

Collapsing Boundaries

Mangaesque Paths Beyond *MAUS*

Looking beyond *MAUS* in the attempt to explore comics-specific memory of the Holocaust poses a number of challenges in the case of Japan. *MAUS* itself has been available in translation since the early 1990s, but it has not exerted any significant influence, neither on comics criticism nor on broader public discourse, for example, in relation to the textbook controversies of the 2000s.¹ On the one hand, this is due to Japan's national memory culture, as historian Yoshikuni Igarashi² maintained in a short article meant to promote a reprint of the sold-out translated edition (eventually, *The Complete MAUS* was published in May 2020). According to Igarashi, *MAUS* never accomplished real localization in Japan: it remained foreign to domestic readers as an American account of the trauma of European Jewry and also as the portrayal of a war victim too realistic to match the predominant habit of unquestioning reverence.³ On the other hand, Igarashi related *MAUS* to domestic expectations of graphic fiction, or manga, namely, to provide emotional immediacy, exaggerated expression, and a propellent, fast-forward narrative flow facilitated by convenient visuals – as exemplified by Keiji Nakazawa's *Barefoot Gen* (*Hadashi no Gen*, 1973–1987).⁴

Igarashi's juxtaposition of *MAUS* and *Gen* implies a media-cultural difference: between the commercial serial for children that began in the industrial flagship-to-be *Weekly Shōnen Jump*, and the serious graphic novel for adult readers which emerged from an alternative publication context. Here, manga in general and *Gen* as its representative are associated with a type of comics that is deeply committed to entertainment and genre fiction, abundant in tropes and open to

1 With regard to the controversies see Richter, Steffi: Historical Revisionism in Contemporary Japan,” in Richter, Steffi (ed.): *Contested Views of a Common Past: Revisions of History in Contemporary East Asia*, Frankfurt a. M. 2008, pp. 47–72.

2 Below, Japanese names are indicated in the Western order, first name preceding surname. The romanization of Japanese words follows the modified Hepburn system. Macrons indicating prolonged vowels are not used for internationally established place names and proper names.

3 Igarashi, Yoshikuni: *Nihon de wa naze urenai: Art Spiegelman no MAUS I, II ni tsuite* [Why doesn't it sell in Japan: About Art Spiegelman's *MAUS I, II*], in: *Nihon kosho tsūshin*, 1021/August (2014), pp. 2–4, here p. 4.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

fan-cultural appropriation. On closer inspection, however, it appears that *Gen* is more specifically representative of *shōnen manga* (boys' comics) and a variant that predominated in the 1970s. Consequently, the striking difference between *Gen* and *MAUS* loses importance once *shōjo manga* (girls' comics) comes into view.⁵

This chapter addresses comics-specific memory of the Holocaust in manga through a focus on two main cases which are not exactly *shōjo manga* but indebted to its generic traits: a 22-page short by male artist TNSK (b. 1984) published within an 'educational' framework⁶ in 2015, and a 430-page long graphic narrative by female artist Machiko Kyō (b. 1980) serialized in a women's manga magazine from 2011 to 2013. Both cases open paths for going beyond *MAUS*, firstly, insofar as they suggest to go beyond the divide between education and entertainment so deeply rooted in graphic-novel discourse. Wulf Kansteiner highlights the fusion of both, although with regard to videogames, when he raises examples of "history edutainment"⁷ against fears of Holocaust denial and trivialization. With regard to graphic narratives, Laurike in 't Veld questions the divide by revisiting the potential of *kitsch*, which she conceptualizes as the deconstruction of binaries through withstanding a set of tensions including that between reflexive distance and affective immersion.⁸ Going beyond *MAUS* with manga means, secondly, to consider the genderedness of comics-specific memory, which, in Japan, pertains to respective genres. Such consideration may take the form of disclosing the potential of *shōjo manga* by highlighting the productivity of *kitsch* in the wake of in 't Veld, or foregrounding the eventual hybridization of feminine and masculine genre traits in the wake of Ben Whaley's study. But while in these two cases the counterparts that operate in tension remain discrete entities, my central examples exhibit collapsing boundaries and emergent fusions not only between manga-generic femininity and masculinity, or melodramatic excess and historical realism, but also between past and present, Europe and Japan, intra- and extradiegetic worlds. Due to their surface

5 Japan-Studies scholar Ben Whaley conducts an analysis of respective girls' manga, which will be referenced in the following sections of this chapter. I would like to express my gratitude for granting me insight at an early point in time. Whaley, Ben: When Anne Frank Met Astro Boy: Drawing the Holocaust through Manga, in: positions: asia critique 28/4 (2020), pp. 729–755.

6 Jp. *gakushū manga*; usually stand-alones outside of the gender-wise specified manga magazines and their serializations, and consequently framing consumption in a different way.

7 Kansteiner, Wulf: The Holocaust in the 21st century: Digital anxiety, transnational cosmopolitanism, and never again genocide without memory, in Andrew Hoskins (ed.): Digital Memory Studies: Media Pasts in Transition, New York 2017, pp. 110–140, here p. 130.

8 in 't Veld, Laurike: The Representation of Genocide in Graphic Novels: Considering the Role of Kitsch, Cham 2019.

inclination to cuteness and escapism, manga texts like my main examples may seem inappropriate to serve Holocaust memory, at least when approached from the perspective of the “second memory boom”, to which *MAUS* and most of its reception arguably belong.⁹ Against the backdrop of Digital Memory Studies, going beyond *MAUS* by means of manga invites, thirdly, a consideration of connective memory,¹⁰ related to the geopolitically and generationally uninitiated on the one hand, and to a shared media engagement of contemporary readers on the other hand. But before attending to my two cases a few words about the broader Japanese context are in order.

1. Holocaust Memory in Japan

Japan appears to be a historically detached site with regards to the Holocaust and its memory. A university center for Holocaust research does not exist. While such research has developed in the field of modern German history, Jewish Studies has been committed mainly to scholarship on monotheistic religions.¹¹ But this should not be taken as a sign of ignorance among Japanese readers. Manga, among other media and art forms, has spawned an abundance of Holocaust imagery.

