

# 琉球大学学術リポジトリ

地理的隣接性をもつ追記憶(ポストメモリー):  
目取真俊の小説における戦争の場所と追体験的語り

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| メタデータ | 言語:<br>出版者: 琉球大学国際沖縄研究所<br>公開日: 2016-06-08<br>キーワード (Ja):<br>キーワード (En):<br>作成者: Ikeda, Kyle, イケダ, カイル<br>メールアドレス:<br>所属: |
| URL   | <a href="http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12000/34185">http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12000/34185</a>                           |

## Geographically-Proximate Postmemory: Sites of War and the Enabling of Vicarious Narration in Medoruma Shun's Fiction

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### Introduction

Contemporary Okinawan writer Medoruma Shun's experience and identity as the child and grandchild of survivors of the Battle of Okinawa have shaped his understanding of the war and his literary craft. Similar to children of Holocaust survivors, Medoruma has grown up witnessing the daily effects of war trauma on his parents and close relatives, constantly reminded of the immensity of an event that preceded his birth. His knowledge of his parents' war experience shares many characteristics with that of "postmemory," second-generation Holocaust survivor and scholar Marianne Hirsch's notion of the imaginatively augmented memories of a collective tragedy experienced by one's parents. Similar to second-generation Holocaust survivor postmemorial fiction, Medoruma's literary narratives focus on hidden and repressed war memories, employ numerous metaphors of failed understanding and communication, and portray various modes of transgenerational war memory transmission. Examining Medoruma's writing in terms of second-generation trauma literature and postmemory highlights elements of his work that have typically been overlooked within previous scholarship on Medoruma.

At the same time, however, there are limits to what Hirsch's concept of postmemory can account for in Medoruma's fiction because it is based on the experience of exile. Okinawan war survivors and their children have largely continued to reside in or nearby the villages, towns, and communities where the Battle of Okinawa occurred, whereas most Holocaust survivors and their families have relocated abroad to the United States or Israel.<sup>1)</sup> Hence, Okinawan war memory has been shaped by the experience of inhabiting the sites of the war, whereas Holocaust memory has been structured by the experience of displacement. Due to Medoruma's experience of growing up in the very trauma sites of his parents' war past, his knowledge and understanding of the Battle of Okinawa is more concrete, virtual, vicarious, and geographically situated than second-generation Holocaust survivor understandings of their parents' trauma. As this paper will demonstrate, Medoruma's war fiction often depicts how the landscape and sites of war trauma consti-

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tute the intimately familiar surroundings in the daily lives of first- and second-generation survivors of the Battle of Okinawa. How does geographic proximity to and immersion in sites of war and trauma affect both survivor and transgenerational war memory in Okinawa? How does Medoruma's fiction portray the impact of the war landscape on postwar lives? What does that fiction reveal about transgenerational war memory, the effect of war sites on the psyche, and the literary imagination?

In this paper I address these questions by examining Medoruma's fiction and non-fiction writing for evidence and examples of how sites of the war have significance and meanings for Okinawan war survivors and their offspring. I analyze the ways in which Medoruma's war fiction illuminates the effect of inhabiting war sites for first-generation war survivor characters. Then I examine the impact of intimate familiarity with war sites on second-generation Okinawan war survivors in regards to transgenerational war memory. I contend that the experience of being raised in and close to trauma sites generates what I call *geographically-proximate postmemory*, a kind of postmemory that is more inclined to vicarious narration and imaginings than the *geographically-displaced postmemory* of second-generation Holocaust survivors. I argue that Medoruma's vicarious narration and imagining of war survivor recollections of the war in his fiction is directly related to his intimate understanding and familiarity with the concrete sites and contexts within which the war unfolded. Before examining the specific examples of how the landscape and geographic familiarity with trauma sites affects war memory and trauma within Medoruma's fiction, I first discuss the difference between the notion of the postwar generation within Japan and the idea of second-generation survivorship. Additionally, I situate his fiction within the context of second-generation survivor postmemory and literary expressions. I close by reflecting on the significance of the multiple and intertwined war-related meanings that animate the Okinawan landscape in relation to postwar attempts to recast Okinawa as a touristscape.

### **"Sites" and the Dynamic Aspect of Meaning**

This paper utilizes the word "site" instead of the more commonly used expressions "space" and "place." Cultural geographers have traditionally interpreted "space" as empty and lacking in meaning and "place," in contrast, as full of meaning and social significance. Some spatial theorists, however, have critiqued this binary, arguing that all space, to some extent or another, is always already coming into the existence of acquiring meaning, significance, and importance (Massey, 2005; McLoughlin, 2010, p. xiii). In order to avoid overlooking the hidden and unknown meaning that can be attributed to sites through the binary of "space / place," and to acknowledge the dynamic and unfixed nature of how landscapes, locations, and structures come to acquire and hold meaning for people, I have chosen to follow McLoughlin's lead and use a different term; yet, whereas McLoughlin uses "situation" (McLoughlin, 2010, p. xiii) to cover the traditional meanings of both "space" and "place," I utilize the term "site" to emphasize the spatial dimen-

sion of location, as opposed to the connotations of the temporal and other conditions that the term “situation” carries.<sup>2)</sup> In this article I use the term “site” to refer to locations to which fluid and dynamic meanings accrue, not completely devoid of meaning or associations as the term “space” would suggest, and not static in terms of fixed meaning that “place” might imply.

## **Second-Generation War Survivors and the Postwar Generation**

The term “second-generation Okinawan war survivor” refers to children of Okinawan survivors of the Battle of Okinawa. I do not include the children of soldiers from mainland Japan who fought in the Battle of Okinawa within this term due to the stark differences between the experiences of mainland soldiers and the largely civilian Okinawans. While around two thousand local Okinawan male and female students were mobilized into military service and tens of thousands of adult males were organized into local home guards, they were not granted the same status as fully trained Japanese soldiers and have typically identified with local Okinawan war memory practices. Additionally, most Okinawan survivors of the battle continued to reside in Okinawa after the war, whereas Japanese soldiers from the mainland returned to their hometowns. Atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers against Okinawan civilians have also generated different experiences and modes of collective remembrance.

The category of “second-generation war survivor” is not commonly used in Japan and Okinawa, in contrast to the generally recognized “second-generation Holocaust survivor” category within Holocaust scholarship in the United States and Israel. Second-generation war survivors in Japan have largely been raised within a community that collectively experienced the Asia-Pacific War in some form or another, whereas the two largest communities of second-generation Holocaust survivors have grown up within communities in the United States and Israel that did not directly experience the Holocaust. As a result, second-generation Holocaust survivors felt different from their surrounding American and Israeli classmates and community while growing up, making them conscious of their particular relationship to the Holocaust. Second-generation war survivors in Okinawa did not feel the same degree of difference from other members of their generation since the communities they were being raised in shared similar war experiences. Hence second-generation Holocaust survivors emerged as a group in contrast to two different groups—the Holocaust survivors of their parents’ generation, and their surrounding communities in America and Israel—while the children of war survivors in Okinawa emerged as part of the “postwar generation,” primarily in contrast to their parents’ generation that directly experienced the war.

