UNSPOKEN MEMORY AND VICARIOUS TRAUMA: THE BATTLE OF OKINAWA IN THE SECOND-GENERATION SURVIVOR FICTION OF MEDORUMA SHUN

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ABSTRACT

In "Unspoken Memory and Vicarious Trauma: The Battle of Okinawa in the Second-Generation Survivor Fiction of Medoruma Shun," I analyze how memories of the Battle of Okinawa have been imagined and portrayed in the fiction of Okinawa's premier contemporary writer, Medoruma Shun (b. 1960). Drawing from theory on literary narrative, studies on war memory, and research on second-generation trauma, I develop three major arguments concerning the ways in which Medoruma's war fiction contributes to public knowledge of the Battle of Okinawa. First, I reveal how Medoruma's early war-related stories, "Fûon" (The Crying Wind, 1985-6) and "Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite" (Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard, 1986), engage unspoken or inexpressible memories of the Battle of Okinawa that have been avoided or left out of survivor testimony. Medoruma's knowledge of these untold and traumatic memories, I demonstrate, grows out of his experience as the child and grandchild of survivors of the Battle of Okinawa.

Second, I analyze how Medoruma's stories "Suiteki" (Droplets, 1997) and "Mabuigumi" (Spirit Stuffing, 1998) challenge the conventions of historical narrative and the tenets of realist representation through the portrayal of unverifiable and unexplained phenomena. Although Medoruma has been labeled a writer of "magical realism," I argue that such categorization risks overlooking the challenge to mainstream Japanese and Western epistemology that the so-called "magical" aspects of his stories contain.

Third, I show how "Gunchô no ki" (Tree of Butterflies, 2000) embraces the subjective, emotional, and victim-oriented narratives of war survivors that conservative nationalists as well as progressive critics have dismissed as inaccurate or self-serving. In

"Tree of Butterflies," these emotional narratives also critically point to internal differences within Okinawan war experiences, such as Okinawan acts of aggression and discrimination against other Okinawans, and disrupt collective Okinawan modes of remembering built on the erasure of such memories. With his ongoing serialized novel *Me no oku no mori* (Forest at the Back of My Eye, 2004-), Medoruma has moved toward a longer and more polyphonic narrative that still explores the inner-thoughts and unspoken memories of war survivors through the use and depiction of vicarious trauma.

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CHAPTER 1: CHALLENGING THE LIMITS OF REPRESENTATION— THE BATTLE OF OKINAWA IN MEDORUMA SHUN'S FICTION

1.1 Introduction

Public struggles over how the Battle of Okinawa, the last major land battle of the Pacific War, should be portrayed and remembered in Japan and Okinawa have been going on for more than half a century. Whereas mainland military-focused Japanese accounts of the Battle of Okinawa extol the military's valiant effort in fighting an overwhelming enemy, Okinawan narratives have tended to focus on the Japanese army's various acts of violence against the Okinawan civilian population. At various times over the past forty years, attempts have been made to discredit, silence, or domesticate Okinawan war memories by attacking the historical accuracy of Okinawan war narratives and survivor testimony, editing and censoring accounts of Japanese military violence against Okinawans from Japanese history books, and removing and changing the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Musuem displays of Japanese military violence against Okinawan civilians.[1] While most of these attacks have been met with an even greater commitment in Okinawa to the narrating and recording of Okinawan war memories, scholars and historians of the Pacific War have commented that a significant gap still exists between mainland Japanese and Okinawan understandings of the Battle of Okinawa.[2] Within the ongoing debates and struggles over the representation and understanding of the Battle of Okinawa, Okinawan author Medoruma Shun (b. 1960), the child of two survivors of the battle, has emerged in the last decade as an important and influential voice of critical insight. Through his groundbreaking and prize-winning

fiction, as well as editorials, essays, and speaking engagements, Medoruma has been bringing attention to the problems and limits of conventional representation of the Battle of Okinawa, raising new questions and concerns about the nature of Okinawan war memory, and expanding the possibilities of representing war.[3]

This is a study of Medoruma Shun's narrative fiction that deals with memories of the Battle of Okinawa. It analyzes how Medoruma has represented and continues to represent the events, memories, and aftereffects of the Battle of Okinawa in different ways from those found in the dominant forms of Okinawan war writing exemplified by survivor testimony, oral histories, and war memoirs. Such an examination, therefore, also engages the vast body of war testimony that exists on the Battle of Okinawa, as well as the various historical and scholarly works covering the topic. The main focus of this study, however, is not to determine the sources or "factual" basis of Medoruma's war stories and representations, but rather to examine the specific characteristics of Medoruma's fiction and the problems and possibilities his approach raises in terms of on-going debates and contestations over Okinawan and Japanese war memories.

1.2 Medoruma and the Battle of Okinawa

Medoruma was born in 1960, fifteen years after the end of the Battle of Okinawa, and therefore did not directly experience the battle itself. This fact would suggest that his understanding and way of representing the war would be different from those of war survivors. At the same time, however, as a child of two survivors of the Battle of Okinawa, Medoruma has had continuous and lengthy exposure to the effects of war trauma. This means that Medoruma, while lacking the direct experience of war itself, has,

by virtue of witnessing the daily effects of war trauma on those close to him, an intimate knowledge and awareness of the war's effect on people. Some scholars of the Holocaust might even view Medoruma as having transmitted trauma from his parents, or "postmemory" of pre-birth events.[4] While Medoruma is not a witness to a traumatic event, he is a witness to the daily effects of trauma on living people, and that in turn has affected and shaped his identity and subjectivity. Hence, I interpret Medoruma as occupying a position that is in between that of a war survivor and the "un-traumatized," and correspondingly, I perceive his literary expressions as sometimes displaying characteristics of what Kalí Tal calls "literature of trauma" while also embracing the imaginative and fictional in ways usually unseen in Okinawan war survivor-authored literature and testimony.[5]

While the war memories that appear in Medoruma's stories may be fictional and imagined in the sense that they do not reflect personally lived war experiences, they are, however, based on his observations and intimate relationship with his parents and relatives. In his non-fictional work, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen* ("Postwar" Okinawa Year Zero, 2005), Medoruma has written that many of his fictional stories dealing with the Battle of Okinawa and its memory are based on his observations of his parents and relatives who survived the war.[6] These "fictional" memories reveal, this study will demonstrate, aspects of war memory that often escape or are erased from testimony, memoirs, autobiography, and history writing. Furthermore, this study argues, it is the very status of Medoruma's stories as fiction that allows them to reveal truths that non-fiction testimonies often sidestep or avoid.

1.3 Theoretical Assumptions

The working assumption of this study is that the recollection and narration of past events or experiences are never simple matters of merely recalling or describing what happened; rather, these practices need to be understood as functions of the conditions of narration and recollection, conditions which must be analyzed, along with the content of what is narrated or remembered, in order to understand and evaluate the significance and meaning of the narrative produced or memory recalled.[7] By the conditions of narration and recollection, I am referring to a variety of factors, which include the purpose for recalling or reciting the past, the relationship between the speaker and the audience, the subjectivity of the speaker, and the form in which articulated memory or narration is given. These elements of narration and recollection simultaneously and sometimes contradictorily shape, enable, and limit the types of memory and narrative produced.

The analysis of the conditions of mnemonic and narrative practice is relevant to the examination of Medoruma Shun's war fiction, because many of his main characters are war survivors dealing, on the one hand, with the gap between the types of war narratives allowed within the prevailing conditions of narrating the Battle of Okinawa and, on the other, the haunting war memories they carry but have been unable to publicly express. Indeed, as some critics have observed, one characteristic of Medoruma's war fiction is that it focuses on marginalized and unarticulated memories— memories that have lacked a public space for articulation even within the local discourse of Okinawan war narratives.[8] This study takes the marginalized and unarticulated aspect of war memory in Medoruma's literary works as a point of departure from which to raise the following previously unaddressed questions: (1) Why have the war memories in

Medoruma's stories been kept a secret? (2) In what ways do Medoruma's stories reveal the conditions of narrating the Battle of Okinawa that prevent the narration of certain kinds of memory? (3) Why is Medoruma able to engage these kinds of memories through his stories while war survivors have been reluctant and unwilling? (4) And, after considering these questions, what does Medoruma's war fiction tell us about the nature of war memory in Okinawa?

1.3.1 Representation and Form: The Possibilities of Fiction

Another key assumption of this study is that the representation of memory and reality is mediated through the discursive form it is expressed in, and therefore any representation is constrained by the conventions and assumptions of that form. In the case of Okinawan war memory, the dominant forms of representation—survivor testimony, oral history, historical surveys, and memoirs— are constrained and structured, among other things, by the conventions of historical accuracy.[9] Because Medoruma's war fiction is governed by very different assumptions and constraints from the ones that structure the dominant forms of Okinawan war stories, it has the potential to reveal aspects of war memory and trauma that are not as easily portrayed in conventional war narratives. Hence, this study asks: what are the possibilities of narrative fiction in representing war survivor experience, memory, and subjectivity that elude representational forms constrained by the conventions and discourse of historical accuracy? Or more specifically, in what ways do Medoruma's war stories reveal aspects about Okinawa war memory and trauma that have been eschewed by conventional narrative forms? What kind of conventions does he employ in his fiction and what purposes or effect do these textual strategies have?

1.4 Medoruma in English Scholarship on Okinawan Literature

Due to the relatively recent emergence of Medoruma as an important writer and critic in Okinawa and Japan over the past decade, scholarship in English dealing with his work has only recently begun to appear. Although he had won two local Okinawan literary prizes in the 1980s, it was not until Medoruma was awarded the Akutagawa Prize in 1997 for "Suiteki" (Droplets) that he began receiving significant attention from mainland Japanese readers, critics, and scholars. Accordingly, the two major scholarly treatments of Okinawan literature in English to date, Steve Rabson's *Okinawa: Two Postwar Novellas by Ôshiro Tatsuhiro and Higashi Mineo*, first published in 1989 and reprinted in 1996, as well as Michael Molasky's *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory*, published in 1999, were based on research conducted before Medoruma's arrival on the literary scene in 1997, and do not deal with any of his literary pieces.[10] Molasky's English translation of Medoruma's prize-winning story "Droplets" first appeared in 1998 in the literary journal *Southwest Review* before being reprinted in the collection *Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature From Okinawa* published in 2000, and Rabson has published an English translation of Medoruma's short-short story "Kibô" (Hope, 1999) in the online journal *JPRI Critique.*[11] Molasky and Rabson briefly touch on the awarding of the Akutagawa Prize to "Droplets" and briefly introduce Medoruma in their edited collection *Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature From Okinawa*, and Molasky includes a few words on Medoruma in his entry on Okinawan literature in the *Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature*.[12] Davinder Bhowmik has published two short conference presentations dealing with Medoruma's work, one focusing on "magical realism" in "Droplets" and the

other interpreting his work as public memory.[13] The most extensive examination of Medoruma's fiction and non-fiction writing in English to date is Michael Molasky's 2003 article "Medoruma Shun: The Writer as Public Intellectual in Okinawa Today," which I will discuss briefly in the next section.[14] In contrast, numerous articles on and examinations of Medoruma's work have been written in Japanese.

1.5 General Assessment of Scholarship on Medoruma

This study differs from existing writings and commentary on Medoruma Shun's literary works in its scope, focus, and approach. Most of the existing articles and examinations of Medoruma's short stories have focused on an individual work. Judges for the literary awards that Medoruma's stories have won generally comment on the literary merit of the story in question in terms of its construction, imaginative setting, and seriousness of subject matter.[15] Most of the newspaper articles on Medoruma's fiction that followed the literary prize announcements read like book reviews, providing general summaries and occasional comments on significance. More scholarly articles about Medoruma's fiction as well usually focus on one particular story at a time. Hence, while these commentaries and criticisms provide insight on the individual works with which they engage, they do not consider the connections to Medoruma's other stories that deal with war memory, nor do they elaborate a poetics of war memory in Medoruma's overall fiction such as the one this study will attempt.[16]

Existing scholarship that has examined Medoruma's work with a broader scope than one individual story has not focused on war memory in the manner proposed for this study. Michael Molasky's article, "Medoruma Shun: The Writer as Public Intellectual in

Okinawa Today," examines Medoruma's literary and editorial writings, insightfully outlining many of the significant features of Medoruma's critical non-fiction essays and his fictional works, including the highly critical and direct style usually found in Medoruma's essays, the incorporation of dialect in his writing as a form of resisting linguistic homogenization, and the use of so-called "magical realism" in his fiction. Although Molasky examines Medoruma's fictional and non-fictional writings in general in this article, he comments on war memory in only one of Medoruma's short stories, "Droplets."[17] Shinjô Ikuo, in his collection of essays, *Okinawa bungaku to iu kuwadate* (An Attempt Called Okinawan Literature, 2003), has a few chapters that consider the problem of war memory in two of Medoruma's literary works, "Droplets" and "Mabuigumi" (Spirit Stuffing, 1998).[18] However, these articles are individual essays written at various times, so his method of analysis changes considerably with each story examined. For instance, in his analysis of "Droplets," Shinjô stresses the story's lack of clear closure, which, he argues, suggests the difficulty of resolving issues related to war memory. His analysis of "Spirit Stuffing," on the other hand, reads the story as an allegory that ultimately warns against forgetting those who died in the Battle of Okinawa.

Shu Keisoku, in her dissertation "Medoruma Shun no shôsetsu ni okeru Okinawa to 'shintai' no seijigaku" (The Politics of the Body and Okinawa in Medoruma Shun's Novels, 2001) examines the physical manifestation and politics of war memory in three of Medoruma's stories, "Droplets," "Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite" ("Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," 1986), and "Gunchô no ki" ("Tree of Butterflies," 2000) as well as the politics of race, body, and gender in three other stories not related to the Battle of Okinawa.[19] Suzuki Tomoyuki's extended article "Gûwateki

akui: Medoruma Shun to Okinawasen no kioku" (Allegorical Malevolence: Medoruma Shun and Memories of the Battle of Okinawa, 2001) interprets war memory in "Droplets" and "Spirit Stuffing" as political memory in contrast and counter to Suzuki's notion of "cultural memory" (e.g., Okinawan spiritual beliefs, cultural arts, traditional music, etc.) that hides and obscures the political in Okinawa.[20]

Except for Shu's, none of these examinations systematically analyze how the conditions of war recollection and narration affect the types of memories recalled or narrated in Medoruma's fiction. Beyond Medoruma's own mention of the significance of Tokushô's swollen foot, only Suzuki and a few others have discussed the allegorical meaning of the un-recognized signs and war-related phenomena in Medoruma's stories. While the potential of "magical realism" in Medoruma's stories for representing the complex reality of Okinawa has been discussed in various places, how it relates to the limitations of historical research on the Battle of Okinawa has not been analyzed.[21]

Furthermore, none of these studies has systematically examined how Medoruma's entire body of war stories differs from conventional war narratives through the frame of mnemonic and narrative practices and in relation to the constraints of discursive form. As a result, key features of Medoruma's fiction have not been analyzed in conjunction with each other. In this study of Medoruma's war fiction, I undertake to analyze how three important factors—the conditions of recollection and narration, the appearance of un-recognized war-related phenomena, and the use of non-realist/ "magical realist" modes of representation—work together in Medoruma's stories. This study will demonstrate that the significance of these elements and features of Medoruma's war

fiction more clearly comes to light when examined within the context of ongoing controversies over how the Battle of Okinawa should be represented.

Furthermore, because I am interested in identifying and analyzing how Medoruma's works of fiction differ from conventional representations, this study compares three of his important short stories, "Droplets," "Spirit Stuffing," and "Tree of Butterflies" to the testimony of survivors of the Battle of Okinawa as well as to a work of fiction about the Battle of Okinawa by Okinawan author Ôshiro Tatsuhiro. Such a comparative examination will accentuate how Medoruma's fiction critiques the limits of conventional war narrative in three ways: by revealing the conditions of recollection and narration that constrain the kinds of memories and experiences that can be publicly articulated; by alluding to the limits of knowledge through the use of un-recognized signs and symbols of war-related phenomena; and by challenging the tenets of realism through the use of non-realist styles of representation to engage the local beliefs and subjectivity of Okinawans usually dismissed by conventional narratives.

Before beginning my analysis of Medoruma's war fiction, I will provide a brief summary of the Battle of Okinawa, and then a review of how the battle has been written about and represented over the past sixty years. These overviews will help to situate Medoruma's creative works within the vast amount of writing on the Battle of Okinawa, as well as to provide a better idea of the enormous effect the war has had on all aspects of life for Okinawans during and after the war.

1.6 The Battle of Okinawa

The Battle of Okinawa, the only World War II ground battle to be fought on Japanese soil with large civilian casualties, began with US military air strikes on the main island of Okinawa on March 23, 1945, and was followed by massive shelling from March 24 onward.[22] On March 26, US forces invaded Kerama Island just off the coast of Okinawa Island, and on April 1, the invasion of Okinawa Island began as US forces landed on the beach between Yomitan and Chatan in the central part of the island.[23] Organized military fighting ended with the suicide of Lieutenant General Ushijima Mitsuru on June 23, a few days after his June 19 order for the 32nd division of the imperial Japanese army to disband and continue fighting as individual battle units.[24] Within a month and a half, the US would drop the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6, followed on August 9 by another on Nagasaki. On August 15, 1945, the Shôwa Emperor would broadcast to the entire nation the news of Japan's acceptance of the Allied Forces' terms of surrender, effectively ending the war. The Battle of Okinawa was the last and bloodiest large-scale battle of the Asia-Pacific War for Okinawa, Japan, and the United States.

The casualties and costs of the Battle of Okinawa on all sides were tremendous, taking the lives of over 200,000 to 240,000 people.[25] According historians of the Battle of Okinawa, Hayashi Hirofumi and Ôshiro Masayasu, the US military lost 12,520 soldiers, while 188,136 people on the Japanese side lost their lives, 122,228 of them Okinawan.[26] Their figures also indicate that 65,908 Japanese soldiers from prefectures outside of Okinawa, and 28,228 Okinawans, serving as soldiers and those attached to the military service groups, lost their lives in the battle. Hayashi and Ôshiro also indicate

that, according to the Ministry of Welfare's data list for war compensation, 55,246 Okinawan civilians who lost their lives in the Battle of Okinawa were recognized as contributing to the war effort, with regular civilian casualties beyond that estimated at around 38,754, making a total of about 94,000 Okinawan civilian casualties.[27] Ôshiro, however, points out that this number does not include those civilians who lost their lives due to malaria and starvation during the Battle of Okinawa, and he interprets the figure of 28,228 Okinawan soldiers and those attached to military service groups as not necessarily representing officially trained soldiers since this figure includes hastily recruited members of student corps groups, the Volunteer Brigade, and the Home Guard. By distinguishing these military service groups from officially trained soldiers of the Japanese army, considering them regular civilians, and adding estimated civilian death totals from starvation and malaria, Ôshiro estimates that 150,000 Okinawan civilian casualties is a more accurate number, which as he observes, exceeds that of the military combatant deaths for both sides combined.[28]

One of the contributing factors to the large number of civilian casualties during the Battle of Okinawa was a battle strategy of attrition designed to prolong the fighting and provide extra time for the Japanese military to make preparations for an expected invasion of the main islands of Japan. Some historians have used the term "sacrificing a stone," borrowed from the game of *go*, to describe this strategy of protecting the majority, and they point to wartime official Japanese military communications that indicate no expectation of winning the Battle of Okinawa to support this characterization.[29] In order to prolong the fighting as long as possible, Japanese soldiers as well as civilians were expected to fight to the very end, with surrender not an option.

Hence, even with the destruction of the 32nd Japanese army close at hand in late June, Lieutenant General Ushijima ordered localized resistance until death. Ushijima's suicide, a few days later, all but extinguished the possibility of a negotiated surrender or truce that could have saved the lives of many civilians.

In order to prepare for the fight with the invading US military forces, Japanese military forces had mobilized nearly everyone in Okinawa to help with the war effort. In addition to those already recruited into and serving in the Japanese military, three drafts were conducted between the summer of 1944 and March of 1945, which resulted in conscription of practically all available males between the ages of 17 and 45 years into the Home Guard.[30] To augment these numbers even further, male middle school students in Okinawa were recruited into the Imperial Blood and Iron student corps, while female middle school students were mobilized into student nurse corps groups, the most famous being the Himeyuri student nurse corps.[31] Women, children, and the elderly were also organized and mobilized to help with activities, such as the preparation of meals for the soldiers, the transporting of military supplies, and helping with the construction of fortified military positions.[32] Although practically everyone was involved in helping with the war effort, there was a distinct difference between being a soldier in the Japanese army and being a civilian. All civilians had to obey the orders of the army, which, in the later days of the war, meant civilians gave up their food supplies, shelter, and even lives when ordered to by soldiers in the Japanese military.[33]

The tight integration of the military with the civilian population also led to many tragedies. Ôshiro has written that, although efforts were made to evacuate civilians from Okinawa, government and military leaders were ambivalent about evacuation in part due

to the usefulness of civilian labor in preparing for battle. Hence, there was reluctance to evacuate the very work force that was helping with the island's defense.[34] At the same time, however, once the US forces landed and fighting began, particularly after the Japanese army had to leave its defensive position at Shuri, civilians became a major hindrance for the military as they used up food supplies, occupied safe positions in caves the army needed, and were a major liability if they were ever captured due to their intimate knowledge of military positions, numbers, supplies, and other information.[35] Fear of civilians being used in this way by the enemy resulted in paranoia about traitorous "spy" activity, which resulted in massacres of civilians by the Japanese army. Okinawans were also forbidden from speaking in Okinawan because the Japanese soldiers from the mainland could not understand what they were saying, and as a result the speaking of the Okinawan language was interpreted as suspicious "spy" activity, punishable by, and indeed resulting on numerous occasions in, death.[36]

Another controversial aspect of the Battle of Okinawa is the large number of civilian "collective suicides." Japanese soldiers were trained never to surrender and to resist until victory or death, and they warned civilians of the torture and shame they would experience if the enemy ever captured them. In particular, members of the Japanese army who had been on the Chinese mainland and participated in the massacre of Nanjing and other atrocities of war there knew what kind of violence could befall local residents in the presence of an invading army. There were many incidents of Okinawan civilians taking the lives of their family members and then themselves to avoid being tortured and raped by the US military, particularly when capture seemed imminent. Whether the Japanese military ordered civilians to take their lives or not has also been a

controversial topic, as the Ministry of Education has interpreted acts of "collective suicide" as acts of individual choice made in service to the nation and the emperor, while some survivors of "collective suicide" attempts have blamed wartime ideology and Japanese military leaders. In her book *In the Realm of a Dying Emperor*, Norma Field has offered the term "compulsory group suicide" to emphasize the mixed elements of compulsion and choice, which she believes better describes the situation than the more neutral term "collective suicide" that emphasizes independent will.[37] Indeed, numerous testimonies recount how Japanese soldiers would shoot and kill fellow soldiers who tried to surrender, creating a situation where everyone, soldier and civilian alike, faced execution unless they resisted the US forces until they were killed or took their own lives.

Civilian survivors of the Battle of Okinawa who have written about their war experience typically comment on their surprise at not being raped, tortured, or killed by the American forces after being captured.[38] Many civilians have written about the immense feeling of relief at receiving food, water, and even medical attention from American soldiers. The lack of civilian accounts of atrocities by the US military forces does not necessarily mean they did not occur. Some US soldiers have admitted to killing groups of Japanese soldiers who had already surrendered, and others have implied they were indirectly "told" to do so when given orders to return from prisoner escort duty in five minutes when the detention camp was over thirty minutes away.[39] Furthermore, as Ueno Chizuko has observed concerning war memoirs by Japanese women fleeing mainland China at the end of the war, accounts of rape, if they appear at all, almost always are accounts about other women.[40] Victims of sexual violence rarely publicly tell their own stories, leaving the "historical" record of such incidents difficult to verify.

Although Lieutenant General Ushijima committed suicide on June 23rd and the US military declared the invasion of Okinawa complete by July 2nd, many armed units as well as civilians remained in hiding until September 2, 1945, when the official treaty declaring the end of the Battle of Okinawa was signed. However, for most individual survivors of the Battle of Okinawa, war's end came when they were taken prisoner by the US army.[41]

Japan and Okinawa have had very different experiences since the end of the Asia-Pacific War. With Japan's surrender to the United States, the American Occupation era began, but Okinawa was separated from mainland Japan and placed under direct US military administrative rule. While the Occupation of mainland Japan ended in 1952, Okinawa's occupation lasted another twenty years until its reversion to Japanese administrative and political control in May 1972. While the number of US military bases on the main islands of Japan has been reduced dramatically since the end of the occupation, in comparison, Okinawa's military burden has increased. In 1950, there were approximately ten times as many US military bases on mainland Japan as there were on Okinawa, while in 2001 approximately 75 percent of the US military presence in Japan was located in Okinawa.[42] For many Okinawans, the continued presence of the US military bases and Okinawa's disproportionately heavy burden of housing the US military, compared with mainland Japan, serve as painful reminders of their horrible war experience and its unresolved legacies.

1.7 How the Battle of Okinawa Has Been Written

Since the end of the war, a vast number of works have been published in Japanese that deal with the Battle of Okinawa. Yoshihama Shinobu's 2000 catalog of books on the topic published between 1945 and the end of 1999 lists seven hundred and seventy-five works.[43] Yoshihama's study also lists the number of publications related to the Battle of Okinawa by year of publication, which reveals dramatic increases in publication numbers in years that have special significance for Okinawa, either in relationship to the Battle of Okinawa or with Japan. For example, spikes occur in the year of Okinawa's reversion to Japan in 1972, in the 33rd anniversary year of the death of those who perished in the Battle of Okinawa in 1978, in the 40th and 50th anniversaries of the end of the war in 1985 and 1995, and the 20th anniversary of reversion to Japanese rule in 1992.[44] These increases in publication numbers in certain years attest to how interest in the Battle of Okinawa fluctuates in relation to concerns of the present.

What follows is a general overview of how the Battle of Okinawa has been represented and discussed over the past sixty years in Japan.[45] The overview will describe the changes that occurred over time in the different perspectives from which the war is narrated, various purposes for writing about the war, and controversies over representions of the Battle of Okinawa. The aim of this overview is to clarify some of the major issues that Medoruma's fiction addresses and is written against, as well as provide a background with which to better understand what Medoruma's stories reveal about war memory and the Battle of Okinawa that previous works have not addressed.

1.7.1 Late 1940s: Writings by Japanese Soldiers from the Mainland

The earliest written accounts of the Battle of Okinawa appeared in the late 1940s, primarily by and from the perspective of Japanese soldiers from mainland Japan.[46] Examples of such works include Furukawa Shigemi's *Okinawa no saigo* (The End of Okinawa, 1947) as well as his *Shisei no mon* (The Gate of Life and Death, 1949), and Miyanaga Tsugio's *Okinawa furyoki* (Record of a Prisoner in Okinawa, 1949). One fictional account of the Himeyuri student nurse corps, *Himeyuri no tô* (Himeyuri Monument), was written by an Okinawan, Ishino Keiichirô, and began appearing in 1949 in the magazine *Reijokai*.[47] Although Ishino was Okinawan, he had been living on mainland Japan during the war and did not experience the Battle of Okinawa directly. Okinawans who had lived through the Battle of Okinawa were not the first to begin writing about it, and as a result, the early works about the Battle of Okinawa do not provide a detailed or clear view of how resident Okinawans experienced the battle.

1.7.2 Early 1950s: Accounts by Okinawan Survivors of the War

The early 1950s finally saw the appearance of accounts of the Battle of Okinawa written and edited by Okinawans who had experienced it. The first was *Tetsu no bôfû: Genchijin ni yoru Okinawa-senki* (Typhoon of Steel: War Record of the Battle of Okinawa by Local People) by *Okinawa Times* in 1950, followed in 1951 by *Okinawa no higeki: Himeyuri no tô o meguru hitobito no shuki* (Tragedy of Okinawa: Memoirs of the Himeyuri Monument, 1951) edited by Nakasone Seizen, and the 1953 appearance of *Okinawa kenjitai* (Young Soldiers of Okinawa) edited by Ôta Masahide and Hokama Shuzen.[48] These three collections of experience-based accounts of the Battle of Okinawa from the perspective of local Okinawans mark the first important attempts by Okinawans

to collect and record their war experiences, and as such make up what Nakahodo Masanori calls the "three pillars" of War Record Literature pertaining to the Battle of Okinawa.[49]

While these three works present the experiences of the Battle of Okinawa from the perspective of Okinawans, they primarily describe the experiences of student corps groups. *Tragedy of Okinawa* is a collection of records, memoirs, recollections, and other documents written by members of the famous Himeyuri female student nurse corps, while *Young Soldiers of Okinawa* is a collection of recollections by members of the male student corps, the Imperial Blood and Iron Corps. *Typhoon of Steel* covers various experiences, including the massacre on Kerama Island and the activities of Makiminato Tokuzô, a newspaper journalist who was assigned to cover the Imperial Army's movements; however, a significant part of the collection covers the Himeyuri nurse corps, and the record of a male student corps member as well. In Ôshiro's assessment, the works of this period emphasize the experiences of the student corps and still do not present the war from the perspective of the average civilian.[50]

1.7.3 Late 1950s to 1960s: Mainland Japanese Journalists and Military Focus

The period from the end of the 1950s through the 1960s is characterized by writings about the Battle of Okinawa by journalists from the mainland of Japan, many of whom did not experience the battle. The increased interest in Okinawa during the 1950s and the 1960s corresponded with the controversy over the proliferation of US bases in Okinawa and the movements for Okinawa's reversion to Japanese rule occurring at the time. Works written during this period tended to focus on military history or the war records of the former imperial Japanese army, with the experiences of local Okinawans

fading into the background. Furthermore, these military-focused works tended to glorify the efforts of those who fought to protect Okinawa, stressing the cooperation of local Okinawans and the Japanese military in their fight against the US military. Consequently, Japanese military massacres and violence against the civilian Okinawan population became a "taboo" topic, with the glorification of loyalty and sacrifice working to hide and cover such incidents.[51] The focus on military movements and battle strategies also resulted in an overemphasis on the fighting in the southern part of the island, leaving the experiences of those in the northern part of the island as well as the outer islands of Okinawa relatively untouched. Finally, Ôshiro observes that this period is characterized by a lack of carefully researched studies and the reliance on faulty material that resulted in the reprinting of errors and inaccuracies about the Battle of Okinawa.[52]

1.7.4 The 1970s, Reversion, and Movements to Record Civilian Experiences

In 1971 as part of *Okinawa-ken shi*— the multi-volume prefectural history commissioned by the Ryukyu government—*Okinawa-sen kiroku 1* (Record of the Battle of Okinawa Part One), which primarily described the war experiences of non-combatant, non-military civilians, was published. The editors of *Record of the Battle of Okinawa Part One* gathered their materials by traveling throughout Okinawa, holding multiple meetings, and recording group and individual interview sessions about the Battle of Okinawa in an attempt to get an overall prefectural account of the war as it affected the inhabitants of the prefecture.[53] This volume was followed by *Okinawa-sen kiroku 2* (Record of the Battle of Okinawa Part Two) in 1974,[54] and later that year in December, Naha city published a volume of their city history devoted to the war experiences from the perspective of Naha city civilians titled *Senji kiroku* (Wartime Record). These

publications provided a detailed record of the war from the perspective of common civilians, which had been neglected in previous publications, despite the fact that the civilian population made up the largest group affected by the battle. Furthermore, these publications inspired and served as models for the recording and collecting of war experiences at the city, town, and village level throughout Okinawa prefecture. With the shift in focus from military history to civilian experiences, accounts concentrating on civilian massacres and deaths at the hands of the Japanese military increased.[55]

The appearance of civilian-centered war records during this time introduced a new perspective on the Battle of Okinawa, but the 1970s still saw the continued publication of war memoirs by former military leaders of the Battle of Okinawa. Also the controversial attack on the historical accuracy of the Tokashiki village massacre as reported in *Tetsu no bôfû* appeared with Sono Ayako's *Aru shinwa no haikei* (The Background Behind A Myth, 1971).[56] Yoshihama remarks that the 30th anniversary of the end of the war, the opening of the Prefectural Peace Museum, and the 33rd anniversary of the war dead all marked increased publication of war-related material in the 1970s. Yoshihama also notes the appearance of works focused on passing on the legacy of the war to the postwar generation, such as school textbook supplements, photo-books, and novels about the Battle of Okinawa.[57]

1.7.5 The 1980s and the 1990s

The two decades of the 1980s and the 1990s bring a large increase in the number of oral history and war testimony publications at the local city, town, and village levels. Grass roots movements expand with the formation of local university, college, and high school study groups dedicated to the recording of war experiences.[58] Continuing from

the 1970s, publications dedicated to transmitting the experiences of the war to the later generations increase and diversify, with the appearance of children's books, comic books, photo-books, and wood block print collections.[59] Yakabi Osamu observes that many war survivors started to speak out for the first time about their war experiences in the early 1980s in part to verify accounts of Japanese military violence and massacres against civilians that the Ministry of Education, due to an alleged lack of evidence and witnesses, was trying to erase from Ienaga Saburô's Japanese history textbooks.[60] Ôshiro characterizes this era as a time when a more complete picture of the Battle of Okinawa from an objective and common civilian perspective takes solid shape, with war survivors finally able to break their silence and speak rationally about their experiences. He also remarks that a strong commitment to peace education and to the passing on of the lessons and experiences of the Battle of Okinawa are prominent features of writing of this time.[61]

1.7.6 From 2000 to 2005

While publications since 2000 continue to explore what happened during the Battle of Okinawa with new collections of war memoirs and records, works that recount how war survivors have dealt with their war experiences and postwar memories have also appeared.[62] In her book *Haha no nokoshita mono* (What Mother Left Behind, 2000), Miyagi Harumi devotes considerable time covering how her mother, a survivor of the Kerama "compulsory suicide" incident, lived and struggled with talking about her experiences after the war. In 2002, excerpts from Nakasone Seizen's postwar diary were published in the book *Himeyuri to ikite* (Living on With the Himeyuri), revealed how Nakasone's war experiences as a teacher and leader of the Himeyuri student nurse corps shaped much of his life after the war. The Himeyuri Peace Memorial Museum published

Himeyuri no sengo (Himeyuri After the War, 2001), *Himeyuri heiwa kinen shiryôkan: Kaikan to sonogo no ayumi* (The Himeyuri Peace Memorial Museum: the Steps Towards its Opening and Progress Afterward, 2002) and *Himeyuri gakuto no sengo* (The Himeyuri Student Corps After the War, 2004), all three of which focus on the activities of the Himeyuri survivors after the war.[63]

Another significant development in how the Battle of Okinawa has been represented can be seen and heard in Higa Toyomitsu and Murayama Tomoe's 2003 video *Shima kutuba de kataru ikusayu: 100-nin no kioku* (War Stories Told in *Shima Kutuba*: Memories of 100 People), a record of interviews about the war conducted in *shima kutuba*, or "local language." Previously videotaped war testimonies, such as the video prepared for the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Musuem, have almost always been spoken in Japanese. When testimonies have been spoken in *shima kutuba*, as in the case for the Prefectural History in the late 1960s, they have been transcribed or summarized into Japanese for printing, with nuances of the local dialect lost in translation. By conducting interviews in the spoken language of the war survivor interviewed, and allowing the speakers to dictate the flow and direction of the conversation, the producers of *War Stories Told in Shima Kutuba: Memories of 100 people* have generated descriptions of the Battle of Okinawa unlike anything previously recorded. The 100 conversations featured in the video *War Stories Told in Shima Kutuba: Memories of 100 people* have been transcribed in *shima kutuba* with a Japanese translation following in a book of the same title.[64] For the 60th anniversary of the end of the Battle of Okinawa in 2005, the producers of *War Stories Told in Shima Kutuba* added additional interviews and were able to complete 500 interviews.

1.8 Medoruma's Fiction Writing Career and Chapter Summaries

Medoruma's fiction has engaged a wide range of topics, including, among others, the US military presence in Okinawa, right-wing violence in retribution for protests against the crown prince's visit to Okinawa, and the effects of domestic violence on Okinawan women and children. There is little doubt, however, that the Battle of Okinawa holds a prominent and important place in Medoruma's life, writing, and political thought. Medoruma believes, considering the age of his parents during the war, that he is one of the last of a generation to grow up with both parents having clear memories of the war.[65] In an *Okinawa Times* survey given at the end of 1999 asking one hundred prominent Okinawan intellectuals to list the most important historical event of the twentieth century for Okinawa, Medoruma is listed under the group that answered "the Battle of Okinawa, World War Two, or the Fifteen-year War."[66] Approximately one third of Medoruma's works of fiction deal with the Battle of Okinawa, including two of his longest works, the novel *Fûon: The Crying Wind* (2004) and his currently serialized novel *Me no oku no mori* (Forest at the Back of My Eye, 2004-).[67] Furthermore, almost all of his award-winning and most critically acclaimed works, "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," "Droplets," "Spirit Stuffing," and the Higashi Yôichi-directed movie *Fûon: The Crying Wind* (2004) based on Medoruma's screenplay, all portray Okinawan struggles to deal with memories of the Battle of Okinawa.[68]

Medoruma has been writing fiction dealing with the Battle of Okinawa ever since he wrote his first unpublished short story "Uta" (Uta) for a collection of compositions put together by a classmate at the University of the Ryukyus during Medoruma's freshman year (1979-1980).[69] Medoruma's first published story, which also won the 11th *Ryûkyû*

shimpô tanpen shôsetsu shô (*Ryûkyû Shimpô* Short Story Award) in 1983, "Gyogunki" (Diary of a School of Fish, 1983) does not deal with the Battle of Okinawa, but both Medoruma's serialized novel "Fûon" (The Crying Wind, 1985-1986) and the short story "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," which won the 12th *Shin Okinawa bungaku* shô (*Shin Okinawa bungaku* prize), depict characters trying to cope with memories of the Battle of Okinawa that took place forty years earlier.[70]

Chapter Two of this study examines how these two early works, "The Crying Wind" and "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" engage two kinds of unarticulated personal war memories: memory constrained by social consequence and the unprocessed experiences of traumatic memory. "The Crying Wind" portrays how two war survivors, a civilian survivor of the Battle of Okinawa and a former special attack forces pilot from mainland Japan, are still haunted by their memories from the war, memories that they have never shared with anyone out of fear of the social consequences of disclosure. "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" depicts the eruptions of traumatic memory that take hold of an elderly war survivor afflicted with dementia, memory that remains unprocessed, and therefore inexpressible, as raw trauma. The chapter also examines how Medoruma's experience as the child, grandchild, and relative of numerous survivors of the Battle of Okinawa has provided him with intimate knowledge of the effects of war trauma, and consequently, an understanding of how the Battle of Okinawa has affected war survivors in ways that they avoid discussing, or never consciously express. In the chapter, I demonstrate that "The Crying Wind" and "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" contribute to public knowledge about the war by addressing that which survivor-authored narratives leave out.

