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"A Tale of Two Cities: Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Literature and Comparisons with Depictions of Post-War Hiroshima"

Hiro Mitsuo Hayashi

Abstract

International attention for the atomic bombings has tended to focus on Hiroshima. Susan Southard notes that "the experiences of the two cities have been fused in memory," to such an extent that the term "the bomb" has come to refer to both events, thus consigning "Nagasaki to the edge of oblivion."[1] Atomic bomb literature has also become synonymous with Hiroshima-related works. However, John Whittier Treat argues that Nagasaki has produced its own literature. Though "less voluminous" and often not as well-known as their Hiroshima counterparts, the works are still prominent and warrant discussion.[2] In response to Treat's claim, this paper will look to posit possible reasons why there is less Nagasaki atomic bomb literature. There will also be an examination into the ways in which writings that explore the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima are distinguishable. The final section will focus specifically on themes that are widespread within Nagasaki works. In doing so this study aims to recognize Shi Lin-Loh's assertion that it is important to understand the attacks as separate events and to recognize that each city has its own distinct identity, with a localized narrative.[3] This review will thus provide a counter to the notion that atomic bomb literature is one broad genre, and help bring the sub-categories that exist within the field to the fore.

1 Susan Southard, "Nagasaki, the Forgotten City," August 7th 2015, accessed June 10th 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/08/opinion/nagasaki-the-forgotten-city.html?_r=0.

2 John Whittier Treat, "Atomic Fiction and Poetry," in The Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature, ed. Joshua S. Mostow (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 182.

3 Shi-Lin Loh, "Beyond Peace: Pluralizing Japan's Nuclear History," The Asia-Pacific Journal, Vol 10, Issue 11, No 6, http://www.japanfocus.org/-Shi_Lin-Loh/371 (accessed June 10th 2017).

Introduction

International attention on the atomic bombings has tended to focus on Hiroshima. Mark Selden has argued that although the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Memorial Museums were both established in 1955, it is the facility in the former that has become the symbol of the anti-nuclear movement. In the post-wat period, it is the Hiroshima peace park that has developed into a Mecca of peace for visitors.[1] Susan Southard, whose work *Nagasaki* has greatly contributed to the field of English language studies focusing on the second city to experience the atomic bomb, has noted that "the experiences of the two cities have been fused in memory," to such an extent that the term "the bomb" has come to refer to both events." This has served to consign "Nagasaki to the edge of oblivion."[2] She claims that little regard is made to the fact that the two atomic bombings were separated by time, geography, and the need for distinct analysis of military necessity."[3] Tomoko Otake has also noted that Nagasaki has long been "overshadowed by Hiroshima" and "still has many little-known stories to tell."[4]

In the field of literature too, it is Hiroshima-related

1 Mark Selden, "Bombs Bursting in Air: State and Citizen Responses to the US Firebombing and Atomic Bombing of Japan." The Asia-Pacific Journal, Vol. 12, Issue 3, No.4, 20th January 2014, http://www.japanfocus.org/-Mark-Selden/4065 (accessed February 10th 2017).

2 Susan Southard, "Nagasaki, the Forgotten City," August 7th 2015, accessed August 10th 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/08/opinion/nagasaki-the-forgotten-city.html?_r=0.

3 Susan Southard, Nagasaki: Life After Nuclear War, (New York: Viking, 2015), xiii - xiv.

4 Tomoko Otake, "Nagasaki' s 'providential' nightmare shaped by religious, ethnic undercurrents," August 7th 2015, accessed August 10th 2017, http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/08/07/national/history/nagasaki-providential-nightmare-shaped-religious-ethnic-undercurrents /#.vgusxdx8pra

texts that are usually the focus of literary criticism in the West. Aside from the chapter "Nagasaki: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb" in John Whittier Treat's seminal work *Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb,* the topic is understudied in the English language.[5] Treat has noted that Nagasaki has produced its own distinctive literature. Although "less voluminous" and often not as well-known as their Hiroshima counterparts, they are still prominent and warrant discussion.[6] In response to Treat's assertion, this paper will look to understand why there is less atomic bomb literature examining the attack on Nagasaki. This overview will then draw on Treat's research in order to examine the ways in which writings that explore the bombing of Nagasaki are distinguishable from literature that deals with Hiroshima. The final section will focus on themes that are widespread within Nagasaki works. In doing so this study will provide a counter to the view that atomic bomb literature is one homogeneous genre and highlight that a distinction exists within the field between works that focus on the two cities.

