example comes from a national textbook published in the sixth edition (1947−1949). Addressing her parents, Kaguya-hime says, "I wish I could be always by your side and show my devotion to you" (*itsu made mo osoba ni ite kōkō o shitai to omoimashita no ni*).[52] The word *kōkō* 孝行 (filial piety), of course, does not appear in the premodern text. It was included in the textbook to demonstrate the importance of gratitude to parents.

Another example that shows how national textbooks emphasize obedience to parents is the story of *Urashima Tarō* 浦島太郎. The story appears in national textbooks from the second period (1910–1917), which is earlier than *Kaguya-hime*. It is a story about Urashima Tarō*,* a fisherman who is rewarded for rescuing a turtle and carrying it on his back to the Dragon Palace (*Ryūgū-jō* 竜宮城). Urashima Tarō is entertained generously at the palace, but he eventually feels the desire to go home. The second and the third editions of national textbooks explain that he wishes to return home because he was growing bored. However, the reason changes in the fourth edition. From the early 1930s onwards, Urashima Tarō appears to be longing for home because he remembers his beloved parents.[53]

The idea of filial piety becomes prominent in both *Kaguya-hime* and *Urashima Tarō*. Children at this age were trained to be obedient to their parents and to follow their instructions or preferences blindly. It was important for the Japanese government to create such citizens: a body of obedient mass who would never question the government's decisions and would happily make sacrifices for its sake. Textbooks most likely intended to teach the importance of filial piety to instill in the young generation, simultaneously, a sense of loyalty to the emperor and the nation.

Even after the war, the characteristics of the modern Kaguya-hime who never forgets her parents' kindness remain. One of the reasons is the role of *Kaguya-hime* (or *Taketori monogatari*) in modern Japan. *Kaguya-hime* is a major fairy tale in Japan that is often considered a part of a

common cultural knowledge that children are expected to have. It is only natural for such an important fairy tale to include aspects that adults want to teach their children.[54] Since the value of being highly respectful of and obedient to one's parents is still considered important in Japanese society, this characteristic of Kaguya-hime remains in many modern versions.

Conclusion

Although manga versions of *Taketori monogatari* serve educational purposes, many of them focus on themes that do not appear in the premodern version of the tale. And while many manga adaptations are created to expand readers' knowledge about the classical tale, most of them present almost a different story. Kaguya-hime in modern versions appears as a baby, a child, or a girl who is adorable and emotional. Such a Kaguya-hime has replaced the awesomely beautiful but cold-hearted moon-lady who populates premodern editions. Likewise, the bamboo cutter who appears as the main character in *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* and has strong feelings for Kaguya-hime, serves a more marginal role in modern manga. These changes have affected the plot immensely. The metamorphosis from *Taketori monogatari* to *Kaguya-hime* most likely occurred during the early twentieth century when the tale was mobilized to instill moral values in the younger generation. The importance of the parent-child relationship still hailed in the present has greatly informed interpretations of the tenth-century tale in manga, thus reinforcing the mass-produced stereotype of the modern *Kaguya-hime*.

APPENDIX

List of *nara-ehon* and *nara-emaki* of *Taketori monogatari* used in this article, along with holdings location.

Owners of picture scrolls
1 Suwa City Museum, Nagano, Japan.
2 Kokugakuin University, Tokyo, Japan (previously owned by Takeda).
3 Kokugakuin University, Tokyo, Japan (small book).
4 National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan.
5 Tokyo University, Tokyo, Japan.

6   Fukuoka City Museum, Fukuoka, Japan.
7   Rikkyo University, Tokyo, Japan.
8   Kuyō Bunko, Japan.
9   Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ireland.
10   Yoshida Kōichi, Japan.
11   Kyūshū University, Fukuoka, Japan.
12   Imperial Household Archives, Tokyo, Japan.
13   Itsuō Museum, Osaka, Japan
14   Sen'oku Hakukokan Museum, Kyoto, Japan.
15   Keio University, Tokyo, Japan.

Owners of picture books
16   Spencer Collection, New York (large book).
17   Spencer Collection, New York (medium sized book)
18   Ryūkoku University, Kyoto, Japan.
19   Kyūshū University, Fukuoka, Japan.
20   Tōhoku University, Miyagi, Japan.
21   Usuki City Library, Oita, Japan.
22   Ferris University, Kanagawa, Japan.
23   Kuyō Bunko, Japan.
24   Tōkai University, Tokyo, Japan
25   Ida Hitoshi, Japan
26   The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
27   Seikei University, Tokyo, Japan.
28   Hanazono University, Kyoto, Japan.
29   Chūkyō University, Aichi, Japan.
30   Cambridge University, Cambridge, U. K.
31   Enpukuji, Chiba, Japan.
32   Ishikawa Tōru, Japan.
33   Ishikawa Tōru, Japan.