Second-generation Okinawan war survivor consciousness and awareness of the war have also been shaped by the specific historical conditions of postwar Okinawa that include the US occupation, the continued military presence of US forces, and differences with mainland Japanese narratives and understandings of the Battle of Okinawa. Many

second-generation Okinawan war survivors were born and raised during the period of intense US military base construction and expansion that resulted from the Korean War during the early 1950s and base-town development that coincided with the Vietnam War during the 1960s. The forced confiscation of Okinawan farmland during the early 1950s for the military bases deprived landowners of their traditional means of livelihood and severed them from their spiritual connections with the land, resulting in numerous protests and demonstrations. Although the US occupation of mainland Japan ended in 1952, Okinawa continued to remain under US governmental and administrative rule until 1972. The extended occupation, growing disparity between Okinawan and Japanese living standards, and a desire for de-militarization under Japan's peace constitution contributed to the intensification of Okinawan movements for reversion to Japanese rule in the late 1960s. For many members of the second-generation born in the late 1940s, the late sixties coincided with early adulthood, college life, and opportunities for involvement in movements for reversion to Japan and protests of the US military bases in Okinawa.<sup>3)</sup>

After reversion in 1972, Okinawa's relationship with Japan was re-examined and contestations over Okinawan war memory heightened, particularly when the expectation of US military base reduction was not met. Second-generation war memory and consciousness in the 1970s and 1980s shaped and were shaped by public debates about Okinawa's role in the war, controversies over the interpretation of Okinawan civilian war casualties, and increased efforts at the local government level to record the war experiences of war survivors. Medoruma's own consciousness about the war as well as Okinawa's relationship with Japan and the US military bases emerged during the early 1980s when his move to central Okinawa to attend the University of the Ryukyus exposed him to the US military bases and he witnessed US armed forces artillery firing practice on Mt. Onna (Medoruma, 2005, pp. 101–3). The late 1980s and early 1990s were also a time in Okinawa when war survivor lifecycles were coinciding with retirement and life-reflection, resulting in a shift toward passing on war memories and experiences to the later generations.

In addition to Medoruma's exposure to the US military bases during his college years, generational shifts in Okinawa have also made him aware of his particular experience as the child of two war survivors. Medoruma was born in 1960 to parents who had experienced the war at the ages of 10 and 14 years old. He has remarked that the parents of those born after him are either too young to have clear memories of the war or did not experience it directly (Medoruma, 2005, p. 20). Members of the postwar generation born before him during Japan's peak baby boom (*dankai no sedai*) years (1947–1951) tend to have parents who lived through the war as adults with concrete memories of their experience. In contrast, Medoruma's peers born in the 1960s generally have parents who experienced the war as young children or toddlers. Hence Medoruma would have had classmates with parents who were too young to remember the war, making him aware of his experience being raised by war survivors with clear memories of their war experience. Indeed, Medoruma has written that he sees himself as a link between the war generation and later

generations whose parents did not directly experience the war (2005, p. 20). With the aging and diminishing numbers of the war generation in Japan and Okinawa, war memory is passing out of the era of lived experience.

Because second-generation knowledge of war in Japan and Okinawa has primarily been understood in relation to first-generation war survivor experiences, the prevailing assumption has been that it lacks the authenticity and authority of directly lived memories (Yiu, 2010). Additionally the ways in which second-generation war survivor knowledge in Japan may be able to shed light on the actuality, aftereffect, and legacies of the war have been largely overlooked. In contrast, scholarship on second-generation Holocaust survivors has produced significant insights into the nature of inherited trauma and trans-generational memory. The following section outlines some of the major characteristics of second-generation Holocaust experience and literary expression, highlighting the similar elements that apply to Medoruma's experience and fiction writing. The subsequent section accounts for some of the major differences between second-generation Holocaust writing and Medoruma's fiction by considering the geographically-proximate aspect of Okinawan war memory. First- and second-generation war survivor memory in Okinawa is shaped by the condition of inhabiting sites of the war in contrast to the experience of exile that characterizes postwar Holocaust survivor lives.

## **Second-Generation Survivorship**

Second-generation survivors of atrocity and collective violence possess an acute awareness of both their distance from the traumatic event that precedes their birth and their intimate and personal connection to those who lived through it (Hirsch, 1997; Hoffman, 2004; McGlothlin, 2006). Similar to how Holocaust survivor memory is transmitted to the second-generation, much of Medoruma's received knowledge from his parents about the Battle of Okinawa is fragmentary, filled with gaps, and incomplete. As a daily witness to the way in which the experience of war has shaped his parents' lives, Medoruma knows that a significant amount of war experiences and memories remains veiled, unshared and unarticulated (Medoruma, 2005, pp. 68–9). At the same time, however, second-generation knowledge of the first generation's traumatic experience is intensely personal and emotionally charged. Marianne Hirsch's notion of "postmemory," a term that attempts to capture this seemingly contradictory configuration of intimate proximity to survivors and experiential distance from the Holocaust, is described as follows:

In my reading, postmemory is distinguished from memory by generational distance and from history by deep personal connection. Postmemory is a powerful and very particular form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation. This is not to say that memory itself is unmediated, but that it is more directly connected to the past. Postmemory characterizes the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation shaped by

traumatic events that can be neither understood nor recreated. I have developed this notion in relation to children of holocaust survivors, but I believe it may usefully describe other second-generation memories of cultural or collective traumatic events and experiences (Hirsch, 1997, p. 22).

In Hirsch's formulation, although the children of survivors of collective traumatic events are cut off from a lived experience of the traumatic past, they are still deeply and personally connected to it. The second-generation mediates their "memories" of the traumatic past through imaginative and creative processes that are informed by their deep and personal knowledge of their parents' lives and psychic pain. As such, postmemory is simultaneously powerful and personal on the one hand, as well as fractured and incomplete on the other.

Writers who are second-generation Holocaust survivors often employ narrative strategies and thematic elements that highlight the nature of postmemory to express the experience of living in the shadow of their parents' trauma. Iris Milner (Milner, 2003) observes that second-generation Holocaust fiction often revolves around hidden or unarticulated survivor experiences and memories that have been silenced and repressed, with survivor characters going to great lengths to hide and avoid exposing their traumatizing experiences.<sup>4)</sup> Even when the repressed past is narrated in these stories, Milner asserts that second-generation Holocaust fiction "demonstrates the testimony to be forever partial and incomplete, and silence and void to remain a core existential experience of the literary protagonists, both Holocaust survivors and their children" (Milner, 2003, p. 196). Erin McGlothlin argues that an "anxiety about signification" colors second-generation Holocaust writing as writers struggle to represent indirectly that which they have not experienced and that their parents have expressed primarily through evasion, repression, and concealment (McGlothlin, 2006, p. 12). The anxiety about signification for second-generation writers, McGlothlin suggests, lies in the impossibility of explicitly depicting the content of stigmatization because "the referent of the traumatic event cannot be accessed," leaving the text to "perform the stigmatization in the way that it produces that content" (McGlothlin, 2006, p. 12). Although not specifically examining second-generation writers, Robert Eaglestone, in discussing characteristics of trauma writing, observes that writing about the Holocaust often includes "allegories of failed understanding" on the part of those who did not directly experience the event and the utilization of non-linear narrative techniques of temporal displacement (Eaglestone, 2008, pp. 80–3). These characteristics of second-generation and Holocaust writing reflect not only the effects of the Holocaust on survivors, but also the nature of transgenerational Holocaust memory transmission.