While Medoruma was gaining recognition for his writing in Okinawa during the 1980s, national and international attention came to him only after his imaginative exploration of war trauma, the short story "Droplets," won the Kyushu Literary Arts Festival Award and then the Akutagawa Prize, Japan's most prestigious literary award, in 1997. The following year, in 1998, Medoruma published another short story exploring memories of the Battle of Okinawa titled "Spirit Stuffing," which later received the Kiyama Shôhei and Kawabata Yasunari Literary Prizes in 2000. After publishing numerous stories on a variety of topics, in the summer of 2000 Medoruma revisited war memories of the Battle of Okinawa in "Tree of Butterflies," a powerful and critically acclaimed story about a former Okinawan "comfort woman."[71] During the three-year period from 1997 to 2000, starting with "Droplets" and ending with "Tree of Butterflies," Medoruma published twelve short stories in various literary magazines and newspapers, many of which were reprinted in three subsequent collections of his stories, *Droplets* in 1997, *Spirit Stuffing* in 1999, and *Tree of Butterflies* in 2001. The three title stories of these collections, each dealing with the Battle of Okinawa and published during this productive three-year period of Medoruma's career, make up the main focus of this study, as each story will be analyzed separately in an individual chapter.

Chapter Three considers Medoruma's short story "Droplets" in relation to the dominant conventions of academic history writing and research that have shaped how Okinawan civilian testimonies of the war have been represented. I interpret Medoruma's story as an example of a possible way to explore the buried, repressed, and unconscious memories of past traumatic events that Holocaust scholars have referred to as "deep memory."[72] I go on to examine how "Droplets" addresses the unverifiable, inexplicable,

and unbelievable that has been left out of edited published records of survivor testimony on the Battle of Okinawa due to prevailing assumptions that privilege "objective and scientific" recovery and representation of past events. I argue that "Droplets" is characterized by an aesthetics of absence, uncertainty, and the unknown, that accordingly includes the depiction of unverified and unexplained events as a gesture to those war experiences and memories that lie beyond the representational conventions of historical discourse.

Chapter Four examines how Medoruma's fictional representations of survivor recollections of the Battle of Okinawa differ not only from survivor testimony or the writing of professional historians, but also from the fiction of Okinawa's other prominent contemporary author, Ôshiro Tatsuhiro. I compare Medoruma's representation of a spiritually attuned war survivor and her memories of the Battle of Okinawa in "Spirit Stuffing" with Ôshiro's depiction of a village *noro* (priestess) and her war memories, in his novella "Kamishima" (Island of the Gods, 1968). Ôshiro's story engages a variety of perspectives and opinions concerning events during the Battle of Okinawa in a more polyphonic manner in "Island of the Gods" than Medoruma's single-character focalized "Spirit Stuffing." I argue, however, that Medoruma produces a more subjective and in-depth exploration of his war survivor character than Ôshiro does. Medoruma accomplishes this through a more detailed elaboration of his character's relationship with other members of her community, a greater use of the Okinawan language to represent both character speech and the narrating discourse, and a clearer depiction of the character's spiritual beliefs, which challenge the conventions of realist fiction.

In Chapter Five, I analyze Medoruma's critically acclaimed novella "Tree of Butterflies" which engages the barely coherent recollections of a former Okinawan "comfort woman" and her intense memories of trauma that erupt with the onset of dementia. Unlike his external depiction of war memories released by dementia in "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," Medoruma explores and depicts the inner thoughts, feelings, and consciousness of the demented character Gozei in "Tree of Butterflies." More so than Medoruma's earlier war stories, "Tree of Butterflies" depicts not only the various ways in which Japanese soldiers brutalized Okinawan civilians during the Battle of Okinawa, but also Okinawan soldiers' acts of cruelty and violence toward fellow Okinawans, as well as the Okinawan villagers' prejudice toward and discrimination against fellow Okinawan women who served as sex slaves and prostitutes for the Japanese and American armies. In this story, Medoruma does not shy away from the victim perspective and tragic narratives of the war, but rather engages the emotional and tragic in what I call "critical 'sentimentalism.'" "Tree of Butterflies" accesses the emotional intensity of survivor narratives at the same time that it critiques the limitations of survivor testimony in its engagement with the inexpressible.

Chapter Six examines Medoruma's post-2000 literary pieces dealing with the war and the new directions he appears to be taking with this body of work. After the publication of "Tree of Butterflies" in 2000, Medoruma began focusing his writing on editorials and social criticism. It was not until the 2004 appearance of the novel *Fûon: The Crying Wind*, a novel-length version of his earlier serialized short story "The Crying Wind," that he began publishing fiction again. Medoruma's fiction since "Tree of Butterflies" shows a marked change from his earlier works. This chapter takes stock of

Medoruma's war fiction up to "Tree of Butterflies" and considers the new directions he appears to be taking with his 2004 short story "Denreihei" (Army Messenger), and his ongoing serialized story "Forest at the Back of My Eye" that he began in 2004.

Notes for Chapter 1

1. One of the earlier and most famous and controversial attacks on the historical accuracy of Okinawan survivor testimony is by Sono Ayako in her series of articles published from 1971 to 1972 in the magazine *Shokun* and later reprinted as *Aru shinwa no haikei* in book form in 1973. It has been reprinted in Sono Ayako, *Aru shinwa no haikei: Okinawa, Tokashiki-jima no shûdan jiketsu* (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyûjo, 1992). For an article on the editing of history textbooks, see Nozaki's study of the history textbook controversy in Nozaki Yoshiko and Inokuchi Hiromitsu, "Japanese Education, Nationalism, and Ienaga Saburô's Textbook Lawsuits," in *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States*, ed. Laura Hein and Mark Selden (Armonk: East Gate, 2000). On the controversy at the Prefectural Peace Museum, see Gerald Figal, "Waging Peace on Okinawa," in *Islands of Discontent: Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power*, ed. Laura Hein and Mark Selden, Asia/Pacific/Perspectives (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), and Julia Yonetani's excellent study, Julia Yonetani, "On the Battlefield of Mabuni: Struggles Over Peace and the Past in Contemporary Okinawa," *East Asian History* 20 (2000).

2. Okinawan scholars and writers about the Battle of Okinawa often mention the differences between mainland Japanese and Okinawan understandings of the Battle. For two examples, see Arasaki Moriteru, "The Struggle Against Military Bases in Okinawa — Its History and Current Situation," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 2, no. 1 (2001), and Medoruma Shun, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen* (Tokyo: Nihon Hôsô Shuppan Kyôkai, 2005).

3. On Medoruma's non-literary writing, essays, and editorials, see Michael Molasky, "Medoruma Shun: The Writer as Public Intellectual in Okinawa Today," in *Islands of Discontent: Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power*, ed. Laura Hein and Mark Selden, Asia/Pacific/Perspectives (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 161-191. While I was conducting research for this study from 2002-2004 in Okinawa, Medoruma was the invited guest speaker for numerous symposia and events related to the Battle of Okinawa, and he has continued to participate in similar events in 2005, 2006 and 2007.

4. While the notion that the trauma of Holocaust survivors has been transmitted to their children is often invoked in discussions of second-generation Holocaust survivors, some scholars have questioned the validity of this concept. See, for example, Ernst van Alphen, "Second-Generation Testimony, Transmission of Trauma, and Postmemory," *Poetics Today* 27, no. 2 (2006). In examining Medoruma's fiction writing and his status as a child of war survivors, I find most helpful van Alphen's observation that there is simultaneously a strong connection and an unbridgeable gap that children of Holocaust survivors feel towards their parents' traumatic experience. I will return to the nature of Medoruma's knowledge of the Battle of Okinawa due to his experience as a second-generation survivor of the battle in Chapter Two of this study.

5. In the first chapter of her study *Worlds of Hurt*, Kalí Tal argues that the literatures of trauma, that is, literary works by survivors of a traumatic event, contain within them symbols, signs, and meanings that correspond to the memory of the traumatic event they are writing about, that only have meaning for people who have

experienced the same or similar traumatic event. See Kalí Tal, *Worlds of Hurt: Reading the Literatures of Trauma* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 16-17. As I will argue and further elaborate in Chapter Three of this study, Medoruma's works of fiction contain symbols and signs whose meanings are unrecognizable to those lacking either the experience of or knowledge of the Battle of Okinawa. In this sense Medoruma's literature contains elements of what might be called "trauma literature of the Battle of Okinawa." I would like to thank David Stahl for suggesting the possibility of interpreting Medoruma's fiction as the literature of a trauma survivor and alerting me to Kalí Tal's work. See Stahl's analysis of the writings of Japanese author Ôoka Shôhei, a survivor of the Pacific War, through Robert Jay Lifton's framework of survivorship in David C. Stahl, *The Burdens of Survival: Ôoka Shôhei's Writings on the Pacific War* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003).

6. See Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 72-85.

7. For an example of this perspective concerning war memory in Japan, see, Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*, ed. Irwin Scheiner, vol. 10, Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999). For a short summary of scholarship on narrative practice and the conditions of narration, see J.F. Gubrium and J. A. Holstein, "Narrative Practice and the Coherence of Personal Stories," *The Sociological Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (1998).

8. See, for example, Shinjô Ikuo's comments about war memory in Medoruma's "Gunchô no ki" (Tree of Butterflies, 2000) in Shinjô Ikuo, "Hôkai no yochô," in

Okinawa bungei nenkan 2000 nen ban, ed. Ôe Chôjirô, *Okinawa bungei nenkan* (Naha: Okinawa Times, 2000), 13-14. See also Shinjô's comments on "Suiteki" (Droplets, 1997) in Shinjô Ikuo, "Toikake to shite no Okinawa bungaku," in *Okinawa bungaku-sen: Nihon bungaku no ejji kara no toi*, ed. Okamoto Keitoku and Takahashi Toshio (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2003), 303.

9. This will be examined and further elaborated in Chapter Three of this study.

10. Steve Rabson's *Okinawa: Two Postwar Novellas by Ôshiro Tatsuhiro and Higashi Mineo* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1989; reprinted 1996) was published before 1997, and Molasky's book, *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory*, Routledge Studies in Asia's Transformations (New York: Routledge, 1999), is based on his dissertation, completed in 1994.

11. For Molasky's translation of "Suiteki" (Droplets), see Medoruma Shun, "Droplets," translated by Michael Molasky, in *Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature from Okinawa*, ed. Michael Molasky and Steve Rabson (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 255-285. For Rabson's translation of "Kibô" see Medoruma Shun, "Hope" (Machi monogatari—kibô), translated by Steve Rabson, in *JPRI Critique* 6, no. 12 (1999); at http://www.jpri.org/publications/critiques/critique_VI_12.html; Internet. My translation of Medoruma's 1998 prize-winning story "Mabuigumi" (Spirit Stuffing) will be appearing in issue 40 of the literary journal *Fiction International*.

12. See Michael Molasky, "Modern Okinawan Literature," in *The Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature*, ed. Joshua S. Mostow (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 282-83, for Molasky's mention of Medoruma.

13. See Davinder Bhowmik, "Plain Water with a Twist of Lime(stone): Magical Realism in Medoruma Shun," in *Proceedings of the Association for Japanese Literary Studies: Japanese Narrativity and Poeticity Revisited*, (Purdue 2002, published 2003), 311-318, and Davinder Bhowmik, "Literature as Public Memory: The Writing of Medoruma Shun," in *Japaneseness versus Ryûkyûanism*, ed. Kreiner Josef (Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2006), 111-18.

14. See Molasky, "Medoruma Shun," 161-191. Forthcoming in 2008, Davinder Bhowmik's book to be titled *Writing Okinawa: Narrative Acts of Identity and Resistance* (London; New York: Routledge, forthcoming) will contain a chapter that takes a close look at Medoruma's fiction up to "Tree of Butterflies."

15. I will analyze the various comments in more detail in later chapters, particularly when I take up the specific story in question. See section 1.8 of this chapter for a short list of the literary awards Medoruma Shun has won.

16. I will provide more detail on the secondary material about Medoruma's individual stories in the later chapters of this study.

17. See Molasky, "Medoruma Shun."

18. In Shinjô Ikuo, *Okinawa bungaku to iu kuwadate: Kattô suru gengo, shintai, kioku* (Tokyo: Impact Shuppankai, 2003). In chapter three of his book, Shinjô has a

section on "Droplets" in pages 128-144, and in chapter four he has two essays on "Spirit Stuffing" on pages 176-182.

19. Shu Keisoku, "Medoruma Shun no shôsetsu ni okeru Okinawa to 'shintai' no seijigaku" (Ph. D. dissertation, Nagoya Daigaku, 2001).

20. Suzuki Tomoyuki, "Gûwateki akui: Medoruma Shun to Okinawa-sen no kioku," *Shakai shirin* 48, no. 1 (2001), 23-28.

21. For discussions of the problems and potential of "magical realism" or the "supernatural" in Medoruma's works, see Matsukawa Yûsuke, "'Suiteki' no kôsatsu: 'Suiteki' ni mirareru shûru rearisumuteki shuhô kara," *Okinawa Kokusai Daigaku gobun to kyôiku no kenkyû* 3, no. 3 (2002), 100-105, Medoruma Shun and Ikezawa Natsuki, "'Zetsubô' kara hajimeru," *Bungakukai* 51, no. 9 (1997), 183-185, Molasky, "Medoruma Shun," 177-182, Ôe Kenzaburô and Medoruma Shun, "Okinawa ga kenpô o tekishi suru toki: 'Iyashi' motomeru hondo e no igi," *Ronza*, no. 7 (2000), 178-179, and Takahashi Toshio, "Fuan, kyôfu, zôo, kaikon o tokasu Okinawa no netsu," *Ronza*, no. 7 (2001), 314-315.

22. The Battle of Okinawa is often referred to as the only World War II ground battle to be fought on Japanese soil; however, Hayashi Hirofumi points out that the Battle of Iwojima, which took place from February to March of 1945, also occurred on Japanese soil. The difference is that most of the civilian population on Iwojima had been evacuated, while in Okinawa's case huge numbers of civilians got caught in the battle. See Hayashi Hirofumi, *Okinawa-sen to minshû* (Tokyo: Ôtsuki Shoten, 2002), 4.

23. Historians of the Battle of Okinawa Ôshiro Masayasu and Hayashi Hirofumi list March 23, 1945, as the beginning of the Battle of Okinawa, while Ôta Masahide considers the date of the invasion of the Kerama islands, March 26, 1945, the starting date as opposed to the date of the landing on Okinawa on April 1st. See Hayashi, *Okinawa-sen to minshû*, 4; Ôshiro Masayasu, *Okinawa-sen: Minshû no me de toraeru "sensô" - kaiteiban*, Rev. ed. (Tokyo: Kôbunken, 2004), 71; Ôta Masahide, "Re-examining the History of the Battle of Okinawa," in *Okinawa: Cold War Island*, ed. Chalmers Johnson (Cardiff, CA: Japan Policy Research Institute, 1999), 13-14.

24. Although June 23rd has become the officially recognized date for the conclusion of the Battle of Okinawa, historians have pointed out that many civilians and soldiers continued to hide in the mountains and caves well into August of that year, 1945. Furthermore, the official surrender papers for the Battle of Okinawa were not signed until September 7, 1945. See, for example, Ôta, "Re-examining the History of the Battle of Okinawa," 13-15.

25. Ôshiro and Hayashi use the figure of 200,656 for the total number of casualties from all sides related to the Battle of Okinawa, citing the *Okinawa-ken engoka shiryô* (data on compensation for Okinawa Prefecture) as their source. See Ôshiro, *Okinawa-sen: Minshû no me*, 80, and Hayashi, *Okinawa-sen to minshû*, 5. However, according to an article in the *Okinawa Times* on June 7, 2007, the number of war dead related to the Battle of Okinawa as recognized and engraved on the Cornerstone of Peace, the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial located in Mabuni, will be 240,609 after the additions for 2007. Every year additions to this number are recognized and engraved

before that year's "Irei no hi." See Okinawa Times, "Heiwa no ishiji / 235-nin tsuika kokumei," *Okinawa Times*, June 7, 2007, 27. The number of names engraved on the Cornerstone of Peace Memorial, however, includes the names of all Okinawans who died in war-related conditions during the period from the 1931 Manchurian Incident to September 7, 1946, one year after the official surrender of Japanese forces on Okinawa. Hence, Gerald Figal observes, the discrepancy between the number of names engraved on the Cornerstone of Peace and the number of documented dead from the Battle of Okinawa. See Figal, "Waging Peace," 71.

26. These and all subsequent figures in this paragraph are taken from Hayashi, *Okinawa-sen to minshû*, 4, and Ôshiro, *Okinawa-sen: Minshû no me*, 80, and therefore are not calculations based on the 2007 figure of 240,609 war dead used for the Cornerstone of Peace Memorial.

27. Hayashi, *Okinawa-sen to minshû*, 4, and Ôshiro, *Okinawa-sen: Minshû no me*, 80.

28. Ôshiro, *Okinawa-sen: Minshû no me*, 80.

29. See Ôta, "Re-examining the History of the Battle of Okinawa," 27, for mention of the military's expectation of losing the Battle of Okinawa, and for reference to the "sacrificed stone strategy" see Shima Tsuyoshi, *Okinawa-sen o kangaeru*, vol. 9, Okinawa bunko (Naha: Hirugisha, 1993), 92.

30. See Ôshiro, *Okinawa-sen: Minshû no me*, 92.

31. All of the male student corps groups, regardless of which school they were from, were called the *Tekketsu kinnôtai*, or Imperial Blood and Iron Corps, while the

female student nurse corps groups were given a different name according to the school the students came from. In 1999 The Himeyuri Memorial Peace Musuem held a special display devoted to all the student corps groups, both male and female. Information about the display can be found in "'Okinawa-sen no zengakutotachi'-ten" Hôkokusho Henshû Iinkai, eds., *"'Okinawa-sen no zengakutotachi'-ten" hôkokusho* (Itoman: Himeyuri Heiwa Kinen Shiryôkan, 2000). For an explanation in English of the various student nurse corps groups and tensions among them prior to the 1999 display, see in particular chapter three of Linda Isako Angst, "In a Dark Time: Community, Memory, and the Making of Ethnic Selves in Okinawan Women's Narratives" (Ph.D. diss, Yale University, 2001).

32. See Ôshiro's section on the total mobilization of the civilian population in Ôshiro, *Okinawa-sen: Minshû no me*, 74-77.

33. A few testimonies by civilian survivors of the Battle of Okinawa of incidents of Japanese soldiers ordering civilians out of caves, confiscating civilian food supply, and killing or threatening to kill crying babies appear in the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum and their museum guidebook, Okinawa-ken Heiwa Kinen Shiryôkan, ed., *Okinawa-ken Heiwa Kinen Shiryôkan sôgô annai: Heiwa no kokoro o sekai e* (Itoman: Okinawa-ken Heiwa Kinen Shiryôkan, 2003), see in particular pp. 82-84, and 96.

34. See Ôshiro, *Okinawa-sen: Minshû no me*, 77-78.

35. Ibid, 78-79. See also Medoruma Shun's similar assessment of how the Japanese military's fear of Okinawans betraying them led to the fostering of fear of the

US military, which compelled citizens to commit group suicides. Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 34.

36. Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 33.

37. Norma Field, *In the Realm of a Dying Emperor*, 1st Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 61. Field's book has been translated into Japanese and her new term has been adopted by scholars in Japan who find the term "jiketsu" (self-determination) and "gyokusai" (smashed jewel) misleading. One such scholar is Yakabi Osamu, who credits Field for this term, and uses "kyôseiteki shûdan jiketsu" (compulsory group suicide) in his studies of Okinawan war memory. See, for example, Yakabi Osamu, "'Gama' ga sôki suru Okinawa-sen no kioku," *Gendai shisô* 28-7, no. 6 (2000), 119.

38. In my reading of various war testimonies of the Battle of Okinawa, I have found this to be the common pattern of talking about capture. See also Nakahodo's comments on the tendency of civilian Okinawan survivors to demonize the Japanese army to the point where they are more fearsome than the US army, in Nakahodo Masanori, *Shimauta no Shôwa shi: Okinawa bungaku no ryôbun* (Tokyo: Gaifûsha, 1988), 46.

39. George Feifer, *Tennozan: The Battle of Okinawa and the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1992), 483-485.

40. See Kawamura Minato, et al., *Sensô wa dono yô ni katararete kita ka* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999), 33-34.

41. In some cases the tragedies of war continued after Okinawan civilians were released from detention camps. On Kumejima, after US forces declared the fighting over and let captured civilian prisoners return to their island, they were soon captured by Japanese military forces still hiding on the island, and executed for being spies and betraying the Japanese nation. See Matthew Allen, "Wolves at the Back Door: Remembering the Kumejima Massacres," in *Islands of Discontent: Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power*, ed. Laura Hein and Mark Selden, Asia/Pacific/Perspectives (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).

42. See Arasaki, "Struggle Against Military Bases," 102.

43. Yoshihama's list focuses solely on books, so it is inadequate for determining the first appearance of writings that have previously been in a magazine or newspaper. For example, Yoshihama's publication record lists Ishino Keiichi's *Himeyuri no tô* as first published in 1950, but according to Nakada Akiko, it first appeared as an installment in 1949 in the magazine *Reijokai*. See Nakada Akiko, "'Himeyuri' o meguru shogensetsu no kenkyû: Amerika senryôka no Okinawa de happyô sareta shinbun kiji shiryô o chûshin ni," in *Amerika senryôka ni okeru Okinawa bungaku no kisoteki kenkyû*, ed. Nakahodo Masanori (Senbaru: Ryûkyû Daigaku, 2005), 60. Nakada has also found 3,913 newspaper articles and advertisements about the Himeyuri alone in *Okinawa Times* and *Ryûkyû Shimpô* newspapers for the period 1945-1972. Furthermore, Yoshihama's list does not include any of Medoruma Shun's books that contain his fiction dealing with the Battle of Okinawa, even though the collections of short stories, titled *Suiteki* and *Mabuigumi*, came out in book form in 1997 and 1999 respectively. Yoshihama does,

however, list literary works such as Ôshiro Tatsuhiro's fictional novella "Kamishima" (1974) and his historical novel *Hi no hate kara* (1993) that deal with the Battle of Okinawa. This might be because Ôshiro's two works are longer novella and novel-length narratives, while Medoruma's collections contain other stories that are not related to the Battle of Okinawa.

44. Yoshihama Shinobu, "Okinawa-sengoshi ni miru Okinawa-sen kankei kankôbutsu no keikô," *Shiryô henshûshitsu kiyô*, no. 25 (2000), 57. Other spikes or increases in publications also occurred, but I have listed only the major ones as an example.

45. This overview is a synthesis of three works that describe how the Battle of Okinawa has been portrayed, namely, Nakahodo Masanori, *Okinawa no senki* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1982), 3-13, Ôshiro Masayasu, "Okinawa-sen no shinjitsu o megutte: Kôgunshikan to minshûshikan no kakushitsu," in *Sôten, Okinawa-sen no kioku*, ed. Ishihara Masaie, et al. (Tokyo: Shakai Hyôronsha, 2002), 23-32, Yoshihama, "Okinawa-sen kankei kankôbutsu," 58-62.

46. The three sources have much overlap, but Yoshihama divides his overview by decade, not necessarily categorizing by trends in representation as Nakahodo and Ôshiro try to do. As a result, Yoshihama combines the end of the 1940s with the 1950s, while Nakahodo and Ôshiro make the late 1940s its own period. Nakahodo's overview covers only 35 years, so I have relied more on Ôshiro and Yoshihama for a description of works since the 1980s.

47. See Nakada, "'Himeyuri' o meguru shogensetsu no kenkyû," 74. Ishino's *Himeyuri no tô* has been reprinted numerous times, e.g., Ishino Keiichirô, *Himeyuri no tô* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1991).

48. Yoshihama lists *Okinawa no higeki* as being published in 1949 before *Tetsu no bôfû*, but most other scholars cite 1951 as the publication date for *Okinawa no higeki*; for instance Nakahodo, *Okinawa no senki*, 10, Ôshiro, "Okinawa-sen no shinjitsu o megutte," 24, Nakada, "'Himeyuri' o meguru shogensetsu no kenkyû," 73, Shinjô, *Okinawa bungaku to iu kuwadate*, 20, all list the work as first appearing in 1951, after *Tetstu no bôfû*. I am following Nakahodo and the others.

49. See Nakahodo, *Okinawa no senki*, 11. Nakahodo's work also has a chapter covering each of these works in more detail.

50. Ôshiro, "Okinawa-sen no shinjitsu o megutte," 24-25.

51. Ôshiro also explains that Japanese military massacres of civilians became a "taboo" topic in part due to the compensation law for war-related losses that was passed in Japan in 1952 and growing interest in the Battle of Okinawa by mainland Japanese. The efforts to gain recognition under the compensation law stressed civilian loyalty and cooperation with the Japanese military, and this mode of representation fit mainland efforts for Okinawa's return to Japan. At the same time, growing glorification of the Battle of Okinawa grew out of increasing visits to Okinawa's battle sites by mainland tourists and relatives of soldiers who had lost their lives in the Battle of Okinawa. Within this context, civilian massacres and other deaths caused by the Japanese military became a taboo topic. See Ibid, 25-27.

52. See Ibid, 27.

53. Ibid, 29.

54. With the return of Okinawa to Japan in 1972, the Ryukyu government became the Okinawa Prefectural government. Therefore, the name of the editorial board and publisher for *Okinawa Prefectural History* changes from Ryûkyû Seifu (Government of the Ryukyus) to Okinawa Kyôiku Iinkai (Okinawa Board of Education) after 1972. The 1974 part two of the *Record of the Battle of Okinawa* is part of the same series as the first part published in 1971, as the editors and publishing organ are approximately the same entity, just with a different name.

55. See Yoshihama, "Okinawa-sen kankei kankôbutsu," 58. See also page 59 for a list of works published in the 1970s that focus on civilian massacres by the Japanese military.

56. Reprinted in Sono, *Aru shinwa no haikei*. Nakahodo Masanori discusses Sono's series of articles in Nakahodo, *Okinawa no senki*, 142-156. Sono Ayako would later be called as a witness to challenge the historical accuracy of incidents of military-ordered civilian suicides during the Ministry of Education textbook trials in the 1980s over Ienaga Saburô's history books and his entry on the Battle of Okinawa. See Aniya Masaaki, ed., *Sabakareta Okinawa-sen* (Tokyo: Banseisha, 1989), for his summary and transcripts of the court proceedings.

57. See Yoshihama, "Okinawa-sen kankei kankôbutsu," 58-59.

58. Ôshiro, "Okinawa-sen no shinjitsu o megutte," 30-32.

59. See Yoshihama, "Okinawa-sen kankei kankôbutsu," 59-60.

60. See Yakabi Osamu, "Rekishi o mezasu ichi: 'Nuchi du takara' to iu hakken," in *Okinawa no kioku/Nihon no rekishi*, ed. Uemura Tadao (Tokyo: Miraisha, 2002), especially pp.152-153. In English on the textbook controversy, see Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism, and Ienaga Saburô's Textbook Lawsuits."

61. Ôshiro, "Okinawa-sen no shinjitsu o megutte," 30-32.

62. Yoshihama's list and Ôshiro's summary both end around 2000. In addition to my own reading and research materials, I have relied on *Okinawa bungei nenkan* for the years 2000 to 2005 for the data and information on publications related to the Battle of Okinawa. See the "Okinawa, Amami kankei shinkan tosho mokoroku" section for the following yearbooks: Ôe Chôjirô, ed., *Okinawa bungei nenkan 2001-nen ban* (Naha: Okinawa Times, 2001), Ôe Chôjirô, ed., *Okinawa bungei nenkan 2002-nen ban* (Naha: Okinawa Times, 2002), Sakuma Moriaki, ed., *Okinawa bungei nenkan 2003-nen ban* (Naha: Okinawa Times, 2003), Sakuma Moriaki, ed., *Okinawa bungei nenkan 2004-nen ban* (Naha: Okinawa Times, 2004), and Sakuma Moriaki, ed., *Okinawa bungei nenkan 2005-nen ban* (Naha: Okinawa Times, 2005). Information on *War Stories Told in Shima Kutuba* was obtained during the Okinawa documentary film festival titled *Ryûkyû den'ei retsuden* (Ryukyu Reflections) held in Naha that I attended in 2004, and during a trip to Okinawa in June 2005. For information on and reviews of the other films screened at the festival, see *EDGE* issue 13, and for my thoughts on *War Stories Told in Shima Kutuba* see Kyle Ikeda, "*Shima kutuba de kataru ikusayu* to *Mausu—Aushuvittsu o ikinobita chichi oya no monogatari no kanôsei*," *EDGE*, no. 13 (2004).

63. See Himeyuri Heiwa Kinen Shiryôkan, ed., *Himeyuri gakuto no sengo* (Itoman: Okinawa-ken Joshi Ikkô, Himeyuri Dôsôkai, 2004), Himeyuri Heiwa Kinen Shiryôkan, ed., *Himeyuri Heiwa Kinen Shiryôkan shiryôshû 1: Himeyuri no sengo* (Itoman: Himeyuri Heiwa Kinen Shiryôkan, 2001), Okinawa-ken Joshi Ikkô, Himeyuri Dôsôkai, eds., *Himeyuri Heiwa Kinen Shiryôkan: kaikan to sonogo no ayumi* (Naha: Okinawa-ken Joshi Ikkô, Himeyuri Dôsôkai, 2002).

64. See the book by Ryûkyûko o Kiroku Suru Kai, eds., *Shima kutuba de kataru ikusayu: 100-nin no kioku (War Stories Told in Shima Kutuba)* (Yomitan: Ryûkyûko o Kiroku Suru Kai, 2003), 31-41, for an explanation of how the interviews were conducted and filmed. The version of this film with 100 interviews was shown at the 2003 Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival and in 2004 at the *Ryûkyû den'ei retsuden* (Ryukyu Reflections) in Naha, Okinawa, which was a smaller version of the Yamagata Film Festival. Multiple screenings of the more recent *War Stories Told in Shima Kutuba: Memories of 500 people* occurred in 2005. See Ryûkyûko o Kiroku Suru Kai, *Sensô to Kioku: Shima Kutuba de kataru ikusayu —500-nin no kioku* (Yomitan: Yumeâru, 2005).

65. See Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 20.

66. Okinawa Times, "Okinawa kara mita 20-seiki," *Okinawa Times*, January 1, 2000.

67. In Suzuki's "Gûwateki akui," 47-48, he lists Medoruma's published fictional works from 1983 to 2001, which, not counting reprints, comes out to twenty pieces. Since 2001 Medoruma has published four more works, the novel *Fûon: The Crying Wind*

(2004), *Niji no tori* (Rainbow Bird) in *Shôsetsu torippâ* 109, no. 64 (2004), "Denreihei" (Army Messenger, 2004), and *Forest at the Back of My Eye*, ongoing since 2004. Out of the approximate total of twenty-four works of fiction Medoruma has published, eight deal with the Battle of Okinawa.

68. Of Medoruma's award-winning literary works, only "Gyogunki" (Diary of a School of Fish, 1983), which was awarded the 11th Ryûkyû Shimpô Short Story Prize, does not deal with the Battle of Okinawa. "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" won the 12th *Shin Okinawa bungaku* prize in 1986, "Droplets" won the 27th Kyushu Literary Arts Festival Prize and the 117th Akutagawa Prize in 1997, "Spirit Stuffing" won the 4th Kiyama Shôhei Literary Prize and the 26th Kawabata Yasunari Literary Prize in 2000, and at the 28th Montreal World Film Festival in 2004, *Fûon: The Crying Wind*, a movie based on Medoruma's screenplay of the same title, won the Innovation Award for its "poetic quality." For a list of the literary awards, see the inside jacket of Medoruma Shun, *Suiteki*, bunko bon ed. (Bungei Shunjû, 2000). The Montreal World Film Festival Innovation Award is mentioned in the extras section of the *Fûon: The Crying Wind* DVD by director Higashi Yôichi, *Fûon: The Crying Wind* (Tokyo: Tôei Video, 2004).

69. See Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 72.

70. Molasky refers to "Gyogunki" as "Taiwan Woman" and briefly discusses the story in his article, Molasky, "Medoruma Shun." See especially pp. 172-173. In note 24 of that article, Molasky comments that the publication date for this story sometimes appears as 1984 and in other places as 1983. Following Medoruma himself, I have

chosen to use the date 1983. See "Afterword" of Medoruma Shun, *Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite: Medoruma Shun shoki tanpenshû* (Tokyo: Kage Shobô, 2003), where Medoruma states that he wrote the story in September of 1983. Additionally, on page 236, the list of first appearances of works in the collection gives the morning edition of the December 9, 1983 issue of *Ryûkyû shimpô* for "Gyogunki." The story has been reprinted in a collection of Medoruma's early works written in his twenties, Medoruma, *Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite: Medoruma Shun shoki tanpenshû.* The 1985-1986 short story "The Crying Wind" was reprinted in the collection of Medoruma's stories titled *Suiteki* in 1997, and again in the paperback edition in 2000. "The Crying Wind" and "Walking the Street named Peace Boulevard" will be examined in Chapter Two of this study.

71. See the following positive reviews of "Tree of Butterflies": Ôno Takayuki, "Medoruma Shun 'Gunchô no ki' / Haijo sareta sensô no kioku / Zushikika dekinai anbu abaku," *Ryûkyû shimpô*, August 4, 2000, and Shinjô, "Hôkai no yochô."

72. My understanding of the term "deep memory" is based on James Young's articulation and explanation as found in James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 12-14. See also Chapter Three of this study.

CHAPTER 2: UNSPOKEN MEMORY AND INEXPRESSIBLE TRAUMA: MEDORUMA AS WITNESS TO SURVIVAL

2.1 Introduction

In the representation of war, survivors possess a special, privileged position as embodied memory and direct links to historical events. Additionally, considering the tradition of modern Japanese literature and the high regard for authentic writing based on lived experiences that dominated Naturalist writing and the I-novel during the twentieth century, it comes as no surprise that some Japanese authors and literary critics have suggested that Medoruma Shun's lack of lived war experience has limited his ability to portray the war in his fiction. This narrow focus on Medoruma's lack of lived war experience has almost resulted in too hastily dismissing his fiction as merely derivative of war accounts by survivors. Akutagawa Prize committee judge Hino Keizô admits to initially reacting to Medoruma's short story "Suiteki" (Droplets, 1997) as treading the same ground as work by war survivor authors such as Ôoka Shôhei's *Nobi* (Fires on the Plain, 1952) and Takeda Taijun's *Hikarigoke* (Luminous Moss, 1954), before realizing that Medoruma's narrative differs from their work in its focus on how a war survivor has lived since the war.[1] Ikezawa Natsuki, in an interview with Medoruma after "Droplets" won the Akutagawa Prize, mentioned that during the Akutagawa Prize selection meeting, some judges doubted that an author in his thirties with no war experience could properly write about the Battle of Okinawa.[2] And Suzuki Tomoyuki, in an essay on "Droplets" and "Mabuigumi" (Spirit Stuffing, 1998) raised the question of what Medoruma could possibly add in terms of actual war experiences, considering that he had none. Although

Suzuki's answer is "allegorical memory," which he argues serves as an allegory for the unarticulated that will never be recovered, Suzuki fails to go beyond this observation and connect Medoruma's "allegorical memory" to his experience as the child of war survivors.[3] Because most of the existing scholarship on and analysis of Medoruma's literary work has not considered the full implications of his relationship to the war as the son of two war survivors, it has failed to analyze many of the features of Medoruma's fiction that distinguish it from survivor testimony and overlooked many of the distinct ways his stories contribute to knowledge about the Battle of Okinawa that survivor-authored works do not.

In this chapter, I examine two of Medoruma's earlier pieces of war fiction, "Fûon" (The Crying Wind, 1985-6) and "Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite" (Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard, 1986) that deal with two kinds of unarticulated personal war memories: memory constrained by social consequence, found in "The Crying Wind," and traumatic memory, portrayed in "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard." First I analyze the unarticulated war memories of the two primary war survivors in "The Crying Wind," one a civilian survivor of the Battle of Okinawa, and the other a former special attack forces pilot from mainland Japan. Both characters have lived their lives since the war without telling anyone about their most haunting war experiences, in large part due to the possible social consequences of disclosure. Then I examine Medoruma's representation of traumatic memory as deployed through dementia in "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard." Drawing from Bessel A. van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart's, as well as Oka Mari's, scholarship on the nature of traumatic memory, I demonstrate how the traumatic war experiences of the character Uta in the

story remain beyond her ability to articulate or narrate them. I argue that both narratives constitute explorations of war memory that are not found in survivor testimony, and as such simultaneously reveal and critique the limitations of survivor-authored war narrative. In the final section of the chapter I examine how Medoruma's experience as the child, grandchild, and relative of numerous survivors of the Battle of Okinawa has provided him with an intimate look at the nature of war trauma, and consequently significant insights concerning the nature of war memory. The chapter demonstrates that Medoruma's fiction contributes to knowledge about the Battle of Okinawa by addressing that which survivor-authored narratives leave out, and that his awareness of this absence comes from his particular experience as the child and relative of war survivors.

2.2 "The Crying Wind" and Socially Constrained Memory

2.2.1 Personal Memories: Spoken vs Unarticulated

In her article on filmmaker Rea Tajiri's documentary *History and Memory* that deals with Tajiri's attempt to recover and reconstruct her mother's fragmented memory traces of the internment of Japanese Americans in the US during World War II, Marita Sturken observes that, within the context of commemorating historical events, personal memories serve either to affirm historical accounts or to challenge their accuracy by serving as embodied evidence of the incompleteness of those accounts.[4] In the context of remembering the Battle of Okinawa within published texts, memorials, and anniversary commemorative events, personal memories of survivors have tended to fall within these two categories as well. Much has been written about how Japanese military and

Okinawan civilian personal memories have been deployed to either critique or support nationalistic historical narratives.[5]

Most of these studies, as well as Sturken's article, however, do not raise the question of what relationship *unarticulated* personal memories might have with historical narratives. What are non-deployed personal memories of the Battle of Okinawa about? Why do they remain un-narrated? How can such personal memories ever be passed on, let alone their existence grasped, if their owners never articulate them? These are some of the questions that the following examinations of Medoruma Shun's short stories "The Crying Wind" and "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" attempt to address.