Comics readers may have been sceptical about the factual core of the narrative setting from which *Message to Adolf* (*Adorufu ni tsugu*, 1983–1985) by Osamu Tezuka (1928–1989) takes its departure: the Japanese city of Kobe and its Jewish community, where the son of Jewish refugees, Adolf Kamil, meets Adolf Kaufmann, the son of a Nazi diplomat and his Japanese wife, in 1936.¹² In actuality, Kobe hosted the biggest Jewish community on Japanese soil in the 1920s and 1930s, and it provided shelter for European refugees until the Tripartite Pact of September 1940 led the Japanese state to comply with Nazi Germany more than before, although not to the extent of antisemitic policy.¹³

9 Hoskins, Andrew: The restless past: An introduction to digital memory and media, in Andrew Hoskins (ed.): Digital Memory Studies: Media Pasts in Transition, New York 2017, pp. 1–24, here p. 15.

10 Cf. Hoskins, Andrew: 7/7 and Connective Memory: Interactional trajectories of remembering in post-scarcity culture, in: Memory Studies 4/3 (2011), pp. 269–280.

11 I would like to thank Dr. Ayaka Takei (Gakushuin Women's College, Tokyo) for providing me with an overview of the academic field during a meeting in March 2019.

12 An indirect Jewish influence in Tezuka's manga, mediated by Milt Gross and the Fleischer Brothers., is suggested by Greenberg, Raz: A Yiddishe Manga: The Creative Jewish Roots of Japan's 'God of Comics', in: Innovative Research in Japanese Studies, 1/spring (2014), pp. 89–111.

13 Chiune Sugihara (1900–1986), the Japanese vice-consul in Lithuania, who was later called the

Previously, Japan had seen Jewish migration mainly from Russia after the revolutions of 1905 and 1917 and, subsequently, Japanese military elites in Northeast China encountering White-Russian antisemitism, “a combination of the Red Scare and the Jewish Peril”,¹⁴ in Northeast China. But while antisemitism served Japanese militarists as a device to persecute critical intellectuals at home,¹⁵ on the Chinese mainland the Japanese Empire exercised tolerance against Jewish residents and adopted a policy of “divide and rule” for Jews and White Russians.¹⁶ There was even the idea of establishing a Jewish homeland within the puppet state of Manchukuo in the hope for both diplomatic recognition and investment by wealthy American Jews, but this *Fugu Plan*, as it was called later, never materialized.¹⁷

This lineage appears to continue in contemporary Japan. According to historian Jeffrey J. Hall the facticity of the Jewish genocide has been affirmed by revisionists up to politicians in government in order to highlight in contrast the alleged fabricatedness of atrocities committed by the Japanese Imperial Army, such as the Nanjing Massacre of December 1937:

These uses of the Holocaust do not encourage hatred of Jewish people, but are instead used to demonize ‘anti-Japanese’ groups that are ideologically opposed to the historical views of Japan’s conservative right.¹⁸

Historical revisionism has been facilitated by discourses of national self-victimization not rarely taking the form of feminization – suffice to mention the trope of the A-bomb maiden (*genbaku otome*) in popular movies,¹⁹ or conversely, critical historians’ suspicion towards Fumiyo Kouno’s Hiroshima manga *Town of Evening Calm* (*Yūnagi no machi*, 2003).²⁰ In regard to feminization, Anne

Japanese Schindler, had to discontinue helping Jewish refugees in August 1940.

14 Medzini, Meron: *Under the shadow of the rising sun: Japan and the Jews during the Holocaust era*, Boston 2016, p. 18.

15 Cf. Penney, Matthew: *Far from Oblivion: The Nanking Massacre in Japanese Historical Writing for Children and Young Adults*, in: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 22/1 (2008), pp. 25–48.

16 Medzini: *Under the shadow*, p. 52.

17 “The idea was suggested by Inuzuka’s January 18, 1939, report to the Navy General Staff, which stated that ‘The Jews are just like a *fugu* (blowfish). It is very delicious but unless you know well how to cook it, it may prove fatal.’” (Medzini: *Under the shadow*, p. 53).

18 Hall, Jeffrey J.: *The Uses of the Holocaust in Japanese Conservative Internet Media*, in: *Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies* 26/March (2016), pp. 249–259, here p. 250.

19 Cf. Yoshida, Kaori: *Mediating Otome in the Discourse of War Memory: Complexity of Memory-Making Through Postwar Japanese War Films*, in Jaqueline Berndt et al. (eds.): *Shōjo Across Media: Exploring “Girl” Practices in Contemporary Japan*, Cham 2019, pp. 155–180.

20 For a media-specific counter-argument see Takeuchi, Miho: *Kouno Fumiyo’s Hiroshima Manga*:

Frank has played a crucial role.²¹ The first Japanese translation of her *Diary* was published in 1952, and thereafter her story spread in girls' media, in particular serialized graphic narratives. "Anne Frank is the ideal protagonist for shōjo manga," writes Whaley and highlights genre-affine traits of her *Diary* such as "a series of first-person observations, interior monologues, and melodramatic episodes penned by a young girl".²²

In postwar Japan, popular adaptations of Anne Frank's story have been inclined to universalizing, that is, attending to general atrocities of war rather than the specific experiences of European Jewry, up to and including genocide. This lack of specificity may be one reason for the fact that manga representations of the Holocaust have rarely attracted attention by Japanese academics specialized in Jewish Studies, something which strikes Shin'ichi Furunaga, scholar of French literature and philosophy, as different from Europe and North America.²³ One recent example is the use of Jewish tropes in the manga series *Attack on Titan* (*Shingeki no kyojin*, since 2009) by Hajime Isayama (b. 1986). From chapter 85 (vol. 21, 2016) onwards armbands with a star-shaped symbol emerge as part of revelations about the protagonist's background. The star marks a suppressed ethnic group, the Marleyan Eldians, who are forced to live in internment zones. They possess latent innate superpowers, and consequently, unruly members of their community are turned into mindless fighting machines, so-called Pure Titans. The armband, however, features a nine-pointed star, symbolizing the Nine Titans on whose powers the bygone Eldian Empire rested. As such it connotes the Holocaust in a non-specific way together with the motif of walled cities, or ghettos, and the partly golem-like traits of the Titans. Against this backdrop the increasing striving for dominance on part of the Eldian protagonists in later chapters of the manga (and anime) has evoked accusations of antisemitism by American critics.²⁴ But the respective discussion has not spread to Japanese-language

A Style-Centered Attempt at Re-reading, in: *Kritika Kultura* 26 (2016), pp. 243–257, here pp. 246–248).

21 For an overview of Anne Frank comics on a global scale, including Japanese publications, see Ribbens, Kees: War comics beyond the battlefield: Anne Frank's transnational representation in sequential art, in Jaqueline Berndt (ed.): *Comics Worlds/Worlds of Comics*, Kyoto 2010, pp. 219–233.

