A thesis
submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University

Kaga Otohiko – Known yet Unknown
A study of a Japanese realist

Mariko Nakamura

May 2001
I certify this thesis is written entirely on the basis of my own research, unless otherwise indicated.

Mariko Nakamura

10 May 2001
Note

All the Japanese names in the thesis follow the Japanese convention of placing the family name first, unless the person is a second (or later) generation migrant to a Western country.

The use of Japanese characters along with transliterations is to make the names of authors, characters in novels, words, phrases, or books and article titles clearer. If the Japanese is in the main text, I omit it in the footnotes. I provide the Japanese for authors, titles, etc. when they first appear and occasionally for later occurrences, where I believe it will be helpful. Full Japanese references are provided in the bibliography.

An earlier and modified version of the sections on Kaerazaru natsu (Chapter 3.1) and on the conclusion (Chapter 5) were published as a part of my article, “Novelists of integrity: Nogami Yaeko and Kaga Otohiko”. *

---

Acknowledgement

My heartfelt thanks go to Dr Royall Tyler and Dr Susan Tyler. Without their constant support, advice and encouragement at all stages of my research, this thesis would not have been completed. Susan in particular patiently read my draft many times and her numerous questions and suggestions helped to show me the path ahead.

I also thank the staff members at the Faculty of Asian Studies, the Australian National University. Dr Peter Hendriks took up the chairship of my advisor group after Dr Royall Tyler retired. Dr Duck-Young Lee and Dr Gi-Hyun Shin helped me with the reading of Korean words and names, and Dr Svetlana Dyer and Ms Tiejun Yang with Chinese words and names.

My friends in Japan, Masako Inoue and Misako Tanaka, tirelessly hunted out materials for me. My friend and fellow student Harumi Moore instilled in me the belief that I would be able to complete the thesis. My colleagues in the Annex building of the Faculty, Royce Wiles and Deborah Johnson in particular, continually supported, encouraged and inspired me. My dear friends Franca and Don Knox provided concrete help with my student and family life. My son Toshio always responded promptly when my computer threatened to overwhelm me. Kieran Donaghue, my husband, was a tower of strength in every possible way, not least in helping me to grapple with the mysteries of the English language. I thank all of them from the bottom of my heart.

Mr Kaga Otohiko, the subject of this thesis, gave generously of his time to respond to my questions both in person and by correspondence. I hoped that what I have written will serve in some small way to repay him.

There are many other people who gave me important support. I would like to mention in particular Dr Sandra Buckley and Professor Tessa Morris-Suzuki. Others whom I have not named will know who they are. My sincere thanks also go to these people.
Abstract

This thesis demonstrates the significance of the Japanese contemporary author Kaga Otohiko 加賀乙彦 (1929- ) as a novelist and an intellectual. The central focus is his 1997 novel *Eien no miyako*.

In Chapter 1, after stating my case for the significance of Kaga’s novels for contemporary Japan, I trace his life and literature in broad chronological terms. Kaga was an elite cadet in his youth, receiving an exhaustive tennōist education that ended with the end of the Pacific War. Rejecting all that he was taught before the war ended, Kaga became a psychiatrist. He worked at various places including the Tokyo Detention Centre and a psychiatric hospital in northern France. He was well into his thirties when he published his first novel. He became a full-time writer when he was almost fifty, after a period of university teaching.

In Chapter 2, I examine the realism that Kaga inherited largely from the nineteenth-century European realists. I demonstrate how different his novels are from the tradition of *shishōsetsu*, the “I”-novel, although as it happens the three novels discussed in this thesis are based on Kaga’s own experiences. I also trace the influence of other writers on Kaga’s work.

Chapter 3 focuses on two of Kaga’s novels, *Kaerazaru natsu* 帰らずる夏 and *Senkoku* 宣告, important steps towards *Eien no miyako* 永遠の都. *Kaerazaru natsu*, which is based on his experience as a cadet, focuses on the day of Japan’s unconditional surrender. The interplay between tennōism and militarism is the central theme of the novel. *Senkoku* reflects the author’s encounter with Heideggerian philosophy, in particular the dichotomies between being and non-being or light and darkness in human life. Kaga’s deepening understanding of Christianity is also present. *Senkoku* deals with the place of death in human life, while depicting the cruelty of capital punishment.

Chapter 4 concentrates on *Eien no miyako*. One notable aspect of this novel is the influence of Mikhail Bakhtin’s analysis of Dostoyevsky’s novels. *Eien no miyako* deals with a variety of issues – tennōism, Christian faith confronted by war, love, adultery, racism and the influence of the dead on the living – through characterisation and narrative that at no stage descend into mere vehicles for Kaga’s opinions. In this way Kaga takes up in a particularly fitting way the responsibility of an intellectual of
his time to hand down testimonies of Japan at war. By depicting the Pacific War as
destructive of Japan from within as well as without, Kaga presses the Japanese to
reflect on their past in a way that many still find either too difficult or unnecessary.

In Chapter 5 I review the main points of the thesis in order to reinforce my
claims as to the significance of Kaga Otohiko.
Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction
1.1 The significance of Kaga Otohiko
1.2 The Structure of the thesis
1.3 Kaga’s life and literature
   The first twenty years (1929-1949)
   From medical student to psychiatrist (1949-1960)
   A novelist – Kaga’s early works (1960s to the mid 1970s)
   As a more mature novelist – from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s
   Kaga’s conversion and his recent work
   Kaga as a critic and an essayist

Chapter 2 Kaga as a realist writer
2.1 Beyond shishōsetsu
2.2 The relationship between the author and the characters
2.3 Novels and stories influencing Kaga, particularly Eien no miyako
   Nire-ke no hitobito and Buddenbrooks
   Nogami Yaeko’s Meiro
   Tanizaki Junichirō’s Sasame yuki
   Aoi getuyōbi and “Sakurajima”
   Ōe Kenzaburō and his novels
   Ōoka Shōhei and his novels
   Endō Shūsaku, a Catholic writer

Chapter 3 Two important novels prior to Eien no miyako
3.1 Tennōism – Kaerazaru natsu 帰らずる夏
   3.1.1 Tennōism from the inside– Kaga and Mishima
       The Army Preparatory School (Rikugun Yōnen Gakkō 陸軍幼年学校)
   3.1.2 The story
   3.1.3 The theme
3.2 Human equality, being and nothingness – Senkoku 宣告
### 3.2.1 Beyond “nihirizumu (nihilism)”

### 3.2.2 Story and theme

- Fellow prisoners on death row
- Kusumoto Takeo as the author’s alter ego
- The psychiatrist Kogi Seiichirō

### Chapter 4  *Eien no miyako* 永遠の都

#### 4.1 General remarks

#### 4.2 Multifarious perspectives

- Importance of polyphony in *Eien no miyako*
- Carnival in *Eien no miyako*

#### 4.3 Story and principal themes

- The story
- Rihei’s life, death and tennōism of the Meiji era
- Different tennōism – Kogure Yuji and his son Yuta
- Christian faith and tennōism
  - *Japanese Christians and the war*
    - Tōru’s resistance
    - Could there be a righteous war?
  - Adultery as the realisation of true love
    - *The case of Hatsue*
    - *The case of Natsue*
    - *Voices which are not heard*
  - Gorō – a possible bridge between the Koreans and the Japanese

### Chapter 5  Conclusion

#### 5.1 Kaga Otohiko, a novelist and an intellectual

#### 5.2 Kaga as a public figure

### Bibliography

### Appendix
Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The significance of Kaga Otohiko

Kaga Otohiko 加賀乙彦 (1929- ), a Japanese contemporary novelist, is virtually unknown outside Japan and China.1 Although he is well-respected in Japanese literary circles, his novels do not belong to the shizenshugi (Japanese naturalism)2 genre which is usually considered the mainstream of Japanese literature. Unlike many other Japanese writers, Kaga does not write shishōsetsu, the “I” novel/story, and although he has written short stories, his focus has always been on the novel. He is therefore something of a literary outsider.

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that Kaga is deserving of far greater attention overseas than he has received, and more appropriate understanding and appreciation within Japan.

Despite his own long-standing feeling of being a literary outcast,3 Kaga has achieved a good deal of success. He has been the vice-president of the Japanese P.E.N. Club since 1997 and has won several literary prizes, including Tanizaki Junichirō Shō谷崎潤一郎賞 (for Kaerazaru natsu 帰らずる夏 in 1973) and Nihon Bungaku Taishō 日本文学大賞 (for Senkoku 宣告 in 1979). In 1999 he received the 55th Nihon Geijutsuin 習日文学院賞 for his achievement in the Japanese literature, and he became a member of Nihon Geijutsuin 日本芸術院 in December 2000.4 However, when one looks at the reception given his writing, particularly his earlier works, one can

---

1 Several of Kaga’s novels have been translated into Chinese and published since 1992 (see below). I could not find any references to the reception of Kaga’s novels in China.
2 In this thesis I use “shizenshugi” to refer to early twentieth-century Japanese naturalism. This is to avoid confusion with European naturalism, a quite different movement. Katō Shūichi 加藤周一 states that, while the “nature” underlying “naturalism” is the object of natural science, the “shizen” of “shizenshugi” has nothing to do with natural science but just means “without artificiality or contrivance”. He claims that what the Japanese writers of the time saw in the European naturalist authors such as Emile Zola (1840-1902) was not the essence of European naturalism but only what they needed, such as “explicit descriptions” of “the actual facts”. Katō Shūichi, Nihon bungakushi jōsetsu 日本国文学史要説, vol. 2, pp. 383-384.
3 My interview with the author, December 1997. Kaga obviously felt he had been ignored by bundan 文壇 (Japanese literary society). But from my point of view, bundan itself is a very vague entity and no one seems to know exactly what it is or who belongs to it.
6 Kaga was one of seven people who became the new members in 2000. The members of Nihon geijutsuin receive an annuity. Asahi Shinbun, 2 December 2000.
understand Kaga’s sense of being misunderstood and appreciated, if at all, for the wrong reasons.

A typical case of such misunderstanding occurs in an essay by Dōmeki Kyōzaburō 百目鬼呂三郎 on Kaga’s 1973 novel *Kaerazaru natsu*, a novel based on Kaga’s experience as a cadet towards the end of the Pacific War. Dōmeki seems to have missed the point of the novel completely. He sees the descriptions of the cadets’ militarism and devotion to the Emperor as exemplifying Kaga’s supposed lack of a serious attempt to come to grips with militarism, and a consequent lack of recognition of the vanity of the cadets’ life. I will demonstrate in Chapter 3 how misplaced this criticism is.

I see Kaga as one of a relatively small number of Japanese authors who try to live up to the responsibilities of a contemporary intellectual. Kaga is an intellectual in the sense that he is “…not content merely to live, [he] want[s] to think [his] existence.” While his fiction is not explicitly theoretical, it does take opinions and interests and set them in a broader framework which invites the critical appraisal of the reader. His works hold up a mirror to contemporary Japan. But it does more than this. It evaluates what it depicts, through the eyes of those who participate in its dramas.

In referring to the responsibility of intellectuals I have in mind Noam Chomsky’s words to the effect that democratic societies give intellectuals “the leisure, the facilities, and the training to seek the truth lying hidden behind the veil of distortion and misrepresentation, ideology, and class interest …”. The responsibility of intellectuals is to use the resources placed at their disposal in the interests of truth.

Kaga exercises this responsibility by examining individual experience within social institutions, based on his view that it is through their social relations that individuals become who they are. The situations that most interest him show marginal individuals in overbearing institutions. Thus, he unveils the pathology of tennōist society from the perspectives of both a former insider and a subsequent critic, pointing towards at least the possibility of a Japanese society devoid of fanatic patriotism. And he examines the reality of those who live on the margins of Japanese society, such as

---

7 Dōmeki also points to problems with the novel’s style, its structure and more generally with Kaga’s literary skills. However, Dōmeki does not provide supporting arguments for any of his criticism. Dōmeki, *Gendai no sakka 101-nin* 現代の作家101人, Shinchōsha, 1975, pp. 65-66.
criminals, death-row prisoners in particular, and psychiatric patients. In so doing he questions the meaning of “normality” so crucial to Japanese self-understanding.

But while Kaga is in one sense an intellectual, he is first and foremost a novelist. He exemplifies a view of the specific responsibility of the novelist to translate the lessons of the past into stories accessible to contemporary readers and suitable for transmission to future generations. Kaga sees the novelist as in large part a teller of exemplary stories. To this end he seeks the possibility of living in the company of the dead. This does not mean simply longing for deceased loved ones but trying to depict life and the living against the backdrop of the vast company of those who have gone before, distilling the lessons of their lives and handing these down to the next generation to help prevent the repetition of past mistakes.

Kaga believes that fiction has a distinctive role to play in grasping complex human reality. His approach to fiction is heavily influenced by nineteenth-century European realism. He is one of the few Japanese writers to show this degree of influence. The result is a unique and compelling picture of Japanese society, of its dark sides and of the possibilities for change.

_Eien no miyako_ (1997) is Kaga’s best-realised novel. Important steps on the way were _Kaerazaru natsu_ (1973) and _Senkoku_ (1979). However the development of his work is not linear, despite the fact that the issues that will continue to interest him as a novelist are clear from the beginning of his career. Although dealing to some degree with such key issues as tennoism and racism, his 1982 novel _Ikari no nai fune_ (1982) translated and published in English as _Riding the East Wind_ in 1999, does not show Kaga at his best. If his concern, to expose the evil of the war and the pathology of tennoist Japan that started with _Kaerazaru natsu_ had ended with _Ikari no nai fune_, Kaga would have been only a

---

1. Kaga states that because of his own religious experience it is necessary for him to seek contact with the souls of the dead to keep writing novels. Kaga Otohiko, _Nihonjin to shukyo_ (1996), p. 46.
2. Kaga states that, however strong an impact factual depiction may have, this cannot be compared to the impact achievable through the imaginative world of the novel. Kaga Otohiko, “Risō naki jidai no risō 理想なき時代の理想”, _Sakka no Seikatsu_ (1982), p. 27.
serious and well-intentioned minor author. Fortunately, however, the research and imaginative work Kaga put into writing *Ikari no nai fune*, together with further research and his passion and determination to write more fully about the war initiated by tennōist Japan, led in *Eien no miyako* to a work of outstanding literary merit.

The Nobel laureate Ōe Kenzaburō 大江健三郎 (1935-), an admirer of *Eien no miyako*, says in a 1997 discussion15 referring to four of Kaga’s novels, *Kaerazaru natsu* (1973), *Furandoru no fuyu* フランドルの冬 (1967), *Senkoku* (1979) and *Eien no miyako* (1997)17 that Kaga is unique in Japanese literature in his will to grapple with the dependence of human beings on their historical epoch and with the relationship of Japan to the rest of the world.18 Yoshio Iwamoto ヨシオ・イワモト, another admirer of *Eien no miyako*, writes “In our age of ‘the instant,’ from instant soups to brief literary concoctions … Kaga Otohiko’s *Eien no miyako* is a marvel indeed, a novel of monumental proportions that dares to resist current literary trends”. Iwamoto designates *Eien no miyako* as Kaga’s best work.19

Despite Kaga’s sense of literary isolation, he has won several literary prizes. Aside from the ones already mentioned, in 1988 he received the Geijutsu Senshō Monbu Daijin Shō 芸術選奨文部大臣賞 (the Minister of Education Art Award) and in 1999 Ihara Saikaku [shōsetsu] Shō 井原西鶴賞 (the Ihara Saikaku Award), both for *Eien no miyako*. He also received the Geijutsu Senshō Monbu Daijin Shinjinshō 芸術選奨文部大臣新人賞 (the Minister of Education’s ‘Newcomer of the Year’ Art Award) for *Furandoru no fuyu* in 1968 and the 13th Osaragi Jirō Shō 大波次郎賞 (Osarāgi Jirō Award) for *Shitsugen* 春雪 in 1986.

Besides the English translation of *Ikari no nai fune*, other novels of Kaga’s have been translated into foreign languages. The abridged version of *Kaerazaru natsu* was translated into German as *Die Hand des Riesen*21 and published in 1976; *Shitsugen*, *Kaerazaru natsu*, *Senkoku* and *Ikari no nai fune* were fully translated and published in

---

17 These four novels are all based on Kaga’s own experiences.
19 Iwamoto, “*Eien no miyako* san‘永遠の都’論”, *Shinshō*, 95:2 (February 1998), p. 282. Although this article is published in Japanese, I was able to obtain Iwamoto’s original version of the article in English, titled “In Praise of Kaga Otohiko’s *Eien no miyako*”. My quotations from this article are from the original English version.
Chapter 1 Introduction

Chinese as Shiyuan kulian 湮原苦恋\(^{22}\) (1992), Yong bie de xiatian 永别的夏天\(^{23}\) (1993), Sixing fan 死刑犯\(^{24}\) (1994) and Meiyou mao de chuan 没有锚的船\(^{25}\) (1996) respectively; and a Chinese translation of Eien no miyako as Yandu 炎都 has also recently been published (March 2001).\(^{26}\)

1.2 The structure of the thesis

After briefly sketching Kaga’s life and literary career in this chapter, I discuss Kaga’s realism in Chapter 2, examining first the difference between Kaga’s novels and shishōsetsu 私小說, and second the relationship between Kaga and his characters, drawing on an essay by Sartre that had a great impact on Kaga. In the same chapter I also look at other authors and their works which have influenced Kaga’s novels, Eien no miyako in particular.

In Chapter 3 I discuss tennōism as depicted in Kaga’s early work Kaerazaru natsu. I then discuss Kaga’s sense of the equality of human beings and his thoughts on death as developed through the depiction of the life and death of condemned prisoners in Senkoku. In discussing these two novels I examine the key steps leading to Eien no miyako. Chapter 4 is devoted to Eien no miyako, the main focus of the thesis. Chapter 5 recaps the main threads of the discussion.

1.3 Kaga’s life and literature\(^{27}\)

The first twenty years (1929-1949)

Kaga Otohiko 加賀乙彦, whose real name is Kogi Sadataka 小木貞孝,\(^{28}\) was born in Tokyo in April 1929, the first son of Kogi Kōji 小木孝次 and Yone 杏. The birth was in a hospital of which his maternal grandfather was the owner and the head doctor.\(^{29}\) His father worked for a life insurance company. Kaga has three younger brothers,

---


\(^{23}\) Yong bie de xiatian, trans. by Bao Rong, Taiyuan: Beiyue Wenyi Chubanshe, 1993.


\(^{25}\) Meiyou mao de chuan, trans. by Bao Rong, Taiyuan: Beiyue Wenyi Chubanshe, 1996.


\(^{27}\) In writing this section, I have drawn on “Kaga Otohiko nenpu 加賀乙彦年譜”, Chikuma gendai bungaku taikei 畢摩現代文學大系, vol. 90, Chikuma Shobō, 1977, pp. 464-471; Kaga’s own essays; and my interviews with Kaga, which took place in December 1997 and December 1998.

\(^{28}\) “Kaga Otohiko” is his penname: he uses his real name for his works as a psychiatrist.

\(^{29}\) This grandfather is the model for one of the main characters in Eien no miyako.
Masataka 正孝, Kazutaka 和孝 and Akitaka 明孝, born in 1931, 1933 and 1937 respectively. His parents were both from the upper-middle class, and he seems to have enjoyed a privileged childhood.

In 1943, when he was nearly fourteen, Kaga passed a highly competitive entry examination that enabled him to enter the Army Preparatory School (Rikugun yōnen gakkō 陸軍幼年学校) in Nagoya in April of the same year. The decision to pursue a military career was made by his parents. As far as he can remember, the possibility of a different career was never considered. A military career was at the time the pinnacle of social achievement. Graduates of the preparatory schools usually went to the Military Academy (Rikugun Shikan Gakkō 陸軍士官学校) to become officers. Since they were then virtually assured of power and status in Japanese social and political life, Kaga's parents were keen to see him enter on a military career, and Kaga himself remembers his longing to become a cadet in one of the Army Preparatory Schools.30

The circumstances of the time played a major role in forming Kaga's attitude towards the military. Japanese militarism, inextricably linked with nationalism and expansionism, was already gaining momentum when he was born.

In 1936, when Kaga was in kindergarten, the failed military coup attempt, the February 26 Affair (Ni ni roku jiken 二二六事件), occurred.31 Kaga has some recollections, albeit vague, of the days when Tokyo was under martial law because of this incident, which he believes to have been one of the key points in Japan's descent into militarism. As a result of the February 26 Affair the power of the General Staff Office, the focus of the rebel officers' anger, was strengthened, and it used this increased power to lead Japan towards full-scale war. Kaga deals with this incident in both Kaerazaru natsu and Eien no miyako, with the latter having a particularly detailed treatment.


31 The February 26 Affair was an unsuccessful coup attempt by a group of army officers, members of the Kōdō 亀道 (Imperial Way) faction, leading about 1400 of their soldiers. The officers had been concerned about the poverty among farmers and labourers, and wished to destroy the existing military clique in order to introduce direct administration by the Emperor. They called their own act “the Shōwa restoration”, not a coup or a putsch. I consulted mainly the following in writing about the affair: Ben-Ami Shillony, “The February 26 Affair: Politics of a Military insurrection”, Wilson, G. M. ed., Crisis Politics in Prewar Japan: Institutional and Ideological Problems of the 1930s, Sophia University, 1970, pp. 25-50; Morishima Michio 森嶋通夫, Naze nihon wa ‘seikō’ shita ka なぜ日本は「成功」したのか?, (originally given as a lecture titled “Economy and Ideology” in 1981) TBS Buritanika, 1984, pp. 158-192; Takahashi Masae 高橋正衛, 2.26 jiken 二二六事件, Chūkō shinsho, 1965; Nihon Kokusai Seiji
While still in primary school, Kaga experienced the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and the Pacific War in 1941. He was sixteen when the war ended and began a completely different life.

Kaga passed the entry examination for senior high school in November 1945 but did not enter for one year. Since the only foreign language he had studied at the Army Preparatory School was French, he needed to improve his English, the main foreign language taught in normal junior high schools in Japan. It also seems to have been necessary for him to take some time out to adjust to the values and ideas of post-war Japanese society.

This period in which Kaga did not need to commit himself to any particular study gave him precious time for exploring literature. He read a vast amount, ranging from the collected works of Japanese and European authors to modern plays. He liked Goethe and Shakespeare and was particularly attracted by Balzac, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky. Music was also an important influence. Kaga writes of his encounter, when a senior high school student, with Mozart’s Jupiter Symphony:

> When the war ended, I listened to music with rapt attention as if [I was trying to] push off the heavy pressure which had badly oppressed [me]. [Prior to this] I had received only a poor music education in the closed militaristic climate. When I listened to the Jupiter Symphony in the house of my senior high school friend, I really thought from my heart that the war had now ended. There was a completely different atmosphere from the unquestioning compulsion, violence and nationalism provoked by slogans such as “Destroy Britain and America!” or “Long live His Majesty!” There was a world that was natural, warm and open to everything. Compared to this one musical work, the war was really a worthless and insignificant thing.

**From medical student to psychiatrist (1949-1960)**

After graduating from senior high school, Kaga studied medicine at Tokyo University between 1949 and 1954, through four years of undergraduate study and one year as an intern. During this time he continued to read a wide range of authors, including the existentialist Sartre and his contemporary Camus. He also continued to

---


read such favourites as Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky.

In 1949, one of Kaga’s friends introduced him to the settlement movement, in which he became deeply involved. The settlement movement, which began in London in 1884, spread to the United States shortly afterwards and then to most countries of Europe and Southeast Asia. It started in Japan at the end of the nineteenth century. It attracted students, Communists and religious people. They moved to poverty-stricken areas, established facilities such as cheap lodging houses, unemployment offices and child care centres, tying themselves to the community in order to improve the everyday life of the poor. As a medical student Kaga joined the “Tōdai 東大 (Tokyo University) settlement” in Kameari 亀有, where study meetings on Marxism and Leninism were frequently held. He was not a resident worker but a volunteer.

Kaga’s main interests after the war were Marxism and Christianity. He was also interested in existentialism. He read Marx, Engels, Stalin and Mao Zedong, as well as Kierkegaard, Thomas Aquinas and Augustine. In 1951 Kaga met Akaiwa Sakae 赤岩栄, a Protestant pastor in Tokyo, who declared his intention to join the Japanese Communist Party in 1949 while keeping his position as a Christian pastor. Akaiwa later withdrew his declaration after finding out that he would face expulsion from the church if he joined the Party. However, he continued to argue that the relationship between Christianity and Marxism resembled that between the head and limbs. Like many young Japanese intellectuals drawn to both Christianity and Marxism, Kaga found Akaiwa’s attempt to merge the two very attractive.

Of the European philosophies introduced to Japan after the end of national isolation in 1868, Christianity and Marxism had by far the greatest impact on Japanese

---

33 Kaga Otohiko, “Sengo no hibi to Mōtsuaruto 戦後の日々とモーツァルト”, (first pub. in 1979) Sensō nōto, pp. 173-182. All the translations in this thesis are mine, unless otherwise indicated.
34 Kameari is an area in the Kōtō Ward in Tokyo.
37 Interview, December 1998. These young intellectuals found a strongly humanist message in Marxism, emphasising integrity and conscience, in keeping with Marx’s early writings. Unlike Marx’s later writings, which represent so-called “scientific socialism”, his early writings represent a more humanistic socialism. The best-known of the early works is the “Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts”, written during the months of April to August 1844 but not intended for publication. See Karl Marx, Early Writings, ed. by L. Collett, trans. by R Livingston and G. Benton, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975, pp. 279-400.
Chapter 1 Introduction

The effect of Marxism was to teach Japanese intellectuals to think of social reality as a whole, rather than in terms of the discrete fields of politics, law, philosophy or economics. Intellectuals also learned to look at history as a meaningful and law-governed process of development. Marxism raised the question of the relationship between thought and action and demanded of Japanese intellectuals that if they studied a particular system of thought and agreed with it, they should live according to its principles. From the Marxist point of view, thought is not simply about understanding the world, but also about changing it. Japanese intellectuals learned from Marxism that ideas are not objects with which to play mental games but guides to responsible action. These were the major reasons why Marxism spread among the highly educated and the idealistic, particularly university students.

However, Kaga felt not only sympathy but also distaste for the Communists. He writes:

... I felt sympathy for the Communists, who were criticising the Emperor most courageously. However, at the same time there was a point at which I could not agree with them. For instance, [they had] an attitude of condescending to others, positioning themselves at a higher level and speaking and behaving with arrogant self-confidence. They looked [to me] like the army during the war and gave me a feeling of repugnance.

Despite his complicated feelings, Kaga’s sympathetic attitude towards the Communists continued until the late 1950s. After he witnessed the ugly split in the Japanese Communist party at the end of that decade, Kaga separated himself from the party completely. His experience in the settlement movement, however, seems to have taken deep root in his heart, and it appears in Eien no miyako as an important experience for one of the characters. Kaga writes in an essay:

... The settlement was expanded into the old market place and the working class area in Kameari. By dealing with labourers, repatriates, jobless people and their families, I was forced to realise that I was of the urban petit-bourgeois and that I had a head full of theories while being ignorant of the real life of human beings. I was captivated by the world of poverty, illness, crime and hunger. I remember [an occasion] on which I was watching a

38 Japan also came into contact with other European philosophies, such as German idealism and pragmatism, but Marxism and Christianity were the greatest influence, particularly on young intellectuals.


Chapter I Introduction

dying woman, blaming myself for my powerlessness. Her husband had died.
[She then] worked as a day labourer, contracted tuberculosis, became
bedridden and was dying of illness and hunger. The scene stands out [in my
memory] as a single distant point that appears as the one crystal-clear image
in a fog.\textsuperscript{41}

After becoming a medical doctor in 1954, at the age of twenty-five, Kaga chose
to specialise in psychiatry and criminology. He started work as a medical officer at the
Tokyo Detention Centre the following year, working there for about one and a half
years. Kaga’s interest in crime and criminals, death-row prisoners in particular,
became marked from this time. He met Shōda Akira 正田昭, a prisoner on death row,
who later became the model for the main character in Senkoku. Kaga also interviewed
many death-row prisoners and those serving life sentences in various detention centres
and prisons in Japan. His research into death-row prisoners provided the inspiration
for the theme, characterisation and realistic description of the prison atmosphere in
Senkoku.

From 1957 to 1960 Kaga was in France, having received a scholarship from the
French government. For the first half of his time there he studied in Paris, while for
the second he worked in a psychiatric hospital in northern France. Kaga’s 1960
doctoral thesis, written in French, was originally published in October 1959 in the
French medical journal Annales Médico-Psychologiques. In October 1960, after
returning from France, Kaga married.

One can find Kaga’s experience as a psychiatrist at the core of many of his
novels and stories. His literary imagination seems to have been provoked by the many
aspects of human insanity and criminality which he had encountered while working as
a psychiatrist. He does not treat these phenomena as extraordinary but as everyday
problems which may well be closely related to those of the ‘normal’ world. He treats
insanity (temporary or permanent), dreams, and criminality as tools to see into the
inner lives of human beings and human societies.

A novelist – Kaga’s early works (1960 to the mid 1970s)

As mentioned above, Kaga was already in his thirties when he started to write
fiction. While Kaga’s interest in literature began early in life, he first attempted to

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., p. 114.
write a novel while working in the French psychiatric hospital. At that time he suffered depression caused by loneliness and the long, dark and cold winter in a small French village. Kaga writes:

... One day, feeling an unrestrainable urge, I bought a notebook and wrote what I was thinking. I realised at that time that there was a hunger for the Japanese language at the base of my depression ...

I put my pen [to paper] when I found the time. I started sketching the surroundings. I tried to depict in detail the characteristics of the doctors and nurses ... of the patients in the hospital and the people with whom I became acquainted in the village. I had never written a novel [or a story]. But while I was taking notes, I was aware that I was writing something like a literary work. I then started to revise what I had written. This endless work became a good diversion.

The action of writing in Japanese healed my loneliness and depression and gave a kind of order to my mind. The more I wrote, the lighter the darkness of my heart became and I was cheered up.

I came back to Japan in 1960. Seven years later, I completed my first novel, basing it on the notebook which I wrote in France.\footnote{Kaga Otohiko, “Kita furansu no kurai hibi 北フランスの暗い日々”, (first pub. in 1994) Sei to shi to bungaku 生と死と文学, Ushio Shuppansha, 1996, pp. 11-13.}

Kaga’s first major publication, the novel \textit{Furandoru no fuyu} フランドルの冬 was completed and published in 1967. As noted, this novel received the \textit{Geijutsu Senshô Monbu Daijin Shinjinsho} 芸術選奨文部大臣新人賞 the following year. The prominent novelist Ooka Shôhei 大岡昇平 chose \textit{Furandoru no fuyu} as one of the best five novels of 1967,\footnote{“Kotoshi no kaiko, Besuto 5, Bungaku ことしの回顧, ベスト5, 文学”, Asahi Shinbun 14 December 1967.} and the critic Okuno Takeo 奥野健男, while questioning the novel’s difficult style and structure, praises the realistic description of the characters and its power to draw the reader into the world of the novel.\footnote{Okuno Takeo, “Furandoru no fuyu, Kaga Otohiko う「フランドルの冬」, 加賀乙彦著”, Hokkaido Shinbun, 18 September 1967.}

\textit{Furandoru no fuyu} took seven years to write, since Kaga had other full-time work, first as a psychiatrist and later as an Assistant Professor at Tokyo Medical and Dental University 東京医科歯科大学. Prior to the publication of \textit{Furandoru no fuyu}, Kaga joined a literary coterie in 1964 and published a few short stories in its magazine. None of these was highly thought of by the members, and from this experience Kaga...
seems to have learned that his bent was not the short story but the novel.45

_Furandoru no fuyu_ and Kaga’s second novel, _Arechi o tabisuru monotachi_ 荒地を旅する者たち (1971) were born out of the author’s three years in France, as was his 1972 short story “Katamuita machi 傾いた街”.47 The main characters in both novels, Kobayashi コバヤシ in the former and Utsunomiya Kachi 宇都宮可知 in the latter, are Japanese psychiatrists and share characteristics and experiences with Kaga himself. Although “watashi 私 (I)” in the short story is not a psychiatrist, Kaga shares many similarities with Kobayashi and Kachi. These novels and the short story focus on life as a foreigner in France, madness in the human mind and the indistinct line between sanity and insanity.

Mentally isolated in a foreign country and feeling extreme loneliness and the impossibility of love, Kobayashi starts to deviate into madness. In _Arechi o tabisuru monotachi_, Kachi and a group of young people around him try to achieve their goals in different areas in good faith, but some of them (in some cases slowly and in others quickly) lose their balance and end up in psychiatric hospitals. “I” in “Katamuita machi” can do nothing when his lover, a painter, starts to lose her sanity.

In the same year that he published _Arechi o tabisuru monotachi_, Kaga published a book of collected essays, _Bungaku to kyoki_ 文学と狂気, 48 on the relationship between literature and normality, abnormality and madness. He emphasises the darkness (yami 鬼) in the human mind and questions whether it is worth trying to overcome the meaninglessness of life. These issues are further developed in the 1979 novel, _Senkoku_. It seems that, in writing these works, Kaga was giving vent to his feeling of the powerlessness of psychiatry and psychiatrists.

Kaga’s third novel, _Kaerazaru natsu_ (1973), is a semi-autobiographical work based on his experience as a military cadet. As noted, _Kaerazaru natsu_ received the 9th Tanizaki Junichirō Sho 谷崎潤一郎賞 in the year of its publication. The main character’s dream at the beginning of the story plays an important role, as it does in other novels by Kaga. In an essay published in the same year, Kaga discusses the relation between madness and dreams. Agreeing with the French psychopathologist

---

45 Kaga Otohiko, “Furandoru no fuyu no hibi フランドルの冬の日々”, (first pub. in 1991) _Sei to shi to bungaku_, pp. 14-16.
46 Kaga Otohiko, _Arechi o tabisuru monotachi_, Shinchōsha, 1971.
48 Kaga Otohiko, _Bungaku to kyōki_, Chikuma Shobō, 1971.
Henri Ey, Kaga claims that “dreams are the source of madness”. He believes that in our minds we all have some kind of insanity, which is normally kept out of sight but which often surfaces in dreams. While his previous novels depict insanity in individual minds, Kaerazaru natsu portrays collective madness among the young cadets as well as in the entire nation. The characters’ dream of the imperial light covering the whole world is a form of insanity. I will discuss Kaerazaru natsu further in Chapter 3.

Besides literary works, Kaga, published Shikeishū to mukishū no shinri 死刑囚と無期囚の心理 in 1974 under his real name Kogi Sadataka 小木貞孝. In this monograph on psychiatry and criminal psychology, he compares the starkly different attitudes of prisoners on death row and of those sentenced to life imprisonment. This book seems to be based on his 1960 doctoral thesis. Kaga’s research led him to the realisation that many of the prisoners on death row had “detention neurosis”, something never seen among those serving life sentences. This realisation seems to have ignited Kaga’s literary imagination, the result being Senkoku, which brings to life the distinctiveness of the personalities of a group of death-row prisoners.

As a more mature novelist — from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s

In his fourth novel, Senkoku (1979), which received the 11th Nihon Bungaku Taishō 日本文学大賞 in the year of publication, Kaga writes about the lives, crimes and executions of prisoners on death row. In so doing, he tries to describe the light and the surrounding darkness of human existence. Maruya Saiichi 丸谷才一, who was one of the judges for the award, while harbouring some misgivings about the technique used in the novel, admires the strength, skillfulness and the attitude of the author, stating that he faces contemporary Japan directly and squarely.

The story follows a death-row prisoner, Kusumoto Takeo 楢本他家雄, modelled on the real-life convicted murderer Shōda Akira 正田昭, who becomes a Catholic during his time in prison. Kaga’s depictions of Takeo and many other prisoners, their psychological circumstances at the time of their crime, their everyday lives on death

---

49 Kaga met Ey in 1957 at the Hôpital Sainte-Anne in Paris where Kaga studied for two years.
51 Kogi Sadataka, Shikeishû to mukishû no shinri, Kongô Shuppan, 1974.
row and their different attitudes towards their impending executions, are powerful and convincing. I discuss *Senkoku* more fully in Chapter 3.

It was in 1979, the year in which he published *Senkoku* and reached the age of fifty, that Kaga resigned his professorship at Sophia University in order to concentrate on writing. He explains why in an essay written three months after his resignation:

... In short, now I want to have a sizeable amount of time even though it will not be for long. The retirement age at the university is seventy, and I [still] have twenty years [to go]. If I were to stay for a third [of the time] – seven years – there would be thirteen years left. I made the decision when I considered whether or not the thirteen years were enough to finish work on the materials and themes I wanted to write about. It would be much better if I could use the entire twenty years rather than thirteen.\(^{53}\)

A professor is a human being who belongs to a university. This feeling of belonging unconsciously restrains the freedom of one’s pen and takes the poisonous character out of one’s novels. At first glance, [things I wrote as a professor] were well formed and elegant but there were lies that sneaked into the sentences. Since I realised this subtle effect, I started to think of quitting [my] university professorship.\(^{54}\)

The 1982 novel *Ikari no nai June* is based on the life of the Japanese special ambassador Kurusu Saburō (1886-1954) and his family. In this novel, Kaga questions the widely held view that Japan was solely responsible for the Pacific War, examining the wide range of viewpoints of those who were involved.\(^{55}\)

In parallel with *Ikari no nai June*, Kaga also published a series of comic novels: *Atama isha kotohajime* (1976), *Atama isha seishun ki* (1980) and *Atama isha ryūgaku ki* (1983). These works were based on Kaga’s experiences as a young psychiatrist in his mid twenties to early thirties. In the postscript to the combined version of the series, *Atama isha* (1993), Kaga writes that he wanted to record both the comedy and the intense energy which appeared at this time of change both in his life and in Japan.\(^{56}\)

In his 1985 novel *Shitsugen*, Kaga deals with the horror of false criminal

---


\(^{55}\) I will discuss *Ikari no nai June* further in Chapter 3.

\(^{56}\) Kaga Otohiko, *Atama isha*, Chūkō bunko, 1993. “Atama isha” is a made-up word, literally meaning “head doctor”.

charges together with the coldness of mainstream society towards those who have committed crimes or suffered mental illness. *Shitsugen* received the 13th Osaragi Jirō Shō 大仏次郎賞 in the following year. The novel is also a love story, following the lives of a middle aged man who has a criminal record and a young woman who has a history of mental illness. The main characters, Yukimori Atsuo 雪森厚夫 and Wakako 和香子, are arrested and falsely charged with blowing up public trains. In following their lives, Kaga sharply questions those who neglect basic human rights in the name of law and order.

In the postscript to *Shitsugen* the critic Akiyama Shun 秋山駿 writes of Kaga: ...
... [when I read his academic thesis, *Shikeishū to mukishū no shinri*] ... I could not stop feeling that a very humane form of communication, which is [completely] different from an [academic] study, had occurred between Kaga and the criminals.

This is good. This is [also] an important point. The reason why we feel sympathy [for the criminals], even when we read about the crimes of the main character, is that [the description] is imbued with [Kaga’s] insight, based on [his] humane communication with the criminals (or one may say, his love for human beings).\(^{58}\)

In making these comments, Akiyama points to Kaga’s sense of equality with those he examines and portrays as a particular strength. In so doing, Kaga examines himself and tries to see himself through the eyes of his characters. This gives his novels a strong sense of equality.

**Kaga’s conversion and his recent work**

Kaga became a Catholic in 1987 at the age of fifty-eight. In *Kirisutokyō e no michi* キリスト教への道\(^{59}\) (originally given as a speech in May 1988) he describes his long and winding path towards his somewhat unusual (for a Japanese) destination. The world of his youth collapsed at the end of the war. Several accidental encounters – some may call them a result of “divine providence” – such as that with the death-row prisoner Shōda Akira and those with the priests at Sophia University where he taught, pointed Kaga towards Catholicism. He was baptised together with his wife, Ayako あや子. The well-known Catholic author Endō Shūsaku 遠藤周作 (1923-1996) and his

---

\(^{58}\) Akiyama Shun, “Kaisetsu 解説”, *Shitsugen*, vol. 2, pp. 560-566.

wife were their godfather and godmother. The priest was Kadowaki Kakichi, who is also a literary critic and author.

From the late 1980s, Kaga published a trilogy, individually titled Kiro 岐路 (1988), Ogurai mori 小暗い森 (1991) and Ento 炎都 (1996). In Kaga’s mind the trilogy was always one novel, but the publisher baulked at its sheer length. However, in 1997 the three novels were republished in seven volumes under the title Eien no miyako 永遠の都, a monument in contemporary Japanese literature.

Eien no miyako deals with issues specific to Japan such as tennoism 天皇主義 and with universal issues such as death, eternal life, love, equality, hatred, war, peace, religion, and adultery through the lives and deaths of the members of three generations. Novels of this scale are rare in Japanese literature. For this reason, and because of its central place in Kaga’s fiction, Eien no miyako is the major focus of this thesis.

Kaga’s other novels during this period are Sukeetaa warutsu スケーターワルツ 60 (1987), Viinasu no ekubo ヴィーナスのえくぼ 61 (1989) and Kaimu 海霧 62 (1990). The main characters in all three are contemporary Japanese women between their late teens and mid thirties. Their sexuality is an important element in each case.

In Sukeetaa warutsu Kaga depicts the life of a young female skater Miyako 美也子 who becomes anorexic under the pressure to perform better. She recovers from the illness, finding herself as an independent individual free from conventional fetters. While training hard for an important competition, she nonetheless lives only for the moment, including the joy of sex. Through Miyako, Kaga shows the vanity of valuing patriotism (the honour of becoming a national representative) over individual freedom.

Sexuality and isolation are the central themes of Viinasu no ekubo. The main character is Nanako 奈々子, an upper-middle class Tokyo housewife. Mistaking sexual attraction for love, Nanako loses control over her life and commits suicide.

Kaimu is set in an isolated town in northern Japan. While portraying the turbulent love life of a young psychotherapist, Makiko 牧子, Kaga examines the possibility of there being an ideal psychiatric hospital. But he shows how an attempt to establish such a hospital fails.

All three women have something to devote themselves to – skating, the piano, a job. They are better educated, have more opportunities and are less bound by

---

conventional ties than Japanese women of the previous generation. However, they
find it difficult to turn these opportunities and freedoms into more fulfilling lives.

These three novels were written in parallel with *Eien no miyako*. In a 1989
essay “Josei no nikutai ni hisomu ma 女性の肉体に潜む魔”, Kaga states that he wrote
them in order to balance his mind between past and present Japan. Writing *Eien no
miyako* forced Kaga to live imaginatively in the period from the mid 1930s to the mid
1940s. The deeper this imaginative effort, the more Kaga felt himself to be losing
touch with life around him. He wrote the other three novels to counter this tendency.

In his 1991 novel *Ikiteiru shinzo* 生きている心臓, Kaga deals with the
controversial issues of brain death, organ transplantation and death with dignity. Since
1986 Kaga has been a member of the ethics committee of the medical department of
Tokyo Medical and Dental University, where he taught criminal psychology between
refers to the motive for writing *Ikiteiru shinzo*.

While a member of the above committee, he had difficulty forming his own
opinions about the issues of brain death and organ transplantation. This was not only
because they were naturally controversial subjects but also because of an incident in
1968, in which a group of doctors performed a rather dubious heart transplant and the
senior doctor was later sued for the murders of the donor and the recipient. There was
no criminal charge, but the incident provoked a widespread distrust of doctors. After
briefly noting the details of the incident, Kaga characterises it in the essay as one of the
biggest barriers to the acceptance of organ transplantation in Japan. This led him to
the following realisation and consequently to write *Ikiteiru shinzo*.

... The motive for starting to write this novel was the realisation that the
issues of brain death and organ transplant lend themselves better to treatment
in “spoken” form as conversations or discussions rather than in “written”
form as essays. The current situation [of these issues] in Japan is that one
can clarify where the problem lies only through many remarks and

---

65 Since 1968 only a few organ transplants have been performed in Japan. Necessary government action
was tardy. The Ministry of Welfare announced criteria of brain death in 1985 (Kōsei-shōrei 厚生省令,
No. 78) and the Prime Minister announced the enactment of the law in relation to organ transplantation
in 1997 (Hōritsu No. 104).
In a discussion with Endō Shūsaku regarding Endō’s 1993 novel *Fukai kawa* 深い河, Kaga stated that without Jesus all human agony would be meaningless. Kadowaki argues that *Eien no miyako* was born from Kaga’s experience of God.

Elsewhere Kaga also writes that he can never forget the shock he received when he read Kitamori Kazō’s 北森嘉藏 *Kami no itami no shingaku* 神の痛みの神学 (1946) in the ruins of Tokyo immediately after the war. Kaga says that this book guided him for a long time during his personal post-war struggles. Thirty years later he read it again and found again that “… [reading] *Kami no itami no shingaku* was a soul-shaking experience”. He writes:

… I, who lived through the post-war period feeling the pain of the [war] dead as my own pain, understood [Kitamori’s] basic argument, that Jesus healed the wounds of human beings with his own wounds [as thoroughly as] his own [physical] pain. I became eager to experience the sufferings of Jesus for myself and to enter his pain by re-reading the Gospels from this point of view.