The Lack of Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Literature

The dearth of Nagasaki literature may in part be explained by the fact that the city was the second location in Japan to be bombed. There were fewer causalities in Nagasaki despite the bomb having a greater explosive force than that which was used against Hiroshima.[7] The weapon used for the attack on Nagasaki was called 'Fat Man.' Plutonium-239 was the fissile material used in the bomb and it had an explosive power equivalent to that of 20,000 tonnes of TNT. The bomb dropped on Hiroshima was called 'Little Boy' and had an explosive power of 12,000 tonnes of TNT.[8] Despite the size of the bomb, there were fewer victims in Nagasaki due its lower population density and hilly terrain.[9] The number of victims is a possible reason why less literature has been produced about the bombing of Nagasaki.[10]

Furthermore, Hiroshima was home to a number of writers who had been evacuated from Tokyo during the war years. There were therefore more survivors in Hiroshima who had a background in writing. This has been argued as another reason why more literature has been produced that explores the bombing of Hiroshima.[11] Ōta Yoko大田洋子 (1906-1963) and Hara Tamiki原民喜 (1905-1951) were born in Hiroshima but living elsewhere by the outbreak of the war. These two writers moved back to Hiroshima in January 1945,[12] just seven months before the atomic bomb was dropped on the city. Later in 1945, Ōta's *City of Corpses* (屍の街, *Shikabane no machi*) and Hara's *Summer Flowers* (夏の花, *Natsu no hana*) were among the first well-known pieces of atomic bomb literature to enter the public consciousness.[13]

Treat has noted that another reason for the lack of literary works produced on Nagasaki is because the city has been viewed as different.[14] Okayama's points to Nagasaki's international history and makeup as factors that help explain Treat's description of the city as being "foreign" and "exotic."[15] This supports the argument that a sense of xenophobia has played a role in impeding not just the production, but also the

5 The phrase "Nagasaki atomic bomb literature" follows usage by John Whittier Treat in Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

6 John Whittier Treat, "Atomic Fiction and Poetry," in The Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literature, ed. Joshua S. Mostow (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 182.

7 Barry Lewis, Kazuo Ishiguro (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 41.

8 Frank Barnaby, "The Effects of the Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," in Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Retrospect and Prospect, ed. Douglas Holdstock and Frank Barnaby (London: Portland, Or.: Frank Cass, 1995), 1.

9 Laura M. Calkins, "Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Women," in Women and War: A Historical Encyclopedia from Antiquity to the Present, ed. Bernard A. Cook (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 283. Key figures from the local government of Nagasaki also managed to escape immediate confrontation with the worst of the devastation. In contrast, the Hiroshima mayor died in the explosion. Shi-Lin Loh, "Beyond Peace: Pluralizing Japan's Nuclear History," The Asia-Pacific Journal, Vol 10, Issue 11, No 6, http://www.japanfocus.org/-Shi_Lin-Loh/371 (accessed 10th February 2017).

10 Treat, "Atomic Fiction and Poetry," 182.

11 Treat, Writing Ground Zero, 303.

12 Ōe has noted that Hara Tamiki was in his hometown of Hiroshima at the time the atomic bomb was dropped in order to place his wife's ashes in his family's ancestral tomb. Kenzaburō Ōe, The Crazy Iris and Other Stories of the Atomic Aftermath (New York: Grove, 1985), 10.

critical validation Nagasaki atomic bomb literature has received.[16]

The comparison between Hiroshima and Nagasaki literature in terms of volume can also be explained by broader societal trends. From the mid-1950s, activists and officials in both cities have made attempts to install bomb-related monuments, peace museums, and hospitals in order to support *hibakusha* groups.[17] Nagasaki has lagged behind Hiroshima in terms of officially sponsored activities. This is in large part down to the difference in their size and revenue. Nagasaki's population is approximately half that of Hiroshima, putting it at a financial disadvantage.[18] Nagasaki has two memorial parks located near the centre of the blast, which were allocated by the Nagasaki city government in 1952. Within three years, the larger space (known as the Peace Park) became home to a giant statue called the "Peace-Keeper," which was produced by well-known Nagasaki sculptor Kitamura Seibō 北村 西望 (1884-1987). John Nelson compares this to the situation in Hiroshima, noting that the 1964 Summer Olympics helped make the skeletal dome in the center of the city known around the world. It was after this that Nagasaki officials realized that the statue of the "Peace-Keeper" did not capture the popular imagination in the same way.[19] Both cities post-war population, finances and war-related monuments cannot be overlooked in a discussion on their literary output.