22 Whaley: Anne Frank, p. 736.

23 Furunaga, Shin'ichi: Holocaust to manga hyōgen [Holocaust and comics expression], in: *Jinbungakuhō: Hyōshō bunkaron* [The Journal of social sciences and humanities, Tokyo Metropolitan University], 515/10 (2019), pp. 69–84, here p. 69.

24 For the accusation, that the Eldians are depicted as villains and imperialists, see Speelman, Tom: The fascist subtext of *Attack on Titan* can't be overlooked, 18 June 2019, <https://www.polygon.com>.

sites, a fact that hints not only at political indifference in general and detachment from Holocaust-specific memory in particular, but also difference in ‘identification zone,’ at least according to Japan-scholar Alexandra Jaworowicz-Zimny who, in her study on Nazi cosplay, maintains that

[...] while Nazi narratives in Japan may belong to historical knowledge, they do not belong to memories that identify Japan as a nation. Consequently, interest regarding Nazi history resembles the fascination with fictional narratives that is evident in anime cosplay.²⁵

In line with the national framework which is applied to subcultural activities here, the assessment confines itself to the traditional framework of ‘collective memory.’

2. Excessively Cute

In his article on francophone Holocaust comics, Furunaga cites at length the French group of filmmakers around Alain Lewkowicz who went to Japan to produce the ‘docu-comic’ *Anne Frank au pays des mangas* (arte & Subreal, 2012) and left with the impression that Japanese media trivialize both Anne Frank and Hitler into mere (cosplay) characters to be consumed within *kawaii* (cute) culture (Furunaga 2019, 80).²⁶ The overcute *moe*-style²⁷ of the Anne Frank issue in the edumanga series *Great Persons* (2015, No. 49 out of 80) by illustrator, character designer and manga artist TNSK seems to confirm that impression.²⁸

com/2019/6/18/18683609/attack-on-titan-fascist-nationalist-isayama-hajime-manga-anime, accessed 12/08/2020; and for a counter-argument see Trumbore, Dave: Here’s What *Attack on Titan* Would Look Like If It Was Pro-Fascist & Anti-Semitic, 20 June, 2019, <https://collider.com/attack-on-titan-fascist/>, accessed 12/08/2020.

25 Jaworowicz-Zimny, Aleksandra: Nazi Cosplay in Japan, in: *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, (2018), pp. 1–16, here p. 3.

26 Furunaga: Holocaust, p. 80.

27 Subcultural jargon signifying an affection for and an intense relation to manga-(or anime)-esque characters, including but not limited to young girls. See Anon.: Anne Furanku o ‘moe irasuto’ de egaku koto no muketeki to muzukashisa (Aim and difficulty of depicting Anne Frank with ‘moe illustrations’), in: *togetter*, April 2015, <https://ch.togetter.com/2015/04/20/22384>, accessed 12/08/2020.

28 The penname TNSK is derived from sweet soy sauce crackers popular in Osaka, *Ponsuke Amakara*, changed to *Tansuke* using the initial of the artist’s surname (probably Tanaka), finally abbreviated and pronounced in accordance with the English alphabet. See Hiraiwa, Shinsuke:

Fig. 1 Anne Frank, Shūkan manga sekai no ijin (Weekly-manga series Great Persons), Cover



Fig. 2 TNSK: Anne Frank, p. 24. Read from right to left



TNSK Interview, in: wacom, 2011, <https://tablet.wacom.co.jp/article/drawing-with-wacom-tnsk>, accessed 12/08/2020.

On the cover illustration, the reader is addressed by a girl character with green hair and starry sparkling eyes, who is marked as Anne Frank by the title words as well as the pen in her hand and an open book with blank pages in front of her (fig. 1).

After an informational double-page spread with much text, a map and some photographs, the manga narrative sets in. It begins with a two-page prologue featuring a textbox – “Bergen-Belsen, March 1945” – and monologue lines attached to a concentration camp internee lying on the ground: “Why has this happened?”. The digitally rendered green-grayish coloring, the shading and the superimposed lighting effects that represent snow are printed on glossy paper and convey a texture completely opposite to that of *MAUS* (at least, to its initial appearance on matt and rough paper). What follows are three parts of six pages each. The first part portrays Anne’s pre-Annex life with poses, close-ups and lots of mangaesque symbols, once even a turn of her huge eyes (about three times bigger than others’) into small arcs, the ultimate marker of cuteness. The second part depicts her time in the Secret Annex, whereas the third part is mainly set in the concentration camps relating death around her as well as her own. The grayish tone, which reappears when Anne arrives at Auschwitz, is interspersed once with two tiers of bright memory images accompanied by a famous quote from the *Diary* as if uttered monologizing, “In spite of everything I still believe that people are really good at heart” (fig. 2).²⁹

After that Anne’s eyes stay shut, but her upturned nose remains. On the last spread which serves as an epilogue, the pen is laid down and the book is closed, subtly glowing against a blackened backdrop on the right. On the left (and final) page the light returns. A hand grasps the book, and – upon a slight zoom-out – a girl in back view opens it, inviting the reader to join her in reading.

TNSK’s short fiction combines historical information via text boxes, inserts of time-specifying images such as a Hitler portrait (fig. 3), and additional notes in the page margins with a highly stylized design whose tried-and-tested components from widely opened, or narrowed, eyes to pictograms such as cross-popping veins or the band-aid attached to the forehead work to entice affection in trained consumers. The cute foreground layer facilitates immersion, privileging the reader’s here and now instead of neatly separating past and present. This immediacy is further enhanced by the omission of gutters (i.e., the blank space between panels so often presumed to be filled with meaning by the reader).³⁰

29 TNSK: Anne Frank, in: Shūkan manga sekai no ijin (Weekly-manga series *Great Persons*), no. 49, Tokyo 2015, pp. 6–27, here p. 24.