2.2.2 Publication Information on "The Crying Wind"

"The Crying Wind" first appeared in the *Okinawa Times* newspaper from December 1985 to February 1986 and was subsequently revised for inclusion in the collection of Medoruma's stories titled *Suiteki* (Droplets) published in 1997 after Medoruma won the Akutagawa literary prize for the title story. Not only did Medoruma further revise and significantly expand "The Crying Wind" for the screenplay to the 2004 film *Fûon: The Crying Wind*, directed by Higashi Yôichi, but he also wrote a novel-length version of the story based on the screenplay. The novel differs considerably from the short story and will be dealt with briefly in chapter six of this study. This chapter's analysis of "The Crying Wind" is based on the version of the short story revised in 1997 and printed in the paperback edition of *Droplets* published in 2000.[6]

2.2.3 "The Crying Wind" Story Overview

Set in the early summer of 1985 before the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Battle of Okinawa and the Pacific War, "The Crying Wind" begins with Tôyama Akira,

an elementary school boy, climbing up a cliff to place a jar containing a tilapia next to the propped up skull of a supposed fallen special attack force, or kamikaze, pilot. In the village where Akira lives, the skull is referred to as the "crying spirit" because it emits a crying sound when the wind blows. Dared by his friends, who look on, to carry out the deed, Akira successfully makes the dangerous climb and completes the task before fleeing in panic.

Later that day a documentary filmmaker, Fujii Yasuo, who has come to Akira's coastal Okinawan village to make a film about the "crying spirit" for the upcoming fortieth anniversary of the end of the Pacific War, visits Akira's father Seikichi.[7] Fujii has heard from district chief Ishikawa that no one in the village knows more about "the crying spirit" than Seikichi, and asks for his help in trying to discern the identity of the pilot. Seikichi, however, wants nothing to do with the project and tells Fujii to go back to where he came from. After Fujii leaves, Seikichi visits district chief Ishikawa, criticizing him for telling Fujii about "the crying spirit" and finds out that Ishikawa was hoping to use the documentary to increase tourism to their village. Seikichi accuses Ishikawa of just trying to make money off the dead and storms off. He then goes to see "the crying spirit" and recalls how he has avoided talking about it with anyone outside of the village. Upon seeing "the crying spirit," Seikichi recalls when he first found the body of the fallen pilot with his father when he was still a young boy.

One evening, about a month after the US forces landed on Okinawa, Seikichi and his father were searching for food, when they came across the body of a fallen special attack pilot near the ocean shore. After Seikichi and his father placed the fallen pilot up on the cliff used as an open-air disposal site for the dead, Seikichi's father was hit in the

leg by shrapnel from an exploding shell on the way back to their cave. After his father reached their cave, Seikichi went out alone to the cliff to retrieve the fountain pen he had first seen when he and his father had disposed the body. After groping in the darkness, Seikichi found the pen and then notices masses of scurrying crabs, apparently feasting on the flesh of the dead pilot. Unable to see clearly in the dark, Seikichi thought he saw the pilot's body lift its head and open its mouth, letting out a cry. Spooked, the young Seikichi fled from the cliff and, forgetting the danger of being heard by US forces, screamed in fear as he ran down the riverbank.

As the years passed, Seikichi figured it must have been the crabs grabbing at the skull, but he couldn't shake the feeling that he had defiled the spirit of the pilot with his theft, and the shame of his crime and fear of "the crying spirit" only grew stronger. When efforts to retrieve and identify the remains of those lost in the war reached their village, Seikichi feared his theft might be discovered, so he spread fears and rumors about "the crying spirit" so everyone would leave it alone. Though Seikichi figured his fellow villagers would probably forgive his "crime" and laugh at his earnestness, he could not shake his fear of "the crying spirit." With Fujii's arrival and interest in the remains of the fallen pilot, Seikichi decides to try one more time to return the fountain pen to the pilot's remains.

The following day Fujii and his film crew go out to film "the crying spirit," but even though the proper wind blows, the usual crying sound does not emanate from the skull. As Fujii stares at "the crying spirit" he recalls his own memories of the war. On the night before his special attack force flight mission, Fujii and fellow trainee Kanô climbed up the cliff behind their barracks. At the top of the cliff, after asking Fujii for a

light, Kanô leaned toward Fujii with his cigarette in his mouth, bringing his face close to Fujii's. After Fujii averted his eyes, he heard Kanô whisper something and felt Kanô's breath on his ear. When Fujii turned to face Kanô, his lips brushed against something soft and Kanô grabbed him by his collar and threw him off the cliff. Fujii remembered falling in the darkness and breaking branches of the pine tree before sharp pain and loss of consciousness. When he woke up, Fujii found himself in the military hospital. Kanô had reported that Fujii's fall had been an accident, but the investigating soldiers suspected Fujii may have been trying to get out of his mission and interrogated him severely, but Fujii never offered a reply or explanation. As time passed Japan surrendered and the interrogations ceased, and Fujii was left bedridden before finally making a recovery three years later.

In the years since the war, Fujii has made it his mission in life to record the stories and lives of those lost in the war, especially his fellow special attack force pilots. But privately he has been wracked with self-doubt, wondering if he jumped off the cliff himself, just making up his final memories of Kanô. Try as he might, Fujii has never been able to recall what Kanô said to him right before being thrown off the cliff. Fujii has often found himself asking, what was Kanô trying to say, and was he really trying to save my life? Fujii even began to wonder whether his mission to record and tell the story of his fellow pilots was just an excuse to cover up his own selfish desire to ease the pain of having survived while all of his friends had perished in the war.

In the meantime word spreads in the village that "the crying spirit" has stopped crying and Akira and his friends suspect that the jar Akira placed next to the skull is blocking the path of the wind, effectively silencing "the crying spirit." Fearing a curse

might befall them for silencing "the crying spirit," Akira sneaks out at night to remove the jar, but accidentally knocks the skull from the cliff, and it shatters as it hits the rocks below. With the skull destroyed, Fujii leaves the village, leaving Seikichi alone with his memories and the mystery of the skull intact. After Fujii's departure, Seikichi throws the fountain pen and shattered skull into the ocean, but he still hears the sound of the crying wind.

2.3.1 Seikichi & Fujii's Unspoken Memories – Socially Constrained Memory

In "The Crying Wind" the unarticulated personal memories of the two war survivors Seikichi and Fujii remain untold in large part due to the possible social consequences of disclosure mixed with fear of the spirits in Seikichi's case, and self-doubt and uncertainty in Fujii's. The narrator directly states that Seikichi did not want anyone to know he had stolen something from the corpse of the fallen pilot. Additionally, Seikichi's own feelings of guilt combined with his reverence for the spirits of the deceased, equating his theft with the crime of defiling the spirit of the fallen pilot. Hence Seikichi fears not only the possible censure from society, but also possible retribution from the spirit world.

While the narrator of "The Crying Wind" clearly describes Seikichi's reasons for not talking about "the crying spirit" as related to possible social consequences, the social reasons for Fujii's silence concerning his so-called accident are only hinted at. When Fujii regained consciousness after his fall, he soon realized that he was under suspicion for purposely injuring himself in order to get out of his flight mission, despite Kanô's report that the injury had been the result of an accident. Instead of telling the military investigators that Kanô pushed him off the ledge, however, Fujii says nothing, neither

confirming nor denying the charges of attempting to dodge his duty. Although Fujii is the focal character during the section of "The Crying Wind" that recounts his wartime experience and his inner thoughts are revealed, the narrative never clearly states why he remained silent.

On the one hand, Fujii's silence can be interpreted as an attempt to protect the Kanô's reputation. Had Fujii disclosed the details of what happened up on the cliff on the night before his scheduled mission, it would have called into question Kanô's loyalty and amounted to accusing Kanô of a crime. Furthermore, if Fujii had included the account of his lips brushing something soft, presumably Kanô's lips, it would have raised questions about Kanô's sexual orientation, serving to tarnish Kanô's family name and soil his memory. Considering that Fujii would appear to be making up excuses to avoid being persecuted, there is a large possibility that no one would believe his testimony anyway.

At the same time, however, it also appears that Fujii is unsure as to what happened; he questions his own memories of the incident and barely remembers the three years that followed. In the days and weeks after regaining consciousness from his fall, Fujii is described as completely disinterested in the military investigation into the circumstances of his injury as well as the announcement of Japan's surrender. After being returned to his hometown, Fujii was bedridden for three years. Decades later, Fujii apparently has no memories of what happened during those three years. Additionally, try as he might, Fujii cannot recall what Kanô whispered to him, even questioning whether or not what he remembers actually happened. This self-doubt has even led Fujii to question his noble reasons for researching and making war documentaries for the sake of

honoring the dead and educating society as nothing more than a cover for more selfish reasons of atonement. The uncertainty of Fujii's war memories leads to self-doubt and feelings of guilt, only strengthening his inclination to remain silent.

Through the representation of the inner thoughts of its two focal war survivor characters, "The Crying Wind" reveals how the silencing constraints of social shame and guilt grow stronger with the passing of time. Over the decades, both Fujii and Seikichi's reluctance to express their war experiences has only grown stronger. Seikichi's guilt has been compounded by fear, while Fujii's has been reinforced by uncertainty. In both cases, the war survivors seem able to recall their war past, but consciously refrain from articulating or sharing it. In the next story, "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," I examine a different kind of unarticulated personal memory, traumatic memory, which lies beyond the power of conscious articulation.

2.4 "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" and Traumatic Memory

In contrast to the exploration of the inner thoughts and unspoken memories of war survivors found in "The Crying Wind," Medoruma's 1986 *Shin Okinawa bungaku* shô (New Okinawan Literature prize) winning short story "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" depicts the indications of residual war trauma that surface with the onset of dementia in the character Uta, an elderly war survivor of the Battle of Okinawa.[8] "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" takes place in 1983, covering the few days leading up to and including the imperial crown prince and princess' visit to Okinawa to coincide with that year's national blood drive. While Uta is the central character around whom the story unfolds, she is never made the narrative focal point, and therefore the

reader is never privy to her inner thoughts, feelings, or impressions. The closest the narrative comes to presenting Uta's thoughts is when Fumi, a fellow fishmonger and friend of Uta's, recalls the story Uta told her about her son, Yoshiaki—how he died during the Battle of Okinawa—as if she herself had lived through the experience. The story is primarily oriented around the perspective of Uta's grandson Kaju, a fifth grader in elementary school, who, along with his younger sister Sachiko, mother Hatsu, and father Seian, live with Uta near downtown Naha in Okinawa. The other focal characters that orient the narrative occasionally are Fumi and Seian, but most of the time the narrative is focalized through Kaju.

With the upcoming visit of the crown prince and princess and their scheduled procession down the major streets of Naha nearby Uta's house, the local police have been putting pressure on Seian and his family to keep Uta locked up in the house on the day of the event. Uta has recently been showing signs of dementia, wandering the market streets, disturbing sales displays, and in some cases wiping her feces on items being sold. She has also been recalling the war and confusing the past with the present. Kaju found Uta one evening hiding in a *gajumaru* tree a couple of blocks from their home and she pulled him into the shadows, placed him under her body, and told him to keep quiet because soldiers were coming. The police have even visited Fumi and Uta's other fellow fishmongers, threatening them with investigations from the board of sanitation if they do not agree to stop business on the day of the procession. Even with the pressure from the police, complaints by neighbors and local merchants, and pressure from his boss to keep Uta in their house on the day of the procession, Seian was hesitant to lock her up. But after Uta began ranting that she needed to take tangerines to her son Yoshiaki in

Yambaru, even though he died during the war over forty years earlier, Seian reluctantly places a lock on the door of Uta's room. On the day of the procession, although all of the other fishmongers cave in to police pressure to close up shop, Fumi defiantly sells her fish as usual. Kaju, incensed at the harassment and pain caused by the police, skips school and goes out to the main street of the procession, intending to spit on the car of the crown prince and princess as revenge for all the trouble their visit has caused. But before Kaju has his chance, Uta jumps out and smears her feces with her bare hands on the windows of the car carrying the imperial couple. The next day Kaju secretly takes Uta on a bus trip to Yambaru, but she dies on the bus before they arrive there.

2.4.1 Overview of Commentary and Criticism

Commentary on "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" has tended to focus either on the story's literary effectiveness or political significance. Ôshiro Tatsuhiro, one of the judges for the New Okinawa Literature Prize, stated that "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" won that year's prize due to the story's unforgettable characters,[9] and the other judge, Makiminato Tokuzô, praised the story for skillfully depicting the condition of contemporary Okinawa as well as the fish market and surrounding area of downtown Naha.[10] Okamoto Keitoku and Shu Keisoku, in contrast, have analyzed the story as an important expression of protest to the emperor system and the police's related infringement on the freedoms of common people that accompanies a visit from a member of the imperial family.[11] In Okamoto's assessment, "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" is groundbreaking in its representation of how the emperor system affects common people in their daily lives in concrete ways, as opposed to the more common theoretical and abstract critiques that have come from intellectuals.

In his article, written almost ten years after "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" was published, Okamoto observed that Medoruma's story raised important questions about Okinawa's relationship with mainland Japan and the emperor system, still relevant and needing to be addressed when Okamoto wrote his article in 1995.[12] Shu, in her chapter on "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," contextualizes the story's fictional protest of the imperial visit within the series of historical protests that have occurred in Okinawa both prior to and after the story was written in 1986. She also provides a psychoanalysis of Uta's act as protest. In his article on "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," in *EDGE* magazine, Nishimura Shûzô also emphasizes the story's political implications by listing a series of critical social and historical questions the story raises, although more than half of his article focuses on the trans-generational relationship between the grandmother Uta and grandson Kaju.[13]

2.4.2 The Representation of Traumatic Memory

What I want to focus on, however, is the nature of Uta's war memory. Unlike the unspoken war memories of "The Crying Wind" that go un-narrated primarily due to the feared social consequences of disclosure, Uta's war memories have remained unarticulated because they are the memory of traumatic experiences. Uta's war memories exhibit one of the defining characteristics of traumatic memory—they are fixed temporally in the past of the traumatic event. As explained by Bessel A. van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart, when traumatic recall occurs, the traumatized person is psychologically transported to the past and loses "track of current exigencies, and respond[s] instead, as if faced with past threat."[14] In "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," Uta is described on two occasions as acting as if she were still in the past

during the Battle of Okinawa. Once she covers Kaju with her body in the dark of night on the streets of Naha, ordering him to stay quiet because soldiers are coming; another time she demands tangerines to take to her son Yoshiaki who she insists is waiting for her in Yambaru, even though he died over forty years before during the war. Similar to Oka Mari's description of traumatized people who re-live and re-experience a traumatic event as if it were happening in the immediate present, Uta is re-experiencing events from the war past and acting as if they are happening in the present.[15]

In addition to being temporally fixed in the past, traumatic memory is beyond the power of being narrated or articulated by the traumatized person. According to van der Kolk and van der Hart, unlike narrative or common memory that "consists of mental constructs, which people use to make sense out of experience," traumatic memory concerns those experiences that existing mental constructs and cognitive schemes are "entirely unable to accommodate."[16] Van der Kolk and van der Hart further elaborate how this lack of accommodation results in the inability of the traumatized person to narrate their traumatic memory: ellipses

> When people are exposed to trauma, that is, a frightening event outside of ordinary human experience, they experience "speechless terror" (van der Kolk, 1987). The experience cannot be organized on a linguistic level, and this failure to arrange the memory in words and symbols leaves it to be organized on a somatosensory or iconic level: as somatic sensations, behavioral reenactments, nightmares, and flashbacks (Brett and Ostroff, 1985).[17]

Oka's description of the memory of a "violent event" also includes a claim of the impossibility of articulating it because it still lies in the realm of current experience, not past event.[18] In Oka's formulation, when traumatic memory takes hold of a traumatized person, it results in the re-experiencing of the violent event as if it were happening again.

In this sense traumatic memory is more a re-experiencing than it is a recollection, and because it is impossible to narrate what one is currently experiencing, traumatic memory lies beyond narration.[19] Simply put, traumatic memory is incapable of being narrated or articulated in an organized and logical fashion. It is this inexpressible quality of traumatic memory that explains why Uta never narrates or articulates her traumatic memories in "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard:" Uta's trauma lies outside "existing mental constructs" and beyond coherent articulation.[20] Additionally, this inexpressibility is underscored by the story's obvious avoidance of focalizing the narrative through Uta, in essence denying the reader access to her thoughts and memories. In "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," Uta's traumatic war memories are only depicted as externally observed expressions of traumatic recall.

This lack of exploration of the inner thoughts and memories of Uta in "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" constitutes, perhaps, the story's greatest difference from "The Crying Wind" in its representation of war memory. Although "The Crying Wind" and "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" both center on unarticulated personal memories of the Battle of Okinawa, the nature of their representation and reasons for not being narrated differ greatly. "The Crying Wind" explores the hidden memories and unexpressed thoughts of its war survivor characters, while "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" avoids descriptions of Uta's inner thoughts and "memories," providing instead the external observations of Uta's actions that point to traumatic memory. Seikichi and Fujii consciously avoid disclosing their shameful war experiences due to compounded feelings of guilt, fear, and uncertainty, while Uta is literally incapable of publicly articulating her traumatic memories.

Both stories, however, contribute to public knowledge about the Battle of Okinawa in ways that survivor-authored testimony cannot; they depict the kinds of personal memories that survivors avoid or are incapable of articulating. As the imagined representation of that which survivors do not publicly articulate, these two stories reveal the inherent limitation of survivor testimony, while at the same time they constitute attempts at publicly recovering their erasure. However, by alluding to the unarticulated experiences of survivors, these stories bring with them another question. If survivors never publicly articulate these kinds of experiences, then how did Medoruma ever come to know of them, especially since he is not a survivor himself? This is the question I turn to in the following section.

2.5 Medoruma as Witness to Lives of Survivors and the Effects of Trauma

As Medoruma has stated on various occasions, such as in his interview with Ikezawa Natsuki in the September 1997 issue of *Bungakukai*, he has often drawn from the stories he heard from his parents and grandparents about the Battle of Okinawa for the writing of his fiction.[21] In his non-fiction book, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen* ("Postwar" Okinawa year zero, 2005) Medoruma describes in greater detail some of the war stories he heard from his parents, grandparents and relatives, revealing some of the source material for his fiction as well as how he has gained some insights into the nature of war memory.[22]

For instance, Medoruma recounts hearing stories from his grandparents of seeing special attack pilots flying into US ships and the corpses of pilots washing ashore. Medoruma's grandmother recalls seeing two such special attack pilot corpses, and

Medoruma has also heard stories of local civilians in the Nakijin area pulling the bodies of fallen pilots to shore for proper burial.[23] Coupled with Medoruma's imagination, the idea of the whistling skull of a fallen special attack pilot from "The Crying Wind" grew out of these stories.

Medoruma also states in *"Postwar" Okinawa year zero* that the episode in "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," where the character Uta grabs her grandson Kaju on the street one evening and tells him to stay quiet because soldiers are coming, was based on something that happened to one of his relatives.[24] Like the character Uta, Medoruma's elderly relative was beginning to show signs of dementia. One evening she escaped from the house and began wandering the streets of Naha. The family eventually found her curled up and quivering in a field, muttering, "soldiers are coming."[25] Medoruma's position as the relative of war survivors has made him privy to stories like this apparent outbreak of traumatic memory, the kinds of uncontrollable expressions of subconscious memory that appear irrational and are usually left out of survivor-authored war memoirs, not to mention oral histories and official historical records.

Similarly, Medoruma explains in *'Postwar' Okinawa year zero* that he used the story of his uncle's death a few years after the war as the basis for the anecdote about the death of Uta's son Yoshiaki in the cave during the war, in "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard." In the short story, Fumi recalls how Yoshiaki wanted to see Uta's face in the light of the cave entrance before dying. Medoruma's actual grandmother told him that his uncle, Katsuya, who had been a toddler during the Battle of Okinawa, became very sick and weak after the war, and wanted to see his mother's face just before

he died. Although Katsuya died two years after the end of the Battle of Okinawa, Medoruma considers his death a casualty of the war. For "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" he placed the death of the character Yoshiaki during the Battle of Okinawa, making Uta's memory of the event a war memory. This example clearly shows how Medoruma has used a story heard from his grandmother as the inspiration for his fiction.[26]

Perhaps even more revealing of how Medoruma's experience as a witness to the lives of war survivors has informed his understanding of war is the story of what Medoruma's grandmother did after she told him the story of Katsuya. Upon completing her account of Katsuya's death, Medoruma's grandmother reached into a drawer and pulled out a small dark green US army-issued cap that Katsuya had worn when he had been healthy enough to run around. Medoruma's grandmother had been keeping the cap as a keepsake of her lost son. After showing the cap to Medoruma, she told him that when she died she wanted it to be placed in her coffin with her.[27]

Right after Medoruma's grandmother died in 1995, Medoruma discovered that he was the only one in his family who had heard the story of Katsuya's cap. During the all-night vigil over his grandmother's body, Medoruma remembered the cap, looked in the drawer where his grandmother had kept it, and found it just as it was when she had first shown it to him. Medoruma showed the cap to his aunts and uncles and found out that none of them had known about it. They were all surprised to hear how their mother had kept the cap for almost fifty years, and were themselves moved to tears at the memory of their lost brother. At first they were hesitant to place the only keepsake they had of their

brother in the coffin, as it would be lost in cremation. In the end, however, they agreed to follow their mother's wishes.[28]

Although the above anecdote about Katsuya's cap does not appear to be the model for any particular scene in "The Crying Wind" or "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," it does serve as an example of the kind of experience Medoruma had as the child and grandchild of war survivors, and alludes to the type of knowledge that experience brought with it. After showing the cap to his aunts and uncles, Medoruma realized that his grandmother never told any of them about having it. Had she never told him, or if Medoruma had forgotten about the cap, the meanings and memories locked away in the cap would have been lost with her passing. This illustrates one of the limitations of public knowledge about the Battle of Okinawa; that it is dependent upon survivors' willingness and ability to articulate and pass on what they experienced. It also points to Medoruma's awareness of the vast number of war experiences that goes unspoken and is never known beyond the individual level. Both "The Crying Wind" and "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" reflect this awareness as the war survivor characters in these stories keep some of their most haunting war experiences secret.

The story of Katsuya's cap also points to the untold stories and meanings locked away in memory objects connected to significant events in the past. As Kalí Tal suggests in her study of survivor literature, there are images and objects connected to the memory of a traumatic event only understandable to survivors of that event.[29] In the example of Medoruma's grandmother and Katsuya's cap, until she expressed her wish to be buried with the cap, she was the only one who knew and understood the object's significance. In a similar vein, the fountain pen in "The Crying Wind" acts as a memory object,

connecting Seikichi to his theft from the pilot during the Battle of Okinawa. And like Medoruma's grandmother, until she explained the cap's significance, Seikichi never shares the existence of his memory object with anyone. It is through his personal relationship with his grandmother that Medoruma has been exposed to the private and unspoken meanings that may be lurking unknown and unrecognized in everyday objects.

2.5.1 The Limits of Textually Mediated Knowledge

As Medoruma reveals in *"Postwar" Okinawa year zero*, his experience as the child, grandchild, and relative of war survivors witnessing the ongoing aftereffects of the war on their daily lives, has played a large role in making him aware of how much about the Battle of Okinawa goes unspoken. I would suggest that it is this very experience as the daily witness to the effects of war on survivors that distinguishes the kind of knowledge Medoruma has about the Battle of Okinawa from knowledge gained only through textual mediation. James Young's articulation of the gap between how survivors of the Holocaust and those born after the event know and understand the Holocaust provides a useful way of thinking about this difference. Young, in the beginning of his book *At Memory's Edge*, which explores post-Holocaust literary and artistic representations of the Holocaust, emphasizes the mediated nature of knowledge about the Holocaust on the part of those who did not experience the event. Young writes:

> How is a post-Holocaust generation of artists supposed to "remember" events they never experienced directly? Born after Holocaust history into the time of its memory only, a new, media savvy generation of artists rarely presumes to represent these events outside the ways they have vicariously known and experienced them. This postwar generation, after all, cannot remember the Holocaust as it occurred. All they remember, all they know of the Holocaust, is what the victims have passed down to them in their diaries, what the survivors have remembered to them in their memoirs. They remember not actual events but the countless histories,

> novels, and poems of the Holocaust they have read, the photographs, movies, and video testimonies they have seen over the years. They remember long days and nights in the company of survivors, listening to their harrowing tales until their lives, loves, and losses seem grafted onto their own life stories.[30]

Young answers his own question as to how the post-Holocaust generation comes to their knowledge of the Holocaust in the last three sentences of this quotation, by presenting various ways in which the event has been passed down, mostly through a variety of textual and artistic representations in various forms of media, such as diaries, novels, movies, video testimonies, etc. However, I believe the last sentence holds the key to answering the question of how we know what survivors have left out of their textual representations. What the children of survivors of trauma have, that those born to parents who have not experienced a traumatic event do not, is the "long days and nights in the company of survivors."

This last aspect of how knowledge is passed down is part of what distinguishes the knowledge of children of survivors of trauma from that of people raised without this experience. The children of survivors of trauma have seen how the traumatic past permeates the lives of their parents in ways that the survivor generation has found difficult or impossible to express in words. The offspring of trauma survivors are aware of the gaps between the way the traumatic past has been represented in firsthand accounts and the ways in which the traumatic past has haunted survivors.

On more than one occasion Medoruma has remarked that knowledge of the Battle of Okinawa gained only through written texts is not sufficient to gain a good grasp of what happened and how it has affected people. In his interview with Ikezawa Natsuki after "Droplets" won the Akutagawa Prize, Medoruma mentions that, in order to

convincingly portray the Battle of Okinawa in literature, one cannot rely solely on written testimony, memoirs, and military histories for one's knowledge, although these sources are very important.[31] Medoruma argues that text-based knowledge must also be supplemented by the act of listening to the raw and visceral stories directly from war survivors.[32] In "*Postwar*" *Okinawa year zero*, Medoruma insists on the importance of both reading the historical records and written accounts of the war and of listening to the live voices of survivors in trying to understand the Battle of Okinawa and how it has affected people.[33]

In talking about the private stories he has heard from his family members who lived through the Battle of Okinawa, Medoruma has revealed specific examples of the gap between the kinds of experiences he has heard from survivors and the kinds of stories that appear in testimonies, memoirs, and peace museums. In an article in *Bungakukai* in May of 2006, Medoruma wrote that, although stories about comfort women rarely appear in collected anthologies of war testimonies or in peace memorial museums in Okinawa, he heard that his father's sister used to cook food for them during the war, and that when the comfort women 'brothel' was bombed, they used one of Medoruma's grandfather's buildings as a new location.[34] Medoruma has also remarked how, although stories of mainland Japanese soldiers' acts of wartime violence against Okinawans abound, almost all civilian testimonies about the Battle of Okinawa refrain from describing Okinawan acts of violence and discrimination against other Okinawans. However, Medoruma's own father has admitted to having been so hungry from starvation during the Battle of Okinawa that he threatened to kill an elderly Okinawan man for his goat, and would have done so had the old man not given it to him.[35] Both of these annecdotes point to the

difference between stories that get written and published and the personal, private narratives that are heard only within the family.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how "The Crying Wind" and "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard," two of Medoruma's early works dealing with war memories, contribute to knowledge and understanding of the Battle of Okinawa despite Medoruma's lack of lived war experience. My analysis highlights how these stories depict memories unarticulated, either due to compounding feelings of guilt, shame, and uncertainty, or due to their inexpressibility as traumatic memory. I suggest that by engaging the kinds of experiences war survivors typically avoid or are incapable of describing, Medoruma's war fiction complements the existing body of survivor-authored texts about the war. This raises the question, however, of how the existence of unarticulated war experiences came to be known to Medoruma if war survivors never publicly disclose them. The answer, I demonstrate, is due to Medoruma's experience as the son and close relative of several survivors of the Battle of Okinawa. Not only has Medoruma heard numerous stories and anecdotes about the war, but he has also witnessed how the war has impacted the daily lives of his parents and grandmother. As a result, Medoruma has become intimately aware of the gaps between publicly narrated war stories and the private anecdotes that circulate within the family, as well as the inarticulate expressions of traumatic memory. While Medoruma's lack of direct experience of the war led some Akutagawa Prize judges to doubt his ability to depict it, Medoruma's experience as the child of war survivors conversely places him close enough to those who lived through the war to be

intimately aware of memories war survivors avoid articulating, yet distant enough to attempt to engage those unspoken experiences publicly in fiction. Thus, the very fact that Medoruma is not a war survivor himself can also be regarded as an asset in his ability to depict that which war survivors avoid or have been unable to represent.

In the following chapter, I turn to Medoruma's Akutagawa Prize winning story "Droplets," which deals not only with the hidden unarticulated war memories of a survivor of the Battle of Okinawa, but also the conflicted act of publicly narrating one's war experience. In that chapter I analyze how the multitude of unrecognized codes and signs that appear in "Droplets," combined with Medoruma's representation of unexplicable phenomena in the story, work together to reveal and critique the limitations of public memory and the conventions of historical narrative.

Notes for Chapter 2

1. Akutagawa-shô Senkô Iinkai, "Dai 117 kai Heisei kyû nen do kami hanki Akutagawa-shô kettei happyô," *Bungei shunjû* 75, no. 11 (1997), 426.

2. In the interview, after making this remark, Ikezawa then stated that he disagrees with the opinion that someone without war experience cannot properly write about it. See Medoruma and Ikezawa, "'Zetsubô' kara hajimeru," 185.

3. See Suzuki, "Gûwateki akui," 38-39.

4 See Marita Sturken, "Absent Images of Memory: Remembering and Reenacting the Japanese Internment," in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, ed. T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), 34.

5. See, for example, Tomiyama's analysis of civilian narratives that support nationalist narratives despite their criticism of the Japanese military in Okinawa in Tomiyama Ichirô, *Senjô no kioku* (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyôronsha, 1995), in particular, chapter three. Such testimonies, Tomiyama suggests, criticize the Japanese army for not being as loyal as Okinawans were to the Emperor, criticisms which do not constitute a critique of imperial ideology, but rather a reinforcement of it. See also the scholarship on the differences between Okinawan civilian memories and Japanese official historical narratives in Yakabi, "'Gama' ga sôki suru Okinawa-sen no kioku," and Yonetani, "On the Battlefield of Mabuni."

6. See page 182 of Medoruma, *Suiteki*, for a reference of the first appearance of "The Crying Wind." For an announcement of the publication of the novel *Fûon: The*

Crying Wind based on the film screenplay, see Ôshiro Sadatoshi, "Konshû no hirazumi: Medoruma Shun-cho, Fûon," *Okinawa Times*, June 26, 2004, 20.

7. Tôyama Seikichi is rarely referred to by his family name Tôyama by the narrator or other characters in the story. Fujii Yasuo, the documentary filmmaker, on the other hand, is usually referred to by his family name, Fujii, within the story. I will be following the above convention to maintain consistency with how the characters are referred to in the story.

8. "Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite" first appeared in issue 70 of the literary journal *Shin Okinawa bungaku* in 1986 and has been reprinted in Okinawa Bungaku Zenshû Henshû Iinkai, eds., *Okinawa bungaku zenshû: Shôsetsu IV*, 20 vols., vol. 9, *Okinawa bungaku zenshû* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1990), and the 2003 collection of Medoruma's early works, *Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite: Medoruma Shun shoki tanpen shû*. For this chapter I refer to the 2003 edition of the story, on which Medoruma states, in the afterword of the collection, he refrained from making major revisions, only fixing obvious mistakes from his earlier manuscripts.

9. Ôshiro Tatsuhiro, "Dai 12 kai *Shin Okinawa bungaku* happyô: senpyô: Sonzaikan," *Shin Okinawa bungaku*, no. 70 (1986), 174.

10. Makiminato Tokuzô, "Dai 12 kai *Shin Okinawa bungaku* happyô: senpyô: Ne ni aru Okinawa-teki jôkyô," *Shin Okinawa bungaku*, no. 70 (1986), 176.

11. See Okamoto Keitoku, "Medoruma Shun 'Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta michi o aruite': Shomin no me de toraeta tennôsei," in *Gendai bungaku ni miru Okinawa no jigazô* (Tokyo: Kôbunken, 1996), 260-264, and Shu, "Medoruma," 51-68. Okamoto's

article mistakenly refers to the title of Medoruma's story as "Heiwa dôri to nazukerarata **michi** o aruite" when it should be "machi."

12. See Okamoto's chapter on "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" Okamoto, "Okinawa no jigazô," 264.

13. See Nishimura Shûzô, "Sensô no nuime: 'Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite' o meguru hihyô no yôna mono," *EDGE* 1, no. 5 (1997), 36-37.

14. Bessel A. van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart, "The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 177. van der Kolk and van der Hart are paraphrasing Pierre Janet's description of traumatic memory.

15. Oka Mari, *Kioku / monogatari, Shikô no hurontia* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002), 6-7. Oka does not use the term "traumatic memory," but rather refers to the memory of a "violent event" (bôryokuteki na dekigoto). From her description of memory of a violent event, it is clear to me that she is referring to what Janet, van der Kolk, and van der Hart have identified as "traumatic memory."

16. van der Kolk and van der Hart, "The Intrusive Past," 160.

17. Ibid, 172.

18. Oka, *Kioku / monogatari*, 9.

19. Ibid, 9.

20. In making this claim I am not referring to Uta's memories that she told Fumi sometime in the past. The memory of Yoshiaki's death in the cave, as recalled by Fumi,

seems to be a different memory from Uta's un-narrated memory that strikes her when she grabs Kaju and tells him to be quiet because soldiers are coming. The existence of traumatic memory of the war does not preclude the existence of separate expressible memories of different events of the same war. Pierre Janet, van der Kolk, and van der Hart refer to this type of memory as "common" or "narrative memory"; see van der Kolk and van der Hart, "The Intrusive Past," 160.

21. See his interview with Ikezawa Natsuki after winning the Akutagawa Prize. Medoruma and Ikezawa, "'Zetsubô' kara hajimeru," 181-182.

22. See Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*. For a summary of his father's war experience, see, 22-24; for his mother's experience, see 54-59; and concerning how the war stories from his parents and relatives inspired or became seeds for his literary works, see pages 72-85.

23. See the section of the special attack force strategy and the Battle of Okinawa in Ibid, 78-80.

24. See Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 73. In *"Postwar" Okinawa year zero* on page 73, Medoruma mistakenly refers to Uta's grandson as Masashi, but the name of Uta's grandchild in "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" is Kaju. Masashi is the name of a young elementary school boy character in Medoruma's novel-length version of "The Crying Wind," *Fûon: The Crying Wind.*

25. See Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 67-68, where Medoruma clearly states that this incident was the basis for the Uta episode in "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard."

26. For the story of Katsuya, see Ibid, 72-76.

27. Ibid, 75.

28. Ibid, 75-76.

29. Tal, *Worlds of Hurt*, 16-17.

30. Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 1.

31. Medoruma and Ikezawa, "'Zetsubô' kara hajimeru," 181.

32. Ibid, 181.

33. Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 20.

34. Medoruma Shun, "Okinawa-sen no kioku," *Bungakukai* 60, no. 5 (2006), 13-14.

35. Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 28-29. Other examples also appear in this book. See also, for example, the malaria outbreak during the war that is rarely discussed publicly on pages 62-63.

CHAPTER 3: UNARTICULATED MEMORIES, UNRECOGNIZED SIGNS, AND UNEXPLAINED PHENOMENA IN "DROPLETS"

3.1 Introduction

In the published transcript of his testimony for the 1988 legal trials held in Naha related to the Ministry of Education's "censoring" of Ienaga Saburô's history textbooks, Aniya Masaaki, a scholar and historian of the Battle of Okinawa who worked as one of the editors of the multi-volume *Okinawa-ken shi* (History of Okinawa Prefecture), reveals how the editorial board ensured the historical accuracy of its contents related to the Battle of Okinawa.[1] In response to the question of the value and importance of the *History of Okinawa Prefecture* volume on the Battle of Okinawa, as well as collections of war testimonies compiled by local city, town, and village level governments, Aniya explains as follows:

> これは客観性のある、極めて科学性のあるものだと思います。それはどういうことかと言いますと、戦争体験者の証言を語ったとおり記録するという、そういう手法は採っておりません。私どもは、証言の客観性を高めるために、行政記録、外交史料、軍事記録、報道記録、第三者の証言などを突き合わせて、その客観性を高める努力をし、また一つの事件についても一人から聞取りをするというだけでなくて、その客観性を保証できる、そういう証言をつくってきたつもりであります。[2]
>
> Kore wa kyakkan-sei no aru, kiwamete kagaku-sei no aru mono da to omoimasu. Sore wa dô iu koto ka to iimasu to, sensô taikensha no shôgen o katatta toori kiroku suru to iu, sô iu shuhô wa totte orimasen. Watashi domo wa, shôgen no kyakkan-sei o takameru tame ni, gyôsei kiroku, gaikô shiryô, gunji kiroku, hôdô kiroku, daisansha no shôgen nado o tsukiawasete, sono kyakkan-sei o takameru doryoku o shi, mata hitotsu no jiken ni tsuite mo hitori kara kikitori o suru to iu dake de nakute, sono kyakkan-sei o hoshô dekiru, sô iu shôgen o tsukutte kita tsumori de arimasu.

> I believe (their value as historical documents) lies in their objectivity and exceedingly scientific nature. What that means is that we did not employ the method of merely recording what the war survivors said in their testimony. Rather, we strove to elevate the objectivity of the testimonies by checking them closely against administrative records, diplomatic historical documents, military records, news reports, and third party accounts. Additionally, concerning each incident, we did not rely only on the testimony of one witness, but purposefully constructed objective and reliable accounts.

Aniya's insistence on the "objectivity" and "scientific nature" of the civilian testimonies about the Battle of Okinawa was necessary because their accuracy and objectivity had been put in question. Sono Ayako, a mainland Japanese novelist, had published the book *Aru shinwa no haikei* (The Background Behind a Myth, 1973) that attempted to discredit the historical accuracy of some of the civilian testimonies found in *Typhoon of Steel*, and she would be called as an expert witness to a later court hearing in Tokyo in support of the Ministry of Education's recommendations to edit Ienaga's account of the Battle of Okinawa. Even though Okinawan civilian war survivors stand in a privileged position as living history and first-hand witnesses to violent events, because their testimonies have the potential to trouble national narratives of the Pacific War, they have had to face attacks aimed at discrediting the objectivity and accuracy of their accounts.

Although Aniya's described pursuit of historical accuracy and scientific exactness of facts is essential in trying to recover the events of the Battle of Okinawa, it also has its costs and limitations. Because the editors of the *History of Okinawa Prefecture* checked the testimonies against other records and documents, it follows that they adjusted the civilian testimonies for what they deemed "historical accuracy." Furthermore, the insistence on relying on more than just one witness account suggests that testimonies that lacked corroborating evidence were either edited or removed from the prefectural history.

While this method helps to ensure a certain kind of historical accuracy of the narratives published, it also means that accounts that could not be corroborated may very well have been removed or left out even though they might have been accurate and true. With so much effort spent on ensuring the "objectivity" and "scientific accuracy" of Okinawan civilian war testimony, how much room was left for more emotional and subjective accounts of the war? What happened to accounts that narrated the unbelievable or that defied scientific or rational explanation? And how can we hope to recover those experiences that are left out of historical accounts or lie beyond the power of "objective," realist representation?