Differences Between Nagasaki and Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Literature

The differences between the two cities have been characterized by the phrase "Hiroshima rages, Nagasaki prays" (怒りの広島 祈りの長崎, *Ikari no Hiroshima*, inori no Nagasaki).[20] The distinction between "rage" and "pray" has often been employed in commentaries on the two places. The origin is difficult to trace; however, Shi Lin-Loh has conducted interviews that date the terminology to the 1960s, when it first began to appear in the mass media. The phrase implies that Nagasaki is more introverted regarding its experience of the atomic bomb due to its religious Christian past, whilst Hiroshima vents its rage due to the lack of such historical and religious baggage.[21] There are, however, many more subtle differences between literary works concerning the two cities than this simple binary might suggest.

Literature produced by survivors of the attack on Hiroshima entered the public domain faster than those that dealt with the bombing of Nagasaki. For example, Ōta's Hiroshima-inspired article entitled "A Light like the Seabed: Experiencing the Air Raids of the Atomic Bomb" (海底のやうな光－原子爆弾の空襲に遭って, Kaitei noyouna Hikari-Genshibakudan no Kūshū ni atte) was published in the Asahi Newspaper Tokyo Headquarters edition on August 30th 1945, only twenty-four days after the bombing.[22]

Nagasaki atomic bomb literature draws parallels with writings that focus on Hiroshima in some regards. Similarities are evident between the documentary nature of Hara's Hiroshima-related work *Summer Flowers* and Ishida Masako's *Masako Will Not Succumb: An Account of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb* (マサ子倒れず長崎原子爆弾記, *Masako Taorezu: Nagasaki Genshi Bakudan ki*), published in 1949.[23] Nonetheless, many differences do exist between literature about the two cities. Treat notes that forms

13 Reiko Tachibana, Narrative as Counter-memory: A Half-century of Postwar Writing in Germany and Japan (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), 40.

14 Treat, Writing Ground Zero, 303-6

15 Michiaki Okuyama, "Religious Responses to the Atomic Bomb in Nagasaki," World War II and Religion, Florida State University (29th November-2th December 2012), http://researchmap.jp/?action=multidatabase_action_main_filedownload&download_flag=1&upload_id=35073&metadata_id=1348 (accessed June 30th 2017), 2.

16 Treat, Writing Ground Zero, 306.

17 Lin-Loh, "Beyond Peace: Pluralizing Japan's Nuclear History."

18 Ibid.

19 John Nelson, "Traversing Religious and Legal Boundaries in Postwar Nagasaki: An Interfaith Ritual for the Spirits of the Dead," in Multiculturalism in the New Japan: Crossing the Boundaries Within, ed. Nelson H. Graburn, John Ertl and Kenji Tierney, (New York: Berghahn, 2008), 201.

20 This translation is taken from Treat, Writing Ground Zero, 301.

21 Lin-Loh, "Beyond Peace: Pluralizing Japan's Nuclear History."

of discrimination, along the lines of gender, race and ethnicity, have influenced Nagasaki writers more than their Hiroshima counterparts. The despair in Inoue Mitsuharu's 井上光晴 (1926-1992) 1963 *People of the Land* (地の群れ, *Chi no mure*), a piece of Nagasaki atomic bomb literature, differs from the sense of nihilism that exists in Hiroshima works. Treat states that the sense of hopelessness Inoue's characters' experience stems not only from the bombing, but also due to pre-existing forms of prejudice prevalent in Japan prior to the onset of the Second World War.[24] The work was Inoue Mitsuharu's first full-length novel and later made into a film along with Kumai Kei. In the story, Inoue depicts how victims of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki are treated as different, in the same way as Koreans and *hisabetsu burakumin* (the name given to an outcast group in Japanese society). Inoue's depiction of the struggle between two groups of outcasts and victims of the atomic bomb has been described as far from saintly.[25] *People of the Land* is set in a *hibakusha* ghetto and describes events across a twenty-four-hour period, the story explores how three generations of victims, including those who lived through the bomb are forced to live keenly aware of their pasts.[26]