Medoruma utilizes similar textual strategies in his second-generation literary expressions about the Battle of Okinawa. War survivor characters in his stories almost always conceal aspects of their war experience, refraining from publicly narrating or verbalizing their war memories. In some cases, survivor characters appear initially unaware of their own repressed war memories that later emerge and are expressed through embodied and



non-verbal ways. War memory and trauma in Medoruma's fiction typically remain unresolved and unarticulated. His employment of non-realist modes of representation and unexplained phenomena can be read, I argue, as a symptom of an "anxiety" about representing the inexplicable and indirectly experienced. His stories are filled with metaphors, symbols, and allegorical relationships that highlight the failure of communication, failed understanding, and the impasse of passing on experience and information. He also experiments with non-linear narrative techniques in his fiction suggesting the temporal displacement and confusion that traumatic recall and the recollection of intense war memories can generate. As second-generation Okinawan war survivor texts, Medoruma's literary narratives and artistic expressions not only concern themselves with the trauma of the first-generation, but also with how the children of survivors have come to know the experiences of their parents. Accordingly, his fictions portray second-generation survivor conscious and unconscious attempts to understand the hidden and only partially revealed experiences of the violent past (Ikeda, forthcoming).

### **Geographically-Proximate Postmemory**

While Medoruma's postmemory is similar to that of second-generation Holocaust survivors, it differs in regards to relationships with and knowledge of trauma sites. Whereas the majority of Holocaust survivors have been displaced from their former homes in Europe, Okinawan survivors of the Battle of Okinawa have, for the most part, continued to reside in the places of, or in close proximity to, sites of war-related atrocities and death. Hence the dimensions of displacement and dislocation that characterize Holocaust postmemory are incongruent with Okinawan second-generation survivor experiences of geographic, cultural, and linguistic familiarity and connectedness.<sup>5)</sup> For first- and second-generation survivors of the Battle of Okinawa, the landscape and sites of war trauma constitute the intimately familiar places of their daily lives and play a large role in experience-based and *geographically-proximate* (postmemorial) acts of remembrance. Additionally, the initial years of US military occupation, the ongoing US military base presence in Okinawa, and repeated controversies over official Japanese and local Okinawan war narratives have also shaped Okinawan war memory practices.

This is not to suggest that sites of trauma, or what Maria Tumarkin (Tumarkin, 2005) calls traumascapes, play no role in Holocaust-related memory work.<sup>6)</sup> Numerous monuments, commemorative spaces, and museums mark important historical sites of the Holocaust, and especially since the 1990s with the end of the cold war, more and more survivors and their families have been making pilgrimages to old villages, homelands, and concentration camps.<sup>7)</sup> However, for survivors and their offspring, the vast majority of time spent after the Holocaust has been in exile, mostly in the United States or Israel, producing, especially for the second-generation, a common experience of growing up in a state of exile and displacement. The physical locations and landscapes which constituted the living environment and sites of the violent past reside in distant lands and the



mindscales of survivors, all but directly inaccessible to the second-generation during the formative years of childhood before the opening up of Eastern Europe. As a result, the role of landscape and geographic sites of trauma on the daily lives of survivors and the second-generation has not been a primary focus of Holocaust or second-generation Holocaust studies.

While geographic proximity to war sites may differentiate Okinawan war trauma from that of the Holocaust, it constitutes a shared characteristic with the trauma of numerous other acts of collective violence and genocide. Eva Hoffman (Hoffman, 2004, pp. 245–6) points out that because second-generation Holocaust survivors have been exiled and dispersed from the homelands of their parents, they are “different from many other heirs to ethnic or religious conflicts” that have continued to reside in the places of atrocity. Hoffman observes that unlike the second-generation survivors of collective acts of genocide in Cambodia, Bosnia, and Rwanda, Holocaust survivors and their children have not had to “continue living in the same society as the perpetrators” (Hoffman, 2004, pp. 245–6). Within Japan, while the Battle of Okinawa has largely been framed and understood as a unique experience for the nation as the only large-scale land battle waged within Japan’s national borders during the Asia-Pacific War, Okinawan scholar Yakabi Osamu (Yakabi, 2008) has suggested reorienting our understanding of the battle within the context of continental Asia where large-scale land battles on domestic soil were the norm, rather than the exception.<sup>8)</sup> Recasting the Battle of Okinawa within this context and focusing on the effects of inhabiting sites of the battle on war memory in Medoruma’s fiction will illuminate the effects of geographic familiarity not only in terms of Okinawan war memory, but the legacies of collective violence, atrocity, and trauma in general. To be sure, Yakabi and Hoffman are not concerned in these references with how the landscape and geographic sites affect war trauma and memory; but both point to broader contexts and other atrocities in which survivors and their children have continued to reside in the sites of collective atrocities and violence.

### **Medoruma’s Experience in War Sites and Vicarious Re-enactment**

Before examining Medoruma’s fiction, it is necessary to briefly outline his personal experience as a second-generation war survivor born and raised in the sites where his parents and grandparents lived through the war, and how the Battle of Okinawa affected the areas where they resided. Medoruma’s postmemories of the battle have primarily been constructed in relation to the verbal and non-verbal expressions of war memory and trauma of his parents and grandparents, all of whom lived through the war in the north-western part of Okinawa Island in the Nakijin area of the Motobu peninsula. Accordingly, the particular experience of the war in the northern part of the island has informed and shaped Medoruma’s initial understandings and vicarious imaginings of the war. While the Battle of Okinawa is generally understood as lasting for approximately 82 days from April 1, 1945 with the landing of US forces to June 23 with General Ushijima’s suicide,

the length of the war for each individual varied according to one's location on the island. The Hagushi beaches in the central part of Okinawa just north of the political and economic centers of Shuri and Naha, where the main force of the Japanese Army was stationed, were the landing points of the US military forces in early April 1945, and consequently the first part of the island to encounter US troops. For Okinawans residing in this area, the initial month of April resulted in incidents of compulsory group suicides, deaths, executions, and surrender. In the northern part of the island where Medoruma's parents and grandparents lived, the Japanese army and soldiers in the region soon retreated into the mountains after the initial landing of the US forces in central Okinawa with US forces capturing the Motobu peninsula by late April.

In contrast, the southern areas of the island, where the main force of the Japanese Army was stationed in fortified positions in Shuri, experienced intense fighting for two months. The US forces concentrated their efforts on dislodging the Japanese forces from Shuri, while smaller numbers of soldiers were dispatched for "mop-up" duty in the north. Most of the heavy fighting and areas where large casualties occurred coincide with the location of the Japanese Army's positions and mobilizations. The intense fighting in the Shuri and Naha areas resulted in numerous casualties and leveled the buildings and other structures, leading to the Japanese Army's eventual retreat in late May to the southern part of the island. The withdrawal of the Japanese Army from Shuri to the south and their last stand made in Mabuni in June resulted in heavy casualties and the decimation of communities in the southern region.

Although the Nakijin area in the northwestern region where Medoruma's parents were located did not experience the same level of intense fighting and destruction as the southern part of the island, it was still violent, dangerous, and precarious. Straggling Japanese soldiers in the region were hiding in the mountains, coming down into the villages at night to secure food, and at times would take and execute village men on suspicion of spying. This protracted waiting game extended in some cases until the later months of July and August, with civilians living in fear of Japanese soldiers. Medoruma's then fourteen-year-old father, as part of the Third Middle School Imperial Blood and Iron Corp that had been attached to the Udo Division assigned to the Motobu peninsula, survived the decimation of his original unit and hid in the mountains with Japanese soldiers for months before eventually returning to his village (Medoruma, 2005, pp. 22–29). As these locations triggered stories and memories from the war past for war survivors, Medoruma witnessed the ways in which sites and the landscape contextualize and configure war memories, and, through his direct experience of such sites, situated his own vicarious imaginings of the war.