In this chapter, I examine Medoruma Shun's Akutagawa Prize-winning short story "Suiteki" (Droplets, 1997) as a text that addresses some of the limitations that the conventions of historical discourse described above place on historical narrative and on civilian testimony of the Battle of Okinawa. Like Medoruma's earlier literary pieces "Fûon" (The Crying Wind, 1985-6) and "Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite" (Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard, 1986), "Droplets" engages the unarticulated war memories of a survivor of the Battle of Okinawa, but unlike those works, "Droplets" contrasts the act of silence with the practice of publicly narrating the war. Tokushô, the main character of "Droplets," is a survivor of the Battle of Okinawa who gives annual lectures about his war experience at local schools. By portraying, through the inner thoughts of Tokushô, the effects of publicly narrating the war, "Droplets" explores the conflicting feelings of guilt and pleasure that the act of speaking about the war can produce in "storytellers." At the core of Tokushô's torment lies repressed guilt, the hidden personal memories of the war that have remained un-resolved

as "deep memory." Additionally, "Droplets" contains unrecognized signs related to the Battle of Okinawa, pointing to, in conjunction with the narrative's focus on unarticulated "deep memory," the existence of publicly unperceived and unknown war-related phenomena. Yet, by fictively revealing that which is unknown, and by narrating, albeit through vicarious imagination, unarticulated memory, "Droplets" runs the danger of providing resolution and closure to that which paradoxically lies beyond conscious perception and articulation. I argue that in order to avoid such resolution and easy redemption, Medoruma includes the miracle water narrative that defies logic and scientific explanation, as a gesture to the excess of war memory and trauma that still lies beyond conventions of knowledge, comprehension, and representation in historical discourse.

3.2 "Droplets" Background and General Information

Medoruma completed "Droplets" in the summer of 1996 in order to submit the story for that year's Kyushu Arts Festival Literary Prize contest. According to the *Okinawa Times*, over the course of the year prior to the submission date, Medoruma worked on the manuscript, re-writing and polishing the story for the contest.[3] This indicates that Medoruma began writing "Droplets" in 1995, the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Battle of Okinawa, and the year in which the story takes place. In January of 1997 it was announced that "Droplets" had won the 27th Kyushu Arts Festival Literary Prize, and later that year the story appeared in the April issue of *Bungakukai* (Literary World). Medoruma became the fifth author from Okinawa Prefecture to win the prestigious prize, joining previous award winners Matayoshi Eiki

(1977), Sakiyama Tami (1988), Nakawaka Naoko (1989), and Nakamura Kyôji (1991).[4]

Some six months later in July of 1997, Medoruma won the 117th Akutagawa Prize for "Droplets," bringing him national and international attention. The award marked the second time within a year and a half that an author from Okinawa won Japan's most prestigious literary award.[5] Medoruma became the fourth author from Okinawa to win the prize, joining Ôshiro Tatsuhiro (1967), Higashi Mineo (1972), and Matayoshi Eiki (1996).

As war anniversaries go, the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Okinawa brought with it an unprecedented level of fanfare, interest, and urgency: that year's annual attendance numbers for visitors to the Himeyuri Peace Museum in Okinawa and the number of books published about the Battle of Okinawa reached all time highs; it also brought an increase in war-related media coverage, documentaries, ceremonies, commemorative events, and war movies.[6] Unlike a centennial anniversary, the 50th anniversary finds a significant number of war survivors still alive. At the same time, however, society also has a growing sense of the mortality of the war generation as they approach old age. Hence, a sense of urgency as to the need for the younger generations to hear directly from the war generation about the Battle of Okinawa before it was too late characterized the 50th (as well as subsequent) anniversaries in a way that had not been present in earlier decades. It is with this increased sense of urgency regarding the transmission of war memories and the heightened fanfare surrounding the anniversary that Medoruma Shun, then a thirty-five-year old school teacher and part-time writer, wrote "Droplets."

3.3 Story Summary

"Droplets" opens with Tokushô, an elderly man, waking from his afternoon nap to find himself unable to speak or move, and his foot a pale green, swollen to the size of a gourd melon. Ushi, Tokushô's wife, slaps Tokushô's shin, causing water to drip from his toe. When the local doctor examines Tokushô, he is unable to figure out what is causing the ailment. As the days pass, Tokushô begins seeing wounded soldiers coming out of the wall at night to line up at his foot for a drink of water. After a few nights, he recognizes some of them as Japanese soldiers he had served with during the Battle of Okinawa over fifty years earlier when he was a member of the Blood and Iron Imperial Student Corps. On the third night of their visits, Tokushô's childhood friend and fellow student corps member, Ishimine, appears.

Meanwhile, in the external world of the village, Tokushô's cousin, Seiyû, shows up and offers to watch over Tokushô while Ushi works out in the field. Seiyû discovers that the water coming out of Tokushô's toe makes hair grow in minutes, and restores sexual vitality to the impotent.

Tokushô, in the meantime, having recognized the soldiers and his friend Ishimine, recalls how every year around the middle of June, near the anniversary of the end of the Battle of Okinawa, he is asked to talk about his war experiences at the local elementary school. At first Tokushô had been hesitant, but with the applause and tears of the young students, he gradually grew more and more comfortable with speaking, learning how to tailor his story to fit the expectations of his audience. Tokushô felt ashamed and even scared at moments when he felt he got carried away with his storytelling, and Ushi even warned him against making up sob stories to profit from the war. Fearing his ailment

might be punishment for his tales, Tokushô's thoughts return to the war and the experiences he never speaks of and has tried to forget: how he failed to keep his promise to bring water to the wounded soldiers in the cave.

In the meantime, Seiyû has been selling the "miracle water" coming out of Tokushô's foot with great success. Each day the number of customers increases as word spreads of the effectiveness of the water, and Seiyû sells out in minutes, even after he doubles the price to 20,000 yen for half a small bottle.

Tokushô's recollections of the war intensify, recalling in detail how he drank the water belonging to the wounded and dying Ishimine before abandoning him. As the ghost of Ishimine sucks the water droplets out of his toe, Tokushô begs for forgiveness, and lets out a small cry of sexual release. Tokushô then yells in anger at Ishimine for all of his suffering over the past fifty years, but Ishimine merely thanks him for quenching his thirst and disappears. That morning, Tokushô finally regains consciousness and his leg returns to normal.

Realizing that his cash cow has run dry, Seiyû tries to slip out of town, but is caught by angry customers who have suddenly lost all their hair and grown more wrinkles than before. They beat Seiyû to a pulp, sending him to the hospital.

Tokushô vows to visit the cave after he regains his strength, but fears he might put it off and forget Ishimine again. After a while, he starts drinking again, despite having vowed to quit. The story ends with Tokushô discovering an enormous gourd melon growing in his back garden.

3.4 Interpretations, Comments, and Scholarship on "Droplets"

3.4.1 Kyushu Arts Festival Literary Prize and Akutagawa Prize Comments

"Droplets" won the 27th Kyushu Arts Festival Literary Prize in January 1997 with a unanimous decision from the four prize judges. When the award selection comments and criticisms appeared in the April issue of *Bungakukai* that year, all four of the 27th Kyushu Arts Festival Literary Prize judges praised "Droplets" for its imaginative plot with its elements of the fantastic or the surreal,[7] with two of the judges, Akiyama Shun and Itsuki Hiroyuki, pointing out how the story is also grounded in the details of the 'real.' These two judges also mentioned how the story's serious topic of war is interwoven with the absurd and humorous.[8] Akiyama's only complaint concerned the miracle water storyline, which, in his opinion, was not written as well as the first part of the tale.[9] Shiraishi Ichirô stated that "Droplets" stood out from the other submissions with its "rich content, interesting conception, and amazing opening."[10] Tatematsu Wahei praised the story's "aggressor consciousness" that grows out of the main character's pain of having been an aggressor during the war, a position that breaks the typical pattern of war testimony on the Battle of Okinawa that narrates stories of victimization.[11]

The 117th Akutagawa Prize selection comments for "Droplets," which appeared in the September issue of *Bungei shunjû*, also contained varying degrees of praise and criticisms for the story. The most enthusiastic endorsement of "Droplets" came from Kôno Taeko who claimed that, although she had been impressed with many of the literary pieces she had had to evaluate during her eleven years as a member of the Akutagawa Prize selection committee, "Droplets" had been the most impressive work she had read to date.[12] She claimed that "Droplets" constitutes a new way of writing about

war that lies outside not only conventional representations, but also typical attempts at trying to break that convention.[13] Hino Keizô also found the depiction of war in "Droplets" significantly different from earlier canonical works of Japanese literature, in its re-examination of the post-war self not just as a victim, but also in its self-deception. He furthermore argued that although "Droplets" is not a tale of redemption, the author whole-heartedly affirms Tokushô, despite the character's egoism, weakness, and foolishness.[14]

How Medoruma depicted the war, however, was not necessarily the focus of some of the other selection comments. Kuroi Senji, another selection committee judge who was impressed with "Droplets," remarked that while reading the scene where the villagers gather outside of Tokushô's house upon hearing about his illness, he could feel the overflowing energy of the masses, something he had not encountered in a literary work for quite a while.[15] Ikezawa Natsuki characterized "Droplets" as a brilliant portrayal of the pain that comes with the stretching of the truth that only increases the more convincingly one speaks about one's war experiences, and he further stated, that of the finalists, Medoruma was the only author to seriously and sincerely engage the theme of his story.[16]

Most of the criticism of "Droplets" by the Akutagawa Prize selection committee was directed at the "miracle water" storyline that centers on Tokushô's brother Seiyû. Muraya Saiichi found the "miracle water" storyline inferior to Tokushô's narrative. Three of the nine judges—Kuroi Senji, Takubo Hideo, and Ishihara Shintarô— interpreted the "miracle water" storyline as a fable that either took away from the overall excellence of the work or somehow did not match the power of the Tokushô storyline.[17] While

Miyamoto Teru argued that "Droplets" did not collapse into a nonsensical fable due to the author's discerning and critical eye, he did feel that the sentences did not always "radiate individual excellence." Miyamoto, however, was impressed with the story's first-rate construction and psychological aspect.[18] Ikezawa Natsuki stated that he felt "Droplets" drew from folklore, not fables, while Hino Keizô argued against simply reading the story as an imaginative fable.[19] Furui Yoshikichi, who did not touch on "Droplets" at all in his comments, and Kôno Taeko, made no reference to the story having a fable aspect.[20]

Judging from the above comments of the Kyushu Arts Festival Literary Prize and the Akutagawa Prize selection committee members, "Droplets" won the respective prizes due to a combination of rich imagination, an energetic description of local Okinawa, subtle humor mixed with the serious topic of war memory, excellent story structure, deep psychological engagement, and a groundbreaking as well as self-critical engagement with Okinawan war memory. While some of the judges expressed a dislike for the "fable-like" aspects of the "miracle water" storyline, the strengths of the other facets of the story still impressed them, leading to unanimous selection decisions in the case of both prizes.[21]

3.4.2 "Droplets" Scholarship, Interpretations, and Critical Comments

Literary scholar Kawamura Minato also interprets "Droplets" as critical of the conventional mode of testimony concerning the Battle of Okinawa. In a round-table discussion with women studies scholar Ueno Chizuko and historian Narita Ryûichi on how the war has been narrated in Japan, Kawamura interprets Tokushô's making of money from speaking on the war in "Droplets" as a criticism against the turning of the

Himeyuri story into a tragedy by the Himeyuri "storytellers," those former Himeyuri nurse corps survivors who publicly narrate their war experiences at the Himeyuri Peace Museum.[22] Kawamura further argues in the discussion that the ghosts in "Droplets" make the story not so different from ghost stories told at schools by students in Okinawa, and interprets the use of ghosts as the imagination of someone who did not experience the Battle of Okinawa.[23] Narita and Ueno do not comment on Kawamura's interpretation of "Droplets" as a ghost story, but Ueno does mention that she senses a critical stance against profiting from the use of war stories in "Droplets."[24] Kawamura elaborates in greater detail on Medoruma's use of ghosts in "Droplets" in his article "Okinawa no 'gôsuto basutâzu' (Okinawa Ghost Busters, 1997), where he suggests that Medoruma turns war stories into ghost stories so junior and high school students can better relate to them, and guesses, without providing any evidence or reasons for believing so, that this comes out of Medoruma's resistance (*iwakan*) to the vast number of records and testimonies of the Battle of Okinawa.[25] Kawamura interprets the written reactions and thoughts of mainland Japanese school students who visited the Himeyuri Peace Museum around 1995 and expressed their fear, irritation, and frustration with the war stories by the Himeyuri survivors, as proof of the limitations of narrating tragic war stories.[26] "Droplets" and the stories about the Battle of Okinawa by Ôshiro Tatsuhiro, Kawamura argues, work to overcome these limitations, to go beyond the fear of ghost stories.[27]

Okinawan literature scholar Michael Molasky also focuses on the critical treatment of war memory in "Droplets." Molasky argues that "'Droplets' offers a subtle critique of contemporary Okinawa's facile use of war memory."[28] After pointing out how Tokushô has become skilled at recounting his war experiences while avoiding what

he did to Ishimine and commenting on the fact that he receives an honorarium for each talk, Molasky writes:

> While oral histories can restore perspectives occluded by more conventional sources, they can also end up, as in Tokushô's case, sanctioning misleading and self-serving personal narratives. Precisely because public memory in Okinawa is valued for challenging the hegemony of Japan's national war narrative, it is easy to overlook how Okinawans have constructed their own public memory in part through dubious individual testimonies. "Droplets" thus offers a critique of Okinawans' desire for a relatively painless public memory of the war, the type of memory that permits cathartic tears without recurring nightmares.[29]

In the above quote, Molasky interprets "Droplets" as suggesting three criticisms: one, that "Oral histories can end up sanctioning misleading and self-serving personal narratives;" two, that "Okinawans have constructed their own public memory in part through dubious individual testimonies" and; three, that Okinawans have tended to overlook this dubiousness due to the counter hegemonic nature of Okinawan oral history and out of a desire for painless memory of the war. Molasky also sees "Droplets" as "a sharp indictment of those who attempt to benefit from the suffering of others."[30] Pointing to the warning and criticism Tokushô's wife Ushi directs at him about benefiting from the suffering of others, Molasky argues that the question of the commodification of social memory in Okinawa, along with the possibility of "doing justice to the past," are urgently posed in the text.

In contrast to the interpretations of "Droplets" as primarily critical of conventional narrations of the Battle of Okinawa, Okinawan literary scholars Okamoto Keitoku, Nakahodo Masanori, and Shinjô Ikuo consider other aspects of the story's treatment of war memory to be of significance. For instance, in a roundtable discussing

the awarding of the Akutagawa Prize to "Droplets," when Okamoto was asked, in relation to previous Okinawan authors who had won the Akutagawa Prize, to give his impression of the story, he replied as follows:

> 沖縄では戦争のキズを背負って語れないでいる人がたくさんいる。そいう人の内面を掘り下げることで、突き刺さっている戦争のキズを描いたのはおそらく初めてではないか。潜在的な、意識が人間の行動、個人の行動を規定していくことがある。無意識のキズがその人間を本質的な部分規定しているところまで踏み込んでいる。それを肉体性、奇形として表現している。そこまで入り込んだのは初めてではないか。[31]
>
> Okinawa dewa sensô no kizu o seotte katarenai de iru hito ga takusan iru. Sô iu hito no naimen o hori sageru koto de, tsukisasatteiru sensô no kizu o egaita no wa osoraku hajimete dewa naika. Senzaiteki na, ishiki ga ningen no kôdô, kojin no kôdô o kitei shite iku koto ga aru. Muishiki no kizu ga sono ningen o honshitsu teki na bubun kitei shite iru tokoro made fumikonde iru. Sore o nikutaisei, kikei to shite hyôgen shite iru. Soko made hairikonda no wa hajimete dewa naika.
>
> In Okinawa, there are many people carrying wounds from the war that they are unable to talk about. This story may be the first (literary work) to portray the piercing war wound of such a person through an excavation of their inner psyche. The subconscious mind has ways of restricting and regulating a person's actions, their individual behavior. An unconscious wound can penetrate into a regulating part of one's essential character, showing up as a physical deformity. This may be the first work that goes that deep.

Okamoto, later in the discussion, also makes the following observation about what Medoruma has accomplished in "Droplets:"

> 彼はインテリとしてではなく、存在としては庶民。庶民のレベルで生きているキズに彼は目を向けている。[32]
>
> Kare wa interi to shite dewa naku, sonzai to shite wa shomin. Shomin no reberu de ikite iru kizu ni kare wa me o mukete iru."
>
> He isn't approaching this from the stance of an intellectual, but from that of an actual ordinary living person. He's examining this on the level of the common man, as a raw and living wound.

Unlike the literary prize judges or the other literary scholars that interpret "Droplets" as criticism of conventional Okinawan war narratives, Okamoto sees the story's significance in its depiction of a common person's deep inner psyche by exploring how the suppressed unconscious can manifest as a physical ailment, something that has not been done before by an Okinawan writer.[33]

Nakahodo Masanori, a leading scholar of modern Okinawan literature, also sees the main significance of "Droplets" as something other than a critique of Okinawan public war memory. In his two-part article outlining the oval structure of the story, with its counterbalancing storylines of Tokushô and Seiyû, Nakahodo states that "the problem 'Droplets' is trying to take up is none other than the problem of passing on one's war experience to the later generations."[34] Nakahodo further elaborates as follows:

> あの戦争の事実の多くは、いまだ語られていないのではないかといった思いや、さらには今までのような戦争談に継承すべきものが果たしてありえるのかといった思い、徳正夫婦に子供がなく、清裕が独身であるのも、そのことと関りがあることを示していようが、そのような思いが、強い動機として働いていることは間違いない。[35]
>
> Ano sensô no jijitsu no ooku wa, imada katararete inai no de wa naika to itta omoi ya, sara ni wa ima made no yô na sensôdan ni keishô subeki mono ga hatashite arieru no ka to itta omoi, Tokushô fûfu ni kodomo ga naku, Seiyû ga dokushin de aru no mo, sono koto to kakawari ga aru koto o shimeshite iyô ga, sono yô na omoi ga, tsuyoi dôki to shite hataraite iru koto wa machigai nai.
>
> Be it the issue that to this day numerous facts of that war have not been spoken, or the question of whether it is even really possible to pass down that which should be told with the kind of war stories that have been shared so far, both seem to suggest connections to the fact that Tokushô and Ushi have no children and that Seiyû is single—these kinds of questions are unquestionably underlying the purpose of writing the story.

Nakahodo interprets "Droplets" not as a criticism of false representations of the Battle of Okinawa, nor as an attack against the telling of tragic stories, but rather as pointing to the vast number of things that have not been revealed about the war and the impossibility of communicating and passing on important aspects of the Battle with the types of stories and modes of representation that have been used so far.

Shinjô Ikuo, who has written extensively on Medoruma's fiction, offers yet another reading that emphasizes the complexity of "Droplets" that resists easy closure. Shinjô characterizes "Droplets" as a story that does not break free of or dissolve the structure of Okinawa as an indigenous mystical land. Nor does it try to pronounce a quick judgement on the question of war and guilt within social and political discourses. Rather, it is a presentation and depiction of that which does not fit so easily in common structures of meaning.[36] Shinjô mentions that "Droplets" could have taken the narrative route of a redemptive story, in which the problem of Tokushô's war guilt becomes a collective pain shared by the village, and thus serves to begin the processes of healing Tokushô's conscience. Or, in the case of Seiyû, it could have turned into an allegorical cautionary tale. But, Shinjô asserts, this novel rejects this very type of narrative, and rather repeatedly presents that unspeakable arena (memory) locked within a character, or within village society. It is for this very reason that memories of the Battle of Okinawa in this story are capable of being narrated not as sad stories about the past that have come and gone, but rather as recurring sharp pain in an extremely real sense.[37]

One scholar, Miyazawa Tsuyoshi, has taken Kawamura to task for using mainland Japanese students' impressions of the Himeyuri Peace Memorial Museum in his "Gôsuto busutâzu" (Ghost Busters) article, to argue that there is something wrong with how

Okinawans narrate the war, without first considering or attempting to examine the students' and his own inability to really "listen" to what the Himeyuri survivors are saying.[38] Later in the article Miyazawa argues that evaluations of "Droplets," such as Kawamura's and others by mainland Japanese scholars, which value it for breaking free from the stereotypical Okinawan narrative by depicting the "aggressor Okinawa" during the war, do so at the cost of removing the critique from the "speaker" (Okinawa) and "listener" (mainland Japan) relationship.

In contrast to the praise of "Droplets" from mainland Japanese scholars for breaking from stereotypical Okinawan war narratives, Miyazawa points to a few Okinawan-generated responses of "Droplets" published for a primarily Okinawan readership— one in the local Okinawan magazine *EDGE* and the other in the *Okinawa Times*, a major local Okinawan newspaper— that present very different interpretations. In particular, Miyazawa points to Nakazato Isao's expressed feeling of release at finding within "Droplets" the destruction of, or breaking free from, the multi-layered complicit arrangement in which the externally constructed image of Okinawa is internalized and assimilated by those on whom it is being placed.[39]

Nakazato's sense of release at Medoruma's ability to break free from the simultaneously externally imposed and self-internalized "image" of Okinawa differs from the praise other critics have given Medoruma for breaking the stereotypical Okinawan representation, because Nakazato's reaction reveals that Okinawans already know and are aware of the problem with "stereotypical" representations of Okinawa. Furthermore, Nakazato's comment reflects an awareness of the "external"/ outside / Japanese mainland as complicit in creating the problem, while this awareness is difficult to detect in the

comments on "Droplets" made by the mainland prize judges, Kawamura Minato, and others, that praise it for breaking Okinawan stereotypes.

Miyazawa argues that, unlike Nakazato's awareness of the complicit nature of the construction and performance of certain "images"/ stereotypes of Okinawa, the mainland critics point to an Okinawan stereotype from a so-called "objective," external, un-implicated perspective. This so-called "objective" perspective, Miyazawa explains, involves losing sight of Okinawa's historical past and relationship with Japan that has placed Okinawa in the position of "sacrificed stone." Furthermore, it constructs the subject position of the observant majority that is aware of the minority's (Medoruma's) self-criticism, but without asking or considering the majority's own complicity or inability to understand.[40]

To praise "Droplets" only for not depicting the stereotype, Miyazawa argues, is not enough. For Miyazawa, the question should be, if "Droplets" breaks free from the "compounded complicit arrangement," then what does it generate or what emerges from the rupture of the stereotype? Additionally, in what ways will the "complicit" mainlanders be able to understand that rupture? Miyazawa then attempts to read "Droplets" by interpreting Tokushô as a metaphor for Japan's position and Ishimine as a metaphor for Okinawa in that Tokushô/Japan has been able to live its postwar prosperously while Ishimine/Okinawa has been sacrificed in order for Tokushô/Japan to survive and prosper.[41]

While Miyazawa attempts to place the analysis of "Droplets" within the Japan-Okinawa relationship, Shu Keisoku, a scholar from Taiwan who wrote her dissertation on Medoruma's fiction at Nagoya University, brings particular attention to how Tokushô's

"position(s)" within his school, village, and community and their attendant expectations, have made his war experiences "true" or "false." Shu states in her dissertation:

> . . . ここで問題になっているのは、＜証言＞としてのオーラル・ヒストリーの「内容」が真か偽かを判定することではなく、＜証言＞を真実あるいは偽りの語りにした＜証言＞の「場」そのものなのだ。
>
> . . . koko de mondai ni natte iru no wa, <shôgen> to shite no ôraru hisutorî no "naiyô" ga shin ka gi ka o hantei suru koto de wa naku, <shôgen> o shinjitsu *arui wa* itsuwari no katari ni *shita <shôgen> no "ba"* sono mono na no da.
>
> . . . the problem here is not the determining of whether or not the contents of oral history as "testimony" are true or false, but *rather the very "position" of testimony* that has made a testimony a true or false narration."[42]

Drawing from Hayden White's observations concerning narrative and the writing of history, Shu argues that, within the process of an event becoming transformed into a narrative, there is automatic censorship at work within the social system, and those events that fall outside of the frame of the social system, get left out of testimony.[43] Instead of judging Tokushô as a liar, Shu asks instead what it was that made Tokushô leave out of his testimony his actions concerning Ishimine's water and subsequent death.[44] Shu suggests that, within the frame of responsibility to his school and local community, Tokushô failed both the Blood and Iron Imperial Student Corps and a fellow villager by taking Ishimine's water and abandoning him to die. In larger collective and national frames, Shu asserts, Tokushô's actions constitute a failure not just as a "Japanese," but also as an "Okinawan." Hence, not only do Tokushô's wartime deeds lack a space in national Japanese history, but also within the discursive space of "Okinawan" oral

history. Tokushô's actions, Shu observes, are thus eclipsed from the very counter-discourse that is itself eclipsed by an official Japanese historical perspective.[45]

As the above overview of some of the commentary and criticisms of "Droplets" reveals, there are multiple and varying interpretations of the significance or main points of the story. These multiple readings are not only a result of the various perspectives from which critics have approached the story, but also from what I believe to be the complex layers found in the text that work to prevent an easy or single interpretation.

Although Shinjô and others have mentioned how "Droplets" deals with unarticulated war memories, they have not elaborated on how those memories work together with the unrecognized signs and unexplained war-related phenomena that reside in the story. By not reading the unexplained phenomenon of the "miracle water" in conjunction with the unarticulated memories and unrecognized war-related signs of the war, some critics have labeled the Seiyû "miracle water" narrative a "fable" that takes away from, rather than strengthens, the overall effect of the story. In contrast, this study argues that the "miracle water" narrative is a crucial part of the overall effect of the story when "Droplets" is placed within an aesthetics of absence, uncertainty, and the unknown. Additionally, it will consider the possibilities of Medoruma's imaginative fiction for representing the experiences and memories of the Battle of Okinawa that have no place within narratives that adhere to the conventions of historical discourse.

3.4 "Droplets" and Un-narrated War Experiences

The aesthetics of absence, uncertainty, and the unknown in "Droplets" can be seen in the story's concern with the unspoken war memories of its protagonist Tokushô.

Similar to Seikichi and Fujii, the main characters of Medoruma's earlier work "The Crying Wind," Tokushô has never told anyone some of his most haunting war memories due to the possible social consequences of disclosure. Throughout the fifty plus years since the war, Tokushô has been tormented by his memories of Ishimine, despite repeated and numerous attempts to "forget" and "seal away" his memory of him. After living in daily fear of being interrogated about Ishimine's whereabouts during life in the detention camps and the initial week back in his village right after the war, Tokushô was visited by Ishimine's mother, but could not tell her how he abandoned her son. In the few years after lying to Ishimine's mother, Tokushô was haunted by his memory, and subsequently he "has tried to forget and erase his memories of Ishimine by keeping himself busy."[46]

As Shu Keisoku has observed, the public recounting of what Tokushô did to his friend and fellow Blood and Iron Imperial Student Corps member, Ishimine, would threaten Tokushô's social and moral standing within multiple frames of identity, ranging from his membership in the Blood and Iron Imperial Student Corps, his village, Okinawa, and as a member of the Japanese nation.[47] It is also apparent that Tokushô has avoided talking about what happened to Ishimine in his public lectures about the war at the various schools he visits, because he silently thinks of apologizing for his lies and telling the young school children, who have come to visit him while he is incapacitated, what he really did on the battlefield. Unable to risk destroying his place within his community, and distraught from guilt over failing his friend, Tokushô has covered his past initially by lying to Ishimine's mother, then by trying to forget about the past, and finally by avoiding the details of Ishimine's death in his public talks about his war experience.

Tokushô's war memories, however, differ from those Seikichi and Fujii dealt with in "The Crying Wind" because of the extent to which Tokushô has suppressed them. While Seikichi and Fujii are presented in "The Crying Wind" as consciously thinking about and dealing with their unspoken war memories, Tokushô has buried and suppressed his memories for decades, even turning to alcohol for more than thirty years to help himself forget. In his incapacitated state where he is forced to deal with his buried memories, Tokushô laments the appearance of Ishimine, the narrator explaining how "the memory of Ishimine should have been sealed away in the depths of his mind."[48] Tokushô has tried so hard to erase Ishimine from his conscious memory that it takes him three nights of visits from the soldiers coming out of the wall after his leg swells, before he realizes that Ishimine is among the soldiers, and it takes another eleven days after that before he is able to recall and confront his memories of what happened to Ishimine during the war.[49]

One way to interpret Tokushô's repressed memories of Ishimine might be through the frame of what Holocaust scholar James Young describes as "deep memory." Drawing from Saul Friedlander's distinction between "common memory" and "deep memory," Young explains that:

> . . . common memory [is] that which "tends to restore or establish coherence, closure and possibly a redemptive stance," and deep memory as that which remains essentially inarticulable and unrepresentable, that which continues to exist as unresolved trauma just beyond the reach of meaning.[3] Not only are these two orders of memory irreducible to each other, Friedlander says, but "any attempt at building a coherent self founders on the intractable return of the repressed and recurring deep memory."[4] That is, to some extent, every common memory of the holocaust is haunted by that which it necessarily leaves unstated, its coherence a necessary but ultimately misleading evasion."[50]

In Tokushô's case, his "common memory" of the Battle of Okinawa corresponds to the story he tells Ishimine's mother of how he became separated from Ishimine during their retreat, and the subsequent lectures Tokushô gives annually at the local schools, that attempt to establish "a redemptive stance" by leaving out his failure to save or help his friend. Tokushô's "deep memory," the story of abandoning Ishimine and the taking of his water, is "necessarily" left "unstated" and repressed for the sake of trying to project a socially acceptable public self-image, along the lines of Friedlander's observation about "building a coherent self." Tokushô has buried his "deep memory" far enough so that he is able to continue with his annual lectures about his war experience, but he still feels unease after each lecture, vowing, albeit temporarily, "to make it his last."[51] No matter how deeply Tokushô buries his memories of Ishimine, they still lie waiting, threatening to return at any moment.

To a greater extent than Medoruma's earlier works, "Droplets" highlights the gap between publicly circulating memories of the Battle of Okinawa and the private memories war survivors have kept to themselves because the story's main character, Tokushô, is a public speaker of his war experiences. While Seikichi and Fujii from "The Crying Wind" and Uta from "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" all carry with them unshared memories of the Battle of Okinawa, none of them give public lectures or talk about their war experiences as Tokushô does. As a result, unlike the main characters of these earlier stories, not only does Tokushô have to deal with the guilt of his actions during the war, but he also faces harsh criticism for his talks, from his wife as well as from his conscience, for "makin' up sorry tales to profit off the war."[52] Although Tokushô's wife Ushi does not know what happened with Ishimine, her criticism stings

Tokushô's conscience, because he is all too aware that the "common memory" of his public talks purposefully avoids his "deep memory" of Ishimine. In this sense, "Droplets" points to the limited nature of survivor testimony and public memory, at the same time exploring the pain and difficulty that comes even when a survivor leaves out and avoids their most painful memories.

3.5 Unrecognized Signs of War-related Phenomena

"Droplets" also contains unrecognized war-related phenomena that work to emphasize the large gaps between public war memory and private ones. The ailments that afflict the story's main character Tokushô, both his swollen leg and the drops of water coming out of his toe, are connected to his war memories. A few days after Tokushô is incapacitated with the swollen leg, he begins to have visions of soldiers from the Battle of Okinawa lining up to drink the water dripping from his toe. Not only does the ailment force Tokushô to slowly face his buried war memories from the past, but the symptom of dripping water becomes the point of interface with the dead soldiers from his memory. The link between Tokushô's war memories and his physical ailment is further reinforced with his recovery coinciding with the ending of his war visions. Once Tokushô is able to confront Ishimine, the swelling of his foot subsides, the water stops dripping from his foot, and he regains consciousness. This connection between the swollen leg and Tokushô's buried war memories indicates, as Okamoto Keitoku has suggested, that the swollen leg is a physical manifestation of Tokushô's lingering war trauma supposedly locked away in his subconscious.[53]

When the swollen leg and drops of water first appear, however, nobody in the story recognizes them as war-related ailments. Ushi mistakes Tokushô's foot for a melon a neighbor left behind as a gift and Dr. Ôshiro is helpless before the swollen leg, unable to determine either cause or cure. Dr. Ôshiro takes a sample of the liquid dripping out of Tokushô's toe for analysis, but the results indicate that it is nothing more than water with a slightly higher lime content, leaving Ôshiro bewildered. Ushi turns to home remedies, folk-remedies, and even the spiritual help of a *yuta* shaman, all to no avail. As noted above, at first, even Tokushô himself fails to recognize his ailments as related to his war experiences, taking three days to realize the soldiers visiting him were the ones he left behind in the caves of Mabuni during the Battle of Okinawa, let alone a full two weeks before he is able to confront his memories of Ishimine. When Tokushô regains consciousness as his leg returns to normal and his war memories recede, he initially intends to tell Ushi about Ishimine and visit the cave where he left him. As days pass, however, Tokushô puts it off, keeping his ordeal to himself and the meaning of his swollen leg and the drops of water a mystery. Both the unrecognized war-related phenomena and Tokushô's traumatic war memory remain unexplained and undisclosed to anyone in his family, let alone the village.

The unusually large gourd melon that Tokushô's leg has become is a well-known image to survivors of the Battle of Okinawa, and references to the appearances of unusually large melons and pumpkins can be found in the numerous oral histories and testimonies about the Battle of Okinawa. Medoruma has mentioned on more than one occasion that Tokushô's swollen leg alludes in part to this commonly known war-related phenomenon in Okinawa. In the printed interview preceding the Akutagawa Prize

Selection Committee comments concerning "Droplets," Medoruma explains that numerous accounts in Okinawa tell of the appearance of unusually large melons and pumpkins in areas where a large number of people had perished, absorbing the nutrients from the decaying corpses, and that he drew from this image for Tokushô's illness.[54] In a separate newspaper article, Medoruma also points out how Tokushô's swollen leg at the beginning of the tale, and the large melon he kicks at the end, both overlap with the image of the unusually large melons and pumpkins that were "fertilized" by the decaying bodies of the war dead.[55] Reference to the appearance of unusually lush vegetation within a few years of the war's end, especially in the Mabuni area of Okinawa where the largest number of casualties occurred, can also be found in the prefectural history and edited collection of oral accounts of the Battle of Okinawa.[56]

In a published discussion with Miyagi Harumi in the February 2007 issue of *Subaru* (Pleiad), Medoruma confirmed that he also based the swelling of Tokushô's leg on a less commonly known episode from the Battle of Okinawa that occurred on Zamami Island.[57] Miyagi said that when she first read "Droplets" it reminded her of the story of a man on Zamami Island who had survived his family's attempt to commit "compulsory group suicide" by taking rat poison during the war. Apparently the man's leg became so swollen he could not walk for quite a while, even after the end of the war. Miyagi recalls that after the skin on his leg broke, he finally got better. Medoruma then acknowledged that he indeed had based Tokushô's swollen leg on this story, and claimed "his stories were not made up from nowhere, but rather from bits and pieces of various stories about the Battle of Okinawa he has heard since his childhood and adjusted for use in his stories."[58]

Ubiquitous references to unbearable thirst and dying wishes for just one last sip of water in the multitude of war testimonies, memoirs, and oral accounts of the Battle of Okinawa indicate that water was especially precious during the later parts of the war. Numerous accounts of civilians searching for water in the hopes of drinking to their hearts' content before they die appear in *Tetsu no Bôfû* (Typhoon of Steel), *Okinawa no Kenjitai* (Young Soldiers of Okinawa), and the oral accounts of the war found in the *Okinawa-ken shi* (History of Okinawa Prefecture).[59] Nakasone Seizen's edited collection of war testimonies in *Himeyuri no tô o meguri hitobito no shuki* (Memoirs of the Himeyuri Monument) contains numerous references to dying soldiers begging for water, some even drinking the urine in buckets that were supposed to be thrown out, and claiming satisfaction at having quenched their thirst.[60] During the final days of the Battle of Okinawa, when civilians and soldiers alike were starving and dying from thirst, clean water was viewed as a miraculous life-giving source of energy.

In "Droplets," a similar thirst for and obsession with water appears in Tokushô's memories of the war and is the underlying reason why the ghosts of deceased soldiers from the Battle of Okinawa line up to drink the droplets from his foot at night. As the evening visits from the soldiers continue, Tokushô recognizes one of them as an injured soldier he had accidentally spilt urine and feces on during the war, and the soldier was so thirsty, he had tried to lick the spilt urine. Tokushô promised to bring him water, but never did. After this memory, Tokushô begins to realize that all of the soldiers lining up at his side to get a drink from his toe were the bedridden soldiers from his cave who had tried to grab him in a plea for water as he passed by their beds.[61] Medoruma's story draws from publicly circulating memories of the Battle of Okinawa that attest to the

intense thirst and desire for water and he makes it the central image of "Droplets." Indeed, the very title of the story, more directly translated as "Water Droplets," refers to water, and Tokushô's most haunting memory and guilt stem from having taken Ishimine's water and leaving him to die. The very preciousness of water during the Battle of Okinawa that appears in numerous survivor-authored war accounts as well as Tokushô's suppressed war memories, corresponds to the "miracle water" of Seiyû's street business.

3.6 "Miracle Water" as Unexplained Phenomenon

In addition to representing, and consequently revealing the existence of, unarticulated war memories and unrecognized war-related phenomena, "Droplets" presents an unexplained phenomenon that challenges the realistic narrative mode as well as the conventions of rational history and scientific truth—the story of Seiyû and the "miracle water." The water coming out of Tokushô's toe inexplicably regrows lost hair and restores sexual potency in the elderly within seconds. Even when suspicious customers have the water scientifically analyzed, they are told that it is merely regular water.

The "miracle water" narrative in "Droplets" amounts to the transposition of the wartime preciousness of water into a contemporary context. In the extreme conditions of war, water became a desperately sought after commodity with people willing to die just to have one last drink. Since the conditions of war do not exist in contemporary Okinawa, and it is relatively easy for people to gain access to water, it is no longer the desperately sought-after commodity it was during the war. In "Droplets," the potency

and preciousness of water in wartime Okinawa as remembered by Tokushô, however, seeps into the water coming out of his toe, transforming it into the miracle water of Seiyû's peddling business. Instead of transforming the conditions of contemporary Okinawa into those of the war, Medoruma imaginatively invests Tokushô's droplets with a wartime equivalent level of precious, life-giving power, and as a result breaches the expectations of the reader of a linear, teleological, realist narrative.