From the above passage, one can see not only Kaga’s esteem for Christianity but also his sincere feeling towards the war dead. These two elements are, along with other themes, profoundly integrated in *Eien no miyako*.

In his 1999 novel *Takayama Ukon* 高山右近, Kaga depicts the final years of the well-known medieval Christian daimyo Takayama Ukon (1552-1615), from his expulsion from Japan to his death in Manila. Unlike the famous Catholic author Endō Shūsaku, Kaga is attracted to those whose strength of will leads them to rebellion.

---

74 Takayama Ukon was condemned to exile and deprived of his fiefdom in 1587 by the Anti-Christian Edicts, an 11-point edict issued by Toyotomi Hideyoshi prohibiting forced conversion and denouncing
and often to persecution.

As Yamauchi Masayuki states, Takayama Ukon illustrates the short period when Japanese and European histories came into contact just before Japan’s national isolation which lasted for two and a half centuries. Yamauchi admires Kaga’s detailed historical descriptions, stating that reading him is like seeing a picture scroll unfold. Kaga describes the sufferings of Takayama and the Japanese Christians when Christianity is outlawed, interweaving the description of Takayama’s final two years, in which he and his family were sent into exile in the Philippines, and letters from a seventeenth-century Spanish missionary to his sister (the last letter is written in 1626). The outlawed Christians suffer expulsion, torture and cruel execution because of their belief. Kaga seeks to locate the source of the Christians’ strength to resist the authorities, even if it means death.

**Kaga as critic and essayist**

Besides fiction, Kaga has written many essays, commentaries, reviews and travel accounts. Among them his 1973 book on Dostoyevsky is unique in its psychiatric point of view. Kaga, an admirer of Dostoyevsky, believes that a recognition of Dostoyevsky’s epilepsy is important to an understanding his work. In this context Kaga emphasises the significance of *The Idiot* (1869), arguing that is this novel Dostoyevsky gave not only an epileptic man but epilepsy itself a central role. The importance of Dostoyevsky and of Tolstoy to Kaga’s literary development will be discussed in greater detail in the course of this thesis.

As mentioned, one of the most significant points of Kaga’s work, both fictional and non-fictional, is his compassion for marginal individuals such as psychiatric patients and criminals caught up in domineering institutions. This compassion is based on a deep sense of the fundamental equality of all human beings. Kaga’s compassion for the mentally ill is demonstrated in the following passage on Dostoyevsky written in a book published in 1993:

... [I believe] Dostoyevsky suffered a lot because of his epilepsy, but he also gained a lot from the illness. However, when I talk about this, [some people]...
scold me, [saying] that I make Dostoyevsky a psychiatric patient, and they bring forward a counter argument that he is a great literary figure and not a psychiatric patient. I would like to argue immediately against these people. Why do psychiatric patients have to be so disparaged? Psychiatric illness is the most noble among [the illnesses] affecting human beings. The person who extracted the greatest treasure out of a psychiatric illness was Dostoyevsky.  

Some of Kaga’s collected essays, such as Ano warai koketa hibi あの笑いこけた日々 and Kiiroi keitodama 黄色い毛糸玉, are rather light-hearted and provide an insight into the author’s daily life. Although he married in 1960 and had two children, Kaga does not write much about his family. However, one can glean some insight from his 1975 essay “Otoko yamome 男ヤモメ”. Here Kaga writes humorously that he was in a “love triangle” between literature, his wife and himself for about seven years until he published his first novel.

Kaga’s 1980 study Shikeishū no kiroku 死刑囚の記録 and his 1981 collected essays, Hanzai nōto 犯罪ノート, are focused mainly on criminals he came to know in the course of his work and their crimes, and on Senkoku. He states in the postscript to Hanzai nōto: “Thus far, I have written various things about crimes. In both novels and essays, they were the centre of my interests and themes”.  

Kaga is publicly opposed to capital punishment, which is still practiced in Japan. In a 1975 essay, he argues strongly that Japan should abolish capital punishment. In a 1979 essay, he makes the case that the current practice of capital punishment is morally wrong. He emphasises that a trial, however imperfect, is at least open to the public and the judge explains the reasons for the verdict. Kaga then asks whether it is fair that the Minister of Justice, who does not have any direct relation to either the trial or to the criminal, decides whether and when the death penalty is to be carried out after the verdict is confirmed, and that no one knows how this is decided. Elsewhere Kaga writes: “I believe that capital punishment is a cruel

---

77 Kaga Otohiko, Watashi no sukina chōhen shōsetsu 私の好きな長編小説, Shinchōsha, 1993, pp. 63-64.
78 Kaga Otohiko, Ano warai koketa hibi, Kadokawa Shoten, 1975.
80 I cannot find the birth dates of his children in any of his works.
81 Kaga, “Otoko yamome”, (first pub. in 1975) Kiiroi keitodama, pp. 84-86.
82 Kaga Otohiko, Shikeishū no kiroku, Chūō Kōronsha, 1980.
83 Kaga Otohiko, Hanzai nōto, Ushio Shuppansha, 1981.
84 Ibid., p. 243.
punishment and is [therefore] against the Constitution”. He has been a committee member of “Shikei haishi kokusai jōyaku no hijun o motomeru foramu 90” , an anti-capital punishment citizens’ group, since 1990. As mentioned, Kaga has also been a member of the ethics committee of the medical department of Tokyo Medical and Dental University since 1986. His involvement in these groups seems to be natural if one reads what he has written. But Kaga himself does not think so. He believes that a writer should advocate what he believes through his written work, not by physically standing on the frontline of social and political barricades. He says he would like to quit these roles and concentrate on writing.

Kaga’s other collected commentaries, reviews and essays such as Dokusho nōto 読書ノート (1984), Watashi no sukina chōhen shōsetsu 私の好きな長編小説 (1993) and Nihon no 10 dai shōsetsu 日本の10大小説 (1996, originally published as Nihon no chōhen shōsetsu 日本の長編小説 in 1976), on literary works, authors and movies, give us different views of his interests in literary and other kinds of art. These works show Kaga’s vast knowledge of literature of various kinds and his positive appreciation of realism in nineteenth-century European literature. Even works which are generally considered to be fully of the twentieth century, such as Remembrance of Things Past by Marcel Proust (1871-1922) and Light in August by William Faulkner (1897-1962), which Kaga deeply admires, seem to him firmly under the influence of nineteenth-century literature. He writes of Proust:

These days … I am rereading his works. When one reads Remembrance of Things Past, which is considered to be the epitome of a twentieth-century work, [one] realises that the author researched deeply the best of nineteenth-century authors such as Balzac and Stendhal and applied their methods of narration and characterisation in a dignified manner in his own novels.

86 Kaga, “Mitsubishi ginkō jiken to shikei 三菱銀行事件と死刑”, Hanzai nōto, pp. 159-166.
87 Kaga Otohiko, “Shikei seido to jinken 死刑制度と人権”, (originally given in an interview in 1991) Noshi, songenshi, jinken, pp. 84-88. The Constitution of Japan forbids cruel punishments as follows: “The infliction of torture by any public officer and cruel punishments are absolutely forbidden (Chapter III, Rights and duties of the People, Article 36)”, Sharaku Henshūbu, ed., op. cit., p. 123. There is a fundamental disagreement between the pro and anti death penalty camps. While the former argues that the death penalty is cruel, the latter states it is not.
88 Interview, December 1998.
89 Interview, December 1998.
90 Kaga Otohiko, Dokusho nōto, Ushio Shuppansha, 1984.
Chapter I Introduction

Proust gives [me] the impression of having summed up all of the nineteenth century rather than of having announced the twentieth. 93

About Faulkner, Kaga states: “... although Faulkner is said to be a very twentieth-century author ... I think he is an author who firmly mastered traditional nineteenth-century realism”. 94 Kaga considers himself a realist writer. His favourite authors are indeed nineteenth-century realists.

As previously mentioned, Kaga’s 1982 volume of collected essays, Sensō nōto 戦争ノート, 95 is focused on his experiences during the war as a cadet and his consequent thoughts on the issues of war, peace and the responsibility for the war. His reflection on what he knew himself to be as a youth and his subsequent strong criticism of that earlier self seems to have played a large part in the creation of his mature identity.

Kaga’s writing extends to descriptions of his travels. Since 1976 he has travelled frequently, to Western and Eastern Europe, the US, China and elsewhere. Haha naru daichi 母なる大地, 96 an account of a journey to Eastern Europe, was published in 1989. Yūkyū no taiga 悠久の大河, 97 about a journey to China, was published in 1991. These travel accounts and Kaga’s essays on the countries he has visited show a deep and discerning knowledge of human life in diverse circumstances.

Kaga is also very interested in music and painting, particularly the classical traditions, and he has written many essays on these subjects. 98 He repeatedly states that he listens to the music of composers such as Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner or even the Beatles (occasionally) when he writes. When he goes to Europe he visits museums and memorials to his favourite composers, painters and literary figures. 99 Music plays an important role in a number of Kaga’s novels. Some of his characters are inspired by musical pieces, and their thoughts and acts are described in relation to these works, particularly in Eien no miyako.

---

93 Kaga Otohiko, “Chōhen shōsetsu no fukken” Nōshi, songenshi, jinken, pp. 140-146.
95 Kaga Otohiko, Sensō nōto, Ushio Shuppansha, 1982.
98 Examples include the first chapter of his 1979 collected essays Watashi no takarabako 私の宝箱, titled “Oto to hikari 聲と光(sound and light)” which is focused on music and painting.
99 One of Kaga’s travel accounts, Haha naru daichi, is typical of this.
Chapter 1 Introduction

Kaga’s most recent non-fictional work is *Seisho no daichi* 聖書の大地,* published in 1999. This book belongs to the genre of both essays and travel writing. Kaga reflects here on his own religion (Catholicism), its history and his own faith against the backdrop of places that have strong Biblical resonances. These include sites of Paul’s missionary activities. Kaga also describes his own pilgrimage from Pamplona to Santiago de Compostela in Spain.

Another point to note is Kaga’s strong interest in the Japanese traditional theatre, Nō. He has himself written a few Nō plays, although none is officially published. One of these works, “Takayama Ukon 高山右近”, was performed not only in Japan but also in Paris in October 1999. Kaga’s Nō play “Takayama Ukon” was written while he was working on the novel of the same name. Kaga writes that when he reached a dead end with the novel, he hit upon the idea of writing a Nō play on the same figure, having been inspired by the Japanese contemporary composer Takemitu Tōru’s 武満徹 “November Steps”. 101

Kaga’s interest seems to have been evoked by the common Nō device of the appearance of a ghost who speaks to the living. Kaga says in his 1991 discussion with the immunologist Tada Tomio 多田富雄,* who has also written Nō plays, that when he encountered Nō, he was surprised to find there the form of a dialogue between the dead and the living for which he had been searching. 103 Kaga’s interest in and knowledge of Nō are well realised in *Eien no miyako.*

---

Chapter 2  Kaga as a realist writer

Kaga considers himself as a realist writer,¹ and his fiction is far removed from the traditional Japanese literary style of *shizenshugi* (Japanese naturalism). In his novels, the technique of realism, which is firmly supported by his own attitude to life, is used to depict the details of events and human lives in their historical, political and social circumstances. Kaga’s characters live in a wide range of social circumstances, deal with universal issues and represent the social, political and religious philosophies of the various aspects of the time. The detailed examination of characters’ lives and thoughts give depth to the period depicted, while the complexity of the period affords Kaga the opportunity to reflect on the inner lives of his characters from a variety of perspectives. Late in his life Dostoyevsky wrote in his notebook words that could apply to Kaga, particularly as the author of *Senkoku* and *Eien no miyako*: “With utter realism to find the man in man ... They call me a psychologist; this is not true. I am merely a realist in the higher sense, that is I portray all the depths of the human soul”.²

In this section, after discussing the differences between *shishōsetsu* and Kaga’s novels, I will discuss the relationship between Kaga and his characters, drawing on a very influential essay by Sartre. I then examine the novels and stories that influenced Kaga’s work, with particular emphasis on *Eien no miyako*.

2.1  Beyond *shishōsetsu*

Kaga clearly differentiates his novels from *shishōsetsu* 私小説, the “I”-novel/story. Some comments on *shishōsetsu* will help to shed light on the significance of the negative view Kaga held of this genre.

The important studies on *shishōsetsu* in English have been written in the last

¹ Interview, December 1998.
² *Biografiiia, pis’ma i zameći iz sapisnoi knigi F. M. Dostoevskogo*, (Biography, Letters and Notes from the Notebook of F. M. Dostoevsky), St Petersburg, 1883, p. 373; cited in Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics, Theory and History of Literature*, vol. 8, (first pub. in 1963), ed. and trans. by C. Emerson, Minnesota: Manchester University Press, 1984, p. 60. The name of Dostoyevsky can be written without the middle “y” as Emerson does. In this thesis I use “Dostoevsky” except in quotations where the author has used “Dostoevsky”.
two decades. The standard view is that *shishōsetsu*, which developed and became popular at the beginning of the twentieth century, is an advanced form of *shizenshugi* and is characterised by purportedly honest descriptions of the author’s daily life.

In her *Rituals of Self-Revelation*, Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit defines the two basic elements of *shishōsetsu*, which “are meaningful only in combination”, as: (i) “factuality”, which is “the relationship presumed in the view of the Japanese reader between the literary work and reality”; and (ii) the “focus figure”, which means that the narrator, protagonist and author are one and the same. She also emphasises elsewhere the importance of (iii) the unique relationship between the author and the reader, in which the reader sees the world through the eyes of the protagonist, in a manner that involves emotion rather than rationality.

In his review of Hijiya-Kirschnereit’s first German version of *Rituals of Self-Revelation*, Katō Shūichi agrees with much that is said in the book, but differs in regarding non-*shishōsetsu* as equally important. Katō claims that it is pointless to attempt to determine what is the mainstream of Japanese literature. He supports his position by reminding the reader that such writers as Mori Ōgai (1862-1922), Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), Arishima Takeo (1878-1923), Tanizaki Junichirō (1886-1965), Ōoka Shōhei (1909-1988), Ōe Kenzaburō (1935-) and Endō Shūsaku (1923-1996) are well-known for fiction which cannot be considered *shishōsetsu*. It is the argument of this thesis that the name of Kaga Otohiko belongs in this list, in terms of his stature as a writer as well as the non-*shishōsetsu* character of his work.

---


7 The reason Katō did not include Kaga’s name on his list of non-*shishōsetsu* writers seems to be simply that because when he wrote this article, Kaga was not considered sufficiently prominent – even Kiri (later Part 1 of *Eien no miyako*) was not written by then. Only a few critics show interest in Kaga’s first novel, *Furandoru no fuyu*. Shinoda Hajime 藤田一士 writes of Kaga as a promising new novelist.
Hijiya-Kirschnereit states that *shizenshugi*, whether *shishōsetsu* or not, “included practically no criticism of contemporary issues, nor any socially revolutionary components”. Kaga agrees, stating that *shishōsetsu* writers seem to think that novels or stories will be formed naturally from renditions of their own experiences or events as they see them. He sees this as conceit, based on an unjustified belief in the truth of their perceptions and the value of generalisations drawn from narrow experience. He wants fiction to depict characters in their social location, not in the style of *shishōsetsu* as free-floating psyches.

Some may consider that *Kaerazaru natsu*, *Senkoku* and *Eien no miyako*, because of their strong autobiographical elements, display features of *shishōsetsu*. But the literary critic Ian Hideo Levy emphasises in his commentary to *Kaerazaru natsu* that, while Kaga’s own experiences lie at the heart of his novels, their historical and social dimensions clearly differentiate them from *shishōsetsu*. Other critics agree. Watabe Yoshinori writes, referring to *Kaerazaru natsu* and “Kaze to shisha 風と死者”, one of Kaga’s short stories:

... even when [Kaga] writes using his own experiences as the material [of his novels], [he] describes them from historical and social perspectives. There is, therefore, a new world which is pre-eminent and different from the usual narrow [view] of *shishōsetsu*.

I agree with Ishikawa Tatsuo when he claims that “a conversation between consciousnesses” is one of the characteristics which differentiates Kaga’s novels from *shishōsetsu*. Although *Kaerazaru natsu* and *Senkoku* are written by and large from the protagonist’s point of view, other perspectives – in the case of *Eien no miyako*, a vast array of such perspectives – are brought to bear. This clearly differentiates these works from *shishōsetsu*.

On the one hand, *shishōsetsu* has been considered among the most natural prose form

---


9 Kaga Otohiko, “Ningen no aku to hakai 人間の悪と破壊” (first pub. in 1976), *Hanzai nōto*, pp. 181-189.
Chapter 2 Kaga as a realist writer

for a Japanese writer.\(^{14}\) However, there does exist a strongly critical view, represented for example by Nakamura Mitsuo’s 中村光夫 “Fūzoku shōsetsu ron 風俗小說論” (1950), which claims that in shishōsetsu “who the writer is” is more important than “what is written”, and that in losing its fictional focus, shishōsetsu has lost its social relevance.\(^{15}\) Nakamura states that the calamity of modern Japanese literature is its inability to establish anything but shishōsetsu.\(^{16}\)

In his essay “Hashi no ue no Nakamura Mitsuo-san 橋の上の中村光夫さん”, Kaga writes of his profound impression in reading Nakamura Mitsuo, “Fūzoku shōsetsu ron” in particular. Kaga was still a medical student when he first read this article. Although not imagining at the time that he would later become a novelist, he admits that Nakamura’s argument has had a great impact on his thoughts on fiction ever since.\(^{17}\)

"Fūzoku shōsetsu" (novels of manners) depict, according to Nakamura, manners and customs that are widespread in a certain social group, but do this using the techniques of shishōsetsu.\(^{18}\) Nakamura’s main argument in “Fūzoku shōsetsu ron” is that the novel of manners shows the characteristics of shishōsetsu in a heightened form, by depicting general public manners, morals, customs, and warm-hearted human feelings and behaviours, but without any applicability to social issues such as human rights, racism or pluralism. He concludes that fūzoku shōsetsu is an ill-formed outcome of European naturalism by way of shizenshugi.

Kaga understands Nakamura’s “Fūzoku shōsetsu ron” to be arguing that there are basically two kinds of novel in contemporary Japanese literature: the genre of fūzoku shōsetsu, and realist novels in the European tradition of realism. Kaga situates himself firmly in the latter category.\(^{19}\)

Kaga’s novels are far removed from shishōsetsu in the objectivity he brings to the depiction of his characters, including characters modelled on his earlier self and his own experiences. Kaga believes that a realist author should keep a distance from his


\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 596.

\(^{17}\) Kaga Otohiko, “Hashi no ue no Nakamura Mitsuo-san”, Sakka no seikatsu 作家の生活, Ushio Shuppansha, 1982, p. 139.

\(^{18}\) NMZ, vol. 7, p. 570.

\(^{19}\) Interview, December 1998.
Chapter 2 Kaga as a realist writer

objects so that he can look at them critically and skeptically.

Realism as understood by Kaga was invented by European novelists such as Balzac, Stendhal and Flaubert. Against the current of romanticism, Kaga claims, they brought historical and social factors into their literature, not just as a background for individual action but as part and parcel of the meaning of that action. This approach was adopted by Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy. Following in the steps of these authors, Kaga aims to create in his novels an array of conversational human beings who come to life in and through their historical and social circumstances. Consequently, Kaga believes that his novels do not belong to the genres of either romanticism or shizenshugi. He sees them as completely outside the genre of shishōsetsu.

2.2 The relationship between the author and the characters

In addition to Nakamura’s “Fuzoku shōsetsuron”, there are a small number of non-fictional works by literary critics that influenced Kaga. Among them, Jean-Paul Sartre’s essay “François Mauriac and freedom”\(^\text{20}\) and Mikhail Bakhtin’s Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics have significant importance. While Bakhtin’s book has specific significance for Eien no miyako, Sartre’s essay exerts an influence on a number of Kaga’s novels. In this section I will examine Sartre’s essay, leaving Bakhtin and his influence on Eien no miyako to Chapter 4.

Yoshio Iwamoto correctly points out that Kaga’s novels have their “progenitors in the great Western novels of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries”.\(^\text{21}\) However, there is a major difference between Kaga and the nineteenth-century realists, which lies in the relationship between the author and his characters. Instead of being an omniscient power who moves his characters at will, Kaga positions himself in the same world as his characters. He does not presume to knowledge that they do not have.

In his above-mentioned essay “Hashi no ue no Nakamura Mitsuo-san”, Kaga refers to the essay in which Jean-Paul Sartre encourages writers to abandon the perspective of omniscience in their work. Kaga states that this essay, together with


\(^{21}\) Iwamoto, op. cit., p. 282.
Nakamura’s “Fūzoku shōsetsuron”, had a strong and permanent impact on him. He thinks highly of the French realist novelist François Mauriac (1885-1979), but says that the difference between Mauriac’s novels and his own is that he (Kaga) does not adopt the perspective of an omniscient god.

Sartre starts “François Mauriac and freedom” with the claim that if a novelist wants his characters to live, not to be puppets, he should let them be free. Examining Mauriac’s La Fin de la Nuit, Sartre states that the author’s attitude toward his main character (Thérèse) is as a judge “considering her from the outside”, giving the reader insights into her mind that she herself does not have. He adds that when Mauriac tries to use “his creative authority” to make the reader believe that the external view of Thérèse lays bare her internal being, the result is that Thérèse’s freedom becomes limited, thus “loos[ing] its omnipotence and indeterminacy”.

Sartre contends that “the introduction of ... God’s standpoint [into a novel] constitutes a twofold error of technique”, because (i) “it presupposes a purely contemplative narrator, withdrawn from the action”, and (ii) if one pitches “the narrative in the absolute, the string of duration [of the novel] snaps”, because “the absolute is non-temporal”. In Sartre’s view, Mauriac ignores the laws of fictional beings, the most important of which is that “the novelist may be either their witness or their accomplice, but never both at the same time”.

Referring to dialogue in La Fin de la Nuit, Sartre states that “[Mauriac cuts] short the dialogue of his characters just when they begin to interest [the reader]”, and claims that Mauriac’s “stinginess” is the gravest error in the book. He claims that “Mauriac is interested only in getting [his characters] to say what they have to say as quickly and clearly as possible”, and that this attitude never leads us to “the fictional moment, the time when the sense of duration is richest”. Comparing Mauriac to

---

22 Kaga, Sakka no seikatsu, p. 140.
23 Interview, December 1998.
24 Sartre, op.cit., pp. 7-8. Sartre explains the “freedom” of characters using as an example Rogogine, a character in Dostoevsky’s The Idiot. Sartre writes: “Neither you nor I know what Rogogine is going to do. I know that he is going to see his guilty mistress again, but I cannot tell whether he will control himself or whether his anger will drive him to murder; he is free. I slip into his skin, and there he is, awaiting himself with my waiting. He is afraid of himself, inside me, he is alive.”
25 Ibid., pp. 11-12.
26 Ibid., pp. 16-17.
27 Sartre considers this as a conflict with Valéry’s law of aesthetics. Ibid., p. 15.
28 Ibid., p. 15.
29 Ibid., p. 16.
30 Ibid., p. 20.
Dostoyevsky, Conrad and Faulkner, Sartre states that the latter group, who successfully create the sense of rich duration in their work, have known how to use the “resistance of words which is a source of endless misunderstandings and involuntary revelations”.

For Sartre, the freedom of the characters is essential to the essence of a novel. *La Fin de la Nuit* is therefore not a novel, and François Mauriac not a novelist. Sartre concludes his essay with the following remarks:

[Mauriac] has chosen divine omniscience and omnipotence. But novels are written by men and for men. In the eyes of God, who cuts through appearances and goes beyond them, there is no novel, no art, for art thrives on appearances. God is not an artist. Neither is M. Mauriac.

This article meant a lot to Kaga. Characteristically his novels are not written from the perspective of omniscience. Although they are narrated for the most part in a diegetic form and written mostly in the third person, Kaga does not adopt the perspective of a narrator independent of the characters. There is no knowledge which belongs only to the author. His knowledge is always shared with one or more of the characters.

The narrative in *Senkoku* and *Eien no miyako* is complex. The narrator is not omniscient: his voice starts the story in the third person, and the narrative moves back and forth between diegetic description and mimetic monologue. Memories, imaginings, illusions and dreams of the characters vary freely and frequently. The author’s voice is represented in different characters, giving multi-layered dimensions and perspectives to the characters and events of the story. The boundaries between diegetic and mimetic utterances are often blurred. These are familiar ploys of Kaga’s novels.

In *Eien no miyako*, the narrator’s voice and the voices of the characters frequently overlap. This rarely strikes the reader as artificial. Although sometimes it is unclear whether an utterance is diegetic or mimetic, this does not detract from an understanding of what is happening. As with Kaga’s other novels, *Eien no miyako* has a certain rhythm and driving force which make it easy for the reader to move in step.

---

31 Ibid., p. 21.
32 Ibid., p. 23.
with the flow of the story.

In a discussion of George Eliot’s *Middlemarch*, David Lodge describes one of the characteristics of the relationship between diegetic and mimetic utterance in the nineteenth-century realist novel in a way that is also applicable to Kaga. Lodge says:

... the classic realist novel ‘mixes’ the two discourses [mimesis and diegesis] in a more fundamental sense: it fuses them together, often indistinguishably and inextricably, through the device of free indirect speech by means of which the narrator, without absenting himself entirely from the text, communicates the narrative to us coloured by the thoughts and feelings of a character. The reference to this character in the third-person pronoun, and the use of the past tense ... still imply the existence of the author as the source of the narrative; but by deleting the tags which affirm that existence, such as ‘he said’, ‘she wondered’, ‘she thought to herself’, etc., and by using the kind of diction appropriate to the character rather than to the authorial narrator, the latter can allow the sensibility of the character to dominate the discourse, and correspondingly subdue his own voice, his own opinions and evaluations. The device is an extremely flexible one, which allows the narrator to move very freely and fluently between the poles of mimesis and diegesis within a single paragraph, or even a single sentence ... 34

The following is from *Senkoku*. (By italicising the first and third person pronouns I indicate the different perspectives. One is the protagonist’s monologue, the other the narrator’s description, although pointing to the same person. By underlining the present tense, I indicate an example of the mixed discourse.):

*He* hasn’t seen the woman since the night she told him about God. How come that woman suddenly started to talk about God at that time? She said that she twice tried to commit suicide, but it might be because she came to know his secret. Therefore *he* did not want to see her. No, no, at that time *he* felt *he* was starting to love her and *he* couldn’t bear that. A man like *him* who has not many days left to live shouldn’t love a woman. Yeah, that’s right. *He* [or I] thought so. ... It’s so comforting that there is no one. ... *He* stood at the edge of a cliff. ... *I* can die if *I* jump. It’s a good place to die. *I* don’t have any lingering [attachment] to this world. If *I*’m arrested, *I’d* be kept on public display. What is the meaning of receiving the shameful punishment? Then, the woman’s words, “Your body doesn’t belong to you

only”, hit his cheek like a slap. (C3, S8)\textsuperscript{35}

Although this quotation starts with the author’s voice in the third person and the past tense, one can see that the clear distinction between diegesis and mimesis is broken down. The author freely goes in and out of the past and present tenses and in so doing moves between showing and telling. In Eien no miyako Kaga does the same. With or without the “tags” the narration moves in and out of the present and past tenses, showing and telling:

[1] ... in the afternoon it became rainy and windy like a storm. [2] However, the wind was warm heralding the arrival of spring. [3] Shunji and Kenzō seem to play at soldiers ... [4] Óko is busy colouring ... Yūta is quiet but probably reading a novel upstairs. [5] Hatsue knit a girl’s woollen jumper near Óko. (P2, C4, S1)\textsuperscript{36}

The first and the second sentences above are written from the author’s perspective, the third and fourth can be from Hatsue’s because of their present tense. In the fifth sentence, the author’s voice returns. All the information contained in the five sentences is shared by both the author and the character (Hatsue).

This style is very common in Kaga’s novels, Eien no miyako in particular. By inserting the present tense in the third person, the author talks through his character’s voice. This weakens his authorial prerogative, placing him at the same level as his characters.

In the frequent use of dreams, monologues and streams of consciousness, characteristic of Kaga’s novels, the author’s voice is absent. The story is developed through the characters’ consciousness. In Sartre’s words, the characters are “free”.

Sartre’s contention that “the novelist may be either [the characters’] witness or their accomplice, but never both at the same time” is reminiscent of part of Mikhail Bakhtin’s analysis of Dostoyevsky’s novels. Bakhtin claims there is no “non-participating third person” in Dostoyevsky.\textsuperscript{38} Kaga too prefers being the accomplice of his characters to being their witness. He says that one of his aims in writing Eien no miyako was to make the author as small as possible, even sometimes to disappear, in

---

\textsuperscript{35} Senkoku, vol. 1, p. 578.
\textsuperscript{36} Eien no miyako, vol. 3, pp. 305-306.
\textsuperscript{37} In his 1993 book Watashi no suki na chohen shosetsu (p. 70), Kaga claims that although the method of “the stream of consciousness” is believed to have been developed by James Joyce in Ulysses (1922), Tolstoy anticipated this method in both War and Peace and Anna Karenina.
\textsuperscript{38} Bakhtin writes of Dostoyevsky’s polyphonic novels: “Not a single element of the work is structured from the point of view of a non-participating ‘third person’. ... There is no place for them ...” Bakhtin, Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics, p. 18.
order to let the characters talk so that their innermost feelings are exposed in all their complexity and confusion. 39

Kaga does not use characters as mere objects to convey his own ideas. He refuses to be a puppeteer. Just as, according to Bakhtin, a character in Dostoyevsky is “a carrier of a fully valid word and not the mute, voiceless object of the author’s word”, 40 so Kaga does not appear to exercise authorial power to overrule his characters. Unlike Tolstoy, Kaga does not give the impression of knowing, understanding and seeing everything in his novels. He is also free from “the magisterial certainties of George Eliot”, who tells the world to try harder and work more diligently. 41 Kaga presents a more relaxed and embracing attitude towards human folly and weakness. He refrains from assessing his characters in term of a moral schema of his own. He shares his characters’ uncertainties and their shortcomings.

2.3 Novels and stories influencing Kaga, particularly Eien no miyako

There are, it seems, many novels and stories, both European and Japanese, which directly or indirectly influenced Kaga’s novels. As mentioned, the nineteenth-century realist novels were a source of constant inspiration for Kaga. But several contemporary Japanese works also inspired his literary imagination.

Here I discuss several fictional works, mainly contemporary Japanese, which influenced Eien no miyako in terms of structure, characterisation, impetus and themes. 42 They are Kita Morio’s 北杜夫 Nire-ke no hitobito 極家の人々 (1964) together with Thomas Mann’s Buddenbrooks (1901); Nogami Yaeko’s 野上弥生子 Meiro 迷路 (1956); Tanizaki Junichirō’s 谷崎潤一郎 Sasame yuki 細雪 (1948); Kaikō

---

40 Bakhtin, Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics, p.63.
42 Interview, December 1998.
Chapter 2 Kaga as a realist writer

Takeshi’s 開高健 Aoi getuyōbi 青い月曜日47 (1969); Umezaki Haruo’s 梅崎春生 “Sakurajima 桜島48 (1947); Ōka Shōhei’s 大岡昇平 Nobi 野火49 (1952) and Reite senki レイテ戦記50 (1971); Ōe Kenzaburō’s 大江健三郎 Me mushiri ko uchi 動むしり仔撃ち51(1958) and M/T to mori no fushigi no monogatari M/T と森のフシギの物語52 (1986); Endō Shūsaku’s 遠藤周作 Umi to dokuyaku 海と毒薬53 (1957). In newspaper articles appearing in December 2000, Kaga names two works from this list – Meiro and Reite senki – among the three novels he would choose to hand down to the twenty-first century.54

The influences of philosophers, literary critics and other novelists, Dostoyevsky in particular, are examined separately in the course of the thesis as they are more directly and deeply related to the specific novels and their themes.

Nire-ke no hitobito and Buddenbrooks

Kaga shares many similarities with Kita Morio 北杜夫 (1927- ), the author of Nire-ke no hitobito 植家の人々. Both were born in Tokyo, and there is only a two-year gap in age between them. Their maternal grandfathers, both born in the Meiji era, were medical doctors and established private hospitals in Tokyo. Both Kaga and Kita initially became psychiatrists before turning to fiction. Both think very highly of Thomas Mann. Much of the inspiration for Nire-ke no hitobito seems to have been Mann’s Buddenbrooks.55 Kita considers Buddenbrooks to be Mann’s best work,56 and

50 Ōka Shōhei, Reite senki (3 vols.), Chūkō bunko, 1974.
52 Ōe Kenzaburō, M/T to mori no fushigi no monogatari, Iwanami Shoten, 1990.
55 Kita actually aimed to write a novel similar to Buddenbrooks. Watabe writes that the similarity of the novels derives from the similarity of the two families, Kita’s and Mann’s, rather than Kita’s intention. Watabe Yoshinori, “Nire-ke no hitobito, Kita Morio no 植家の人々 北杜夫”, Kokubunngaku: Kaishaku to kansho, 49:6 (May 1984), pp. 38-39.
Kaga, while viewing *The Magic Mountain* as Mann’s best novel, also thinks highly of *Buddenbrooks*, which is praised by one of the characters in *Eien no miyako*. In discussion with Kita, Kaga states that he learnt a lot from Kita’s *Nire-ke no hitobito* in terms of the structure of *Eien no miyako*.57

Like *Eien no miyako*, *Nire-ke no hitobito* is a *roman-fleuve*, following the members of three generations of the Nire family from 1918 to 1947. It depicts the family’s fall from the high social status associated with their ownership of a large psychiatric hospital in Tokyo. *Nire-ke no hitobito* shows strong similarities to *Buddenbrooks*, as the latter describes four generations of the Buddenbrooks family and their gradual social decline from business people of good lineage in a small nineteenth-century German town to the death of the last heir and subsequent dispersion of the family. Johan (Hanno), the last heir of the Buddenbrooks, has little will to live and no interest in the family name, despite his great aunt’s strong yearning for the family name to regain its lost prestige. The last heir of the Nire family, Shun’ichi, finds nothing special in his family name and is not interested in re-establishing the family hospital after the war, despite his mother’s wish for him to do so.

The similarity between *Buddenbrooks* and *Eien no miyako*, on the other hand, relates not to the plot or characterisation but to the way the two authors developed the underlying ideas of their novels. Mann first wanted to write a novel centred around Johann (Hanno) and his generation of the family. But to give this context he found himself tracing back the family history. In the process the novel became much longer and its centre of gravity shifted.58 Kaga first wanted to write about the period of his life from the beginning of the Shōwa era to the end of the Pacific War. He then widened his scope to include the time when his parents and grandparents were young. He then further expanded his focus to encompass the Japan’s twentieth century, with the Pacific War as its fulcrum. In so doing, he turned his eyes to the victims of Japanese militarism and racism, Koreans in particular.59 But despite the similarities, *Eien no miyako* differs from *Nire-ke no hitobito* and *Buddenbrooks* in its strong political element and its use of a variety of perspectives to deal with many issues and to convey a many-sided reality.

---

59 Interview, December 1998.
Chapter 2 Kaga as a realist writer

Nogami Yaeko’s Meiro

Kaga said in a discussion with Ōe Kenzaburō that part of the impetus to write Eien no miyako came from his reading of Nogami’s 野上弥生子 Meiro ねまり (1956). ⁶⁰ Meiro, in the incomplete version then available, was one of Kaga’s favourite novels when he was at university. ⁶¹ He later came to know Nogami personally. In a 1974 article on Meiro, “Ai to sensō no kōzu, Meiro 愛と戦争の構図「迷路」”, Kaga lauds this novel as one of the masterpieces of post-war Japanese literature, despite explicitly regretting Nogami’s lack of criticism of the Emperor and his role during the war. ⁶²

Like Kaga, Nogami was very critical of shishōsetsu. ⁶³ Shinoda Hajime 篠田一平 writes in a 1966 article that Nogami’s Meiro is a rare Japanese novel, far removed from shizenshugi. In Shinoda’s view, Meiro is like a foreign country on the outskirts of [the kingdom of] modern Japanese literature. ⁶⁴ In another much later article Shinoda states that he finds several successors of Meiro among contemporary works such as Kita Morio’s Nire-ke no hitobito (1964) and Kaga Otohiko’s Furandoru no fuyu (1967). ⁶⁵

Two of Meiro’s central themes are pacifism and “humanism”. ⁶⁶ The story is set between May 1935 and December 1944, almost the same period covered by Eien no miyako. In both novels, a group of men and women are torn from loved ones by the war. Meiro focuses on the life of an apostate ⁶⁷ from Marxism who challenges

---

⁶⁰ Ōe and Kaga, op.cit., Eien no miyako vol. 1, p.376.
⁶¹ Kaga, “Ai to sensō no kōzu, Meiro”, Bungei tenbō, 5 (April 1974), p. 223. Kaga went to university from 1949 to 1953. Therefore, he must have read only “Kuroi gyōretsu 向け行列” (1936, later Chapters1-5 of Meiro) and the original “Meiro” (1937, Chapters6-8), one third of the complete version.
⁶⁴ Shinoda Hajime, “Yoake mae, sono go 夜明け前の後”, Tenbō, 94 (October 1966), pp. 129-143. Shinoda states that Nogami’s Meiro and Yokomitsu Riichi’s 月影里 (1946) are successors of Shimazaki Tōson’s Yoake mae. He claims, correctly in my view, that although Yoake mae is included in the mainstream in which Tōson’s other works belong, this novel is in fact non-shishōsetsu and very different from the others.
⁶⁶ It is important to note a decisive difference in the meaning of “humanism” in European and Japanese contexts. “Humanism” in Europe developed in opposition to a Christian understanding of human experience. The Japanese idea of hyōmanizumu, while imported from Europe, developed independently, as did many other imported concepts. Hyōmanizumu has nothing to do with the God of Christianity. It emphasises the importance of human beings in their own right, rather than in terms of a collective or of their relationship to the quasi-divine emperor or to the nation. Nogami understood “humanism” in this typically Japanese way.
⁶⁷ I use “apostasy” to translate “tenkō 転向”, the term used by Nogami to describe the act of renouncing one’s Marxist ideology and returning to one’s previous “normal”, non-Marxist values. An “apostate” (tenkō-sha 転向者) is one who commits this act of renunciation. “Apostasy” and “apostate” usually have strong religious connotations, and they therefore capture the religious aspect of the Marxist movement of the time.
Japanese fascism, fails and then struggles through a psychological labyrinth (meiro 迷路) caused by remorse over his denunciation of his Marxist beliefs. *Eien no miyako* also focuses on the period of Japanese fascism, but gives a more complex picture of the reality of this time by incorporating the perspectives of three different generations.

As mentioned, Nogami carefully avoided publicly criticising Emperor Hirohito and his role during the war, despite the fact that she was strongly critical in her private diaries and letters, and despite the existence of many people who publicly criticised Emperor Hirohito and the imperial system between the end of the war and 1956, the year Nogami completed *Meiro*. Kaga’s criticism of *Meiro* focuses on this point.

The differences between the two authors relate not only to their different treatments of tennōism but also to their respective attitudes towards their characters. While Nogami displays certainties somewhat in the style of George Eliot, Kaga does not. From Kaga’s point of view, Nogami seemed to have lived with the belief that human beings could become better through an act of will. By contrast, Kaga embraces weakness as a permanent feature of all human beings.

**Tanizaki’s *Sasame yuki***

Like several other critics, Kaga claims *Sasame yuki* 細雪 is the best of Tanizaki’s works. The story is set between the late 1930s and the early 1940s in Osaka. As the title of the English translation, *The Makioka Sisters*, suggests, the novel concerns the daily lives of three sisters, Sachiko, Yukiko and Taeko as they search for a suitable husband for Yukiko. The war is a distant event in the novel.

---


69 Interview, December 1997.

70 I discuss the similarities and differences between Nogami and Kaga, and Nogami’s influence on Kaga more fully in my article “Novelists of Integrity – Nogami Yaeko and Kaga Otohiko”, *Japanese Studies*, 20:2 (September 2000), pp. 141-157.


73 An elder sister, Tsuruko, lives apart from the others and does not play a significant role in the novel.
Chapter 2  Kaga as a realist writer

_Sasame yuki_ was banned after the early part was published in the magazine _Chūō Kōron_ 中央公論 in early 1943. Donald Keene writes of the reason:

...[this is] not because it preached subversive doctrines but because it described with evident nostalgia the Japan of the past when people were preoccupied not with the nation’s sacred mission but with marriage arrangements, visits to sites famous for their cherry blossoms ...  

As Katō Shūichi writes, what Tanizaki tried in _Sasame yuki_ was to depict the entirety of a concrete small society where hardly any dramatic events happen and the world is filled with the small things of everyday life. The endless detailed descriptions of these matters including personal taste in _kimono_, the gracefulness of a woman’s facial expressions and movements, and the dignity and beauty of traditional buildings, shows Tanizaki’s regret at what Japan has lost, perhaps forever, because of the war.  

In _Eien no miyako_ Kaga also set out to recreate an earlier Tokyo and the older Japanese culture and conventions found in the daily lives of ordinary people now threatened by the war.

Even though the war is not in the foreground of _Sasame yuki_, because it is set in the time between 1936 and 1941 the shadow of war is present in the novel. Kaga says that, in reflecting on ordinary people’s lives during war time, _Sasame yuki_ grasps a universal aspect of the human condition. In Kaga’s view, _Meiro_ and _Sasame yuki_ are two of only a few novels which describe Japan during war time from an ordinary citizen’s point of view (here short-stories are excluded). He situates _Eien no miyako_ in this company.

_Aoi getuyōbi_ and “Sakurajima”

Kaikō Takeshi 開高健 was born in Osaka in 1930, the year after Kaga. His _Aoi getuyōbi_ 青い月曜日, written from the first-person perspective, depicts the life of a young man, Takeshi 健, from high school to university. In the middle of the novel, the Pacific War ends. Like Shōji 省治 in Kaga’s _Kaerazaru natsu_ and Yūta 悠太 in _Eien no miyako_, Takeshi seems to be modelled on the author himself, in particular his experiences as a student at the end of the war. As did most school students of his generation, Takeshi has to stop learning “quadratic equations in mathematics and the

---

74 Keene, op. cit., p. 774.
76 Interview, December 1998.
Chapter 2 Kaga as a realist writer

subjunctive mood in English” and has to work at various war-related tasks under the law of national mobilisation (kokka sodōin hō 国家總動員法, 1938-1945). Although written without strong emotion, the novel does contain horrendous descriptions of the aftermath of an air raid and fights against starvation. Similar experiences are depicted in *Eien no miyako*.

Part 2 of *Aoi getsuyōbi* deals with the life of the main character after the war. Starvation is still his daily reality. While before the end of the war his starvation is caused by lack of food, after the war food is a black-market commodity. Kaiko describes, again without strong emotion, the black-market, the members of ex-suicide squads (*kamikaze 神風*) turned to crime, the shock of seeing well-nourished American soldiers, the shameless transformation of adults from totalitarians to democrats, and the main character’s self-deceptive and purposelessness. The characters of *Eien no miyako* have similar experiences. The hunger that forces Takeshi to “drink water, tighten up his belt and pretend he has eaten lunch”, and his hollow feeling towards life, are also experienced by Yūta and many Japanese youths of the time. In this respect, both Kaiko’s and Kaga’s novels share a certain “dry sadness”. Hunger certainly has a tragic side, but Takeshi and Yūta live with it “naturally”. The more naturally they live with it, the deeper the sadness of reality becomes.

Umezaki’s 梅崎春生 “Sakurajima 桜島” emphasises the sense of the futility of war experienced by the characters in *Eien no miyako*. The story is set in the last days of the war in Sakurajima, southern Kyushu, as the inevitability of defeat steadily grows. The low-ranking naval signals officer Murakami 村上 feels that he and the entire Japanese people have come to nothing. His younger brother has died in action in Mongolia; his elder brother is presumed dead in the Philippines. Murakami expects himself to die in the impending Allied landing on Japanese soil. His only wish is to die beautifully, but he has little idea of what this might mean.

This short story ends with Murakami’s sadness and sense of the vanity of life now that his and his country’s efforts and sacrifices have come to nothing. The war itself has been a huge waste. Many of the characters of *Eien no miyako* feel exactly

---

77 Kaiko, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
78 Examples include *Ibid.*, pp. 128 and 210-211.
79 Kaiko describes the main character and his mother eating sweet potatoes which they bought in exchange for their futon, “... we have nothing to sell any more. [We] are becoming naked by eating our own limbs”. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
this way as they contemplate the meaning of Japan’s unconditional surrender.