In Medoruma's non-fiction writing, he has referenced childhood stories about the war and the surrounding area that indicate the impact of inhabiting sites of death and violence for himself and other second-generation survivors. Walking the shoreline with his grandmother during his childhood, Medoruma heard stories of kamikaze pilots flying into nearby American warships and the bodies of dead pilots washing ashore during the war.

He grew up listening to tales of lingering Japanese soldiers hiding in the mountains near the village, waiting for the darkness of nightfall before descending on the village to snatch up young children (Medoruma, 2005). Medoruma's grandparents warned him never to enter caves that had served as bomb shelters for Hanson's disease patients, presumably out of fear that he would contract the disease (Medoruma, 2006, p. 335). Such stories from his parents and grandparents conveyed the feeling of the war past and stimulated his childhood imagination of the war. The mountains, seashore, and the areas surrounding the village where Medoruma was raised all contained the war memories and tales he heard on a regular basis, making him sensitive to the layers of war memories and fears that have been ascribed to the Okinawan landscape.

Forced reenactments of wartime Japanese military discipline experienced in childhood as well as the witnessing of US military training exercises during his college years also impacted Medoruma's vicarious imaginings of the war. When Medoruma was a child, his father had forced his sons to carry out the disciplinary punishment that was part of his own military experience in the student Imperial Blood and Iron Corps. If the two boys had been quarrelling and couldn't resolve their conflict, their father would make them continuously slap each other in the face, the very way the Japanese army had handled disputes amongst soldiers in his battalion during the Battle of Okinawa. Subjected to Japanese military discipline by their father, Medoruma and his brother virtually (re)experienced part of what their father had endured, as well as became aware of the extent to which army military discipline had become, even on the subconscious level, ingrained as part of their father's character. (Medoruma & Miyagi, 2007, pp. 163–4). Additionally Medoruma's encounter with US military bases during his college years in central Okinawa triggered vicarious imaginings of the war. During a sit-in demonstration as a student against US artillery practice on Mt. Onna (Onna-dake) in Okinawa, Medoruma could not help thinking about his parents' war experience with artillery flying overhead, the thunder of exploding shells sending dirt high in the air, and the shaking of the ground (Medoruma, 2005, p. 102). He also considers this vicarious experience to be a major reason for his own reexamination of the Battle of Okinawa, including the nature of what happened, reasons for the battle, and consequences of the war. Medoruma's direct experience of the sites of the war past, moments of forced virtual reenactment, and witnessing of US military artillery exercises in Okinawa have provided him with many of the contexts and sensorial components of experience with which to concretely imagine pre-birth experiences of the war.

### **The Importance of Visiting Sites**

Interaction and engagement with sites of the war past play an important role within Okinawan transgenerational memory, constituting one of the fundamental methods for the generations born after the war through which to contemplate and understand the war past. In *Okinawa sengo zero nen* (2005) Medoruma lists the visiting of sites of war atroc-

ity as one of the key and important ways of attempting to understand the war, along with reading testimony, talking to war survivors, and the viewing of military documents and film. Regarding visual media, however, Medoruma warns that because the overwhelming majority of photographs and film footage of the Battle of Okinawa was taken by photographers attached to the US army, the orienting perspective of those representations is always from the outside of the caves or fields, the point of view of the side doing the killing. Hence he insists that reading testimonies and hearing the stories of war survivors are crucial for breaking free from this orientation (Medoruma, 2005, pp. 85–88). Although he does not mention the visiting of war sites as another way to reorient perspective, Medoruma's conscious attempts to imagine the war during his visits to such locations suggests their power in enabling vicarious imaginings from the point of view of those being surrounded, shot at, and attacked.

Medoruma's insistence on the importance of breaking free from the visual perspective of the photograph and film contrasts with Marianne Hirsch's assertion that pictures and photographs are the primary mediating vehicle for postmemory (Hirsch, 1997). Marianne Hirsch, largely due to her exile and unfamiliarity with sites of the Holocaust, privileges photographs and media images over the experience of visiting landmarks, sites, and structures. Within Hirsch's descriptions and elaborations on the aesthetics of (geographically-displaced) postmemory, she argues that the family photograph is the medium par excellence of second-generation Holocaust postmemory. To be sure, family photographs differ significantly from US military photographs of army attacks and battles. The point that needs to be emphasized here, however, is that Hirsch's notion of postmemory was theorized before she herself had the opportunity to visit the sites of the Holocaust and her parents' pre-Holocaust lives. The impact of the landscape on Holocaust postmemory is felt most strongly in terms of its absence. For Okinawan war memory and second-generation postmemory, geographic familiarity is fundamental and primary. In the next section I turn to Medoruma's war memory fiction for depictions of how Okinawan war memory is inscribed in and mediated by the landscape and sites of the war past.

## **War Survivors in Medoruma's Fiction**

### ***First-Generation War Memory and the Multiplicity of Meanings Embedded in the Landscape***

Second-generation Okinawan war memory is largely constructed from and in relation to first-generation war memory. Before examining transgenerational Okinawan war memory in Medoruma's fiction, I analyze how Medoruma portrays the impact of residing in the war landscape on first-generation war survivors. War memories in Medoruma's texts are entwined with multiple meanings and significances of landscape and locations. Inhabiting or living in close proximity to the sites of the war, first-generation war survivors regularly come into contact and learn to live with numerous stimuli and physical reminders of the battle. Medoruma's fiction demonstrates, however, that the early sum-

mer months in Okinawa, the time of year in which the Battle of Okinawa occurred, brings an increased level of war memory stimulation through sensorial memory associated with the summer weather and through social and discursive practices of remembrance and commemoration. Additionally, his fiction illustrates how war memory is entwined with personal memories and public meanings connected to sites that precede and follow the war, attesting to the dynamism and openness of sites. War memories of violence, atrocity, and death intertwine with memories of happiness, love, and joy. Inhabiting sites of the war past involves the negotiation of these tensions.

For survivors, the inhabiting of sites of the war past brings them in regular contact with physical reminders of the war that can trigger recall. An innocent glance at the landscape can set off recollections and memories from the war for first-generation survivors. In Medoruma's 1985–6 serialized short story, "Fûon" (The Crying Wind),<sup>9</sup> when Okinawan war survivor Seikichi makes his first appearance in the story, he casually gazes at the *Uppa* mountains (Mt. Otowa) and unexpectedly recalls fleeing into them as a child during the war forty years earlier (Medoruma, 2000b, pp. 61–2). Seikichi's mental note that the current season was the same as when his family and village fled, suggests a link between seasonal weather cycles and war memories (*ibid.*, p. 62). The combination of the sight of the *Uppa* mountains and the physical sensations that come with the early summer work together to stimulate recollections of the war due to their strong associations with the war past.