30 See Postema, Barbara: *Narrative Structure in Comics: Making Sense of Fragments*, Rochester 2013, pp. 48–49.

Fig. 3 TNSK: Anne Frank, p. 5



TNSK, the artist, confirmed in an interview that he opted against distance and restraint on purpose: “In consideration of the manga’s influence on children I created it in an exaggerated way. But then again depictions of war and genocide (that is, acts such as massacres to erase certain groups) can never be too exaggerated anyway.”³¹

Exaggeration has been crucial to manga to an extent that thwarts categorizing as graphic novel even works by artists like Tezuka – at least if graphic novels are identified in contradistinction to flippant, formulaic, and excessive comics. One example is the first chapter of Tezuka’s time-travel anthology, *Apolo’s Song* (*Aporo no uta*, 1970). Titled in German, “Die Blumen und das [sic!] Leiche” (Flowers and the Corpse), the narrative is set in Nazi Germany where the protagonist serves as an SS soldier. Eventually he helps a Jewish girl to escape from one of the freight cars, only to be shot by her in revenge for her parents. The girl herself is raped and then killed by SS pursuers, but she reaches out for the protagonist’s hand – and love – at last. Just 37 pages long, the chapter begins in a highly cartoonesque mode with a soldier explicitly joking about the protagonist’s sexual arousal, him blushing in return, and the soldier assuming a piggy face when making antisemitic remarks (fig. 4). But after some thrilling and romantic moments in between, the manga concludes on a blatant reference

31 Anon.: Anne Furanku, n.p.



Fig. 4 Osamu Tezuka: “Die Blumen und das [sic!] Leiche” [Flowers and the Corpse], parts of pp. 49–50

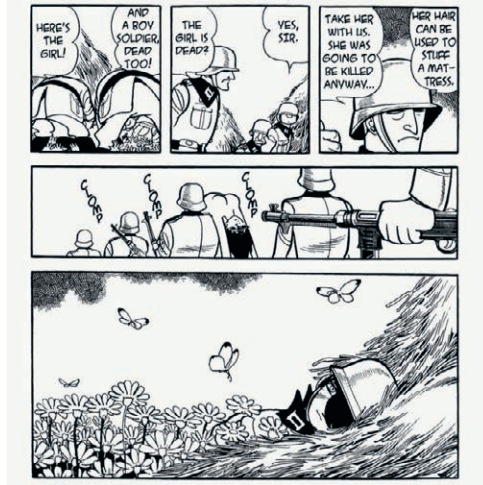
to historic atrocities: the girl’s corpse is carried away by SS men as “her hair can be used to stuff a mattress”,³² while the protagonist leans dead against a haystack, surrounded by a field of flowers and butterflies, that is, clearly feminine tropes (fig. 5).

Japanese critic Eiji Ōtsuka has proposed to regard excessive citation of tropes not as the opposite to realism, but a specific type of it, namely, manga-anime realism (*manga-anime-teki riarizumu*) which he distinguished from “scientific” (as diagrammatic) realism on the one hand and “biological” realism (as related to characters’ intradiegetic mortality) on the other.³³ Remarkable with regard to manga-anime realism is not only the consumer’s concurrent attention to signi-

32 Tezuka, Osamu: Die Blumen und das [sic!] Leiche [Flowers and the Corpse], in: Apollo’s Song (*Aporo no uta*; initially in Weekly Shōnen King, 1970), New York 2007, transl. Camellia Nieh, pp. 44–80, here p. 75.

33 For an English-language summary of Ōtsuka’s still untranslated discussion, which ignores social realism, by the way, see Steinberg, Marc: Realism in the Animation Media Environment: Animation Theory from Japan, in Karen Beckman (ed.): Animating Film Theory, Durham 2014, pp. 287–300.

Fig. 5 Osamu Tezuka: "Die Blumen und das [sic!] Leiche" [Flowers and the Corpse], lower part of p. 75



fiers and signified – or more broadly, “consciousness of and in media”³⁴ – but also the fact that the reiteration of tropes enhances the reality-effect for trained consumers instead of subverting it. Tezuka’s example attests to that, and it suggests further that the reiterative excess may extend to genre registers, the switching between them within the same narrative. But whereas Tezuka presented one thing after the other, half a century later multilayering prevails. The most striking example in TNSK’s manga is the use of sepia-toned photographs as filling of sound words that represent an airraid in the spring of 1944 (fig. 6).

Barely noticeable at first glance, two perspectives are materially intertwined here: the bird’s-eye view of a smoking town, as represented by the photographs within the frames of the onomatopoeia, and the horror at ground level, represented by the facial expressions of Anne and her father. This surface device, so to speak, is all the more noteworthy as it remains the only use of photographs, standing in stark contrast to the paintbrushed images employed elsewhere to indicate the era (such as the Hitler portrait in fig. 3).

With regard to cuteness, TNSK’s manga seems to be heir to a specific tradition of mangaesque excess: graphic narratives for girls. Against the presumption that “shōjo manga is typically filled with genre hallmarks that could be thought of as being ill-equipped to directly tell stories of the Holocaust”³⁵ – or kitsch providing “a sentimental, spectacular, and universalized reading of historical reality”³⁶ – Whaley demonstrates that Holocaust comics and illustrated stories pub-

34 Hoskins: *Restless past*, p. 2.

35 Whaley: *Anne Frank*, p. 737.

36 in ’t Veld: *Representation*, p. 2.



Fig. 6 TNSK: Anne Frank, p. 18

lished in Japanese girls' magazines since the late 1960s did actually not merely promote Japanese self-victimization via feminization and universalization, but address Jewish identity as well as Jewish girls' starvation and death foregrounding "liminality – between girl and young woman, between Jewish victim and universal symbol, between ceaseless optimist and murdered prisoner".³⁷ According to Whaley, *shōjo* manga's liminality includes "a hybridized style that blends the emotionality and interiority of *shōjo* with the more graphic depictions of violence common to *shōnen* manga, for young boys, and *seinen* manga, for adult men".³⁸ And he traces this hybridization back to the

37 Whaley: Anne Frank, p. 736. Whaley's main manga examples are short series by female artists published in girls' manga magazines (*Margaret*, *Nakayoshi*, *Shōjo Friend*, *Ribon*) between 1965–1967.

38 Ibid., p. 732.

gradual evolution of telling Anne's story in visual form as well as the development of the manga medium itself; an evolution that has moved from textual references to persecution in 1964 *emonogatari* [picture stories], to scenes of mild violence in manga from 1967, to the fully illustrated graphic deaths of shōjo bodies in 1990s educational manga.³⁹

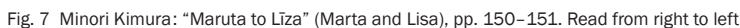
As the epitome of the latter, Whaley introduces a 1996 edumanga, *Anne Furanku: sensō no naka de ikiru kibō o kakitsuzuketa shōjo* (*Anne Frank: The Young Girl Who Continued Writing of Hope in the Midst of War*), produced in collaboration between supervisor Mitsuko Shino, scenarist Megumi Sugihara, and illustrator Naoko Takase. This choice suggests an ultimate preference for harnessing shōjoesque sentiment and manga-typical excess. In addition, it raises questions about the evolution of edumanga as a genre on its own and its relation to manga's gendered genres of fictional entertainment. After all, by the 1990s the hybridization of feminine and masculine genre traits seems to have become the rule as a result of edumanga's orientation to a broader readership through standalone publications rather than the manga magazine, prone as it has been to demographic compartmentalization.