**Ōe Kenzaburō and his novels**

Ōe’s 大江健三郎 early work *Me mushiri ko uchi* 萌むしり仔撃ち deals with a group of fifteen juvenile delinquents who are forcibly evacuated to the remote countryside towards the end of the war. Even without their record of delinquency, they still would be a burden on the village that receives them, as are the evacuated school children in *Eien no miyako*. Because of their delinquent records, they are treated harshly by the villagers. They are deserted when a plague attacks the area and are forced to lie about their treatment when outsiders come in. Ōe writes:

> It was the time of murders. As if it was a lengthy flood, the war inundated people’s emotional chords and every corner of their bodies, [as well as] the forests, the streets and the sky with collective madness. (Chapter 1 “Tōchaku 到着”)

Although the treatment Kaga’s “normal” young characters get is much milder, they also experience ostracism, hunger, illness, loneliness and sadness.

The evacuated children in both *Me mushiri ko uchi* and *Eien no miyako* are isolated, having to live as complete strangers away from their families and at the mercy of villagers whom they never met before. Although Ōe aims in the novel to describe the tremendous creativity and free spirit of the children against appalling adversity, his depiction of their helplessness and vulnerability is more direct than Kaga’s depiction in *Eien no miyako*, as they are the principal focus of Ōe’s novel.

There appears to be little connection between *MT to mori no fushigi no monogatari* 木と森の不思議の物語, another of Ōe’s works, and *Eien no miyako*. Ōe’s novel depicts the legendary stories of a village, including a battle between villagers and the Great Japanese Imperial Military during the Pacific War, and the relationship between the narrator and his grandmother, one of the story tellers of the village. But the battle has nothing to do with the war experienced by the characters in Kaga’s novel. However, there are two things in *MT to mori no fushigi no monogatari* which would have attracted Kaga’s attention. One is the style of the narrative; the other Ōe’s attitude to his responsibility as a story teller.

*MT to mori no fushigi no monogatari* is written in the first person. The

---

narrator recounts the myths and legends, sometimes mixed with history, of the village where he was born and spent his childhood. He listens to the stories told by the elders in the village, in particular his grandmother, the village “story teller (kataribe 語り部)”. The narrator suspected as a child that he was chosen by the village to hand down its myths and legends to future generations. He also realised the stories he hears often change with each telling. However, his grandmother tells him that all the stories are true in their own way, regardless of the discrepancies and inconsistencies. Kaga states that “a narrative with discrepancies” is something that Ōe likes to explore as a means of giving depth to a novel. In Eien no miyako, Kaga successfully deepens the novel by playing on discrepancies in the testimonies of different characters.

A mountain village surrounded by forests, bound up in its myths and legends, appears often in Ōe’s novels. In M/T to mori no fushigi no monogatari, the narrator tells, as he has been told, how the village was established by a mythical man and his followers, and how this mythical man and his successors, together with their wives or mothers, (who sometimes lead the men into battle) saved the village during times of crisis.

All the myths and legends focus on the mythical man who now exists as a spirit and is a part of “the great marvel of the forest (mori no fushigi 森のフシギ)”. According to legend, all the villagers become spirits and stay in the forest after they die. At the end of the novel, the narrator finally comes to the realisation as a man in his fifties that his job is to write down the stories, connecting pieces of what he was told directly with what he overheard. He means to continue his grandmother’s story telling in this way, so that future generations can also undertake the journey to become spirits that eventually go back to mori no fushigi, “the great marvel of the forest”.

As mentioned, Kaga states in his 1995 essay “Jūsō suru sensō taiken to watashi no sengo” that he feels there is a job for a “professional story teller (kataribe 語り部)” to recount the war experiences of ordinary Japanese, so as to pass on the truth of the war to future generations. Kaga also emphasises in his discussion with Ōe that in writing Eien no miyako he saw himself as a story teller, passing on testimonies in paradigmatic and symbolic forms from his own and older

---

84 M/T in the title of this novel stand for “matriarch” and “trickster”. Ōe calls the successors of the mythical man “tricksters” and their female partners “matriarchs”.
85 Kaga, “Jūsō suru sensō taiken to watashi no sengo”, Sengo o kataru, p. 95.
Chapter 2  Kaga as a realist writer

Generations.

Here Kaga seems to see the significance and the responsibility of the writer as “story teller” as depicted by Ōe in MT to mori no fushigi no monogatari.

Ōoka Shōhei and his novels

Kaga says that Ōoka’s Nobi 野火 (1952) and Reite senki レイテ戦記 (1971) are two of the best novels in Japanese war literature. Ōoka (1909-1988) was twenty years senior to Kaga and fought in the Philippines during the war. As Nakano Kōji 中野孝次 states, Ōoka’s experience as a defeated soldier in the Philippines seems to have been the basis of the rest of his life and literature. Like Kaga although in a different way, Ōoka spent much of his life after the war confronting tennōism and militarism.

Reite senki is based on Ōoka’s massive research on the 1944 battle for Leyte island in the Philippines. He states in the postscript that the idea of writing about this battle came to him as early as 1953. The impetus was his anger at the laziness of the authorities who had not collected and reported details of the battle and against the embroidered memoirs of the officers who oversaw the battle.

Donald Keene writes of Reite senki: “The work contains few novelistic elements, but is an attempt to discover what took place during the campaign on Leyte, in an almost day-to-day account”. However, Kaga writes that although Reite senki may be judged as belonging to the genre of non-fiction, the aim of the author is to recreate the cruelty of the battle through writing, and in this way to uncover crucial truths about human beings. Kaga thus concludes that Reite senki should be categorised as a novel, since the author seeks to uncover human truths through imaginative means. Elsewhere Kaga writes that this work contains an horrendous record of mass slaughter. The book is, Kaga continues, the outcome of Ōoka’s thorough investigation

88 The correspondence between Nakano and Kaga was published in Yomiuri shinbun in August 1989. In the letters both mourn Ōoka’s death and discuss his life and novels as important, indeed inspirational for them. Kaga and Nakano, “Ôfuku shokan, Bunka no genzai—‘Sensô to sensô bungaku’ ni tsuite (往復書簡 - 文化の現在—「戦争と戦争文学」について)”, Nōshi, songenshi, jinken, pp. 147-158.
90 In this battle 79,000 (out of 84,000) Japanese soldiers and 3,500 American soldiers died.
92 Keene, op.cit., p. 954.
of the details that comprise the evil of the war. Kaga pays respect to Ōoka’s
determination, passion and talent as a writer.\textsuperscript{94} Reite senki is dedicated “to the soldiers
who died”. What Ōoka writes at the end of the novel indicates his purpose in writing
this book:

The history of the battle for the island of Leyte shows to both the forgetful
Japanese and American nations what would be waiting for them if they tried
to profit from someone else’s land. Not only that, it also shows what kind of
damage war would bring to the land, as well as how the damage would
eventually rebound upon the bodies of the invaders. The testimonies of the
dead are multi-faceted. The soil of the island of Leyte keeps talking to [us]
with a voice that is audible to those who want to listen.\textsuperscript{95}

Kaga describes Ōoka’s way of using the materials and information he obtained
for Reite senki as “letting the facts sing”. When Kaga started to work on Eien no
miyako, he also felt it was necessary to allow the truth to appear by “letting the facts
sing”.\textsuperscript{96}

Ōoka wrote Nobi almost twenty years prior to Reite senki. Its main character,
Private Tamura田村一等兵, is one of the defeated and routed soldiers of the Leyte
battle. Towards the end of the novel, the reader realises that the entire novel is a
memoir written by Tamura, a patient in a psychiatric hospital after the war.

After being expelled from his unit because of his illness, which has made him
useless as a soldier, Tamura has to survive by himself in the fields of Leyte where
American soldiers and Filipino guerillas can attack him at any time. He has a food
stock of six potatoes. He shoots a Filipppina because she screams when he asks for
some matches, and the shock of her death is something he will never overcome. From
that point he starts to imagine that he is being watched. In the extreme condition of
hunger, illness, injury and despair, he and other routed soldiers who he comes across
face cannibalism. At first Tamura is told that it is monkey’s meat, but he gradually
senses it is the flesh of a Japanese soldier. His stomach rebels.

Although Ōoka was not a Christian, Keene identifies Christianity as the novel’s
underlying metaphor: “The Christian imagery of death on the cross, the drinking of
blood and the eating of the body, are at the heart of the book …”.\textsuperscript{97} Kaga writes:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{94} Ibid., pp. 241-242.
\item \textsuperscript{95} Ōoka, Reite senki, vol. 3, p. 323.
\item \textsuperscript{96} Oe and Kaga, op. cit., Eien no miyako, vol. 1, pp. 383-384.
\item \textsuperscript{97} Keene, op. cit., p. 952.
\end{itemize}
“Nobi is a religious novel. This is the story of a man who does not know God but finds Him in extreme conditions”.98

Tamura’s experience of hunger, illness, injury and despair are shared by many Japanese soldiers in the Pacific War. One of the characters in Eien no miyako, Waki Shinsuke, seems to go through a similar experience in the battle of Imphal in India. Although only briefly suggested in a strange memorandum written by the psychotic Shinsuke (P3, C8, S2),99 his experience is reminiscent of Tamura’s.

**Endō Shūsaku, a Catholic writer**

Endō Shūsaku 遠藤周作 (1923-1996), who is six years senior to Kaga, is the best-known Japanese Catholic writer. His 1966 masterpiece Chinmoku100 has been translated into several languages including English, Dutch, French, Spanish, Norwegian, Swedish and Polish. Endō and Kaga share similar experiences and seem to have had a close relationship. After graduating from university, both had further training in their professions in France (Endō between 1950 and 1953 in French contemporary Catholic literature; Kaga between 1957 and 1960 in psychiatry and criminology) when they were in their late twenties.

Kaga first encountered Endō’s novels – Shirai hito, kiiroi hito 白い人・黄色い人101 and Umi to dokuyaku 海と毒薬 – while in France. Kaga was a faithful reader of Endō’s work ever since.102 It is not clear when Endō started to become interested in Kaga’s work, and Kaga writes that he does not know whether Endō read his novels. Kaga remembers, however, that Endō once commented on Kaga’s Senkoku 宣告 saying, “You are driving without a license [of Christianity]”.103 When Kaga and his wife Ayako were baptised in 1987, Endō and his wife Junko were their godfather and godmother. As was Endō, Kaga is a member of organisations such as Nihon Kirisutokyō geijutsu sentaa 日本キリスト教芸術センター and the Japan P.E.N. Club.104

---

98 Kaga Otohiko, “Ooka Shōhei ni okeru watashi to kami 大岡昇平における私と神”, Sakka no seikatsu, p. 120.
104 Endō was the president of the Japan PEN Club between 1985-1989 and Kaga has been vice-president since 1997.
In *Umi to dokuyaku*, a book Kaga says influenced *Eien no miyako*, Endō addresses the issues that exercised him for most of his life: “what kind of people are the Japanese” and “is it possible for the God of Christianity to take root in Japanese culture”. The novel is based on an incident in which medical experiments on eight living American prisoners of war were performed at the Medical Department of Kyushu University in May 1945.

*Umi to dokuyaku* is set near the end of the war at a university hospital in F-city in Kyushu. A group of medical staff members, five doctors and two nurses, perform medical experiments on two living American prisoners in order to gain the upper hand over a rival faction in the medical department by catering to the wishes of the military authorities.

The main character Suguro and his colleague Toda are serving their internships in the tuberculosis ward of the hospital. Although they could have avoided involvement, they participate in the experiments. For them it is time for everyone to die. If they do not die of tuberculosis, air raids will kill them. Suguro, who is overcome with fear and left useless in the operating theatre, later blames himself for his involvement. Toda, who does what is required of him in the theatre, does not subsequently feel any pain or guilt although he wants to. He remembers that he always escaped being caught when he committed various kinds of wrongdoing in the past and therefore was never punished, and now finds himself incapable of feeling guilt even after participating in experiments he knows to have been monstrous.

While there is still a chance to avoid participation, Suguro and Toda talk to each other and one of them suddenly asks whether there is a God (Chapter 1, Section V). In another scene, a professor’s German wife sharply asks a nurse who is going to give an anaesthetic that will ease a patient’s pain but will also obviously result in death, whether she (the nurse) is not afraid of God (Chapter 2, Section I). At the end of the novel Suguro asks Toda whether they will be punished one day. Toda answers

---

105 Interview, December 1998.
106 About thirty of the military authorities of the area and the medical professionals of Kyushu University were subsequently tried by military court. The principal offender, the head of the first surgical department of the university, committed suicide in July 1946 in Fukuoka prison. The trial was held from March to August 1948. Five defendants were sentenced to death (later reduced to life imprisonment), four to life imprisonment. The lightest sentence was three years heavy labour. Hidaka Shōji, "Bungō kobore-banashi 文豪こぼれ話", supplement, Endō, *Umi to dokuyaku*.
108 Ibid., p. 78.
109 Ibid., p. 95.
that if punishment comes from society, it will mean little, because those who would punish them might well have acted in the same way in the same circumstances. Here Endō indicates that punishment handed out by human societies, which change their principles from one time to another, is not worth fearing. What one should really be afraid of is eternal punishment. Through Toda, Endō asks whether the Japanese can really confront punishment of this kind. Endō does not give an answer and is not judgmental of either Suguro or Toda.

The elements of *Umi to dokuyaku* of most relevance to Kaga are: (i) the evil of war; (ii) the weakness and folly of human beings; and (iii) Endō’s refusal to judge human weakness from a position of moral authority, even if this attitude leads to criticism by leaders of the Catholic Church of which he is a member. In *Eien no miyako*, Kaga questions the war-time action and inaction of the Catholic Church in Japan. Like Endō, Kaga is not a novelist who protects or promotes the religious organisation to which he belongs. Instead he asks the church to examine its own wrong-doing before it judges the actions of others.

In this chapter, I have situated Kaga on the map of Japanese contemporary literature. Now I shall turn to the specific factors that constitute Kaga’s distinctiveness, as exemplified in his novels.

---

100 Ibid., p. 163.
Chapter 3 Two important novels prior to *Eien no miyako* (Kaerazaru natsu)

3.1. **Tennōism** – *Kaerazaru natsu* 帰らざる夏

3.1.1 **Tennōism from the inside– Kaga and Mishima**

*Kaerazaru natsu* 帰らざる夏 (1973), an early Kaga novel, is based on the writer’s experience as a teenage cadet at the elite institution of the Army Preparatory School in Nagoya. It depicts the life of young elite boys in the extraordinary atmosphere prevailing at the end of the Pacific War. The novel starts in the early morning of the 15th of August 1945, the day Japan surrenders unconditionally, and ends early the next morning.

Tennōism 天皇主義 is the single topic of this novel.1 *Tennō* 天皇 means the Japanese emperor. Tennōism therefore relates to the emperor, but not to the empire in the sense of the English word imperialism. Kaga defines tennōism and its adherents as follows: (i) the adherents worship the emperor, who has absolute dignity; (ii) the most important human act is to sacrifice oneself for the emperor; (iii) serving the emperor is the same as serving the state; (iv) loyalty and patriotism (*chūkun aikoku*, 忠君愛國) are the highest virtues and other moral values are either unimportant or realised if one displays these virtues; and (v) tennōism is compatible with both militarism and pacifism, as history shows.2 Although Kaga later addresses the theme of tennōism on a wider canvas, particularly in *Eien no miyako*, the treatment of the theme in *Kaerazaru natsu* is more straightforward and more central to the novel.

Like Kaga, the main character, Shikaki Shōji 鹿木省治, enters the Army Preparatory School in 1943, aged fourteen, and spends two and a half years there until the end of the war. Kaga refers to his experience at the school in a number of essays. However, he seems to have found it difficult to write about this experience in the form of a novel. In his 1973 essay, “Ushinawareta seishun no hibi 失われた青春の日々”,3 Kaga says that just before starting to write *Kaerazaru natsu*, he felt as if he was going to look into the frightening past. Recreating an earlier self, which believed absolutely

---

1 Some may add the collective madness of the entire nation at the time as another theme, but I treat this as a part of tennōism.
2 Kaga, “*Gendai no moraru – Chūkun aikoku 現代のモラル―忠君愛國*”, *Senso nōto 戦争ノート*, p. 203.
3 Kaga, “*Ushinawareta seishun no hibi 失われた青春の日々*”, (first pub. in 1973) *Senso nōto*, pp. 206-210
until the very end of the war in tennōism, the Emperor’s divinity and Japanese victory, was frightening and painful. In fact, Kaga had avoided remembering those days. However, not only the move towards rearmament and right-wing politics in the 1960s, but also the 1970 suicidal incident involving the then popular novelist, Mishima Yukio 三島由紀夫, were catalysts for Kaga to write this novel.

There are strong echoes of Mishima’s suicide in Kaerazaru natsu. In a 1989 article, Matsumoto Michisuke 松本道介 claims that the thought and action of Shōji (the novel’s protagonist) and the senior cadet Minamoto, who commit seppuku 切腹 together at the end of Kaerazaru natsu, are very close to those of Mishima.4 Hideo Levy expresses a similar opinion.5 Like Mishima, Shōji and Minamoto praise the uprising of the army officers in the February 26 Affair (1936). Henry Stokes tells us that “Mishima endorsed the ‘ideology’ of the rebel officers of 1936”.6 Mishima’s biographer John Nathan writes that “Mishima would invest [the uprising] with increasing symbolic importance as his own very special brand of patriotism evolved”.7

One can also see some reflection of the thought of Shōji and Minamoto in the act of Hasuda Zenmei 道田善明, who helped Mishima publish his first story.8 At the end of the war, according to Stokes, Hasuda “murdered his commanding officer for criticizing the Emperor and then put into effect his principle, ‘To die young ... is the culture of my nation’, by blowing out his brains”.9 Mishima praises Hasuda in “Hasuda Zenmei to sono shi jobun「灌田善明とその死」序文”, saying that he could not forget the beauty of Hasuda’s attitude to death, deeply embedded as it was in Japanese culture.10

Kaga in various writings addressed the myths surrounding responsibility for the war. In his 1981 essay “Gunkoku shōnen no sekai 軍国少年の世界” he writes:

---


5 Levy Hideo, op.cit., Kaerazaru natsu, p. 616.


9 Stokes, op.cit., p. 96. See also Fukushima Jūrō 福島隆朗, Mishima Yukio: Shiryō sō shū 三島由紀夫－資料総集, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1975, pp. 106-109; and Nathan, op.cit., p. 66. Nathan states that the commanding officer had said “that there would no longer be any distinction between the emperor and the common people”.

... It was accepted in post-war education and in public opinion, which were manipulated by the occupying force and the [political] leaders of the time, that the war was initiated by the Japanese military, and that the [rest of the] nation was deceived by the military authorities, [more precisely] by a [small] group among them.11

Kaga does not share this view.12 Throughout his childhood, Kaga writes in his 1981 essay “Gunkoku shōnen no sekai 軍国少年の世界”, all parents and school teachers were militarists. Virtually nobody criticised the military authorities or tried to promote peace.13 He remembers instead the Japanese people criticising the caution of the Navy and supporting the idea of attacking China, the US and Britain. Anyone who opposed the war or did not worship the photograph of the Emperor (go-shin’ei 御真影) – Kaga remembers only one example – was thought crazy and despicable.14 Kaga does not recall encountering as a child one adult or one book that alerted him to the dangers of militarism or the folly of military life.15 He concludes that the idea of an innocent nation deceived by a military cabal is a fiction.

As a youth Kaga was a militarist, as were many other Japanese youths, and he was an elite cadet for two and a half years until the end of the war. He writes many essays about the shock and confusion he and his fellow cadets experienced at the time of the unconditional surrender and the following period of chaotic change.

In his 1972 essay “Watashi no senso 27-nen 私の戦後 27年”, written when he was working on Kaerazaru natsu, Kaga states:

... The strong anger I felt at the time of the Emperor’s public acknowledgment of his humanity (ningen sengen 人間宣言) had changed to a strong hatred of the pre-war structure [of the nation] or ideas represented by the Emperor and the imperial system. That person [still] lives without taking any responsibility and even pretends to be a pacifist, despite the fact that his

11 Kaga, Sensō nōto, p. 52.
12 The economist Morishima Michio 森嶋道夫 emphasises that the military authorities and the ordinary Japanese were of the same mind. He writes that, up to the time the law of national mobilisation came into effect in 1938 and the triple military alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy was formed in 1940, the Japanese did not resist the new political situation and were belligerent enough to support the act of war against the United States. Kan Sanjun 坂尚 眞 also writes that “the grass-roots fascism” in Japan during the war was even more warlike and aggressive than the government and the military authorities. See Morishima, op.cit., pp. 187-190; and Kan, Futatsu no senso to nihon – Ajia kara tou senso 50-nen ふたつの戦後と日本アジアから見る戦後50年, San’ichi Shobo, 1995, p. 134.
13 Kaga, “Gunkoku shōnen no sekai”, Sensō nōto 戦争ノート, pp. 52-55.
14 Ibid., pp. 52-53.
15 Kaga, “Kyo toshite no guntai”, Sensō nōto 戦争ノート, pp. 135-137.
chapter 3  Two important novels prior to Eien no miyako (Kaerazaru natsu)

Command initiated the war and millions of people died for him. I was completely unable to forgive this. 

*Kaerazaru natsu* does not, however, proceed by examining the inner workings of Kaga's mind, but presents several characters reacting to each other and to cataclysmic social events.

The novel consists of eight chapters, narrated by and large in a diegetic form, mostly through the eyes of Shōji, apart from a letter from his mother in Chapter 1 (C1, S4), several letters from his parents in Chapter 4, and some first-person reminiscences of a relatively minor character Kitō 鬼頭 in Chapter 6 (C6, S2).

Is it possible to claim that *Kaerazaru natsu* is a form of third-person *shishōsetsu*, because the author, the narrator and the protagonist are by and large the same? The answer is no. Not only is the "factuality" very different in an important respect — the protagonist commits suicide while the author did not — but the novel clearly includes the kind of criticism of contemporary issues that the *shishōsetsu* avoids. Moreover, as Matsumoto points out, Kaga seems to be after a balance of viewpoints in the novel quite unlike the *shishōsetsu* by creating another cadet and primary school friend of Shōji, Kitō, who does not accept the militarist ideology and is expelled from the preparatory school. Kitō serves to represent the suppressed common sense and common morality of the people, in clear contrast to the blind obedience of Shōji and the other students.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a characteristic of Kaga's novels is the frequent use of dreams and illusions [hallucinations] as important elements of the story. *Kaerazaru natsu* is no exception. For Kaga human consciousness is not clear cut; the human sense of self is vulnerable and changes constantly under the influence of others. As a psychiatrist, he holds that the equilibrium of the human mind is precarious. The potential is always there for an external shock to destroy this equilibrium and for madness to enter. Dreams are closely related to this vulnerability.

---

17 In a 1961 article, Fujita Shōzō points out there was no Tennōist who had the courage to advise the Emperor to abdicate, as Max Weber advised the German Kaiser after the First World War. Fujita, "Kokka genri no gennzai to mirai 国家原理の現在と未来", *Shinrō no kagaku*, 28 (April 1961), pp. 2-9.
18 The titles of the chapters are; 1 "Natsu no asa 夏の朝", 2 "Yōnen seito 幼年生徒", 3 "Chigo 祖児", 4 "Gōka 助火", 5 "Goyō 午陽", 6 "Gyokuon hōshō 玉音放送", 7 "Hijō shōshū 非常召集", 8 "Gigun 義軍".
19 Hereafter the chapters and the sections of *Kaerazaru natsu* are indicated with abbreviation: therefore (C1, S4) means (Chapter 1, Section 4).
20 See Chapter 2.1 Beyond shishōsetsu.
21 Matsumoto Michinuke, op.cit., p. 165.
22 Kaga, *Nihon no 10 dai shōsetsu*, p. 163.
Chapter 3  Two important novels prior to Eien no miyako (Kaerazaru natsu)

of the mind. The depiction of dreams is therefore important in the development and analysis of his characters.

*Kaerazaru natsu* provides insights into how Kaga’s young, militaristic self was formed and into the horrendous impact Japan’s defeat had on him. Kaga built his adulthood by rejecting this background, discarding all the elements which made him a militarist, while Mishima seems to have gone in the opposite direction.

Before discussing *Kaerazaru natsu* in greater detail I will briefly describe what the military preparatory schools attended by both Kaga and Shoji were like.

**The Army Preparatory School (Rikugun Yōnen Gakko 隆軍幼年学校)**

The first Japanese Army Preparatory School was established in 1870 in Osaka. Its purpose was to introduce into Japan military knowledge from advanced European countries. Learning foreign languages was therefore an important part of the school curriculum. Although the purpose and the number of these schools changed over time, Kaga owes his competence in French to his preparatory school, which taught German and French.

In 1897, after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, the number of Army Preparatory Schools increased, with six regional schools in different prefectures (Tokyo, Sendai, Nagoya, Osaka, Hiroshima, and Kumamoto). In the early 1920s, following nation-wide changes to the school system and the arms reductions that followed the First World War, preparatory schools were gradually closed and by 1925 only the Tokyo (regional) preparatory school remained. They were reopened one by one after the Manchuria Incident (1931). By 1939 the other regional preparatory schools were all reopened.23 The entry age of fourteen or fifteen was thought to be young enough for the spirit of militarism to be planted and to take hold and old enough for the rigorous physical training to be endurable. The graduates went on to the Military Academy, the training ground of elite military officers.

Since the Military Academy also took students from normal secondary schools, the graduates from the preparatory schools were expected to be model cadets and to

---

23 Yamai Teruhiko 5山井輝彦 and Kinoshita Hideaki 木下秀明, *Tōkyō Rikugun Yōnen gakkōshi - Waga buryō* 東京陸軍幼年学校史 - 我之武學, Tōyōshi Henshū Iinkai, 1982, pp. 8-20. Since there are not many monographs and articles available about the Army Preparatory Schools, I have consulted *Tōkyō Rikugun Yōnen gakkōshi - Waga buryō* extensively in writing about the schools, in addition to a couple of memoirs by Murakami Hyōe 村上兵衛 and Masumoto Kinen 升本喜年, both former school cadets, as well as Kaga’s essays.
serve as role models for their less fortunate colleagues. The military authorities seem to have aimed to get quality in terms of militaristic ideology from the graduates of the preparatory schools and quantity from normal secondary schools.

The Army Preparatory Schools were usually isolated from the rest of society. The authorities tried to achieve a pure military enculturation of future officers through a total boarding school system, high-standard study, sports, military training under strict rules, and daily reminders of the duty and honour of being a cadet. The students of the preparatory schools called themselves “kade カデ”, the shortened form of Kadett (German), cadet (French) or kadetm (Russian), although cadet in French does not mean “cadet” in English.

The students were chosen after extremely competitive entry examinations. The year Kaga entered, the new students were told that they were the chosen 1,000 from 69,000 applicants. This seems to be an exaggeration, but they certainly had pride as elite youths, although the annual intake was later increased (some said “diluted”) from 900 (150 per school) to 1080.

In the novel, Kaga writes of the feeling of Shōji’s mother’s when she learns that her son has passed the entrance examination:

…I was full of feelings of contentment and pride. Now that child can become a military officer, the finest human being on the earth. I now should just entrust [him] to the state. (C4, S4)

Acceptance by the preparatory school was a great honour not only for the student but also for his family and for the secondary school he applied from. Just as Japanese parents today make every effort to send their children to better-known universities and then to better companies, parents prior to and during the war tried hard to get their children into the Army Preparatory Schools, the Military Academy, or the Navy cadets school. Kaga claims that in this respect there is no qualitative change in Japanese parents’ attitude between war-time and peace-time.
The students of the Army Preparatory Schools were educated to believe they would have special tasks as the Emperor’s right-hand men to lead the nation and its citizens, who were, indeed, the Emperor’s children (Tennō no sekishi 天皇の赤子). They repeated daily to themselves the well-known phrase “I am a cadet!” (“Ware wa shōkō seito nari 我は将校生徒なり!”). This phrase indicates their pride and sense of responsibility as the elite of the nation. Yamai and Kinoshita claim that this sense is probably akin to the European notion of “noblesse oblige”.  

The Imperial Instructions on Military Personnel (Gunjin chokuyu 軍人勅諭), originally issued in 1882 by Emperor Meiji, were absolute commands. The document has five clauses emphasising loyalty, obedience to superiors, bravery, faithfulness, and simplicity in material life. All the cadets had to read these instructions aloud every morning and memorise them. The cadets always carried a book of collected imperial edicts (including instructions, proclamations, rescripts, and messages) and read it daily.

The military outlook for the Triple Alliance of Japan, Germany and Italy was already grim in 1943, the year Shōji entered the preparatory school. The Japanese army withdrew from Guadalcanal in February, and Italy declared an unconditional surrender in September. In June the following year, the Allies landed in Normandy, and Japan lost most of its aircraft and aircraft carriers in the Marianas. In July 1944 the Japanese army on Saipan was totally destroyed, and in November the first of many air-raids started on Tokyo. In 1945, the Americans landed on Iwo Jima in February and Okinawa in April. Tokyo experienced its biggest air-raid (dead and injured over 120,000) in March, and Germany unconditionally surrendered in May. In August, atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Shōji’s life as a cadet is played out against the backdrop of these historical circumstances.

3.1.2 The story

The story begins with Shōji’s dream in the early morning of 15 August 1945, the day of Emperor Hirohito’s noon radio announcement of Japan’s unconditional surrender (C1, S1).

---

Gruesome scenes in Shōji’s dream – dead bodies and trenches full of lukewarm blood – give the reader a feeling of uneasiness about the story to come. This uneasiness is warranted, for the lukewarm blood is related to Shōji’s own blood at the end of the story.

At one stage in the dream Shōji is standing in the ruins of his home after it has been burnt down. He is disoriented, unable to find anything or anyone:

… [He] could not hear the voice, and only the meaning reached [him].

[Someone] says every one is dead, and there is no one here – his father, mother and brothers are not here. He muttered, no one is there, no one is there … (C1, S1).33

This opening is echoed at Shōji’s death at the end of the novel, with the repeated words “no one is there, no one is there ...”. While the first time they are muttered in his dream, he hears them the second time in his fading consciousness.

Following Shōji’s dream the novel moves to early childhood memories that end when he enters the military preparatory school (C1, S2-4). Chapters 2, 3 and 4 describe Shōji’s growth into an accomplished cadet. After Chapter 5, the middle of the novel, the story reestablishes a connection with Shōji’s dream.

In the male-only atmosphere of the preparatory school, among the youths and their army officer teachers, there are friendships, infatuations, rivalries and bullying. The place is a boarding school as well as an army base. Those who question orders from their seniors, the military spirit, the divinity of the Emperor or the inevitability of a Japanese victory, are judged unsuitable. Shōji’s friend since primary school, Kitō, is expelled after being found lacking in military spirit (C6, S1-2). Kitō’s expulsion is foreshadowed when he questions some senior students about whether “the motto of death and no surrender (gyokusai 五碎)” is equal to “defeat”, referring to the total destruction of the Japanese Army on Attu Island34 (C3, S1). However, the word “defeat” did not exist in the preparatory school. “It is strictly forbidden in the school, not only to utter but even to form the thought that the Imperial Army was defeated” (C3, S6).35

The well-known February 26 Affair has a strong influence on many of the senior cadets. While Shōji cannot recall the incident, which occurred when he was six,

33 Kaga, Kaerazaru natsu, p. 9.
34 In May 1943, the Americans landed on Attu Island. All 2500 Japanese soldiers on the island were killed.
some senior cadets admire, albeit privately, those officers who were at the centre of the coup attempt. One of them proudly tells Shōji that all the plotters were graduates not of normal secondary schools but of the Army Preparatory Schools (C3, S1). Among these senior cadets, Minamoto 髙, who commits suicide with Shōji at the end of the story, says to him, “They are the flowers of the cadets’ spirit” (C3, S4).

One feels in Kaerazaru natsu how powerful the myth of the Emperor was for the cadets and their teachers. Despite being aware of Japan’s military setbacks, the characters in the novel never believe in ultimate defeat, even when they seldom have enough to eat. The Emperor is a god and Japan is a sacred country ruled by this god. Life after defeat is unimaginable. Kaga describes Shōji’s absolute faith in the Emperor and the Emperor’s ancestor the Sun-Goddess, Amaterasu 天照, as follows:

Without doubt, he believed that the Sun-goddess, Amaterasu Ōmikami, governed all the gods in the universe and controlled all the phenomena on earth at will. He believed that the Emperor, her Imperial heir, who sat on the holy seat of the Throne looking down on and sheltering [us], was situated also above [all of] us, the nation. He believed that our Japan was a divine land where the divine spirit manifested itself, [and that fact] differentiated [Japan] from all other countries on the earth, which were built by human hands. Japan was the land of the Manifest Deity and therefore superior to other countries … He believed that in our divine land, the Emperor existed first, followed by the state, the nation, the government, the Diet and the military, and that therefore, if there were no Emperor, all of these would be entirely meaningless. (C2, S3)

Shōji therefore reacts with astonishment when he comes across a middle-aged, low-ranking military nurse in the sick-bay who is indifferent to what is going on at the school and even in the Japanese army itself, although he admires the cadets as society’s elite. Shōji wonders:

... Among the many adults I know, my parents, relatives and teachers, there has been no one who was indifferent to the army. They have all taught [me] nothing else but that the military is the only respectable social group. It does

---

35 Kaga, Kaerazaru natsu, p. 220.
36 Ibid., pp. 125-130.
37 Ibid., p. 151.
38 Ibid., p. 86.
the most important work and every Japanese should willingly become a soldier in order to overcome the dangers to our country. (C3, S6)39

Given this upbringing, Shōji can only conclude that the words of the soldier in the sick bay must be sarcastic. He fails to see that they reflect this man’s true feelings.

In Chapter 4, titled “Gōka 烈火” (meaning “fire at the end of the world”), Kaga depicts the horrendous intensity of the air raids on Tokyo through a letter to Shōji from his father. Referring to the air raid on 10 March 1945, Shōji’s father writes:40

Extending from Kanda station there was a [massive] burnt-out area which made me understand the true meaning of the words ‘unlimited expanse’ …

there are still a great number of the corpses left … completely black, showing that the human [body] is made of carbon … they are shrunken and small. I thought at first that they might be the burnt carcasses of dogs or cats, but when [I] looked at them carefully, [I realised] they were definitely adult corpses … In the precincts of a [Buddhist] temple, several hundred fresh corpses were lined up … Many of them were children and babies. I feel indignation at the cruelty of the Americans who killed this many children …

When I went around to the back of the station, a strange sight confronted me. Like a river in flood, the streets appeared to be buried under household goods and furniture. My astonishment was indescribable when [I] realised that these were not household goods and furniture but lines of corpses … How enormous the number of the dead! What mass murder this is! (C4)41

However, this gruesome letter does not cause Shōji to doubt his militaristic beliefs. Nor does it discourage him from preparing for one last battle, which he is sure will happen soon with the arrival of the enemy on Japanese soil. Shōji does not doubt that all the cadets must die honourable deaths. He talks to himself and to the Emperor in his mind:

…If the enemy lands in a week’s time, I will certainly die … I cannot even imagine [the possibility] that only I would outlast [the Emperor] and survive. If [the enemy landed], even the sun might stop shining. [But] it is certain that the Emperor, the descendent of the sun, would die fighting. If I lag

39 Ibid., p. 204.
40 The biggest air raid among many on Tokyo started late in the night of March 9th and lasted until dawn on the 10th. The historian Irokawa Daikichi 色川大吉 writes: “In just one night 98,000 Tokyo citizens were killed, well over 200,000 houses burned down, and 1 million people were burned out of their homes”. Irokawa Daikichi, The Age Of Hirohito, trans. by Hane, M. and Urda, J., New York: The Free Press, 1995, p. 34.
41 Kaga, Kaerazaru natsu, pp. 243-245.
behind the Emperor, it would be inexcusable. Your Majesty, I will die first. (C5, S2)\textsuperscript{42}

The story then depicts the shock and confusion of Shōji and his fellow students and teachers on hearing the Emperor’s radio announcement of the surrender.\textsuperscript{43} The poor radio reception compounds the disorientation resulting from their iron-solid belief in “no surrender”. The first and immediate reaction of the majority of the cadets and the teachers is to fight till the last man against the Americans, who, they believe, may have already landed somewhere in southern Japan, and against the Soviet Union, which has now declared war on Japan.

However, within hours of the Emperor’s radio broadcast all this changes in a way which Shōji finds shocking and unforgivable. He has to witness his teachers, those who taught him “the motto of death and no surrender” and many of his fellow cadets, who had appeared to take the motto deeply into their hearts, now burning books and other documents which might betray their military background.\textsuperscript{44} Shōji believes Emperor Hirohito should and will commit suicide. Just a few hours prior to the Emperor’s announcement, Shōji tells the other cadets: “It cannot be possible that His Majesty alone will survive. [He] will share the same fate as his nation, like the captain of a sinking battleship” (C5, S4).\textsuperscript{45}

Shōji thinks of doing the same along with a cadet of the Military Academy, Minamoto, with whom he was infatuated in his first year at the school. Minamoto is one of those who tried in vain to seize during the previous night the tape on which the Emperor had recorded his surrender announcement and to rouse others to act against the surrender. The only method of committing suicide for appropriate military officers is seppuku (self-disembowelment). When Shōji is asked by Minamoto how he feels about the possibility of the survival of the Emperor, Shōji answers:

… “I would like to commit suicide in order to avoid seeing such a debased Emperor. My beautiful Emperor must commit suicide manfully. I will perform seppuku out of loyalty to my beautiful Emperor. I follow His steps and [therefore] immolate myself immediately”. (C8, S5)\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., p. 297.
\textsuperscript{44} As most of the records were burnt, it is not possible to find full details of the Army Preparatory School which Kaga attended. See Meiyōkai 名物会, ed., Meiyōkōshi 名物教史, Futabasha, 1974, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{45} Kaga, Kaerazaru natsu, p. 323.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., p. 606.
Shōji follows Minamoto in performing seppuku at dawn the following morning. The story ends with the following sentences:

… the pain was not great [and he was] surrounded by sweet darkness. He heard the voice saying “No one is there, no one is there”. His last sense told him that [he was] resting on the steady hand of a giant, and [then] strong fumes of sleep engulfed him. (C8, S5)\(^47\)

In his 1986 memoir Tennō no kieta hi (天皇の消えた日), the film director Masumoto Kinen 升本喜年, born as was Kaga in 1929, and also a cadet at one of the Army Preparatory Schools (in Kumamoto), wrote of his similar experience of 15 August 1945. Masumoto claims that he also had believed that the end of war would have been possible only if it ended in “victory”. Defeat meant “the ruin of the country” (bokoku 亡国). The word “state” (kokka 国家) was extremely beautiful, wrote Masumoto, and the “state” meant “tennō”, the Emperor.\(^49\)

3.1.3 The theme

Kaga creates Shōji as a victim of militarism, but a willing victim – even if not yet fully an adult – who deeply believes in tennōism and the militarism at its heart. This is the way Kaga views himself at the time of the war.\(^50\) He spent his childhood and early adolescence during the war and was sixteen when the war ended. A military education was his daily reality, a reality of which it was not possible for him to be critical.

Kaga needed many years to recover from the confusion and anxiety which the end of the war created in him.\(^51\) He says that in the years after the war, one after another of his friends committed suicide.\(^52\) Those who were adults during the war might be able to develop a critical view of the war and their share in the responsibility for it, while those who were still young children could keep the feeling of innocence. Kaga thinks that many writers of his generation, who were neither adults nor children

---
\(^47\) Ibid., p. 612.
\(^48\) Masumoto Kinen, Tennō no kieta hi, Fuyō Shobō, 1983.
\(^49\) Ibid., pp. 10-19.
\(^52\) Kaga, Sensō nōto, p. 209.
Chapter 3 Two important novels prior to Eien no miyako (Kaerazaru natsu)

at the end of the war, needed a detour of one or two decades before starting their writing careers. Kaga himself took such a detour.53

The same year he published Kaerazaru natsu, Kaga published several short stories. In two of those stories, “Ikyō 異郷” and its sequel “Yuki no yado 雪の宿”, he uses former cadets of the military preparatory schools to pose the following questions: (i) why did the Emperor neither commit suicide nor abdicate? and (ii) given that the Emperor did neither, is it right to conclude that the deaths of those who dedicated their lives to him were in vain?

The same questions are asked in Kaerazaru natsu in a more powerful way. Here Kaga also contrives to show, albeit subtly, the pathological and sometimes criminal aspects of tennoism. When Shōji first puts on his cadet’s uniform, he feels somehow “unnatural”, remembering his “natural” joy when putting on his school uniform a year earlier (C2, S1). Kaga also describes Shōji’s absolute faith in the Emperor and the Emperor’s ancestor, the Sun-Goddess (C2, S3). Shōji’s belief that the divine Japanese nation has never displayed any racism (C5, S4) shows a shockingly naive understanding of this dimension of Japanese militarism. Even the gruesome letter from his father describing the aftermath of a massive air raid does not cause Shōji to doubt his beliefs (C4). As I see it, the most trenchant criticism of tennoism is embodied in Shōji’s suicide, carried out in the conviction that the Emperor would follow the fate of his nation by taking his own life. Shōji’s young life is sacrificed to a false ideal, an ideal betrayed even by its own central figures.

Criticising Emperor Hirohito and his role during the war has been practically taboo in many ways, despite the fact that the Japanese constitution secures freedom of speech and the people’s sovereign power. Ōe Kenzaburō 大江健三郎 seems to have been silent about these issues after life-threatening attacks by right wing hooligans after he published the novel Sevantiin セヴンティーン in 1961. Ōe withdrew Part II of this novel, “Seiji shonen shisu 政治少年死す”, soon thereafter and it is still hard to

obtain. Ōe describes in the novel the life of a seventeen year old boy who becomes a member of an extreme right wing political organisation and commits suicide after he assassinates the first secretary of the Japanese Socialist Party. Ōe’s description of the youth and the youth’s image of the Emperor are rather vulgar and sometimes obscene.

The attack on Ōe was not an isolated incident, with other infamous attacks by right-wing hooligans on writers and publishers in 1960 and 1961. Fukazawa Shichirō 深沢七郎 was attacked following publication of his “Fūryū mutan 風流夢譚”, 57 which contains a description of the beheading of the Emperor and members of his family in a dream of the protagonist. The publishing company Chūō Kōronsha 中央公論社 had to cancel the special issue of the magazine Shisō no kagaku 思想の科学 in December 1961, featuring articles critical of the imperial system, because of these attacks. 58 Kaga may well have believed that he was taking a risk in publishing Kaerazaru natsu.

Kaga presents his characters and their world without editorial comment or overt criticism. There are many words and phrases praising the Emperor and militarism uttered by the characters in Kaerazaru natsu. This led some readers to misinterpret the attitude of the author. Kaga told me (private interview, December 1997) that the Japanese Communist Party lodged a complaint about Kaerazaru natsu, claiming that it could encourage and spread the ideas of tennoism and militarism. Kaga’s comment seems a little strong as the article he has in mind, a review of the book in Akahata 赤旗, the official newspaper of the Japanese Communist Party, 59 only suggests the possibility that young people might misunderstand the author’s intention. Such a misreading might in fact be behind the lack of criticism of Kaga from right-wing extremists, something that disappoints him!

The issue of the Emperor and his responsibility for the war seems to have been untouchable, not only in Japanese literature but also among ordinary Japanese. The historian Yasumaru Yoshio 安丸良夫 writes in his 1992 book, Kindai tennō zō no keisei 近代天皇像の形成, about the difficulties that ordinary Japanese workers had to face when Emperor Hirohito was fatally ill between the autumn of 1988 and the beginning of 1989. Refusing to go along with fellow workers to sign the well-wisher’s book for

---

58 See “Hen’mentai bungakushi, Sen’ō 50-nen, 1961-nen” 禁年体文学史, 戦後 50 年「1961年」", Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū, 40:8 (July 1995), p. 106. Like Ōe’s Sewuntin, Part II, it is very difficult to obtain this story and these articles, with only first edition copies available at a relatively small number of libraries.
59 “Kaga Otohiko cho Kaerazaru natsu 加賀乙彦著「帰らずる夏」, Akahata, 8311 (22 October 1973).
the Emperor, even if this was simply because of lack of time, apparently required great courage and determination.\textsuperscript{61}

Yasumaru also writes that Emperor Hirohito’s refusal to publicly admit any kind of responsibility for the war was clearly revealed when he was interviewed by Japanese journalists for the first time in 1975. When questioned about “war-responsibility”, he said that he could not answer that sort of question because he did not know [how to use] literary rhetoric.\textsuperscript{62} When visiting the US in 1975, the Emperor was asked by a journalist about changes in Japanese values since the end of the war. He replied that fundamentally nothing had changed, suggesting that the Emperor, who was the central figure during the war, still has a major role in Japanese culture.\textsuperscript{63} Although the Emperor is no longer a political figure, his presence is still embedded in the Japanese psyche.