In addition to physical changes in the weather, communal practices and media coverage can also trigger war recall. In Okinawa, yearly observances of the end of the Battle of Okinawa, as well as more personal and localized acts of commemoration, occur with increasing frequency in the month of June, accompanied by increased media coverage and peace education sessions at schools. In "Suiteki," (Droplets, 1997)<sup>10</sup> Tokushô, an elder community member and war survivor, is asked on an annual basis to give a talk at the local elementary school about his war experience. Although he has been able to give the talk in the past, his sudden illness and incapacitation in the story, which forces him to confront buried war memories, coincide with the time of his scheduled talks and the peak of war commemorations and media coverage. In "The Crying Wind" the filmmaker Fujii visits Seikichi's village in Nakijin around the early part of summer to produce a timely documentary about fallen kamikaze pilots to coincide with the fortieth anniversary of the battle in June. Fujii's arrival forces Seikichi to revisit his memories and his growing sense of guilt about secretly taking a fountain pen from the fallen pilot during the war. For both Tokushô and Seikichi, in their respective stories, the increased attention to and discussion about the Battle of Okinawa in June cause each war survivor to mentally engage with war memories and experiences they had been avoiding and trying to forget. Because sites of the war past often become the locations for multiple social and communal acts of war commemoration and remembrance, and due to the fact that such acts produce a heightened engagement with war discourse, inhabiting sites of the war brings inhabitants in contact with not only the physical sites and sensorial memory of the seasons, but also

socially and discursively created war memory stimuli.

War memories connected to locations and landscape, however, are often entangled and buried within varied and multiple meanings connected to sites, requiring a confluence of conditions to be triggered. Okinawan villages have existed both before and after the war as sites for community life that carry with them prewar significances as well as accrue additional layers of associations. In his story “Mabuigumi,” (Spirit Stuffing, 1998)<sup>11)</sup> Medoruma carefully situates the narrative within contemporary and historical significances that become connected with the Okinawan landscape and war memory. For the character Uta, the beach where her friend Omito was shot during the war is also important to her village for fishing, social gathering, and other daily activities, inscribing the site with a multiplicity of memories. As the beach where she often played in the water as a child, the gathering spot where she first met her husband before the war, and the evening sanctuary for Kôtarô’s *sanshin* playing, the shoreline does not immediately trigger haunting war memories of Omito’s death. The site alone is not enough to trigger recall. It is only after a sea turtle swims ashore in the middle of the evening to meet Kôtarô’s *mabui* that Uta remembers how Omito, Kôtarô’s mother, had been gathering sea turtle eggs at night on that same beach when she had been shot and killed during the war. The meanings, memories and significances associated with various sites in Uta’s village and the surrounding areas, Medoruma’s story demonstrates, encompass the rich lives of community members throughout their days in the village. Buried within these layers of meaning and significances, the war past and violence of the battle lurk, waiting to be triggered by a confluence of conditions.

The entwining of painful memories of war atrocity with varied feelings embedded in the landscape is perhaps most sharply presented in “Gunchô no ki” (Tree of Butterflies, 2001). In the story the character Gozei has pariah status because she had been a “comfort woman” for Japanese soldiers in the village during the war and a prostitute for US soldiers in the years after the war. Her most painful and traumatic memories are of the execution of her lover Shôsei by Japanese soldiers and of being raped immediately afterward by the executioner. Despite these painful memories and her pariah status she has continued to reside in the village for over fifty years due to feelings of love and happiness also connected to the village. The story reveals that Gozei’s small hut on the riverbank, which she demanded as a condition for her “services” to “entertain” the US soldiers after the war, holds significance for her due to its proximity to the *yuna* tree where she had secretly met with her lover Shôsei. Living in the hut on the riverbank keeps Gozei near the places of her most precious memories and time with Shôsei. “Tree of Butterflies” depicts the way in which sites of the traumatic war past contain multiple meanings and significances existing simultaneously that cannot easily be forgotten, compartmentalized, or reconciled.



### Touristscape, Battlefield, and the Site of Daily Living

In addition to depicting the effect of the landscape on Okinawan war memory, Medoruma also includes in his stories the transformations to the landscape that have resulted from the US occupation and reversion to Japan, most conspicuously in the forms of the army base and resort hotel. Medoruma's hometown of Nakijin is relatively distanced from large US military bases, and accordingly barbed wire fences and US soldiers do not typically appear in his stories that take place there. Traces of the US military's actions during and after the Battle of Okinawa remain, such as scarred cliffs from artillery bombardment and the absence of large rocks that were taken from the shoreline for base construction in the "The Crying Wind." US soldiers stationed on Okinawa and the base-town Koza, where the story "Army Messenger" takes place, play a much larger role in the unfolding events of that story. Critical comments and a sense of the discontent with the military bases in relation to war memories and trauma most prominently appear in Medoruma's *Me no oku no mori* (Forest at the Back of My Eye, 2009) when the war survivor Hisako, after a long separation from the island, breaks out in a sweat at the mere sight of the barbed wire fences and military bases from the bus on her way to Nakijin. The neatly trimmed and manicured grass of the army base perimeter that presents the image of beauty generates a feeling of anger in Hisako as she consciously tries to see through the façade of calm order to the violent history that enabled the US occupation and appropriation of the land. The US base reminds Hisako not only of the war past and her traumatic war experiences, but also of the ongoing occupation of Okinawan land and subsequent acts of military sexual violence, most strikingly the 1995 rape incident. For Okinawans living in close proximity to the US military bases, the reconfiguration of the land for the bases signifies the persistent and ongoing, unresolved legacy of the war.

The transformation of the Okinawan landscape into Japan's tropical paradise and the trope of resort development in conjunction with war tourism also looms in the villages of Medoruma's fiction.<sup>12)</sup> In "The Crying Wind," Seikichi becomes irritated by the ward chief's assumption that he would cooperate with the documentary filmmaker in order to educate mainlanders about the Battle of Okinawa and promote the village as a possible tourist site, accusing the ward chief of being politically and economically motivated. While the underlying critique of commercialized war tourism appears to animate Seikichi's reaction, Medoruma undercuts these points by further revealing Seikichi's own self motivated reasons that have more to do with guilt due to taking items from the fallen pilot, than they have to do with commercial tourism. Medoruma later touches on the issue of economic development, resort tourism and war memories from a different angle in his short story "Mabuigumi." Rather than the promotion of war tourism, the village in "Mabuigumi" is working to secure resort investment from mainland Japan by hiding a strange ailment, which, unbeknownst to them, is directly related to the war. By emphasizing economic concerns, playing on fears of prejudice, and appealing to village solidar-



ity and the support of local spiritual beliefs, ward chief Shinzato persuades the village leaders to help secretly treat Kôtarô via traditional religious means. Kôtarô's ultimate demise and the connection of his ailment to his mother's death during the war suggest the irony of pursuing resort investment at the cost of overlooking unresolved legacies of the war. Both "The Crying Wind" and "Mabuigumi" present the tensions arising from the complicated intertwining of personal and public war memories with the landscape as they become (re)shaped by external forces of economic investment and tourist development.

## **Transgenerational War Memory**

### ***Childhood Playscapes and Haunted Landscape***

The impact of living in former war sites is also felt by second-generation war survivors and appears in Medoruma's fiction in various manifestations of transgenerational war memory. Former battlefields become playgrounds for child-age second-generation survivors for whom the war resides in the background rather than as a consciously engaged issue. For adult-age second-generation survivors, sites of the war appear as haunted landscapes in Medoruma's fiction, indicative of the transgenerational transference of unresolved trauma.

Okinawan transgenerational war memory initially manifests as childhood forms of play and fascination within the war landscape. For the children of war survivors raised in Okinawa, former battlegrounds and war sites constitute their playgrounds and places of childhood adventure and exploration. In "The Crying Wind" the ten-year-old Akira and his friends open the story with their attempt to climb the cliff where the skull of a fallen kamikaze pilot from the Battle of Okinawa rests, with Akira placing a fish in a glass jar next to the skull. Aware that his father had placed the body of the fallen pilot on the cliff during the war forty years ago, Akira, out of all of his friends, ultimately completes the dare. For these children, the skull represents the fearsome and mysterious past of war and death, only partially explained to them by adults. Living in the very village where the skull of the pilot visibly overlooks the area and audibly "cries" with the blowing of the wind, the children and village inhabitants are reminded on a regular basis of the battle and the war dead. In the story Akira and his childhood friends never pretend they are soldiers in the war, nor are they ever portrayed as imagining the war as if they were in or experiencing it. Rather, the war resides in the background, while the remnants and shadows of the past, such as the skull of the pilot and the cliff upon which it sits, become the playthings and playgrounds of their childhood lives.