The portrayal as real in "Droplets" of the scientifically impossible is what has led some of the Akutagawa judges to characterize the "miracle water" narrative part of the story a "fable."[62] Other writers and literary critics have mentioned how "Droplets" recalls the "magical realist" style of Gabriel García Márquez, and in a discussion with Ôe Kenzaburô, Medoruma himself has claimed he was inspired to accept and write as real the "unbelievable" reality that constitutes daily life in contemporary Okinawa after reading Márquez's works.[63] Michael Molasky has commented that the incorporation of the "magical realist" method in "Droplets" has better enabled Medoruma to portray the multiple temporalities of war memory, focusing particularly on how Medoruma uses "magical realism" to approximate "Tokushô's private reality" with his visions of soldiers from the Battle of Okinawa coming out of the wall at night.[64]

What Molasky has pointed to as "marvelous" or "magical," however, does not correspond with the parts of "Droplets" the Akutagawa judges have labeled a "fable." Although both phenomena— the visions of soldiers coming out of the wall and the miraculous water —correspond to a so-called "magical" reality, the nature of each is slightly different. On the one hand, the phenomenon of deceased soldiers coming out of the wall is only seen by Tokushô. Indeed, they do not begin to appear until after Ushi

returns to her room for the evening and Tokushô is left alone at night. The effects of the "miracle water," however, are observed by a variety of people. Thus, whereas Tokushô's visions might be explained away as the inner psychological workings of a traumatized person occurring solely within his mind, the witnessing of the effects of the miracle water by numerous individuals suggests the occurrence of an observed and verifiable event. Thus, the phenomenon of Tokushô's ghostly visitors from the past can be explained, but not verified by a corroborating witness, while the phenomenon of the effects of the miracle water cannot be explained with scientific knowledge, but have multiple witnesses.

Both of these events would fail to meet historian Aniya Masaaki's criteria for accurate history (e.g., "objective" and "scientific") as outlined in the beginning of this chapter, and consequently would most likely be left out of his historical narrative. Additionally, because the narrative accounts by Okinawan civilian survivors of the Battle of Okinawa have been attacked for being either too sentimental or historically inaccurate, survivors who have published accounts of their war experiences have insisted on their historical accuracy and adopted many of the conventions of historical discourse. Hence, the kind of "miraculous" or "magical" events "Droplets" engages—the unverifiable visions of dead soldiers and the inexplicable power of the miracle water— have been avoided not only in historical narratives, but in the more subjective survivor-authored accounts of the Battle of Okinawa as well.[65]

Conclusion

Like Tokushô's unspoken war memories, the "miracle water" narrative lacks a space within dominant forms of public memory of the Battle of Okinawa. Together with the story's description of unrecognized war-related phenomena, these unrecognized, unarticulated, and unexplained phenomena underscore the partial, incomplete, and limited nature of common knowledge and understandings of the Battle of Okinawa. Yet, paradoxically, through the representation of the unarticulated and the revealing of the unrecognized, "Droplets" runs the risk of providing a sense of closure, resolution, and comprehension to the very incomplete and still unresolved nature of war memories and trauma of the Battle of Okinawa that the story is trying to highlight. Hence, I would suggest that the inclusion of the scientifically unexplained, yet observed, phenomenon of the "miracle water" in "Droplets" is an allusion to the existence of war-related phenomena that lie beyond existing frames of knowledge.

As an unexplained phenomenon, the effects of the "miracle water" remain in the realm of the unresolved, serving as allegory for that which lies beyond complete explanation and understanding. In essence, it recreates in the reader the situation and feeling of not knowing. Combined with Medoruma's use of unrecognized war images and the story's focus on un-narrated memory, "Droplets" serves as a warning, reminding us of the vast gap in knowledge that lies beneath the illusion of recovery, completeness, and understanding that publicly narrated war stories can generate.

Notes for Chapter 3

1. See Aniya, ed., *Sabakareta Okinawa-sen.* The book also contains Sono Ayako and Kinjô Shigeaki's court testimonies.

2. Ibid, 28. Unless stated otherwise, all translations are mine.

3. Okinawa Times, "Jushô wa taisetsu na shuppatsu ten," *Okinawa Times*, July 18, 1997, 29.

4. Ibid, 29.

5. In February of 1996, Matayoshi Eiki won the 114th Akutagawa Prize for "Buta no mukui" (Pig's Revenge, 1996), which can be found in Matayoshi Eiki, *Buta no mukui* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjû, 1996).

6. Annual attendance numbers to the Himeyuri Peace Museum in 1995 were the highest to that date, reaching 843,014, but exceeded that figure each year from 1997 - 2000. See Okinawa-ken Joshi Ikkô, ed., *Himeyuri: kaikan to sonogo no ayumi*, 331. For publication material numbers see Yoshihama, "Okinawa-sen kankei kankôbutsu," 64. Page 57 of Yoshihama's study has a graph that also indicates 1995 as a peak year for published materials about the Battle of Okinawa.

7. Shiraishi Ichirô et al., "Dai 27 kai 'Kyûshû geijutsu-sai bungaku shô' happyô," *Bungakukai*, no. 4 (1997), 160-163.

8. Akiyama Shun, "Dai 27 kai 'Kyûshû geijutsu-sai bungaku shô' happyô: Senpyô: Okinawa wa bungaku ni fukai," *Bungakukai*, no. 4 (1997), 161, and Itsuki Hiroyuki, "Dai 27 kai 'Kyûshû geijutsu-sai bungaku shô' happyô: Senpyô: Me o utareru yô na kankyô o oboeru," *Bungakukai*, no. 4 (1997), 162.

9. Akiyama, "Okinawa wa bungaku ni fukai," 161.

10. Shiraishi Ichirô, "Dai 27 kai 'Kyûshû geijutsu-sai bungaku shô' happyô: Senpyô: Shusshoku no deki," *Bungakukai*, no. 4 (1997), 160.

11. Tatematsu Wahei, "Dai 27 kai 'Kyûshû geijutsu-sai bungaku shô' happyô: Senpyô: Bungaku no suimyaku," *Bungakukai*, no. 4 (1997), 163.

12. Kôno Taeko, "Dai 117 kai Heisei kyû nen do kami han ki Akutagawa-shô kettei happyô: Akutagawa-shô senpyô: 'Suiteki' no tsuyomi," *Bungei shunjû* 75, no. 11 (1997), 428.

13. Ibid, 428.

14. Hino Keizô, "Dai 117 kai Heisei kyû nen do kami han ki Akutagawa-shô kettei happyô: Akutagawa-shô senpyô: Daikôtei," *Bungei shunjû* 75, no. 11 (1997), 426-427.

15. Kuroi Senji, "Dai 117 kai Heisei kyû nen do kami han ki Akutagawa-shô kettei happyô: Akutagawa-shô senpyô: Atsui gûwa," *Bungei shunjû* 75, no. 11 (1997), 427.

16. Ikezawa Natsuki, "Dai 117 kai Heisei kyû nen do kami han ki Akutagawa-shô kettei happyô: Akutagawa-shô senpyô: Seii to gijutsu," *Bungei shunjû* 75, no. 11 (1997), 430.

17. See Maruya Saiichi, "Dai 117 kai Heisei kyû nen do kami han ki Akutagawa-shô kettei happyô: Akutagawa-shô senpyô: Ototoi no hechima no mizu," *Bungei shunjû* 75, no. 11 (1997), 426; Kuroi, "Atsui gûwa," 427; Takubo Hideo, "Dai 117 kai Heisei kyû nen do kami han ki Akutagawa-shô kettei happyô: Akutagawa-shô senpyô: Shôsetsu no shitate," *Bungei shunjû* 75, no. 11 (1997), 428; and Ishihara Shintarô, "Dai 117 kai

Heisei kyû nen do kami han ki Akutagawa-shô kettei happyô: Akutagawa-shô senpyô: Aratamete no, Okinawa no kosei," *Bungei shunjû* 75, no. 11 (1997), 431.

18. Miyamoto Teru, "Dai 117 kai Heisei kyû nen do kami han ki Akutagawa-shô kettei happyô: Akutagawa-shô senpyô: Sugureta kôsei to seishinsei," *Bungei shunjû* 75, no. 11 (1997), 429.

19. Ikezawa, "Seii to gijutsu," 430, and Hino, "Daikôtei," 426.

20. Furui Yoshikichi, "Dai 117 kai Heisei kyû nen do kami han ki Akutagawa-shô kettei happyô: Akutagawa-shô senpyô: Sawagashiki hairi," *Bungei shunjû* 75, no. 11 (1997), 430-431, and Kôno, "'Suiteki' no tsuyomi," 428-429.

21. See Miyamoto's comments concerning the Akutagawa Prize selection in Miyamoto, "Sugureta kôsei," 429.

22. See Kawamura et al., *Sensô wa dono yô ni katararete kita ka*, 28.

23. Ibid, 31.

24. Ibid, 31.

25. Kawamura Minato, "Okinawa no 'gôsuto basutâzu'," *Gunzô* 52, no. 9 (1997), 171.

26. See Ibid, 152-155.

27. Ibid, 171-172.

28. Molasky, "Medoruma Shun," 184.

29. Ibid, 184.

30. Ibid, 184.

31. Okamoto Keitoku, Michael Molasky, and Oyadomari Chûshin, "'Suiteki' to Okinawa bungaku (jô): Medoruma Shun-shi no Akutagawa-shô," *Okinawa Times*, July 21, 1997, 13. The second half of this roundtable appeared on page 7 of the following day's morning edition of the *Okinawa Times*.

32. Ibid, 13.

33. For a more detailed examination of Okamoto's interpretation of "Droplets" as the deep exploration of the interior of its main character, see an earlier article published before the Akutagawa Prize announcement, Okamoto Keitoku, "Okinawa no shôsetsu no genzai: naimenka e no shikô," *Josetsu*, no. 15 (1997), 2-6. In that article Okamoto contrasts Medoruma's "Droplets" against the literary works of Ôshiro Tatsuhiro which he characterizes as being more externally descriptive of its characters. Okamoto does acknowledge comments concerning the perceptive criticism of "reality" in "Droplets" and the story's "comedic" ending, but reasserts the significance of the story's exploration of the deep inner thoughts of a war survivor, on pages 5-6.

34. My translation of 「「水滴」が、問題にしようとしたのは、外でもなく、戦争体験の継承をめぐる問題といっていいだろう。」"'Suiteki' ga, mondai ni shiyô to shita no wa, hoka demo naku, sensô taiken no keishô o meguru mondai to itte ii darô." Nakahodo Masanori, "Medoruma Shun 'Suiteki' o yomu, ge," *Ryûkyû shimpô*, July 21, 1997, 8.

35. Ibid, 8.

36. Shinjô Ikuo, "'Suiteki' ron," in *Okinawa bungaku to iu kuwadate: Kattô suru gengo, shintai, kioku* (Tokyo: Impact Shuppankai, 2003), 142.

37. Ibid, 142.

38. See especially Miyazawa Tsuyoshi, "Medoruma Shun 'Suiteki' ron: Yûrei to deau tame ni," in *Bungaku nenpô: Bungaku no yami / kindai no chinmoku* (Yokohama: Itô Shôsen, 2003), 358-360.

39. Nakazato Isao is the chief editor of the critical magazine *EDGE*. For Nakazato's interpretation of "Droplets," see Nakazato Isao, "'Suiteki' to Okinawa bungaku (1)/ enkan wa koerareta ka," *Okinawa Times*, July 29, 1997, 12. The other Okinawan-generated perspective Miyazawa mentions is Chu Kunsokun's surprise at Tokushô's feeling of alienation from his wartime comrades as expressed in Chu's article in Kunsokun Chu, "Sensô ga owari, sekai no owari ga hajimatta," *EDGE*, no. 5 (1997), 21.

40. Although Miyazawa characterizes mainland Japanese critics as praising Medoruma's depiction of Okinawa as "aggressor" in "Droplets," while Okinawan interpretations praise the story for different reasons, one Okinawan writer-critic who has praised "Droplets" for taking up the "aggressor" position is Ôshiro Tatsuhiro. See Ôshiro Tatsuhiro, "Kyûshû geijutsu-sai bungaku shô senkô hyô," *Ryûkyû shimpô*, November 17, 1996, 18.

41. Miyazawa, "Medoruma Shun 'Suiteki' ron," 360.

42. Shu, "Medoruma," 18.

43. See Ibid, 19.

44. Ibid, 18-19.

45. Ibid, 19-20.

46. 「それから数年間、毎日の生活に追われることで、石嶺の記憶を消し去ろうと努めた。」"Sorekara sûnenkan, mainichi no seikatsu ni owareru koto de, Ishimine no kioku o keshi sarô to tsutometa." In Medoruma, *Suiteki*, 42. Molasky translates this passage as "In the hectic years that followed the war, Tokushô tried to erase his memories of Ishimine." in Medoruma, "Droplets," 279.

47. Shu, "Medoruma," 19-20.

48. My translation of 「. . . 石嶺のこともセツのことも記憶の底に封じ込めて生きてきたはずだった。」". . . Ishimine no koto mo Setsu no koto mo kioku no soko ni fûjikomete ikite kita hazu datta," in Medoruma, *Suiteki*, 43-44. Molasky translates this passage as ". . . he thought he had succeeded in forcing the memories of Ishimine and Setsu from his mind." In Medoruma, "Droplets," 281.

49. The text states that it was on the third night of visits from the soldiers that Tokushô recognizes Ishimine, see page 21 of Medoruma, *Suiteki*, and page 264 of Molasky's translation. On page 36 of Medoruma, *Suiteki*, and page 275 of Molasky's translation, the narrative states two weeks have passed since his leg swelled up, and then describes what happened to Ishimine.

50. For the above quote, see Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 12-14. Saul Friedlander's comments appear in Saul Friedlander, "Trauma, Transference, and 'Working Through' in Writing the History of the Shoah," *History and Memory* 4 (1992). Friedlander's own interpretation of "deep memory" comes from Lawrence Langer's study on Holocaust narratives, particularly chapter one on "deep memory." See

Lawrence L. Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 1-38.

51. Medoruma, "Droplets," 271.

52. Ibid, 271.

53. See Okamoto, "Okinawa no shôsetsu no genzai," 5.

54. Medoruma Shun and Bungei shunjû henshû bu, "Medoruma Shun-shi ni kiku," *Bungei shunjû*, September, 1997, 424.

55. Medoruma Shun, "Shisha no manazashi," *Okinawa Times*, July 7, 1997.

56. The explanatory notes section at the beginning of volume 9 lists the appearance of unusually large vegetables a few years after the war as one feature frequently encountered in civilian testimony of the Battle of Okinawa. See Ryûkyû Seifu, ed., *Okinawa-sen kiroku 1*, 23 vols., vol. 9, *Okinawa-ken shi* (Naha: Ryûkyû Seifu, 1971), 917, for mention of this phenomenon in the Mabuni area of Okinawa.

57. The summary of Miyagi's discussion with Medoruma about the swollen leg from "Droplets" appears in Medoruma Shun and Miyagi Harumi, "Owaranai 'Shûdan jiketsu' to, 'bungaku' no kadai," *Subaru* 29, no. 2 (2007), 164.

58. 「何もないところから生まれたんではなく、子どもの頃から聞いてきた沖縄戦の話が小説に形を変えているんです。」 "Nanimo nai tokoro kara umaretan dewa naku, kodomo no koro kara kiite kita Okinawa-sen no hanashi ga shôsetsu ni katachi o kaete irun desu." Ibid, 164.

59. Such mention of water appears too often to list, but here are a few examples from Okinawa Times., *Tetsu no bôfû: Okinawa-senki*, 10th ed. (Naha-shi: Okinawa Times, 2001; reprint, 1993), 235, 242-244, 253, 264.

60. See especially the first chapter, "Rikugun byôin no hibi" in Nakasone Seizen, *Himeyuri no tô o meguru hitobito no shuki* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1995), 9-90.

61. See Medoruma, *Suiteki*, 32-34 for Tokushô's realization and recollection.

62. See my earlier summary of the Akutagawa judges' comments and the characterizations of the Seiyû narrative as a fable in section 3.4.1 of this chapter.

63. See, for example, Medoruma and Ikezawa, "'Zetsubô' kara hajimeru," 183-185, Ôe and Medoruma, "Okinawa ga kenpô o tekishi suru toki," 178-179, and Molasky, "Medoruma Shun," 177-179, 182.

64. See Molasky, "Medoruma Shun," 182-183. Molasky does not discuss the "miracle water" narrative in this article in terms of "magical realism."

65. One survivor-authored memoir which does describe visions and the unverifiable is *Shirahata no shôjo*, (Girl with the White Flag) by Higa Tomiko. Higa was only seven years old at the time, so she presents the war from the perspective of a young child, which perhaps allows her the freedom to include the subjective in her narrative. For Higa's account of how the spirit of her older brother visited her in the form of a rabbit, see pages 116-120 in Higa Tomiko, *Shirahata no shôjo* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2000).

CHAPTER 4: SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE FICTION: MEDORUMA SHUN'S "MABUIGUMI" (SPIRIT STUFFING) AND ÔSHIRO TATSUHIRO'S "KAMISHIMA" (ISLAND OF THE GODS)

4.1 Introduction

At the risk of oversimplifying the landscape of Okinawan literature, it can be said that Ôshiro Tatsuhiro (b. 1925-) and Medoruma Shun (b. 1960-) are arguably Okinawa's two most prominent contemporary writers.[1] As Okinawa's first Akutagawa Literary Prize winner in 1967 for "Kakuteru Pâtî" (Cocktail Party), Ôshiro brought the literary activity of Okinawan writers to the attention of the literary circles of mainland Japan, and has contributed to the further development of Okinawan literature through his ongoing literary activity. A prolific writer with a long writing career, Ôshiro has written numerous novels, short stories, plays, essays, as well as modern versions of *kumi odori* (classical Ryukyuan dance-drama). In his literary works, Ôshiro has engaged a wide range of the most important political and cultural issues that Okinawa has faced from the late 19th century onward. As Okamoto Keitoku and Shinjô Ikuo have acknowledged, Ôshiro has long been the leading literary figure in postwar Okinawan literature.[2]

While Ôshiro has been Okinawa's most prominent postwar writer for many decades, Motohama Hidehiko has observed that Medoruma Shun "has challenged Ôshiro's literary dominance," particularly after Medoruma won the Akutagawa Prize for "Suiteki" (Droplets) in 1997.[3] Shinjô Ikuo considers the appearance of Medoruma's "Droplets" a watershed event in postwar Okinawan literature, not only on the level of literary craftsmanship, but also for the story's critical energy that works to dismantle

common stereotypes of Okinawa found in literary narratives.[4] Since "Droplets," Medoruma has continued to produce critically acclaimed and award-winning novels and stories, including "Mabuigumi" (Spirit Stuffing, 1998), "Gunchô no ki," (Tree of the Butterflies, 2000), *Fûon: The Crying Wind* (2004), and *Niji no tori* (Rainbow Bird, 2004) among others. Additionally, with his large body of editorials and critical essays, Medoruma has been establishing himself as an important social critic in Japan.[5]

This chapter compares how Ôshiro, in his 1968 mid-length novel "Kamishima" (Island of the Gods), and Medoruma, in his 1998 award-winning short story "Mabuigumi" (Spirit Stuffing), narrate the effects of the Battle of Okinawa on the lives of war survivors decades after the end of the war. "Spirit Stuffing" and "Island of the Gods" engage similar issues and share a variety of concerns. Both stories focus less on narrating the events of the Battle of Okinawa than on examining the way war memories continue to haunt the central war survivor characters. Accordingly, both stories take place decades after the war rather than the war past of 1945. In each story, the central war survivor character is the village priestess of their community: Yae in "Island of the Gods," and Uta in "Spirit Stuffing." As the person in charge of the religious rites and ceremonies of their respective village, Yae and Uta have stronger ties and connections to traditional Okinawan spiritual beliefs and customs than the other members of their villages. As a result, both stories engage the question of how deaths caused by war would transform as well as be interpreted by the spiritual beliefs of village priestesses such as Yae and Uta.

Despite these similarities, however, "Island of the Gods" and "Spirit Stuffing" differ significantly in their depiction of their village priestess characters. In this chapter I

examine how Medoruma and Ôshiro portray the interiority and war memories of Yae and Uta in relation to each character's community, their spoken discourse, and their views of spirituality. While some critics, such as Okamoto Keitoku and Kano Masanao, have found Ôshiro's works to be lacking in their representation of the inner thoughts and feelings of his characters,[6] a detailed examination of how his narratives portray character interiority has not been conducted. Similarly, although Medoruma's literary pieces have been described as probing deeply into the inner consciousness and the unconscious of their characters, specifically how Medoruma accomplishes this has not been articulated. By comparing how these two authors portray the inner consciousness of the characters Yae and Uta, who, as war survivors and priestesses of their village, grapple with memories of the Battle of Okinawa through their spiritual beliefs, I hope to highlight and bring into relief some of the literary characteristics and narrative strategies of these two important Okinawan authors. Through my examination, I will demonstrate that Ôshiro's narration of Yae is characterized by an attempt to approach the issue of war memory and responsibility from an objective perspective, while Medoruma's narration of Uta is a more subjective approach that subordinates the narrator's perspective and discourse to those of the character's.

4.2 Medoruma Shun's "Spirit Stuffing"

4.2.1 Publication and General Information Concerning "Spirit Stuffing"

Medoruma Shun's short story "Spirit Stuffing" first appeared in the 1998 summer issue of the literary magazine *Shôsetsu torippâ* (Novel Tripper) the year after his short story "Droplets" won the Akutagawa Prize. In 1999, "Spirit Stuffing" appeared with five

other stories by Medoruma in a collection titled *Mabuigumi* and, in 2000, the story won the Fourth Kiyama Shôhei literary prize as well as the Twenty-sixth Kawabata Yasunari literary prize. "Spirit Stuffing" was reprinted again in the June 2000 issue of *Shinchô* (New Currents) with the announcement and judge's comments of the Kawabata Yasunari prize. In 2002, the collection of stories titled *Mabuigumi* was released in paperback edition.[7]

"Spirit Stuffing," like Medoruma's 1997 Akutagawa prize winning story "Droplets," takes place some fifty years after the end of the Pacific War in a rural village on Okinawa Island and deals with haunting memories of the Battle of Okinawa. Despite these similarities, however, the war experiences depicted in each story are quite different. Unlike the main character of "Droplets," Tokushô, who served in the Battle of Okinawa as a student soldier in the southern part of the island, Uta, the focal character of "Spirit Stuffing," struggled to survive the war as a civilian hiding in a mountain cave near her village in the northwestern part of Okinawa Island. Hence, Tokushô's war memories deal with the Japanese Army's retreat from Shuri and are populated with injured and dying soldiers begging for water. In contrast, Uta's war memories in "Spirit Stuffing" are more indicative of war testimonies given by civilians who lived in the northern part of the island, focusing on the gathering of food to stave off starvation and the avoiding of Japanese soldiers who were known to arbitrarily execute Okinawans for being an enemy "spy."

But "Spirit Stuffing" is much more than a war story. The tale takes place in an Okinawan village away from the larger cities of Naha and Shuri. Judging from the description of the village, the type of language used by the story's characters, and written

comments by the author, the hamlet where "Spirit Stuffing" takes place is modeled on the author's hometown of Nakijin, located in the northwestern part of Okinawa Island in the Motobu peninsula.[8] Compared to the larger urban centers of Naha and Shuri, or the base town Okinawa City, in the rural spaces of Nakijin, local traditions, religious ceremonies, festivals, and the use of local language still thrive.[9] Indeed, Medoruma's ability to re-create and depict a world steeped in the local lore and cosmology of rural Okinawa in "Spirit Stuffing" as well as other literary works has received praise from prominent authors and literary critics.[10]

As the following analysis will argue, another feature of "Spirit Stuffing" is the strong sense of community and the deep personal connections between villagers that is lacking in "Island of the Gods." This is not, however, to claim that Medoruma idealizes rural Okinawan communal life in his fiction. As Shinjô Ikuo has argued, Medoruma's work, particularly since "Droplets," has worked to deconstruct stereotypical representations of Okinawa, including nostalgic stereotypes of Okinawa's *kyôdôtai* or tight-knit community. In an article concerning Medoruma's "Droplets," Shinjô has stressed that the main character of the story, Tokushô, through his inability to publicly share parts of his war experience, at the end of the story, remains alienated from his community.[11] Although I agree with Shinjô's observation concerning the deconstruction of Okinawan stereotypes and idealized representations of communal ties in Medoruma's fiction, I would argue that Medoruma's literary works carry out this critique not by merely portraying a counter representation, but rather by revealing the complex contradictions that underlie these stereotypes. Thus, I interpret Uta in "Spirit Stuffing" as simultaneously caught within the web of communal ties and relationships that constitutes

her place in her village community as much as she is alienated from it due to her adherence to local traditions and role as village priestess. The in-depth portrayal of the characters' connections to the other members of the community that Medoruma carries out in his stories simultaneously reveals both the empowering as well as alienating aspects of the strong sense of community found in rural Okinawa.

4.2.2 Summary of "Spirit Stuffing"

When an *âman*, or Okinawan hermit crab, is discovered lodged in the mouth of the unconscious Kôtarô, Uta, the village's elderly priestess, tries to return Kôtarô's *mabui* (spirit or life-force) to his body by performing a *mabuigumi* (spirit stuffing), a ritual in which a person, usually a woman, asks the detached *mabui* of an exhausted, injured, or unconscious person to return to its body. Concerned that the incident may deter mainland Japanese investors from continuing with hotel development plans in the area, village leaders decide to keep Kôtarô's condition a secret and help Uta with the spirit stuffing. Uta finds Kôtarô's *mabui* on the beach sitting under a tree gazing at the ocean, but it ignores all of her efforts to return it to its body. Several days pass with no change. However, one evening when a sea turtle comes ashore to lay eggs, Kôtarô's *mabui* goes out to meet it.

Uta suddenly realizes they are in the same spot that a sea turtle came ashore to lay eggs some fifty odd years earlier during the Battle of Okinawa. On that night Omito, Kôtarô's mother, was killed. A flood of memories returns to Uta as she recalls going out to the beach to search for food, hiding from Japanese soldiers, and watching Omito die from a gunshot. Upon returning to the cave where her village was hiding, Uta learns that all the men, including Uta's and Omito's husbands, were dragged out by Japanese

soldiers. They were never seen again, and the infant Kôtarô ended up losing both of his parents. Uta, widowed with no children, worried over Kôtarô as her own son and helped his grandmother raise him.

With these memories fresh in mind, Uta believes the turtle Kôtarô is going out to meet in the ocean is the same turtle Uta and Omito saw so many years earlier. Uta is unable to stop Kôtarô's *mabui* as it accompanies the turtle, which she believes is the reincarnation of Omito, into the ocean. Fearing something bad has happened, Uta returns to Kôtarô's house and learns that his body has stopped breathing. While Uta was on the beach, reporters from mainland Japan and Naha had found their way into Kôtarô's room and took a picture of the *âman* in his mouth. The camera flash startled the hermit crab and it burrowed into Kôtarô's throat, choking him to death. In a rage, Uta wrenches the *âman* from Kôtarô's mouth, and together with the people who had been watching over him, battles the *âman*, eventually killing it. Right before the final blow, however, the injured hermit crab looks straight at Uta and she realizes that the *âman* is the reincarnation of Omito. Uta tries to stop the deathblow, but is too late.

In the days that follow, Uta's memories of her childhood and youth intermingle with her perception of the present. In the story's final scene on the beach, Uta turns towards the sea and puts her hands together, but her prayers fail to reach their intended destination.

4.3 Ôshiro Tatsuhiro's "Island of the Gods"

4.3.1 Publication and General Information Concerning "Island of the Gods"

Ôshiro's fictional prose work "Island of the Gods" first appeared in the May issue of *Shinchô* (New Currents) in 1968, the year after Ôshiro was awarded the Akutagawa Prize for his short story "Cocktail Party." Whereas "Cocktail Party," through the metaphor of rape, addressed Okinawa's subordinate status as a militarily occupied territory of the United States, "Island of the Gods" engaged the contentious and sensitive issue of Japan's war responsibility for the death of Okinawan citizens during the war. Okamoto Keitoku has observed that, when the story was published, debates about how Okinawa should be returned to Japanese governmental and administrative rule and the reexaminations of Okinawa's historical relationship with Japan were reaching a peak, and as a result, "Island of the Gods" received strong interest from readers in Okinawa as well as mainland Japan.[12] After Ôshiro rewrote the story as a play, the following year in 1969, "Island of the Gods" appeared in the February issue of *Teatoru* (Theatre) and was performed in Tokyo. The spring issue of the literary magazine *Shin Okinawa bungaku* (New Okinawan Literature) of that same year also printed the screenplay as well as essays and articles by various people who had viewed the performance of *Island of the Gods* in Tokyo. In 1974, the literary prose version of "Island of the Gods" appeared as the title piece in a small hardback collection of Ôshiro's works.[13]

4.3.2 "Island of the Gods" Story Overview

"Island of the Gods" raises a multitude of complicated questions and political issues that arise from the gap between victims and perpetrators of acts of violence during the Battle of Okinawa. Using as a model the well-known *shûdan jiketsu* or "compulsory

collective suicide" incident that took place on Tokashiki Island in March of 1945, Ôshiro set "Island of the Gods" on the fictional island Kamishima twenty-three years after the end of the Battle of Okinawa, where the island's civilian inhabitants had committed "compulsory collective suicide."[14] The story begins a few days before the island's *Irei sai* (Ceremony to Console the Dead) that marks the anniversary of the end of the Battle of Okinawa, with a variety of people coming to the island for the event, including Taminato Masayuki, a former resident of the island who had evacuated a group of local school children to Kyushu before the Battle of Okinawa began. Also visiting the island to attend the ceremony is Miyaguchi Tomoko from Nagasaki, the daughter of a Japanese soldier who had perished on the island during the Battle of Okinawa. Futenma Zenshû, who survived the "collective suicide" due to the failed detonation of his hand-grenade, has welcomed Miyaguchi to the island and allowed her to participate in the ceremony to console the dead, despite the possibility that she may be the daughter of sergeant Miyaguchi, who is believed to have killed Hamakawa Tadayoshi, the husband of Hamakawa Yae, Futenma's younger sister. Yae is the village's *noro* (priestess), in charge of ceremonies and religious rites, and a survivor of the war, but she has been unable to find her husband's remains, and one month earlier learned that her son and only child had perished in an automobile accident while living in Tokyo. Living with Yae is Kimura Yoshie, the fiancée of Yae's son and a Japanese mainlander, who just came to the island from Tokyo a month before to tell Yae what happened to her son. Two other important characters in the story are also visitors from outside the community, the cameraman Yonashiro Haruo and folk scholar Ôgaki Kiyohiko. Yonashiro is from Naha on the main island of Okinawa, a young man in his twenties representing the postwar

generation, working on a film commissioned by the local government to promote Kamishima as a tourist destination. Ôgaki is a scholar from mainland Japan, conducting research on the folk practices of the local people, and is particularly interested in Yae and the sacred cave only she, as the village priestess, is allowed to enter.

After Yoshie asks to be shown the inside of the sacred cave, Yae agrees to do so in the hopes of growing closer to her. Along with cameraman Yonashiro and folk scholar Ôgaki, Yae takes Yoshie into the sacred cave. Once inside, the visitors discover the human remains of people who had died in the cave during the war. When Yoshie asks Yae why the remains have not been given a proper burial, Yae responds that it is their punishment for breaking the taboo of entering the cave and defiling the gods. Yoshie insists that they deserve to be given a proper burial, telling Yae that her Okinawan gods do not make any sense to her. As a result of witnessing this discovery and argument, Yonashiro later confronts Futenma with Yae's decades of suffering and her unfulfilled search for the remains of her husband. Futenma finally reveals that he saw the Japanese soldier Miyaguchi take Yae's husband outside to be executed. Miyaguchi Tomoko decides not to participate in the ceremony to console the dead, but rather to help Yae search for her husband's remains. Tomoko accidentally sets off a land mine during her search and is killed instantly. As a result, many of the ceremony attendees from mainland Japan criticize Yae for holding Tomoko responsible for something her father may or may not have done, with Taminato arguing that the mainland Japanese anti-nuclear bomb movement is meaningless unless it confronts the issue of war responsibility that Miyaguchi represents. The story ends with Taminato and Yonashiro's departure from the island.

4.4 Narration in "Island of the Gods" and "Spirit Stuffing"

4.4.1 Orienting Perspectives in "Island of the Gods" and "Spirit Stuffing"

Unlike Medoruma's previously examined stories of war memory "Fûon" (The Crying Wind, 1985-1986), "Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite" (Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard, 1986), and "Suiteki" (Droplets, 1997), "Spirit Stuffing" is dominated by the focal perspective of a single character. From the story's opening scene to its final line, the tale centers on the village priestess Uta, who is also a survivor of the Battle of Okinawa. Of all the characters in the story, only Uta's thoughts, reactions, and memories are ever revealed or narrated for the reader, and all of the unfolding series of events are described in relation to her. This is not to say that the story is narrated by her in a first person narrative, but rather that her point of view primarily orients the narrative perspective of the work, in what would correspond to Gérard Genette's description of "internal focalization" that is "fixed" on one character.[15]

In contrast, the narrating perspective in Ôshiro Tatsuhiro's "Island of the Gods" moves through a variety of characters in the story, depicting at various times the thoughts and psychological reactions of its orienting perspective.[16] The character Taminato Masayuki, a former inhabitant of the island who had led an evacuation of young school children to Kyûshû right before the Battle of Okinawa, orients the initial narrating perspective of "Island of the Gods." In section two, Taminato is temporarily displaced by two orienting perspectives— that of Hamakawa Yae, the village's *noro* or priestess, and Yae's recently "widowed" "daughter-in-law" from mainland Japan, Kimura Yoshie— before Taminato again focalizes the narrative for the second half of section two. For sections three, four, and six, Taminato predominantly orients the narrative, while the

young cameraman, Yonashiro Teruo, focalizes the text in sections five, seven, the latter half of eight, and most of nine. Yoshie's perspective orients the text in parts of chapter seven in addition to chapter two, and Yae's perspective also orients the narrative for most of section eight before giving way to Yonashiro. In total, "Island of the gods" is focalized through four characters, Taminato, Yonashiro, Yae, and Yoshie, with the two male characters orienting the overwhelming majority of the story. Hence, although "Island of the gods" technically is multi-focal, appearing to be polyphonic, it is far from evenly balanced, with Yae's voice and perspective given comparatively little time, and Yoshie's even less.

One obvious way Medoruma better explores the inner psyche of his spiritually attuned war survivor character in "Spirit Stuffing" than Ôshiro does his in "Island of the gods," is by committing the story's narrative orientation to that character. Ôshiro, in contrast, has given the majority of the narrating perspective to semi-outsider, semi-objective voices in that neither Taminato nor Yonashiro lived through or experienced the "compulsory collective suicide" incident, nor is either a member of the island community of Kamishima. Thus, the structural set-up of Ôshiro's story differs from Medoruma's in the very position from which it chooses to primarily explore, analyze, and understand what happened during the war: Ôshiro primarily chooses semi-external objective perspectives, while Medoruma elects to vicariously explore the inner psyche of a war survivor.

By primarily orienting the narrative through Taminato and Yonashiro, Ôshiro predominantly portrays and analyzes the dilemmas of war memory that afflict Yae's community from an approximated external, rational, and semi-objective perspective.

That is to say, both Taminato and Yonashiro are sympathetic outsiders to the community and people of Kamishima, the fictional island setting of the story. Although Taminato is a former resident of the island who has connections to members of the community, he left before the Battle of Okinawa, and therefore was not present when the "compulsory collective suicide" incident occurred over twenty-three years earlier. Furthermore, because he married a woman from Kyushu and settled down there, Taminato has not been to Kamishima since leaving the island over twenty years earlier and feels slightly alienated from his former home. He is both shocked by and curious about the silence and reluctance of the local islanders to discuss the "compulsory collective suicide" incident with him.

Yonashiro, a young twenty-seven-year-old from the main island of Okinawa, is even more of an outsider than Taminato.[17] Although Yonashiro was alive during the Battle of Okinawa, he would only have been about three years old, too young to have meaningful memories of the battle, placing him closer to the post-war generation. Hence, not only does Yonashiro lack the personal connections to the people of Kamishima that Taminato has, but he also belongs to the younger, postwar generation. Yet, as an Okinawan, Yonashiro has a stronger affinity to or understanding of Yae's perspective as a *noro* priestess than Yoshie, who is a mainlander from Tokyo. Yonashiro's perspective as in-between that of someone from mainland Japan and an inhabitant of Kamishima, is narrated in his reaction to Yae and Yoshie's verbal fight in the sacred cave:

> 彼みずからこの場で救いをあたえることができようとは、思わなかった。二人の考えは、はなれすぎていた。言いあっているうちに、ときに交わり合うかと思われたが、それは一刹那のことで、やはり平行線であった。二人の考えのどちらに与するか、与那城自身が落

ちつかなかった。理論的には芳枝のほうが正しいようにも思えたが、感情のどこかでヤエの言い分に傾いていた。[18]

Kare mizukara kono ba de sukui o ataeru koto ga dekiyô to wa, omowanakatta. Futari no kangae wa, hanare sugite ita. Iiatte iru uchi ni, toki ni majiwari auka to omowareta ga, sore wa issetsuna no koto de, yahari heikôsen de atta. Futari no kangae no dochira ni kumi suru ka, Yonashiro jishin ga ochitsukanakatta. Riron teki ni wa Yoshie no hô ga tadashii yô ni mo omoeta ga, kanjô no doko ka de Yae no iibun ni katamuite ita.

At this point he didn't think there was anything he could say that would help the situation. Their positions were just too far apart. During their exchange, there was a time when he thought they might be coming together, but it was only for the shortest of instants, and as expected, they remained on completely parallel paths. Yonashiro himself couldn't decide on whose side he agreed with. On the one hand, he felt that Yoshie was more correct in terms of rational logic, and yet on the other hand, on some emotional level he was leaning toward what Yae had said.

As the semi-outsider who did not experience the war or the "compulsory collective suicide" incident of Kamishima, Yonashiro agrees more with Yoshie's logic, which represents a mainland Japanese outside perspective. At the same time, as someone from the main island of Okinawa, emotionally he is closer to understanding Yae's position than Yoshie. In essence, considering how "Island of the Gods" focuses on a variety of characters from different parts of mainland Japan and Okinawa— such as Taminato from Kumamoto, Tomoko from Nagasaki, Yoshie from Tokyo, and Yonashiro from Naha— Yonashiro hails from the closest region in terms of cultural and geographic proximity.[19]

Aside from these obvious differences in the proportion of space devoted to the portrayal of the priestess-war survivor characters in "Spirit Stuffing" and "Island of the Gods," Medoruma's story is characterized by a more consonant narrative orientation. In other words, the narrative tone of "Spirit Stuffing" more closely identifies with Uta's perceptions and thoughts than the narrative tone of "Island of the Gods" does with the

perspective of Yae. "Spirit Stuffing" accomplishes this effect through a sustained and consistent interpretation of all the other people in Uta's community from her perspective, partial adoption of Uta's idiolect, and the narrator's acceptance of Uta's perceived reality that challenges tenets of objective realism.