TNSK's narrative, too, employs tropes from feminine and masculine genres within the framework of edumanga, but it directs them towards excess instead of restraint, and fusion instead of hybridization. To begin with, generic femininity and masculinity are intertwined within the overcute *moe*-style, which originated in the 1980s when male readers became invested in girls' comics;⁴⁰ by now it circulates among male and female users alike. Even without such manga-historical knowledge it cannot be overlooked that TNSK's manga combines interiority and physicality in a way that does not serve historical realism by means of affective enhancement. The two sides are not kept apart, but made to collapse in a turn away from psychologization towards the cartoonesque, which differs from Shigeru Mizuki's history manga *Hitler* (1971) though, in its reference to tropes of a specific taste community rather than a universal audience as well as in the related preference for affective immediacy rather than distant observation. Furthermore, and contextually speaking, the artist himself is not committed exclusively to edumanga. As distinct from Takase, the illustrator of Whaley's prime example,⁴¹

39 Ibid., p. 746.

40 Cf. Galbraith, Patrick W.: Seeking an Alternative: "Male" Shōjo Fans since the 1970s, in Jaqueline Berndt et al. (eds.): *Shōjo Across Media: Exploring "Girl" Practices in Contemporary Japan*, Cham 2019, pp. 355–390.

41 Naoko Takase (b. 1958) has illustrated mainly biographical edumanga, for example, on Mozart, Beethoven, Jeanne d'Arc, and Mother Theresa.



A similar scope of manga production would make Minoru Kimura (b. 1949) a more suitable counterpart than Takase to TNSK's inclination to fusion.⁴² In 1979–1980 Kimura published an adaptation of Zofia Posmysz's novel *Pasażerka* (*The Passenger*, 1962) under the original Polish title in the alternative magazine *Manga Shōnen*.⁴³ In the later book edition, the title features the two protagonists, Marta and Lisa (*Maruta to Riza*). The narrative takes the perspective of Lisa, a former Auschwitz guard, who recapitulates her relation to one of the Jewish inmates, Marta, whom she grew fond of and did small favors without ever receiving the desired recognition in return. Lisa's recollections are related in verbal past tense and I-narration, resulting in clear distinction between perpetrator and victim, protagonist and reader. Visually, the series does not present itself as shōjo manga – it features more or less regular panel grids and a character design that

43 Lit. Manga Boy, but in actuality deviating from the gendered genres of the industry, it ran 1976–1981.

Fig. 8 TNSK: Anne Frank, p. 20. Read from right to left



resembles *seinen* manga,⁴⁴ restrained as it is with regard to eye size and use of pictograms. But delicate, thin lines against predominantly white backgrounds as well as ‘sameness’ in visual appearance evoke manga-generic femininity (fig. 7). The latter includes the waiver of cartoonesque stereotypes with regard to racializing physiognomy (granted, the apparently Caucasian look of prototypical *shōjo*-manga characters may pass as a racialization in itself)⁴⁵. In all feminine examples considered, Jewish characters are marked by verbal means, if not by visual symbols like the star. In TNSK’s short fiction a six-pointed (but uncolored) star appears once, that is, when Anne and her family are taken away from their hideout. While the sign of discrimination is clearly visible, Anne herself appears faceless for once (fig. 8).

44 *Seinen* (lit. youth) manga: initially targeted at young male adults, by now largely non-gender specific.

45 For an introduction to this controversial issue, see Berndt, Jaqueline: *SKIM as GIRL: Reading a Japanese North American Graphic Novel through Manga Lenses*, in Monica Chiu (ed.): *Drawing New Color Lines: Transnational Asian American Graphic Narratives*, Hong Kong 2014, pp. 257–278, here pp. 266–272.

3. Affirmative Subversion

In manga, especially its feminine genres, blank faces may represent an affective state of shock or deprivation of individuality, but they may also serve as a narrative device, signalling objective distance or subjective detachment. In Machiko Kyō's counterfactual Anne Frank fantasy *ANoNE*,⁴⁶ faceless figures appear regularly, usually as men who invade girls', or girl-like, space: soldiers, guards, and a boy's brutal father, but also bystanders who watch the deportation of star-branded "Easterners" in a mid-20th century European city. One of these Easterners is a Caucasian-looking teenager with a Japanese name, Hanako Asada. As distinct from the historical model, her diary entries begin not with "Dear Kitty" (Jp. *Ainaru Kiti*, or in TNSK's case, *Kiti e*), but the prompting oral expression "*Ano ne, ...*", which translates approximately as "You know, what?". This form of address serves as the manga's title. Rendered prominently in Roman letters of Fraktur typeface and alternating size, "ANoNE" fuses the intimate Japanese expression with Anne, the iconic European girl (fig. 9), just as the names of the manga characters – Hanako, Mako, Piroshiki and so on – entwine Europe and Japan, past and present, fact and fiction in a way that invokes how the animal masks work in *MAUS*.⁴⁷ As such the title *ANoNE* anticipates the core characteristics of Kyō's narrative, which stretches over a prologue, 24 chapters and an epilogue, filling two book volumes eventually. At the end of the first chapter, the Asada family moves to the Secret Annex; at the end of chapter 11, faceless men open the door to the hideout; at the end of chapter 13 the captives arrive at a place that looks like Auschwitz; in chapter 24 Hanako's sister and she herself perish.

The manga's very first page shows a red book and a hand opening it, accompanied by the monologue lines, "The diary with a keylock/ which I received for my birthday/ is like a secret door". This door multiplies as the chapter headings indicate: The Door of Sexual Characteristics (chapter 3), The Door of the Cat (chapter 11), The Door of the Freight Car (chapter 13), The Door of the Incinerator (chapter 16), The Door of the Sisters (chapter 23), and so on. Through her diary Hanako accesses an alternate reality. There she meets Tarō, a boy with a sketchbook who likes to draw as much as she likes to write. Tarō is the first addressee of Hanako's monological "*Ano ne, ...*" in response to a question that provided the point of departure in TNSK's manga as well: "How could this hap-

46 Serialized in the women's manga magazine *Elegance Eve* 2011–2013 to become the second part of her War Trilogy, preceded by *cocoon* (2009–2010) set in 1945 Okinawa, and followed by *Paraiso* (2015) set in 1945 Nagasaki.