Lucy Lower writes that in his earlier 1960 short story *The House of Hands* (手の家, *Te no ie*), Inoue draws a connection with atomic bomb survivors and two other stigmatized groups in Japanese society, notably the outcast community, as well as "hidden Christians." Lower suggests that both of these minorities "suffered discrimination for religious reasons." She notes that *hisabtesu burakumin* were persecuted due to Buddhist doctrines branding them as unclean "because of their hereditary occupations related (…) to the killing of animals," while "hidden Christians" were first punished for their beliefs by the Japanese government and later by Catholics who saw their practices as "unorthodox."[27] *The House of Hands* is a story that centres on young girls from Nagasaki who are portrayed as physically weak and ostracized not only as *hibakusha*, but also as members of a Christian sect.[28] The story depicts a group of children who were orphaned by the Nagasaki atomic bomb and their upbringing in an institution that teaches them manual skills. One of the female characters develops radiation disease upon reaching a marriageable age and then endures a painful childbirth. The story explores social discrimination against atomic bomb survivors.[29] At the very outset of the story a woman from a rural village in Nagasaki prefecture is quoted as saying "Nobody's going to marry those Nagasaki girls. Even after they reach marrying age, nobody's going to marry them. (…) Those people are outcastes-damned untouchables. Nobody's going to marry one of them ever again."[30] Later, in the postscript to the story Inoue presents a correlation between discrimination against *hibakusha* and the firmly engrained feelings of prejudice that exist towards *hisabetsu burakumin*.[31] The depiction of the minority groups in Nagasaki literature is particularly noteworthy given that Hiroshima was also home to a large *hisabetsu burakumin* population during the early twentieth century. In 1918, there was nearly twenty-four thousand *hisabetsu burakumin* living in Hiroshima prefecture alone.[32]

Treat has argued that Nagasaki writings represent a "chronology of suffering" more extensive than Hiroshima literature by pointing to the work of two authors in particular. In *The Bells of Nagasaki* (長崎の鐘, *Nagasaki no kane*), one of the primary literary works to explore the atomic bombing of Nagasaki,

22 Tasaki Hiroaki, "Gōjitsudan de aru koto o Kyozetsu suru Nagasaki Genbaku Bungaku: Josei Shiten to Nichijōsei," Nagasaki Junshin Daigakuin Ningenka Kenkyūka, http://ci.nii.ac.jp/els/110006426202.pdf?id=ART0008433812&type=pdf&lang=en&host=cinii&order_no=&ppv_type=0&lang_sw=&no=1372825342&cp= (accessed June 30th 2017), 28.

23 Treat, Writing Ground Zero, 307-8

24 Ibid, 307-8.

25 Dorsey and Matsuoka, "Narrative Strategies of Understatement in Black Rain as a Novel and a Film," 220.

26 Treat, Writing Ground Zero, 308

27 Lucy Lower, "Stigma, Stigmata: Apotheosis of the Hibakusha," in Changing Representations of Minorities, East and West: Selected Essays, ed. Larry E. Smith and John Rieder (Honolulu, HI: College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, University of Hawai' i Press, 1996), 162.

28 Dorsey and Matsuoka, "Narrative Strategies of Understatement in Black Rain as a Novel and a Film," 220.

29 Ōe, The Crazy Iris and Other Stories of the Atomic Aftermath, 13.

30 Mitsuharu, "The House of Hands," in The Crazy Iris and Other Stories of the Atomic Aftermath, ed. Ōe, 145.

Nagai Takashi 永井 隆 (1908-1951) alludes to past Christian martyrs in Nagasaki, and in doing so extends the suffering of the atomic bomb to the past; back to the seventeenth century. By contrast, one of the best-known writers of Nagasaki atomic bomb literature, Hayashi Kyōko, extends the legacy of the atomic bomb into the future by exploring the fear that the bomb might cause her offspring genetic damage.[33]

Characteristics of Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Literature

Key concepts such as shame, blame, culpability and guilt are said to be prevalent in modern literature that deals with the atomic bombing of Nagasaki. Lewis has found particular evidence of this in work by the Nobel Prise winning author Kazuo Ishiguro, who, although raised and based in England, has written about the city of his birth in *A Pale View of Hills*. [34]