NOTES

[1] The author and the year of production of *Taketori monogatari* are unknown. There are various theories about the presumed authorship, pointing to Minamoto no Shitagō 源順, Minamoto no Tōru 源融, Sōjō Henjō 僧正遍昭 or Ki no Haseo 紀長谷雄 as potential authors. See *Taketori monogatari*, *Shinpen*

Nihon koten bungaku zenshū (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994), 87. The completion of the tale is generally dated to sometime between the late ninth to the early tenth century due to a reference to *Taketori monogatari* in *Genji monogatari* (early eleventh century). *Taketori monogatari* is taught in all public junior high schools in Japan and has been adapted into a large number of children's picture books as is evident from the statement in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (hereafter *SNKBZ*): "every Japanese knows the tale" (81). Throughout this article, I refer to the text of *Taketori monogatari* as included in *SNKBZ* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994). It uses as a source text an Edo-period printed book in the old typography (*Kokatsuji jūgyō kōhon* 古活字十行甲本). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

[2] Barbara Ruch, "Ushinawareta zaihō o motomete," in *Kaigai shozō nara ehon* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1979), 2.

[3] Masuda Katsumi points out that readers of *nara ehon* and *nara emaki* were not only aristocrats but also commoners. See Katsumi Masuda 益田勝実, "Nihon no ehon zenshi," *Nihon jidō bungaku* 17.13 (1971): 42.

[4] See Arima Yoshitaka 有馬義貴, "Taketori monogatari ni okeru kokoro no kōryū: Kōkō kyōkasho sairokukasho ni tsuite no teian," *Waseda daigaku kokugo kyōiku kenkyū* 25 (2005): 89. See also Okutsu Haruo 奥津春雄, "Taketori monogatari no sakui to shudai," *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 102 (1990): 55; and Takahashi Tōru 高橋亨, *Nihon no bungaku koten-hen: Taketori monogatari*, *Yamato monogatari* (Tokyo: Horupu shuppan, 1971): 137.

[5] It is unclear what the nature of the sin is. The story simply mentions that "because of a sin she had committed in the past" (*tsumi o tsukuri tamaeri kereba* 罪をつくりたまへりければ). "Taketori monogatari," *SNKBZ* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994),72.

[6] Ibid., 24.

[7] Ibid., 56. All English translations of the premodern text come from *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* (New York: Kōdansha International, 1998), translated by Donald Keene. The book contains a modern Japanese translation by Kawabata Yasunari and an English translation by Keene. Keene used as a source text a premodern version of the tale, and not Kawabata's modern version. The first translation by Keene was published in *Monumenta Nipponica* 11.4 (1956). The English translation published in 1998 with Kawabata's modern translation is a revised version of his own translation of 1956.

[8] 御心をたがひに慰めたまふほどに、三年ばかりありて. *SNKBZ*, 63.

[9] かぐや姫、いといたく泣きたまふ。人目も、今はつつみたまはず泣きたまふ. Ibid., 65.

[10] 衣着せつる人は、心異になるなりといふ. Ibid., 74.

[11] 翁を、いとほし、かなしと思しつることも失せぬ. Ibid., 75.

¹² Modern versions include manga, picture books, and animation.

¹³ *Genji monogatari* is the only literary work which clearly refers to the existence of a picture scroll of *Taketori monogatari*. However, it is likely that picture scrolls of the tale existed because picture scrolls were essential to storytelling in the Heian period. The earliest extant picture scrolls were created from the Muromachi period through the Edo period, which I discuss in this article. Because no copies of picture scrolls of *Taketori monogatari* created in the Heian and the Kamakura period remain, scholars believe that there were a small number of them. One of the reasons may be the fact that quite talented painters and calligraphers were needed to create picture scrolls of the tale. Another reason may be the medieval view that the moon was impure and, as such, illustrating the story in which a character returns to the moon many have been avoided. See Tokuda Susumu 徳田進, *Taketori monogatari emaki no keifu-teki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1978), 10.

¹⁴ まづ、物語の出きはじめの親なる竹取の翁に宇津保の俊蔭を合はせて争ふ. See *Genji monogatari*, *SNKBZ* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1995), 381.The English translation comes from Royall Tyler, trans., *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Viking, , 2001), 325.

¹⁵ 絵は巨勢相覧、手は紀貫之書けり. Ibid.

¹⁶ The *nara emaki* and *nara ehon* discussed in this paper are the ones that the author was able to have access to in order to analyze all of their pictures.

¹⁷ Especially in 1, 5, 7, 8, and 10.

¹⁸ See *SNKBZ*, 22.

¹⁹ Yamamoto Yōko 山本陽子, *Emaki ni okeru kami to tennō no hyōgen: Mienu yōni egaku* (Tokyo, Chuō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2006), 153.

²⁰ 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15,16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33.

²¹ Only 16.

²² I refer to the text in *SNKBZ*.

²³ まさしくこれは人間の赤ん坊じゃ. See *Manga koten bungaku: Taketori monogatari* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2014), 22. これは人間の赤子ではありませぬか…!? Ibid., 26.

²⁴ まあまあなんてかわいいこと！See *Komikku sutōrī watashi-tachi no koten: Taketori monogatari* (Tokyo: Gakkō tosho, 1991), 15; それにしても、なんてかわいいのかしらね *Manga de yomu Taketori monogatari Ise monogatari* (Tokyo: Gakken kyōiku shuppan, 2014), 10.