The historian Carol Gluck states that in the 1980s in Europe, through the trial in France of the German war criminal Klaus Barbie and the questions raised about the wartime actions of the former UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, understanding of responsibility for the war changed from so-called “collective responsibility” to the recognition that each implicated individual also carries an individual responsibility.\textsuperscript{64} Gluck argues that Japan is still far from such an understanding. In her view, the Japanese have not even begun to think of responsibility for the war as something that should be considered individually.

\textit{Kaerazaru natsu} is one of the few answers to this criticism. Kaga is one of the few literary figures in contemporary Japan seeking to give fictional form to the exploration of individual responsibility and integrity in relation to Japanese militarism. In an interview Kaga said that no Japanese historian or religious figure had addressed to his satisfaction the responsibility of the Japanese people collectively and individually for the war. It was therefore left to Kaga himself to take up the issue in fictional form.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{60} Yasumaru Yoshio, \textit{Kindai tennōzō no keisei}, Iwanami Shoten, 1992.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., pp. 2-5.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., pp. 7-9.
\textsuperscript{63} According to John Dower, what Hirohito said is: “I realize that various people have advanced any number of opinions about this since the termination of the war. From the broadest point of view, however, I do not think there has been any change between the prewar and postwar periods”. Dower, \textit{Japan in War and Peace}, (first pub. in 1993) London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995, p. 340.
\textsuperscript{65} Interview, December 1998.
Kaga seems not to have been satisfied that *Kaerazaru natsu* adequately described Japan under tennōism. He writes in his 1974 essay “Bōrei no tanjōbi”:

That summer day, I was in the middle stage of my teenage years. I believed in the Emperor, the militarism taught by adults and that the war was the highest moral calling. To cut a long story short, I just managed to live by believing in something. I could be a cheerful youth because I believed in something, despite starvation, air raids, an enormous number of deaths and the expectation that I would surely die before reaching the age of twenty. The morality of tennōism, militarism or the motto of “I never want [anything] until [we] achieve victory (Hoshigarimasen, katsu made wa 欲しがりません, 勝つまでは)” controlled me at the time. I tried to give this historical fact fictional form in *Kaerazaru natsu*, but I do not feel that I have described it fully. I do not think it is easy to write about the course Japan took during the time I was born and grew up from the beginning of the Showa era to defeat at the end of the war. That period of over ten years started with wars and ended with wars, and created the strange new era called the post-war period. It means that in order to understand the post-war era truly, one needs to examine the time of war thoroughly, but it is very hard.

But Kaga kept trying. In his 1982 novel *Ikari no naifune* 鏡のいない船, he examines the war from the perspectives of both the Japanese and American sides. Kaga writes in his 1980 essay “Beikoku ni okeru taiheiyo senso no minaoshi” that *Ikari no naifune* is the story of the Japanese ambassador Kurusu Saburō, his American born wife Alice and their son Rōō, who was a test pilot and an aircraft technician in the Japanese Army. Kurusu Saburō went to the United States in the middle of November 1941, just before Pearl Harbor, and tried in vain to prevent war between the two countries. Kurusu Rōō was killed in action in February 1945.

Through the lives and the death of the members of the Kurusu family – the parents and their three children – Kaga writes of the evil of war itself, both war in general and the Second World War in particular, not of the misdeeds of particular countries. From his point of view, while atrocities committed by the Japanese Army in the Pacific War were evil acts, the massive air raids on Tokyo and the dropping of the

---

atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were also evil. Kaga writes in the same essay about his approach to understanding the war:

I have no intention to say anything positive about the military action of Japan in that war ... I also have no intention of claiming that the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor was right. ... I just have had some doubt over the idea, which was emphasised by Americans after the war, that only the Japanese side was wrong and only the American side fought a holy war ... I [now] am driven by the need to investigate again what the war really was ... 67

*Ikari no nai fune* was published in hard-cover in 1982, about nine years after *Kaerazaru natsu*. It was republished as a paperback in 1988. An abridged English version, apparently based on the 1982 edition, was published in 1999 under the title of *Riding the East Wind*. 68

There is a complication with the names of the characters. In the first hard-cover version, Kaga does not use the real names of the people on whom the story was based. The family name of Ambassador Kurusu is changed to Kurushima, and the first names of the characters are changed from Saburō and Ryo to Heizaburō and Ken. However, in the paperback version, Kaga used the real names Kurusu Saburō and Kurusu Ryō. (They are Kurushima Saburō and Kurushima Ken in the English version.)

*Ikari no nai fune* is not a successful novel. One can see Kaga’s thorough research into the historical materials such as the records of the meeting between Ambassador Kurusu and the American Secretary of State Cordell Hull just before the Pacific War broke out, or of the so-called Tokyo tribunal in particular. 69 The fictional treatment of historical events is clearly at the heart of the book.

However, although *Ikari no nai fune* shares many characteristics of Kaga’s other novels – the absence of an omniscient author, a plurality of perspectives and a detailed description of events and phenomena – it lacks the deep and compelling characterisation of his other novels.

At the beginning of *Riding the East Wind*, Alice Kurushima is described as an extraordinary looking foreigner at a countryside railway station when Japan is deeply

---

67 Kaga, *Senso nôto*, p. 43.
69 The description of the Tokyo tribunal is completely omitted from *Riding the East Wind*, along with
into the war:

Suddenly the crowd parted for a Western woman in a long white pleated skirt, a lace blouse, and an enormous hat with a rose on the brim. For the locals in the international resort of Karuizawa, Western visitors were a familiar sight, but as Alice Kurushima made her way out of the station and through the crowd, the presence of this foreigner in her exotic attire still seemed to astonish them.\(^7^0\)

Elsewhere Ken Kurushima remembers how his mother causes suspicion among other Japanese when his parents visited him, a low ranking soldier, in an army base. His mother wears “a loud red dress with bright yellow lace trimmings”, flings her arms around his neck and kisses him on the cheek.\(^7^1\)

The above description of Alice could be true of Alice Kurusu’s actual life. However, given that Alice at that time has already been married to a high-ranking Japanese diplomat for about thirty years and that she lives through the period when Japan is extremely conservative about the role of women, the above scenes do not ring true. As *Ikari no nai June* is not a documentary but fiction, the reader needs something more to be convinced. Alice lacks credibility as a fictional figure.

The descriptions of Kurushima (Kurusu) Saburō are also not convincing. We are given many “facts” about him, but as a whole, the reader receives a weak and unclear impression of his personality. We are told much of what he did and said, but the person of Kurusu remains peculiarly bloodless.

One of the climaxes of the novel, the death of Ken Kurushima (or Kurusu) in Chapter 7, shows a lack of fictional imagination. After battling against a group of American B29-fighters, severely injured Ken escapes by parachute and lands on Japanese territory. He is found by some locals, but they kill him, shouting “*Amerika hei da! Yacchimae!* (He is an American soldier! Kill him!)”, because of his Western appearance. Compared to Ken’s (fictional) monologues about his enemy, his duel racial background and his girlfriend just before this scene, his death is given very thin treatment, probably because the author relied too much on what actually happened.

The reason for this failure seems to be Kaga’s indecisiveness about how to treat the factual materials at his disposal. This indecisiveness symbolically appears in the

---

\(^7^0\) Kaga, *Riding the East Wind*, p. 7. This scene is omitted in the paperback version of *Ikari no nai June*.

\(^7^1\) *Riding the East Wind*, p. 137. *Ikari no nai June*, vol. 1, pp. 220-221.
changes of the main characters’ names as well as the unusual message from the author to the reader appended to the 1988 paperback version. In this message, titled “Chosha kara dokusha e 著者から読者へ”, Kaga explains who Kurusu Saburō was, what he did and how the reader should read the novel. Kaga writes:

... The issues which I pursued in the novel have not been resolved at all, although forty years have passed since the war. As always, a state forces distortions upon an individual, and misunderstandings, frictions and confrontations between Japan and the US are currently serious. At this time, I would like you to read thoroughly about a similar situation in the past.

Kaga also states that he changed the names back to the real ones in order to show that his story is grounded in history. This sounds to me almost like an acceptance of failure on Kaga’s part to create Ikari no nai June as fiction.

Building a work of fiction around historical fact is not easy. David Lodge provides an interesting observation about the split feelings of novelists. He writes:

Novelists are and always have been split between, on the one hand, the desire to claim an imaginative and representative truth for their stories, and on the other hand the wish to guarantee and defend that truth-claim by reference to empirical facts ...

Kaga is true to the “empirical facts” drawn from his own research, and builds characters and story lines around these facts in a way that is the unique prerogative of the novelist. Kaga believes that only in this way can the meaning of history be fully captured. This is successfully done in such novels as Kaerazaru natsu, Senkoku and Eien no miyako, but not in Ikari no nai fune.

Kaga’s thoughts about the Second World War and war in general, examined in Kaerazaru natsu and Ikari no nai fune, were brought together with other lines of thinking and further developed in Eien no miyako. Kaga started to publish the novel Kiro (the first novel of the trilogy) in the magazine Shinchō from January 1986, re-living and re-creating the war.

72 The critic Akiyama Shun 秋山俊 writes that he does not like this kind of change because it immediately reminds him of Stendhal words concerning “the ridiculousness of an author who thinks he is cleverer when correcting a week later what he [originally] wrote”. Akiyama, “Kaisetsu – Otoko wa tatakai, onna wa awarebukaku ikiru 解説——男は戦い、女は貶れ深く生きる”, Ikari no nai fune, vol. 3, p. 313.
74 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 303.
75 David Lodge, After Bakhtin: Essays on fiction and criticism, p. 18.
Kaga told me in an interview in December 1998 that the death of Emperor Hirohito meant to him the end of “the Emperor of war time” and the end of the era of tennōism. Although Kaga to some degree appreciates the Emperor’s role after the war as the head of a peaceful Japan, he believes at the same time that this peaceful Japan has been built on the nation’s irresponsibility. He added that it is a great pity for the Emperor himself and for the nation that he died without accepting any personal responsibility for the war. Kaga believes that the Showa Emperor’s equivocal attitude towards the war now finds new expression in attempts to avoid compensating war victims. As “the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people”, the position of the Emperor has now become “the symbol of irresponsibility”.

76 Interview, December 1998.
Chapter 3  Two important novels prior to Eien no miyako (Senkoku)

3.2  Human equality, being and nothingness – Senkoku

3.2.1  Beyond “nihirizumu (nihilism)”

Senkoku was published in complete form in 1979, just before Kaga turned fifty. It is his fourth novel and, in my view, the best among his earlier works. It also marks a turning point for him as an author. His previous three novels, Furandoru no fuyu and Arechi o tabisuru monotachi, are centred on his “distrust for human beings” or on the meaninglessness of life and love. According to Kaga, the shadow of “nihilism” undermining faith in other human beings runs through the novels, particularly the first two. Kaerazaru natsu, based on Kaga’s experience during the war years, is the outcome of his search for the source of his “nihilism”. With Kaerazaru natsu, Kaga says in his 1993 discussion, he hit the bottom of his “distrust for human beings”.

It is important to note a decisive difference in the meaning of nihilism between Europe and Japan. Nihilism in the former is considered a social threat through its negation of the established social order, of existing authorities and moral principles. The best-known nihilist figure in European literature is Bazarov in Fathers and Sons by Turgenev (1818-1883). The English translator of the novel, Rosemary Edmonds, describes Bazarov in her introduction as follows: “Bazarov is the man who ‘looks at everything critically’, who repudiates ‘because in these days the most useful thing we can do is to repudiate’, who despises aesthetic culture and scorns tradition and all social institutions”.

The Japanese nihirizumu, although imported from Europe, developed independently, as did many other imported concepts. Nihirizumu, although “looking at everything critically”, has lost most of the crude, Bazarov-like positivism and the energy to revolt that the original “nihilism” had, and instead has adopted a rather passive negation of the established social order, authority, moral principles and life.

2 Ibid., pp.213-223.
4 Ibid., p.11.
5 Positivism is the doctrine that all knowledge is based on the positive data of experience rejecting any religion or metaphysics.
Chapter 3 Two important novels prior to Eien no miyako (Senkoku)

itself. *Nahiruzumu* is more like a “philosophical despair” in which one feels the vanity and meaninglessness of life. Kaga uses “nihilism” in this Japanese way.

*Senkoku* differs from Kaga’s previous novels in important ways. It is a story of a man who, at one point without faith in humanity, gains trust in human beings and in himself and consequently finds meaning in life after being sentenced to death. In the protagonist’s shift from despair to hope, one can track the author’s recovery from “nihilism”. Kaga writes that “… this novel was the first figuration of my profession of faith”. Elsewhere he writes that with *Senkoku* he started to treat the conflict between the power of the state and the creator God in his novels.

As mentioned, *Senkoku* received the Nihon Bungaku Taishō in the year of its publication. In his acceptance remarks Kaga wrote that the award should be given to the dead [the executed prisoners] because this novel is a monument to them. He expressed sadness that he could not share the joy of receiving the award with them.

*Senkoku* shows two strong influences. One is the early philosophy of the German existentialist Martin Heidegger, and the other is Dostoyevsky. While Heidegger’s influence is evident in the novel’s philosophical aspects, Dostoyevsky’s is present in the characterisation and the story line.

In his 1988 essay “Mugen to kyomu – Watashi to kirisutokyō 無限と虚無—私とキリスト教”, Kaga writes of his shock upon encountering the idea of *das Nichts* in Heidegger’s essay “What is Metaphysics?” and says that he had this idea in his mind while he was writing. He refers to the same essay by Heidegger in his 1979 essay “Kyomu to ankoku e no shii”, where he writes: “While I was writing the novel [*Senkoku*], the view which opened in front of me was of the overwhelming power of nothingness (*kyomu* 虚無) and darkness (*ankoku* 暗黒)”.

The relevant passage in “What is Metaphysics?” is as follows:

> Pure Being and pure Nothing are thus one and the same. This proposition of Hegel’s (*The Science of Logic…*) is correct. Being and Nothing hang together, but not because the two things – from the point of view of the Hegelian concept of thought – are one in their indefiniteness and

---

7 Kaga Otohiko, “Mugen to kyomu – Watashi to kirisutokyō”, Ginzō, 43:3 (March 1988), pp. 204-207.
10 Kaga Otohiko, “Kyomu to ankoku e no shii”, (first pub. in 1979) Hanzai nōto 犯罪ノート, pp. 233-239.
immediateness, but because Being itself is finite in essence and is only revealed in the Transcendence of Da-sein [existence or humanity] as projected into Nothing.

... every being, so far as it is a being, is made out of nothing.\(^{12}\)

Not only in *Senkoku* but also in some of his other works, both before and after *Senkoku*, Kaga deals with the dichotomy in humankind between light and cavernous darkness. A comparison between *Arechi o tabisuru monotachi\(^{13}\) (1971) and *Eien no miyako* (1997) brings out this dichotomy. Although the characters of *Eien no miyako* live in the much harder social circumstances of war-time, they try to move beyond their despair to a feeling of hope, in contrast to the feeling of the vanity of things to which the characters of *Arechi o tabisuru monotachi* succumb.

One can already see in Kaga’s 1969 letter to Shôda Akira (正田昭) that his attitude towards “nihilism” is changing, when he writes that “… because of this darkness … one can see light”, and that acknowledging one’s powerlessness is important to make one seek a power and light from outside.\(^{14}\) *Senkoku* treats darkness as a basic aspect of individual and social existence, in a way similar to Mauriac, as something not to conquer but to acknowledge and to live with. This issue seems to have gained in intensity for him while he was writing the novel.\(^{15}\) In his search for the origin of the idea of darkness, he went back to the beginning of Genesis in which he found that darkness had existed before the light.\(^{16}\)

The main theme of *Senkoku* is that darkness is the basis of existence and that light cannot exist without it. The protagonist Kusumoto Takeo (楠木他家雄) mutters:

... that which supports humankind is darkness [yami] and nothingness [kyomu]. The power that leads humankind, however imperceptibly, to light is ... (Words fail here. But there is something which words can’t express from this point on.) (C1, S8)\(^{17}\)

Kaga writes elsewhere that in order to give power to a novel, it is essential to be aware of metaphysics or religion. He goes on to say that with this awareness

---
\(^{11}\) In this thesis I translate both of Kaga’s words, ankoku and yami, as “darkness”.
\(^{13}\) Kaga writes in his 1969 letter to Shôda that the theme of *Arechi o tabisuru monotachi* is “despair and hope, darkness and light”. Kaga, *Aru shikeishū to no taiwa*, p.167.
\(^{14}\) Ibid., p.196.
\(^{15}\) Kaga, *Hanzai nôto*, p. 238.
\(^{16}\) Kaga writes elsewhere: “… I wrote about the beginning of Genesis in that novel *Senkoku*”. Kaga, *Kirisutokyô e no michi*, pp. 76-77.
novelists are able to give new meaning to such hackneyed concepts as freedom, love, and hope. The backbone of *Senkoku* is the Heideggerian philosophy of “something” which makes (or allows) nothingness and being to exist.

*Senkoku* is a long book comprising two large volumes. The main forces which impelled Kaga to write were his determination to give fictional form to the life and execution of the death-row prisoner Shōda Akira, who became a close friend towards the end of his prison life; and his fascination with light and darkness in the human mind and in society, inspired by Heidegger’s philosophy. These two forces are brilliantly brought together in the creation of the main character, Kusumoto Takeo, and of others who play supporting roles. *Senkoku* itself is a work of fiction in which Kaga tries to find hope (light) in an apparently hopeless situation (darkness), thereby overcoming “nihilism”. In the language of Heidegger, this is *die Überwindung des Nichts* (overcoming nothingness).

In 1980, after *Senkoku* was finished, Kaga published a non-fictional work entitled *Shikeishū no kiroku* 死刑囚の記録, in which he writes of prisoners on death row whom he actually met or interviewed for his academic research. The book’s main purpose was to make public the situation of prisoners on death row in Japan, but a secondary purpose was to use factual reporting of concrete cases of death-row prisoners to answer criticisms that *Senkoku* is too closely tied to real personalities and incidents.

I do not share the criticism directed at *Senkoku*. One can gather from *Shikeishū no kiroku* that the death-row inmates with whom Kaga worked offered only the raw material that inspired his literary imagination. The characters of *Senkoku* are truly fictional.

Dostoyevsky is one of the few authors whom Kaga has admired unequivocally since his teenage years. *Senkoku* shows the strong influence of Dostoyevsky, in particular of *The House of The Dead* and *Crime and Punishment*.

In 1973, the year *Kaerazaru natsu* was published, Kaga published a literary

---

21 Ibid., p.229.
commentary on Dostoyevsky. In it he writes:

I was a medical student when I read The House of The Dead. However, I only appreciated that this novel was supported by [the author’s] correct observations and deep insight into human beings when I became a prison doctor. While dealing with the prisoners in the jail – all sorts such as murderers, swindlers, rapists and thieves – it was as if the criminals in The House of The Dead, those who were condemned to exile to Siberia in the 19th century, had been brought back to life again in contemporary Japan.24

What Dostoyevsky writes of convicts in The House of The Dead is applicable to Kaga’s prisoners in Senkoku. Kaga is of course well aware of the difference between Dostoyevsky’s experience and his own. Dostoyevsky was condemned to exile and sentenced to death as a political offender, and the sentence was revoked only just in time. Kaga on the other hand is a law-abiding citizen, a prison medical officer. This position requires him to observe criminals from the outside.

Kaga is happy to admit his discovery that the conclusions of his long academic research into the psychology of criminals were already described in brilliant literary fashion by Dostoyevsky a century before.25 Kaga says elsewhere in the same book that he learnt far more about the psychology of prisoners from The House of The Dead than from monographs on criminology or psychiatry.26

Shōda Akira, the model for Senkoku’s main character Kusumoto Takeo, was the perpetrator of a sensational murder in Tokyo in 1953. Takeo’s background is basically the same as Shōda’s. Shōda was born in 1929, the same year as Kaga27 and Shōji, the main character of Kaerazaru natsu. Kaga writes in his 1980 essay “Akunin o aisuru ~A: ~ t”28 that part of the impetus to write Senkoku came from imagining what would happen if the protagonist in Kaerazaru natsu had survived and lived in the post-war period. Although Takeo during the war is neither a militarist nor a patriot, his despair, hatred and distrust of adults after the end of the war are the same as Shōji’s.

In July 1953, Shōda and two accomplices murdered a man for money in broad
daylight in central Tokyo. Shōda was the principal offender. At the time of his crime, at the age of twenty-four, he was working for a small stock brokerage company and had a large debt, due to his decadent life style of excessive spending and betting. The murder was purposeful and cold-blooded, the victim being strangled and bashed with an electric cord and a wooden cudgel, both of which were prepared before hand. Despite the fact that he was charged almost immediately, Shōda avoided apprehension for three months before his eventual arrest. He was executed in December 1969, sixteen years after he committed the crime and six years after the final sentence was handed down by the Supreme Court. Shōda became a Catholic during his detention, which lasted most of his adult life. His conversion took place several months before Kaga first met him.

Kaga was drawn to Shōda’s case by the nature of the crime and by Shōda’s bizarre behaviour right after his arrest. He was said to have questioned journalists on his arrest saying: “I don’t have any sense of guilt. I can recall no wrong doing. You people say I’m a very serious criminal. But what on earth is evil (aku ～)?” The journalists reacted to Shōda’s words by writing of him as an educated man with a university degree who still did not know the difference between right and wrong. When he heard Shōda’s words Kaga felt that he could understand them. His interest was also aroused because Shōda lived through exactly the same chaotic social and political change as Kaga. In addition, Shōda was a graduate of one of Japan’s prestigious universities. Like Kaga, he was a member of the social elite; however, Shōda’s life, unlike Kaga’s, went terribly wrong. He was called an après guerre youth, the term popularly used by journalists at that time. While the English word “post-war” carries a positive implication, the French après guerre has a negative one. The words “après guerre”, “apure geru” in Japanese, referred to young people who had “nihilistic” views on everything. Kaga felt somehow as though Shōda, as the

29 This incident is known as “Mekka satsujin jiken メッカ殺人事件”. The two accomplices were sentenced to 10 and 5 years imprisonment respectively.
30 Kaga, Shikeishū no kiroku, pp. 170-203. See also Yoshimasu Shufu 吉益修夫, “Kaisetsu ni kaete fūrī”, Shōda Akira 正田昭, Mokusō nōto 黙想ノート, Misuzu Shobō, 1967, pp. 193-221. Kaga, Kirisutokyo e no michi, pp. 36-37, the footnote.
31 Kaga, Kirisutokyo e no michi, p. 37. Kaga writes that Shōda’s comments reminded him of the nightmarish experience which his entire generation had to go through. Things which were absolutely right, such as killing Americans, changed to being completely wrong. Kaga sees a deep irony in Shōda’s words.
representative of his generation, had taken revenge on adults.\textsuperscript{32}

Although Shōda had changed markedly between his arrest in 1953 and the time he became a Catholic in 1955, Kaga found in him when they first met a trace of distrust towards other human beings similar to Kaga’s own.\textsuperscript{33} The relationship between the two, prison doctor and prisoner, was interrupted when Kaga left for France in 1957. It resumed in 1964, when Shōda submitted essays to a criminology journal edited by Kaga.\textsuperscript{34}

Kaga’s 1990 \textit{Aru shikeishū to no taiwa}ある死刑囚との対話 comprises the collected letters between him and Shōda for the period 15 August 1967 to 8 December 1969, the day before Shōda was executed. One sees in them a sincere exchange of thoughts between the two men over two years. Their relationship deepened through the correspondence, and genuine friendship developed. In his 1970 essay “Keishi shita tomo e刑死した友へ”, Kaga writes of his shock and sadness at losing this friend: “… I heard on the phone that Shōda Akira had passed away. At the shock, tears poured down my face. My wife, who was near by, also started to cry. What sadness! What a good friend we have lost!”\textsuperscript{35} Shōda’s last letter, in which he expressed his gratitude and farewell to Kaga, was delivered four days after his death.

In reading \textit{Senkoku}, one feels a strong sense of Kaga’s belief in the underlying equality of all human beings, regardless of their circumstances and their life histories. The author’s integrity, his willingness to take responsibility “to speak the truth and expose lies”,\textsuperscript{36} as a novelist, a psychiatrist and an intellectual of his time is also apparent. He seeks to bring home to the reader the inhumanity of the death penalty and of the situation of prisoners on death row by presenting the criminals and their crimes as the counterpart of law-abiding citizens and the laws and customs they observe. Kaga writes: “This is not a lukewarm [position] like [saying] criminals are also human beings. There is [only] one step between ourselves and criminals”.\textsuperscript{37} This is a point of view far removed from that of ordinary Japanese. Underlying it is a recognition of the vulnerability of the human mind.

\textsuperscript{32} Kaga, \textit{Shikeishū no kiroku}, p. 176.
\textsuperscript{33} Kaga, \textit{Aru shikeishū to no taiwa}, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{34} Shōda later published his collected essays. They are \textit{Mokusō nōto}黙想ノート; and \textit{Yoru no kiroku}夜の記録, Joshi Pauro Kai, 1968. Both books are hard to obtain since they are out of print and Shōda’s family does not wish the books to be published.
\textsuperscript{35} Kaga Otohiko, “Keishi shita tomo e”, (first pub. in 1970) \textit{Hanzai nōto}, pp. 47-49.
\textsuperscript{36} Chomsky, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{37} Kaga, “Akunin o aisuru”, \textit{Hanzai nōto}, p. 80.
Chapter 3 Two important novels prior to Eien no miyako (Senkoku)

Kaga writes in his 1980 book *Shikeishū no kiroku* 死刑囚の記録:

What I learned from Shōda were not superficial phenomena such as the psychology of a prisoner on death row, but the deep, dark and warm movement of [his] mind concerning the life and death of human beings. I know no one else who showed so powerfully and impressively that a prisoner on death row is nothing less than an individual human being.\(^{38}\)

The message that “a prisoner on death row is nothing less than an individual human being” is at the heart of *Senkoku*. Reading the novel, one realises that the murderers it depicts share much in common with those who abide by the law. This may be a not uncommon idea in many countries, but it is totally unfamiliar in a country such as Japan, where capital punishment is still practiced despite the relatively low crime rate. One of the underlying elements at play in the retention of capital punishment is the belief that a murderer is incapable of remorse, incapable of the natural and universal feelings of “normal” human beings.

The characterisation in *Senkoku* is intricate and convincing. The detailed depiction of the death-row prisoner’s hidden emotional manoeuvres, mental vulnerabilities, sorrows and salvation, which are completely neglected in legal documents, are powerfully presented in a way which only fiction can achieve. Kaga tries to lay bare the humanity of murderers. He succeeds admirably, demonstrating a capacity to understand human beings and their complexity as strong and subtle as Dostoyevsky’s. *Senkoku* fulfils Kaga’s childhood dream to write a novel like Dostoyevsky’s.\(^{39}\)

Like *Kaerazaru natsu*, *Senkoku* is distinctive in its treatment of time. While the characters’ memories serve to spread the narrative over decades, the events at the heart of the story span only a few days. Kaga writes in *Dosutoefusukii* that those whose deaths are near (such as death-row prisoners) live in compressed time with sharpened perceptions.\(^{40}\) *Senkoku*’s temporal setting is accordingly compressed and tense.

---

\(^{38}\) Kaga, *Shikeishū no kiroku*, p. 194.

\(^{39}\) Kaga, *Dosutoefusukii*, pp. 2-5.

3.2.2 Story and theme

The novel is set in Japan in 1969, the year when the entire country faces social and political unrest, including the nation-wide campaign against the proposed 1970 renewal of the Japan-US Security Treaty. Outside the tall and solid fence of the Tokyo Detention Centre, political gatherings and demonstrations organised by left-wing radicals, mainly university students, occur daily. The story follows the final days of Kusumoto Takeo, a prisoner on death row. One of the medical officers at the detention centre, the secondary character Kogi Seiichirō, is reminiscent of Kaga’s younger self in his time as a prison doctor. Kaga claims, however, that it is Takeo who is his alter ego. Through Takeo, Kaga tries to hold up a mirror to the formative part of his own life, his experiences during the war and in the post-war period and his search for God.

The title of the first chapter is “Spring Snowstorm” (Haru no fubuki). “Storm” among death row prisoners means a period in which executions are carried out one after another. The “storm” starts suddenly. Prisoners have no way of knowing when it will start and how long it will last.

The story begins early on a Friday morning in the middle of February with Takeo waking up in his solitary cell in the Detention Centre’s “zero section” (zero-ban), the area reserved for death-row prisoners. Some inmates have already had their death penalties confirmed after going through all possible appeal processes; others still have appeals pending. Some have had their sentences commuted and are waiting to be moved to another prison. What they all have in common is that they are murderers (C1, S1). After describing the morning routines, the sights and sounds of the zero section, the author gives us Takeo’s silent monologue, expressing his extreme anxiety:

...[I feel] an ominous presentiment. I think this morning is my turn. I feel like the tiny flame of a candle trembling in the wind. The door will suddenly open and I will be taken away...
open and it'll be blown out. Everything will end”. (C1, S1)\(^{45}\)

The presentiment of his own execution is always with him. The fatal call always comes in the morning. If the footsteps of several people approach, that morning is the fatal morning; if the footsteps are of only a few people, it will be the next day (C1, S2). After the Minister of Justice signs the form ordering an execution, the order must be carried out within five days. Whether the prisoner gets a two hour or a twenty-six hour notice is up to the head of the centre. Takeo’s “ominous presentiment” is shared by the prisoners in the zero section who have received the final and conclusive sentence.

The novel starts on a Friday morning and ends the following Tuesday morning with Takeo’s death. At the start Takeo does not know that the order for his execution has been given. Neither does the reader. Takeo and the reader come to know it together in the second half of the novel. On Monday morning Takeo is told that his time has come. The story ends with a hearse leaving the place of the execution carrying Takeo’s coffin. Kogi watches it go.

The story develops mainly through the perspectives of Takeo and Kogi. While telling the stories of fellow death-row prisoners, their crimes, personal histories and daily lives in the zero section, Kaga follows Takeo’s inner thoughts in his solitary cell, flashing back to his childhood, his adolescence, the motive for his crime, the scene of the murder and his spiritual growth on his passage towards death. The dizziness Takeo feels, accompanied by a sense of falling or being dragged down into darkness, possibly to the bottom of hell, is frequent. Because of this dizziness, Takeo sees the psychiatrist Kogi.

**Fellow prisoners on death row**

Kaga believes that prisoners on death row are just ordinary people who happen to be on the wrong side of fate. They are not monsters, nor are they extraordinary human beings. As mentioned, the equality of human beings in their weakness and folly is one of the essential messages Kaga conveys in his treatment of the death-row prisoners. His sympathy with them permeates the novel. His careful, rather loving description of the prisoners is reminiscent of what Dostoyevsky writes of criminals in *The House of The Dead*:

\(^{45}\)Ibid., p. 6.
... It is not for nothing that the common people throughout Russia call crime a misfortune, and criminals 'unfortunates'. This definition is of profound significance. It is even more important because it is formulated unconsciously, instinctively. (Part 1, Chapter 4, “First Impressions (3)”)

Sunada Ichimatsu 砂田市松, who has raped and killed several women, is told on Friday morning that his execution will be the next morning. Like many of the other inmates, he had a poverty-stricken childhood and an inferior education. Kaga describes Sunada’s childhood thus:

[He was] the fourth child among twelve ... The small child who wore the pants covered with many patches, with torn seams and smelling of urine – this was Ichimatsu. ... He was too dirty to be a target for the bullies to punch or kick. (C1, S5)

Sunada has a fit and well-muscled body and has been trying to keep his body strong, since he has decided to donate his body after his death to medical research. He wants the medical students to have a healthy and strong body to study instead of a sick and weak one. Therefore keeping his body strong and muscular has become his only purpose in living. However, despite his determination, Sunada cannot deal with the fact that his life will end the next morning. He becomes violent and bites the medical officer Kogi’s right index finger, sinking his teeth deeply into it. Facing the task of calming Sunada down, Kogi feels the vanity of trying to help him:

... All of a sudden, [Kogi] felt the vanity [of what he was doing]. The fact that the man in front of him would die tomorrow was blocking the way like a black rock wall. It is too late for this man whatever he hopes. It is vain to make his hopes come true, whatever they are. Tomorrow morning, this man’s time will stop. (C2, S7)

Katagiri Ken 片桐剣, who also grew up in poverty, fought in Korea during the war. After the war he tried to become a tradesman, but poverty has been always with him. He killed a man in the same trade because of financial troubles. Katagiri is always very busy in the zero section, reciting snatches of a sutra at the top of his voice, starting and stopping suddenly all day long, while Andō 安藤 and Funamoto 舟本 laugh and talk about women and sex. To Takeo’s ears, Katagiri’s loud reciting sounds as if he is vigorously proclaiming “I want to live, I want to live ...”.

---

46 Dostoyevsky, The House of The Dead, p. 80.
48 Ibid., p. 298.
Andō Shūkichi 安藤修吉, who killed a primary school girl, is a nice looking young man, with rich parents. He is always laughing frivolously. Everything is a joke. “This world is ha ha ha, a murder is ha ha ha and the death penalty is ha ha ha” (C4, S3). However, Takeo sees in Andō’s words stating the wish never again to be born as a human being an expression of his hidden sorrow.

There is a Marxist revolutionary, Karasawa Michio 唐沢道夫, who killed thirteen fellow revolutionists because of ideological differences. Karasawa is the only character among Takeo’s fellow prisoners whom Kaga presents as extraordinary. Refusing to let the state kill him, Karasawa kills himself on the Sunday morning. Karasawa is reminiscent of Stavrogin, the demonic character in Dostoyevsky’s The Devils. Both combine cool and logical thinking with murderous natures.

Karasawa’s suicide immediately reminds Takeo of Kirilov, another character in The Devils. Takeo believes that Karasawa killed himself in the belief that he would become a god by doing so. However, Takeo thinks this Kirilov-like idea is an illusion. The god of Karasawa just kills but creates nothing (C5, S7). I disagree with Shinoda Kōichirō 筧田浩一郎 when he writes “Takeo feels Karasawa ‘has become a victor’ by committing suicide”, although I agree with him when he states that Kaga could have described Karasawa more profoundly, given that his view of the world is distinctively different from Takeo’s Catholicism.

Karasawa’s prison disciple, Kōno Shinpei 河野晋平, now considers his own murder of a bourgeois couple for money to be a revolutionary act. Kōno wants to see his crime as a response to the bourgeois oppression of and contempt for 中卒者, those who do not go beyond junior high school. He believes that Karasawa’s death is not suicide but the result of a conspiracy by the prison authorities. Kōno, who has been showing signs of paranoia, asks to have an x-ray taken of his neck, believing the pain there is caused by a thick metal wire put into his spine by a prison guard while he was asleep. The resulting x-ray shows nothing but he refuses to accept it. He continues to believe he is the target of torture by the prison authorities.

52 Shinoda Kōichirō, Monogatari to shōsetsu no kotoba 物語と小説のことば, Kokubunsha, 1983, p. 182.
Kakiuchi Noboru, a carpenter and a *tanka* poet, set off a bomb in a public train, causing one death and many injuries. He has the cell next to Takeo’s. Kakiuchi’s father was killed in the battle for Leyte Island during the war when Kakiuchi was four. The poverty resulting from his father’s absence, Kaga suggests, is part of Kakiuchi’s downfall. Although he was a bright student at junior high school and capable of advancing to higher education, he was apprenticed to a builder instead. His childhood sweetheart left him for a banker, a university graduate. Kakiuchi stumbles on the idea of blowing up the train which she uses to see her new lover. He just wants to intimidate her. He knows his crime was not a deliberate attempt at mass murder as the prosecutors argued, but he quietly accepts his fate (C5, S3).

Takeo feels close to Kakiuchi not only because they share the same religion (Kakiuchi is a Protestant), but because of Kakiuchi’s attitude toward his imminent death. Kakiuchi tells Takeo that he does not think of himself as waiting for death, and will instead engage death and repulse it. Kakiuchi believes that people such as the prosecutor, the judge and the officials who will carry out his execution also will become guilty of murder through his death. Since he feels sorry for these people, he must mentally fight against this kind of death to overcome it (C4, S5).

The following conversation takes place in the exercise yard. It is between Kakiuchi and the Marxist Kono, who always wants to start an argument with anyone to prove the strength of his position. The dialogue provides an insight into Kaga’s attitude towards Marxism and Christianity. Kaga writes from Takeo’s perspective:

... [Kakiuchi] once argued with Kono about whether there is a God or not. No, it wasn’t such a simple issue as whether there is a God or not. Kono started like this.

“Even if there is God, which is more important, love for God or love for people?”

Kakiuchi answered gently.

“You can’t compare those two.”

Kono got angry. This man becomes hot-tempered immediately.

“You must want to say ‘love for God takes precedence over everything’.

---

53 Kakiuchi Noboru is modelled on Wakamatsu Yoshinori, who set off a bomb in a train in 1968 when he was twenty-five. Wakamatsu’s crime was one of several bombings in the late 1960s and symbolised the unstable social and political circumstance of the time. The final judgement was handed down in 1971 and his death penalty was carried out in 1975. This incident is known as “Yokosuka-sen bakuha jiken 横須賀線爆破事件”. Kaga was interested in Wakamatsu and corresponded with him for about eighteen months leading up to his execution. Kaga, *Shikeishū no kiroku*, pp. 194-203.
mustn’t you. I know that!”

Kakiuchi’s voice was still gentle.

“I think there is sort of a ground which supports love for people. By the way, why do you love people?”

“There is no reason. People are the power to create a new world. That’s it.”

“[I think] you can’t love people for only that reason. You are thinking of throwing your life away for others, aren’t you?”

“Yeah, well, that’s right.”

“I believe that the basis of your feeling is your love for living beings that happen to be humans.”

“Yeah, I should think so.”

“Look, it means that your fondness for living things and your love and respect for life take precedence. Isn’t this right?”

“Wait! Something is strange. There must be a contradiction of logic somewhere.” Kono shouted sharply. … Kakiuchi was receiving Kono’s stare with a weak smile. (C1, S6) 54

When in farewelling Kakiuchi Takeo confesses that he feels the world to come may be as dark as this world, Kakiuchi says that unlike this world, the other world is full of light because eternal life is breathing there. However, Kakiuchi later asks himself whether there really is a bright world waiting on the other side. “The doubt of Kusumoto Takeo is the doubt of Kakiuchi as well …” (C7, S4). 55 It is also Kaga’s. 56 In Kaga’s later novel, Eien no miyako, this bright world on the other side, a fragile thing in Senkoku, becomes brighter, stronger and more convincing.

Being on death row removes the inmates from the normal affairs of life. Since they are not serving a prison term with labour, apart from menial tasks to earn some pocket money they have nothing to do but await their end. Kaga does not think the mental situation of the prisoners can be summarised with simple words such as “the fear of death”. Towards the end of the novel Kogi expresses this as follows:

… receiving a “death notice” happens only in the artificial circumstances of death row. Natural death does not give a notice. God … has given only un-notified death to human beings. Only human beings have invented the method of murder called capital punishment, and notify fellow human beings

56 Kaga admitted in a speech given soon after he became a Catholic that this doubt was his and it appeared in Senkoku inadvertently. Kaga, Kirisutokyō e no michi, pp. 81-82.
of their deaths. (C7, S2)\(^57\)

In fact, their circumstances are, as one of the prisoners claims, a source of
greater pain than execution itself. Ōta Chōsuke 大田長助, who with an uncle killed the
total family of another uncle, and who keeps claiming that his uncle is the principal
offender, tells Kogi that the thing they fear is not the moment when they will be
hanged on the gallows but the fact that they do not know when this will be. Ōta then
asks Kogi:

“It is strange that we don’t know when and how the Minister of Justice
decides that the sentence will be carried out, isn’t it? ... and the [really]
strange thing is [that the wait is] different from one to another ... Isn’t this
unfair and cruel, that there is such a ridiculous discrimination among us?”
(C2, S5)\(^58\)

Kogi answers Ōta that he also thinks the current system of capital punishment
is unfair. While preparing to take the death penalty itself to court as a cruel
punishment that is unconstitutional, Ōta cannot bear his situation, living with the death
penalty hanging over his head without knowing when it is to be carried out. He starts
to show signs of insanity and escapes into madness.

Dostoyevsky’s description of “a strange madman” who “had a devout belief
that he would escape punishment” because a colonel’s daughter loves him
passionately, is also applicable to Ōta. Dostoyevsky writes of the madman’s
imagining:

… a tale which needless to say was entirely the product of his own poor,
disordered brain. It was strange what the fear of a flogging had managed to
do to this timid soul ... and the madness which fear had inculcated in him
and which was increasing with every hour had suddenly found its outlet and
its appropriate form.” (Part 2, Chapter 3, “The Hospital (3)”\(^59\)

Kaga suggests that Ōta’s claim that not he but his uncle is the main offender
could be “the product of his own poor, disordered brain”. However, one of the most
important tasks for the authorities is to keep the prisoners sane. Kaga writes: “When
he [a death-row prisoner] is insane, the execution cannot be carried out. He must be
sane. This is the most fundamental requirement of capital punishment” (C1, S4).\(^60\)


\(^{60}\) Kaga, *Senkoku*, vol. 1, p.75.
Kogi therefore seriously wonders whether curing his insanity is good for a death-row prisoner.

Elsewhere, in the form of a monologue by Takeo, Kaga presents the real fear of a death-row prisoner stemming from the recognition that he “has to be an evil man until [he] dies” (C2, S10)\(^61\) and “his only duty is to be killed as a vicious criminal” (C4, S3).\(^62\) Takeo continues:

Here, death is an object which is handled in a businesslike way. A prisoner on death row is merely an object of their business which is carried out with mechanical accuracy. A death-row prisoner’s individual life, thoughts and individuality are completely irrelevant. This is a factory that produces the same well-ordered, errorless and impassive deaths. (C4, S3)\(^63\)

Here one may perhaps see Kaga’s own protest against the system’s complete denial of the humanity of prisoners on death row. Kaga writes elsewhere that in order to discuss the pros and cons of capital punishment, we first have to know the reality of the prisoners on death row, a reality which for many of them includes the mental disorder of prison neurosis.\(^64\)

Kaga claims that he tried not to emphasise his stand on capital punishment directly in Senkoku because the book’s purpose was not theoretical.\(^65\) However, the more realistically each individual prisoner is depicted, the more telling and pervasive is the anti-capital punishment message the book conveys. Kaga’s belief that capital punishment is a form of murder is convincingly realised in Senkoku.

**Kusumoto Takeo as the author’s alter ego**

Takeo is, unlike his fellow inmates in the zero section, a university graduate. He spends long hours in his solitary cell reading books on philosophy and religion, writing his memoirs and various essays. He has recently published a collection of essays, Yasō 夜想. He is an intellectual and financially well-off through his mother’s support. He is isolated from the other death-row prisoners.

His situation is reminiscent of the main character, Goryanchikov, in The House of The Dead. What Kaga says about Goryanchikov in his 1973 Dosutoefusukii ドスト

\(^{65}\) Kaga Otohiko, “Mitsubishi ginkō jiken to shikei” 三菱銀行事件と禁刑, (first pub. in 1979) *Hanzai nōto*, pp. 159-166.
Chapter 3  Two important novels prior to Eien no miyako (Senkoku)

The protagonist of *The House of The Dead* could not enter frankly the world of other inmates because he was a nobleman and an intellectual. He was completely separated from our daily world by being a prisoner and at the same time completely isolated from other prisoners, who should have been naturally his fellow inmates, by being an intellectual. He was doubly isolated.66

The stories of Takeo’s childhood and his crime unfold in Chapter 3, “Aku ni tsuite 悪について”, in the form of a memoir. While blaming no one else for his crime, Takeo describes his childhood as loveless. He has no memory of his father, who died soon after Takeo was born, and a serious hatred between his mother and the eldest brother intensifies afterwards. He is already living a kind of double life at the age of ten. Takeo writes in his memoir:

> Once we had to write a composition titled “Mother”. I described a woman who raised her three sons in her home without their father. However, I did not touch on the conflict between her and her eldest son at all — [what I wrote was about] a peaceful home, although poor, [and] a Japanese language teacher who is ardent to educate her sons, a mother of the militant nation.

(C3, S1)67

After going through an education coloured completely by the militarism which engulfs the whole nation, Takeo witnesses, as does Shōji in *Kaerazaru natsu*, the shameless transformation among adults at the end of the war, when they suddenly start to advocate democracy and peace, as if they had never supported militarism. Takeo’s existing distrust of adults grows sharply from this point. When he is in senior high school, he realises “something” inside him which increases in pressure and longs to explode. He does not know what it is, whether good or evil. When he reaches adulthood and meets a woman, he finds himself incapable of understanding or of obtaining love. His search for love is ultimately in vain.