Treat states that problems relating to women have also figured prominently in Nagasaki literature. There is also a high proportion of female writers who deal with the bombing of Nagasaki in their work.[35] Treat argues that Nagasaki women writers' commonality does not lie solely in their gender, Authors such as Hayashi Kyōko, Gotō Minako and Sata Ineko also share a concern with the matter of human reproduction. In Hayashi's 1977 work *Mount Konpira* (金毘羅山, *Konpira yama*), a group of women who grew up with the author, and survived the attack on Nagasaki, discuss their apprehensions about giving birth. Within the work we hear of their fears over the risks involved, including loss of blood, stillbirths, genetic defects, as well as a lifetime of concern as to whether their offspring will inherit bomb related diseases.[36] The representation of female *hibakusha* in the media has been a topic of discourse that has drawn criticism. Maya Morioka Todeskini argues that portrayals of female survivors as innocent maidens detracts the attention of the audience away from Japan's role as a victimizer in the Second World War.[37] Seki Chieko has suggested that an excessive focus on the sorrow of mothers who survived the atomic bombs dropped on Japan overlooks the grief of females who were not parents.[38]

Nagasaki atomic bomb literature's connection to religion has already been discussed, but it is important to highlight the number of Christians who are said to have been based in the area during the build-up to World War Two and how the faith has been received in modern times. Based on figures from the early twentieth century, Okuyama has concluded that in the first half of the 1900s Catholics represented a substantial share of Japan's Christian minority.[39] He notes that at the time the bomb was dropped, nearly half of the then-Catholic population of Japan, approximately 50,000 out of a total of 110,000, lived in the Nagasaki parish. A particularly large concentration was based in Urakami, the hypocenter of the attack.[40] In the Tokugawa period many saw Japanese Christianity as a destabilizing and subversive influence.[41] Lin-Loh has noted that even in the modern period, survivors of Nagasaki's wartime generation have spoken about anti-Catholic epithets heard before and during the war. Terms such as "black faith" (黒 教, *kurokyō*) were used to describe Catholicism. Practitioners also recall being identified as *yaso* (ヤソ), a corrupted and derogatory pronunciation of "Jesus." [42] Given Nagasaki's history with Christianity and the hostility that practitioners in the area have experienced, it is not surprising that issues relating to faith have appeared frequently in post-war literature about the city.

Christian-related themes and motifs appear across many pieces of atomic bomb literature that explore the

31 Ōe, The Crazy Iris and Other Stories of the Atomic Aftermath, 13.
32 Michael Lewis, Rioters and Citizens: Mass Protest in Imperial Japan (Berkeley: University of California, 1990), 124.
33 Treat, Writing Ground Zero, 326.
34 Lewis, Kazuo Ishiguro, 42.
35 Treat, Writing Ground Zero, 307.
36 John Whittier Treat, "Hayashi Kyōko and the Gender of Ground Zero," in The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing, ed. Paul Gordon Schalow and Janet A. Walker (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1996), 276-89.
37 Yuki Miyamoto, "Sameness, Otherness, Difference: Discrimination through Indiscriminate Weaponry," http://www.academia.edu/2593860/Sameness_Otherness_Difference_Discrimination_through_Indiscriminate_Weaponry (accessed May 12th 2017), 7.
38 Miyamoto, Beyond the Mushroom Cloud, 165.
39 Okuyama, "Religious Responses to the Atomic Bomb in Nagasaki," 5.

blast in Nagasaki. One of the most famous examples is *The Bells of Nagasaki*, which was touched on earlier. Often cited as one of the most prominent first-person accounts of either attack,[43] the book offers a scientific description of the attack on Nagasaki written in layperson's language that conveys a strongly religious message. A theme that underpins the story is the notion that even an atomic bomb cannot silence the bells of God.[44]

In this work and elsewhere Nagai examined the bombing of Nagasaki within a religious framework, a view that has been criticized by some scholars.[45] Even outside the academic world, many mourners in the post-war period objected to Nagai publicly describing the attack on Nagasaki as "God's Providence" and for explaining the blast using the word *hansai* 燔祭, a word that is associated with religious sacrifice.[46] A comparison can be drawn with critics of Nagai and Theodor Adorno's assertion that "after Auschwitz, our feelings resist any claim of the positivity of existence as sanctimonious, as wronging the victims."[47]