47 Kyō's familiarity with *MAUS* is likely but not evidenced yet.

Fig. 9 Machiko Kyō: ANoNE, vol. 1, cover



pen?”.⁴⁸ In the course of the narrative, Tarō’s story, largely told in parallel, takes almost as much room as Hanako’s in contrast to that of Piroshiki, the equivalent of Peter. Initially, Tarō is an introvert boy with a preference for drawing images of cute girls (vaguely reminiscent of *shōjo*-manga style), but his preference earns him only brutal blows by his father and a lack of recognition by classmates, let alone the desired art-school admission. Radicalized by his uniformed alter ego, he turns into the antisemitic “Führer” (the reference to Hitler was explicated in the manga’s marketing, for example, on the book belt).

The space where Hanako meets Tarō is described in a monologue line as “if being inside a sugar cube”,⁴⁹ and as is characteristic of Kyō’s narratives which often proceed through pictorial associations, the verbal metaphor assumes the visual form of a cube, resembling the sugar that is falling into a cup of tea accompanied by small handwritten onomatopoeia and a tiny five-pointed star (fig. 10).

What is thus first popping up as an impact sign, the star, reappears four pages later as the Easterners’ chest mark. Towards the end of volume 1, in a memory image inserted into the sequence of the freight car, the star features as a clip adorning little Hanako’s hair. Such allegorical fusion characterizes the manga

48 Kyō, Machiko: ANoNE, vol. 1, Tokyo 2012, p. 6.

49 Ibid., p. 11.

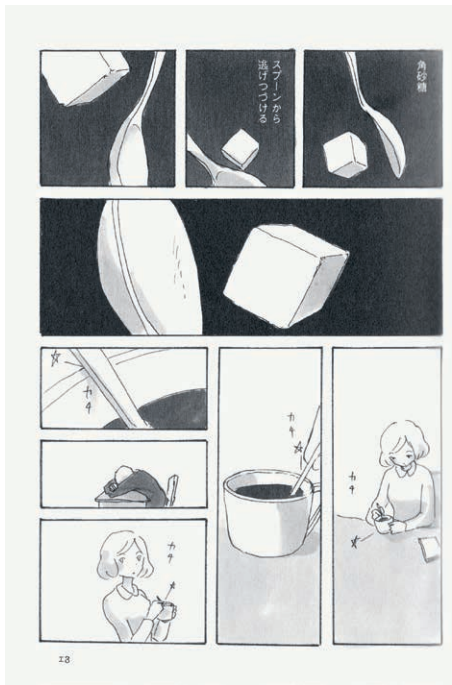
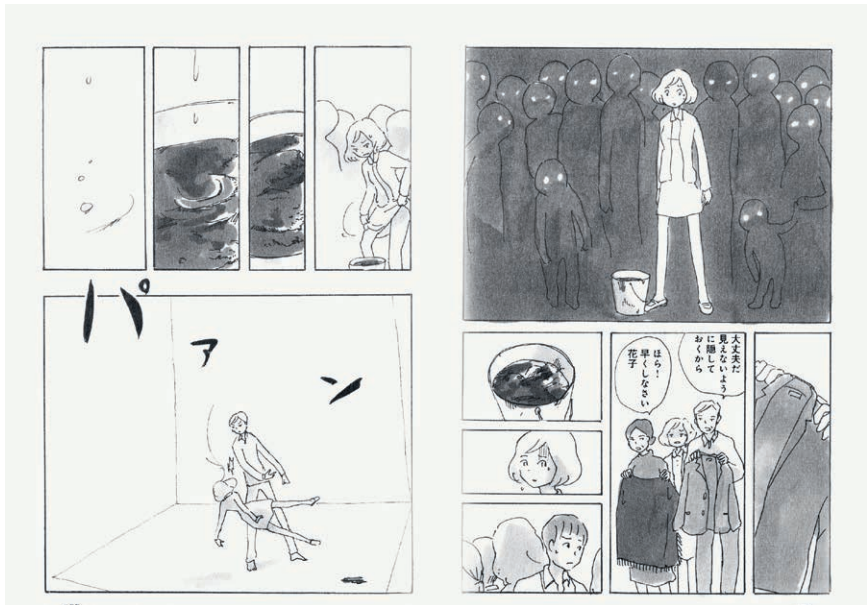


Fig. 10 Machiko Kyō: ANoNE, vol. 1, p. 13.
Read from right to left

Fig. 11 Machiko Kyō: ANoNE, vol. 2, pp. 176–177. Read from right to left



throughout, and it is not limited to individual motifs, but includes also abruptly appearing panels of a different reality, whether concurrent or long gone, imaginary or physical (fig. 11) conveys Hanako's embarrassment inside the freight car to the concentration camp when using the slop pail which she then even spills, and the last panel on the lower left likens the experience with a blow by Tarō).

While *MAUS* reflects on Disney and the funny-animal tradition in American comics, *ANONE* reflects on the tradition of shōjo manga, beginning with the reversal of the genre's inclination to Europeanize Japanese characters as manifested in the choice of the protagonist's name. In an interview, Kyō stated: "I wanted it to give the impression of fiction, of entertainment. And so I tried to reproduce the shōjo-manga world view of the 1960s and 1970s, a kind of fantasy setting, Japan but not Japan."⁵⁰ Hanako translates as "flower child," and this may appear as an allusion to the rose dedicated to the memory of Anne Frank,⁵¹ but the allusion is an indirect one at most, mediated by the flower symbolism of modern Japanese girl culture. Like the heroine of an older flower-bedecked shōjo manga Hanako holds on to being dreamy, unworldly and good-natured to an extent that borders on raising the repulsion which in 't Veld points to when she maintains, "kitsch is a concept that proposes a set of tensions (between high and low, between attraction and repulsion) and this tension is particularly pronounced when kitsch is used to deal with histories of genocide, as the topic of atrocity is inevitably accompanied by a tension around (in)appropriate forms of representation."⁵²

Even at the death camp, Hanako appears almost always smiling absentmindedly. As distinct from the starving girls around her, she assumes a haggard look only in the very last chapter. Against this backdrop, subduers' facelessness may be taken not only as an objective representation of inhumane SS personnel but also as a visualization of the girl protagonist's specific subjective stance, namely, her refusal to face reality. Existing in monochrome drawings Hanako does not exactly picture the world in rose-color; rather, she 'sweetens' it. When her sister speaks of lethal threat in the Annex kitchen, Hanako focuses solely on sugaring the strawberries, and once in the concentration camp she does not see the corpses, occupied as she is by a candy that fell into her hand. But in chapter 20 she regurgitates candies in the alternate world, which is later echoed by a

50 Tokyo Manga Lab: Kyō Machiko-sensei intabyū: Sennen gahō, Mikako-san, ANOnNE, in: note, 10 February 2018, <https://note.mu/tokyomangalab/n/n3cafc2c5c281>, accessed 12/08/2020.