Transgenerational war trauma can manifest as a haunting of the landscape. According to Gabriele Schwab, the un-addressed, unresolved trauma of the war survivor generation remains for the second-generation as a haunting (Schwab, 2010). Medoruma's short story "Denreihei" (Army Messenger, 2004), articulates such transgenerational war trauma through its exploration of hauntings of the landscape for both survivors and their children. Set a few months after the 1995 rape incident, the story depicts multiple customers at a

bar in the Koza area who hear the story of a headless World War Two student soldier. A cram-school instructor in his thirties named Kinjô recounts how a headless corpse dressed in the ragged and torn uniform of the old Japanese army during the Battle of Okinawa saved him from being beaten up by American soldiers about a month earlier. The bar master Tomori informs them that it is the headless spirit of an army messenger (*denreihei*) killed in the area during the war. After the customers leave, the story reveals that Tomori's father had been a member of the student soldier corps that were army messengers, and that his best friend at the time, Iju, had his head blown off by shrapnel. Tomori's father accidentally captured the image of the headless army messenger in a photo during the 1970 Koza riots, sparking a personal obsession with finding the headless corpse on the evening streets of Koza that was never realized and adversely affects his family.

Tomori, dealing with the tragedy of losing his daughter, responds in a similar way to his father, suggesting transferred residual war trauma compounding with contemporary pain. After Tomori leaves his bar, he goes out into the Koza night and catches the sight of his young preschool-age daughter who died three years earlier in an accident. He desperately searches the area, trying to catch another glimpse of her before realizing how his desperation mirrors his father's own searches for Iju. Succumbing to the despair of his daughter's death and his wife's request for a divorce, Tomori tries to commit suicide that evening, only to be stopped by the headless army messenger. Through the symbolic re-enacting of his father's own obsessive attempts to catch a sighting of the spirit of someone close to him, Tomori comes to a better understanding of his father's haunting. This realization leads to Tomori's moment of ultimate despair, but the appearance of the army messenger that refuses to let him die indicates some form of strength gained from the epiphany. Living in the site of the war past as well as that of contemporary tragedy compounds Tomori's haunting at the same time it forces him to confront his pain.

Such hauntings indicate not only the private and unarticulated survivor guilt of Tomori's father, but also two forms of transgenerational war memory transmission along familial and affiliative postmemorial modes (Hirsch, 2008, pp. 114–5). Tomori's encounter with the headless army messenger corresponds to familial postmemory and haunting due to his direct familial connection to his father who had suffered through survivor guilt. Kinjô's sighting of the "ghost" suggests a more generalized and public transmission of war trauma along the lines of affiliative postmemory due to a lack of any direct familial connection with Tomori's family. The appearance of both familial (private) and affiliative (public) forms of hauntings and postmemory in Medoruma's fiction suggests a connection between personal and collective war experiences and how the residue of the unresolved can linger in the landscape.

The ghosts and spirits that haunt the Okinawan landscape can also be accounted for within the realms of Okinawan spirituality. Okinawan religious and spiritual beliefs consider the physical body the bearer of spiritual energy or *mabui*, and upon physical death, the *mabui* leaves the body. Sites of death that have not been properly handled through ritual can become the resting sites for *mabui* that have not been sent off to the other world.

Hence, war survivor guilt at not providing proper rites and ritual for the war dead can haunt them as failure—within spiritual and religious contexts—to give *mabui* proper send-offs to the afterlife. The haunting of the Koza area in Medoruma's story metaphorically represents the numerous and more generalized war issue of lost remains and unaccounted for *mabui* that have detached from their bodies and wander the land. For many families and communities in Okinawa, the unresolved issue of lost remains and un-recovered bodies lingers with the uncertainty of whether those spirits were able to make the proper journey to the other world.

### ***Geographically-Proximate Postmemory and the Enabling of Vicarious Narration***

Instead of portraying second-generation war survivors vicariously recalling the war, Medoruma usually narrates and portrays the direct recollection of the war past by war-survivor characters themselves. In other words, Medoruma's fiction performs, rather than portrays, the effects of inhabiting sites of trauma for second-generation Okinawan war survivors. Instead of depicting the children and grandchildren of war survivors recalling or imagining the war as if they were reliving it, Medoruma narrates the interiority of war survivors as they remember, recall, and relive the Battle of Okinawa. Hence, the narrating perspective in stories such as "The Crying Wind," "Droplets," "Mabuigumi," "Tree of Butterflies," and the novel *Forest at the Back of My Eye*, is almost always that of people who lived through the war when war memories are being narrated.<sup>13</sup> This maneuver conceals the vicarious nature of the Medoruma's narration, that it is not based on his actual lived experience of the war, but rather imagined and narrated as if he had directly experienced them. Additionally it invites the reader, through the act of reading, to similarly imagine and vicariously experience the narrated memories.

This mode of vicarious narration is not typical of second-generation Holocaust fiction and art. In contrast to Medoruma, second-generation Holocaust survivor writers and artists typically highlight the second-hand and vicarious nature of their Holocaust representations, focusing on how the Holocaust was transmitted to them. Concerning second-generation Holocaust survivor artists, James Young observes that:

By portraying the Holocaust as a "vicarious past," these artists insist on maintaining a distinct boundary between their work and the testimony of their parents' generation. Such work recognizes their parents' need to testify to their experiences on the one hand, even to put the Holocaust "behind them." But by calling attention to their vicarious relationship to events, the next generation ensures that their "post-memory" of events remains an unfinished, ephemeral process, not a means toward definitive answers to impossible questions (Young, 2000, p. 2).

The clear demarcation of the boundary between survivor testimony and the second-generation's representations of the Holocaust can also be connected to an acute anxiety about representing events of the past they have not experienced because their knowledge of these events is so fragmented, incomplete, and vague. The fractured, vague and inchoate state of second-generation memory of the Holocaust is attributed to, as Marianne

Hirsch has observed, the fact that second-generation Holocaust postmemory is cut off both temporally and spatially from the event in question.

Hirsch, however, conflates “spatial dislocation” with “temporal dislocation” in the sense that she assumes both to be the fundamental characteristics of postmemory in general. Although Hirsch uses the example of second-generation Holocaust survivors to develop a generalized theory of postmemory concerning the mediated memories of children of survivors of atrocities, genocide, and tragedies in general, she overlooks the distinction and differences caused by displacement. As I have pointed out, second-generation survivors such as Medoruma and most Okinawans living in Okinawa, or the second-generation of survivors of atrocity in Rwanda, Nanjing, and Bosnia for example, continue to reside in the places of atrocity and trauma, intimately familiar with sites of the traumatic past. Hence, such second-generation forms of memory and trauma need to be understood as *geographically-proximate postmemory* while that of most second-generation Holocaust survivors should be distinguished as *geographically-displaced postmemory*. Distinguishing between different modes of geographic knowledge of sites of atrocity in relation to postmemory enables a more nuanced analysis and assessment of the nature of transgenerational war memory.