4.4.2 Community Connections and Relationships

When the narrative in "Island of the Gods" is oriented on Yae, it rarely describes how she thinks and feels about the other characters within her community.[20] Ôshiro's narrator never reveals what Yae thinks of her brother Futenma Zenshû, Zenshû's son, or the visiting Taminato, a former member of the community. How Yae felt towards her son is described in the second chapter of the story, but since he had left the island and was killed in a car accident, he is no longer a part of the village community. For the most part, the narrative focuses on how Yae feels about Yoshie and her struggles to make their relationship go smoothly. The narrative also provides one comment concerning her feelings toward the folk scholar from mainland Japan, Ôgaki, whom she sees as no different from the Japanese soldiers who defiled the sacred cave by entering it, despite Ôgaki's claim he is nothing like them.[21] In short, only her feelings and impressions of the outside visitors to her island are given.

For the most part, narrative comments on the interior thoughts of characters in "Island of the Gods" are limited or underdeveloped. Significant portions of Ôshiro's text are characterized by long sections of dialogue with little or no narrative elaboration of what the characters are thinking, and as a result these parts of the text read more like a screenplay than a piece of prose narrative fiction. Indeed, in a 1997 article on the state of contemporary Okinawan literature, modern Okinawan literary scholar Okamoto Keitoku

pointed out that various critics have described Ôshiro's fiction as "screenplay-ish" or having a "stage drama" feel.[22] In the same article, after acknowledging Ôshiro's status as Okinawa's leading contemporary writer in the postwar period, and the expansive range of important topics his writings engage, Okamoto argues that Ôshiro's fiction often lacks internal psychological depth in the development of its characters, even listing "Island of the Gods" as one of the many examples that fit this generalization.[23] As mentioned earlier, Ôshiro rewrote and published "Island of the Gods" as a screenplay for stage performance in the year following its first appearance as prose fiction.

Although "Island of the Gods" rarely narrates how Yae feels about the members of her community, the story does reveal how the other members of the village interpret her, particularly how they feel about her ongoing search for the remains of her husband. For the most part, these opinions are revealed in conversations with the dominant focal character of the story, Taminato. In the following conversation with Taminato, local islander Tokashiki offers his opinion of Yae's obsession with finding her husband's remains:

> 「ぼくはいま、浜川のおばさんと会ってきたものだからね」
> 「ああ。あのひとは特別です．．．．．．」渡嘉敷の言いかたは、田港がおどろくほど、さっぱりしていた。
> 「あのひとには、偶然の事故がかさなりすぎたのです」
> 「偶然の事故？息子が交通事故で死んだことはともかくとして、おじさんが戦争で亡くなったことも？島のひとたちは、そう言ってるの？」
> 田港の調子がすこし迫った。
> 「いえ。戦争で亡くなったことそのものではなく、．．．．．．．つまり、浜川のおばさんは、自分の夫がヤマトの兵隊に殺されたと思いこんでいるのです．．．．．．」[24]

"Boku wa ima, Hamakawa no obasan to atte kita mono dakara ne."

"Aa. Ano hito wa tokubetsu desu. . . . ." Tokashiki no iikata wa, Taminato ga odoroku hodo, sappari shiteita.

"Ano hito ni wa, gûzen no jiko ga kasanari sugita no desu."

"Gûzen no jiko? Musuko ga kôtsû jiko de shinda koto wa tomo kaku to shite, ojisan ga sensô de nakunatta koto mo? Shima no hito tachi wa, sô itteru no?"

Taminato no chôshi ga sukoshi sematta.

"Ie. Sensô de nakunatta koto sonomono de wa naku, ... tsumari, Hamakawa no obasan wa, jibun no otto ga Yamato no heitai ni korosareta to omoi konde iru no desu."

"It's that I just got back from meeting Mrs. Hamakawa."

"Oh. That person's a little different. . . ." Tokashiki's frankness was enough to surprise Taminato.

"That person's had too many coincidental accidents pile up on her."

"Coincidental accidents? Besides her son getting killed in a traffic accident, are you talking about her husband's death in the war? Is that what the islanders are saying?"

The tone of Taminato's voice became a little urgent.

"No, it's not the matter of dying in the war. . . . The thing is that Mrs. Hamakawa is possessed with the idea that her husband was killed by a Japanese soldier.

In the above exchange, no mention is made of the background history or relationship between Tokashiki and Yae. As a result, the reader is not given a clear context within which to evaluate Tokashiki's opinion of her. Whenever Taminato talks to another member of the village, a similar scene to the one above repeats itself, with Taminato receiving opinions and judgments about Yae that lack context or a description of that villager's relationship to her. Because Yae is often interpreted by the other villagers, and her own opinions of the other characters are rarely presented, her position as subject in "Island of the Gods" is only poorly, if ever, developed.

In stark contrast, "Spirit Stuffing" carefully places Uta within her community, both her deep connections with the other characters in the story, as well as her independence and slight alienation from them. As the other major characters appear in

the story, Uta's past relationship, connection, and feelings toward them are presented, situating Uta's place in her society for the reader, as well as providing the context for the events that then unfold. In the very beginning of "Spirit Stuffing," Uta's relationship to the community is established with her irritation at the noise of the NHK radio calisthenics music flowing into her garden. Because the calisthenics have been aimed at young children and the elderly, Uta has been invited on numerous occasions to join by fellow senior citizens. Uta has consistently refused because it interferes with her first starting the day with tea, a tradition of the elderly passed down for generations. She even stormed into the community center office to complain about the loud noise in an effort to have it stopped. At the same time, however, Uta understands why her fellow senior citizens would want to interact with young children, and out of regard for the children, Uta puts up with the noise after the community center stops using their loudspeaker. Hence, with this incident and Uta's reaction, the text establishes Uta's stubborn character, her strong connection to traditions of the past, her friendships with other elderly members of the community, as well as her alienation from them that is caused by her refusal to forsake tradition for a mainland Japanese practice.

"Spirit Stuffing" also informs the reader of Uta's opinions and relationship with the other members of the community as they appear in the story. After Uta's nextdoor neighbor Fumi has dragged Uta over to her house to take a look at Kôtarô, Uta asks Fumi what the problem is, but gets no response. The narrative then reveals to the reader Uta's unspoken reaction:

> 問いに答えず目に涙を浮かべているフミにウタは苛だった。
> 四十を過ぎて子供も二人いるというのに、先祖が首里の士族と自慢しているわりには役にもたたん、と腹の中でののしりながら、ウ

タは気持ち良さそうに寝ている幸太郎の顔を見た。五十を過ぎたばかりにしては頭はかなり薄くなっているが、血色のいい顔は健康そのものだった。半農半漁の生活で、昨日も釣ったばかりのグルクンを持ってきて、ウタと一時間近く話していた。戦争で両親と死に別れてから、幸太郎は祖母のカマダーお婆(ばー)の手で育てられたのだが、隣近所に住んでいるウタも小さい頃からかわいがってきた。戦争で夫の清栄(せいえい)が行方不明になり、子供もなく戦後を一人で生きてきたウタは、心の中でいつも幸太郎のことを実の子のように思っていた。幸太郎もそれを察してウタのことを気遣ってくれていた。[25]

Toi ni kotaezu me ni namida o ukabete iru Fumi ni Uta wa iradatta.

Yonjû o sugite kodomo mo futari iru to iu no ni, senzo ga Shuri no shizoku to jiman shite iru wari ni wa yaku ni mo tatan, to hara no naka de nonoshiri nagara, Uta wa kimochi yosa sô ni nete iru Kôtarô no kao o mita. Gojû o sugita bakari ni shite wa atama wa kanari usuku natte iru ga, kesshoku no ii kao wa kenkô sono mono datta. Han nô han gyo no seikatsu de, sakujitsu mo tsutta bakari no gurukun o motte kite, Uta to ichi jikan chikaku hanashite ita. Sensô de ryôshin to shini wakarete kara, Kôtarô wa sobo no Kamadâ obâ no te de sodate rareta no da ga, tonari kinjo ni sunde iru Uta mo chiisai koro kara kawaigatte kita. Sensô de otto no Seiei ga yukue fumei ni nari, kodomo mo naku sengo o hitori de ikite kita Uta wa, kokoro no naka de itsu mo Kôtarô no koto o jitsu no ko no yô ni omotte ita. Kôtarô mo sore o sasshite Uta no koto o kizukatte kurete ita.

As Fumi's eyes filled with tears, Uta became annoyed at her for not answering the question.

Uta looked at Kôtarô's peacefully sleeping face and silently cursed Fumi, thinking how helpless she was for someone in her forties with two children, especially considering how proud she was that her ancestors had been members of the Shuri privileged class. Kôtarô's hair was thinning noticeably for someone who had only recently entered his fifties, yet the ruddy complexion of his face was health itself.

Just yesterday Kôtarô, a farmer-fisherman, had brought her some freshly caught *gurukun* and spoken with her for close to an hour. After Kôtarô lost his parents in the war, he had been raised by his grandmother, Kamadâ, and from the time he was a small child, Uta, who lived next door, had always treated him with affection. Uta had no children and her husband, Seiei, had disappeared during the war, so she had lived the years afterward alone and thought of Kôtarô as her own child. Kôtarô, sensing this, thought dearly of Uta as well and always returned her affection.

Not only does the narrative here reveal that Uta "became annoyed," but also provides an explanation as to why. Additionally, it informs the reader of Uta's relationship and connection to Kôtarô as a kind of surrogate mother after Kôtarô had lost his parents in the war. Shortly after the above scene, however, Uta's irritation at Fumi recedes and their bond becomes apparent. When Uta realizes there is a hermit crab inside Kôtarô's mouth, she lets her sympathy for Fumi take over, revealing the loving bond that also forms her relationship with Fumi.

This kind of brief narration of Uta's past relationship with and feelings towards the other members of the village is given almost every time a new character appears in the story. For instance, after Uta has gone out to the beach to find Kôtarô's *mabui*, Shinzato Fumiaki appears with Fumi to check up on Uta's progress. After Uta turns to look at him, the narrative reveals their past relationship:

> 三年前に役場を定年退職してから区長になり、二期目に入っていた。子供の頃、悪さをしてはよく叩かれていたので、今でも新里はウタに頭が上がらなかった。[26]
>
> San nen mae ni yakuba o teinen taishoku shite kara kuchô ni nari, ni ki me ni haitte ita. Kodomo no koro, warusa o shite wa yoku tatakarete ita no de, ima demo Shinzato wa Uta ni atama ga agaranakatta.
>
> Shinzato was in his second term in office. Three years ago, he had become the chief of the ward right after retiring from his position at town hall. During his childhood, when he had been up to some mischief, Uta had often given him a licking; even to this day, he had a hard time looking her in the eye.

The above description reveals information more likely to come from Uta than from Shinzato in its unflattering description of him, suggesting a narrative perspective that is oriented from Uta's point of view. In the following example, the narrative more clearly

indicates that it is describing Uta's feelings and interpretation of the new character appearing in the story.

> 公民館の事務をしている嘉手納美代子が明るい声で盆にのせた刺身皿と泡盛の三合ビンを持ってきた。まだ二十五なのに二度離婚していて子供も三人いたが、屈託のない性格で神行事の手伝いも熱心にしてくれるので、ウタのお気に入りだった。[27]
>
> Kôminkan no jimu o shite iru Kadena Miyoko ga akarui koe de bon ni noseta sashimizara to awamori no sangô bin o motte kita. Mada nijûgo na no ni nido rikon shite ite kodomo mo sannin ita ga, kuttaku no nai seikaku de kami gyôji no tetsudai mo nesshin ni shite kureru no de, Uta no oki ni iri datta.
>
> Kadena Miyoko, who worked in the community center office, replied in a cheerful voice and brought out a tray with a plate of sashimi and a half-liter bottle of *awamori*. Although she was only twenty-five years old, Miyoko had already been divorced twice and had three children. She had a carefree personality, though, and had always assisted Uta enthusiastically with religious rites and rituals; for these reasons Uta was rather fond of her.

This description of Kadena Miyoko begins in a neutral voice by describing her actions and offering some background information. The final sentence, however, specifically reveals a little bit about her relationship to Uta as well as how Uta feels about her. Because the narrating voice consistently introduces and interprets each new character in the story from Uta's perspective without describing or interpreting Uta from a different one, it produces an understanding of the relationships in the village from her point of view and establishes her subjectivity.

4.4.3 Feelings and Thoughts Toward the War Dead

Perhaps what is most starkly missing in "Island of the Gods" is a narrative description of how Yae felt towards those who died during the war. Aside from Yae's desire to find the remains of her husband, who she believes was executed by Japanese

soldiers, how Yae feels or felt about the villagers and members of her community who died in the Battle of Okinawa is never portrayed. The following excerpt is a narration of Yae's war memories in which she witnesses the death of a fellow member of her village, yet no description is given as to Yae's connection or relationship to him.

> あの、——夫の賢良が軍曹といっしょに洞窟を出ていったあと数日たって、その日たまたまヤエと村人の男一人が、食糧をあさるために洞窟を逼い出た日、その連れの男はそのまま銃弾にあたって死に、わずかに両手にすくえるほどの藷を手にいれたヤエが戻ったとき、洞窟の入口に米兵が数人、洞窟のなかをうかがう風にうろついているのを目撃したのだ。それきりヤエは隠れ場所をかえて、戦争が終るまで洞窟に戻らなかった。その頃から、ヤエの恥と悔いと怖れとは、はじまった。[28]
>
> Ano, —otto no Kenryô ga gunsô to issho ni dôkutsu o dete itta ato sûjitsu tatte, sono hi tamatama Yae to murabito no otoko hitori ga, shokuryô o asaru tame ni dôkutsu o haideta hi, sono tsure no otoko wa sono mama jûdan ni atatte shini, wazuka ni ryôte ni sukueru hodo no imo o te ni ireta Yae ga modotta toki, dôkutsu no iriguchi ni beihei ga sûnin, dôkutsu no naka o ukagau fû ni urotsuite iru no o mokugeki shita no da. Sore kiri Yae wa kakure basho o kaete, sensô ga owaru made dôkutsu ni modoranakatta. Sono koro kara, Yae no haji to kui to osore to wa, hajimatta.
>
> A few days after Yae's husband, Kenryô, had left the cave with the sergeant, it just happened to be the day that the man accompanying Yae to look for food outside of the cave was killed by a gunshot. Yae, who had found a few potatoes that barely filled her two cupped hands, saw a few American soldiers loitering at the entrance of the cave who appeared to be looking inside. After that, Yae changed her hiding place, and until the war was over, did not return to the cave. It was around that time that Yae's feelings of shame, regret and fear began.

Although the narrative recounts the events of the war past from Yae's perspective, it does not provide a glimpse into her mind to express how she felt when the man accompanying her was shot, or her reaction at seeing the American soldiers in front of her cave.

In the passage following the above recollection, the narrative recounts how Yae was able to return to the cave during her stay at the American detention camps and discovered the remains of the villagers and Japanese soldiers who had been hiding in her cave.

> くぐり抜けたところでマッチを点けて発見したのが、十幾人かの屍体であった。腐爛がその極に達していて、その悪臭の苦しさを、ヤエは己れにたいする神罰であると理解した。その屍体たちは、すでに顔形の見分けを失っていたが、ある程度記憶でたどることができた。そのイメージが、なおもヤエを責めた。彼女は入口の穴を、石を積んで塞いだ。石は、香炉や陽石をあわせて、手あたり次第にかきあつめて、間にあわせた。いくらかでも屍臭が外に洩れるのを防ぎたかった。半年ちかくたって、再び訪れ、すでに白骨となったものを、片隅にあつめた。[29]

> Kuguri nuketa tokoro de matchi o tsukete hakken shita no ga, jû ikunin ka no shitai de atta. Furan ga sono kyoku ni tasshite ite, sono akushû no kurushisa o, Yae wa onore ni taisuru shinbatsu de aru to rikai shita. Sono shitai tachi wa, sude ni kaokatachi no miwake o ushinatte ita ga, aru teido kioku de tadoru koto ga dekita. Sono imêji ga, nao mo Yae o semeta. Kanojo wa iriguchi no ana o, ishi o tsunde fusaida. Ishi wa, kôro ya yôseki o awasete, te atari shidai ni kaki atsumete, ma ni awaseta. Ikuraka demo shishû ga soto ni moreru no o fusegitakatta. Hantoshi chikaku tatte, futatabi otozure, sude ni hakkotsu to natta mono o, kata sumi ni atsumeta.

> What she found as she lit a match after passing underneath, was the corpses of ten to twenty people. The bodies were badly decomposed and Yae interpreted the nausea from the wretched stench to be the punishment of the gods directed at her. The faces of the corpses had already decomposed beyond recognition, but Yae was somehow able to recall them from memory. Even now the mere thought of the sight tormented her. Yae stacked up rocks and covered the entrance of the hole. She scraped together whatever was nearby, putting the incense burner and phallic shaped stone together, making do with what she had to make the pile of rocks. She wanted to do whatever she could to keep the foul smell from leaking out. After close to half a year had passed, she came again and gathered into a corner the remains that had already turned into skeletons.

Although the narrative mentions Yae's ongoing torment by the image of the corpses, specific details of her feelings for those who died are not given. Neither does the narrative describe how the deceased villagers were related to Yae, let alone their names. The narrative does mention Yae's feelings of guilt at defiling the gods for letting the villagers and Japanese soldiers into the sacred cave, but the lack of description of Yae's personal feelings toward the other villagers who died there leaves Yae's character underdeveloped and the web of social relations that constitute her identity unclear.

4.4.4 Uta's Connections, Medoruma's Fiction

In contrast to the lack of narration concerning Yae's connection and feeling toward those from the village who perished during the war in "Island of the Gods," Medoruma's "Spirit Stuffing" describes in great detail Uta's relationship and connection to the people from her village who perished in the war. In a flashback to the Battle of Okinawa similar to Yae's recollection of the day she left her cave to look for food, Uta recalls an evening when she left her cave in search of food with Omito, Kôtarô's mother. While hiding in an *adan* thicket on the beach from a group of Japanese soldiers, Uta and Omito notice a sea turtle come ashore to lay its eggs. After waiting for close to an hour with no sign of the soldiers, Uta motions to Omito to return to their cave, but Omito runs out on to the beach and begins digging up the turtle eggs.

> 「え、戻れ」
> ウタは小声で呼んだが、オミトはきかなかった。しばらくして、片手を肩のあたりまで砂に埋めて、卵を芋の入った袋に入れはじめる様子を見て、オミトの大胆さに呆れると同時に卵を採ることを考えきれなかったことを恥じた。洞窟の中ではみんな飢えていた。老人と子供たちの衰弱は特にひどかった。手助けをしなければ、と思いながらも浜に身をさらす勇気が出なかった。オミトの姿をやきもきしながら見ていると、突然、火の中の竹が弾けるような乾いた音

が響き、 オミトの体が横倒しになった。反射的に砂に体を押しつけて顔を伏せる。機銃の集中砲火が次の瞬間にも始まりそうで、ウタは清栄の名を呼び、御嶽(うたき)の神 に祈った。銃声の長い残響が消え、波と葉ずれの音が戻ってくる。顔を上げてオミトを見たが、身動きひとつしない。袋の口に手をかけたまま横向きに倒れているオミトの二つの足の裏がとても小さく見えた。乱れた髪だけが風に動いていた。

あだんの茂みを抜け出したのは、東の空が緑色に変わり始めてからだった。洞窟(がま)に戻る直前、ウタは小さく声をかけた。声は波音にかき消された。ウタは、あすの夜、清栄や勇吉と一緒に迎えにくるからと約束して、洞窟に向かった。

三十分以上走りつづけ、勇吉やオミトの両親に告げる言葉を探す余裕が出たのは、洞窟の入り口が見えてからだった。[30]

"E, mudore!"

Uta wa kogoe de yonda ga, Omito wa kikanakatta. Shibaraku shite, kata te o kata no atari made suna ni umete, tamago o imo no haitta fukuro ni ire hajimeru yôsu o mite, Omito no daitansa ni akireru to dôji ni tamago o toru koto o kangae kirenakatta koto o hajita. Gama no naka dewa minna uete ita. Rôjin to kodomo tachi no suijaku wa toku ni hidokatta. Tedasuke o shinakereba, to omoi nagara mo hama ni mi o sarasu yûki ga denakatta. Omito no sugata o yakimoki shi nagara mite iru to, totsuzen, hi no naka no take ga hajikeru yô na kawaita oto ga hibiki, Omito no karada ga yokodaoshi ni natta. Hansha teki ni suna ni karada o oshitsukete kao o fuseru. Kijû no shûchûhôka ga tsugi no shunkan ni mo hajimari sô de, Uta wa Seiei no na o yobi, utaki no kami ni inotta. Jûsei no nagai zankyô ga kie, nami to hazure no oto ga modotte kuru. Kao o agete Omito o mita ga, mi ugoki hitotsu shinai. Fukuro no kuchi ni te o kaketa mama yoko muki ni taorete iru Omito no futatsu no ashi no ura ga totemo chiisaku mieta. Midareta kami dake ga kaze ni ugoite ita.

Adan no shigemi o nukedashita no wa, higashi no sora ga midori iro ni kawari hajimete kara datta. Gama ni modoru chokuzen, Uta wa chiisaku koe o kaketa. Koe wa namioto ni kakikesareta. Uta wa asu no yoru, Seiei ya Yûkichi to issho ni mukae ni kuru kara to yakusoku shite, gama ni mukatta.

Sanjuppun ijô hashiri tsuzuke, Yûkichi ya Omito no ryôshin ni tsugeru kotoba o sagasu yoyû ga deta no wa, gama no iriguchi ga miete kara datta.

"*E, mudore!*" (Hey, get back in here!")

Uta called out to her in a whisper, but Omito ignored her. Before long, Omito was reaching down, up to her shoulder into the sand, and placing the turtle eggs in the bag with the potatoes.

> Uta had been watching the whole time and was surprised at Omito's boldness and ashamed of herself for not thinking of gathering the eggs. Everyone in the *gama* was starving: it was particularly hard on the elderly and young children, who were growing weaker and weaker every day. Even though she felt she had to help Omito dig up the eggs, she couldn't muster up the courage to expose herself out on the beach. She fretted impatiently as she watched, when suddenly a dry sound—like the crackling of bamboo in fire—reverberated through the shoreline and Omito toppled over sideways. Acting on reflex, Uta pressed her body and face into the sand. With concentrated machine gunfire about to begin at any moment, she called out Seiei's name and prayed to the gods of the *utaki*. When the lingering reverberations of the rifle shot faded, the sound of the waves and rustling leaves returned. She raised her head and looked toward her friend, but Omito remained completely still. She had fallen on her side, her hand still at the opening of the bag; the soles of her two feet looked tiny. Only her disheveled hair showed any movement, blowing about in the wind.
>
> Uta finally slipped out from the *adan* thicket when green tinges began to color the eastern sky. Right before heading back to her *gama*, she called out in a whisper to Omito, but the roar of the waves drowned out her voice. She promised she'd come back for her after nightfall with Seiei and Yûkichi and then started back toward the *gama*.
>
> It took over thirty minutes running nonstop for her to reach the *gama*, but it wasn't until its entrance came into view that she finally regained enough composure to even begin thinking about how to tell Yûkichi and Omito's parents what had happened.

In contrast to the narration of Yae's wartime memory in which no name is given for the man accompanying Yae in her search for food, Uta's recalled memory indicates she was looking for food with Omito, who had already been mentioned in the text as Kôtarô's deceased mother. Whereas "Island of the Gods" makes no mention of how Yae was affected by the death of her fellow villager who had been accompanying her, "Spirit Stuffing" portrays Uta promising to return for Omito's body and agonizing over how to inform Yûkichi, Omito's husband, as well as Omito's parents, about her death. Furthermore, after the war flashback, Uta's kindness and attention given to Kôtarô is partially explained as her way of trying to settle her score with Omito. Indeed, the memory of Omito's death becomes the basis for Uta's interpretation of both the sea turtle

and the *âman* (land hermit crab) as reincarnations of Omito trying to reunite with her son Kôtarô.

By including the details concerning the familial and community relationships that the character Uta must deal with in relation to Omito's death, Medoruma more clearly situates the village priestess of his story within her community than Ôshiro does the priestess Yae in his. As a result, Uta's pain and guilt at witnessing Omito's death, her concern and care for Omito's son Kôtarô, and her belief that the sea turtle and the *âman* are reincarnations of her friend, all work together to convey the depth of her scars from the death of her close friends during the war, while Yae's lack of reaction to and the minimal explanation of her human connections with those killed in the war, leaves the emotional aspects of her war memory largely unexplored and unclear.

4.4.5 *Uchinâguchi* in Character Speech and Narrating Discourse

Both stories, "Island of the Gods" and "Spirit Stuffing," take place in Okinawa, but whereas in "Island of the Gods" Ôshiro renders the local character speech almost entirely in so-called "standard" Japanese,[31] in "Spirit Stuffing," Medoruma incorporates the local language in his representation of character speech. In other words, Medoruma presents the dialogue, or the sections of the story that are supposed to represent spoken words, in *Uchinâguchi*, the Okinawan language.

In "Island of the Gods," character speech is presented in "standard" Japanese, including that of the story's Okinawan characters. To be sure, an occasional Okinawan word, such as *noro*, referring to a community's female spiritual leader in charge of rituals and religious ceremonies, appears, but for the most part there is no indication in the text's representation of uttered speech that something other than Japanese, or the common

tongue, is being spoken. There is one occasion, in the brief excerpt below, where the descriptive narrative indicates that the character Yae is about to speak in *Uchinâguchi*, or as the narrative indicates, "dialect:"

「おばさんはしかし、おひとりでたいへんですね」
と言った。浜川父子の死のことは、話のなかでとびこしていた。わざわざそれにふれることは、あまりに生々しすぎるようで遠慮する気もちが、田港にあった。すると、突然ヤエは方言で言った。
「せっかく嫁も遠いところからきてくれたのですが、このままうまくいくとも思われません」
その意味が田港にはよく通じた。. . . [32]

"Obasan wa shikashi, ohitori de taihen desu ne,"
to itta. Hamakawa fushi no shi no koto wa, hanashi no naka de tobikoshite ita. Wazawaza sore ni fureru koto wa, amari ni nama nama shi sugiru yô de enryo suru kimochi ga, Taminato ni atta. Suru to, totsuzen Yae wa hôgen de itta.
"Sekkaku yome mo tôi tokoro kara kite kureta no desu ga, kono mama umaku iku to mo omowaremasen"
Sono imi ga Taminato ni wa yoku tsûjita.

"Aunty, it must be difficult all by yourself," Taminato said.
In the course of their conversation, he had avoided talking about the deaths of her husband and son. Taminato felt the wound was too fresh to bring up. All of a sudden, Yae spoke in dialect.
"Even though my daughter-in-law has gone through the trouble of coming from such a far place, the way things are now, I don't believe things will go well."
Taminato understood exactly what she meant.

Although it is difficult to see in the translation above, despite the indication that "Yae spoke in dialect," the quoted speech that follows this remark is given in "standard" Japanese. Hence, Ôshiro's novel is not merely a case in which none of the characters speak in *Uchinâguchi*, but rather an example of how he has consciously chosen to render all character speech, including that which he has marked as spoken *Uchinâguchi*, into "standard" Japanese.

Considering how Ôshiro depicts character speech in his novels in general, the lack of local Okinawan words and phrases in the representation of Yae's dialogue in

"Kamishima" is not surprising. Aside from the short story "Kame no kô-baka" (Turtleback Tombs, 1967, translated 2000), Ôshiro's works generally contain very little *Uchinâguchi* in the representation of character speech.

In contrast to Ôshiro's representation of Yae's speech entirely in Japanese, Medoruma renders Uta's spoken words in an approximated representation of the local speech of an Okinawan born and raised before the war that incorporates *Uchinâguchi* and Japanese. For instance, when Uta is first taken to see the sleeping Kôtarô and nothing appears to be out of the ordinary, she asks Fumi, 「何が、何処の悪さが？」/ "Nû ga, dâ no wassa ga?" ("What is it? Where is the problem?").[33] In this example, if we were to change the "no" to a "nu," the entire excerpt would be in *Uchinâguchi*.[34] Similar to Medoruma's representation of character speech in "Droplets," as well as his other stories, Medoruma displays differing levels of *Uchinâguchi* use by characters in "Spirit Stuffing" according to such factors as age, gender, and class. As a member of the older generation born before the war, and a female priestess in charge of her village's religious ceremonies and rituals, Uta's connection to the local language and cultural practices of her village is stronger than most of the other villagers. Hence, compared to the other characters in the story, especially the younger male characters, Uta's dialogue contains greater amounts of *Uchinâguchi*. Furthermore, since Uta is the primary character that orients the narrating perspective of the story, a majority of the text's represented speech corresponds to her, resulting in a text with a significant amount of *Uchinâguchi*-based dialogue.

Through the rendering of Uta's spoken discourse in *Uchinâguchi*, Medoruma creates a distinct voice for this character that marks the voice as different from the narrating voice of the text, which is primarily presented in Japanese. To remark that the

narrating voice or narrating discourse of "Spirit Stuffing" is in Japanese is, in some sense, to state the obvious, since we have already established that the text is a contemporary Japanese short story. Indeed, both "Island of the Gods" and "Spirit Stuffing," as Japanese short stories, share the convention of their narrative and descriptive sections being written in Japanese. When these two stories are read against each other, however, it becomes apparent that the distinctive *Uchinâguchi* voice used to represent Uta's speech helps to create a more convincing portrayal of a village priestess than Ôshiro's use of undifferentiated common tongue or "standard" Japanese to represent Yae's speech.

Additionally, "Spirit Stuffing" contains a far greater number of *Uchinâguchi* words in its narrating discourse than "Island of the gods" does in its narrated and descriptive sections. When Ôshiro does include *Uchinâguchi* words in his descriptive prose, they are usually limited to three kinds of items: a select few words that mainland Japanese readers would already be familiar with, such as *Yamato*; a few names of places, such as *Akadôbaru* (as opposed to a more Japanese pronunciation of *Akadôhara*); or names of plants such as *fukugi* and *mokumao*.[35]

In "Spirit Stuffing," the narrative description not only includes the local names of plants and trees or Okinawan words mainland Japanese would be familiar with, but also references to a multitude of everyday Okinawan items and concepts given with a local pronunciation. For example, in the opening paragraph of the story, the narrator provides a phonetic reading of *toshiyui* for the Chinese characters that would be read as *toshiyori* [年寄] in Japanese.[36] Additionally, in the second paragraph, while the main text reads [あの世] *ano yo* in Japanese, the phonetic guide above it indicates *gusô*, [あの世] even though the word [あの] *ano* is given in the phonetic characters of *hiragana* rather than

the more flexibly read Chinese characters. The very title of the work, "Mabuigumi" [魂(まぶい)込(ぐみ)め] is itself an Okinawan word that Japanese speakers without knowledge of *Uchinâguchi* would not understand, although Medoruma's use of the Chinese characters for "spirit/soul" (魂), read as "tamashii" in Japanese, and "loading" (込め), read as "kome," would give them a vague idea of what the word might refer to. Above the Chinese characters for "tamashii" and "kome," Medoruma has placed *rubi*, a phonetic guide, indicating the word should be read as "mabuigumi" rather than "tamashiikome." It might be more accurate to say that Medoruma has chosen these two Chinese characters to represent the Okinawan word "mabuigumi" to enable non-speakers of *Uchinâguchi* to at least partially access the word's meaning. Throughout the story, within the narrative discourse as well as dialogue sections, the phonetic guide indicating the Okinawan reading appears repeatedly over these two Chinese characters.[37] The reader of "Island of the Gods" will be able to read long sections covering multiple pages without encountering an Okinawan word, while the reader of "Spirit Stuffing" is likely to encounter them multiple times on every page.

The incorporation of multiple *Uchinâguchi* words into the narrating discourse of "Mabuigumi" constitutes an adoption of Uta's idiolect into the narrating voice, a maneuver that helps to subordinate the narrator's perspective to that of Uta's. By allowing the *Uchinâguchi* discourse of the character Uta to creep into what is conventionally a Japanese discourse, Medoruma closes the gap between the narrating and figural perspectives, and constructs an Okinawan narrating persona. This is not to claim that the narrator has completely fused with Uta, as the narrating voice is primarily

presented in Japanese. It does, however, help construct a consonant or sympathetic narrating voice with that of the character Uta through the adoption of important Okinawan words and concepts that Uta uses. As we shall see in the next section, the narrator's adoption of Uta's perspective in "Spirit Stuffing" is so complete as to challenge conventional "realist" modes of representation and commonly held epistemological assumptions.

4.4.6 The Reality of Mabui: Medoruma's Epistemological Challenge

As the priestesses of their community, Yae and Uta have a special relationship with the ancestral spirits and gods of their village, and both Ôshiro and Medoruma portray this in their respective stories. In "Island of the Gods," Yae's guilt at having defiled the sacred space of the cave leads her to interpret the deaths that occurred there as divine punishment. In accordance with this punishment, Yae does not inform anyone in the village of the bodies in her cave, which in turn prevents their proper burial. Ôshiro's narrative describes how Yae discovered the dead bodies and a feeling of guilt that overcame her, but her reasons for keeping their presence a secret are not revealed until Yoshie asks Yae to explain herself. In this way, Yae's relationship with the gods of the village is portrayed in Ôshiro's story indirectly as what motivates her actions. Ôshiro never describes Yae as talking to or directly interacting with the gods. Rather, Yae's actions, the hiding of the corpses in her cave and her ongoing search for the remains of her husband, become the markers of her spirituality and role as village priestess.

In "Spirit Stuffing," Medoruma portrays not only the externally visible and verifiable actions Uta takes that connect her to the village spirits, but also her direct interactions with and perceptions of the metaphysical world of *mabui*. When Uta goes

out to the beach to perform the *mabuigumi*, she is not merely described as sitting on the beach and intoning prayers to the gods, but rather as nervous and relieved at actually *seeing* Kôtarô's *mabui* sitting in the shade of a tree. Medoruma then describes Uta's interaction with Kôtarô's *mabui*, how she carefully examines the expression on the *mabui*'s face and asks it to return with her to its body. The presence of Kôtarô's *mabui* is further concretized with Uta's physical interaction with it:

> 祈りが終わると、ウタはT シャツを幸太郎の肩にかけて立ち上がらせようとした。しかし、水に触れるような感触が指先にかすかにあっただけで、幸太郎の魂は座ったままだった。今まで何百回も魂込(まぶいぐ)めをしてきたが、ほとんどの魂は素直に言うことを聞いてくれた。海を見つめたまま動こうとしない幸太郎の魂にウタはとまどった。[38]

> Inori ga owaru to, Uta wa T-shatsu o Kôtarô no kata ni kakete tachi agarase yô to shita. Shikashi, mizu ni fureru yô na kankaku ga yubi saki ni kasuka ni atta dake de, Kôtarô no mabui wa suwatta mama datta. Ima made nanbyaku kai mo mabuigumi o shite kita ga, hotondo no mabui wa sunao ni iu koto o kiite kureta. Umi o mitsumeta mama ugokô to shinai Kôtarô no mabui ni Uta wa tomadotta.

> When Uta finished her prayers, she hung the T-shirt over Kôtarô's shoulder and tried to get him to stand up. But the *mabui* refused to budge. All she felt was a faint sensation in her fingertips, as if she were touching water. Uta had performed *mabuigumi* hundreds of times, and for the most part, until now, all of the *mabui* had obediently listened and done as she asked. She was bewildered; Kôtarô's *mabui* made no attempt to move, remaining as before gazing at the sea.

By including the description of the physical sensation of touching the *mabui*, Medoruma's narrative brings the typically metaphysical world of spirits and *mabui* into the realm of the visually and physically perceived. Additionally, the narrating voice that describes the action and the internal reactions of Uta, does so in a manner that accepts her experiences and perceptions as real. In other words, the narrator's stance and attitude

toward Uta is one of consonance, a stance that is close to and produces a discourse that is in agreement with that of the focal character.

In Dorrit Cohn's study of narrative, *Transparent Minds*, she observes that the two primary narrative stances toward a narrated character are one of consonance or dissonance.[39] As mentioned above, consonance is characterized by agreement in perspective. Dissonance is characterized by narrator distance from that of the character being narrated. That is, the narrator will make it clear that he disapproves of or disagrees with the thoughts or interpretation of reality that a particular character has. Because the narrating voice in "Spirit Stuffing" neither distances itself from Uta's perceptions of the metaphysical nor ironically comment on them, it defers to and privileges the reality Uta experiences. The narrator is presenting the described reality of "Spirit Stuffing" as real in a manner that expects the reader to accept it as such as well.

The labeling of this writing style as "magical realism," Medoruma and others have observed, amounts to denying or disregarding the reality that this style of literature creates. In published conversations with authors Ikezawa Natsuki and Ôe Kenzaburô, Medoruma and these writers have argued that "Suiteki" and "Mabuigumi" depict an Okinawan reality that is very real.[40] In both interviews, Medoruma mentions Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* as providing an example as well as stimulus for how to portray those aspects of contemporary Okinawa that defy the logic of conventional realism. These three authors also critique the label "magical realism" which has often been used to describe García Márquez's work. During his conversation with Ôe, Medoruma remarks:

> マルケスの作品世界を魔術的と感じるのは、西洋の視線だと思います。そこに生きている人からすれば、あの世界はまさしく現実ですね。[41]
>
> Marukesu no sakuhin sekai o majutsu teki to kanjiru no wa, seiyô no shisen da to omoimasu. Soko ni ikite iru hito kara sureba, ano sekai wa masashiku genjitsu desu ne.
>
> I think it is the West that feels the world of (García) Márquez's works is magical. From the perspective of the people living there (Colombia), that world is undoubtedly real.

Ôe adds that the labeling of "García Márquez's realism" as simply "magical" stems from a European attitude that is the same as what Edward Said calls Orientalism.[42] For Medoruma, when the label "magical realism" is used to describe his works, it not only denies the reality of his fiction, but also discredits the spiritual beliefs and modes of understanding that inform it.

Hence, Medoruma's insistence on the reality of his literary works indicates that the description of Uta's visual and physical perception of *mabui* in "Spirit Stuffing" is not merely a matter of aesthetics or literary style, but a matter of epistemology. For Medoruma, the portrayal as real of Uta's spiritually attuned reality challenges mainstream Japanese and Western epistemology at the same time that it recuperates indigenous local Okinawan knowledge. The label "magical realism" threatens to short-circuit these simultaneously deconstructive and recuperative energies by making them a matter of style. Hence, Medoruma's critique of "magical realism" not only constitutes a challenge to his readers and literary critics to try and engage his work beyond the aesthetic, and to grapple with their epistemological implications, but also an attempt to recover those deconstructive and recuperative energies of his fiction.