51 The "Souvenir d' Anne Frank" by Hippolyte Delforge (Belgium) was registered in 1960 and arrived in Japan in 1972, that is, at a time when the rose was already well established in girls' comics as a symbol of romance and femininity. By the way, *The Rose of Versailles* (*Berusaiai no bara*) by Riyoko Ikeda was first serialized in 1972–73.

52 in 't Veld: Representation, p. 28.

gun lying in a box of candies, and an image of bloodstained candies following a deadly shooting. In her Afterword to *ANoNE* Kyō writes that the manga is about things one could actually live without but can nevertheless desist from: sweets, love, war⁵³ – and, as one might add, shōjoesque desire for a safe space of feminized sameness.

Kyō says about Hanako, “I think it is obvious that from the middle onwards the protagonist seems to have her head in the clouds. Which helps her to protect herself.”⁵⁴ Like Kyō’s other manga narratives, *ANoNE* does not dismiss the escapism characteristic of older girls’ comics; it rather appreciates their role as a shelter from harsh reality while concurrently subverting the related bias. Hanako seeks shelter in the imaginary cube where Tarō assures her, “This is the safest place/ you should stay/ the outside world is just dangerous”⁵⁵, and she finds a kindred spirit in him, but also a short-tempered, insecure, and cruel antagonist (fig. 12).

Although Tarō shows desire for Hanako, and she returns his affection, their gentle Utopian embrace in chapter 23 does not present itself as a solution to the violence previously acted out in the cube. Romance fiction has always included a male love interest of violent behavior. Yet, neither Kyō nor TNSK resort to the type of romance that Whaley describes as typical of 1960s girls’ media: “A striking commonality among both emonogatari and manga versions of the *Diary* is the melodramatic weight placed on the budding romance between fourteen-year-old Anne Frank and seventeen-year-old Peter van Pels ...”⁵⁶.

The latter half of *ANoNE* shifts the emphasis from “boy meets girl” and “boy destroys girl” (as the first volume was promoted on the book belt, see again fig. 9) to the relationship between the sisters, Hanako and Mako. In addition to romance, Christian imagery, which older Holocaust manga for girls employed as universalized symbols of suffering, is also eschewed. Thus, *ANoNE* gives credit to the feminine tradition precisely by unveiling its omissions, that is, by acknowledging the entwinement of potentials and limits. With regard to representation, this takes mainly two forms. On the one hand, the shōjoesque longing for the saccharine appears inextricably tied to the horrid. Not even Hanako stays innocent: after all, she abides the arrest and execution of the girl whose candy she appropriated. On the other hand, the girl protagonist is characterized by both interiority and physicality, and the latter does not only apply to the specific violence of the Holocaust. Chapter 3 relates Hanako’s curiosity in the face of

53 Kyō, Machiko: *ANoNE*, vol. 2, Tokyo 2013, p. 230.

54 Tokyo Manga Lab: Interview, n.p.

55 Kyō: *ANoNE*, vol. 1, p. 78.

56 Whaley: Anne Frank, p. 737.

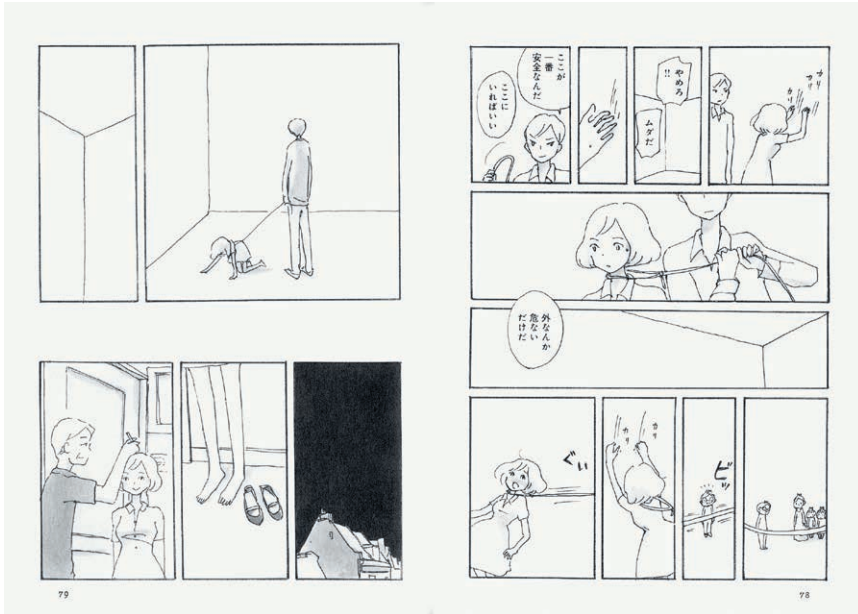


Fig. 12 Machiko Kyō: ANONE, vol. 1, pp. 78–79. Read from right to left

“the first wave” of menstruation and chapter 13 addresses defecation, as already mentioned.

But the relation between interior and exterior which is part of *ANONE*’s reflection on shōjo manga extends beyond the intradiegetic world to include the reader. Mako, the protective older sister who faces the outside reality of atrocities, is not allowed access to that world allegorized by the cube: “All that is left for you is to live and die outside the story”,⁵⁷ she is told by Tarō’s alter ego. In chapter 19 titled The Door of the Supporting Role, Mako herself admits, “I ... cannot become the protagonist”.⁵⁸ Yet, after her death, it is Hanako who cries, “Without you, sister, I ...” – continuing monologizing, indicated by a change of typeface – “have been kicked out of this story”⁵⁹ to arrive at the question, “... perhaps I haven’t been the protagonist after all?”.⁶⁰ Ultimately, Kyō’s story of Jewish girls’ agency overlaps with the issue of the reader’s agency in front of shōjo manga characters. *ANONE* ends not only on an image of the reopened diary, but goes

57 Kyō: *ANONE*, vol. 1, p. 105.

58 Ibid., p. 104.

59 Kyō: *ANONE*, vol. 2, p. 204.

60 Ibid., p. 206.

one step further than TNSK's Anne Frank short: its very last panel is completely blank, as if trusting the reader to take over now, to participate on their own terms, beyond educators' sanctioning.