The motive of the murder Takeo commits is, according to the prosecution, theft. However, Takeo claims his crime is the result of a long search for self-destruction. His victim just accidentally belongs to the category of adults whom he has never been able to trust. Takeo feels glory and dignity as a murderer after the

crime. He looks back (in the following quotation, “he” is Takeo himself at the scene
of the murder):

... There was a clear feeling of revenge. I now think my hatred of my
mother, brothers and other adults made me do it. But at the same time, while
killing Namikawa, he felt the vivid power of life suddenly spring up from his
entire body. On the other hand, [he] also felt fulfillment and fatigue as he
raped a woman ... (C3, S7)68

The fact that Takeo feels power, glory and dignity after the murder, in other
words, that he sees himself as a hero, is reminiscent of Raskolnikov’s words to Sonya
in Crime and Punishment when he confesses his crime to her. Raskolnikov says that
he “wanted to become a Napoleon”, and that is the reason for murdering the old
woman.69

Until his crime Takeo has had neither hope nor purpose in life. He commits the
murder as one of Dostoyevsky’s convicts in The House of The Dead attempts murder,
“... solely out of a desire to take suffering upon himself”. Dostoyevsky continues:
“No man can live without some goal to aspire towards. If he loses his goal, his hope,
the resultant anguish will frequently turn him into a monster ...”.70 Takeo’s monstrous
act is the result of his despair. It is “a breakthrough to death in despair” (C4, S3).71

After the murder, Takeo absconds from Tokyo to Kyoto and spends a few
months there before he is finally arrested. He meets a woman, a poorly educated bar
hostess and prostitute with two suicide attempts in her past. She tells Takeo that since
she has found faith in God (the God of Christianity), she has not been able to attempt
to kill herself any longer. To Takeo’s hypothetical question of what one can do if he
has killed another man, she answers that the only thing is prayer. Kaga writes:
... He hasn’t seen the woman since the night she told him about God. How
come that woman suddenly started to talk about God at that time? She said
she tried to commit suicide twice. But wasn’t that because she came to know
his secret? That is the reason he had felt that he did not want to see her. No,
no, at that time he felt that he started to love her and could not put up with
the fact ... He stood at the edge of a cliff ... I can die if I jump. It’s the right
place to die. I don’t have any lingering [attachment] to this world. If I’m

68 Ibid., p. 544.
70 Dostoyevsky, The House of The Dead, p. 305.
71 Kaga, Senkoku, vol. 2, p. 21
arrested, I’ll be kept on public display. What is the meaning of receiving a shameful punishment? Then, the woman’s words, “Your body doesn’t belong only to you”, hit his cheek like a slap. (C3, S8)72

Takeo’s conversation with the woman about God and his consequent thoughts are reminiscent of another scene in Crime and Punishment, in which Raskolnikov listens to Sonya’s Bible reading about the resurrection of Lazarus.73 I agree with Kaga that this scene is the climax of Dostoyevsky’s novel.74 The woman in Senkoku gives Takeo a completely different view of himself and his life, as Sonya did for Raskolnikov. Sonya considers that her prostitution has left her spiritually dead. She puts all her hope in the Lord who brought Lazarus back to life. Her simple yet powerful faith provokes Raskolnikov to reconsider his ideas of life, death, sin and righteousness.

Takeo’s frame of mind begins to change at this point, although his confusion continues. He does not resist arrest, nor does he contemplate escape. However, like Raskolnikov, Takeo is not fully aware of the change taking place.75 Raskolnikov wanders around the city thinking of suicide. He walks to the middle of a bridge (Takeo goes to the edge of a cliff), but cannot take the last step and leaves the scene with an empty heart. Towards the end of Crime and Punishment, however, Dostoyevsky writes of Raskolnikov’s hesitation to throw himself off the bridge:

... Why had he hesitated to throw himself into the river ...

He kept worrying over that question, and was unable to understand that even when he had been contemplating suicide, he had perhaps been dimly aware of the great lie in himself and his convictions. He did not understand that that vague feeling could be the precursor of the complete break in his future life, of his future resurrection, his new view of life.76

The conversation between Takeo and the woman, however, is not as convincing as that between Raskolnikov and Sonya. Sonya’s faith is deeper, stronger and more passionate than that of the woman in Senkoku. However, the latter’s faith is perhaps more substantial than first appears, as Kaga shows in depicting it through the

---

72 Kaga, Senkoku, vol. 1, p. 578.
73 Dostoyevsky, Crime and Punishment, Part 4, Chapter 4.
74 Interview, December 1997.
75 Another similarity between Takeo and Raskolnikov is the importance of their dreams in relation to their crimes. As Dostoyevsky uses Raskolnikov’s dream to depict his character more deeply, Kaga uses Takeo’s dream as an important element in the analysis of his crime. See Kume Hitoshi 久米博, Yume no kaishakugaku 夢の解釈学, Hokuto Shuppan 1982, pp. 148-159, 196-202.
76 Dostoyevsky, Crime and Punishment, pp. 552-553.
eyes of a priest, who praises the woman as one who understands the essence of Christianity (C4, S1).  

Towards the end of the novel, during the night before his execution, Takeo writes to a close friend, quoting the woman’s words, “Your body doesn’t belong only to you”. He confesses that this has given him “a decisive teaching” (C7, S8).  

Despite her important role, however, “the woman” is in my view one of the least well drawn characters in Senkoku. Kaga, not yet a believer at this point, seems not to have been able to create a passionate flesh and blood follower of Christ comparable to Sonya in Crime and Punishment.

In Dosutoefusukii Kaga asks what one should do to overcome the fear of death, if it is in the immediate future, in order to have a life of joy and happiness. He writes that “Dostoyevsky gives the answer, and that is faith”. Kaga then shows his hesitation by writing that he cannot go further into an area about which he is ignorant.  

This hesitation seems to have the same root as the rather weak characterisation of “the woman”.

It is well-known that Dostoyevsky was a passionate follower of Christ by the time he wrote Crime and Punishment. He wrote to a critic in 1880 that: “[Some say] Christ was mistaken – it’s been proved! A scorching feeling tells me: better that I remain with a mistake, with Christ, than with you …”. Although this statement was made well after Crime and Punishment was written, the depth and passion of Dostoyevsky’s faith, which one can gather from his novels, is far removed from Kaga’s in Senkoku. This is exemplified in the difference in power of the depictions of the two most important female characters.

Takeo has no doubt that there was an inevitability about his crime. He accepts

---

77 Kaga, Senkoku, vol. 1, p. 599.  
78 Kaga, Senkoku, vol. 2, p. 582.  
79 Kaga, Dosutoefusukii, pp. 35-36.  
80 David McDuff, the translator of The House of The Dead, writes that for Dostoyevsky committing a crime against God “was equivalent to, even worse than the crime of hatchet-murder”. “The crime of Hatchet-murder” refers to Raskolnikov’s crime. Dostoyevsky, The House of The Dead, p. 17.  
81 Biografija, pis'ma i zametki iz zapisnoi knizhki F. M. Dostoevskogo [Biography, Letters and Notes from F. M. Dostoevsky’s Notebook], St Petersburg, 1883, pp. 371-373; cited in Mikhail Bakhtin, Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics, Theory and History of Literature, vol. 8, ed. and trans., by C. Emerson, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984, pp. 97-98. K.D. Kavelin criticised Dostoyevsky’s advocacy of Russian Orthodoxy and his praise of the Russian nation in his 1880 article “A letter to Dostoevsky”. Kavelin refuses to deduce the standard of ethics from an absolute being but takes the standard from whether or not an individual obeys his conscience in his thoughts and acts. See, Bakhtin, Dosutoefusukii no shigaku, trans., by T. Mochizuki, and J. Suzuki, Chikuma gakugei bunko, p. 207.
Chapter 3  Two important novels prior to Eien no miyako (Senkoku)

the consequent death sentence and believes execution is necessary for him to attain real life. Takeo thinks of himself in the third person:

... he did not become an evil man (akunin 惡人) because he killed another man. But [the truth is that] he was an evil man and therefore he killed another man just by chance. Evil (aku 惡) had already encroached on the inside of him like a malignant tumor well before the act. (C4, S1) 82

In Takeo’s self-understanding, he was hopelessly sinful long before his crime. In solitary confinement he therefore repeatedly goes over Romans 5:20, “... the law entered, that the offence might abound. But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound; ...”. 83 In a different translation: “The Ten Commandments were given so that all could see the extent of their failure to obey God’s laws. But the more we see our sinfulness, the more we see God’s abounding grace forgiving us”. 84 In other words, the more sinful one is, the more God is forgiving. This verse captures Takeo’s hope, despite the fact that the cloud of doubt often casts a shadow over his faith. In seeing the depth of his sinfulness he also sees “God’s abounding grace forgiving” him. He thus understands that “religion is born where one fiercely realises his limitations” (C5, S3). 85

Elsewhere Kaga has Takeo reflect that “one must go into the dark night of one’s soul in order to find the hidden God” (C7, S8). 86 In an imaginary conversation with a deceased priest, whom he heartily respects, Takeo says that “his death penalty is a blessing” (C4, S1). 87 Although on the one hand he (the author’s alter ego) firmly believes that capital punishment is murder, ordered and carried out by the state, on the other hand, knowing the seriousness and sinfulness of his murder, he believes that only the death penalty can save him. This may sound contradictory. But it serves to capture the depth of Takeo’s despair.

After he is told that the following day will be his fatal day, Takeo thinks: “... finally [I] have to cease to exist. What a joy, what a pleasure!” (C7, S1) 88 and “... [this] long prisoner life will end tomorrow. It will be the day of liberation ... I never

---

82 Kaga, Senkoku, vol. 1, p. 593.
83 I quote from the King James Version of the Bible, since the Japanese Bible Kaga uses in Senkoku and Eien no miyako is “bungo-yaku seisho 文語訳聖書”, the Bible written in the old fashioned literary style.
86 Ibid., p. 580.
87 Kaga, Senkoku, vol. 1, p. 599.
want to be born as a human being again” (C7, S3). \(^{89}\) One may find in these words the depth of Takeo’s despair and his doubt in God. However, at the same time, he finds relief in Psalm 56:8 from the anguish suffered in reaching this point in his faith. It reads: “Thou tellest my wanderings: put thou my tears into thy bottle; ...” \(^{90}\) (C4, S5) \(^{91}\) “Thy bottle with my tears” (namida no kawa-bukuro 蠟の皮袋) is the title of Chapter 4 of Senkoku.

There is a significant element which allows Takeo to learn to trust someone. Once a typical apure gérë (après guerre) youth, a “nihilist” whose normal social life stopped at the point he committed the murder sixteen years ago, it has been extremely hard for him to trust or love anyone, including his mother, even after becoming a Catholic. However, the correspondence with a young female psychology student, Tamaoki Etsuko 王置恵津子, opens Takeo’s heart towards another human being. Unlike “the woman”, Kaga’s depiction of Etsuko is more detailed and lifelike. Etsuko becomes a fresh breeze in the stale air of Takeo’s life, a light in his darkness. Takeo describes her as a person “who loves before she thinks” (C7, S8). \(^{92}\)

After a year-long correspondence she comes to see Takeo on the Saturday morning three days prior to his death, although neither of them knows this at the time. For the first time in his life Takeo feels accepted as he is. Takeo has one of Etsuko’s letters in his pocket when he goes to the gallows. I see in Etsuko the reappearance of Sonya. The woman who disappeared from the novel after Takeo’s arrest returns to him as Etsuko, who goes (metaphorically) to the gallows with him as Sonya goes to Siberia with Raskolnikov.

After Shōda Akira’s death Kaga came to know about a young woman who corresponded with him for three years. \(^{93}\) Kaga writes in the postscript to Aru shikeishū to no Taiwa of his surprise when he read Shōda’s letters to her:

… the [Shōda] I knew was a serious and detached thinker. However, the Shōda who appeared in the letters to Mie [the young woman] was a child-like person, humorous, mischievous, cheerful and impish ... I realised that the personality I knew was only one of his aspects. This taught me how

\(^{89}\) Ibid., p. 500.
\(^{90}\) Psalms, 56:8.
\(^{92}\) Ibid., p. 583.
\(^{93}\) Kaga, Aru shikeishū to no taiwa, pp. 217-236.
difficult it is to truly know another human being.\textsuperscript{94}

In the same postscript, Kaga writes that reading Shōda’s letters to Mie, his diaries and his favourite books, gave Kaga a variety of insights into Shōda’s life in prison. Kaga writes (“A” means Shōda Akira):\textsuperscript{95}

... Thus, after his death, “A” has talked to me more often and had a bigger influence on me than when he was alive ...

... When I finished writing the novel, I was struck in amazement that the human being “A” had come back to life again freely as the main character of the novel. I was not the one who wrote the novel, but “A” [was the one] who wrote it through me.\textsuperscript{96}

Coming to know the different sides of Shōda’s personality, which were hidden from him when Shōda was alive, was a kind of enlightenment for Kaga. These experiences after Shōda’s death were important driving forces leading Kaga to write \textit{Senkoku} and subsequently \textit{Eien no miyako}.

\textbf{The psychiatrist Kogi Seiichirō}

As mentioned, Takeo is the alter ego of the author. The prison doctor Kogi Seiichirō 近木生一郎 plays a similar role, in that he is the alter ego of Takeo. Kaga builds this relationship gradually throughout the novel to a final crescendo.

Kogi is a young psychiatrist who feels uneasy with capital punishment. While priding himself on being a scientist, he repeatedly questions his own profession: “Medicine is an unavailing study. Psychiatry is particularly so” (C4, S4).\textsuperscript{97} Kaga writes that Kogi’s doubts about psychiatry reflect his own.\textsuperscript{98} At a broader level Kaga often refers to the limitations of science in his essays.

Takeo also discusses the limitations of science with his fellow inmate, the revolutionary Karasawa, and agrees passionately with the latter’s views about the limitations of science. Takeo wonders why Karasawa, with his understanding of the limitations of human understanding, does not turn to religion. Karasawa says that even if one can know a part of something through science, there will always be a larger area

\textsuperscript{94}Ibid., p. 212.
\textsuperscript{95}When \textit{Aru shikeishū to no taiwa} was published, Kaga seems to have been under pressure from Shōda’s relatives to suppress his name.
\textsuperscript{96}Kaga, \textit{Aru shikeishū to no taiwa}, p. 213.
\textsuperscript{97}Kaga, \textit{Senkoku}, vol. 2, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{98}Kaga, “Yottsume no chōhen shōsetsu 四つ目の長編小説”, \textit{Hanzai nōto}, pp. 86-91.
of darkness which the light of science cannot reach (C5, S3).\(^99\) This is reminiscent of Heidegger in “What is Metaphysics?”, and one of the reasons Takeo has turned to God. Heidegger writes:

> Science would like to abandon Nothing with a superior gesture … Science can only come to terms with itself when it does not abandon Nothing. The alleged soberness and superiority of science becomes ridiculous if it fails to take Nothing seriously. Only because Nothing is obvious can science turn what-is into an object of investigation. Only when science proceeds from metaphysics can it conquer its essential task ever afresh, which consists not in the accumulation and classification of knowledge but in the perpetual discovery of the whole realm of truth …\(^100\)

There is a team of medical doctors at the detention centre. The duty of medical officers, according to Kogi’s superior, is to save the lives of their patients regardless of the circumstances they are in. However, facing prisoners on death row, Kogi cannot simply accept this. He sometimes wonders whether there is a way of keeping their minds alive after their bodies are killed. In his view, the real feelings, thoughts and needs of the death-row prisoners are always misunderstood by the authorities while they are alive. Kogi’s uncertainty appears when he faces those who want to die in order to escape from their miserable lives, as well as before those who stand on the brink of execution.

After a consultation with Takeo, Kogi himself starts to experience dizziness similar to Takeo’s. Kogi names it “seeing the other side \((\text{mukōgawa むこう側})\)”. Kaga writes of Kogi’s experience:

> Suddenly something unforeseen happened to him … It may have been an earthquake. Or he may have had an attack of anemia. No. He remembers that there was something like a black shadow, a sign of the complete change in the foundation of this world, and that was different from simple physics or physiology such as earthquakes or anemia. (C2, S4)\(^101\)

Kogi later reflects:

> … If the black and dark world exists on the other side of this [world], things like the impulse to murder probably come from there … “The other side” can’t be seen in this bright daily world hidden by the light. But I surely had a

---


\(^100\) Heidegger, “What is Metaphysics”, \textit{Existence and Being}, p. 378.

Chapter 3  Two important novels prior to Eien no miyako (Senkoku)  99

glimpse of it. Terrifyingly, I can understand half of it. Sunada’s act of murder is half comprehensible and half incomprehensible to me. But the degree of this incomprehension is the same as the degree to which I don’t understand Sunada’s execution by the state – no, this is nothing but murder. A state is formed that includes a vast darkness, and the place where the state collects, classifies and preserves the darkness, which oozes out from somewhere all the time, is indeed a prison. By filling prisons with darkness, the state can stand in the light. (C2, S7) 102

Kogi and Takeo share the same experiences and the same thoughts about various issues, although they never share their thoughts with each other. Their internal questionings echo and respond to each other. Towards the end of the novel, Kogi says that Takeo’s humanity, thoughts and emotions seem to merge with his own somewhere deep down in his psyche (C7, S2). 103 For this reason he asks his superior to give him permission to witness Takeo’s execution.

What is the “dizziness” which Takeo calls “sore (that)” and Kogi “seeing the other side”? When “sore” starts, Takeo feels as if he is falling to the bottom of a deep well. Takeo knows “sore” is the call from “the other side (mukōgawa むこう側)”. He tries to explain this to Kogi, but without success. Kogi initially understands Takeo’s “sore” as a phenomenon caused by his fear of death. At this stage of the story, therefore, the two characters stand quite far apart. Kogi understands Takeo’s “sore” as a psychiatric problem, while Takeo sees it as the consequence of deep spiritual questioning. At the end of the story, however, Takeo’s “sore” is not something which Kogi looks at objectively, as outside himself. Rather it is something integral to his own life which he must try to work through.

Among Kogi’s patients there is a woman, Shimura Natsuyo 志村なつよ, who, because of her extreme despair, has lost all memory of murdering her three children and her attempt at suicide. When Natsuyo finally succeeds in committing suicide in her cell, Kogi argues with a young female prison guard who accused Natsuyo of having first tried suicide to escape responsibility for murdering her children, and then having tried to escape into madness. Kogi replies, echoing Kaga’s sense of individualism 104 and the equality of all human beings, regardless of their circumstances

102 Ibid., p. 303.
104 Individualism is an idea borrowed from Europe. The Japanese concept of “individualism (kōjin-shugi 個人主義)” usually does not convey the positive meanings associated with the term in European
and life histories:

“... [The words] madness and crime have a wide range of meanings and contents, just like the word ‘human being’. As the fixed idea that ‘human beings ought to do such and such’ is meaningless, [it is also meaningless] to discuss madness or crime collectively. More precisely, madness or crime does not exist in this world. There are only certain human beings, a part of whose existence is coloured by madness or crime ... No human being is completely sane and completely innocent of crime ...”. (C4, S4)  

Hence Kogi’s inability to conform to the demands of his superiors.

However, Kogi is not the only one in the medical team with these views. The surgeon Taki taught Kogi to respect death-row prisoners by calling the prisoner Sunada not “ano otoko あの男 ([lit.] that guy)” but “ano hito あの人の ([lit.] that person)”. Kogi realises with shame that, despite his genuine sympathy for the death-row prisoners, he has been treating Sunada merely as a murderer and an inmate, as “ano otoko”. The pain from the deep wounds from Sunada’s bite suddenly brings Kogi to the realisation that death is pain. He now understands Sunada’s desperate attempt to try to tell him that he is about to face the great pain of the gallows.

It becomes clear to Kogi towards the end of the novel that not only Sunada but all the prisoners on death row are forced into a corner. Their behaviour needs to be understood in terms of their desperation. Sunada becomes violent, Katagiri recites sutras aloud, Andō laughs about everything, Funamoto talks endlessly, Kōno discusses revolution enthusiastically while being paranoid at the same time, Karasawa commits suicide, Ōta descends into madness, Kakiuchi and Takeo always think of the other world and pray.

This realisation opens new doors in Kogi’s professional life. He sees the uncertainty of his psychiatric study in a different light and decides to research this area formally under the title “the psychopathology of reactions to imprisonment on death row”. The decision to pursue this research gives him the feeling that the “nihilism” stemming from the powerlessness and limitations of psychiatry is about to be overcome.

society, but carries strong overtones of selfishness. However, Kaga’s use of the concept indicates the strong influence of its European meaning, i.e., an understanding of the individual as the bearer of rights and responsibilities, not as a part of social or national groups, or of any overarching power.


In Japanese the word ano otoko carries a clear condescending tone, whereas ano hito does not.
At the end of the story Kogi witnesses Takeo’s execution. After a hymn and prayers, Takeo thanks everyone in the room. Kaga describes the execution as follows:

“Good-bye”, Kusumoto [Takeo] bowed deeply to all [present] ... There were prison guards waiting on both sides of him. [One] puts handcuffs on [him] ... and at the same time [the other] puts on a eye mask.

The door in the middle of the wall opened silently ... Kusumoto started to walk guided by a guard on each side and one behind him. [He] walked making sure of each step as if he had suddenly become blind. [But] as evidence that [he] was following the guidance completely free from anxiety, there was no hesitation in his steps. His shoes, which were well-polished and shiny, hit the floor very regularly. (C7, S9)

The execution is carried out. The following description of the executed body is shocking, but the reader may feel Kaga’s determination to evoke the injustice of capital punishment as well as his pride as a realist writer in his uncompromising descriptions. The aftermath of Takeo’s execution is described as follows:

... There was the shape of a human being hanging from a silver rope over there. One could not believe it was the person to whom you talked a moment ago. Above the hanged neck, the dead head drooped heavily. Below, the torso and the four limbs were still alive and twisting ... Soon the rough movement of the muscles ceased and the four limbs drooped parallel with the torso ... The face turned this way. The skin was pale and wet with perspiration. The eyes twitched as if they were crushed, and the hard edge of the tongue poked out from the opened mouth ... Several lines of saliva which drivelled on the chin glimmered ... There was no expression, not even a fragment of dignity [in his face] maintained by [his] spirit. There was only physical agony which solidified honestly as it was. (C7, S9)

Shinoda Kōichirō 篠田浩一郎 criticises this description, arguing that it is unnecessary for the reader to be exposed to the gruesome scene of execution. However, in my view, this detailed description serves at least two purposes. One is to show the stark contrast between Takeo’s spiritual progress and the corporal treatment he receives, and the other is to support Kaga’s advocacy of the cruelty of capital punishment.

108 This intention is seen also in Eien no miyako in Kaga’s gruesome description of battle.
110 Shinoda Kōichirō, Monogatari to shōsetsu no kotoba, pp. 179-181.
Takeo’s body was taken away by a small group from a university medical department. This was in accordance with his wish to donate his body to medical research. The car carrying Takeo’s coffin disappears, leaving Kogi with the pain in his finger caused by Sunada’s bite.

In *Senkoku*, Kaga shows the process of his own religious development in which he overcomes his “nihilism”, his feeling of powerlessness as a psychiatrist and his agnostic attitude as an onlooker to the affairs of life. It is clear that while Kaga was writing *Senkoku* he seriously started to seek faith in God. As mentioned, for Kaga *Senkoku* was the first figuration of his profession of faith.\(^{111}\)

Kaga’s quest for what happens after a human being ceases to exist physically, his sense of the equality of all the human being regardless of their gender, background or social status, and his responsibility and integrity as an author and an intellectual firmly situated in a given time and place are further expanded and deepened in *Eien no miyako*. It is to this work that I now turn.

---

\(^{111}\) Kaga, *Aru shikeishū to no taiwa*, p. 213.
Chapter 4  

**Eien no miyako 永遠の都**

4.1  **General remarks**

_Eien no miyako 永遠の都_ (1997) is the longest of Kaga Otohiko’s 加賀乙彦 novels, comprising seven volumes of Shinchō bunko 新潮文庫 (a paperback series). The novel was initially published as a trilogy, _Kiro 岐路_ (1988), _Ogurai mori 小暗い森_ (1991) and _Ento 炎都_ (1996).\(^1\) At an early point in writing the trilogy, Kaga seems to have hit upon the idea of bringing it under one title, _Eien no miyako_. In the postscript to _Ento_ Kaga writes:

> With this book, which follows _Kiro_ and _Ogurai mori_, the trilogy which I named _Eien no miyako_ is complete …

> … While the three novels are independent of each other, they are complementary and should create one novelistic world, united into a completed whole.\(^2\)

Kaga’s wish to publish the trilogy under one title was not realised for the hardcover version for commercial reasons. But the paperback version was published as _Eien no miyako_, and this became the authorised version.\(^3\)

When he started to write _Kiro_ (which later became Part 1 “Kiro” of _Eien no miyako_), Kaga was in his mid fifties. By the time _Eien no miyako_ was completed he was sixty-eight. While writing the novel he was indifferent to his age, but immediately after it was finished he found himself in a state of lethargy, a melancholy of old age after writing a novel which could be his last testament.\(^4\)

_Eien no miyako_ is composed of the three parts already mentioned. These together comprise eight chapters,\(^5\) and each chapter contains between nine and twenty-five sections. This structure is mandated by the enormous length of the novel, even

---

\(^1\) These were originally published in the magazine _Shinchō_ from January 1986 to December 1987, June 1988 to September 1990 and October 1991 to November 1995 respectively.

\(^2\) Kaga, _Ento_, vol. 2, p. 539.

\(^3\) There is not much difference between the separately published texts and _Eien no miyako_. In the latter, Kaga made some minor numbering changes and trimmed some sections, particularly parts of Part 3 “Ento”. See the preface of _Eien no miyako_, vol. 1, unnumbered page.


\(^5\) These eight chapters are: Chapter 1 “Natsu no umibe 夏の海边” and Chapter 2 “Kiro 岐路” (in Part 1 “Kiro 岐路”); Chapter 3 “Ogurai mori 小暗い森” and Chapter 4 “Namida no tani 泪の谷” (in Part 2 “Ogurai
Chapter 4  Eien no miyako

longer than Tolstoy’s *War and Peace*.  

Many readers of *Eien no miyako* may well feel that this novel is in some way the Japanese version of *War and Peace*. This is not because of the story line but because of *Eien no miyako*’s historical dimensions and the author’s concern to depict individuals under the overwhelming presence of war. The universality of the themes such as love and death, the multi-layered structure, and the depth and power of the characterisation are other similarities between the two works.

The critic Ishikawa Tatsuo 石川達夫 states that *Eien no miyako* is reminiscent not only of *War and Peace* but also of *Anna Karenina* and of Stendhal’s *Red and Black*, specifically in its treatment of female adultery.7 I also see once again the strong influence of Dostoyevsky.8 Kaga thinks very highly of all these authors, and they clearly played a major role in the conception and development of *Eien no miyako*.

The novel is set between May 1935 and June 1947, the time when Japanese militarism reached its zenith and then collapsed. The reason the novel ends not in 1945, the end of the war, but in 1947, is that the latter year saw the abolition of the law which made adultery a crime. Kaga sees this legal step as of great significance. He believes that democracy could not even have started with such a law, which was completely unfair to women, still in existence.9 I will return to this issue.

The story follows the lives and deaths of an array of people who live through the most chaotic period of contemporary Japanese history – the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945 and the Pacific War (1941-1945). In his 1998 article “*Eien no miyako* San 談”, the critic Yoshio Iwamoto ヨシオ・イワモト writes:

One of the pleasures of reading *Eien no miyako* resides in pondering the methods and strategies by which the author handled the vast amounts of material at his disposal to convey his intentions and the meaning of the trilogy. The huge number of major and minor characters of various emotional and ideological persuasions Kaga assembled to tell his story signifies clearly that he set for himself the daunting task of capturing the

---

6 See Ishikawa, *op. cit.*, p. 343. Ishikawa’s comparison was made using the Japanese translation of *War and Peace*.
7 Ishikawa, *op. cit.*., p. 343.
8 I will discuss the influence of Dostoyevsky on *Eien no miyako* in more detail below.
9 Interview, December 1998.
complicated spiritual climate of the age.\(^\text{10}\)

One of Kaga’s 1988 essays “Sakka no nikki – Kiro no kansei 作家の日記－岐路”\(^\text{11}\) written just after completing the original Kiro, gives an insight into his uncompromising attitude towards his art. He states:

When I write a novel (chôhen shûsetsu 長編小説), first of all I write a rough plan [of the total story]. I [then] write a rough sketch of the main characters, their personalities, ages, physical appearances, habits. The relationship between the plan of the [entire] novel and the sketch of the characters is neither too close nor too remote. If the plan changes, the sketch will change too. However, these two change one after the other while writing. The story develops unexpectedly and the characters start to show unforeseen sides. I work out the plan many times and redesign the characters while writing. Novels become more interesting with these [changes].\(^\text{12}\)

Kaga seems to have gone through these changes many times during the writing of Eien no miyako. Living through the chaotic war-time period, the characters change in response to the changing social and political circumstances. An honourable and responsible military officer becomes an unprincipled politician, a pious and faithful wife commits adultery and a devout and tolerant Christian descends into meanness. Elsewhere a seemingly insignificant character develops into one of the novel’s key protagonists.

Kaga thinks that the basis of post-war Japan had been largely formed during the pre-war and war-time periods, wherein Eien no miyako is set. He sees current-day Japan as a result of forces at play in the period depicted in the novel. Kaga felt an urgency to write about this period while there were still some witnesses around. He drew on his own experiences in writing the novel, but these were supported by the testimonies of many ordinary Japanese.\(^\text{13}\) These other perspectives allowed Kaga to give greater depth to his work.

One of the main things Kaga tried to achieve in the novel was a conscientious description of Japanese society of the time. He weaves famous historical incidents and events, together with relevant historical figures, into the story and examines the significance of these events for Japan. There are detailed descriptions of historical

\(^{10}\) Iwamoto, op.cit., pp. 282-291.


\(^{12}\) Ibid., p. 70.

occurrences such as the February 26 Affair, the repeated air raids on Tokyo, the mass evacuation of school children to the countryside and even the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923.

Kaga calls this type of novel an “open novel (hirakareta shōsetsu 開かれた小説)”, a form he believes is typified by Tolstoy. In this type of novel, the author places historical facts and events in the story and makes the characters play roles in the context of the historical situations. This is the method of Eien no miyako, and as David Lodge states, this is not an easy task. Lodge looks at the split feeling of novelists between two desires, one to claim an imaginative truth and the other to guarantee the truth of empirical facts.

Kaga was fortunate to obtain the extensive diaries of his maternal grandfather, who is the model of one of Eien no miyako’s main characters. The diaries cover the period from the middle of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) until near the end of the Pacific War. Through his own research Kaga collected a large quantity of letters and memoirs from those who experienced the Pacific War. In a 1996 discussion about Eien no miyako with Ōe Kenzaburō 大江健三郎, Kaga says that he received many letters from people who lived through the time in which the novel is set. He was encouraged by these letters to depict the social and political travails of Japan through the individual experiences of his characters.

Kaga refers in the same discussion to the irony contained in the title of the novel (Eien no miyako means “the eternal capital”). Kaga elsewhere writes that the war demonstrated that cities and houses, planned and built by human beings, would eventually crumble like the tower of Babel. The great city of Tokyo, built after the Meiji Restoration, was destroyed by the Great Kanto Earthquake. The same capital city, rebuilt through strenuous effort after the earthquake, was destroyed from the air towards the end of the Pacific War.

Eien no miyako is a novel of multiple themes. It deals not only with love,

---

14 Kaga, Nihon no 10 dai shōsetsu, p. 254.
15 See the above quotation of Lodge’s words in “3.1.3 The theme” in the discussion of Kaerazaru natsu. Kaga sometimes writes that this character is the protagonist of Eien no miyako (see “Isho no yō na sakuhin kakioe te 遺書のような作品書き終えて”, Tōkyō Shinbun, 19 August 1997). Sometimes he suggests there are a number of protagonists (see “Eien no miyako no teihon no hatsu shuppan 永遠の都の定本の初版”, Nami, May 1997). I take the latter view.
17 ibid., p. 401.
hatred, peace, war, death, but also with several specific issues such as tennōism 天皇主義, Japanese racism towards Koreans and the action and inaction of the Japanese Christian churches before and during the war are dealt with in the novel.

In this chapter I will first discuss the polyphonic and “carnivalistic” aspects of Eien no miyako, drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin’s Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics. I then discuss some of the novel’s key themes after looking at the main features of the story.

4.2 Multifarious perspectives

As illustrated in Chapter 1 above, there are numerous literary influences on Kaga and Eien no miyako. However, one book stands above all others in the extent of its influence: Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics (1963) by the well-known Russian critic Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975). In this section I will examine the multifarious perspectives in Eien no miyako following Bakhtin’s theory.

Although Kaga does not place much store in literary theory,20 he thinks highly of Bakhtin, particularly his Problem of Dostoevsky’s Poetics.21 Kaga also seems to have studied Bakhtin’s 1929 work on Dostoyevsky, Problems of Dostoevsky’s Art, an earlier version of Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics, when he wrote his own book on Dostoyevsky.22

In his 1963 book, Bakhtin examines Dostoyevsky’s novels mainly in the light of their polyphonic and “carnivalistic” (carnival-like) aspects. Kaga himself points to similarities between Eien no miyako and features of Dostoyevsky’s novels uncovered by Bakhtin’s analyses. They are: (i) the author stands within the same world as the characters; (ii) the characters are carriers of ideas; (iii) the protagonists are eccentric and isolated because they know difficult truths of the human condition; (iv) normal deaths are rare; (v) a polyphonic (dialogic) style; and (vi) social events or phenomena as a form of carnival.23

In this section I will look mainly at the polyphonic and “carnivalistic” aspects

---

20 Interview, December 1997.
21 Interview, December 1998.
22 Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics is an expanded second edition of Problems of Dostoevsky’s Art. See Kaga, Dosutoeifusukii, p. 197.
23 This was confirmed by Kaga during an interview in December 1998.
of *Eien no miyako*. Point (i) has been examined in Chapter 1 in the discussion of Sartre’s essay. I will deal with the other points to a lesser extent in my discussion of the major themes of *Eien no miyako*.

**Importance of polyphony in *Eien no miyako***

In a 1995 essay “Jūsō suru sensō taiken to watashi no sengo 重層する戦争体験と私の戦後”, Kaga writes of his experiences while researching in both Japan and the United States his 1982 novel *Ikari no nai fune*, which also depicts the Pacific War. As previously mentioned, from interviews and written materials Kaga found that the experiences and viewpoints of those who lived through the war were sometimes contradictory, even when their experiences related to the same events. This phenomenon was common in both Japan and the United States. Kaga writes: “It was in 1985 … that I decided to write [a novel] with a method that captures the war from multifarious perspectives”.\(^2\) There is no single key protagonist in *Eien no miyako*. Instead there is a core group of key characters. They take turns at occupying centre stage, sometimes as actors, sometimes as narrators.

A musical metaphor is often used in discussions of *roman-fleuve*, with comparisons made to a symphony. But a symphony does not capture the essence of *Eien no miyako*, for this work lacks the clear presence of the conductor whose job is to draw the sounds from each of his musicians. *Eien no miyako* gives the impression of being conducted by the players themselves.

The use of many narrative forms is deliberate and abundant in this novel.\(^2\) Although this technique is already present in previous works including *Kaerazaru natsu* and *Senkoku*, in *Eien no miyako* it receives significant development. Kaga’s deliberate use of various narrative forms not only creates different voices in the story in order to examine events, phenomena and characters under different lights, but it also has a structural significance in that instances of the same type of narrative form are linked to each other throughout the novel.

For instance, the character Yūta’s memoirs, which appear twice in the novel (in Chapters 3 and 7), are given a completely different ambience because of the different novelistic time frames. In this way, Kaga emphasises the difference between Tokyo before and after the bombing by making these two memoirs respond to each other. In

\(^2\) Kaga, “Jūsō suru sensō taiken to watashi no sengo”, *Sengo o kataru*, p. 94.
the two different chapters the narrator, Yūta, talks from different time zones, positioning himself away from the main story line and the other characters. In the latter memoir, in an admittedly rare moment, he, not the author, talks directly to the reader (P3, C7, S1).26

Although Yūta states that memoirs generally are narrow and one-sided, showing only small sections of an epoch or a life, his own memoirs in fact give an analytical view of the characters’ past. The multifarious aspects in the novel, therefore, consist of not only different characters’ perspectives but also perspectives from different points in time.

In *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, Bakhtin characterises Dostoyevsky’s novels as polyphonic (or “dialogic”)27 as against “monologic”, and as carnivalistic. Polyphony, according to Bakhtin, is not used in novels prior to Dostoyevsky, although later he seems to have softened his view, suggesting there was already “a dialogic type of literary discourse” before Dostoyevsky.28

In monologic novels, in Bakhtin’s use of this term, the author expresses his/her unitary view of the world using a consistent and uniform style, even when there are various narrators in the story. In the world of monologic novels, Bakhtin writes, (i) the true thought is not represented but affirmed; (ii) “tertium non datur: a thought is either affirmed or repudiated”; and (iii) “the one who knows, understands, and sees is in the first instance the author himself. He alone is an ideologist”.29

By contrast in polyphonic novels, Bakhtin writes, referring to Dostoyevsky, “A plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses [here Bakhtin includes the authorial voice and consciousness], a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices is in fact the chief character of Dostoevsky’s novels”.30 What Bakhtin adds to this comment is applicable to Kaga’s novels, particularly *Eien no miyako*. He writes:

... Not a single element of the work is structured from the point of view of a nonparticipating “third person”. In the novel itself, nonparticipating “third persons” are not represented in any way. There is no place for them, compositionally or in the larger meaning of the work. And this is not a

27 As Lodge states, in Bakhtin’s theory “polyphonic” is virtually synonymous with “dialogic”. *After Bakhtin*, p. 86.
29 *Bakhtin, Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, pp. 79-82.
weakness of the author but his greatest strength. By this means a new
authorial position is won and conquered, one located above the monologic
position.31

The idea of having “a plurality of independent and unmerged voices and
consciousnesses” including the author’s voice is, as I discussed in Chapter 2 above,
already familiar in Kaga’s novels before Eien no miyako. Therefore, when Kaga
decided in 1985 to write a novel “with a method which captures the war from
multifarious perspectives”, Bakhtin’s concept of “polyphony” provided a clear path for
Kaga to take.

Kaga says in the discussion with Ōe that he deliberately used the nineteenth-
This was because he believed that this “straight line” style suited a time in which Japan
was moving “from peace to war”, because of the direct and inevitable step-by-step
progression toward war he aimed to depict.32 However, although “Kiro” is written in
the third person and in the style of nineteenth-century realism, the relationship between
the author and the characters is different. Kaga does not assume the authorial position
of Tolstoy or George Eliot; he does not have the upper-hand over his characters. Often
his voice is buried among the voices of his characters and cannot be clearly identified.

Even the physical pain from a forehead injury experienced by the young child
Yūta, who is too young to describe his pain, is presented not by diegetic explanation
but through the reaction of the mother Hatsue. Kaga writes [the last sentence in the
quotation is written in the present tense without quotation marks as Hatsue’s words]:
... the child opened his eyes slightly. He just said “Mum” and started to cry
“it hurts”, bending his body. The child’s pain [then] possessed Hatsue’s
forehead. It is [as if my] bones are being hit by a hammer ... (P1, C1, S12)33

Kaga changes the narrative form completely when the novel moves on to Part
2, “Ogurai mori”, which covers the period between 1937 and 1942. Chapter 3, the first
chapter in Part 2, is written from the first person perspective as Yūta’s first memoir. It
is not clear from the story at what age Yūta is supposed to have written this.34 In the
memoir, Yūta retells the events of the previous two chapters through the eyes of a

31 Ibid., p. 18.
33 Eien no miyako, vol. 1, p. 293.
34 Kaga later said that Yūta is supposed to have written the memoirs when he was about thirty. Ōe and
young child, in so doing introducing a new world which the adults in those chapters never know.

After Yūta’s first memoir, from the latter half of Part 2 to the middle of Part 3 (Chapters 4-6), the narrative form reverts to the third person. Yūta’s second memoir appears in Chapter 7 (“Ikyō”) in Part 3, “Ento”, which covers the period from 1942 to 1947. This second memoir starts from where the first memoir finishes, with Yūta once again retelling the events of the previous chapters and then going a little further.

Ōe says in the discussion with Kaga that when reaching the mid point of the story he became anxious about how to bring it to a conclusion, given that so many different narrative forms were used.³⁵ Actually when the narrative changes back and forth from polyphonic storytelling to monologic memoir, the reader may feel that the comfortable flow of the narrative is interrupted. However, for Kaga the use of different narrative forms is an essential freedom which only the writer of fiction can have, and he uses this freedom abundantly. Kaga’s attitude is reminiscent of Wayne Booth’s comment in his introduction to Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics: “The one grand literary form that is for Bakhtin capable of a kind of justice to the inherent polyphonies of life is ‘the novel’”.³⁶

It is clear why Kaga uses so many different perspectives and narrative forms. First of all this is, in his view, the only way to grasp as a whole the complex historical, political, social and personal dimensions of the war. Secondly it accords with his understanding of how a twentieth-century novel should be. While Kaga believes that the famous nineteenth-century authors, such as Balzac or Stendhal, are outstanding in their storytelling and characterisation, he also believes that the twentieth-century novel requires more perspectives in order to grasp more complex social situations and a more sceptical world less sure of where its centre lies.³⁷

Eien no miyako exemplifies a number of other features which Bakhtin sees as characteristic of polyphonic novels. Its “open ending” is an example. According to Bakhtin, The Brothers Karamazov is the most polyphonic of Dostoyevsky’s novels because of its “open ending”. He writes:

... In essence only The Brothers Karamazov has a completely polyphonic ending, but precisely for that reason, from the ordinary (that is, the

monologic) point of view, the novel remained uncompleted.  

_Eien no miyako_ ends with no conclusion. Its final scene involves two of the central characters, two sisters, talking about those who died during the war and anticipating a future completely different from the past. They both feel the support of their lost loved ones. In some way this is reminiscent of the last scene of _The Brothers Karamazov_, which also deals with the living in their relationship to the dead. Neither _The Brothers Karamazov_ nor _Eien no miyako_ ends in the definitive manner of Dostoyevsky’s _Crime and Punishment_ or _The Idiot_ or George Eliot’s _Middlemarch_, with the author providing a conclusion or describing the aftermath of the story.

**Carnivals in _Eien no miyako_**

Bakhtin defines a “carnival” as “a pageant without ... a division into performers and spectators”, in which the “hierarchical structure” of society is set aside, where “all distance between people is suspended” and there is “free and familiar contact among people”. He emphasises that “eccentricity is a special category of the carnival sense of the world ...”. He claims that “the primary carnival act is the mock crowning and subsequent decrowning of the carnival king” and that “[c]arnival celebrates the shift itself, the very process of replaceability, and not the precise item that it replaced”.  

Kaga’s concept of “carnival”, taken from Bakhtin, is an event in which people, the performers and the spectators, individually and collectively, are inevitably involved in a large scale event or incident regardless of their will. However, while Bakhtin’s carnival highlights the positive, a chaos which is bright, happy, lively, cheerful and energetic, Kaga’s focuses more, at least in _Eien no miyako_, on the negative, a chaos suffused with darkness, turbulence and death. But both Bakhtin and Kaga emphasise the dualistic nature of the carnival. While Bakhtin’s bright images contain tragedy as a basic element, Kaga’s dark images sometimes include light-hearted humour. Bakhtin writes of these dualistic images in such terms as:

… birth and death … blessing and curse … praise and abuse, youth and old

---

38 Bakhtin, _Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics_, p. 40.
39 In the last scene of _The Brothers Karamazov_ the main character Alyosha and several young boys promise each other not to forget their deceased friend young Ilyusha, anticipating that they will see the dead again in the future.
40 Bakhtin, _Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics_, pp. 122-123.
41 _Ibid._, pp. 124-125.
42 Interview, December 1997.
For Kaga, three major historical events during the time covered in *Eien no miyako* belong to the category of “carnival”. They are the February 26 Affair (1936), in which several politicians were assassinated and which resulted in the eventual execution of most of the rebellious officers; the national celebration of the 2600th anniversary of the accession of the Emperor Jinmu (kigen 2600-nen 紀元 2600年, 1940); and the unconditional surrender in 1945.44

In one way the elements of the above-mentioned carnivals set the tone of *Eien no miyako*. This is because all the “carnivals” cause fundamental changes in society, and the changes lead the entire nation, including the characters in the novel, in certain historical directions. In addition, the “carnivals” occur at intervals of between four and five years, thus covering the entire period spanned by the novel. All the characters live through these incidents, and their lives inevitably change because of them. Bakhtin claims that “all of Dostoevsky’s works, especially his five mature novels”, have elements of carnival and this “essentially sets the tone for Dostoevsky’s entire work”.45 This also points to the strong influence of Dostoyevsky’s novels, as analysed by Bakhtin, on *Eien no miyako*.

The first carnivalistic event in *Eien no miyako* is the February 26 Affair (1936). Kaga spends five sections of Chapter 2 describing this from the perspectives of several characters (P1, C2, S1-5). The insurgent officers try to replace the plutocrats and the members of the General Staff Office with the direct rule of the Emperor. Waki Keisuke 萬村健助, an Army officer, not one of the rebels but belonging to the same regiment and close to them, recollects certain words and actions of the rebels. This gives the reader an insight into the motives for the coup attempt.