4.5 Overall Evaluation of Differences and Conclusion

Although "Spirit Stuffing" and "Island of the Gods" both concern themselves with violent incidents of war death and their ongoing effects on rural Okinawan communities in the decades after the war, the approach each text takes toward exploring each issue is vastly different. Ôshiro's approach is grounded in an external objective discourse of convention while Medoruma's story focuses on representing the interiority of its protagonist from the perspective of a war survivor and village priestess. Ôshiro primarily narrates the events in his story from a semi-outside "objective" perspective, oriented either by the former villager Taminato or the young Naha resident Yonashiro. Even when the narrating voice places the priestess war survivor Yae as the focalizing perspective of the text, it refrains from revealing Yae's thoughts, feelings, and connections with the other members of her village community. Partially as a function of Ôshiro's focus on an outside, objective perspective, Ôshiro refrains from using *Uchinâguchi* to represent character speech and writes in a realistic mode of representation. Ôshiro's story engages the complexity of dealing with war memories from different perspectives and experiences that has to begin with the disclosure of the difficult past; yet, it does so from outside the web of personal human relationships that constitute the lives of war survivors.

In "Spirit Stuffing," Medoruma explores the war-related events of his narrative from the perspective of a war survivor. Instead of taking an objective and distanced perspective from outside of the narrated community, Medoruma takes the highly subjective perspective of Uta who has strong personal ties and connections to her community. Medoruma's representation of Uta's speech in *Uchinâguchi* conforms to his

subjective approach to fiction and the exploration of war memory by privileging the particular reality of how people speak in rural Okinawa over submitting to "standard" Japanese. Through the narrator's privileging of Uta's perspective over an external one, the text accepts and portrays her ability to perceive and interact with the metaphysical world of *mabui*. In order to accurately portray the world from the perspective of a village priestess, Medoruma is more willing to challenge and break the rules of conventional "realism" in "Spirit Stuffing" than Ôshiro is in "Island of the Gods."

Notes for Chapter 4

1. An overview of Okinawa's prominent contemporary writers is beyond the scope of this chapter, but some of the highly regarded writers include Matayoshi Eiki (b. 1947-), Sakiyama Tami (b. 1954-), Nagadô Eikichi (b. 1932-), Kohama Kiyoshi (b. 1950-), and Ikegami Eiichi (b.1970-). For an overview of the state of contemporary Okinawan literature since the 1990s, see Shinjô, "Toikake to shite," 305.

2. See Okamoto, "Okinawa no shôsetsu no genzai," 3-4, and Shinjô, "Toikake to shite," 305.

3. See Hidehiko Motohama, "Writing at the Edge: Narratives of Okinawan History and Cultural Identity in the Literary Texts of Ôshiro Tatsuhiro" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2005), 171.

4. See Shinjô, "Toikake to shite," 303. In contrast to the critical stance found in Medoruma's fiction toward Okinawan stereotypes, Shinjô characterizes Matayoshi Eiki, the Okinawan writer who won the Akutagawa Prize in 1996, as utilizing the dominant images of Okinawa in his fiction.

5. Michael Molasky's article in general concerns Medoruma's critical writing and activities as a public intellectual, but in particular see pages 169-172 of Molasky, "Medoruma Shun."

6. Okamoto, "Okinawa no shôsetsu no genzai," 4 and Kano Masanao, *Sengo Okinawa no shisô-zô* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1987), 492. See also Motohama's comments concerning this characterization of Ôshiro's literary style in Motohama, "Writing at the Edge," 82-85. Motohama points to Mishima Yukio's comments concerning the selection of "Cocktail Party" for the Akutagawa Prize as one of the

earliest criticisms of Ôshiro's lack of character development and description of interiority. For Mishima's comments, see, Mishima Yukio, "Dai 57 kai Shôwa 42 nen do kami hanki Akutagawa-shô kettei happyô: Akutagawa-shô senpyô: Futatsu no ketten," *Bungei shunjû* 45, no. 9 (1967), 321-322.

7. Slight changes in word choice and phrasing have appeared with each re-printing of "Spirit Stuffing," such as the changing of "hermit crab" (*yadokari*) to "land hermit crab (*oka yadokari*) between the first and second printings and the changing of the Japanese word "military cave" (*gô*) to the Okinawan word "natural cave" (*gama*) in the paperback printing. This chapter's analysis of "Spirit Stuffing" is based on the 2002 paperback version because it is the newest version available and appears to have corrected mistakes from earlier versions. My translation in English of this story is forthcoming in *Fiction International* no. 40, (2007).

8. During my two-year stay in Okinawa as a research student at the University of the Ryukyus, I was fortunate enough to be taken to Nakijin by Professor Nakahodo Masanori, along with Aimee Mizuno who was working on a translation of Medoruma's short story "Gunchô no ki" (Tree of the Butterflies, 2000), and given a tour of many of the geographical landmarks that appear in Medoruma's stories. In consultations at the University of the Ryukyus with Professor Karimata Shigehisa, an Okinawan language specialist, concerning some of the dialogue that appears in Medoruma's works, I learned that sometimes the *Uchinâguchi* that Medoruma uses shows elements of Nakijin dialect that is distinct from the Naha-based version of *Uchinâguchi*. See note 34 of this chapter for an example. For a phonological and lexical history of the Nakijin dialect in English,

see Stewart Curry, "Small Linguistics: Phonological History and Lexical Loans in Nakijin Dialect Okinawan" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii, 2004). In Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, Medoruma has written about the inspiration his hometown of Nakijin has played in his fiction, especially pp. 72-85.

9. Medoruma talks about his hometown of Nakijin as a place where local language is still spoken and local beliefs and practices still survive, in Ôe and Medoruma, "Okinawa ga kenpô o tekishi suru toki," 177.

10. See, for example, the comments by the Kawabata Yasunari literary prize committee, in Ogawa Kunio et al., "Dai 26 kai Kawabata Yasunari bungaku shô happyô," *Shinchô* 97, no. 6 (2000). For Ôe Kenzaburo's praise of "Droplets" and "Spirit Stuffing" in their depiction of the local Okinawan culture, festivals, and folk-life, see Ôe and Medoruma, "Okinawa ga kenpô o tekishi suru toki," 176.

11. See Shinjô Ikuo, "Medoruma Shun no shôsetsu o megutte: 'Suiteki' o jiku ni," *Ryûkyû shimpô*, July 11, 1997, 18.

12. Okamoto Keitoku, *Gendai bungaku ni miru Okinawa no jigazô* (Tokyo: Kôbunken, 1996), 64-65.

13. This chapter's analysis is based on the 1974 version of "Island of the Gods." See Ôshiro Tatsuhiro, "Kamishima," in *Kamishima* (Tokyo: Nihon Hôsô Shuppan Kyôkai, 1974).

14. Ôshiro explains that he used the Tokashiki collective suicide as a model for "Island of the Gods" in his collection of essays, Ôshiro Tatsuhiro, *Kôgen o motomete* (Naha: Okinawa Times, 1997), 204. See pages 13-14 of chapter one of this study for my

reasons for translating the term *shûdan jiketsu* (collective suicide) as "compulsory collective suicide."

15. For a description of the various forms of focalization, see Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980), 189-190.

16. Davinder Bhowmik, in her examination of "Kamishima" in her dissertation, provides a brief description of the major characters in "Island of the Gods," revealing how the differing backgrounds and viewpoints of the characters generate tension and conflict. See Davinder L. Bhowmik, "Narrative Acts of Resistance and Identity in Modern Okinawan Fiction" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1997), 157-160.

17. I am using the character age designations as indicated in the screenplay for "Island of the Gods" found in Ôshiro Tatsuhiro, "Kamishima," *Shin Okinawa bungaku*, no. 13 (1969), 8.

18. See Ôshiro, "Kamishima," 123. Unless stated otherwise, all translations in this chapter are mine.

19. Of course Taminato was born on Kamishima, but if we think in terms of most recent place of residence and where Taminato considers his home now, he is from Kyushu. The point I am trying to make here, however, is how both Taminato and Yonashiro are semi-outsiders, more familiar with Kamishima than those from the mainland Japan, yet not a part of the Kamishima community.

20. Okamoto Keitoku has made similar observations and criticisms about the portrayal of the character Taminato Masayuki. Okamoto criticizes Ôshiro for failing to

explain why Taminato is so interested in finding out what happened during the "collective suicide" incident, and for not making clear Taminato's connection and personal relationships with the other members of his old community. See Okamoto Keitoku, "Shôsetsu 'Kamishima' ron," in *Gendai Okinawa no bungaku to shisô, Times sensho* (Naha: Okinawa Times, 1981), 152-154.

21. See Ôshiro, "Kamishima," 116.

22. See Okamoto, "Okinawa no shôsetsu no genzai," 4.

23. Ibid, 4.

24. From Ôshiro, "Kamishima," 34.

25. Medoruma Shun, *Mabuigumi*, bunko (paperback) ed. (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2002), 12.

26. Ibid, 19.

27. Ibid, 23.

28. Ôshiro, "Kamishima," 117.

29. Ibid, 118.

30. Medoruma, *Mabuigumi*, 34-35.

31. I place the word "standard" in quotation marks to question the notion that, by comparison, *Uchinâguchi* is "non-standard." I will also be using the term "common tongue" or "common language" to refer to the written and oral Japanese language discourse that people from different regions of Japan commonly use to communicate with each other. Typically, the term *hyôjungo* is translated as "standard Japanese." However, nowhere in this term is "Japan" indicated in the same way that it is in the word *Nihongo*.

Similarly, the alternative term that Medoruma uses, *kyôtsûgo*, or "common language" does not include the term Japan or Japanese within it. Hence, to use the term "common language," or *kyôtsûgo*, does not suggest that *Uchinâguchi* is derivative of *Nihongo*/Japanese in the way that the term "common language Japanese" would. Medoruma uses the term *kyôtsûgo* (common language) more than the term *hyôjungo* (standard language) in his conversation with Nakazato Isao in Medoruma Shun and Nakazato Isao, "Kotoba o 'ibutsu' no yô ni," *EDGE*, no. 7 (1998), 33.

32. Ôshiro, "Kamishima," 28.

33. See Medoruma, *Mabuigumi*, 12.

34. Furthermore, the term "dâ" in the phrase "dâ no wassa ga," indicates Nakijin dialect, as Naha based *Uchinâguchi* would be "mâ" for the word "where."

35. The term *Yamato* is a Japanese word, but people in Okinawa use this term to refer to mainland Japan in a different way than people from mainland Japan use it. See page 10 for Akadôbaru (place name) [赤堂原(あかどうばる)], page 8 for *fukugi* [福木(ふくぎ)], and page 85 for *mokumao* [木麻黄(もくまお)]. This is by no means a comprehensive list, but overall *Uchinâguchi* words are fairly scarce in Ôshiro's text.

36. The phonetic reading of *toshiyui* itself is a compromise between *Uchinâguchi* and the common tongue Japanese, as the initial "to" would normally be pronounced as "tu" in *Uchinâguchi*, making a more accurate *Uchinâguchi* phonetic reading of *tushiyui* [とぅしゆい].

37. The reading as "mabuigumi" in *rubi* over the Chinese characters appears often, but not with every appearance of the word.

38. Medoruma, *Mabuigumi*, 18.

39. For Cohn's discussion of consonant and dissonant narrative stances, see Dorrit Claire Cohn, *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 26-31.

40. See Ôe and Medoruma, "Okinawa ga kenpô o tekishi suru toki," 178-179, and Medoruma and Ikezawa, "'Zetsubô' kara hajimeru," 183-184.

41. Ôe and Medoruma, "Okinawa ga kenpô o tekishi suru toki," 178-179.

42. Ibid, 179.

CHAPTER 5: VICARIOUS MEMORY AND CRITICAL SENTIMENTALITY: MEDORUMA SHUN'S "TREE OF BUTTERFLIES"

5.1 Introduction

Unlike the war experiences of civilian survivors or former members of student corps groups such as the Imperial Blood and Iron Student Corps or Himeyuri Student Nurse Corps in Okinawa, the war experiences of former "comfort women" are barely visible in the dominant narratives of the Battle of Okinawa. In *Tetsu no bôfû* (Typhoon of Steel, 1950), the foundational and representative account of the war from the perspective of Okinawan civilians, "comfort women" are rarely mentioned directly. Rather, they are hinted at in infrequent references to "comfort stations" or the presence of "young Korean women."[1] In her readings of the oral testimonies of the Battle of Okinawa contained in the Okinawa Prefectural History volumes, Shu Keisoku has observed only a rare mention of "comfort women" and no testimonies by former "comfort women."[2] When the Cornerstone of Peace Memorial (*Heiwa no ishiji*) was unveiled to the public on the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Battle of Okinawa in 1995, despite the monument's inclusion of the names of war casualties regardless of nationality, the memorial did not include any Korean "comfort women," and as of 2004, had yet to add any.[3] Although one former Korean "comfort woman" war survivor, Pe Pongi, has provided testimony of her experience in the documentary *Okinawa no Harumoni* (Grandmother of Okinawa, 1992) and was the focus of Kawada's book *Akagawara no ie* (House With the Red Tile Roof, 1987), Pe is the rare exception.[4]

Within Okinawa, as well as Japan and the international community, the stories and experiences of Okinawan and Japanese "comfort women" reside in even more occluded spaces than those of Korean "comfort women." Medoruma Shun has commented that, although most people in Japan are aware that the Japanese military had "comfort stations" in China, Korea, and the Pacific Islands during the Asia Pacific war, he wonders how many know about the "comfort stations" in Okinawa during that time.[5] Reference to the testimony of an Okinawan "comfort woman" appears in the afterword of Kawada's *House With the Red Tile Roof*, but only a few details of her testimony are revealed, and the name and identity of the woman are left undisclosed.[6] Additionally, as Shu Keisoku and Ueno Chizuko have both pointed out, very few Japanese "comfort women," including those from Okinawa, have publicly demanded redress from the Japanese government in comparison with the number of former "comfort women" from Korea and other countries in Asia who have done so since the early 1990s.[7]

Vincent Diaz's observation concerning the silence of former Chamorro "comfort women" in Guam proves helpful in understanding the silence of former Japanese and Okinawan "comfort women." In an article concerning the complexities and politics of war memory in Guam, Diaz observes that not a single Chamorro "comfort woman" has come forth to give testimony or make a claim for redress against the Japanese government.

> "On the other hand, there are other stories that not only do not support the dominant narratives of liberation, but also do not have the cultural or political capital to trouble them in public, though they circulate in private circuits in the form locally called *chimis* or gossip. Examples of these narratological misfits are gossip about native collaboration with the Japanese, of Chamorro "comfort women" (not a single woman has stepped

> forward to participate in the war claims presently being made elsewhere in Asia), and finally, of occupation romances. . . .
>
> . . . These marginalized stories of life at the margins have the potential to disrupt the dominant paradigms but don't because the social and political costs are tremendous and the returns have yet to present themselves. And so they remain not as history but as subaltern memories that continue to reside in private discourse, as well as in the very bodies of the many survivors and their offspring."[8]

Similarly, for Japanese and Okinawan "comfort women," the stigma of having been a sex slave during the war for oneself and one's family has been too high a price to pay for public disclosure of one's past and remains one of the more powerful silencing mechanisms of these subaltern memories. Along similar lines, Kawada Fumiko has argued that the social stigma of having been a "comfort woman" may be the single largest hurdle that prevents former "comfort women" from overcoming their traumatic war experiences.[9]

If former Okinawan "comfort women" never come forward to narrate their war experiences, then how will their stories ever get passed on or preserved? Other than secondhand observations and descriptions, how can those generations born after the war ever hope to understand the intense pain and horror of having been a "comfort woman?"

This chapter examines Medoruma Shun's novella "Gunchô no ki" (Tree of Butterflies, 2000) that portrays recalled moments from the marginalized life of Gozei, a former Okinawan "comfort woman," now suffering from dementia. Through a combination of Gozei's memories and the attempts of Yoshiaki, a former resident of Gozei's village born after the Battle of Okinawa, to uncover Gozei's connection to a family member who died during the war, the text pieces together the almost forgotten life of the former "comfort woman" and postwar prostitute. Through the use of vicarious memory and imagination, Medoruma recovers the subjectivity and humanity of Gozei by

engaging her most intense emotions of love and anger. Far from avoiding the subjective and victim-oriented perspective that some literary scholars and historians have criticized survivor testimony of taking, Medoruma embraces both while critically revealing the fallacy of a uniform ethnic Okinawan war experience of victimization. Hence, I argue, "Tree of Butterflies" constitutes an example of critical "sentimentality" that recovers the subaltern life of a former "comfort woman" through the power of vicarious imagination and memory. This maneuver recovers the emotional intensity of Okinawan war narratives, which a tendency toward and privileging of the objective has diminished.

While "Tree of Butterflies" is a work of fiction, it is based on and inspired by the presence of an actual "comfort station" in Medoruma's hometown of Nakijin during the war. It also draws from Medoruma's knowledge and observations of aging war survivors as they reach their final years, some coming down with dementia that triggers Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). After providing a summary of the story and overview of secondary scholarship on "Tree of Butterflies" I briefly examine some of the historical numbers and figures related to the "comfort" system in Okinawa during the war to provide the backdrop for the story. And finally, before moving onto my examination of how the story recovers the lives and emotional experiences of Gozei and Shôsei, I contextualize Gozei's compounded dementia and PTSD within the findings of psychological studies in Japan and Okinawa as well as recent research on latent PTSD in World War Two and Korean War veterans.

5.2 Medoruma Shun's "Tree of Butterflies"

5.2.1 Publication and General Information Concerning "Tree of Butterflies"

Medoruma Shun's novella "Tree of Butterflies" first appeared in the 2000 summer issue of the literary magazine *Shôsetsu torippâ* (Novel Tripper). The following year it was reprinted as the title work to a collection of four of Medoruma's works of fiction that had appeared in *Novel Tripper* from 1998 to 2000. Although Medoruma continued to write essays and editorials after 2000, "Tree of Butterflies" was Medoruma's last piece of new fiction to be published until the release, in 2004, of the novel-length version of *Fûon: The Crying Wind.*

5.2.2 Summary of "Tree of Butterflies"

Yoshiaki, a man in his late thirties, returns from Naha to his hometown in the northern countryside of Okinawa Island for the funeral of a high school classmate and decides to stay for the village Harvest Festival to be held that weekend. Gozei, an elderly woman who is afflicted with dementia, interrupts two of the Festival events, once by dancing wildly in the festival procession, exposing her filthy naked body that gives off a horrible stench, and later that evening during a dance performance, yelling at everyone to flee before the soldiers arrive. Both times she looks disoriented as people quickly surround her and take her aside. During the first incident, she spots Yoshiaki, and calls him Shôsei, begging him to save her from the soldiers.

The story alternates between Yoshiaki and Gozei's perspectives, with Yoshiaki trying to remember the stories he had heard about Shôsei from his grandmother as well as his own childhood memories of Gozei. Shôsei was a relative on his father's side, who had disappeared during the war, and whose family-line had died out, leaving Shôsei's

mortuary tablet in Yoshiaki's father's possession. Yoshiaki later recalls memories from his childhood, how he and some friends had thrown pachinko balls at Gozei's pigs, and his parents' and grandfather's contempt for, and cruel treatment of, Gozei.

Gozei's mind mixes sensations of the present with memories of the past, constantly returning to Shôsei, the *yûna* tree where they would secretly meet, the riverbank where the tree stands, and the sight of blossoming *yûna* leaves in the moonlight appearing as gathering butterflies. In temporary moments of clarity, Gozei recalls her life as a "comfort woman" brought to the village to serve Japanese soldiers, her secret meetings with Shôsei, her discovery of his self-inflicted injury to avoid conscription and feigned idiocy, her early childhood after being sold into the pleasure quarters of Tsuji, and her life as a prostitute for the American soldiers after the war. Although these memories of the past mingle with later experiences and memories, as well as repeatedly flow into visions of the *yûna* tree in a nonlinear, semi-coherent manner, Gozei's recollection of Shôsei's execution by Japanese soldiers during the Battle of Okinawa, and her subsequent rape by the soldier who killed him, is extremely clear, coherent, and vivid.

In order to find out more about Shôsei and Gozei, Yoshiaki visits Uchima, a village elder who lived through the war. Uchima shows Yoshiaki the history of the village he wrote, but it contains no mention of Shôsei or Gozei. Yoshiaki later visits Gozei in the hospital and finds her condition has deteriorated drastically since he last saw her at the Harvest Festival only three weeks earlier.

In the final narrative section given from Gozei's point of view, a variety of images from Gozei's past flow through her mind and she feels her body dissolve into the

ocean. Eventually she takes the form of a butterfly, passes through the glass window of the hospital room, and flies off into the moonlight.

Back at his parents' home, Yoshiaki finds out that about ten years after the end of the war, his father and grandfather had placed pieces of coral in the grave to take the place of Shôsei's un-recovered remains.

5.3 Scholarship on "Tree of Butterflies"

After "Tree of Butterflies" appeared in *Novel Tripper* in 2000 and was reprinted as the title story in Medoruma's collection of fiction *Tree of Butterflies* in 2001, the story received positive reviews and critical acclaim. In August of 2000, Ôno Takayuki praised the work for succeeding in conveying the pain and war experience of the character Gozei without falling into the trap of simple conclusions about good and evil or appropriating the overused narrative pattern of the innocent Okinawan civilian brutalized by evil Japanese soldiers.[10] Later, in an annual review of literary works for the *Okinawa Times* in December, Ôno wrote that, although Medoruma's "Tree of Butterflies" had not generated a huge response because it was not a typical literary work, he was convinced its importance would be recognized and understood in the years to come.[11] In the review of literary works for the year 2000 in *Okinawa bungei nenkan* (The Yearbook of Okinawan Literature, 2000), Shinjô Ikuo asserts that "Tree of Butterflies" takes Medoruma's literary world to an even deeper level in its exploration of how everyday life is connected to subconscious violence and insanity, as well as the question of representing war memory.[12] In 2001, after the story was reprinted in *Tree of Butterflies*, Shinjô praised all the pieces in the collection as excellent and described "Tree of Butterflies" as a narrative

symphony that transcends the boundaries of "past and present" and "self and other."[13] Ikezawa Natsuki describes "Tree of Butterflies" as being in the vein of Medoruma's masterpiece "Umukaji tu chiriti" (With a Vision, 1999), but, using the metaphor of a sculpture, whose carvings have become much sharper and clearer.[14] And Shu Keisoku praises Medoruma's use of multiple voices and war narrative perspectives to create a polyphonic work that critiques the Okinawa-Japan binary commonly found in narratives of the Battle of Okinawa and that reconfigures this binary along multiple nodes.[15]

Even the criticism Ôno Takayuki directed at "Tree of Butterflies" was stated in positive terms. In his review of the story in the *Ryûkyû shimpô* newspaper, Ôno's one complaint was that the story was perhaps too short for the richness of complicated themes the tale engaged. He went on to say that "Tree of Butterflies" was an indication that Medoruma's fiction had already outgrown the short story/novella form, and as a result, Ôno was anxiously waiting for Medoruma to write a full-length novel that could do justice to his ideas and themes.[16] In his *Okinawa Times* article, Ôno recalled a statement Medoruma had made concerning his desire to eventually write a long novel covering the past hundred years of Okinawa along the lines of Nobel Prize-winning author Gabriel García Márquez's masterpiece, *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. For Ôno, when an author makes a bold statement like this, it usually rings hollow or sounds like empty bravado; but in this case he feels Medoruma may very well make good on his word and write fiction on that level.[17]

5.4 Medoruma's Knowledge and "Comfort Women" in Okinawa

"Tree of Butterflies" grew out of and was partially based on knowledge that came from Medoruma's experience as the child of survivors of the Battle of Okinawa. According to his 2006 *Bungakukai* (Literary World) article on war memory, Medoruma drew from the stories he had heard from his father and grandfather about the wartime "comfort stations" in Nakijin for the writing of "Tree of Butterflies."[18] In his book *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen* ("Postwar" Okinawa year zero, 2005), Medoruma writes that Okinawan women working at a high-class Japanese restaurant in Nakajin were forced to "comfort" the Japanese soldiers stationed in their village.[19] Medoruma also reveals in *"Postwar" Okinawa year zero* that, similar to the requests made by village leaders to Gozei to "serve" the American soldiers in "Tree of Butterflies," after Japan's surrender, as an attempt to reduce the outbreak of rapes committed by American soldiers in the village, the owner of a Japanese inn and Medoruma's grandfather, the acting chief of police for the village, negotiated with the US military and wartime "comfort women" to establish a new "comfort station" for the American soldiers.[20]

After writing "Tree of Butterflies," Medoruma further found out from his father's older sister that the house where she, Medoruma's father, and grandparents had been living during the war happened to be near to both of the "comfort stations" that served the Japanese and American armies. It was because of this close proximity to the "comfort stations" that Medoruma's grandparents, father, and aunt had interacted with "comfort women" and had known of their presence in the village. Medoruma added that there were many war survivors from his village who were unaware that there was a "comfort station" in their village because they lived far away from it.[21]

During the war, there were around 130 "comfort stations" throughout the Okinawan Islands with approximately 1,000 Korean women brought to Okinawa to serve as "comfort women."[22] Additionally, after the October 10th air raid that devastated Naha and burned down the pleasure quarter district of Tsuji in 1944, an estimated 500 women from the Tsuji pleasure quarters were sent off to serve in various "comfort stations."[23] The testimony of a Naha woman who was deceived into working at a "comfort station" under pretense of serving as a nurse, suggests that Okinawan women outside of the Tsuji pleasure quarters were also "recruited," deceived, and coerced into serving as "comfort women."[24]

The fate of former "comfort women" survivors after the war varied greatly. U.S. military documents indicate that after the war, many of the Korean "comfort women" who had been stationed in the Okinawan islands were returned to Korea.[25] The testimony of Pe Pongi, a former "comfort woman" from Korea who stayed in Okinawa after the war, however, indicates that other former "comfort women" from Korea remained in Okinawa. One of Pongi's closest friends, given the name "Kazuko" while in Okinawa, who was also a former "comfort woman" from Korea, had married an Okinawan man and settled down in Okinawa.[26] In her book *House With the Red Tile Roof*, Kawada indicates that she heard about two other former "comfort women" in addition to Pongi, who later worked as bar girl prostitutes for American soldiers after the war.[27] Pongi never married or had children after the war, and lived the remainder of her life in Okinawa, dying in 1991.[28] Medoruma, in a conversation published in February of 2007, stated that a former "comfort woman," who was also made to "comfort" American soldiers, still lived in his hometown of Nakijin.[29]

5.5 Dementia and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

One of the issues related to the ongoing pain of one's war experience that Medoruma raises in "Tree of Butterflies" is the occurrence of traumatic recall that dementia in elderly war survivors can trigger. In the story, when Yoshiaki returns to his parents' home after the festival procession and his first encounter with Gozei, he learns from his mother that Gozei has been exhibiting signs of dementia— wandering the village during the day and night, putting store items in her mouth, and looking disoriented—at various times for more than half a year. Gozei's confusing of Yoshiaki for Shôsei, her lover who perished in the war, as well as mistaking the police for soldiers, indicates that she is also experiencing traumatic recall. Similar to the character Uta in "Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite" (Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard, 1986), on multiple occasions Gozei's actions indicate that she is psychologically trapped in the past, unable to distinguish between the events of the present and her traumatic experiences from the war. Whenever she sees Yoshiaki, she mistakes him for Shôsei, and on more than one occasion, she mentions that soldiers are coming. This confusion of the present with violent events from the past, as I have outlined in Chapter Two of this study, is a key component of traumatic recall.[30]

Medical and psychological studies on Okinawan and Japanese citizens, when read in light of recent research on United States combat veterans from World War II and the Korean War, indicate that the kind of trauma exhibited by Gozei and Uta may not be so uncommon in Okinawa. As Medoruma has recounted in *"Postwar" Okinawa year zero*, during his third year in college in the early 1980s, his aunt, who had dementia, was found curled up in a field one evening muttering that soldiers were coming.[31] Medical studies,

however, suggest such incidents extend beyond her specific case. Hosaka Hiroshi's work on trauma reveals that several psychological studies conducted in Japan have indicated a much higher rate of war-related psychological disorders and trauma in Okinawa than on mainland Japan.[32] Hosaka has also observed that the age group most severely affected psychologically by the Battle of Okinawa was that of survivors who experienced the war in their teens and twenties, the age group to which Gozei would belong.[33] Additionally, Deirdre Johnston's article, published in 2000 and covering research in the United States on combat veterans from World War II and the Korean War, has shown the emergence of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in aging war veterans with the onset of dementia.[34] The study's findings indicate that PTSD can remain asymptomatic or controlled for decades before being unleashed by a debilitating mental illness.[35] Because of the latent nature of dementia-triggered PTSD, Johnston repeatedly stressed the lack of studies and information on the disorder in World War II and Korean War veterans, and warned of the pressing need for more research.[36] That Medoruma's aunt showed signs of traumatic recall related to the onset of dementia back in the early 1980s only underscores how Okinawa's war experience directly affected the entire civilian population from all ages and generations, not just the primarily male population in their late teens through early thirties that would correspond to the duty age of the US combat veterans of Johnston's study.

The debilitating effects of dementia on the mental faculties of those it strikes, as well as the inexpressible nature of trauma, make the coherent narration of previously latent traumatic memory extremely difficult, if not impossible, on the part of elderly survivors suffering from dementia-induced PTSD. In his earlier story "Walking the

Street Named Peace Boulevard," Medoruma elects to represent Uta's dementia and traumatic recall entirely from the external perspectives of other characters. Hence, "Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard" avoids depicting Uta's thoughts, interiority, and war memory. In contrast, the depiction of Gozei's demented consciousness as well as traumatic memory in "Tree of Butterflies" comprises a crucial element of the literary work. Gozei's consciousness is portrayed through non-linear, imagistic, and fragmented memories, primarily connected to her most cherished moments with Shôsei, interrupted every so often by a physical sensation that she weaves into her thoughts and memories. Moments of coherent narrative occur, but Gozei's thoughts soon return to thoughts and memories of Shôsei, interrupting any sense of linear progression or sustained focus. Gozei's most violent and traumatic memories, however, remain crystal clear, vivid, and raw. Through the varying modes of recall and representation of Gozei's consciousness, "Tree of Butterflies" conveys the disorientation of dementia along with the searing intensity of trauma. From the clues in the moments of Gozei's coherent recall, along with the recovered memories and stories Yoshiaki unearths, "Tree of Butterflies" reconstructs Gozei's life.

5.6 Subjective Narrative and Recovering Agency

More so than "Droplets" and "Spirit Stuffing," Medoruma's previous works of fiction dealing with memories of the Battle of Okinawa, "Tree of Butterflies" portrays the experiences of its war survivor character by focusing on emotional narratives of victimization and tragedy. During moments of coherency, the narrations of Gozei's thoughts reveal the difficult trials of her life. Gozei was sold to the Tsuji pleasure

quarters of Naha at such a young age that she does not know who her parents are, and with the outbreak of war, she was forced to "comfort" Japanese officers at a military "comfort station" somewhere in Yambaru. After the US forces landed, Gozei was taken into the mountains with the retreating Japanese forces and villagers, where she struggled desperately to fight off starvation and witnessed the execution of villagers and the confiscation of their food by the Japanese soldiers. Her most traumatizing experience is that of Shôsei's execution, her inability to prevent it, and her rape immediately afterward by the soldier who killed him. After the war, she is asked by village leaders to "comfort" the American soldiers, and after life as a prostitute, lives alone in the village, shunned by the community, never invited to join communal events such as the village festival she has always watched from the shadows. In old age, with no children or family, Gozei has been left to fend for herself while the symptoms of her dementia grow worse. It is difficult to deny that Gozei has lived a life of pain and tragedy.

While "Tree of Butterflies" recounts the tragic circumstances of Gozei's life as a "comfort woman" and postwar prostitute, it also reveals her agency and subjectivity through the narrated recollection of her intimate relationship with Shôsei. By presenting Gozei's inner thoughts and memories, the text inverts society's interpretation and understanding of both Gozei and her one love, Shôsei, recovering their lives and recuperating their subjectivity.

According to the village elder Uchima and Yoshiaki's grandmother, Shôsei was mentally handicapped and had been exempt from military duty because he had suffered an accident that rendered his left arm useless. Because of Shôsei's apparent mental

retardation, Uchima doubted there was any romantic relationship between Gozei and Shôsei.

Gozei's memories, however, reveal otherwise. During her secret meetings with Shôsei, Gozei discovered that his mental handicap was merely an act, and that he purposely injured his left arm so he could stay in the village and avoid military conscription. Yet, because everyone in the community thought Shôsei was mentally handicapped, they accepted his injury as an accident, and he avoided punishment for draft evasion. In this way, Shôsei was able to take advantage of society's prejudice against him and use it to escape the draft and possible punishment.

Additionally, Gozei sensed in Shôsei a strength lacking in both the villagers and the Japanese soldiers. Far from the mentally slow idiot Uchima and the villagers took him for, the Shôsei Gozei remembers was cunning, strong-willed, and vibrant. Recalling how she first met Shôsei and their first intimate moment together, Gozei compares him favorably against both the villagers and soldiers.

> 腑抜けと化した他の村人とは違う。言葉とは裏腹に、次に近づいてきたのは昭正だった。木の幹のように固い右腕で手首をつかまれ、跡がつくのをたしなめながら潮の匂いがする胸に体をぶつける。太く喉仏の大きな首筋を舐める。生きた男の体を抱いたのは初めてだった。日本軍の将校達の腐った白烏賊のような体。[37]
>
> Funuke to kashita hoka no murabito to wa chigau. Kotoba to wa urahara ni, tsugi ni chikazuite kita no wa Shôsei datta. Ki no miki no yô ni katai migi ude de tekubi o tsukamare, ato ga tsuku no o tashiname nagara shio no nioi ga suru mune ni karada o butsukeru. Futoku nodobotoke no ookina kubisuji o nameru. Ikita otoko no karada o daita no wa hajimete datta. Nihongun no shôkôtachi no kusatta shiroika no yô na karada.
>
> He was different from the other villagers who were spineless. Despite what he had said, Shôsei was the one who approached her next. He grabbed her wrist with his right arm that was as solid as a tree trunk. As she reproached him for bruising her wrist, she threw her body into his

> chest that gave off the scent of the sea. She licked the large Adam's apple of his thick neck. It was the first time she had embraced the body of a live man. The bodies of the Japanese Army officers were like rotten squid.

By narrating Gozei's innermost private thoughts, Medoruma recuperates Gozei's and Shôsei's un-narrated lives and subjectivity. The world from Gozei's perspective comes alive, with Shôsei's vitality emerging in contrast to the cowardly villagers and the lifeless officers of the Japanese army. It is during her moments alone with Shôsei that Gozei was able to transform the act of sex from the focal point of her slavery and oppression as a "comfort woman" into an act of choice and pleasure. Furthermore, by vicariously imagining and portraying Gozei's private memories, Medoruma highlights the gap between the kind of externally observed "objective" understandings of Gozei and Shôsei's lives that Uchima represents, and the more personal and subjective knowledge that private memories like Gozei's contain.

Gozei's reason for continuing her life in the village, despite opportunities to leave, highlights the importance of her relationship with Shôsei and the immense pain his loss has caused her. During Yoshiaki's conversation with him, Uchima says that he never understood why Gozei had not moved to another village, gotten married and had children and grandchildren of her own. Gozei's fellow prostitutes who worked with her at the village brothel catering to the American soldiers could never understand her refusal to accept any of the offers by the American soldiers to make her their "only." Unbeknownst to anyone, the reason Gozei agreed to work as a prostitute for the American soldiers as well as refused to pursue any relationship with one of them was to live near the *yûna* tree on the riverbank where she had spent her intimate moments with Shôsei. Gozei's

continued residence in the village, then, is in part, by choice, a way of keeping the most precious memories of her life's one love vivid and alive.

At the same time, in contrast to her strong feelings of love for Shôsei, anger and resentment seethe beneath Gozei's silence. During her various recollections, Gozei's anger and hatred for the Japanese soldiers as well as the villagers emerge. Thinking about the Japanese soldiers she has to sleep with, Gozei wishes Shôsei, with his powerful right arm, would "bring his axe down and split the spines of their long insect-like bodies."[38] Additionally, Gozei was disgusted with the villagers who flattered the Japanese soldiers just to get ahead, and "wished they all would die, each and every one of them."[39] Her strongest feelings of anger and resentment toward the village, however, come after the war, when village leaders ask her to give her body to the American soldiers. Furious that Uchima and Shimabukuro would ask her to sell herself to the Americans just because she had been a "comfort woman," Gozei wanted to kill them, and understanding that she was being used to protect the women and children of the village, she silently hoped the Americans would rape the women and children of the village. Ultimately it is only Gozei's desire to live near the *yûna* tree where she had spent her intimate moments with Shôsei, that leads her to cooperate with the village leaders' request and sell herself to the American soldiers. In essence, her love for Shôsei and feelings of attachment to his memory prove stronger than her anger and resentment towards the villagers.

5.7 Recuperating Emotional, Subjective, and Tragic War Narratives

Medoruma's focus on the highly emotional, subjective, and tragic depiction of Gozei in "Tree of Butterflies" corresponds to his expressed concern with sincerely trying to understand and engage survivor memories through their personal feelings, emotions and subjective experiences. In various essays, interviews, and round table discussions, Medoruma has insisted on the importance of carefully listening to the subjective and emotional accounts of the war, as well as warned against the dangers of insisting on purely objective, rational, and emotionless ones.

During a round table discussion with Japanese literary critic Kawamura Minato and Amami Island public official Maetoshi Kiyoshi, Medoruma stressed the importance of emotional and subjective narratives from survivors of traumatic experiences in reply to Kawamura's criticism of tragic Himeyuri narratives. Referring to the reaction of student visitors to the Himeyuri Peace Museum who had reached the limit of their tolerance with the continuous stories of tragedy, Kawamura Minato suggested that the dominant mode of narrating the Battle of Okinawa from the victim perspective as tragedy is problematic because it glorifies the experience, and that the literary works of Okinawan writers such as Ôshiro Tatsuhiro and Medoruma, work to critique and complicate this discourse.[40] In response, Medoruma raised the issue of the limits of the listener to understand and take in the horrible experiences of war or other violent traumatic events.[41] He further argued that, regardless of how many experiences or testimonies are recorded and preserved, if the listener is not willing to expend the effort to really listen and vividly imagine the event internally as one's own experience, then the result will be a kind of knowledge divorced from the lived experience of real people.[42] At the same time, however, Medoruma also

stated that it is necessary for survivors to leave behind something more than just a record of the war, but something that also contains the small details, such as pain, sadness, or even laughter, the vividness shared by people.[43] If that gets lost, Medoruma asserts, the very thing that survivors have in common to talk about will be lost.[44] The implication here is that the very "tragic" nature of Himeyuri and Okinawan war narratives is part of Okinawan civilian survivors' shared and collective experience of the war, and not to articulate that aspect would be to risk losing that memory altogether. To be sure, elsewhere Medoruma has criticized nationalistic accounts of the Battle of Okinawa that glorify soldier sacrifice and beautify the war experience,[45] but at the same time, as the reference above reveals, he believes in and insists on the importance of vivid, subjective, and emotional accounts of the war.