Knowledge and understanding of landscape through direct experiencing of sites and locations of the past help to anchor and concretize elements from narratives about the past. Indeed, for some second-generation Holocaust survivors, the visiting of sites of the Holocaust becomes a way to gain a direct experience of the locations and sites in which the Holocaust occurred, a way to bridge the gap between postmemory and reality (Jilovsky, 2008). In her analysis of second-generation Holocaust survivor narratives, which entail trips to sites of the Holocaust, Esther Jilovsky observes that:

Witnessing traces of all these things is what gives these trips purpose, and allows participants to fashion their own “memory” of events, since they have seen the places with their own eyes. As Young writes: “Forty-five years after the Shoah, a new generation comes to know a millennium of Jewish civilization in Poland by its absence and the rubble of its destruction: dilapidated synagogues, up-rooted and plowed-under cemeteries, warehouses piled high with religious artefacts.” By discovering Jewish Poland through the tangible traces of its obliteration, visitors are able to contextualise their knowledge of the Holocaust within the frame of what they experience in Poland (Jilovsky, 2008, p. 155).

For the geographically-displaced children of Holocaust survivors, trips to sites of former Jewish communities and concentration camps provide a concrete sensorial experience of locations. This direct experiencing of sites generates sensorial memories that serve to contextualize received knowledge, and, as second-generation Holocaust survivor artist Tucker intimates, “to anchor fragments of relived experience in a new embodied encounter, perhaps in an attempt to create a corporeal echo of a ghostly memory” (Tucker, 2010, p. 192).

For Okinawan second-generation war survivors raised in Okinawa, memory fragments of the traumatic past are always already anchored and received within a concrete

and intimate knowledge of the sites of the war. While the horrific events of the war may lie beyond the experience of the second- and later generations in Okinawa, the locations, landscapes, and environment in which they occurred have been directly felt, sensed, and experienced over extended periods of time during the formative years of childhood. The daily interaction with landscape over long periods of time produces a thorough understanding of the sites, conditions, and surrounding environment within which events of the war were experienced. The stories, fragments, and memory outbursts received by second-generation Okinawan war survivors are often anchored by and situated within concrete experience and knowledge of sites and locations. Such fundamental knowledge of sites, I contend, is directly related to the tendency in Medoruma's fiction to vicariously imagine and narrate memories of the war past. Medoruma's postmemory of his parents' war experience, and, by extension geographically-proximate postmemory in general, are constituted by a direct experiential knowledge of the contexts within which events of the war occurred, knowledge which orients the received narratives from parents, testimonies, film, pictures, books, and museums. Such stories are virtually situated within and anchored by concrete experiences of sites and landscape that readily enables vicarious imagining and memory. This generates a greater level of identification through which the imagination re-visits and re-constructs the atrocities of the past. This context of familiarity with the concrete details of war sites and the directly experienced sensations that constitute the experience of structures and sites in and at which survivors lived through the war enable the kinds of vicarious narration that Medoruma's texts exemplify as well as the vicarious narrating practices seen in the writing of other second-generation Okinawan war survivors such as Chibana Shôichi and Miyagi Harumi.<sup>14)</sup>

This greater level of familiarity with landscape, however, does not entirely negate the anxiety and uncertainty that second-generation survivors feel concerning the events that occurred prior to their lives. Medoruma, and other members of the second-generation in Okinawa such as Chibana Shôichi and Miyagi Harumi, are intimately aware of the limits of what they know about the un-lived war past.<sup>15)</sup> An anxiety about the partial, incomplete, and fragmentary nature of their knowledge of their parents' war experience still exists; yet, compared with the anxiety and uncertainty which second-generation Holocaust survivors express, geographically-proximate postmemorial anxiety is attenuated. Geographically-proximate forms of postmemory share with geographically-displaced postmemory an uncertainty about knowing and representing the trauma of their parents, but to a lesser extent due to the direct experiences and intimate knowledge of the sites of the traumatic past. Intense familiarity with such sites provides vivid and concrete experiences of the Okinawan landscape and battlefields within which the events of the past can be more readily placed, situated, and imagined.

## Conclusion

As second-generation war fiction, Medoruma's writing engages both war survivor

experiences as well as transgenerational war memory struggles. His fiction does more than merely re-narrate the war; it vicariously narrates war memories in conjunction with contemporary issues and daily life that make up the private lives of survivors, their children, and local Okinawan communities. It draws from an intimate understanding and knowledge of both war survivor lives since the war, and the sites and landscapes of the battle. Medoruma's texts remind us that sites of the war are not only powerful and important as war sites, but also as haunted locations. And it implicates such memories and hauntings within complex layers of meaning and significance. Incorporating experientially felt elements of the landscape, the specific sounds, smells, heat, and sights of battle sites, Medoruma's war narratives are anchored by concrete and vividly felt experiences of sites. His fiction works performatively by vicariously narrating war survivor memories, generating a vicarious reading experience of war recall.

By theorizing how the land and sites of the war past serve to contextualize and situate memory, enabling vivid, virtual, and vicarious recall, I have illuminated the nature of both first generation and transgenerational war memory. Interpreting Medoruma's war fiction in terms of postmemory furthers our understanding of transgenerational war memory and meanings that the landscape and sites of the battle have for second-generation Okinawan war survivors. Additionally the focus on landscape and sites of memory has enabled me to identify and clarify the distinctions between *geographically-proximate* and *geographically-displaced postmemory*. While the anxiety of signification concerning the representation of pre-birth events shapes both geographically-proximate and displaced postmemories, its effect is less pronounced for second-generation survivor knowledge fostered within familiarity with the landscape and sites of the traumatic past. For the second- and later- generations of the Battle of Okinawa, vicarious imaginings and understandings of the war past are embedded in the landscape and entwined with the daily activities of multiple generations. The Okinawan landscape and sites of the war, Medoruma's fiction reveals, mediates Okinawan people's relationship to their environment, culture, and spirituality, as well as war memories and transgenerational hauntings.

Medoruma's exploration of the connections between war memory and the Okinawan landscape continues to be relevant to contemporary Okinawan society and helps us to understand Okinawa's metamorphasizing landscape and the varied layers of meanings embedded within them. It portrays the complex ways in which memories of war and atrocity intertwine with historical and contemporary significances connected to sites of war and the Okinawan landscape. While powerful memories of the war take center stage in his fiction, they are carefully situated within the context of the daily lives of community, family, and courtship as well as the larger political, economic, and cultural relationships that Okinawa has with the United States and Japan. The tropes of Okinawa as resort island for healing and regeneration (*iyashi no shima*) and that of war memory, battle sites, and tragedy that constitute dark tourism, animate character actions and the village communities of Medoruma's fiction, at the same time that such tropes are distorted and ironically resisted. Through such representations, Medoruma's fiction counters mainstream



discursive attempts at simplification and reduction of meaning associated with the landscape that acts of nationalism, tourist capital investment, and cultural assimilation generate. The tensions of war memory politics permeate many of Medoruma's texts through the depiction of how the private memories and experiences of Okinawan war survivors lie outside the conventionally known boundaries of public memory, yet are intimately connected to specific sites and locations in Okinawa.

## Notes

I would like to thank participants of the Interdisciplinary Workshop Series in Spring 2011 at the University of Vermont, Jane Yamashiro, and the article reviewer for critical comments and suggestions for revisions. I am also grateful for feedback on an earlier version of the paper presented at "International Symposium 'Remembering 40 Years Since Reversion': Okinawan Studies Until Now, Okinawan Studies From Now On" in March 2012 at Waseda University from Kina Ikue, Irena Powell, Mitzi Uehara-Carter, and fellow panelists Davinder Bhowmik, Victoria Young, and Michael Molasky.