About 1,400 soldiers are involved, following the orders of their superior officers. The incident occurs in Tokyo, which is put under martial law. The whole city is therefore affected. One character’s celebratory occasion on his achievement of an academic success is disturbed. Many Tokyo citizens go to the scene of the coup and attempt to discuss and argue the matter with the rebel officers and the soldiers.

---

44 Interview, December 1998.
The character Tokita Natsue is among the crowd, looking for Waki Keisuke, whom she loves at that time, hoping to catch even a fleeting glimpse of him. Among the coup participants, who fly the flag of “righteousness”, and the spectators, all sorts of human feelings – contempt, anger, excitement, confusion, hope, righteousness, sorrow, resentment and laughter – are present at a level far above that of everyday life. In this event the coup participants, who are praised as heroes at the beginning, are condemned later, thus almost exactly following Bakhtin’s primary carnival act, “the mock crowning and subsequent decrowning of the carnival king”.

Another “carnival” is the celebration in October 1940 of “the 2600th anniversary of the accession of the Emperor Jinmu (kigen 2600-nen 紀元 2600 年)”. Kaga devotes a whole section (P2, C4, S13) to this, again using a multiplicity of perspectives to convey the reality of the celebration.

The leading actor is the Emperor Hirohito. He appears at the Imperial University, causing the professors to bow as deeply as humanly possibly. He also reviews the fleet, causing an old retired officer, the character Tokita Rihei, to cry as he feels the honour of seeing the Emperor in person. Hirohito then reviews the troops, with the young and ambitious Waki Keisuke strutting in order to catch the Emperor’s eyes. At another appearance of the Emperor, those chosen to share the glory of attending bow deeply. The character Waki Mitsu rubs her nose into the bottom of a man in front of her, which smells of moth-balls. The cumulative effect of their experience is as if the entire nation shouts enthusiastically “Long live the Emperor! 天皇陛下、万歳！”. Every one is moved, excited, even ecstatic.

However, there are two characters who do not share in the jubilation. Waki Shinsuke finds the celebration comical and ridiculous. Kikuchi Tōru worries about the rather hysterical enthusiasm of the crowds, seeing in this a sign of fanaticism. Both find the entire event deeply wrong. They feel isolated in their sense of having awakened to an impending disaster. In some way, Shinsuke and Tōru are, as Bakhtin writes, “being possessed by their ‘truth’ [which] defines their relationship to other people and creates the special sort of loneliness these heroes know”.  

Kaga’s ironic view of the role of the Emperor is evident when the reader comes to another carnivalistic scene, the unconditional surrender. Kaga again spends a whole section (P3, C6, S17) on this event, describing it from several characters’ point of

46 Ibid., p. 151.
view. The description starts from the morning of 14 August 1945 and ends late at night on the next day, the day of the surrender. The leading actor is again Emperor Hirohito. However, this symbol of victory, glory, delight and magnificence in the previous celebratory carnival is now, less than five years later, a symbol of defeat, catastrophe, misery and grief. The two events, the celebration of kigen 2600-nen and the surrender, once again almost exactly following Bakhtin’s crowning and decrowning of the carnival king.

At the time of the national defeat, while many are crying in sorrow at defeat and joy at the end of the war, some, like Waki Keisuke, are busy manoeuvring to make the situation favourable to themselves, burning anything that may betray their past. Some, like Tokita Rihei, are in agony, unable to accept the defeat. But all are thrown into chaos, in anticipation of the arrival of a new ruler, in Bakhtin’s term, a new “king”.

Talking about a possible sequel to Eien no miyako, Kaga said in 1998 that it would be hard to write because there were hardly any carnivals after the war.47

4.3 Story and principal themes

Kaga includes a strong autobiographical element in Eien no miyako. Many of the characters are modelled on real people. The character Kogure Yūta, who was born in the same year as Kaga, is to a large degree Kaga himself. As mentioned, one of the main characters, Yūta’s grandfather Tokita Rihei 時田利平, born in 1875,48 is modelled on Kaga’s own grandfather Nogami Yasohachi 野上八十八, born in same year. Kaga’s knowledge and understanding of the historical facts are also detailed and deep. However, Eien no miyako is fiction, not history or autobiography. The historical and autobiographical “facts” are important as material for Kaga’s literary imagination, and it is the latter with which I am principally concerned.

According to Kaga, none of the characters in the novel fully depicts a real person.49 Historical figures, who appear under their real names in correct historical

---

47 Interview, December 1998. The publication of Kumo no miyako 雲の都, the sequel to Eien no miyako, began in January 2000 in the magazine Shincho 新潮.
48 Yūta writes in his memoir: “The year I was born [in 1929], my grandfather was fifty-four” (P2,C3, S1). Eien no miyako, vol. 3, p. 18.
circumstances, are there to clarify and strengthen the reality of the time in which the fictional characters live. As mentioned, Kaga first planned to write a much shorter novel. However, as he wrote the project expanded to cover three generations of a family of the twentieth century.\(^{50}\)

In *Eien no miyako*, ideas exemplifying or reflecting aspects of human nature, of philosophy or of social phenomena are conveyed through the characters' lives and thoughts. Tennōism, the theme of *Kaerazaru natsu*, shows different aspects through different generations and individuals, and different political and social situations. Kaga also deals with whether there can be a war of righteousness, and examines the plight of the victims of Japanese militarism and expansionism, Koreans in particular.

Some of the questions addressed in *Senkoku* are further developed in *Eien no miyako*. One of these is the fate of the human soul; another is the idea of living together with the dead. Although a Catholic at the time of writing *Eien no miyako*, Kaga does not adopt a particular religious vantage point.\(^{51}\) There are no miracles as in Graham Greene, nor the spiritual victory of God's love as in Endō Shūsaku. The treatment of Christianity in *Eien no miyako* is more distant and objective than in the earlier work, although when writing *Senkoku* Kaga was not yet a Christian. In *Eien no miyako* Kaga uses a couple of adulterous relationships, one involving a Catholic and a follower of the Shinran teaching (Buddhism), to embody true love. This love seems to hold the key to something eternal, overcoming human limitations.

Having principles and adhering to them seems to be also of great importance for Kaga. The character Tokita Rihei, a suicide, is treated favourably because he is a man of principle, although he is a womaniser and his life-long patriotism and trust in tennōism are miserably crushed. From Kaga's point of view, Rihei attains salvation despite committing suicide.

The novel contains suicides, manslaughters (possibly murders), deaths in the burning hell of air raids or in insanity. Only a few deaths are natural. This is another similarity to Dostoyevsky's novels as analysed by Bakhtin.\(^{52}\)

In this section, after briefly outlining the story, I will examine some of the individual characters who are the carriers or representatives of thoughts or ideals –

---

\(^{50}\) Interview in December 1998.

\(^{51}\) In *Eien no miyako*, Catholic belief and faith in Amitābha (Amida) are treated equally in terms of the issues of life and death.

\(^{52}\) See Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, p. 77, Note 12.
some distinctive of the particular epoch, some universal – central to *Eien no miyako*.

**The story**

*Eien no miyako* does not have one strong story line, but the various stories of the characters’ lives form a unified world. Set between 1935 and 1947, *Eien no miyako* revolves around three generations of people involved with Tokita Hospital 東田病院 established by Tokita Rihei 東田利平, a man of adventurous spirit who has built a career as a wealthy surgeon despite a humble background. Rihei even obtains a doctoral degree in medicine in his sixties. His life exemplifies the period of the modernisation of Japan as it tries to assert itself following the Meiji restoration. 53 Rihei’s life is one of the strong threads of the novel.

Many of the characters in *Eien no miyako* are carriers of ideas or exemplars of different aspects of humanity, while maintaining their own reality as distinctive human beings. The introduction of these characters is an important element in a long novel. Instead of a big party (*War and Peace*) or a weekly family gathering (*Buddenbrooks*), *Eien no miyako* starts with Rihei’s first daughter, Kogure Hatsue 小倉初江, anxiously waiting for her first son Yūta to come home from kindergarten. Yūta is late. She fears he may have been kidnapped. As usual when she faces a problem, Hatsue rings her parents instead of her husband and asks for advice. Through this incident, which ends benignly, Kaga skilfully introduces the first group of characters.

Besides Rihei’s life, another strong vertical thread of the novel is the relationship between Hatsue and Waki Shinsuke, Hatsue’s nephew by marriage. Hatsue and Shinsuke, a twenty-seven year old54 mother of three and an eighteen year old student, fall in love, despite the very conservative moral standards of the time. They keep their love a secret all through their lives.

As Japanese militarism gains momentum, there are power struggles within the military, between the Army and the Navy, and between two factions in the Army. The February 26 Affair symbolises these divisions. For Kaga, it also symbolises Japan’s move towards totalitarianism, although the coup itself ended in failure. 55

---

53 Ōe and Kaga, *op. cit.*, *Eien no miyako*, vol. 1, p. 381.
54 The characters’ ages are counted as kazoe-doshi 数え年, according to which 27 years old means being in one’s 27th calendar year. Therefore the actual age is usually at least one year less than kazoe-doshi.
55 The well-known Japanese female socialist Yamakawa Kikue 山川菊江 (1890-1980) describes the February 26 Affair as a “rough sword-fighting play” performed by Army officers who wanted to recall their most glorious period which ended with the Russo-Japanese War. Yamakawa, “Meiji no borei 明治
mentioned, Kaga writes in *Kaerazaru natsu* that the leaders of the rebellion were secretly admired as models by the young cadets, even though they could barely remember what the incident was about.

The characters of *Eien no miyako* live under the increasingly darkening clouds of totalitarianism and the war, with Japanese militarism and expansionism showing no signs of abating. The wars against China and then the United States and its allies rapidly involve the characters in unprecedented chaos. In the period covered in the novel Rihei has to witness the deterioration of his victorious Japan of the Meiji era and his glorious Tokita Hospital, while his private life collapses in parallel. The cast of characters is forced to live with disappearing hopes, shattered loves, and peace a thing of the distant past.

Kaga shows the pathological problems of the time through his characters’ experiences. They face the vicious and sadistic militarism of a tennoist society whether as ordinary workers, parents, children or soldiers. Ideas such as human rights and individual freedom become worthless.

The fate of psychiatric patients, seen through the eyes of Rihei, exemplifies this oppression. As a result of the morphine addiction to which he succumbs in the wake of his wife’s infidelity, Rihei spends time in a psychiatric hospital. Kaga devotes seven sections (P3, CS, S15-21) to Rihei’s experience in the hospital, his fight to overcome his addiction and his thoughts on the past. The inhuman treatment meted out to such patients during the war is convincingly represented. The male patients are unable to become the Emperor’s soldiers and are thus judged to be not only useless but a burden on society. Around Rihei, patients die daily of starvation as they are the last to receive the rapidly decreasing food ration. Rihei survives on food brought in by his daughters.

Kogure Yūta 小倉悠太, Rihei’s grandson and the first son of Hatsue, to a large extent modelled on Kaga himself, plays a rather a minor role in the story. He grows up as a child of his time, attending the Army Preparatory School in order to become an elite officer of the Imperial Army like his cousin Waki Keisuke. Like the city of Tokyo itself, we find young Yūta enjoying his fortune and bright prospects at the

---


56 Yūta enters The Army Preparatory School in 1944 and spends one and a half years at the boarding school, while Shōji, the main character of *Kaerazaru natsu*, enters in 1943 and spends two and half years there, as did Kaga.
beginning of the novel, without anticipating how abruptly all this could change. The changing political and social situation as war approaches brings to an end Yūta's happy and peaceful childhood. Being educated at the Army Preparatory School, Yūta grows into a youth who believes in tennōism as the most virtuous ideal.

The cruelty of the war touches all the people in Japan and every character in the novel. Indeed, many die or receive permanent physical or mental scars. Rihei becomes blind and deformed and then commits suicide in a sea of alcohol and morphine, and Hatsue's lover Shinsuke dies insane after a horrible experience as a soldier in South-East Asia. Tōru, the second husband of Rihei's other daughter Natsue, loses his right arm on the battlefield, and then is thrown into jail till the end of the war because of his pacifism. Natsue ends up losing her husband and daughter through separation and her lover Majima Gorō through his suicide.

Many Japanese die on the battlefield or during air raids. Many more are lost immediately after the war because of starvation and related illnesses. The story ends in 1947, the characters still striving to regain some normalcy in their lives, with a scene in Yokohama Bay as Ōko, the secret love child of Hatsue and Shinsuke, leaves for Paris to study music, an extraordinary thing for a Japanese while the entire country is under the Allied occupation. 57 Although losing their loved ones, the two sisters, Hatsue and Natsue, agree on the growing strength of the existence of the dead in their hearts, and the feeling of support they get from the deceased. With this feeling of support, in particular from their dead lovers, the two sisters prepare to face the future. As Kawamoto Saburō writes, at the end of the novel the reader realises that it is a requiem for those who died in the war. 58

Kaga treats some of his characters with contempt, albeit subtly. There is a group of characters who are happy to see their careers prosper under militarism, expansionism and the "sacred flag" of tennōism. Any political and social change is exploited in the interests of making money and gaining power. They are loyal subjects of the Emperor until war's end, when they transform themselves overnight to pacifists and democrats without a hint of self-reflection.

Rihei's brother-in-law, Kazama Shin’ichirō 風間五郎, is typical of this group.

---

57 John W. Dower writes that until the occupation by the Allied powers was almost over, no Japanese were allowed to travel abroad. See Dower, Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II, New York: W. W. Norton & Company / The New Press, 1999, p. 23.
He expands his coal company and his political power during the war. He continues to do so in democratic Japan after the war. Waki Keisuke, who is proud of himself as a born military officer and the Emperor’s right-hand man during the war, is another. He changes to a peace-loving and democracy-respecting politician after the war, without the slightest hint of discomfort. One can see in the actions of Kazama and Keisuke the war-time ruling class manoeuvring itself into the ruling class of the post-war period. From Gorô’s perspective, Kaga describes Keisuke as a dog wagging its filthy tail at the Emperor during the war and at MacArthur after the war. In both cases he is a tool of a group of murderers, whether they be Japanese, who murdered millions of civilians in Asian countries, or Americans, who dropped a massive number of bombs on civilians, including atomic bombs (P3, C7, S9).

It can be argued that the real protagonist of Eien no miyako is the epoch itself. The titles of parts and chapters mostly capture not only the characters’ but Japan’s predicament in relation to the war at different points in time. Kaga must have thought that Japan was standing at a “fork in the road” (kiro 岔路, the title of Part 1 and Chapter 2) at the time of the February 26 Affair (1936). In fact, after the incident the Army’s General Staff Office assumed greater power by suppressing “undesirable elements”, one of which characteristically appeared in the coup attempt. Those who gained the upper hand in the Army after the Affair were the main instigators of the nation’s march to war, in an atmosphere already turning towards expansionism under an emperor considered divine.

Following the escalation of Japanese militarism and expansionism, the people in the novel are gradually sucked into the political and social mayhem. Japan, at a “fork in the road (kiro 岔路)” in Part 1, finds itself standing in front of a “dark wood (ogurai mori 小暗い森)”, the title of Part 2 as well as Chapter 3.

Part 2 starts with Yûta’s memoir of his childhood. The words “ogurai mori (dark wood)” are from the beginning of Dante’s Inferno in The Divine Comedy. Their use by Kaga suggests that Yûta’s childhood is for him the entrance to hell. However, they also hint at the hell of war that Japan is about to enter, as well as at Rihei’s severe personal suffering. Dante writes:

Midway this way of life we’re bound upon,

---

I woke to find myself in a dark wood,
Where the right road was wholly lost and gone.\(^\text{61}\)

In Part 2, Yūta decides to become a young cadet, thereby subjecting himself to brainwashing in militarism and tennōism. Rihei is in agony because of his wife’s unfaithfulness and his consequent morphine addiction. Japan is heading towards total war. All are metaphorically in a dark wood “where the right road was wholly lost and gone”.

Japan attacks the United States in 1941, having already been at war with China since 1937. At around the time of the fall of Singapore in February 1942, Rihei’s initial morphine addiction worsens, Shinsuke grudgingly enlists in the army, Tōru’s imprisonment has been extended indefinitely and Hatsue and Natsue can do nothing but worry about their loved ones. Japan’s initial victories do not continue for long. Less than four months after the fall of Singapore, Japan suffers defeat in the battle of Midway. The fortunes of the war start to turn. Soon the entire Japanese nation, the characters in *Eien no miyako* included, will have to walk through “the valley of tears (*namida no tani* 淚の谷, the title of Chapter 4)”. In the words of Natsue, “... time has passed, people have changed and everybody has become unhappy” (P2, C4, S23).\(^\text{62}\)

The words “*namida no tani*” are from Psalm 84:6 in the Japanese Bible.\(^\text{63}\)

While Japan is entering a “labyrinth” (*meikyū* 迷宮, the title of Chapter 5), a war from which defeat is the only way out, Rihei is also in a labyrinth made up of his wife’s betrayal, his own morphine addiction and the wretched situation of his hospital due to the war. Hatsue says that “... both the building and the people of the hospital have decayed” (P3, C5, S9).\(^\text{64}\) The air raids on Tokyo worsen, and many people there and in other big cities have started to move to the countryside.

The horrendous and gruesome reality of the air raids is described in Chapter 6 “Ento 炎都 (the burning capital)” through the experience of Hatsue and her third son Kenzō 研三 on 10 March 1945 (P3, C6, S4). In *Kaerazaru natsu* this is described in retrospect through the eyes of the main character’s father. In *Eien no miyako* the depiction is far more immediate. Hatsue almost dies in the turmoil. Tokyo suffers savage destruction. When Yūta returns from the preparatory school after the war, he

\[^{62}\text{*Eien no miyako*, vol. 4, p. 358.}\]
\[^{63}\text{Ōe and Kaga, *op.cit.*, *Eien no miyako*, vol. 1, p. 369. The English Bible reads “the valley of Baca” in the King James version, and “the valley of weeping” in a more contemporary version.}\]
\[^{64}\text{*Eien no miyako*, vol. 5, p. 180.}\]
finds a city completely different from what he has known. He feels as if he is in a “strange land” (ikyō 異郷, the title of Chapter 7).

Besides historical incidents and events, Kaga also weaves descriptions of cultural events and the natural scenery of Tokyo into his story. The latter are used in part to mark the rhythms of the story. For instance the novel starts with the sentence: “The wind shone and the new leaves rippled”.65 Spring is immediately present to the reader, even before reaching the second sentence in which the carp streamers (koinobori 鯉のぼり)66 characteristic of the boys’ festival in early May are referred to. Kaga’s love and nostalgia for the beauty of the natural and cultural features of Tokyo, lost during the war, are palpable. As does Tanizaki in his Sasame yuki 細雪, Kaga tries to preserve the memory of his old and beautiful Tokyo before it became ikyō (a strange land).

Rihei’s life, death and tennōism of the Meiji era

Despite Tokita Rihei’s 時田利平 follies and weaknesses, Kaga embraces this character as a man who stands by his principles, although some of his behaviour, towards women in particular, might not be acceptable by contemporary standards. Rihei is sixty when the story starts. He is in his second marriage, with Kikue 柿江, with whom he has three children, Hatsue 初江, Shirō 史郎 and Natsue 夏江. In Part 1, Rihei is without doubt the head of his family.

Although a caring father and a loving grandfather, and believing Kikue to be his true wife, Rihei is also a womaniser. In addition to his three marriages he has had several mistresses, using to his advantage his position as an employer of young women. For the social mores of the time having mistresses is a sign of power. He is a typical example from the Meiji era of a man who has risen in life (risshin shusse 立身出世). Money and social status have come through his own determination and diligence, through which adversity has been overcome. He believes that it is right for him, a man of wealth and success, to have as many women as he chooses.

Rihei was born as the eighth son of a fisherman in a village in south-west Honshu. When the entire Japanese nation is excited by the victorious result of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, he comes to Tokyo with dreams of advancement but

---

65 Eien no miyako, vol. 1, p. 12.
66 Carp streamers are symbols of the boys’ day festival in May.
with neither money nor connections. The only possession he has is self confidence, but this is sufficient since he is a man out of the ordinary. He studies medicine while supporting himself, eventually becoming a medical officer in the Imperial Japanese Navy. Fortune is on his side.

Rihei is very proud of his achievements, particularly of the fact that he fought for his country during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). He treasures this experience throughout his life. He is a patriot. He serves the Navy as a medical officer without hesitation, showing his loyalty to Japan and to the Meiji Emperor. He never doubts the divinity of the generations of Japanese emperors. He talks continually with enthusiasm about the times he saw the Emperors of the three eras, Meiji (1868-1912), Taishō (1912-1926) and Shōwa (1926-1989). Among these, his strongest admiration is for Emperor Meiji, whose magnificence he passionately and repeatedly extols. One thing which never changes in his life is, as Iwamoto writes, “the genuineness of his patriotism”.67

In a 1997 book, Meiji no bunka 明治の文化,68 the historian Irokawa Daikichi 色川大吉 writes of the general attitude of the Japanese people towards the Meiji Emperor at around the time of the Russo-Japanese War. Much of what Irokawa says is entirely applicable to Rihei. Irokawa sees the Japanese victory resulting from three wills formed together in the right way. The first will was that of the political and social elite of Japan, especially of the military authorities who wanted to expand their power to China through the Korean Peninsula. The second will was that of British Imperialism which desperately wanted to stop any southward movement of Russia, and which saw in Japan a bulwark against this.

The third will, which Irokawa emphasises the most, was of the ordinary Japanese people. According to Irokawa, the Japanese considered that the collision with Russia was possibly a fatal national crisis, and they therefore made desperate efforts to win this struggle, voluntarily sacrificing individual desires. Without the third will, Irokawa writes, Japan would not have won this war.

In Irokawa’s mind this was also a turning point in the attitude of the Japanese people towards the Emperor and tennoism. Without a correct understanding of this historical and social background, he maintains, one would misunderstand the power of

---

67 Iwamoto, op.cit., p. 286.
tennoism, which increased rapidly in strength, covering the entire nation until the end of the Pacific War. Rihei’s tennoism is typical of that of “the ordinary Japanese people” of the Meiji era as discussed by Irokawa.

Working hard for the Navy as doctor on board ship, and later for his family as a private practitioner, are not two different things for Rihei. In his mind his success and the growth of his hospital mirror the successful expansion of his country. Rihei is characteristic of the Meiji era in never doubting the prerogative of Japanese expansionism and the divinity of the Emperor, believing that a nation led by the living-god must advance, collectively and individually.

Rihei is always full of energy and is without doubt a diligent man. Besides being a surgeon, he is an inventor, his creations ranging from skin cream and a special dinner fork suitable for eating Japanese rice to an x-ray machine and a new type of sanatorium. He is also a licensed dentist, and he even writes a doctoral thesis while working full-time as head doctor of his hospital. Like his country, he has a glorious few decades. He obtains a Doctor of Philosophy degree in medicine at the age of sixty-one.

The day he plans to celebrate his doctoral degree with a big party happens to be the day of the February 26 Affair. The guests come late because of the chaos caused by the coup attempt and an unexpected snowfall. But Rihei does not change his plans, even after he hears the news of the assassination of ministers. Although concerned about their fate, he is determined not to let the incident, which paralyses the whole city, spoil his private celebration. His naval background leads him to think that the Imperial Army is undisciplined and that the incident is the inevitable result of this. He is annoyed by the fact his celebration is disturbed by “the undisciplined Army officers”.

The tarnish on Rihei’s life grows when his wife Kikue’s chronic illness worsens during the party. She dies a few days later. Kikue has been an excellent assistant for her husband, possessing the administrative skills he lacks. After her death, no one can replace her. The death of Kikue symbolises the beginning of the end of the glorious time of the Tokita Hospital and of Rihei. Up to this time both have continually grown in power and reputation. (In the latter part of the novel, however, a dark episode in the earlier history of the hospital, its involvement in the murder of a

---

Korean employee in the chaos right after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923, is revealed.) As Imperial Japan now heads towards war and to consequent defeat, Rihei heads towards his personal downfall.

Breaking a promise given to Kikue on her deathbed, Rihei marries for the third time. The woman is his mistress of several years, Ito いと, who is half his age. But Ito’s infidelity soon pushes him into a hell of endless suspicion and jealousy. After being a cunning and unfaithful wife, Ito dies during an air raid while secretly meeting her lover, Rihei’s son from his first marriage.

Despite his great success in life, Rihei thinks over his past on his death bed:

... with Great Imperial Japan, which made a great advance after the Russo-Japanese War, my Tokita Hospital moved towards the zenith of prosperity. But along with the decline and collapse of Great Imperial Japan, my Tokita Hospital also declined and collapsed ... I lost everything ... and at the noon of that summer, Great Imperial Japan became extinct. (P3, C8, S1)

In Rihei’s view, Emperor Shōwa 昭和天皇, while without doubt still divine, unfortunately had poorer fortunes in war than the Emperor Meiji. The unconditional surrender is the result of this. Rihei’s deep belief in tennoism and the war effort does not change even after the air raid in May 1945, which destroys his hospital and in which he suffers severe burns. Although he becomes blind and deformed, Great Imperial Japan remains radiant and glorious in his mind. Japan’s defeat is incomprehensible, impossible for him to imagine.

In Kaga’s view, the militarism of the early 1930s and the subsequent war were enthusiastically supported by millions of ordinary people such as Rihei, people for whom patriotism and loyalty to the Emperor were integral parts of their lives. In Rihei’s case, when his beliefs are undermined by the changes of the post-war era, he is thrown into confusion from which he never recovers. Death becomes his only escape. He plans his own demise. His life is summarised by the character Gorō, who Rihei believes to be his illegitimate son. Gorō looks after the severely burned and blinded Rihei, and finally helps him to commit suicide. Kaga writes from Gorō’s perspective:

In addition to the physical torments and deformation, [Rihei] suffered mental agony. The goals to which he devoted his entire life collapsed, symbolised by his hospital going up in flames. His medical research and the works of his invention have gone, and his youthful dream of Great Imperial Japan as a
major military power has vanished like mist. There is nothing but the Tokita Hospital and its ruin to starkly symbolise his life. (P3, C8, S9)\textsuperscript{71}

Rihei is fond of \textit{yōkyoku} 譜曲, the sung texts of the Nō 能 theatre. This has been a hobby in his adult life. He particularly loves \textit{Tōru} 坊, one of Zeami’s 世阿弥 works,\textsuperscript{72} and sings it often in his bed-ridden days, through the fog of alcohol and morphine.

\textit{Tōru} was written in the early Muromachi 室町 period (1392-1573). It tells of the ghost of Minamoto Tōru 頼繁\textsuperscript{73} appearing to a wandering monk in the ruins of his villa in Kyoto and regaling him with tales of the past splendour of his life. Rihei compares his love for his achievements, his hospital and his inventions, every one of which is now in ruin, to the Minister Tōru’s love for his villa and his past prosperity. As the ghost of Minister Tōru calls up at the moonlit ruin the image of his great villa, Rihei also calls up his great Tokita Hospital in the darkness of his blind eyes (P3, C8, S9).\textsuperscript{74}

In a morphine-induced stream of consciousness in an earlier stage of the novel Rihei describes the importance to him of the Tokita Hospital:

\ldots there is an eternal capital (\textit{eien no miyako} 永遠の都) somewhere. Since the beginning of history many capitals have been destroyed, have gone to ruin and disappeared into oblivion. However, my eternal capital will never be ruined. And the centre of that city is my Tokita Hospital. (P3, C5, S14)\textsuperscript{75}

Rihei commits suicide through a morphine overdose, acknowledging that there is no room for him in post-war Japan. His death symbolises the end of the tennōism of the Meiji era, in which the Emperor is indubitably a divine, invincible and victorious being. Rihei’s death “is a demonstration of the purity of his patriotic spirit”.\textsuperscript{76} He cannot live in a world where such patriotism is out of place.

Through the description of Rihei’s death, one can see that Kaga’s thoughts on death are taken beyond the stage he reached in \textit{Senkoku}. Although desperately trying to believe, \textit{Senkoku}’s main character cannot erase doubts about a life after death, and

\begin{footnotesize}
\item[70] \textit{Eien no miyako}, vol. 7, p. 207.
\item[71] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 371.
\item[73] Minamoto no Tōru 頼繁 (822-895), son of the Emperor Saga 嘉祥, was the Minister of the Imperial Court in the early Heian period. He is well-known for his splendid villa built on the river bank of Rokujo. He even reproduced at his villa the salt-making site of Shiogama 塩釜 (currently a fishing town in Miyagi prefecture), which he loved because of its beauty.
\item[74] \textit{Eien no miyako}, vol. 1, pp. 371-372.
\item[75] \textit{Eien no miyako}, vol. 5, p. 276.
\item[76] Iwamoto, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 286.
\end{footnotesize}
feels as if he is falling to the depths of hell. Rihei initially has a similar feeling. Through Natsue’s eyes we see him with “a facial expression which resembles that of those who are falling through the depths of hell”.\textsuperscript{77} Rihei’s idea of death is, however, neither dark nor sad. Rather the opposite. When his death approaches he loses the desire for further achievements, and his feeling of falling changes to something comfortable and supportive. Kaga writes of Rihei’s stream of consciousness:

\begin{quote}
... At the dark bottom of the ocean, there is a graveyard, but somewhere there is the entrance to the other world, and I feel the other world is a place full of light. It’s so bright, things don’t have shadows, and therefore you can’t see the shapes ... my grandfather, father, mother and elder brothers ... as well as the women I loved are floating in the light as spirits of the light.
\end{quote}

(P3, C8, S1)\textsuperscript{78}

While Takeo in \textit{Senkoku} tries to convince himself that such a world is waiting for him, Rihei, although not a believer, has no doubt. Towards the end of his life Rihei’s feeling of falling appears to him in this way: “I sink rapidly and comfortably. Is this death? How comfortable this is, and how similar this is to the great relief when I am united with a woman”.\textsuperscript{79} Rihei dies surrounded by family and relatives as he wishes. None of them except Gorō sense that he has committed suicide.

\section*{Different tennōisms – Kogure Yūji and his son Yūta}

Kaga clearly shows the distinction between Rihei’s tennōism and that of the next two generations. Kogure Yūji 小暮悠次, the husband of Rihei’s daughter Hatsue, is a descendent of a samurai family. He has independent wealth and works for a large insurance company. He loves playing mah-jong and golf at weekends and recording special occasions with his 8-millimeter movie-camera, a hobby only a small number of people can afford. He travels to Europe and America in 1936 and attends the Berlin Olympic games.

Yūji always goes along with the majority. In this sense he is absolutely ordinary. In 1940, when the Japanese nation celebrates “the 2600th anniversary of the accession of the Emperor Jinmu (kigen 2600-nen)”, he is moved by his own conviction

\textsuperscript{77} \textit{Eien no miyako}, vol. 3, p. 393 and vol. 4, p. 17. The description through Natsue’s eyes of Rihei’s feeling of falling is exactly the same as the description of falling which the main character of \textit{Senkoku} has.

\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Eien no miyako}, vol. 7, p. 206.

as a loyal Japanese subject of the Emperor and shouts “long live the Emperor! (Tenno heika, banzai 天皇陛下, 万歳！)”, together with the rest of Japan (P2, C4, S13). When the Pacific War breaks out at the end of 1941, he, “the loyal Japanese subject Kogure Yuji”, buys war-related stocks and gets a very good return. At the beginning of the war he shares the nation’s belief in the inevitability of victory. Japanese expansionism and militarism under a strong Emperor make him rich, and therefore he loves tennōism and utilises the situation to make profits while he can (P2, C4, S19-20). At the end of the war, however, the profits he has made vanish as his investments turn to mere pieces of paper.

In the middle of the Pacific War, Yuji decides to send his first son Yuta to the Army Preparatory School. Although he himself is not called to military service because of illness (a cerebral haemorrhage affecting his eyes) and secretly feels relieved at this, he believes that at least one of his sons should have a military career. He also sees this as a way for his son to achieve social advancement. Since every healthy adult Japanese male has to serve the country at war, becoming an officer is far better than becoming a foot soldier. There is no suggestion that in reaching this decision Yuji is influenced by the tennōist belief which encourage the Japanese to sacrifice their sons for the Emperor. His decision is thoroughly pragmatic. For Rihei’s part, he is heartily pleased to see his grandson become a cadet, a future right-hand man of the Emperor.

Just before the end of the war, when Yuta returns home to say farewell to his family, expecting all the cadets to die fighting for the Emperor when the Americans land, Yuji does not tell his son of his premonition that Japan may lose the war. Later he regrets this time when he did not speak out, being bound by the social norms of the tennōist society.

Yuta’s tennōism is different again from his father’s and his grandfather’s. The victorious glory that his grandfather experienced is replaced by the prospect of glory in heroic death. When Yuta passes the entrance examination for the Army Preparatory School in 1944, he cannot remove from his mind the image of slipping towards the end of the world in a pitch-dark tunnel covered with blood. He cannot talk to anyone about this image (P3, C5, S5).\(^{80}\)

While his father enjoys a good return from his war-related investments, Yuta

\(^{80}\) Eien no miyako, vol. 5, p. 113.
never even imagines profiting from the war. His only expectation is to die for the state, for the Emperor. One of the few differences between the main character Shōji in *Kaerazaru natsu* and Yūta is that while the former commits suicide believing the Emperor would do the same, the latter does not take his own life, although he is tempted to do so. And while Shōji is never aware of the existence of criticism of tennōism and militarism or the folly of military life, Yūta is, through his relatives.

The well-known *kamikaze* pilots belong to the same generation as Yūta. Like them he believes the one-sided propaganda of the military authorities, which depicts a vicious enemy without any reference to Japanese atrocities. Yūta points to a newspaper article alleging that American soldiers send the skulls of Japanese soldiers to their girlfriends as trophies, and surprises his mother by shouting, “I’ll destroy them completely!” (P3, C5, S8). Yūta does not have the mental capacity to look critically at the war, the Emperor and the military authorities.

Yūta is still a young cadet when the war ends, three quarters of the way through the novel. He naturally believes that the Emperor will take responsibility for the war either by committing suicide or abdicating when Japan is defeated. When neither happens, Yūta believes that the spirit of “gyokusai (an honourable death rather than surrender)” has been betrayed by the very person who should symbolise it.

After the war, Yūta is on the one hand confused and angry with those who never told him about the danger of militarism and the possibility of Japan’s defeat. But on the other hand, he blames himself for his stupidity in believing what he was taught. It takes a long time for Yūta to adjust his mentality to accommodate the change from a solid belief in gyokusai to the values of post-war democracy.

Yūta slowly goes back to a “normal” student life, fighting against starvation. He desperately looks for food and jobs, like the main character of *Aoi getsuyōbi*. Although his distrust in adults lasts for a long time, he gradually recovers himself as a young man and, unlike his grandfather, finds a way to live again. The tennōism in which he believed finally becomes a nightmare of his past.

---

81 Ibid., p. 153. In his 1986 book, *War Without Mercy: Race and power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986, p. 12), John Dower refers to this supposed practice among the Allied soldiers. He states: “In the heat of war … the behavior of the enemy was seen as unique and peculiarly odious with the issue of atrocities playing an exceptionally large role in each side’s perception of the other … the Japanese stimulated hatred of the Allies by publicizing grisly battlefield practices such as the collection of Japanese skulls and bones …”.
Christian faith and tennōism

The issue of the response of Japanese Christians to militarism and tennōism is very important for Kaga. Kaga says in the discussion with Ōe that one cannot avoid the issue of faith when confronted with the evil of human beings. He also says that he is ashamed as a Christian that the Japanese Christian churches did not advocate pacifism when it was most needed. Kaga states:

... the Christian churches, both the Catholic and the Protestant, did not advocate pacifism in the middle of the war when the need for them to do so was at its highest. As a Christian, I am really ashamed of this. I believe that [someone] has to write thoroughly about the war-responsibility of Christians. There will not be a true peace movement unless [we] make [this] [our] starting point ... I wanted to depict something like wickedness or darkness hidden in the Christian order ...

Japanese Christians and the war

Before discussing how Kaga deals with the issues of Japanese Christians and the Christian churches during the war, a brief look at the historical background of the relation between Japanese Christianity and the state is in order.

Little has been published about the action or inaction of the Christian churches in Japan in relation to the Pacific War. This is probably because, as Wada Yoichi and indicates in the introduction to Senjika teikō no kenkyū 戦時下抵抗の研究 (1968), “[for] many Christians their actions during the war may not be something they want to remember but rather something they want to forget”.

In a 1980 book Nihon purotesutanto kirisutokyōshi 日本プロテスタント・キリスト教史, the Protestant theologian Dohi Akio 吉田昭夫 discusses the thoughts and actions of the Japanese Christian churches in various historical situations, including the time

---

82 Interview, December 1998. Kaga said that he would keep questioning the war-time responsibility of the Catholic Church from inside the church. See also the discussion with Ōe in which Kaga says he “made desperate efforts to write about Christian faith [in relation to the war]”. Ōe and Kaga, op.cit., Eien no miyako, vol. 1, p. 390.
84 Among those very few publications, the Japanese Catholics published far fewer than the Protestants. See Wada Yōichi 和田洋一, “Nihon katorikk: u 30-nendai zenhan no kuno 13 帝国30年代前半の苦悩”, Kirisutokyō shakai mondai kenkyū 戦時下社会問題研究 (December 1976), pp. 1-4.
Japan was under military rule. Another book, *Sengo kyōkaishi to tomo ni – 1950-1989* (1995), written by the literary critic and later Barthian theologian Inoue Yoshio, examines the responsibility of the Protestant Churches in relation to the war, although Inoue himself was not a member of the church until near the end of the war.

Dohi and Inoue both compare the German Confessional Church and its leading theologians, Martin Niemöller (1892-1984), Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945) and Karl Barth (1886-1966) in particular, with their Japanese counterpart(s). Both write positively about the 1934 Barmen Declaration (drafted by Barth), in which the German theologians declared clearly their Christian opposition to national socialist ideology and practice, and condemned the attempt both within and outside the church to accommodate Christianity to national socialism.

However, when one looks at Japan during the same time, Inoue writes, one finds no such resistance. He names two Japanese theologians, Kuwata Hidenobu (1895-1975) and Kumano Yoshitaka (1899-1981) as representative of the attitude among Japanese Christians. He points to a 1942 article in which Kuwata emphasises that there is no conflict between Christian faith and the spirit of *kokutai* (national polity) and that it is important to respect *kokutai no hongi* (the

---

89 The German Confessional Church developed from within the German Protestant Churches during the 1930s to resist Hitler’s attempt to make the churches serve the Nazi party. In the late 1930s it went underground because of Nazi persecution. It ceased to exist in 1948. Niemoller was arrested in 1937 and sent to concentration camps till the Allied forces freed him at the end of the war. Bonhoeffer was executed by the Nazis just before the end of the war.
90 Dohi, *op. cit.*, pp. 384-385. Inoue, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-307. Inoue claims that the Barmen Declaration is the basis of the Evangelical Church’s 1945 *Stuttgarter Schuldbeekenntnis* (Stuttgart Confession of Guilt), in which the above mentioned German theologians accepted the collective guilt of the Germans including the churches in Germany, and states that there were true advocates of God in the German churches when they were needed. He adds that although there are some parts of the German movement that can be criticised, Christian churches all over the world were encouraged by the stance of the Confessional Church in the 1930s.
92 The essential idea of *kokutai* is that all Japanese have to show absolute loyalty to the Emperor. It claims that this is the natural manifestation of the hearts of the subjects of the Emperor, not by force or feelings of duty, since Japan is a one big family. It emphasises the unity of the whole nation under the Emperor and rejects democracy, individualism or liberal freedoms as fundamentally in conflict with the
Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan) as subjects of the Emperor as well as Christians in order to spread Christianity in Japan. The other theologian, Kumano, was according to Inoue a representative theologian in the Japanese Protestant Church during and after the war. Although Kumano, known as a Barthian theologian, did not advocate Japanese Imperialism as bluntly as Kuwata, Inoue sees no indication of the influence of Barth on Kumano’s words and actions.

In *Eien no miyako*, Kaga refers through one of his characters to the meeting held by 20,000 Japanese Protestants at Aoyama-gakuin University in Tokyo on 17 October 1940 to celebrate the 2600th year after the accession of the Emperor Jinmu (*kigen 2600-nen*). In this meeting, the Japanese Protestants “carried resolutions in admiration of the Emperor and in affirmation of the China Incident [the Sino-Japanese War]”. Kaga’s character thinks that “although they did not participate in these resolutions, the majority of Japanese Catholics are [also] heading in the direction of Emperor worship, support for the Incident (the Sino-Japanese war) and celebration of the *kigen 2600-nen*”. 93

In a 1985 book *The Chinese Rites Controversy from Its Beginning to Modern Times*, 94 George Minamiki examines how the leaders of the Japanese Catholic Church gradually fell into line with the Japanese military authorities. The Catholic Church initially understood and expressed the view that Shintō is a religion and therefore that bowing in front of a Shintō shrine is a violation of the first commandment. However, after the so-called “Yasukuni Incident 靖国事件” (1932), in which a group of Catholic students caught the negative attention of the military authorities by refusing to salute the war dead honoured at the shrine, church authorities decided to follow the definition of Shintō given by the Japanese authorities. 95 This definition emphasised the difference between “state Shintō (*kokka shintō* 国家神道)” and “sect Shintō (*kyōha shintō* 教派神道)”, although what was done in the respective ceremonies was the same. It declared that “state Shintō” was not a religion, and therefore argued that there should

---

93 *Eien no miyako*, vol. 4, p. 180.
95 *Ibid.*, pp. 140-144. The university concerned was the Catholic university of Sophia in Tokyo. Following this incident the vice-chancellor Father Hoffman made a visit to Yasukuni Shintō shrine in late 1933 to manifest the good will of the university. See also Dohi, *Nihon puruitsutanto kirisutokiyōshi*, pp. 364-372, and Wada Yōichi, “Nihon·katorikku 30-nendai zenhan no kunō”, *Kirisutokyō shakai mondai kenkyū* (December 1976), pp. 4-5.
be no conflict between following Catholicism and “state Shinto”.

According to instructions given to members of the Japanese Catholic Church in May 1936 by Archbishop Marella, the apostolic delegate of the Pope to Japan:

... native Catholics could line up with their non-Catholic compatriots before the Shinto shrines [thus rejecting] the widespread opinion that there was an inherent conflict between the Catholic religion and the Japanese way of life.

... the missionaries in Japan should encourage the love the Japanese have for their country and should inspire them to be no less loyal than other subjects. 96

With this apparent support from the archbishop, the Japanese Catholic authorities seem never to have critically questioned Japanese militarism and expansionism until the end of the war. In the meantime, in March 1934 the Holy See sent an official representative to Manchukuo “at a time when Manchukuo was recognised only by Japan ...”. 97

The Japanese Catholic authorities, under the name of the archbishop of Tokyo, Doi Tatsuo 上井辰雄, wrote in 1942 in the Catholic magazine Koe 声 that serving the state is serving God. In 1943 Archbishop Doi wrote that the Great East Asian War is to create peace in East Asia, and it is an important mission for individual Catholics to support this effort. 98 Another Catholic priest, Shimura Tatsuya 志村辰弥, wrote in Koe in 1941 that good Christians have to be loyal citizens, and encouraged Catholics to offer themselves to overcome the critical situation of the state. 99

The priest Shimura was one of those who helped the Japanese Army General Staff to organise a special religious group for appeasing the Christian churches in the Philippines around the time of the outbreak of the war against the Americans. 100

---

96 Minamiki, op.cit., p. 154. See also Itō Shūichi 伊藤修一, “Nihon katorikku ni okeru sensō kyōryoku e no kiseki 日本カトリック教会における戦争協力への転踏”, Dōtō to gendai, 79 (Spring 1984), pp. 158-162.
97 Minamiki, op.cit., p. 175.
98 Doi Tatsuo, the archbishop of Tokyo, “Seigyō kansui o inore 基業前進を祈れ”, Koe (January 1942); and Doi, “Daitōa sensō to katorikku – Daitōa no kōkyō heisha kakuritsu ni tai suru shinto no shimei 大東亜戦争とカトリック大東亜の恆久平和建立に対する信徒の使命”, Koe (August 1943); Nihon katorikku seigi to heisha kyōgikai, Dai 17-kai zenkoku kaigi dai 1-bunkakai, ed. and pub., Kyōkai no sensō sekinin o kangaeru, 1992, p. 114 and p. 124, respectively.
100 They left Japan on 22 November 1941, the Pacific War broke out on 8 December, and they landed in the Philippines on 24 December. Shimura Tatsuya, Kyōkai hiwa – Taiheiyo sensō o megutte 教会視覚—太平洋戦争をめぐって, Seibo bunko, 1991, pp. 37-47.
Philippines in March 1942 to strengthen Japanese efforts at appeasing Philippine Catholics. These events represent clear support of the Japanese Catholic hierarchy for Japanese militarism.