²⁵ それを見れば、三寸ばかりなる人、いとうつくしうてゐたり。翁いふやう、「我朝ごと夕ごとに見る竹の中におはするにて知りぬ。子になりたまふべき

人なめり。」 *SKNBZ*, 17. It is noteworthy that in Keene's translation, *hito* is rendered as "girl."

[26] Ibid., 18.

[27] うつくしきこと、かぎりなし. Ibid., 17.

[28] For example, Arima, 89; Okutsu, 52; Takahashi, 137 and Kristeva Tzvetana, *Kokorozukushi no nihongo* (Tokyo: Chikuma shinsho): 34.

[29] Movie Poster of *Kaguya-hime no monogatari* (Tōhō, 2013).

[30] 五人の人々も、「よきことなり」といへば、翁入りていふ......「とまれ、かくまれ、申さむ」とて、いでて. *SNKBZ*, 24−25.

[31] There are only two exceptions.

[32] See for example Hattori Sanae 服部早苗, *Heian chō no haha to ko: Kizoku to shomin no Kazoku seikatsu shi* (Tokyo, Chuō Kōronsha, 1991), 134.

[33] どうして私がお二人のたのみを断るとお思いでしょう. *Manga de yomu Taketori monogatari Ise monogatari*, 22.

[34] 我が子の仏。変化の人と申しながら、ここら大きさまでやしなひたてまつる心ざしおろかならず。翁の申さむこと、聞きたまひてむや......この世の人は、男は女にあふことをす。女は男にあふことをす。その後なむ門広くもなりはべる. *SKNBZ*, 21−22.

[35] こんなに早う成人してしもうて…何やら寂しゅうてなりませぬのじゃ. *Manga koten bungaku: Taketori monogatari*, 55.

[36] 変化の者にてはべりけむ身とも知らず、親とこそ思ひたてまつれ. See *SKNBZ*, 22.

[37] お二人の深い愛情に甘えっ放しで、わがままばかり申し上げて来たわたくしをどうぞお許しくださいませ. *Manga koten bungaku: Taketori monogatari*, 65.

[38] お父様が願ってくださったその幸せが私にはつらかった.

[39] 私をゆるしてくれ、姫.

[40] See Ishihara Chiaki 石原千秋, *Kokugo kyōkasho no shisō* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 2005), 8.

[41] Namimoto Katsutoshi 浪本勝年, "Senzen Nihon no kyōkashyo tōsei," *Risshō daigaku bungakubu ronsō* 75 (1983): 15.

[42] National textbooks were published from 1904 to 1945.

[43] Namimoto, 21.

[44] Hisatake Ayako 久武綾子, "Kyōkasho ni mirareru 'kazoku-zō': shūshin kyōkasho no baai," *Aichi kyōiku daigaku kenkyū hōkoku* 37 (1988): 53.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), 147.

[47] Since the sixth edition was published after the Pacific War, it is not included in *kokutei kyōkasho* in general, but some scholars consider it as a government-sanctioned textbook. The national textbooks were revised every five to seven years, whenever the government saw it as necessary. Karasawa Tomitarō points out that the timing of revisions was always triggered by the war, which indicates how close the connection between the textbooks and the government was. See Karasawa Tomitarō 唐澤富太郎, *Kyōkasho no rekishi* (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1956): 2.

[48] Only the sixth-edition version describes Kaguya-hime as "a tiny beautiful princess."

[49] お二方のごおんは、けっして忘れません *Kokutei kokugo kyōkasho*, fourth edition. See Kaigo Tokiomi 海後宗臣 et al. ed. *Nihon kyōkasho taikei kindai hen* vol.7 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1963), 638.

[50] The section "Kaguya-hime" in national textbooks shares many common aspects with modern versions, such as the frequent omission of the episode of five suitors and the ending of the story with Kaguya-hime's return to the moon. Therefore, those textbooks are thought to be the roots of modern versions.

[51] Sato Yoshikazu 佐藤嘉一, "'On' no kōzō: Keiyaku ni okeru hikeiyaku-teki yōso no mondai," *Ritsumekan sangyō shakai ronshū* 39.3 (2003): 27.

[52] いつまでもおそばにいて孝行をしたいと思いましたのに. See National textbook sixth period. See Kaigo Tokiomi 海後宗臣 et al. ed. *Nihon kyōkasho taikei kindai hen,* vol. 9 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1964), 64.

[53] Nakajima Mayumi 中嶋真弓, "Shōgakkō kokugo kyōkasho kyōzai 'Urashima Tarō' sairoku no hensen," *Aichi shukutoku daigaku ronshū* 35 (2010): 63.

[54] Nakajima Tokuzaburō points out that fairytales and fables have a purpose to teach children moral values rather than scientific knowledge. See Nakajima Tokuzaburō 中島徳三郎, *Shōgaku kokugo sōgō kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1938), 61.