In his work, Nagai describes the chaos and panic in the immediate aftermath of the bombing and how staff in the medical school of the University of Nagasaki dealt with the the blast. Within the story, Nagai expresses his desire to be a sacrifice for human kind, as well as his faith in God.[48] His religious interpretation explores the idea that those who were killed by the bomb were "sacrificial lambs" that were offered to God, whilst those who survived were sinners who would endure suffering in the aftermath.[49] Nagai writes, "Why did we not die on (…) that day, (…) in this house of God? (…) It is because we are sinners. Ah! Now indeed we are forced to see the enormity of our sins! It is because I have not made expiation for my sins that I am left behind."[50] Miyamoto argues that Nagai's religious standpoint promotes an ethical approach to understanding the bombing through exploring the principle of reconciliation, as opposed to retaliation. The primary focus being to ensure that no one would ever again suffer a nuclear attack.[51]

The Bells of Nagasaki became a best seller when published in 1949, at a time when many Japanese people regarded Christianity as an "alien concept."[52] Nagai's faith-based reading of the attack on Nagasaki has continued to prove very influential in literary circles. From his 1995 debut *The Cross of Geronimo* (ジェロニモの十字架, *Jeronimo no jūjika*) through to his 2000 work *Insect* (虫, *Mushi*) published in 2000, Seirai Yuichi 青来有一 (1958-present) has constantly made use of Christian-themed motifs in his literature on Nagasaki.[53] Novels that explore the atomic bombing of Nagasaki continue to discuss events through the lens of the city's historical ties with rerigion.

In a discussion on Ibuse Masuji's *Black Rain* (黒い雨, *Kuroi ame*), a Hiroshima related work, scholars Ishida Tadashi 石田忠 and Yamamoto Kazuhiro 山本和平 compare the atomic bomb and the Nazi concentration camps of the Second World War.[54] Connections between the two are often made, but Treat goes further and specifically connects Nagasaki works with Jewish concentration camp writings. He notes that Nagasaki atomic bomb literature draws parallels with Jewish concentration camp literature, in that both have explored the idea of a challenge reserved for a "chosen" people.[55] Naomi Mandel has commented that Treat's assumption that both post-atomic bomb writers and post-Holocaust writers have responded to a similar unspeakability

40 Ibid, 1.
41 Tessa Morris-Suzuki, Re-inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 82.
42 Lin-Loh, "Beyond Peace: Pluralizing Japan's Nuclear History."
43 Treat, Writing Ground Zero, 310.
44 Paul Glynn, A Song for Nagasaki: The Story of Takashi Nagai, Scientist, Convert and Survivor of the Atomic Bomb (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2009), 194.
45 Okuyama, "Religious Responses to the Atomic Bomb in Nagasaki," 8.
46 Glynn, A Song for Nagasaki, 188.
47 Theodor W. Adorno, Negative Dialectics (Routledge, London, 2004, first published 1966), 361.
48 Okuyama, "Religious Responses to the Atomic Bomb in Nagasaki," 8.
49 Miyamoto, Beyond the Mushroom Cloud, 113.
50 Takashi Nagai, The Bells of Nagasaki (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1984), 109.
51 Miyamoto, Beyond the Mushroom Cloud, 112. Miyamoto also notes here that the religious dimensions of survivors of the atomic bombings have often only been discussed superficially and frequently ignored entirely in scholarship on the bombing.
52 Shusaku Endo, foreword to A Song for Nagasaki: The Story of Takashi Nagai, Scientist, Convert and Survivor of the Atomic Bomb, by Paul Glynn (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2009), 10.
53 Tasaki, "Gōjitsudan de aru koto wo Kyozetsusuru Nagasaki Genbakubungaku: Josei Shiten to Nichijyōsei," 28.

ignores the political post-war conditions that hindered the way in which writers discussed the atomic bomb. Mandel substantiates her claim by highlighting Sadako Kurihara's 栗原貞子 (1913-2005) assertion that whilst Auschwitz was an atrocity carried out by the enemies of the Allies in the Second World War, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were atrocities carried out by the Allies themselves. Sadako further stresses that literary works about the Nazi war crimes were not suppressed by Occupation authorities, whereas depictions of Hiroshima or Nagasaki by *hibakusha* writers were forbidden by censorship authorities and the Press Code, which was enforced by Occupation forces from 1945.[56]

Conclusion

This paper has shown that less Nagasaki atomic bomb literature has been produced than writings about Hiroshima due in part to practical reasons, such as the higher number of writers who survived in the first city to the attacked. Whilst Nagasaki and Hiroshima atomic bomb literature do contain some similar elements, they also have many different characteristics. A number of reoccurring traits and themes suggest that works on Nagasaki form a sub-genre of atomic bomb literature.