While the well-established traditional Christian churches failed to raise their voices against the military authorities, and in fact largely supported them, there were a few Christian leaders who took a contrary stance. They belonged to small independent groups such as Mukyōkai-ha 無教会派 (the group of the “non-church” movement), the Plymouth Brethren, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Jehovah’s Witnesses. Inoue names only two Protestant Christian leaders who criticised Japanese militarism and tennōism. One is Yanaihara Tadao 矢内原忠雄 (1893-1961) of Mukyōkai-ha and the other Akashi Junzō 明石順三 (1889-1965) of the Jehovah’s Witnesses. Inoue wonders about the powerlessness of the traditional churches, which were ineffective when they should have been most effective. This is also Kaga’s question. Japanese Christians seem to have been afraid of anti-Christian sentiment


103 Not only Japanese Christians but Japanese Buddhists also went along with the military authorities. Hidaka Rokuro 木崎隆郎 states that apart from a few exceptions there were no pacifists among Japanese religious circles. After the war, most Japanese Buddhists also refused to accept responsibility for collaborating with militarism, or accepted this responsibility only slowly and grudgingly. Rather they blamed Shintō. Brian Victoria strongly criticises the well-known and well-respected Buddhist philosopher Suzuki Daisetsu 鈴木大樹 (1870-1966) for this. See Hidaka Rokurō, “Ozaki Yukio ボホヨ no kawari ni ‘saidoku’ – Kokka shugi Karakokusai shugi e 尾崎行雄「幕標の代わりに」再読 – 国家主義から国際主義へ”, vol. 2, Sekai, No. 672 (March 2000), p.187; and Brian Victoria, Zen At War, New York, Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1997, pp. 57-144 and 147-181.

104 Dohi, Nihon purotesutanto kirisutokyoši, p. 400.

105 Yanaihara Tadao (1893-1961) was a well-known Christian academic who was forced to resign from Tokyo Imperial University in December 1937 because of his criticism of the Japanese military government. In the article “Kokka no risō 国家の意思”, published in Chūō kōron 中央公論 in September 1937, Yanaihara emphasised the importance of justice and peace. His forced resignation is known as one of the prime examples of the suppression of pacifist opinions. He regained his university position after the war. See Takenaka Yoshihiko 竹中佳彦, Nihon-seijisshi no naka no chishiki-jo 日本政治史の中の知識人 (2 vols.), vol. 1, Bokutakusha, 1995, pp. 253-275, pp. 309-334; and Yanaihara Tadao, “Tatakai no ato 戦後の場”, (first pub. in 1945) Hidaka Rokurō, ed., Sengo Nihon Shisō Taikai 1, Sengoshisō no shuppatsu, Chikuma Shobo, 1968, pp. 315-326.

106 Kida Ken’ichi writes that those who belonged to small groups tended to have stronger unity and individual determination and were more forthright in their opposition to the state. Kida, “Nihon no kirisutokyō to ‘sengo’ 50-nen – ‘Sensō sekinin’ to dai 1-kai no mondai o chushin ni 日のキリスト教と「戦後」50年－「戦争責任」と第一成を中心に”, Kirisutokyō ronsô, No. 39 (1996), p. 44.
spreading in their country during the war. This worry had some basis as some of the cartoons appearing in Japan during the war mocked Roosevelt or Churchill together with the symbols of Christianity.\(^{107}\) However, this does not justify the behaviour of the traditional Christian church leaders. Dohi states that one of the underlying weaknesses of the Japanese Christian leaders of the time is that they received their freedom of religion as a “gift” of the Emperor in the Constitution of Great Imperial Japan (Dainihon teikoku kenpō 大日本帝国憲法), the so-called Meiji constitution.\(^{108}\) Dohi suggests that this made it rather natural for Christian leaders to thank the Emperor and repay their debt of gratitude to him with their loyalty.\(^{109}\) This helped to undermine their capacity to resist tennōism.

**Tōru’s resistance**

Kaga’s thoughts on this issue are presented mainly through the character Kikuchi Tōru 萩池透, a Catholic who becomes Natsue’s husband. The Catholic priest and literary critic Kadowaki Kakichi 門脇佳吉, who taught catechism to and baptised Kaga, claims that Tōru is the alter ego of the author.\(^{110}\) Kadowaki argues persuasively that Tōru’s thoughts on the Catholic Church during the pre-war and war-time periods, and his inner experience of the existence of God, are also Kaga’s.\(^{111}\)

Tōru tells Natsue of his criticism of the February 26 Affair in a room of the settlement house where they both work. Tōru says:

... but the crux of their [the Army officers who instigated the coup attempt] fundamental mistake is that they are trying to reconstruct [the state] from the top by connecting the military to the Emperor, the highest power, instead of trying to encourage a revolution from the bottom [of society] by the people who are suffering injustice. Any power that is against [their] orders is suppressed. And as long as they have militarism as their central idea, they tend to accept the logic of military expansion and invasion”. (P1, C2, S1)\(^{112}\)

Tōru at this stage is a law student at Tokyo University and one of the resident

---


\(^{108}\) Article 28 of the Meiji constitution clearly states that the freedom of religion is guaranteed as long as religious believers do not disturb social peace and order and remain subjects of the emperor. Sharaku Henshūbu, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 116.

\(^{109}\) Dohi, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-112.


\(^{111}\) However, as discussed below, I completely disagree with Kadowaki about Kaga’s thoughts on adultery.
activists in the settlement house as an adviser on legal issues. Natsue is a part-time volunteer at a day-care centre for the children of poor labourers. Tōru is a Catholic, but he already feels isolated both in the church and in the Marxist dominated settlement house.

Several months later (at this time Natsue is married to Nakabayashi, one of the doctors in her father’s hospital, and works as the head of the hospital’s administration), Natsue visits the settlement house again to farewell Tōru, who has been called up for military service. Tōru explains to Natsue his thoughts about the relationship between the idea of “the divine right of Kings” in the Bible and Emperor Hirohito:

“… Romans 13:1 says, ‘Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God’. According to this, the Emperor is the proxy of God and so teaches the church. But I lose my footing over this point … Since the Manchuria Incident, what the military, led by the Emperor as commander-in-chief, has been doing is not defending [our] state, but invading other countries. The current Imperial Army, which declares that Manchuria and Mongolia are life-lines [for Japan] and repeats [its] invasions, is just a group of murderers. I can never think that the Emperor, who is the head of a group of murderers, is the proxy of God. If the Emperor is not the proxy of God, [Christians] should consider obedience to God as the first [priority] rather than to the Emperor …”.

Natsue was listening to Kikuchi Tōru on tenterhooks. If they were overheard by the special secret police (tokkō) or a military policeman (kenpei), they would be in terrible danger. (P1, C2, S13)

Tōru enlists in the Army as a foot soldier and is sent to the battlefields of China. Two years later he finds himself in the fierce battle of Nomonhan. He returns to Japan with serious wounds that result in the loss of his right arm and

---

113 Inoue, who was a university student in Kyoto between 1927 and 1930, states that the intellectuals knew what kind of war Japan started in 1931, because the Japanese Communist Party was (illegally) informing the nation of the details of the Japanese invasion of China. Inoue, op.cit., p. 310.
115 The battle of Nomonhan is known as a fierce battle between the Soviet-Mongolian and Japanese-Manchurian armies over the issue of the 1939 border. This battle was the first modern war for Japan in terms of the weapons technology that it confronted, and it was defeated. There were nearly 9,000 deaths and over 10,000 wounded on the Japanese side. Taiheiyo sensō e no michi, vol. 4, pp. 95-110. Kokushi daijiten, vol. 11, pp. 435-436.
permanent damage to his liver. He marries Natsue, then a divorcée, whom he has
loved since their earlier encounter.

Bathing in the ocean in his island home village, nursing his injury, Tōru thinks
over his experience of the attitude to the war of core members of the Catholic Church.
Asked by Natsue what he was thinking while swimming Tōru answers:

“... about the fact that I'm [still] criticised by those who praise the China
Incident\textsuperscript{116} as a holy battle and by those who say that Christians should stand
up now holding swords for the Emperor as patriots. [They say] this is the
wish of Jesus Christ ... The Japanese nowadays are possessed by demons
and have become violent ...”

[When the American priest Joe criticised the idea of “the whole world
under one roof (hakkōichiu)” ...] One man ... stood up immediately after the
mass and started to refute him. [He said that] the contents in the Bible and
Kiki 記紀 [Kojiki 古事記 and Nihon shoki 日本書紀 (Records of Ancient Matters
and Chronicles of Japan)] are in union. [We] Christians, as well as the
Japanese] subjects of the Empire, should read [the Bible] like this – Jehovah
and Ame no mi-nakanushi no kami 天之御中主神\textsuperscript{117} are the same ... Joshua
and the Emperor Jinmu 神武, who ruled the Yamato 大和, are the same person
... As soon as the man ... finished talking, the hall was filled with a swirl of
clapping. I should have spoken for Joe, but I couldn’t ... I was afraid of the
heated atmosphere in the church. \textsuperscript{(P2, C4, S9)}\textsuperscript{118}

The words of the man in the church are reminiscent of the emphasis of the
abovementioned Protestant theologian Kuwata on the essential unity of Christian faith
and the spirit of the national polity (kokutai). Tōru sees Joe afterwards and praises his
sermon. However, Tōru is later found guilty of heresy by the church leaders. He
explains the process to Natsue saying that “[they] looked as if they wanted to torture
me to death”.\textsuperscript{119}

Tōru sees the fanaticism of the Japanese people. For five days, starting on the
10th of November 1940, the whole Japanese nation celebrates kigen 2600-nen. On the
first day of the celebration, Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro 近衛文麿 broadcasts to the
nation on the radio; sirens, drums and whistles sound all over Japan; busses, trains and

\textsuperscript{116} The Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945 was called an “incident 事変” by the Japanese authorities of the
time.

\textsuperscript{117} Ame no mi-nakanushi no kami is the first god who appears in the creation of the world in Kojiki.
Kokushi daijiten, vol. 1, p. 311.

\textsuperscript{118} Eien no miyako, vol. 4, pp. 64-65.
cars stop; and the entire nation shouts together “Tennō heika, banzai! (Long live the Emperor!)” three times. Tōru receives a punch in the jaw because he does not bow in front of the Yasukuni Shrine, nor does he shout “Long live! (banzai万歳!)” for the Emperor. Tōru’s reaction to the national euphoria contrasts sharply with Yūji’s. Kaga writes:

[Looking at the fanatics on street corners] Tōru nursed his aching jaw. The old and the young, ministers and primary school pupils, ordinary citizens and military personnel, poets and tanka poets, the whole nation is dancing madly to the tune of the 2600th year after the accession of the Emperor Jinmu. To make matters worse, even Christians are involved in the swirl ... Tōru felt extremely isolated as he pushed his way through the surging crowd ... with an ache in his heart not his jaw. It was his heart that was broken to pieces by Prime Minister Konoe’s banzai-wish, “Long life for His Majesty!”.

(T2, C4, S13) 120

Tōru recognises and stands by the truth and is isolated as a result. His isolation intensifies when war breaks out against America, and he is arrested and placed in preventive detention (yobō kōkin予防拘禁) under the Peace Preservation Law (Chian Iji Hō治安維持法). 121 It is not until two months after the end of the war, malnourished and ill, that he is finally released. The historian Irokawa Daikichi writes about the Peace Preservation Law in his 1995 The Age Of Hirohito:

... [Some in the post-war generation] argue that, because of the “soft” nature of Japanese society, the gentle disposition of the emperor, and the relatively moderate style of government, control was not enforced with the brutality of a Hitler or Stalin.

Was this really the case? For the tens of thousands who were arrested, tortured, or killed under the Peace Preservation Law, for the more than three-thousand who were imprisoned until the end of the war, and for their family members, this period looks different. 122

Irokawa also writes that there were “witch-hunts” against those who rejected
Chapter 4 Eien no miyako

the national polity (*kokutai* 国体). Those imprisoned were mainly leftists. Few were Christians or Buddhists. Tōru is one of the few.

In *Eien no miyako*, when all those detained under the Peace Preservation Law are gathered in a room to listen to the Emperor’s radio announcement on 15 August 1945, Kaga illustrates through Tōru’s eyes the twenty or so detainees in his detention centre. The majority are members of the Communist Party. There are also a few activists from the Korean independence movement, three Tenrikyō 天理教 followers and two Christians, one a Protestant and the other the Catholic: Tōru(P3, C6, S18).

Among the historical Japanese Christian leaders, the Jehovah’s Witness Akashi Junzō seems to be the person whose experience most resembles Tōru’s. Akashi was charged under the Peace Preservation law in August 1940 for refusing to accept the divinity of the Emperor. He stated that Jehovah was the only God and the Emperor was merely one of God’s creations. He and other Jehovah’s Witnesses were under constant interrogation and torture designed to pressure them to renounce their faith. In May 1942, Akashi was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment. This was reduced to ten years in April 1943 on appeal. He was released from the Miyagi prison by the Supreme Allied Commander on 9 October 1945. This is one day before Tōru’s release from the Fuchū prison on the outskirts of Tokyo.

**Could there be a righteous war?**

Kaga’s criticism does not stop with the action and inaction of the Japanese Catholic Church. After the war ends, Tōru seriously questions the attitude of the American priest Joe, who seeks to justify America’s atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In response to Joe’s claim that America fought a just war, Tōru asks:

“... do you mean that the atomic bombs the American forces used are justified because the war was just?”

Joe answered after thinking a while, “Yes. The dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki brought a tragic result. But I can accept it as an act of war as other bombings on many other cities in Japan. As long as Japan existed as the enemy of democracy and liberalism, and was in a...

---

124 Akashi’s wife Shizue 靖榮, who also remained true to her faith, died in Tochigi prison due to torture and illness in June 1944. Sasaki Toshiji 佐々木敏二, “Tōdaisha no shinkō to teikō no shisei 灯台社の信仰と抵抗の姿勢”, *Senjika teikō no kenkyū*, vol. 1, pp. 97-101.
125 *Eien no miyako*, vol. 6, p. 480.
state of war against the Allies, it was an action of justice to kill the Japanese who were loyal to the Emperor and taking militarism deeply at their hearts."

(P3, C8, S5)

But Tōru cannot accept that the indiscriminate American bombings, which killed a massive number of non-combatants, were justified, although he accepts that Japan initiated the war and that the cause of the Allies was a just one. Joe claims that Japan started the war and had to suffer the consequences.

What Kaga wants to stress through Tōru is that once a war breaks out it escalates almost without limit and becomes an orgy of mass slaughter. As mentioned, in a 1980 essay Kaga questions whether it is right to picture Japan as totally in the wrong and the Allies totally in the right in relation to the war. Tōru sees arrogance in the priest Joe, who is proud that the Americans taught democracy to the Japanese, a similar arrogance to that of the Crusaders who slaughtered Muslims at the end of the 11th century. From Tōru’s point of view, the slaughter by the Crusaders is the same as the massive air raid on Tokyo of 10 March 1945 and the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He believes, in contrast to Joe, that there can be no war of righteousness. On this point he and Joe, who have shared the same critical views of tennōism, militarism and expansionism, part company.

John Dower writes about the ambiguity of the word “atrocity”, “in an age of wholesale slaughter”, referring to what happened during the Tokyo Tribunal (the International Military Tribunal for the Far East).

... in the single sweeping dissenting opinion at the Tokyo tribunal, Justice Radhabinod Pal of India dismissed the charge that Japan’s leaders had engaged in a conspiracy to commit atrocities, and went so far as to suggest that a stronger case might be made against the victors themselves. The clearest example of direct orders to commit “indiscriminate murder” in the war in Asia, Pal argued in his lengthy dissent, may well have been “the decision coming from the allied powers to use the atom bomb”.

Dower points out that “most of the Europeans and Americans” were convinced that the Japanese “[were] a race and nation still beyond the pale of civilization” when

126 Eien no miyako, vol. 7, p. 258.
127 Kaga, Sensō nōto, p. 43.
128 Here Tōru specifically refers to the incident of 15 July 1099 in Jerusalem. In this incident, although one of the leaders of the Crusaders promised protection to the Muslims after they surrendered, his orders were disobeyed, and all the Muslims, men, women and children, as well as Jews were slaughtered.
Japanese bombed civilians in China in 1937. He also states that when the war in Europe broke out in 1939, “President Roosevelt immediately followed up on his earlier condemnation of the bombing of civilians with an eloquent plea to all belligerents to refrain from this ‘inhuman barbarism’”.\(^{130}\) A few years later, however, those who declared the Japanese to be the major practitioner of this “crime against humanity” were themselves responsible for the bombing of Japanese civilians and for the use of nuclear as well as conventional weapons. The death toll numbered approximately 140,000 in Hiroshima, 70,000 in Nagasaki and over 97,000 in Tokyo.\(^{131}\) The priest Joe’s point of view seems to mirror that of the allied authorities, with principles shifting according to the situation.

Another question Kaga asks in *Eien no miyako*, therefore, is whether one’s religion or faith can overcome one’s patriotism. Natsue says that Joe, who was a universal pacifist, has changed to a nationalistic pacifist. As history shows, once war broke out the majority of Japan’s religious people, not only followers of Shintō but Christians and Buddhists, supported tennōism, militarism and expansionism. Kaga’s position is clear. There has not been or cannot be a war which begins and ends with righteousness. Therefore, even if it is extremely difficult, a religious person must align himself with God and only with God, not with the state or with any quasi-divine figures.

**Adultery as the realisation of true love**

Kaga weaves episodes of adultery into *Eien no miyako* for basically three purposes. The first is simply to keep tension in the story. Kaga learnt this from *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語).\(^ {132}\) He sees the adulterous relationship between Genji 源氏 and Fujitsubo 藤壷 (a son and his stepmother) and the aftermath of their liaison as one of the elements which maintains tension throughout the main part of the novel (here “Uji 10-jō 宇治十帖” are excluded).\(^ {133}\) As Ōe Kenzaburō 内村光良 writes, the combination of a passionate woman and a man who lets the woman live her passion is

---


\(^{132}\) Interview, December 1998.

\(^{133}\) There is a dissenting view that the important point of *Genji monogatari* is not the adulterous relationship but the protagonist’s political and personal ambitions and how these work in his relationships with the women in the novel. See Royall Tyler, “‘I Am I’: Genji and Murasaki”, *Monumenta Nipponica*, 54:4 (Winter 1999), pp. 435-480.
one of the basic motifs of novels (here he includes many variants). 134

The second purpose is to focus on the inequality between men and women by describing an act that is a crime for a married woman but not for a married man. Kaga also wants to present a kind of Japanese womanhood different from the more traditional type which simply bears up under all forms of injustice and consequent misfortune.

The third aim is to seek the possibility of living together with the dead by examining the influence of the dead on the living. As a form of mediation between the two parties, Kaga uses love developed in adulterous relationships. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Kaga felt closer to the death-row prisoner Shōda Akira, the model of Senkoku, after Shōda was executed. He felt that he was encouraged to write Senkoku by Shōda well after this man’s death. For Kaga therefore, death does not end the relationships between human beings. The dead are with their loved ones and have a great influence on them. At the end of Eien no miyako, two women feel closer to their lovers when they are dead than when they were alive.

Through the description of adulterous relationships, Kaga also challenges the conventional moral perspective. There is a clear yet sad irony in Kaga’s depiction of the Catholic Church taking the path of least resistance towards Japan’s militaristic aggression while being strict and judgmental about the sexual behaviour of its members.

Kaga wanted to write about how love between a man and a woman could manifest itself when the law, which made adultery a crime, stood in their way. He depicts something positive in the being of women that can overcome times of oppression through the loves of the two sisters Hatsue and Natsue. 135 Kaga embraces their loves, although they are adulterous.

**The case of Hatsue**

Despite having been married to Kogure Yuji for several years and having three sons by him, Hatsue 初江 does not seem happy with her marriage. In the very early stages of the novel, before Hatsue starts the adulterous relationship with Shinsuke 晋助, Hatsue and her younger sister Natsue 夏江 talk about the latter’s proposed marriage. Natsue raises doubts about marriage generally:

134 Ōe, Shōsetsu no keiken, p. 58.
“But I can’t think that getting married and having a family represent happiness for women. Sister, please tell me honestly. Are you happy with your marriage?”

Suddenly [Natsue’s words] struck the core at the bottom of Hatsue’s heart, and she looked down.

“Well”, said Hatsue deprecatingly. “If you are married, you have a tougher time. The gap between a man and a woman is so big, and children don’t turn out as you wish ... But is there any other option for women in present-day Japan?”

“Women marry to secure their lives. They become simply female, bear [children] and raise them. Then their husbands start to buy prostitutes, and the wives look for lovers and have adulterous relationships because they don’t want to finish [their lives] simply as females”.

“Stop! Natsue,” Hatsue shouted in astonishment at her younger sister’s unladylike words. (Pl, C1, S6) 136

Hatsue’s marriage is, like most marriages of the time, arranged by her parents. Yūji decides to marry her after only one arranged meeting (o-miai お見合い). After Yūji indicates his wish to marry, Hatsue’s parents convince her to overcome her indecision and to accept. While her parents are very satisfied with their choice of a husband for their first daughter, Hatsue feels uneasy, sensing Yūji’s ordinariness and frugality. These characteristics are well captured by Hatsue at the beginning of the story in the description of his attitude when he hears that his son Yūta might have lost his way home from kindergarten. Yūji seems more worried about being late for a mah-jong gathering than about his son (P1, C1, S1). He shows no sign of understanding the extent of Hatsue’s anguish.

Hatsue loves literature but keeps this secret from Yūji, because a woman who loves books is considered to be big-headed and unlikely to be an obedient wife and a competent house-keeper. Yūji has magnificent sets of collected works of Japanese and world literature, but they are just for decorative purposes. Yūji never realises that Hatsue has read almost all the books. Her dissatisfaction with Yūji keeps her close to her parents, and at the same time leads her to Shinsuke’s love.

Yūji works for an insurance company and spends a lot of his time socialising with colleagues and superiors. He does come straight home from work and eats dinner

at home, but this does not mean he is a family man. It simply means that he is careful with money. He is indifferent to the interests of his wife. Although Hatsue is an obedient wife and a loving and caring mother for her children, she is attracted by Waki Shinsuke, her nephew by marriage, who is nine years her junior. They become close through their mutual interest in literature and music. Their love, although adulterous, is for each their first true love. They keep their love alive and secret despite the difficulties, and have a daughter, Ōko, whom Hatsue raises as her fourth child with her husband. Yūji never shows any doubt about Ōko’s legitimacy.

Waki Shinsuke is a clear contrast to his elder brother Keisuke and their father, the deceased Seiyūkai politician Waki Reisuke, who seems to be modelled on the well-known Seiyūkai politician Mori Tsutomu (1882-1932). Reisuke appears only in the memory of his wife Mitsu and his two sons, particularly Keisuke. In these memories, Reisuke is an executive member of Seiyūkai and a passionate advocate of Ajiashugi (Asianism or Pan-Asianism). It is Reisuke’s wish for Keisuke to become a military officer, for Shinsuke to become a politician and for both to rise to positions of power in Japan. Keisuke turns out to be a faithful disciple of his father, graduating from the Army Preparatory School and the Military Academy and becoming an elite Army officer. But Shinsuke thinks of his brother as “absolutely crazy” (P2, C3, S7).

Shinsuke’s love for Hatsue, and his immersion in literature and music, are not compatible with the totalitarianism that encompasses Japan with its intolerance of individual freedom. He appears to Yūta, Hatsue’s first son, as one of only two adults who are clearly critical of the war and of Japanese militarism.

Shinsuke views with contempt Japan’s militarism, expansionism and tennoism, together with those who instigate and spread these ideas. He discerns the underlying

---

137 Kawamoto Saburō writes that Kaga treats Hatsue’s affair as her “first love”. Kawamoto, op. cit., Mainichi Shinbun, 7 September 1997.
138 The proper name is Rikken seiyūkai. Seiyūkai is one of the representative political parties from the later Meiji era to the beginning of the Shōwa era. During the Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War, Seiyūkai took a bellicose attitude.
139 The description of Waki Reisuke in the novel (P3, C6, S5) agrees with the description of Mori Tsutomu in Taiheiyo senso I no michi, vol. 1, pp. 409-411.
140 Ajiashugi (Asianism) is not a common term and is difficult to define. Some use Asianism as another name for Japanese expansionism or Pan-Asianism. The Asianism in Eien no miyako is basically the view that Asia should be united under Japanese rule in order to resist invasion by Europe and America. This idea was later merged into that of a “Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere”. See Takeuchi
Chapter 4 Eien no miyako

145

reality, the danger and the folly of militarism, but this clarity of vision isolates him from society and from his own family. Shinsuke ignores the military drills at the university which promise him the status of an officer instead of an infantryman in the future, and later refuses a highly sought after job offered by a relative that would enable him to avoid conscription. In a time where war is a daily reality, he is a misfit. His understanding of his country’s fate, and the implications of this for his own life, lead him to despair. His love for Hatsue is the only positive feature of his life, until later when the musical talent of their young daughter Ōko sustains him as he awaits death on a far-off battlefield.

Although Shinsuke in fact survives the war in a physical sense, his mind is destroyed. He comes back from a military hospital in South-East Asia with a severe psychiatric illness. He dies shortly after without recognising anyone, not even Hatsue. The precise cause of his mental illness is unclear, but a short note left to Hatsue suggests that he might have been involved in cannibalism with other defeated and routed soldiers. As mentioned, Shinsuke’s insanity is reminiscent of that of Private Tamura in Ōoka Shōhei’s Nobita. Like Tamura’s, Shinsuke’s sensitive mentality cannot cope with his horrific battlefield experience.

Hatsue and Shinsuke live in a time when adultery is a crime, and it is possible for both of them to go to jail for two years if their relationship comes to the surface. During the night of a bon dance in the summer 1935, prior to their first sexual encounter, they talk about Shinsuke’s dream of going to France to study literature and about the crime of adultery. Hatsue says:

“... Men are more fortunate. If they try hard, the door will be opened in one way or another. Women are living in misery. [They] can’t enter either senior high schools or universities. There is nothing available apart from becoming wives in order to be fed by their husbands. And a wife would be punished if she loved a man beside her husband. If I were to have a love affair with you, I would become a criminal of adultery facing a two year prison term, but if [my] husband were to have a love affair with another...


141 It is suggested in the novel that Shinsuke has taken part in the so-called Imphal operation (1944). In this reckless military campaign, the three Japanese divisions involved were almost completely destroyed, with most of the deaths caused by starvation and illness. See Tōyama Shigeki, et. al., Shōwashi, Iwanami shinsho, 1959, p.232.

142 As mentioned, the law criminalising adultery was repealed in 1947.
woman, he would be acquitted of the charge. I don’t think there is anything else as unjust as this.” (P1, C1, S11)\textsuperscript{143}

Shinsuke, however, finds some comfort in that at least he as an unmarried man and Hatsue would be treated equally by the law. Referring to well-known heroines of European novels he says:

“... It is surely unfair that a husband would not be punished if he had an affair with another woman. But if a wife were to have an affair with a man besides her husband, the lover would be punished equally [with the woman]. After all, the married woman and her lover are equal. This is something to be relieved about. Madame Bovary, Madame Arnoux, the Duchess of de Sanseverina, Madame de Rênal and Anna Karenina can exist even in Japan ...” (P1, C1, S11)\textsuperscript{144}

As Ōe points out, the affair between Hatsue and Shinsuke starts along lines commonly seen in novels.\textsuperscript{145} Although Hatsue at first feels some regret for betraying Yuji, this feeling is overpowered by the joy that the sexual relationship with Shinsuke brings her. However, their second rendezvous, about six months later when Tokyo is under martial law following the February 26 Affair, starts to show something noteworthy in their liaison. I agree with Iwamoto that the most significant incident in Part 1 in terms of the importance of private over public life is “their [Hatsue and Shinsuke’s] sex act” that “is accompanied by the rumbling noise of army tanks out to patrol the streets under martial law”.\textsuperscript{146} The act of sexual love is depicted as a manifestation of individual freedom in the face of a growing totalitarianism that is rapidly overpowering it. The intimate atmosphere inside Hatsue’s house and the roaring of tanks outside embody the contrast. The lovemaking leaves Hatsue pregnant.

The lovers are often frustrated by the lack of opportunity for physical intimacy. (They have only three “sex acts” in the entire novel.) Shinsuke at one point asks Hatsue to become like Anna Karenina and to elope with him. However, he realises with sadness that he does not have the money which enabled Vronsky to escape to Italy with Anna. And Hatsue says that love affairs of married women have unhappy endings, pointing to the heroines in the novels recommended by Shinsuke. And unlike Anna Karenina, she can never leave her children.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{143} Eien no miyako, vol. 1, p. 250.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid., p. 251.
\textsuperscript{145} Ōe and Kaga, op. cit., Eien no miyako, vol. 1, p. 373.
\textsuperscript{146} Iwamoto, op. cit., Shinchô, 95:2, p. 284.
\end{flushleft}
During her pregnancy, Hatsue feels that if the baby is Shinsuke’s it will destroy her. But at the same time she wishes it to be his. She contemplates suicide when reading the suicide scene in *Anna Karenina*. It is an agonising time. Hatsue does not speak clearly to Shinsuke about the paternity of Oko until the early stage of Oko’s life, because of her uncertainty and her determination to raise Oko as Yūji’s daughter. She tries to stay away from Shinsuke for Oko’s sake, keeping their relationship to one of ordinary relatives.

In December 1940, with Shinsuke soon to leave for the war, Hatsue finally acknowledges to him that Oko is his daughter. Oko is already four years old. We are not told how Hatsue has reached this conclusion. Hatsue tells Shinsuke that if their secret becomes known she will never see him again. Shinsuke is moved and thankful to Hatsue, who wishes him a heartfelt safe return. Shinsuke feels he now can die in peace.

“Being resolved that [you] will die soon, [your] life would be brighter. Illness, a duel, a restive horse, the death-penalty, if you see these things in front of you, you live your short time to the full. I declare clearly, I love you.” (P2, C4, S14)

Shinsuke’s feeling of being very close to death is reminiscent of that of the prisoners on death row in *Senkoku* and the death-row prisoner in the protagonist’s story in Dostoyevsky’s *The Idiot*. Standing in front of an inevitable death Shinsuke sees himself living through a short, limited but enriched space of time, like those death-row prisoners.

After telling Hatsue of the date when he has to join the army, he tries to commit suicide by lying down on a railroad track, because he hates everything to do with militarism. He also feels that he could now die in peace.

… a notion as cold as ice went across his mind. I never want to become a soldier, never! … the one who has to give the most stupid human greeting, in another word, a salute, is a soldier. [I prefer] death to a salute. Wouldn’t it be fine if there were a man among the Japanese who committed suicide because of his hatred of a salute.. Probably they would say abusive words [about me], call me a coward who fears becoming a second level private [a
foot soldier], an unpatriotic man who shows contempt for his superior, the Emperor, and a poltroon who sought his own benefit rather than serve his country. But I think this is also interesting … Suicide … this is a hundred times more upright than living and dying in a grubby way as a soldier. (P2, C4, S20)\textsuperscript{149}

He is eccentric and isolated, as are Dostoyevsky’s heroes. His suicide attempt fails and leaves no trace except some dirt on his clothes. When his brother Keisuke goes to the South Pacific as a high ranking officer, Shinsuke reluctantly joins the Imperial Army as an infantryman. While Keisuke glides through battles of great ferocity without a scratch on body or mind, Shinsuke cannot cope with the gruesome reality of war.

When Yūji finds unsigned letters, obviously from a man, hidden in Hatsue’s drawer he complains to Hatsue’s father Rihei. The husband and father together punish Hatsue because from their point of view she is at fault in receiving such letters. The letters are from Shinsuke, who is now serving in the army. They speak only of his admiration for Hatsue. She can therefore pretend they are from a stranger who has been stalking her, and she promises to dismiss him if he approaches her again. The scene in which Hatsue begs forgiveness for her “frivolous acts” from her husband and father, each of whom has betrayed his wife, is a powerful indictment of the inferior status of women. The incident reconfirms Hatsue’s love for Shinsuke and deepens her contempt for Yūji.

Prior to this, Yūji has an affair with their house maid. While he is slow to accept his responsibility for the maid’s pregnancy and resulting miscarriage, Hatsue works hard to help Yūji and the maid out of their predicament. For Yūji, the maid has been nothing but a convenient object to satisfy his lust.\textsuperscript{150} Despite showing some initial remorse for his actions, Yūji rekindles the relationship later on.

The end of the war means to Hatsue the hope of a normal life again in Tokyo. By this time her family is separated, having been evacuated from Tokyo. Only Yūji remains in the city. Hatsue’s life as an evacuee with her second son Shunji has become almost intolerable because of the shortage of food, the bad accommodation and the cold attitude of the residents towards the evacuees. She is sustained by the thought of Shinsuke’s safe return. But while Shinsuke comes back physically, the

\textsuperscript{149} Eien no miyako, vol. 4, pp. 314-315.
\textsuperscript{150} Eien no miyako, vol. 1, p. 251.
young man with whom she has shared her true self never comes back. Standing before Shinsuke in the ward of a psychiatric hospital, Hatsue suddenly starts to cry. She shocks her son Yūta by muttering to herself that this is all her fault, a punishment for her sin (P3, C7, S5).

Another Catholic writer, Kizaki Satoko, claims that Hatsue lacks consistency in her thoughts and behaviours, but that this fact gives “reality” to her. On the one hand she is described as a woman who is very obedient to her parents even in her adulthood, but on the other she betrays her husband and has an adulterous relationship with his nephew. While her mother describes her as a person who cannot keep a secret, she keeps the secret of her love for Shinsuke and of the paternity of her daughter Ōko from everyone but Shinsuke. She boldly enjoys and longs for sexual intercourse with her lover, although the chances are rare, but at the next moment blames her sexual behaviour for her family’s misfortunes. While she is secretly proud of her love for Shinsuke, part of her regrets it as she believes it might have brought punishment on him. Kaga successfully turns Hatsue’s inconsistencies into her attraction, into a recognisable and sympathetic complexity of thought and action.

Kaga’s treatment of Hatsue’s relationship with Shinsuke is thoroughly sympathetic. Despite the fact that Hatsue feels herself to be living in sin and tells herself that Ōko is a child of sin, she knows that her heart always belongs to Shinsuke. And Kaga suggests that she is right to feel so. I cannot agree with the Catholic priest and friend of Kaga, Kadowaki Kakichi, when he writes that the total depravity of wartime Japan is mirrored by the ethical depravity of Hatsue. Kadowaki has, in my view, completely misunderstood Kaga’s intention in writing of Hatsue’s relationship with Shinsuke. Kaga describes their love as true love when true love is hard to find, as a dream when a dream is impossible to have and as the manifestation of individual freedom when any expression of individual freedom is denied and suppressed. Although kept secret, the love between Hatsue and Shinsuke defies the dark clouds of Japanese militarism and the unjust law of adultery that could see them imprisoned.

I see another positive dimension in Kaga’s description of Shinsuke. Just before his death, Shinsuke gets a skin disease and is covered by boils. In this seemingly

unnecessary insertion, I see a clear suggestion that Shinsuke is an upright man like Job in the Old Testament, who suffers a similar fate.\textsuperscript{153} Shinsuke is one of only two people in \textit{Eien no miyako} who criticise tennoism and militarism and clearly see the insanity of the times, and Kaga obviously wishes there had been many more such people. In a world where the “virtuous” are complicit in enormous crimes, Shinsuke’s “sin” of adultery becomes a symbol of true virtue.

Hatsue is saddened by Shinsuke’s death, but also in some way strengthened by it. She decides to send Ōko, who at nearly eleven displays a brilliant talent for the violin, to Paris to further her violin studies, something she had previously not been able to accept. The Francophile Shinsuke had longed to go to Paris, and it was his wish that Ōko study there. The day before his death, Shinsuke finds a moment of clarity and tells Hatsue to let Ōko go. Ōko is going to fulfill her father’s dream, but he will not experience it. After his death, Hatsue feels Shinsuke is with her, talking to her more freely than he could have when he was alive. His death brings him closer to her.

\textit{The case of Natsue}

Natsue 夏江, Hatsue’s younger sister, is a young woman with determination and a will of her own, who like her sister ends up having a child outside of marriage. She has a rather turbulent love life. At the beginning of the story in 1935 she is just twenty (in \textit{kazoe-doshi 数え年}). Against the will of her father Rihei, she works as a volunteer for the settlement movement, which Rihei rejects as run by “reds”.

Ōe Kenzaburō says that Natsue looks at first as if she is serving men, but she in fact turns out to be independent, expanding her possibilities and her womanhood as the narrative proceeds. At the end of the novel, says Ōe, Natsue is a completely different type of woman from the one we meet at the start. She belongs to a new era. Ōe believes, comparing \textit{Eien no miyako} to Nogami’s \textit{Meiro}, that this is the point which differentiates the women in the former from those in the latter.\textsuperscript{154} The characters in \textit{Meiro}, both men and women, do not change their basic personalities. Even when they show new-found boldness, strength and courage, or unexpected indecisiveness and folly, it is within the range of each character’s personality, and can excite the reader but does not surprise. Ōe appreciates the women in \textit{Eien no miyako} as stronger and more influential than in \textit{Meiro}, and therefore claims that Kaga has achieved a level in

\textsuperscript{153} Job 2:7.
his female characterisation that Nogami could not.\(^\text{155}\)

Despite Natsue’s diligence and sincerity, fate is not kind to her. After her mother dies she marries Nakabayashi 中林, one of the doctors in the Tokita Hospital, in order to help her father. However, she cannot put up with him because of his shallow personality, heavy drinking and womanising. Although Rihei knows that Natsue’s decision to marry Nakabayashi is the result of her despair at Waki Keisuke’s betrayal, he closes his eyes to Natsue’s sadness because he wants a son-in-law to whom he can leave his hospital.

The army officer Waki Keisuke had proposed to Natsue in the middle of the previous year. But the proposal was withdrawn, Keisuke saying he had to give all his attention to something more important than his private life. He gave no details but he was about to decide whether to throw in his lot with a dissident group of officers – the group that later instigates the failed coup of February 1936. Although he swears that he will never marry anyone other than Natsue, he soon marries one of Natsue’s cousins, Kazama Yuriko. He takes this step to increase his career prospects by becoming the son-in-law of the head of a large coal company, Kazama Shin’ichirō 風間振一郎, who has a close relationship with the military.

Keisuke’s betrayal plays a major role in Natsue’s decision to marry Nakabayashi. She had trusted Keisuke’s promise that he would never marry another woman, taking pride in the belief that she is the only woman in his heart. His marriage therefore shakes her to the core. She feels she can no longer trust any man. On the day of her marriage to Nakabayashi in May 1936, the only one who understands her pain and the truth that she still loves Keisuke is her sister Hatsue.

Natsue takes over her deceased mother Kikue’s job of managing the hospital’s finances, continuing Kikue’s practice of falsifying accounts in order to squeeze out the money, mainly for Rihei’s mistress. She does these things to help Rihei, but her efforts on behalf of both her father and her marriage are doomed to end in vain.

When Natsue hears from Kikuchi Tōru 菊池透, whom she first met in the settlement house and who once professed his love for her, that he will enlist in the army, she goes to see him off. It is in late October in 1936, several months after the February 26 Affair. Tōru tells her that he is a Catholic and that his love for her has not changed. He clearly anticipates that he will not return alive.

Natsue marries Tōru, then a sick and wounded soldier, four years later in 1940. Tōru has returned from the battle of Nomonhan in China, having lost his right arm and a part of his liver. The Bible hidden in his chest pocket has saved his life. Natsue, now divorced, begs the seriously ill Tōru to live for her sake. He is the second son of a fisherman in a fishing village on Hachijō island, and his strong fisherman's body, perhaps aided by Natsue's pleas, helps his recovery. Following Tōru's footsteps, Natsue becomes a Catholic at Easter prior to their wedding. Tōru is, however, already feeling isolated in the church, which has become a fellow traveller of the military authorities.

Their modest happiness does not last long. Tōru is arrested and detained because of his close friendship with an American priest. He is seen by Yūta as the other person beside Shinsuke who opposes Japanese militarism and the war. Like Shinsuke, Tōru is isolated from society and from his church since he stands by the teaching of the Bible.

As Tōru is imprisoned under the law of preventive detention (yobō kōkin hō 防拘禁法), Natsue has to survive a separation which starts soon after their wedding and lasts for four years until the end of the war. She visits her husband as often as possible, looking on helplessly as his health deteriorates. She again works in the administration of her father's hospital, until its destruction in May 1945. Afterwards, in a house on outskirts of Tokyo, she looks after Rihei, injured, ill and blind as a result of the air raid that destroyed his hospital. Among the relatives and hospital employees living in the same house is Majima Goro, who is widely believed to be Rihei's illegitimate son. Goro, a hunchback because of maltreatment by his guardians during childhood, worked as a builder at Rihei's hospital till the May air raid. He does not hide his love for Natsue.

Natsue's love for Goro starts when she, as his half sister, sympathises with his miserable childhood. Goro's role in Natsue's life grows along with his importance in the novel. Goro believes his father is not Rihei but a Korean man who was murdered by a group of Japanese at the time of the Great Kanto Earthquake. Goro's true parentage is never revealed. It is not clear if anyone in fact knows the truth.

Natsue receives the news of the end of the war as something expected and wanted. On the other hand, she feels empty because all her sacrifice and effort have

---

155 Ibid., p. 376.
resulted in defeat. Tōru is finally released from the detention centre, but Gorō’s love and lust for her complicate her life. Natsue wants to love her husband and believes that she does, but she cannot deny her physical longing for Gorō. Her realisation is confirmed by the experience of joy, a joy not had in her two marriages, when Gorō steals a kiss from her and embraces her. And she finds a gap opening between Tōru and herself. The tremendous mental and physical suffering and torment they both have been through during the war does not unite them but pushes them apart. Natsue finds herself unable to love Tōru as before.

She and Gorō eventually make love. It starts as an unwanted advance by Gorō but ends in shared bliss. Natsue’s pregnancy is most likely the result of this liaison. Natsue has been sensing that she cannot have a child with Tōru because of his physical weakness and the lack of sexual desire that seems to be the result of his wounds and the severe treatment he received in the detention centre. She gives birth to a baby daughter. While Natsue believes the baby’s father is Gorō, Tōru frantically claims the child is his. Gorō commits suicide immediately after Rihei’s death. The reason is revealed later in a suicide note to Natsue.

Towards the end of the novel, after Gorō’s sudden death, Tōru, who has displayed strong adherence to his Christian faith and an exceptional tolerance of others, shows a sudden mean streak. He accuses Natsue of adultery and punishes her by taking her baby daughter with him to his home village, forbidding Natsue to follow.

Through her sacrifice, perseverance and forbearance in the face of misfortune, Natsue seems to gain greater independence at her each step. She advances after each setback. After losing her lover, her husband and her daughter, she demonstrates her inner strength. She prays to God saying that she loved Gorō with her body, her mind, her heart and her entire spirit, and that she has not even a fragment of regret about her love (P3, C8, S11).

Natsue is a woman of honesty, even where this takes her happiness away. She grows in strength through her belief in the support of her deceased lover Gorō. His suicide note addressed to her brings her a new realisation of what kind of man he was and how deeply he loved her. Kaga seems to embrace Natsue’s way of life in that he describes her bold declaration to God of her love for Gorō in a favourable light.

156 Hachijōjima is a small island about three hundred kilometers south of Tokyo.
Voices which are not heard

One among the multiplicity of issues in *Eien no miyako* is the importance of the role of women during the war, and through the lives and loves of the sisters Hatsue and Natsue Kaga has, as Ōe points out, successfully created a new type of women free from the restrictions of the old and conservative pre-war morality of Japan. However, while agreeing with what Ōe has to say about the two sisters, I find myself faced with a question. Although the novel is written from many perspectives, the perspective of a woman who is simply exploited by men is absent.

Several female employees of the Tokita Hospital offer Rihei sexual favours in exchange for clothes, accessories or money. But they appear only in their relation to Rihei. Nami, house-maid of the Kogure family, has affairs with her master Yūji. She gets pregnant, has a miscarriage and is sent home to the countryside. She later comes back to Tokyo, fleeing a terrible marriage and abusive in-laws, and again becomes sexually involved with Yūji, as he is the only one she can turn to. Yūji simply uses his position and enjoys her again as a mere sexual object. Nami has her own life, but we do not experience this from her point of view. She lives only through the eyes of the man who exploits and misuses her and of his wife.

Since Kaga is so concerned with those who are discriminated against, with the powerless and the abused — prisoners, psychiatric patients, Koreans in Japan, women in unconventional relationships — I find this rather surprising. Gorō’s mother, Majima Kiyo, one of the nurses in the Tokita Hospital, was Rihei’s mistress well before the story starts. Rihei’s wife Kikue and Kiyo became pregnant at a similar time and give birth to Natsue and Gorō respectively within a short time of each other. Kiyo agrees to end the relationship with Rihei in exchange for money to cover the cost of Gorō’s care. She continues to work at the hospital, leaving Gorō in other people’s care. Gorō’s physical deformity appears to be the result of mistreatment by his carers. Although Kiyo is described as a not particularly emotional woman, one can imagine her anguish and worry about Gorō as well as the torment she went through as a result of Gorō’s later fate, but there is no reference to Kiyo’s suffering in the novel. We are not given access to her perspective on her life.