The above discussion with Kawamura is not the only place where Medoruma has argued against the dismissal of emotional and subjective accounts of the Battle of Okinawa. In response to criticisms of Okinawa's peace movement as being dominated by emotional logic, Medoruma warned that such proclamations coming from the privileged positions of academic specialists and scholars can have the effect of silencing war survivors, many of whom have no training in or easy access to historical research on the war.[46] While Medoruma recognizes the necessity of verifying the details of survivor testimony and placing them within larger historical contexts, he also feels this is not the most important aspect of trying to recover the war past. Rather, he asks,

> ただ、大切なのは、沖縄戦や戦後の歴史体験を語り、記述する言葉が、感情的であり、イデオロギー的であり、重苦しく、被害者的であるというなら、なぜそうなるのかということを現在の状況と突き合わせながら深く考えることではないか。[47]

> Tada, taisetsu na no wa, Okinawa-sen ya sengo no rekishi taiken o katari, kijutsu suru kotoba ga, kanjôteki de ari, ideorogîteki de ari, omokurushiku, higaishateki de aru to iu nara, naze sô naru no ka to iu koto o genzai no jôkyô to tsuki awase nagara fukaku kangaeru koto de wa nai ka.
>
> "If the descriptions of narratives of the Battle of Okinawa or the history of the postwar based on experience are emotional, ideological, oppressive, and victim-oriented, isn't the important thing to carefully consider the reasons for this, while placing those narrations within contemporary contexts?"

Here again Medoruma is warning against the overly hasty dismissal of emotional and victim-oriented narrations of war memory. To entirely discredit survivor testimony for being too emotional or too subjective fails to consider how individual lives have been affected. Ironically, Medoruma's warning and concerns over how criticism against emotional and tragic war narratives could work to silence survivors was published a mere month before the Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum controversy erupted, triggered by Governor Inamine's orders to change the museum displays in such a way as to erase acts of wartime Japanese military violence against Okinawan civilians.[48]

For Medoruma, the capacity of narrative fiction to portray the inner thoughts, emotions, and feelings of literary characters make it a particularly effective method for engaging the emotional intensity of war memory. In a discussion with historian and fellow second-generation survivor of the Battle of Okinawa, Miyagi Harumi, Medoruma elaborates his understanding of the power of narrative fiction in its ability to explore and express the thoughts and feelings of war survivors through vicarious imagination.

> 小説はある状況を設定して、その中で動いている人間の内面を書くことができます。たとえば、「集団自決」の場にいる人間の立場になって書くことも可能なわけですよ。自分の子どもに手をかける瞬間、カミソリを何度も当てようとしてためらって、それでも最後は目をつむって大きな声を出しながら、もしかしたらやったかもしれない。その瞬間、手首にかかった血の生あたたかさだって、書くこ

とを通して感じ取ることができるわけです。それが小説の力だという気がします。[49]

Shôsetsu wa aru jôkyô o settei shite, sono naka de ugoite iru ningen no naimen o kaku koto ga dekimasu. Tatoeba, 'shûdan jiketsu' no ba ni iru ningen no tachiba ni natte kaku koto mo kanô na wake desu yo. Jibun no kodomo ni te o kakeru shunkan, kamisori o nando mo ateyô to shite tameratte, sore demo saigo wa me o tsumutte ôkina koe o dashinagara, moshikashitara yatta kamo shirenai. Sono shunkan, tekubi ni kakatta chi no namaatatakasa datte, kaku koto o tôshite kanji toru koto ga dekiru wake desu. Sorega shôsetsu no chikara da to iu ki ga shimasu.

In narrative fiction, one can create a situation and, through writing, describe the inner thoughts and feelings of the people placed there. For example, it's possible to place oneself in the situation of someone about to commit "collective suicide" and write about it. The moment you lay your hand on your child, hesitating repeatedly to apply the razor, and then, in the end, with eyes shut shouting out in a loud voice, maybe you've done it! That instant, when the warmth of fresh blood hits your wrist, can be captured in writing. That, I believe, is the power of narrative fiction.

Far from avoiding the tragic, horrific, and highly subjective aspect of Okinawan civilian war memories, Medoruma views narrative fiction as a way to vicariously imagine the intense thoughts, feelings, and emotions of someone who has experienced the war. For Medoruma, the very subjective, emotional, and vivid aspect of narrative fiction, like the subjective narratives of survivor testimony and memoir, is what gives it power. To avoid the emotional, to only strive for the objective runs the risk of depriving such narratives of their capacity to convey the immensity of war memory and to capture the human aspect of lived experience.

5.8 Critical "Sentimentalism"

At the same time that Medoruma has acknowledged and recognized in his essays and editorials the value of the emotionally moving, vivid, and intense nature of war survivor narratives and testimony, his narrative fiction reveals his keen awareness and

sophisticated understanding of some of the constraints on and limitations of survivor narratives. By no means does Medoruma naively accept the content of survivor narrative to be the complete and unmediated representation of lived experience. As Chapter Two of this study demonstrates, Medoruma's identity and experience as the child of two war survivors has made him intimately aware of the gap between publicly circulating and privately whispered and unspoken war experiences. Correspondingly, his narrative fiction dealing with the war has focused on the kinds of memories war survivors have never shared or publicly articulated, revealing the way the consequences of disclosure can impinge on survivors' willingness and ability to narrate their war experiences. In doing so, his war stories have resisted conventional patterns of war survivor narratives, hinted at the vast amount of war experiences and memories that have yet to be uncovered, and pointed out some of the dilemmas of representing war memory.

"Tree of Butterflies," similar to Medoruma's earlier short stories about survivors of the Battle of Okinawa, focuses on the unspoken, un-narrated, and unshared experiences and memories of the war. More so than any of these earlier works, however, the memories and experiences that remain unspoken in the story have the potential to disturb not only nationalistic Japanese modes of remembrance, but also localized Okinawan modes. Gozei's memories reveal not only the violent acts of Japanese soldiers on the villagers, herself, and Korean "comfort women," but also of Okinawan soldiers executing Okinawan civilians, Okinawan village leaders asking her to sell her body to American soldiers, and the village's general prejudice toward and discrimination against both Shôsei and herself. Gozei's war memories, when read against Uchima's account and recollections of the war, also critique local history projects and survivor oral histories

by virtue of her absence and erasure from such records of the past. The emotional, subjective, and tragic memories that constitute Gozei's war experience work against collective modes of Okinawan ethnic identification, and, further, critically hold Okinawan mainstream society responsible for discriminatory and oppressive treatment of its poorest and socially weakest members. In this sense, by engaging the subjective and emotional while critically revealing the contradictions in mainstream war narratives, the aesthetic that animates "Tree of Butterflies" might be characterized as critical "sentimentalism."

Because the term sentimental implies a disproportionate amount of emotion in relation to a particular incident or event, I have placed it in quotation marks to simultaneously question this definition while accessing its connotation. To the extent that the violence and death of war itself is beyond the experience of the normal, and that it exceeds the capacity of words to fully capture it, the implication is that the kind of emotion and intensity that war testimony contain may very well be outside the range of the "normal" or "appropriate." In this sense, survivor testimony, when read by those who did not experience the war, already seems unreal and overly emotional. This perceived excess of emotion is what I call, with qualification, the "sentimental" aspect of testimony that Medoruma's "Tree of Butterflies" attempts to portray and recover. Coupled with the disruptive and critical energy that Gozei's memories contain, the story generates critical "sentimentalism." That is, it generates both a strong emotional response as well as critically challenges dominant Okinawan war narratives.

Conclusion

"Tree of Butterflies" constitutes an example of how, through the literary imagination and vicarious memory, fiction can raise and address the experiences of those erased from history or silenced by social discrimination. While the social stigma of sexual slavery is so severe as to effectively silence former "comfort women" from giving testimony or publicly narrating their experiences, narrative fiction enables Medoruma to engage, imagine, and portray the vivid details of the war experiences of a former "comfort woman" without having to face the social consequences that would confront an actual survivor. The story also restores a sense of agency to Gozei through the inversion of society's understandings and interpretations of her life, and by generating a vicarious understanding of the intolerable conditions of her life. Through the representation of Gozei's consciousness that emphasizes, rather than shies away from, the emotional and subjective, "Tree of Butterflies" conveys the vivid emotional intensity and lingering effects of violent and traumatic war experiences that calls for objective testimony and historical accuracy have worked against. In this sense, "Tree of Butterflies" recuperates the "sentimentality" of survivor testimonial practices while engaging the very memories survivor testimony avoids or is unable to engage.

At the same time that "Tree of Butterflies" recuperates the emotional intensity of testimony, the text also critically deconstructs dominant understandings of the battle. "Tree of Butterflies" contains a variety of critiques that expose the contradictions and limitations of public knowledge about the Battle of Okinawa. Through the story's alternating juxtapositions of Gozei's recollections and Yoshiaki's "objective" attempts to recover Gozei's connection to Shôsei, the text critiques the limitations of historical

discourse and oral history projects by revealing how both leave out the lives of the most marginalized members of society. The story critically holds Okinawans as well as Japanese mainland soldiers accountable for atrocities against Okinawan village civilians, Korean "comfort women," and other people in positions of weakness like Shôsei and Gozei. It reveals the complicity of Okinawan villagers in the oppression of women from the poorer classes like Gozei by depicting the villagers' cruel treatment of her, as well as their request that she "comfort" the American soldiers. Far from reinforcing nationalistic modes of remembrance or a homogenizing local identification of victimization, the story exposes differentiations in war experience based on economic class, gender, and sexuality. As a result, "Tree of Butterflies" reorients common understandings of the Battle of Okinawa, while its "sentimentality" recuperates the emotional aspect of testimonial narrative.

Notes for Chapter 5

1. For example, see page 64 for mention of a "comfort station" (慰安所), and page 89 for reference to "a group of young Korean women" (朝鮮人の若い女の群れ), in Okinawa Times, *Tetsu no bôfû*.

2. Shu, "Medoruma," 44.

3. For a discussion of the Cornerstone of Peace, the monument commemorating the Battle of Okinawa, see Ishihara Masaie, "Memories of War and Okinawa," in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, ed. T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), and Ishihara Masaie and Arakaki Shoko, "The Cornerstone of Peace Memorial: Its Role and Function," *Okinawa International University Journal of Culture and Society* 1, no. 1 (1996). Concerning the lack of Korean "comfort women" casualties engraved on the monument, see Ueno Chizuko, *Nashonarizumu to jendâ: Engendering Nationalism* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1998), 133, and the television documentary by Tsuchie Makiko, "Yuragu kokumei: Okinawa 'heiwa no ishiji' no rinen o tou," in *Terementarî 2004* (Japan: Ryûkyû Asahi Hôsô, 2004). At the time it was aired in March of 2004, "Yuragu kokumei," indicated that no female Korean names had yet been added to the monument despite existing testimony from former "comfort woman" Pe Pongi of Korean "comfort women" casualties. According to the annual announcements of additions to the Cornerstone of Peace Memorial in *Okinawa Times*, since 2004 additional names of Koreans who died during the war have been added, but no mention in these two articles was made concerning the gender of the names added. In 2005, three Koreans were added, in 2006 two Koreans,

and in 2007 five Koreans. See Okinawa Times, "Arata ni 720-nin kokumei / Itoman-shi, Heiwa no ishiji," *Okinawa Times*, June 18, 2005, 1; Okinawa Times, "588-nin o tsuika kokumei / Heiwa no ishiji / Honnendo, Hansen byô giseisha mo," *Okinawa Times*, June 8, 2006, 1; and Okinawa Times, "235-nin tsuika kokumei," 27.

4. See Kawada Fumiko, *Akagawara no ie: Chôsen kara kita jûgun ianfu* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1987), and Yamatani Tetsuo, *Okinawa no harumoni, Dai Nihon baishun-shi* (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1992). Kawada refers to this woman as Pongi-san, while Yamatani refers to her as Paku-san. In Yamatani's book, see, in particular, part one for Paku's testimony, pages 31-121. Kawada's entire book covers Pongi's life. A close examination of the details of the testimony in each work indicates that they are the same person, although it is also clear Pongi divulged more personal details to Kawada.

5. See Medoruma, "Okinawa-sen no kioku," 14.

6. In the afterword, Kawada mentions that she had met two other women besides Pongi who had worked in "comfort stations." One was from Okinawa and the other from Yokohama. See Kawada, *Akagawara no ie*, 262-263.

7. Shu, "Medoruma," 33, and Ueno, *Nashonarizumu to jendâ*, 127-128.

8. Vicente M. Diaz, "Deliberating 'Liberation Day': Identity, History, Memory, and War in Guam," in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, ed. T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), 159.

9. See, Kawada Fumiko, "Kokkyô o koeru sei: Karayuki-san to 'ianfu'," *Ribu to iu <kakumei>— kindai no yami o hiraku bungaku-shi o yomikaeru* no. 7 (2003), 191.

10. Ôno, "Haijo sareta sensô no kioku," 21.

11. Ôno Takayuki, "Shôsetsu / Shusshoku no dekibae - Medoruma / Sengyô sakka e tenshin - Matayoshi," *Okinawa Times*, December 25, 2000, 17.

12. Shinjô, "Hôkai no yochô," 14.

13. Shinjô Ikuo, "Kihan kara itsudatsu suru ko no monogatari," *Okinawa Times*, April 22, 2001, 19.

14. Ikezawa Natsuki, "Watashi no dokusho nikki—Sensô no kioku, Okinawa, minami no fune (Bunshun toshokan)," *Shûkan bunshun*, May 17, 2001, 145.

15. Shu, "Medoruma," 47.

16. Ôno, "Haijo sareta sensô no kioku," 21.

17. Ôno, "Shôsetsu / Shusshoku no dekibae," 17.

18. See, for example, Medoruma, "Okinawa-sen no kioku," 14.

19. Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 65.

20. Ibid, 65. In Yamatani Tetsuo's book *Okinawa no Harumoni*, the testimony of Ôshiro Sasei reveals that wartime "comfort women" were also asked by second generation Japanese American soldiers to serve American soldiers in Funakoshi, Okinawa, after Japan's surrender. See Yamatani, *Okinawa no harumoni*, 169-170.

21. Medoruma, "Okinawa-sen no kioku," 14.

22. See Takazato Suzuyo, "Kyôsei jûgun 'ianfu'," in *Naha, onna no ashi ato*, ed. Naha-shi Sômubu Josei Shitsu and Naha-shi Josei-shi Henshû Iinkai, *Naha josei-shi (kindai hen)* (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1998), 455. Although records and documents concerning "comfort women" from Taiwan have not been found, on page 458 of her

article, Takazato refers to the testimony of former "comfort women" from Taiwan who were taken to Miyako and Yaeyama as well as testimony that mentions "comfort women" from Taiwan by a former member of the Japanese navy who visited a "comfort station" on Miyako Island.

23. Ibid, 457-458. Takazato also writes that in 1944, before the air raid of October 10th, although women in the Tsuji pleasure quarters were cooperating with the "comfort stations," Tsuji was still open to customers other than the military. See also Yamada Mieko's chapter on the Tsuji pleasure quarters in Yamada Mieko, *Ianfu-tachi no Taiheiyô sensô: Okinawa hen* (Tokyo: Kôjinsha, 1992), 7-53. Historian Hayashi Hirofumi has also written that over five hundred women from Tsuji were mobilized to serve as "comfort women." See Hayashi, *Okinawa-sen to minshû*, 63.

24. Takazato, "Kyôsei jûgun 'ianfu'," 460-461.

25. U.S. military records indicate that Korean "comfort women" who had been stationed throughout the Okinawan islands were sent back to Korea together after the war. See, Okinawa Times, "Chôsenjin ianfu no shashin hakken / Tokyo no shiryôkan kôhyô," *Okinawa Times*, July 30, 2005, page 25, in which it is reported that at the United States National Archives, historian Hayashi Hirofumi discovered photographs of Korean comfort women with text stating that the women were gathered at Camp Koza in Okinawa before being returned to Korea. In the article, Hayashi also stated that, according to military records, after the U.S. military gathered around forty Korean "comfort women" from the main island of Okinawa and more than one hundred and ten women from the outer islands and other areas, they transported the women back to Korea.

26. For the story of Pongi's friend and fellow "comfort woman," "Kazuko," who also stayed in Okinawa after the war, see Kawada, *Akagawara no ie*, 171-180.

27. Ibid, 264-265.

28. Takazato, "Kyôsei jûgun 'ianfu'," 455.

29. Medoruma and Miyagi, "Owaranai," 166.

30. See Chapter Two of this study, pages 60-63, and van der Kolk and van der Hart, "The Intrusive Past," 177.

31. This incident happened in Medoruma's third year of college. See Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 67-68.

32. Hosaka Hiroshi, "Okinawa-sen no kokoro no kizu (sensô torauma) o koete," in *Sôten, Okinawa-sen no kioku*, ed. Ishihara Masaie, et al. (Tokyo: Shakai Hyôronsha, 2002), 342.

33. Ibid, 342.

34. See Deirdre Johnston, "A series of cases of dementia presenting with PTSD symptoms in World War II combat veterans," *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society* 48, no. 1 (2000), 71-72.

35. Ibid, 72. For an article on elderly Holocaust survivors and the emergence of PTSD, see, A. B. Grossman et al., "PTSD Symptoms and Onset of Neurologic Disease in Elderly Trauma Survivors," *Journal of Clinical and Experimental Neuropsychology* 26, no. 5 (2004).

36. Johnston, "Dementia and PTSD in WWII veterans," 72.

37. Medoruma Shun, *Gunchô no ki* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2001), 194.

38. 「斧を振りおろし、連中の細長い虫のような背骨を砕いて欲しかった。」"... ono o furi oroshi, renchû no hosonagai mushi no yô na sebone o kudaite hoshikatta.". See Ibid, 194.

39. 「みな死に果てればいいと思う。」"Mina shini hatereba ii to omou." Ibid, 195.

40. See Kawamura Minato, Medoruma Shun, and Maetoshi Kiyoshi, "Yôkai suru kioku to kiroku no sakai," *Kiyora*, no. 6 (2001), 14. Kawamura is referring to published reactions by students of Katô Norihiro, not the Aoyama Gakuin entrance examination controversy of 2005. Kawamura makes the same argument in his article "Okinawa no 'gôsuto basutâzu'" as well as in the roundtable discussion with Ueno Chizuko and Narita Ryûichi in the book *Sensô wa dono yô ni katararete kita ka*. See Kawamura, "Okinawa no 'gôsuto basutâzu'," 152-155, and Kawamura et al., *Sensô wa dono yô ni katararete kita ka*, 28.

41. See Kawamura, Medoruma, and Maetoshi, "Yôkai suru kioku," 15.

42. Ibid, 15.

43. Ibid, 15.

44. Ibid, 15-16.

45. See, for example, Medoruma, *Okinawa "sengo" zero nen*, 31.

46. See Medoruma Shun, *Okinawa / kusa no koe, ne no ishi*, 1st ed. (Yokohama: Seori Shobô, 2002), 30-31. Although Medoruma does not identify who the critics are in this article published in July of 1999, the description of their position and argument parallels the arguments of Makino Hirotaka, Takara Kurayoshi, and Maeshiro Morisada

concerning Okinawan war memory that Medoruma engages in a later article published in October of 1999 and reprinted on pages 42-44 of *Okinawa / kusa no koe, ne no ishi.* Makino served as the deputy governor to Governor Inamine Keiichi, while Takara and Maeshiro served as Inamine's "brain trust." In the October article Medoruma outlines how the arguments Makino, Takara, and Maeshiro espouse reveal the rationale behind Governor Inamine's efforts to change the displays at the Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, to make them less offensive to mainland Japanese visitors. Takara and Maeshiro, both professors at the University of the Ryukyus, along with fellow professor Ôshiro Tsuneo, would later publish the controversial "Okinawa Initiative" in March of 2000 that called for, among other things, a rational, positive, and proactive acceptance of the U.S. military bases by putting Okinawa's history of oppression at the hands of Japan behind it in order for Okinawans to play a role in the future of military security in the Asia-Pacific region. See Julia Yonetani's excellent article covering the "Okinawa Initiative" debate and controversy in Julia Yonetani, "Future 'Assets,' but at What Price? The Okinawa Initiative Debate," in *Islands of Discontent: Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power*, ed. Laura Hein and Mark Selden (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

47. Medoruma, *Okinawa / kusa no koe, ne no ishi*, 31.

48. For more information on the Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum controversy, see Figal, "Waging Peace," and Yonetani, "On the Battlefield of Mabuni."

49. Medoruma and Miyagi, "Owaranai," 166.

CHAPTER 6: MEDORUMA'S FICTION IN THE 21ST CENTURY—TOWARD GREATER POLYPHONY AND NOVEL-LENGTH NARRATIVES

6.1 2000-2004: Medoruma's Break From Fiction

"Gunchô no ki" (Tree of Butterflies, 2000) caps a three-year period that began in 1997 with the publication and awarding of the Akutagawa Prize to "Suiteki" (Droplets, 1997), and concluded in 2000 with the publication of "Tree of Butterflies." Prior to 1997, Medoruma had not published a work of fiction for seven years.[1] In contrast, during the three-year period mentioned above, Medoruma published over twelve new works of fiction.[2] After the publication of "Tree of Butterflies" in 2000, however, Medoruma did not publish any new piece of fiction until 2004.

This is not to say that Medoruma's writing receded from public view during this time. Although Medoruma did not publish any new narrative fiction during the four-year period from 2000 to 2004, his short stories were edited, collected, and republished in book form, and he continued to write editorials, essays, and commentary for local Okinawan newspapers as well as the nationally circulated magazine *Shûkan Kin'yôbi* (Friday Weekly).[3] With the publication of the collection of short stories that had originally appeared in *Shôsetsu torippâ* (Novel Tripper) between 1998 and 2000 titled *Gunchô no ki* (Tree of Butterflies) in hardback in 2001, the publication of the collection of short stories written in the 1990s as *Mabuigumi* (Spirit Stuffing) in paperback in 2002, and the publication of Medoruma's earlier short stories mostly from the 1980s titled *Heiwa dôri to nazukerareta machi o aruite* (Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard) in hardback in 2003, Medoruma's fiction gained wider circulation in Japan during this

time. Additionally, a collection of his critical essays written between 1999 and 2001 was published in hardback in 2002.[4] In short, from 2000 to 2004, although Medoruma did not publish any new works of fiction, he continued to be active publishing non-fiction, and the numerous re-printings of his earlier short stories made his work more readily available to a larger audience and kept it in circulation.

6.2 New Fiction in 2004 and Beyond

6.2.1 Overview of Literary Works Published From 2004 Onward

In 2004, Medoruma published four new literary works that signaled his return to fiction. In April of that year, his first novel-length literary work, *Fûon: The Crying Wind*, an expanded reworking of his 1985-86 short story "Fûon" (The Crying Wind) was published, based on his screenplay for the film of the same title. Later that year his short story "Denreihei" (Army Messenger) appeared in the October issue of *Gunzô* (Group Image), and the first installment of his serialized novel *Me no oku no mori* (Forest at the Back of My Eye) was featured in the Fall issue of the journal *Zen'ya* (On the Eve). At the end of the year, Medoruma's novel *Niji no tori* (Rainbow Bird) was printed in the Winter 2004 issue of *Novel Tripper*.[5]

Every literary work Medoruma published in 2004, with the exception of *Rainbow Bird*, the Battle of Okinawa figures significantly in each story, indicating the continuing importance of exploring the tremendous effects of the war on Okinawans in Medoruma's literary works. At the same time, however, significant differences in Medoruma's style and approach can be seen in his literary pieces published in 2004 and afterward. In the following section, I provide an overview of the major changes in Medoruma's war fiction

as seen in his literary pieces *Fûon: The Crying Wind*, "Army Messenger," and *Forest at the Back of My Eye*, particularly in terms of perspective, scope, and temporal setting. Medoruma appears to be in the midst of expanding his craft, not only in the length of his works, but also in terms of style and thematic concern.

6.2.2 Expansion of Craft, Novel-length Works, and Increased Complexity

In contrast to his fiction written before "Tree of Butterflies," Medoruma's recent fiction since 2004 have largely been longer novel-length narratives. *Fûon: The Crying Wind* is Medoruma's first novel-length work, and *Rainbow Bird* is his second completed novel. Medoruma's ongoing serialized novel, *Forest at the Back of My Eye*, as of September 2007, has reached twelve installments, making it one of his longer works to date. Even though Medoruma's 2004 work, "Army Messenger," is a short story, Ôno Takayuki's criticism of "Tree of Butterflies" as being too short for the richness and complexity of content it engages could also apply to "Army Messenger." Since 2004, Medoruma's new works of fiction have engaged larger themes than earlier works, usually in the form of a full-length novel.

The move to longer narrative forms has enabled Medoruma to engage a larger number of perspectives in his fiction in a more polyphonic way. By increasing the number of focal characters from which the story is narrated, as well as the amount of narrative time each perspective is given, Medoruma expanded his original short story "The Crying Wind" into the novel-length work *Fûon: The Crying Wind.* In the short story, Medoruma narrates the tale primarily from two war survivors' perspectives, those of Seikichi and Fujii, with a few sections presented from the postwar perspective of Seikichi's son Akira. In the novel, Medoruma has changed the temporal setting of the

piece from 1985 to around 2004, introduced new storylines, and added new characters. He also doubled the number of focal characters through which the story is narrated to six, half of whom lived through the Pacific War.

In the ongoing serialized novel, *Forest at the Back of My Eye*, Medoruma further proliferates the number of voices that populate his story, shifting the focal character, for the most part, with each successive installment. Unlike *Fûon: The Crying Wind*, which unfolds in a linear fashion towards a climax, *Forest at the Back of My Eye* centers around three related incidents: the rape of village women by American soldiers during the Battle of Okinawa, the retaliation against the soldiers by a young man of the village, and the cooperation of the village's ward chief with the Americans in capturing the young man. In the story, these three incidents are repeatedly recalled and reconstructed from a variety of perspectives. In the first twelve installments, the novel is told from ten different characters' perspectives, which include, among others, young girls of the village who witnessed the rape, the young Okinawan man who retaliates, the ward chief of the village who helps the Americans capture him, the younger sister of the rape victim, a grandchild of a witness of the incident, an American soldier perpetrator, and a former *Nisei* (Second-generation Japanese American) soldier-interpreter.

While the multiple perspectives from which the three rape-related incidents and their aftermath are narrated in *Forest at the Back of My Eye* may, on the surface, suggest Akutagawa Ryûnosuke's "Yabu no naka" (In a Grove, 1921) or Kurosawa Akira's film rendition of the story, *Rashômon* (1950), Medoruma's narrative differs from them significantly. *Forest at the Back of My Eye* explores and portrays each focal character's thoughts, feelings, and unspoken memories, whereas the Akutagawa story and the film on

which it is based are composed of a series of spoken testimonies. Hence, not only does *Forest at the Back of My Eye* contain the multiple voices that come from different perspectives, but it also reveals the unspoken voices and memories of each focal character that do not always match their spoken accounts. In other words, Akutagawa's "Yabu no naka" and the film *Rashômon* do not explore the interiority of its characters as *Forest at the Back of My Eye* does. In this sense, Medoruma's story is not only polyphonic in terms of the multiple character perspectives from which the text is narrated, but also in the multiple voices, the publicly articulated as well as internally unspoken, that each character carries.

Forest at the Back of My Eye also contains a variety of temporal viewpoints from which the novel's three primary incidents are narrated, recalled, and explored. Unlike almost all of Medoruma's war stories that take place in a contemporary moment decades after the war, the first three and the ninth installments of *Forest at the Back of My Eye* are set in the past over sixty years earlier, taking place just before and during the Battle of Okinawa. With the exception of chapter nine, chapters four through twelve are set in a "contemporary" moment, about sixty years after the Battle of Okinawa, revealing the way the incidents and the war have affected the lives of survivors, as well as their offspring, in the years following the war. One of the characters, the young Okinawan man named Seiji who retaliates, focalizes the narrative at two different time points, once in chapter three, which is set during the Battle of Okinawa after Seiji has attacked the American soldiers who raped the girls from his village, and again in chapter seven, which takes place over sixty years later with Seiji an old man who has lost his sight and who suffers from residual trauma from his interrogation by the *Nisei* soldier after his capture during

the war. By exploring the Battle of Okinawa from a variety of temporal perspectives in his story, Medoruma highlights both the events of the traumatic past as well as the ongoing aftereffects that have shaped survivors' lives in the years that followed.

In its engagement with the American army's acts of violence against Okinawan civilians during the Battle of Okinawa, *Forest at the Back of My Eye* treads new ground for Medoruma's war fiction. In all of Medoruma's works of fiction dealing with memories or experiences of the Battle of Okinawa published before *Forest at the Back of My Eye*, American soldiers appear rarely, if ever. Instead, his narratives have focused on events during the war that took place between Okinawans, or between Japanese soldiers and Okinawan civilians. In *Forest at the Back of My Eye*, not only has Medoruma engaged a series of incidents that involve American soldiers, but he has even taken on the difficult task of narrating the rape from the perspective of one of the American soldier perpetrators.[6] The story even presents a secondhand account of how the American soldier's own son and grandson have carried with them unexplained and unresolved feelings concerning the Battle of Okinawa.

Medoruma's post-2004 literary war fiction also spends considerable textual space on the question of transmitted memory and war trauma in the later generations that did not directly experience the Battle of Okinawa. In the three main war fiction texts examined in this study, "Droplets," "Spirit Stuffing," and "Tree of Butterflies," all of the focalizing perspectives, with the exception of Yoshiaki in "Tree of Butterflies," have been those of survivors of the Battle of Okinawa. In *Fûon: The Crying Wind*, approximately half of the novel is narrated from the perspectives of the grandchildren and children of war survivors, while all of the focal characters in "Army Messenger" are

members of the second generation with no direct war experience. "Army Messenger," in particular, suggests the issue of transmitted war trauma, as the main characters in this story, both born after the war, on different occasions encounter a ghost soldier from the Battle of Okinawa who haunts the area. *Forest at the Back of My Eye* also explores the question of how the Battle of Okinawa affects the lives of the later generations, with two chapters narrated from the perspective of those born after the war.[7]

In *Forest at the Back of My Eye*, by expanding his canvas, interweaving different perspectives, and exposing not only the gaps between memory and articulated narrations, but also the differences among and the partial nature of survivor experiences, Medoruma has created a truly polyphonic narrative. *Forest at the Back of My Eye* appears to be unfinished, and it remains to be seen what new aspects of war memory and trauma Medoruma's fiction will engage.[8] But the increased level of complexity and scope that Medoruma has already revealed in *Forest at the Back of My Eye* suggests that he still has much to say in the literary form, and that his best work may still lie ahead of him.

6.3 Review of the Poetics of Medoruma's War Fiction

This study has primarily focused on Medoruma Shun's short stories dealing with memories of the Battle of Okinawa published during the period from 1985 to 2000. My goal has been to show how his narrative fiction dealing with the war contributes to general knowledge and understanding of the Battle of Okinawa in ways that survivor testimony and historical narrative have not. Additionally, I have tried to show how Medoruma's experience and identity as the child of two survivors of the Battle of Okinawa have shaped his understanding and relationship to the war, as well as his literary

craft. Having grown up a witness to the daily effects of war trauma on his parents and close relatives, Medoruma has been made intimately aware of the gap between the stories survivors publicly narrate, and the nightmares, memories, and experiences that remain unarticulated, due either to the fear of the social consequences of disclosure, or to the inexpressibility of such memories due to their unprocessed nature as raw trauma. Almost all of Medoruma's published fiction dealing with survivor memories from the Battle of Okinawa centers on those very memories that survivors have been unable to articulate.

In the preceding chapters I have also demonstrated how Medoruma's war fiction challenges realist assumptions about representing events of the past. Not only have realist modes of representation dominated how the Battle of Okinawa has been narrated within the discourse of academic history and testimonial records, but also in more subjective forms such as memoirs and oral histories. I have argued that in his story "Droplets," by accepting and narrating inexplicable as well as unconfirmed phenomena as real, Medoruma simultaneously points to the limitations of "objective" historical discourse and recuperates the subjective experiences of people that fall outside the conventions of historical narrative. In fact, the conventions of so-called objective representation have structured and limited other fictional representations of the Battle of Okinawa, such as Ôshiro Tatsuhiro's "Kamishima" (Island of the Gods, 1968). This tendency to represent actual large-scale violent events within realist conventions, even in fictional accounts, has also been observed in the literary representations of the Holocaust as well as the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.[9] The presence of the inexplicable in Medoruma's "Droplets," as well as the character Uta's physical interaction with the metaphysical in "Mabuigumi" (Spirit Stuffing, 1998), I argued, constitute a break from

the modes of representation that have been dominated by realist representational assumptions, in an attempt to recover those unverified and inexplicable experiences of the war that have been left out of realist narratives.

This study has also examined how Medoruma's war fiction embraces the subjective, and, particularly in "Tree of Butterflies," engages emotionally intense memories of victimization that proponents for more objective and rational narratives of the Battle of Okinawa have inadvertently, as well as purposefully, tried to discredit and silence. Rather than approach war memory from a distant, detached, and objective perspective, Medoruma embraces narrative fiction's capacity to enter the minds and internal thoughts of people placed in the difficult-to-imagine situations of war. Medoruma has commented that the very intensity of emotion that can be portrayed and conveyed through the depiction of internal thoughts and consciousness of characters faced with traumatic experience is what gives literary or fictional narrative its power. Following this logic, the implication is that attempts to diminish the emotional content of survivor testimony, as well as narrative fiction, effectively reduce the power of those narratives to move those who listen to and read such stories.

And finally, this study has also highlighted how Medoruma's works of fiction reveal a deep understanding of the fractured, private, and individual nature of war memory. Instead of emphasizing common experiences from the Battle of Okinawa, Medoruma's war fiction focuses on memories that emphasize the multiple and differentiated experiences of the war. Not only do Medoruma's works of fiction explore the individual, non-shared, and silent memories of the Battle of Okinawa, but they also bring attention to the diversity of Okinawan war experiences that resulted from

differences in social and economic class, gender, and sexuality. The war survivors appearing in Medoruma's fiction range from the silent civilian, to the overly talkative former student corps member, to the marginalized inarticulate former sex-slave/prostitute. By revealing the private and secret nature of war survivor memory, as well as how survivor experiences have been impacted by varying degrees of access to power, Medoruma's fiction resists modes of collective ethnic Okinawan war remembrance and reminds Okinawan society of their own responsibility in the subjugation of fellow Okinawans from positions of weaker social and economic power.

6.4 Conclusion

In examining how Medoruma's narrative fiction contributes to the public knowledge and understanding of the Battle of Okinawa, this study has often pointed to the shortcomings of the conventions of historical narrative and the limitations underlying assumptions about objective or realist representation. This is not to suggest, however, that the literary imagination is a substitute for historical knowledge, research, or attempts to recover objective facts and details of past events. Rather, the literary and vicarious imagination that Medoruma mobilizes in his quest to understand the unrecoverable, might best be understood as a way to approach and address elements of the past that lie beyond survivor articulation, the standards of verifiable and objective history, and the discursive spaces of public war memory. His stories are as much recognitions of the value and significance of survivor history as they are simultaneously a critique of the limitations of survivor testimony. His fiction embraces the emotional and subjective elements of personal testimony that make them so powerful, and at the same time revealing the

contradictions and dilemmas of publicly narrating one's war memories. To be sure, Medoruma lacks lived experiences of the war from which to write about what happened in the Battle of Okinawa, and accordingly, could never give testimony as a witness to what happened. Yet, it is precisely because Medoruma cannot give testimony that he is able to transcend many of its limitations and sidestep some of the dilemmas it presents. For it is through the very use of vicarious memory and imagination, the very capacity of narrative fiction to explore the thoughts and feelings of other people, that Medoruma has been freed from the social consequences of disclosure, able to narrate the unspeakable, and allowed to embrace the unbelievable.

Notes for Chapter 6

1. See Okinawa Times, "Jushô wa taisetsu," 29.

2. The number of new literary works published between 1997 and 2000 by Medoruma was taken from the list of Medoruma's literary publications found in Suzuki, "Gûwateki akui," 47-48.

3. Medoruma wrote for *Shûkan Kin'yôbi* from 2000-2002.

4. This collection of Medoruma's essays is *Okinawa / kusa no koe, ne no ishi.*

5. *Rainbow Bird* was reprinted as a hardback novel in 2006, and was described as "one of the best books published in Japan in 2006," in the booklet on Japanese literature, *Contemporary Japanese Writers*. See Miyata Akihiro, Matsuoka Hiroki, and Tasaka Sonoko, *Contemporary Japanese Writers*, trans. Kobayashi Chikako and Yokota Kay, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Japanese Literature Publishing and Promotion Center, 2007), 58. Contemporary Okinawan writer Sakiyama Tami, modern Japanese literary scholar Kurosawa Ariko, American literary scholar Kina Ikue, and editor Okamoto Yukiko discuss Medoruma's *Rainbow Bird* at considerable length in the 2007 February issue of *Subaru*, a special focus issue on the 35th anniversary of Okinawa's reversion to Japan. See Sakiyama Tami et al., "Zadankai: Okinawa—disutopia no bungaku," *Subaru* 29, no. 2 (2007), 178-183.

6. See installment nine in Medoruma Shun, "Me no oku no mori: dai 9 kai," *Zen'ya* 1, no. 9 (2006), 255-265.

7. See installment eight given from the perspective of a grandchild of a witness to the main events, and installment ten from the viewpoint of a highschool/junior high

school student who hears the story from a survivor of the Battle of Okinawa who visits the school to share her war experience with the students there.

8. The journal *Zen'ya*, in which *Forest at the Back of My Eye* appears, will no longer be printed in the same format, due to, according to the editorial staff, financial difficulties. Although the editors intend to continue the journal in some form, what form and how often the new journal will be published has not been decided as of the writing of this study. No indication was given in the twelfth installment of *Forest at the Back of My Eye* that the story had ended, but the uncertain future of *Zen'ya* also leaves the future of Medoruma's novel in doubt.

9. See Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*, and John Whittier Treat, *Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) on this tendency in representations of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, and see James E. Young, "Holocaust Documentary Fiction: The Novelist as Eyewitness," in *Writing and the Holocaust*, ed. Berel Lang (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1988), for an examination of Holocaust fiction that barely deviates from or quotes heavily from the written testimony of Holocaust survivors.

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