Postscript

The Beyond *MAUS* project set out to explore comics lesser known than the meanwhile canonized ones and situated in different contexts. One of these contexts is digital media culture, "constituting a new coercive multitude that does not debate but rather digitally emote",⁶¹ bringing 'connective memory' to the fore. Both TNSK and *Kyō* are representative of this, and not only because their work leans eminently on digital devices, even if it assumes a hand-drawn look, as in *Kyō*'s case. Their excessive, immersive, simulative and even counterfactual Anne Frank narratives commit to manga as a connective, distributive experience. Instead of keeping "past and present, curators and audiences, politically correct public memory and possibly ethically corrupted private memories [...] neatly separated",⁶² they facilitate going beyond a nationally grounded, centralized 'collective memory.' While this is in part due to a different type of 'collective memory' in the Japanese context, it is also due to a media environment which is increasingly shared by subcultures on a global scale. Building on specific media literacies rather than a familiarity with the universal language of comics, they clearly hold the potential to draw uninitiated people of younger age and at geopolitically distant locations to Holocaust history, although not necessarily a general public. As such the two main examples introduced above go beyond Holocaust comics of a predigital ecology, which may be appreciated for their balancing-out of affect and knowledge, or generically feminine interiority and masculine physicality.

Film historian Alexander Zahlten relates connective memory to "memories based in media engagement",⁶³ maintaining that such an engagement "entails a different economy, a different temporality, a different phenomenology and a different memory structure in the social than the 'classic' model of cinematic spectacle".⁶⁴ And he criticizes Hoskins for speaking "at a level of techno-determinist abstraction that barely suggests any relevance for local contexts and ex-

61 Hoskins: *Restless past*, p. 2.

62 Kansteiner: *Holocaust*, p. 119.

63 Zahlten, Alexander: *Doraemon and Your Name in China: The Complicated Business of Mediatized Memory in East Asia*, in: *Screen 60/2* (2019), pp. 311–321, here p. 312.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 314.

periences”,⁶⁵ because the remaining power of collective memory and linear time, the nationalization of border-crossing media texts, and the limitations of access under conditions of censorship and regulations remain unconsidered. This might apply to Zahlten’s object of investigation, the People’s Republic of China and anime, but with regard to Holocaust manga in Japan, Hoskins’ concept of connective memory proves to be stimulating – as a challenge to acknowledge and investigate collapsing boundaries between different forms, locales, and actors of memory.

65 Ibid., p. 317.

Ole Frahm, Hans-Joachim Hahn, Markus Streb (eds.)

BEYOND MAUS

The Legacy of Holocaust Comics

BÖHLAU VERLAG WIEN KÖLN WEIMAR



Published with the support from:
Amt der Steiermärkischen Landesregierung

Die Drucklegung des Bandes wurde durch die Fritz Thyssen Stiftung für Wissenschaftsförderung gefördert.

Deutsche Nationalbibliothek Cataloging-in-publication data:
<http://dnb.d-nb.de>

© 2021 by Böhlau Verlag, Zeltgasse 1, 1080 Vienna, Austria, an imprint of the Brill-Group (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands; Brill USA Inc., Boston MA, USA; Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn, Germany; Brill Österreich GmbH, Vienna, Austria) Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau, Verlag Antike and V&R unipress.

All Rights Reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any other information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

Cover Illustration: Horst Rosenthal: *Mickey AU CAMP DE GURS* 1942 ; p. 9 ©Mémorial de la Shoah, Paris.

Cover design: Michael Haderer, Vienna
Typesetting: Michael Rauscher, Vienna
Printing and binding: Hubert&Co. BuchPartner, Göttingen

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com

ISBN 978-3-205-21066-5

Table of Contents

Sarah Lightman: Forward (And Backwards)	7
Ole Frahm, Hans-Joachim Hahn and Markus Streb: Introduction	11
Ole Frahm: Ghosts, Golems, Angels: The Medial Specificity of Comics Representing the Holocaust	33
I.	
Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius: Post-war Graphic Cycles	65
Emil Gruber: <i>Israël Souviens Toi!</i> Early Representations of the Holocaust Between Caricature and Comic Book	81
II.	
Markus Streb: Early Representations of Concentration Camps in Golden Age Comic Books. Graphic Narratives, American Society, and the Holocaust	103
Didier Pasamonik: From the Dreyfus Affair to <i>MAUS</i> . A Short History of the Animalization of the Representation of the Jews	125
Kees Ribbens: The Invisible Jews in August Froehlich's "Nazi Death Parade" (1944). An Early American Sequential Narrative Attempt to Visualize the Final Stages of the Holocaust	133
III.	
Jaqueline Berndt: Collapsing Boundaries. Mangaesque Paths Beyond <i>MAUS</i>	169

Susanne Korbel: The Portrayal of Children's Experiences of the Holocaust in Israeli Graphic Novels and Comics	193
Kalina Kupczyńska: Haunted But Not Healed. The Holocaust in Recent Polish Comics	209
IV.	
Hans-Joachim Hahn: Distorted Traces of the Holocaust in Hergé's <i>Tintin</i>	239
Jörn Ahrens: Hidden Atrocities. The Holocaust Framed by Edmond-François Calvo and Émile Bravo	261
V.	
Georg Marschnig: "Students like it, it's still their genre." A Qualitative Approach to Teacher's Views on Holocaust Education with Comics	289
Jeff McLaughlin: Graphic Novels and the Holocaust: "Just" Comics?	305
VI.	
Nina Eckhoff-Heindl and Véronique Sina: Second Generation Comics. On the Construction of (Post-)Memory in Art Spiegelman's <i>MAUS</i> and Michel Kichka's <i>Deuxième Génération</i>	333
Dana Mihăilescu: "Shot in the heart on Valentine's day". Monsters, Sexuality, the Holocaust and Late 1960s American Culture in Emil Ferris's <i>My Favorite Thing Is Monsters. Book I</i> (2017)	353
Dennis Bock: "Inside Concentration Camps". Social Life and Prisoner Societies in Comic Books and Graphic Novels	381
List of Figures	403
Contributors	410
Index	417