- 1) While the majority of the international Jewish population is located in the United States and Israel, as Irena Powell pointed out to me at the "International Symposium 'Remembering 40 Years Since Reversion': Okinawan Studies Until Now, Okinawan Studies From Now On" in March 2012 at Waseda University, Jewish communities also still exist in Europe.
- 2) I would like to thank Kina Ikue for her suggestion to consider more carefully the distinctions between 'space' and 'place' after hearing an earlier version of this paper presented at the "International Symposium 'Remembering 40 Years Since Reversion'," 2012.
- 3) Chibana Shōichi (b. 1947), for example, is the son of survivors of the compulsory collective suicide that occurred at Chibichirigama during the Battle of Okinawa in Yomitan and is known for burning the Japanese flag in 1987 at the National Athletic Meet. His mother suggests that sending Chibana off to University influenced his political activist tendencies (Field, 1991, p. 91) and Field mentions Chibana's involvement in student movements during his college years (*ibid*, p. 102). For mention of protests in Okinawa against the US bases and student involvement in the late 1960s see also Nakano and Arasaki, 1994, p. 189.
- 4) In the stories Milner examines, this silence results in revelation and narration, whereas Medoruma's fiction often leaves the hidden memories unarticulated. See Milner (2003) page 197 for a discussion of silent, hidden memories, and page 205 on resisting exposure of experience.
- 5) Hirsch characterizes the aesthetics of postmemory as "a diasporic aesthetics of temporal and spatial exile" (Hirsch, 1997, p. 245).
- 6) I will not be using Tumarkin's notion of "traumascape" for the sites that are the focus of Medoruma's fiction because her term "traumascape" refers largely to publicly recognized, marked, and commemorated sites while the sites of trauma in Medoruma's fiction are largely private, un-marked, and un-commemorated.
- 7) Hirsch's widely quoted and referenced notion of postmemory that appears in her 1997 book *Family Frames*, was formulated before she had a chance to visit her parents' homeland, revealed by her discussion at the end of the book of her failed attempts to convince her parents to make a trip with her to their old homes in Czernowitz. Hirsch's more recent work, (Hirsch and Spitzer, 2010), recounts her visit to her parents' homeland and engages some of the spatial aspects of recall and interaction with physical spaces in relation to Holocaust memory. The insights gained from this experience, it needs to be remembered, do not inform her initial conception of second-generation postmemory. Sites of trauma related to the Holocaust, such as Auschwitz, tend to be constructed structures, buildings, and spaces designed for confinement and execution, whereas sites and spaces of trauma related to the Battle of Okinawa tend to be part of the natural landscape, places such as the shoreline, cliffs, and caves. The very kinds of spaces and sites of trauma for the two events differ significantly.



- 8) Connecting Okinawan war memory to the war experiences and war memory in Asia, Yakabi asserts, would also require a critical examination of Okinawan patriotism during the war as well as Okinawan participation as imperial subjects of the Japanese Empire in the invasions and subjugation of Asia. For Yakabi, the importance of sustaining and passing on Okinawan war memory lies in the very fact that it is constituted by complex and layered memories of victimization as well as acts of aggression (Yakabi, 2008, p. 97).
- 9) Kyoko Selden and Alisa Freedman have translated the full story into English as “The Wind Sound,” (Medoruma, 2009b) available in *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, December 2009.
- 10) For a translation of “Suiteki” in English, see Michael Molasky’s “Droplets” (Medoruma, 2000a).
- 11) For translations of “Mabuigumi” in English, see Kyle Ikeda’s “Spirit Stuffing” (Medoruma, 2011) in *Living Spirit*, and “Mabuigumi” (Medoruma, 2007) in *Fiction International*.
- 12) For a detailed examination of Okinawa’s postwar transformation into a tourist site in English, see Figal, 2012.
- 13) The overwhelming majority of Medoruma’s texts take this form of narration, with only “Walking the Street Named Peace Boulevard” (Medoruma, 2003) presenting a non-war survivor, Fumi, imagining events that did not happen to her as if she had experienced them. In this early work from 1986, Medoruma avoids narrating the internal thoughts of the war survivor character, focalizing the narration primarily through second-generation characters. Instead of presenting Uta’s war memories as if she herself were recalling them, Medoruma portrays the younger woman Fumi recalling the stories she heard from Uta as if they had happened to her. Medoruma has generally abandoned this style of narration in his subsequent fiction, however, with his stories tending to primarily narrate war memories from the perspective of war characters themselves.
- 14) Although Chibana Shōichi (b. 1947) and Miyagi Harumi (b. 1949) are not fiction writers, they have both written about their parents’ war experiences utilizing their “vicarious imagination.” Both of these second-generation war survivors have written about buried war memories that their parents had kept secret for over thirty years. Norma Field characterizes Chibana Shōichi as having “an ethical imagination that allows him to recount the past as if in the first person so as to earn the right to address the future” (Field, 1991 p. 103) and Miyagi Harumi describes vicariously experiencing the incidents of “compulsory collective suicide” of her village through her writing and research (Miyagi, 2000, p. 10).
- 15) Chibana Shōichi grew up being told that the area leading to Chibichirigama was off limits, but it was not revealed to him until he was in his mid-thirties what had happened there (Field, 1991, p. 56), and Miyagi Harumi describes not knowing why her “grandmother” (actually her grand-aunt who raised her in place of her deceased grandmother) always bullied her “grandfather” (actually her grand-uncle) until later when she found out that during the war he had cut the throats of their children, killing their eldest son, not to mention cutting his wife’s own throat and damaging her voice in an attempt at compulsory group suicide (Miyagi, 2000, p. 90). Additionally, Miyagi describes an inability to fully know and comprehend her mother’s perspective and war experience despite all of her research and writing about the war (ibid, p. 282). Both are examples of the incomplete knowledge of second-generation war survivors in Okinawa concerning their parents’ war experience.

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## 地理的隣接性をもつ追記憶（ポストメモリー） —目取真俊の小説における戦争の場所と追体験的語り—

カイル・イケダ

本論文では、かつての戦地が沖縄戦の生存者とその子孫にとっていかなる意義と意味を有しているかということの例示として、目取真俊の小説およびノンフィクションについて考察する。まず目取真の小説に描かれた第一世代の戦争生存者について分析し、その次に、世代を越えた戦争の記憶がどのように表現されているかについて究明する。戦争の過去を持つ場所で生まれ育った経験は、ホロコーストの生存者の第二世代のような「地理的に強制追放された追記憶」よりもより「追体験的」な語りと想像を展開する傾向にある追記憶、すなわち「地理的に隣接した追記憶」を生み出す。目取真はその小説の中で、沖縄戦が起こった具体的な場所と背景についての深い理解をもとにして戦争生存者の戦争に対する記憶を追体験的に語り、想像している。こうした考察以前に、私はまず日本の戦後世代の全体的な考え方と生存者第二世代のもつより特定の考え方との間にどのような差異があるかについて論じ、目取真の小説を、生存者第二世代の追記憶と文学の表現の文脈の中に位置づける。最後に、沖縄を観光イメージの風景に塗り替えようとする戦後から現代までの試みに対し、戦争に関する幾層にも交錯した意味がいかに沖縄の風景に生命を吹き込んできたか、その重要性について論じる。

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