Although beyond the scope of this study, there is also evidence to suggest that various fields of academia feel that the attack on Nagasaki has been overlooked. For example, Hajime Saito has researched Eigo Seinen 英語青年, a Japanese monthly journal that ran from 1898 to 2009, which was primarily aimed at those engaged in researching the English language, as well as English and American literature. Focusing on publications from the journal that were printed during the U.S. military occupation of Japan (1945-52), Saito studied both Japanese and English articles in relation to the nuclear attacks, and found very few articles relating to "Nagasaki", He argues that this is something that requires further study and research.[57]

There is a tendency in Western scholarly works to group the attack of Hiroshima and Nagasaki together as one tragedy. However, as Lin-Loh has noted, it is important to understand them as separate events and to recognize that each city has its own distinct identity, with a localized narrative.[58] Hayashi Kyōko has noted in her work *Safe* how the dimensions of Hiroshima's tragedy are not entirely understandable by a Nagasaki *hibakusha*.[59] This paper has tried to recognize Hayashi's viewpoint and highlight the importance of analyzing the attacks of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as two separate tragedies.

53 Tasaki, "Gōjitsudan de aru koto wo Kyozetsusuru Nagasaki Genbakubungaku: Josei Shiten to Nichijyōsei," 28.

54 Ishida Tadashi and Yamamoto Kazuhiro, "Ibuse Masuji, Kuroiame o Yomu." Nihonhyōronsha, Hitotsubashi Ronzō, 94, no. 6 (1985) : 942-56, 949 http://hermes-ir.lib.hit-u.ac.jp/rs/bitstream/10086/12831/1/ronso0940601380.pdf (accessed August 5th 2017).

55 Treat, Writing Ground Zero, 309.

56 Naomi Mandel, Against the Unspeakable: Complicity, the Holocaust, and Slavery in America (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2006), 224. For a comprehensive study on censorship in post-war Japan, see Monica Braw, The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991).

57 Hajime Saito, "Kakujidai no "Eigo Seinen" - "Hiroshima" "Nagasaki" "Genshi Bakudan" Kanrenkiji Risuto (1945-1952). Journal of Genbaku Literature, 11 (December 2012) : 65-104, 65.

58 Lin-Loh, "Beyond Peace: Pluralizing Japan's Nuclear History."

59 Treat, "Hayashi Kyōko and the Gender of Ground Zero," 263.

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二都市物語：長崎原爆文学と広島原爆文学の比較

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要旨

原爆に対する国際的な関心は広島に集中する傾向がある。スーザン・サザードによると、二つの都市の体験は記憶の中に融合され、原爆という言葉は両都市の被爆を指しており、このような事実が長崎を脇に押しやっているという。文学においてもまた、広島に関連した原爆文学作品が西洋諸国における文芸評論の中心となっている。ジョン・ウィッター・トリートによる著作「日本文学と原爆」の中の長崎に関する章「日本文学と原爆」を除くと、長崎原爆文学は英語ではほぼ研究されていないと言える。トリートによると、長崎の原爆を取り扱った文学作品は少なく、それらは広島原爆文学と比較してあまり認知されていない。

しかしながら、長崎に関する文学作品は今なお卓越しており、議論されるべき対象である。本稿は、上述のトリートの見解をさらに補うものとして、まず長崎原爆文学がその数において広島原爆文学に比べてなぜ少ないのかを理解することを目指す。次に、長崎文学は広島を取り扱った作品といかに異なっているかを検証する。最後に、長崎に関連する文学作品の中でみられる特徴的なテーマについて検証する。本稿は、長崎及び広島への原爆攻撃は二つの別々の事件であったこと、また各々の都市にはその明確な独自性が存在することを理解する必要があると主張するシ・リンローの意見を認めるものである。本稿は、原爆文学は一つのグループにまとめられるのではなく、また、長崎の原爆に焦点を置いた文学と広島の原爆を検証した文学には区別が存在することを論証する。