The hospital pharmacist and another nurse have in the past accepted Rihei’s advances and have, possibly as a result, stayed unmarried. But the reader is given no

---

inside view into how and why they have given up Rihei and yet resigned themselves to never marrying.

The same can be said in the case of Nami. Irokawa Daikichi writes of the situation of house-maids in the pre-war period:

\[ \ldots \text{before the war an average of 200,000 young girls were sold annually to serve as maids and nurse-maids...} \]

Maids and nurse-maids received one cotton kimono, one pair of wooden clogs, and two or three yen during special holidays like the late-summer bon festivals and the New Year celebrations. The rest of the year, they worked for nothing. This situation was prevalent throughout Japan until 1937 or 1938.

Nami’s situation may not have been so harsh. However, it is not hard to imagine that the treatment Nami gets from her master is not so different from that described by Irokawa. Nami is certainly completely powerless, and her fate is entirely in her master’s hands. Since Yūji’s affair with Nami – a man in a position of power taking sexual advantage of a powerless woman – seems not be an uncommon phenomenon in any society, Nami’s perspective could have been used to give a sharper insight into the situation of women more broadly. Instead, Nami’s experience and suffering, including her temporary bout of insanity following the realisation of her pregnancy and of Yūji’s irresponsibility, are depicted through the eyes of Hatsue, a far more powerful woman, and Yūji, her oppressor. Although on the one hand sympathetic to Nami, Hatsue also describes her as a slut. Unlike the sisters Hatsue and Natsue, Nami is given no voice in which to speak her torment and pain.

**Gorō – a possible bridge between Koreans and Japanese**

Gorō 五郎 enters the story as a mystery, a man with a hunchback and the height of a primary school child. Until near the end of the novel, he gives other characters the constant impression of possessing something mysterious and uncanny in his personality. If one looks for a similar character in other novels, one is put in mind of Smerdyakov in Dostoyevsky’s *The Brothers Karamazov*. Gorō is widely believed to be illegitimate. Both Smerdyakov and Gorō are believed to be illegitimate. Both take part in the deaths of their putative fathers, the former as a murderer, the latter an aider and abettor of suicide.

---

158 The figure is a mistranslation. In the original Japanese version Shōwashi to Tennō, the number is 20,000. Irokawa, *The Age Of Hirohito*, p. 8; Shōwashi to Tennō, p. 28.


160 Oe says that Gorō is Dickensian, Ishikawa Tatsuo sees him as Dostoyevskian (see Oe and Kaga, *op.cit.*, p. 396; and Ishikawa, *op.cit.*, p. 343, respectively). I agree with Ishikawa. Both Smerdyakov and Gorō are believed to be illegitimate. Both take part in the deaths of their putative fathers, the former as a murderer, the latter an aider and abettor of suicide.
to be Rihei’s illegitimate son by one of the nurses in his hospital. Since the nurse was once Rihei’s mistress, few doubt that this is true. But Gorō maintains, although only to Natsue, that his father is not Rihei but the Korean An Jae-ōn, an employee of the Tokita Hospital who was murdered during the chaos after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923. Whether this is true or not is never made clear.

As mentioned, Gorō plays a minor role until the end of Part 2 of *Eien no miyako*. His prominence grows from the beginning of Part 3 to the end of the novel, not only as Natsue’s lover but also as someone who represents an outside perspective on Japan and the Japanese. This is a natural development for Kaga, given his interest in Korea and Koreans, particularly Korean residents in Japan, as victims of Japanese militarism and expansionism with its racist underpinning.

In a 1985 book *Chōsen minshū to ‘Kōminka’ seisaku* 朝鮮民衆と「皇民化」政策, Miyata Setsuko 宮田節子 examines how Japan’s assimilation policy was perceived by Koreans and how it affected them. In the last chapter of the book, Miyata focuses on the political slogan “nai-sen ittai 内外一体 (the unification of Japan proper and Korea)” uttered by the then Governor-General of Korea Minami Jirō 南次郎 (between August 1936 and May 1942). This slogan and the reactions to it from both Koreans and Japanese capture the characteristics of “the assimilation policy” which had been imposed on the Korean peninsula by the Japanese since the annexation of Korea in 1910.

According to Miyata, Japanese and Koreans differed markedly in their understanding of this slogan, which came to prominence when the Sino-Japanese War broke out. While the Japanese used it to help recruit soldiers who were ready to die for the Emperor, Koreans tried to use it to extricate themselves from racial discrimination by the Japanese by emphasising the equality implied by the slogan. As Miyata claims, Japanese colonial rule was imposed not only to exploit Korea economically, but to destroy the cultural identity of the Koreans. Koreans suffered deeply under Japanese rule, and the animosity of the Korean people towards Japanese rule was clear. With his slogan of unity Minami hoped to undermine this animosity and

---

162 Ibid., pp. 148-181.
163 A well-known incident, which may symbolise the feeling of Koreans, happened when a Korean athlete won a gold medal at the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The Korean newspaper *Donga Ilbo* 東亞日報 (*Tōa Nippō* in Japanese) published the photo of the athlete with the Japanese flag erased from his chest. Ibid., p. 153.
create “Koreans who follow the Japanese ... with thankfulness and obedience”, but who never become equal.\footnote{Ibid., p. 167.}

In his 1985 book Sensō sekinin 戦争責任, Ienaga Saburō 家永三郎 summarises the key elements of Japanese policy towards Koreans during the war as follows: (i) assimilation for the purpose of destroying Korean identity; and (ii) use of Korean men and women for forced labour, including as “comfort women”. Ienaga points out that Japan did not speak out in defence of Koreans who were punished as war criminals after the war. He also claims that the division of the Korean peninsular into two hostile states was the result of Japanese colonisation.\footnote{Ienaga Saburō, Sensō sekinin, Iwanami Shoten, 1985, pp. 102-112.}

Some of Kaga’s thoughts on Koreans as victims of Japanese rule and racial discrimination are already apparent in Senkoku. The character Pak Tae-u 杉泰翊 is an apparently fearless looking Korean resident of Japan. He is an habitual thief, the only prisoner not on death row to whom Kaga gives a significant role in the novel. Among prisoners who are already the subject of discrimination and ill treatment, Pak is, at least in his own mind, further discriminated against and maltreated because of his Korean identity. He is determined to die, refusing food and vomiting up anything forced into his stomach. The prison doctor Kogi sees in Pak’s critical condition the result of his hatred of Japan, represented by some of the prison guards who, Pak believes, treat Koreans with contempt. His determination to die, uttering the words “You’ll have to pay for that! I’ll kill myself!”\footnote{Kaga, Senkoku, vol. 1, p. 184.} is his attempt at revenge on Japanese society.

In Senkoku, Kaga does not directly refer to racial discrimination by Japanese against other Asians, something which has existed for centuries. Instead he describes the background to Pak’s attempted suicide. In Eien no miyako, however, Kaga deals with the racial issue directly, depicting what happened to the Korean man, possibly Gorō’s father and an employee of the Tokita Hospital at the time of the Great Kanto Earthquake, when Japanese contempt for Koreans was blunt, brutal and undisguised.

Kaga writes in a 1984 essay that he feels anger towards those who are ignorant of and silent about the discrimination against Koreans in Japan, while eloquent about the discrimination against Jews and Blacks in other countries.\footnote{Kaga, Dokusho nōto, pp. 59-60.} Elsewhere he says
that the massacre of Koreans at the time of the Great Kanto Earthquake remains as a suppressed source of guilt in the conscience of modern Japanese.\(^{168}\) Since it has hardly appeared in Japanese literature, Kaga says that he wanted to explore the feeling of guilt or debt which some Japanese have had about their country’s treatment of Korea and Koreans from the Annexation of the Korean peninsula in 1910 to the massacre of Koreans right after the 1923 earthquake.\(^{169}\)

In *Eien no miyako*, the chaotic aftermath of the earthquake and An Jae-ŏn’s murder at the hands of a group of Japanese are described as recollections of Rihei (P3, C5, S21).\(^{170}\) Rihei remembers An’s death with great remorse. His surgical skills had saved An when his life was threatened by injury, and he later employed An in his hospital. When a false rumour about the behaviour of “recalcitrant Koreans (*futei sen-jin* 不調鮮人)” was circulating in Tokyo after the earthquake, Rihei tried to hide An from a menacing and bloodthirsty group of Japanese led by the hospital’s builder Okada. However, he had to watch helplessly as the hooligans dragged An away, sensing that a horrifying fate awaited him. Rihei thinks to himself:

\[
\ldots \text{If it had ended with me shaking off Okada’s restraint and rescuing Anzai [An Jae-ŏn’s Japanese name] from the vigilantes, it would have been a story [to tell]. However, what I did was weak-kneed and cowardly. My fear of the bloodthirsty group ... was greater than my courage. (P3, C5, S21)}^{171}\]

Creating Gorō, who has in all likelihood a murdered Korean for a father, seems to be necessary for Kaga to offer a perspective denied to a Japanese.\(^{172}\) Towards the end of the novel Kaga writes of Gorō’s view on the war, by means of a long suicide note addressed to Natsue. This note gives a new perspective on what has been happening in previous chapters, and explains several mysterious incidents, including the causes of various deaths. Gorō reveals that both his mother and Rihei committed suicide and that he assisted in both cases; and that he himself was the accidental cause of the death of Rihei’s unfaithful third wife Ito, her lover and the builder Okada.

---

\(^{168}\) The precise number of Koreans and Chinese murdered is still unknown. However, over 6,000 Koreans and over 700 Chinese seem to have been slaughtered during the chaos following the earthquake. See Matsuo Shōichi, Ōtake Yoneko, ed. 松尾章一, 大竹信子, *Kantō daishinsai seifu rikukai gyun kankai shiryō* 関東大震災政府陸海軍関係資料, Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 1997, p. 8.


\(^{170}\) *Eien no miyako*, vol. 5, pp. 460-482.

\(^{171}\) *Eien no miyako*, vol. 5, pp. 481-482.

\(^{172}\) It is interesting that in *Meiro* 透路 Nogami 野上 also created a half-Japanese, a Eurasian girl Mariko 万里子, who publicly urges her husband to ignore his conscription card. Nogami later said that she could not imagine a “fully-Japanese” girl uttering such a thing.
The personality of Gorō, for a long time unclear, mysterious, even uncanny to other characters and to the reader, gradually comes into focus through the portrayal of his childhood, his faith in Amida 阿弥陀 (Amitābha), the teaching of Shinran 観心, and his deep love for Natsue. The reasons for his suicide, he tells Natsue, are complex. He is fundamentally tired of living after what he has come through since his unwelcome birth, and he is afraid of the possibility that he might, although unintentionally, harm Natsue or their baby daughter, if he continues to live.

Gorō lives constantly with the feeling of being a stranger. As a hunchback and in all probability a half Korean, he cannot share the enthusiasm and patriotism of other Japanese. In what Gorō writes in his suicide note, one can see Kaga’s criticism of racism among the Japanese:

... I had a feeling that I don’t belong to those who are living in the so-called divine country (shinkoku 神国), the Emperor’s children (Tennō no sekishi 天皇の赤子) or those with the spirit of the founding of the country (chōkoku no seishin 聖国の精神). Those Japanese who were ruled by the compelling force, the state, believed in themselves naively without self-examination. I simply couldn’t follow their incredible self-conceit, the fact that they looked down on Koreans and disdained Chinese, and the way they argued forcibly that the war they started was a war of righteousness ... the entire nation was excited by the war against China ... and [consideration for] the sorrow, pain and hatred of the conquered and massacred nations was completely wiped away [from the mind of the Japanese] ... (P3, C8, S9) 173

Gorō refers to the self-satisfied face of Okada, who thinks of himself as a devout patriot doing his best to achieve victory in a holy war, and wonders whether Okada might have had the same expression when he beat An Jae-ŏn to death. He realises that there is nothing more likely to lead to cruelty than patriotic fanaticism. Elsewhere in the suicide note Gorō writes about his feelings when he hears that the war is over:

... the insulting words thrown at me during the months and years of the war - crippled, unpatriotic, too useless to become a soldier - as well as a recalcitrant Korean, were shooting through my chest. The reproaches [of the Japanese] towards the Koreans led to the annexation of Korea, the reproaches towards the Chinese led to the Manchuria Incident and the China Incident

173 *Eien no miyako*, vol. 7, pp. 325-326.
[the Sino-Japanese War], and continuing along these lines [the Japanese] generated the Great Eastern Asia War [the war against both China and America]. Oh, such arrogance and conceit, which in reproaching other nations led to war. For someone who was at the bottom of [the line of receipt of their] reproaches, the war caused by Japan was not worth bothering about … However, on the day of Japan’s defeat, the feelings of those who greeted with excitement and joy the liberation and the victory of Korea, China, America and Britain, were also far away from me … (P3, C8, S9)

In Gorō’s mind, there is no concept of “enemy”, and therefore no abhorrence of so-called enemy nations. He easily goes beyond the boundary of those who bind themselves to their own nations and states. In so doing, he reaches for and to some degree attains a cosmopolitan freedom that some religious people, such as the priest Joe, cannot reach. Gorō’s freedom, which transcends national, racial and religious boundaries, is an ideal of human freedom that Kaga clearly and successfully tries to embody in Eien no miyako.

An important features of Eien no miyako is the fact that it has an eye firmly opened towards those Asian countries that were victims of Japan during the war. Historically, Japan and the Japanese have had difficulty relating to other Asian countries. Japan invaded and colonized them for decades, and Japanese insensitivity towards the suffering of other Asian peoples is evident in various areas. A typical case appeared at the so-called Tokyo tribunal, where some prominent politicians showed disbelief that they would be punished for the war against other Asian countries. Even after the war, as Carol Gluck points out in a 1997 article “Kindai toshite no 20-seki – Nihon no ‘sengo’ o kangaeru 近代としての20世紀日本の「戦後」を考える”, Japan seems to have given little thought to other parts of Asia, and this made Japan slow to face its past in its own neighbourhood.

The political sociologist Kang Sangjung (also known as Kan Sanjun) 姜尚中, a Japanese-born Korean living in Japan, argues that it is impossible for Japan to occupy an honorable position in international society without reconciliation with other Asian

174 Ibid., p. 360.
175 One of the war-time prime ministers, Konoe Fumimaro 近衛文麿, had not believed that he would be tried as a war-criminal because he was against starting a war against the US. He seemed to have never thought the atrocities committed by the Japanese in Asia would have become an object of the trial. Konoe committed suicide before receiving the verdict. See Yoshida Yutaka 吉田裕, Shōwa tennō no shūenshi 昭和天皇の終戦史, Iwanami shinsho, 1992, pp. 58-64.
countries, and that this requires Japan to take responsibility for its past. He warns that other Asian countries are increasingly anxious about Japan taking a more prominent political and military stance internationally, while it continues to refuse to acknowledge fully the wrongs of its recent past. Kan predict that if Japan continues to withhold this acknowledgement, friction between it and other Asian countries will deepen.177

Kaga’s creation of Gorō is a noteworthy fictional attempt to build a bridge between Japan and Korea, a country and a people that suffered extensively at Japanese hands. It is not unreasonable to see Kaga embarking in his fiction on a path that politicians and other representatives of Japanese society have been so reluctant to follow.

As part of his efforts, Kaga has visited China four times, in 1982, 1984, 1991 and 1995. It is significant that several of his novels have been fully translated and published in China in the past ten years, including Eien no miyako.

---

177 Kan Sanjun, Futatsu no sengo to nihon, pp. 165-166. In this book, Kan looks at modern and contemporary Japanese history in relation to other Asian countries, Korea in particular. He points out that Japanese internationalism on the one hand and colonialism and/or nationalism on the other have always been two sides of the same coin, and that Japan’s changes (if any) after the Second World War and after the cold war have led to further forgetfulness of Asia in an attempt to erase the memory of the past.
Chapter 5 Conclusion

The overall purpose of this thesis is to examine the significance of the works of Kaga Otohiko, a contemporary Japanese novelist and intellectual. In the course of the thesis I have identified: (i) the realist style of Kaga’s novels, which I argue is entirely appropriate to his subject matter; (ii) Kaga’s place within contemporary Japanese literature; and (iii) his core values and social commitment as a novelist and as an intellectual. In so doing, I have sought to bring out Kaga’s broad significance as a writer, and to identify his relevance to contemporary Japan.

5.1 Kaga Otohiko, a novelist and an intellectual

Kaga is a novelist with a largely nineteenth-century realist style that is rare in Japanese literature. His eye for detail and the depth of his characterisation have called forth both praise and criticism. While some, such as Shinoda Hajime, Ōe Kenzaburō and Yoshio Iwamoto praise Kaga’s realism, others such as Shinoda Kōichirō criticize one of his novels for exposing the reader to unnecessarily detailed and gruesome scenes. But even the criticism serves to highlight Kaga’s uncompromising realism.

Kaga’s childhood dream was to become a novelist like Dostoyevsky. The figure of Dostoyevsky has continued to exercise a fascination for him, and Mikhail Bakhtin’s analysis of Dostoyevsky’s novels helped to inspire Kaga’s monumental and masterly Eien no miyako. The ideas of “polyphony and carnival”, central ideas in Bakhtin’s analysis of Dostoyevsky, are drawn on by Kaga in this work to help provide an unparalleled fictional account of Japan in the throes of its twentieth century embrace of militarism. Eien no miyako is clearly Kaga’s finest work.

There are two central thematic axes of Kaga’s novels. One is his challenge to militarism and tennōism as a former insider turned trenchant critic. The other is a tireless seeking within everyday life for the meaning of human existence. Kaga’s work is a kind of window onto his mind, and the reader sees the development of his thinking on these issues by following his works.

As mentioned Shinoda states that the reader who wishes to read a “literary work” may be terrified by the gruesome execution scene in Senkoku, although he admits that the description of the farewell scene between the protagonist and his mother is particularly moving. Shinoda Kōichirō, op. cit., pp. 180-181.
There is a strong sense of morality pervading Kaga’s work. He clearly states that a novelist must be a moralist and that a novel without morality is meaningless. But at the same time he generally avoids adopting a judgmental stance towards his characters. He presents them as they are and leaves their actions to speak for themselves.

The main focus of this thesis, *Eien no miyako*, presents the comprehensive fruit of Kaga’s long career as a writer. There is a maturity about this work that sets it apart from Kaga’s earlier offerings. The novel treats many of the themes dealt with in his other novels – issues such as individual integrity; the social construction of reality and the compensating capacity of human beings to hold their society up to moral scrutiny; the thinness of the line separating normality from abnormality, sanity from insanity; and the fundamental equality of all human beings against the backdrop of the “nothingness” that surrounds us – but does this in a more comprehensive and emotionally satisfying way. This is what sets *Eien no miyako* apart.

In Kaga’s novels one can often see the “buds” of ideas and characters develop and grow from one work to the next. The main character of *Kaerazaru natsu*, a cadet, immolates himself. Had he survived, he could have become a “nihilistic” and self-destructive youth like the protagonist in *Senkoku*. Or he could have become the cadet in *Eien miyako*, who is able to adapt gradually to the post-war world.

Kaga’s belief in the immortality of the human soul, treated with some hesitation in *Senkoku*, appears in *Eien no miyako* as surer and brighter tones. The characters of *Eien no miyako* live through the evil of the war, culminating in the destruction of Tokyo. They suffer individual sorrows and share the collective pain of their nation’s defeat. But at the end of the novel, at least some regain the gift of hope, if only for a closer relationship with loved ones who have died.

*Eien no miyako* treats many aspects of the human impact of Japan’s militarism and the war. The novel is a testament to the author’s determination to be a story-teller, to hand down the testimonies of the lives and experiences of the three generations his narrative covers (he himself belongs to the third) to future generations. There is courage here, a commitment to bear the responsibility of an intellectual to his time and to future times.

It is interesting to observe how Kaga’s Christianity enhances his strength to grapple with tennōism and overcome the “nihilism” of his earlier works. The author who criticised tennōism and militarism by pointing to the pathology of these ideas in Kaerazaru natsu indicates a possible solution to these pathologies in Eien no miyako. His faith in Christianity, his diligent philosophical study and his experiences as a psychiatrist, together with his self-awareness as an intellectual, make Kaga different from many other Japanese writers. His ability to combine these ingredients into powerful works of fiction makes him a writer of great significance.

Kaga’s recording of Japan’s past in relation to the war has shown: (i) how easily the Japanese were led to war, and how gullible they were in the face authority; (ii) how brutally the Japanese, religious or non-religious, showed their war-like nature and their racism, particularly against other Asians; (iii) how irretrievably so many lives were ruined. However, it also shows (iv) the immortality of the human soul and the capacity of love to survive the chaos of war.

Kaga is also determined to depict the strength of women, despite their second-class status and the deprivations of war-time, by treating their love as something which can go beyond a loved one’s death.

Kaga’s examination of the past shows his commitment to prevent Japan from making the same mistakes. Kaga stands far apart from those in Japan who “deny the need to feel ‘shame’ or ‘guilt’ for historical wrongs in which they did not directly participate themselves”. Such a “comfortable” allocation of responsibility is something that his writings are designed to block.

In a recent article Tessa Morris-Suzuki refers to our “responsibility” to rectify the past wrongs which continue to affect the present. She argues that “those who have a particular interest in Japanese history” have therefore “… a particular responsibility to confront this history with honesty …”. She then suggests the use of the word “implication” as “a more precisely identifiable one” instead of “shame” or “guilt” to look at Japan’s past, but this is not “to convey an image of a softer or vaguer relationship to the past”. She writes:

3 Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “Hihanteki sōzōryoku no kiki 劫劫的想像力的危機”, Sekai, No. 683 (January 2001), p. 90. The quotations from this article are from the original English version, “The Crisis of the Critical Imagination” which I obtained from the author.
4 Ibid., p. 89.
5 Ibid., p. 90.
“Implication” means the existence of a conscious connection to the past, but also the reality of being (in a legal sense) “an accessory after the fact”. It is ... the status of those who have not participated in massacres, but have participated in the process by which the memory of those massacres has been obliterated; the status of those who have not injured others, but allow the consequences of past injury to go unaddressed. Implication means that the prejudices which sustained past acts of aggression live on into the present, and will lodge themselves in the minds of the present generation unless we make the effort to remove them. We who live in the present did not create the violence and hatred of the past. But the violence and hatred of the past, to some degree, created us. It formed the material world and the ideas with which we live, and will continue to do so unless we take active steps to unmake their consequences.\(^6\)

One of the standpoints Kaga wants to hand down through his novels to those not directly involved in the Pacific War seems to be this thought of “implication”. *Eien no miyako* represents “... active steps to unmake” the consequences of the actions and inactions of the Japanese who have lived before, during and after the war. Kaga’s work represents a challenge to “the [national] amnesia for history”.\(^7\)

Kaga is a fine writer. While his work carries strong social and political messages, they are not didactic in any simple sense. His novels, particularly those discussed in this thesis, are peopled by distinctive, memorable and believable characters from whose perspectives complex narratives are developed. Characters are never simply “dragged in” to make a point. They fit the narrative, at the same time deepening and enriching it.

Standing outside the realm of *shizenshugi* and *shishōsetsu*, Kaga represents part of a robust strand of contemporary Japanese literature. His realist style is necessary to facilitate his treatment of the interplay between individuals lives and to describe social and political events in ways largely absent from post-war Japanese fiction. Kaga has earned his place on Katō Shūichi’s list of non-*shishōsetsu* writers, and also on Shinoda Hajime’s short list of realist Japanese novelists. As an author in the nineteenth-century realist tradition, Kaga exercises a sure authorial hand, creating fictional works of depth and unity, and his writing provides insightful and challenging perspectives on the historical development of contemporary Japan.


\(^7\) Kan, *Futatsu no sengo to nihon*, p. 132.
5.2 Kaga as a public figure

It is difficult to determine Kaga’s standing among the Japanese reading public. There is little published material on this issue, and Kaga himself claims that determining the extent and nature of the public’s appreciation of his works is the hardest thing for an author to do. However, something can be learned from looking at the sales figures of Kaga’s novel. While on average his works have sold around 20,000 to 30,000 copies, Senkoku sold around 500,000 (350,000 in hardcover) and Kaerazaru natsu 80,000. These figures show that Kaga has developed a substantial readership.

As previously mentioned, Kaga is a member of the ethics committee of a medical university and of an anti-capital punishment citizens’ group. Kaga is also active in protecting freedom of expression as a representative of P.E.N. These commitments are indicative of his concern to protect basic human rights, and this kind of concrete commitment is likely to give rise to a certain perception among the general public.

Kaga also plays a small role as an advisor or commentator on general issues of human life. He was, for instance, asked to write for a women’s magazine Fujin Kōron about how to survive marital crisis at middle age. On another recent occasion, Akahata, the official newspaper of the Japanese Communist Party, invited Kaga to exchange open letters with a philosopher on the issue of why one should not take another human life. It is interesting that such newspaper should ask Kaga, a well-known Catholic, to give his opinion on this fundamental question of human society. It suggests that Kaga has established a reputation as an intellectual outside of narrow literary circles.

8 Telephone interview, April 2001.
9 Interview, December 1998.
10 Telephone interview, April 2001.
11 See the statement of the Japanese Centre of International P.E.N. at [http://www.mnjp.or.jp/japan-pencum/deimei/001016.html]. According to this statement Kaga visited Nihon Bengoshi Rengōkai (the Japan Bar Alliance) as the vice-president of the PEN in order to discuss the draft of the outline of a bill which relates to freedom of expression. See also another previous statement by P.E.N. at [http://www.mnjp.or.jp/japan-pencum/deimei/001016.html].
13 Akahata published six open letters between Kaga and Komoda Hiroshi under the title “Naze hito o koroshite wa ikaino ka”. See Akahata, 18039, 18042, 18047, 18058, 18063, 18067 (16, 19 and 24 January, 4, 9 and 14 February 2001 respectively).
In both the above cases Kaga is introduced both as a novelist and a psychiatrist. The views he expresses are based on his philosophical thoughts as a literary figure and his professional insights as a psychiatrist. The credentials that led these publications to seek Kaga’s views seem to be his well-established recognition as a writer who has dealt sensitively with the issues of women and adultery in Eien no miyako and more generally with life and death through his entire fictional and psychiatric work.
Bibliography

In English


Bibliography


**In Japanese:** NB. - All Japanese books and articles were published in Tokyo unless otherwise indicated.


Endō Shūsaku 遠藤周作. *Fukai kawa* 深い河. (First pub. in 1993), Kōdansha bunko 講談社文庫, 1996.

___________. *Umi to dokuyaku* 海と毒薬. (First pub. in 1957), Shinchō bunko 新潮文庫, 1960.


Futabatei Shimei 二葉亭四迷. *Ukirigumo 浮雲*. (First pub. in 1887-89), *Genda Nihon* 近代日本


_________. ed. Sengo Nihon Shisō Taikei 1, Sengoshisō no shuppatsu 戦後日本思想大系 1, 戦後思想の出発, Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1968.


Bibliography


_______.*“Endō Shūsaku san o itamu 遠藤周作さんを悼む”.* Asahi Shinbun 朝日新聞 (Yukan 夕刊), 1 October, 1996.

_______.*“Endō Shūsaku san to watashi 遠藤周作さんと私”.* Shinchō 新潮, 93:12 (December 1996): 200-203.

_______.*Furandoru no fuyu* フランドルの冬. (Frist pub. in 1967), Shinchō bunko 新潮文庫, 1972.


_______.*Hanzai nōto.* Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社, 1981.

_______.*“Honyaku bungaku no hyakunen 翻訳文学の百年”.* Shinchō 新潮, 93:7 (July 1996) :728-737

_______.*“Isho no yō na sakuhin kakioete – Kōgen no natsu no kanashimi 遺書のような作品書き終えて−高原の夏の悲しみ”.* Tōkyō shinbun 東京新聞, 19 August 1997.


Bibliography

178


__________. Kaerazaru natsu 帰らずる夏. (First pub. in 1973), Kōdansha bungeibunko 講談社文芸文庫, 1993. An abridged German version of this book, Die Hand des Riesen (trans. Helmut Erlinghagen, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt GmbH, 1976) was also published, but is currently out of print.


__________. “Mugen to kyomu 無限と虚無”. Gunzō 群像, 43:3 (March 1988): 204-207.


__________. Nihonjin to shikan 日本人と宗教－加賀乙彦 対談集. Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版, 1996.

__________. Nihon no 10 dai shōsetsu 日本 10 大小説. (First pub. in 1976), Chikuma gakugei bunko 筑摩学芸文庫, 1996.


Bibliography


Sei to shi to bungaku 生と死と文学. Ushio Shuppan 潮出版社, 1996.

Senkoku 宣告 (2 vols.). (First pub. in 1979), Shinchō bunko 新潮文庫, 1982.


“Takayama Ukon no shōsetsu to nō no sōsaku 高山右近の小説と能の創作”, Hon 本, 2000; cited [http://www.bookclub.kodansha.co.jp/magazine/m-teiki/hon/hon_kaga-o.html]

Viinasu no ekubo ヴィーナスのえくぼ. (First pub. in 1989), Chūkō bunko 中公文庫, 1993.


and Ōba Minako 大庭みな子. “Taidan: Shōwashi to tennō 対談:昭和史と
Bibliography


Bibliography


Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai Taiheiyo Senso Gen'in Kenkyubu S


__________ Me mushiri ko uchi 芽むしり仔撃ち. (First pub. in 1958), Shinchō bunko 新潮文庫, 1965.

__________ M/T to mori no fushigi no monogatari M/T と森のフシギの物語. (First pub. in 1986), Iwanami Shoten 岩波新書, 1990.


Ogikubo Yasuyuki 萩久保泰幸. “Bungakusha no sensō sekintinron 文学者の戦争責任論”.


Okudaira Yasuhiro 奥平康弘. “Tennō no nashieru koi ni tsuite 天皇のなし得る行為につ

Okuno Takeo 奥野健男. “Furandoru no fuyu, Kaga Otohiko cho「フランドルの冬」加藤乙
彦著”, Hokkaidō Shinbun 北海道新聞, 18 September 1967.

Ōoka Shōhei 大岡昇平. Nobi 野火. (First pub. in 1952), Shinchō bunko 新潮文庫, 1954.

__________ “Nyūnen na Maku ga orite kara 入念な「唇が下りてから」”, Kotoshi no kaiko besuto 5 ことしの回顧ベスト 5, Asahi Shinbun 朝日新聞, 14 December
1967.


ótama Ikuo. “Sensô sekinin to tennô no taii”. (First pub. in 1948) Yoshimoto


Shimazaki Tôson 島崎藤村. *Hakai 破戒*. (First pub. in 1906), Shinchô bunko 新潮文庫, 1954.


Bibliography


“Sengo to gendai「戦後」と現代”. Nihon kindai bungakkan, ed. 日本近代文学館編, Nihon bungaku no senso 日本文学の戦後, Yomiuri Shinbunsha 講談新報, 1972.

“Yoake mae「夜明け前」”. (First pub. in 1963), Gendai Nihon bungaku taikei 日本現代文学大系 14, Chikuma Shobo 筑摩書房, 1970: 519-533.

“Yoake mae sono go「夜明け前」その後”. Tenbō 展望, 94 (October 1966): 129-143.


Shinoda Kōichirō 篠田浩一郎, Monogatari to shōsetsu no kotoba 物語と小説のことば, Kokubunsha 国文社, 1983.


Shōda Akira 正田昭, Mokusō nōto 黙想ノート, Misuzu Shobō みすず書房, 1967.


Bibliography 187


Yamai Teruhiko and Kinoshita Hideaki 山井輝彦、木下秀明. *Tōkyō Rikugun Yōnen* 東京国立極南
Bibliography


Yamauchi Masayuki 山内昌之. “Takayama Ukon: Saiteki na chosha o ete yomigaeru saijin no shōgai 高山右近-最適な著者を得て蘇る才人の生涯”, Mainichi Shinbun 毎日新聞, 3 October 1999


Yoshimoto Takaaki 吉本隆明, ed., Sengo Nihon Shisō Taikei 5－Kokka no shisō 戦後日本思想大系 5、国家の思想, Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1969.
**Chronological record**

NB: This is mainly based on Kaga Otohiko’s chronological record (Kaga Otohiko nenpu) in *Kaga Otohiko, Matsugi Nobuiko shū* 加賀乙彦、真鍋信彦集, *Chikuma gendai bungaku taikei 90* 筑摩現代文学体系 90; and Kaga’s private record which he gave to me.

The number in brackets after the year is Kaga’s age.

The order of works follows basically the order of publication.

Details of publications are presented as follows: the title, the name of the magazine or the publisher of the book.

I omit essays and discussions as they are usually published later as collected essays and discussions. I also omit republishings unless published as collected works.

Items which I could not cite are marked with an asterisk.

1929 (Born the son of Kogi Kōji and Yone on 22 April.)
1931 (2) (Manchuria Incident occurred. This was the start of the 15 year war against China.)
1936 (7) (The February 26 Affair occurred. Entered Ōkubo primary school 大久保小学校, Yodobashi ward 住橋区 in Tokyo.)
1938 (9) (The maternal grandmother died.)
1943 (14) (Entered the Nagoya military preparatory school.)
1945 (16) (Enlisted in the army as a cadet in January. Faced the unconditional surrender in August. Entered Toritsu kōtō gakkō ri-ka 都立高等学校理科, but suspended the study for one year.)
1949 (20) (Entered the Medical dept. of Tokyo University.)
1951 (22) (Started to participate the settlement movement. Encountered Akaïwa Sakae 赤岩奈.)
1953 (24) (Graduated from Tokyo University.)
1954 (25) (Entered the psychiatric medical school of Tokyo University and started to study psychiatry.)
1955 (26) (Started to work at Tokyo Detention Centre, where he remained until 1957.)
1957 (28) (Studied and worked in France as a psychiatrist until 1960.)
1960 (31) (Obtained a doctoral degree in Medicine. Started to write the novel *Furandoru no fuyu* フランルドルの冬. Married Nanbu Ayako 南部あや子 in October.)
1964 (35) (Received Morimura Shō 森村賞 from the Japanese psychiatric and neurological society 日本精神神経学会 for *Ruihan jikeisha no hanzatzakuteki oyobi hansokugakuteki kenkyū 稽発刑者の犯罪学的及び反則学的研究. Became a member of the literary coterie magazine *Sai* 戦.)
1965 (36) (Became an Assistant Professor at Tokyo Medical and Dental University 東京医科歯科大学 teaching criminal psychology.
  *“Zō 象”, *Sai* 戦 2 (February).
  *“Karasu カラス”, *Sai* 戦 4 (August).
1966 (37) (The first half of *Furandoru no fuyu* – subsequently the first chapter of the novel – was runner-up for the Dazai Osamu Shō 太宰治賞 in August.)

**“Akai yubi 赤い指”, Bungei shuto 文芸首都 (June).**

“Furandoru no fuyu”, *Tenbō* 展望 (August).

**“Nomi 細”, Sai 尻 7 (October).**

“Zero-banku no shūjin ゼロ番区の囚人”, *Namboku* 南北 (December).


“Katamuita machi 傾いた街”, *Mita bungaku 三田文学* (September).

Joint translation: *Chikaku no genshogaku 筑摩の現象学 of Phenomenology of Perception* by M. Merleau-Ponty.

1968 (39) (Received the 18th Geijutsu Senshō Shinjin Shō 芸術選奨新人賞 for *Furandoru no fuyu* フランドルの冬. )

“Kusabira tan くさびら譚”, *Tenbō* 展望 (May).

“Yami ni tatsu shiroki mon 隠に立つ白き門”, *Shinchō 新潮* (June), the base of the later novel *Arechi o tabisuru monotachi 遠地を旅する者たち*.

1969 (40) (Became a Professor at Sophia University teaching criminal psychology and psychiatry.)

“Saigo no tabi 最後の旅”, *Shinchō 新潮* (June).

“Kaze to shisha 風と死者”, *Tenbō* 展望 (June).

*Collected short stories: Kaze to shisha 風と死者, Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房.*

**“Haru no machi nite 春の町にて”, *Fujin no tomo 婦人之友* (August).**

1970 (41) “Yumemi sō 夢見草”, *Bungakukai 文學界* (July).

“Sōnan 鐘難”, *Bungei 文芸* (August).

**“Seifuku 制服”, *Ningen to shite 人間として* (September).**

1971 (42) “Tsumetai kyōki 冷たい狂気”, *Shinchō 新潮* (February).

*Arechi o tabisuru monotachi 荒地を旅する者たち, Shinchōsha 新潮社.*

“Ame no niwa 雨の庭”, *Bungakukai 文學界* (June).

*Collected essays: Bungaku to kyōki 文學と狂気, Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房.*

1972 (43) “Yaen 夜宴”, *Umi* 海 (January), the base of the later novel *Senkoku 宣雪* 宣告.

*Collected short stories: Ame no niwa 雨の庭, Yukawa Shobō 湧川書房.*

*Collected short stories: Yumemi sō 夢見草, Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房.*

*Nihon no seis hin kantei 日本の精神鑑定 (as Kogi Sadataka 小木貞孝, co-authored with Fukushima Akira 福島章 and Nakada Osamu 中田修), Misuzu Shobo みすず書房.*


*Kaerazaru natsu 帰らずる夏, Kōdansha 講談社.* (Received the 9th Tanizaki Junichirō shō 谷崎潤一郎賞 in October.)

*Dosutoefusuki ドストエフスキイ, Chūō kōronsha 中央公論社.*

“Sajō 砂上”, *Shinchō 新潮* (November).

“Yuki no yado 雪の宿”, *Subaru* すばる (December).
1974 (45) *Collected essays: Kyōmō to shite no sengeo 虚妄としての戦後, Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房.
Collected essays: Gendai wakamono kishitsu 現代若者気質, Kōdansha 講談社.
“Zanka 染花”, Bungeo 文芸 (March).
Collected short stories: Ikyō 異郷, Shūeisha 集英社.
Shikeishū to mukishū no shinri 死刑囚と無期囚の心理 (as Kogi Sadataka), Kongō Shuppan 金剛出版.

1975 (46) (Started to publish Senkoku 宣告 in the monthly magazine Shinchō 新潮.)
Collected essays: Ano warai koketa hibi あの笑いこけた日々, Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店.
*Collected short stories: Shunka ni-dai 春夏二題, Okisekisha 沖積社.

1976 (47) (Travelled to France in September visiting mainly Paris and Flanders.)
Atama isha kotohajime 头医者事始, Mainichi shinbunsha 毎日新聞社.
Nihon no chōhōn shōsetsu 日本の長編小説, Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房.
Collected essays: Kiiroi keito dama 黃色い毛糸玉, Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店.

1977 (48) (Traveled to Honolulu in August to attend the 6th World Psychiatric conference, and to the Soviet Union in October.)

1978 (49) (Travelled to Guam Island in July.)
*Collected essays: Kakō to shite no gendai 仮構としての現代, Kōdansha 講談社.

1979 (50) (Resigned from Sophia University in order to concentrate on writing.
Traveled to Eastern European countries in July and August and to the United States in December.)
Senkoku 宣告, Shinchōsha 新潮社. (Received the 11th Nihon Bungaku Taishō 日本文学大賞.)
Collected essays: Watashi no hōseibako 私の宝石箱, Shūeisha 集英社.

1980 (51) Shikeishū no kiroku 死刑囚の記録, Chūō kōronsha 中央公論社.
Atama isha seisunki 頭医者青年記, Mainichi shinbunsha 毎日新聞社.
*Collected essays: Mire ba miru hodo 見れば見るほど, Nihon keizai shinbunsha 日本経済新聞社.
Collected short stories: Irie no sono nite イリエの園にて, Shūeisha 集英社.
Hanzai 犯罪, Kawade Shobō shinsha 河出書房新社.
Ikiru tame no kōfuku ron 生きるための幸福論, Kōdansha 講談社.


1982 (53) (First trip to China in October.)
Collected essays: Sakka no seikatsu 作家の生活, Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社.
Ikari no nai fune 鎖のない船, Kōdansha 講談社.
Collected essays: Sensō nōto 戦争ノート, Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社.

1983 (54) Atama isha ryūgakuki 頭医者留学記, Mainichi shinbunsha 毎日新聞社.
1984 (55) (Second trip to China in March.)
*Collected short stories: *Kusabira tan くさびら詠, Naruse Shobō 成瀬書房.
*Collected essays: *Dokusho nōto 読書ノート, Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社.

1985 (56) (Travelled to East Germany in April and May, and to both West and East Germany in June.)
*Collected short stories: *Kaga Otohiko tanpen zenshū 加賀乙彦短編全集 (vol. 5), Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社.
*Furansu no mōsō kenkyū フランスの妄想研究 (as Kogi Sadataka), Kongō Shuppansha 金剛出版社.
*Shitsugen 溝原, Asahi shimbunsha 朝日新聞社. (Received the 13th Osaragi Jirō sho 大仏次郎賞 in the following year.)

1986 (57) (Became a member of the Ethic committee at Tokyo Medical and Dental University.)

1987 (58) (Became a Catholic in December.)
*Sukeetaa warutsu スケーターワルツ, Chikuma Shobō 畠摩書房.

1988 (59) (Travelled to London and Paris, and then to South Korea in August.)
*Kiro 麗, Shinchōsha 新潮社.
*Kirisutokyō e no michi キリスト教への道, Mikuni Shobō みくに書房.

1989 (60) (Travelled to Israel and Italy in March and April.)
*Haha naru daichi 母なる大地, Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社.
*Viinasu no ekubo ヴィーナスのえくぼ, Chūō kōronsha 中央公論社.

1990 (61) (Travelled to Belgium and France in October. Became a committee member of the Anti-Capital Punishment Citizens Forum.)
*Aru shikeishū to no taiwa ある死刑囚との対話, Kōbundō 弘文堂.
*Kaimu 海霧, Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社.
*Nōshi to zōki ishoku o kangaeru 脳死と臓器移植を考える, Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店.
*Collected essays: *Kaga Otohiko hyōronshū 加賀乙彦評論集 (2 vols.), Abe Shuppan 阿部出版社.

1991 (62) (Third trip to China in May.)
*Yūkyū no taiga 悠久の大河, Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社.
*Ikite iru shinzō 生きている心臓, Kōdansha 講談社.
*Ogurai mori 小暗い森, Shinchōsha 新潮社.
*Collected essays: Nōshi, songenshi, jinken 脳死、腎臓死、人権, Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社.

1992 (63) (Travelled to Switzerland in July. Chinese translation of *Shitsugen as *Shiyuan kulian 溝原苦恋 published.)
Collected essays: *Shi no fuchi no ai to hikari* 死の淵の愛と光, Kōbundō 弘文堂.

1993 (64) (Chinese translation of *Kaerazaru natsu* as *Yong bei de xiatian* 永别的夏天 published.)

*Watashi no suki na chōhen shōsetsu* 私の好きな長編小説, Shinchōsha 新潮社.

1994 (65) (Travelled to Spain in September. Chinese translation of *Senkoku* as *Sixing fan* 死刑犯 published.)

1995 (66) (Fourth trip to China in May as a representative of the Japan PEN Club. Travelled to France in October for NHK, and to the United States in December.)

1996 (67) (Travelled to Christian holy places in Europe in October for NHK. Chinese translation of *Ikari no nai fune* as *Meiyou mao de chuan* 没有锚的船 published.)

*Ento* 炎都, Shinchōsha 新潮社.

Collected essays: *Sei to shi to bungaku* 生と死と文学, Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社.

Collected conversations: *Nihonjin to shūkyō* 日本人と宗教, Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社.

1997 (68) (Became the vice-president of the Japan PEN Club. Travelled to European countries in June for NHK.)

*Eien no miyako* 永遠の都, Shinchōsha 新潮社.

Collected essays: *Subarashii shi o mukaeru tameni* 素晴らしい死を迎えるために, Ōta Shuppan 太田出版.

1998 (69) (Received Geijutsu Senshō Monbu Daijin Shō 藝術選奨文部大臣賞 for *Eien no miyako.*) in 1999.

1999 (70) (Received Ihara Saikaku [shōsetsu] Shō 井原西鶴賞 for *Eien no miyako*; and the 55th Nihon geijutsuin shō 日本芸術院賞. Nō play “Takayama Ukon” was performed in Paris in October. The abridged English translation of *Ikari no nai fune* published as *Riding the East Wind.*)

*Takayama Ukon* 高山右近, Kōdansha 講談社.

*Seisho no daichi* 聖書の大地, NHK Shuppan NHK 出版.

2000 (71) (Started to publish *Kumo no miyako* 雲の都, the sequel to *Eien no miyako* 永遠の都, in the magazine Shinchō 新潮. Became a member of Nihon Geijutsuin 日本芸術院会員 in December.)