

Translator's Note

An English Translation of Mori Tetsuro's *The Tale of the Two Kannon Who Crossed The Warring Seas* (Choeisha, 2002)

Part 1 of 3

森哲郎『戦乱の海を渡った二つの観音様』鳥影社 2002
三部構成の第一部

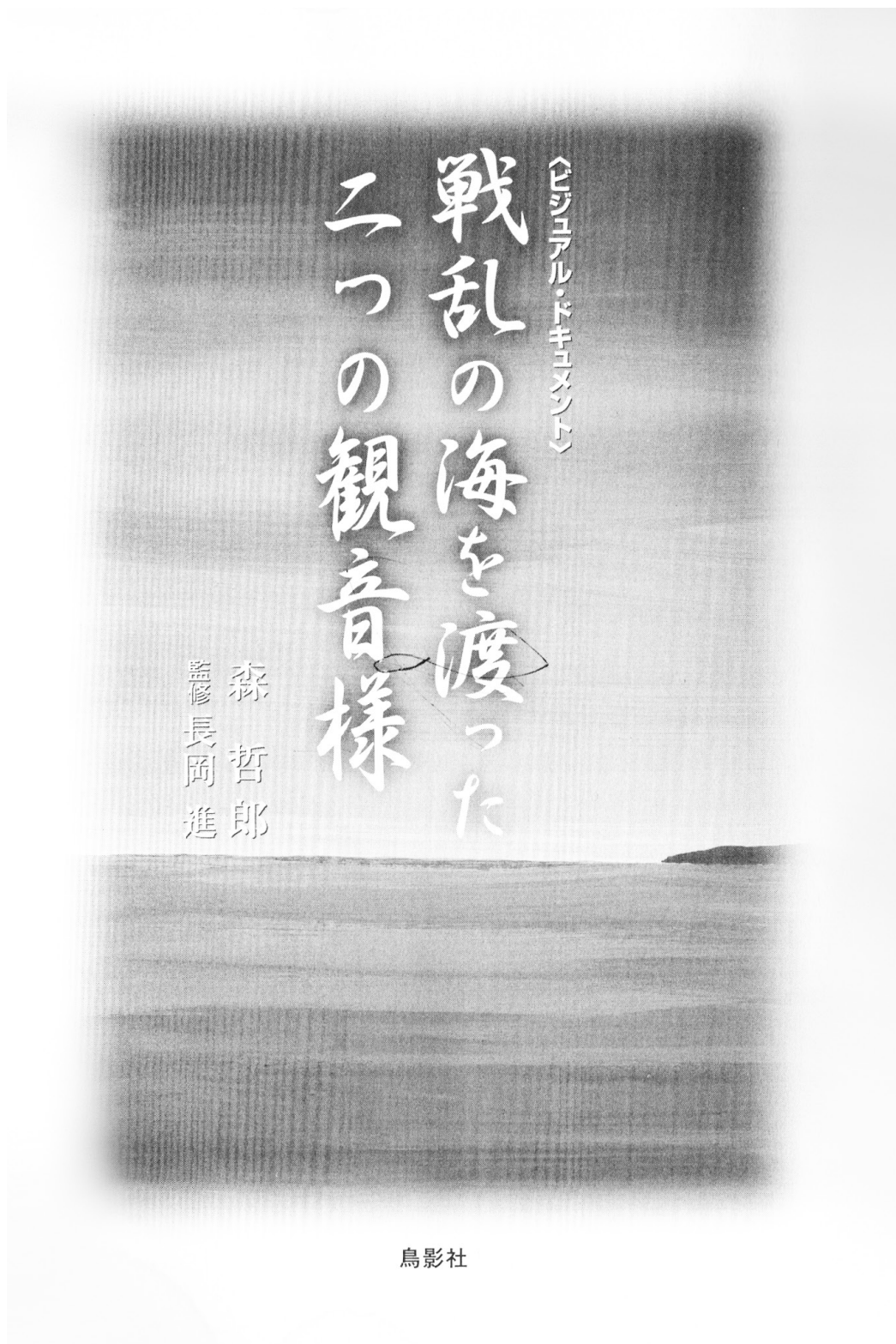
Seng Ong

Currently sequestered in Nagoya's largest peace memorial park, the Senju Kannon statue (千手観音像) is displayed to the public only five times a year. An ostensible footnote to a failed and forgotten exchange, it was a return gift from Nanjing's oldest and most famous Buddhist temple, sent in exchange for a towering Eleven-faced Kannon statue (十一面観音像) from the Nittai-ji in Nagoya. This gift exchange was part of an elaborate system of humanitarian discourse and practices which had emerged in Japan during the internationalist fervor of the 1920s, and which gained particular prominence in the wake of the Nanjing massacre as a way of memorializing casualties on both sides of the conflict. While the Japanese gift was eventually destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, the return gift from China has survived. Owing to the efforts of Japanese Buddhist peace activists in the postwar — the very same figures who were at the vanguard of Japan's wartime Sino-Japanese 'friendship campaigns' — the Senju Kannon statue was installed in 1961 as the centerpiece of Nagoya's Peace Pavilion (平和堂). In the sixty years since, the monument has been a virtual Rorschach for Japan's complex reckoning with its imperial past: reviled by right-wing nationalists as an admission of events that never happened, promoted by leftists who champion its repatriation to China, and ignored by a majority uneasy about its ties to wartime appropriations of the concept of peace.

Mori Tetsuro's (1928-2008) non-fiction manga novel, *The Tale of the Two Kannon Who Crossed the Warring Seas*, tells the story of the prewar and postwar histories of the two Kannon monuments. It takes up the story of their origins and the historical actors behind their creation, and tracks their deployment in the wartime 'humanitarian and friendship' campaigns in China. It then traces the monuments' postwar fortunes, elucidating the unusual circumstances in which one of the monuments ended up as the fugitive symbol of Nagoya's recovery from and reconciliation with the past. The work presents a significant

contribution to our understanding of Japanese war history and war memory. It is one of the very few attempts in Japanese literature to explicitly articulate and flesh out the intimate historical relationship between Japanese pacifism and Japanese militarism. Eschewing a top-down, state-centered narrative, it presents a rarely-told history of grassroots and religious activism during and after the war, giving us much-needed insight into the extent to which wartime ideologies were repurposed by and woven into Japan's postwar settlement. The work highlights the diversity of visual cultures of war remembrance in Japan, whilst posing difficult questions about the challenges which beset a fuller recuperation of that historical memory.

The translation will be published in three parts. The first instalment introduces us to the historical events leading up to the Japanese invasion of China and the fall of Nanjing. The second deals with the Sino-Japanese 'friendship campaigns' during the war and the events which led to the symbolic gift exchange of the two Kannon statues. The third and final instalment brings us into the postwar period. It introduces us to the major figures behind the construction of the Heiwa Park, showing us how they sought to repurpose the Kannon monument from China as a symbol of Nagoya's successful reconciliation with the past. In lieu of an introduction to the work, a longer research essay will be published after the final instalment. It will address the broader historical issues raised by Mori's work, looking in particular at the light it sheds on the longer history of Japanese pacifism and the complexity of positions articulated therein.



〈ビジュアル・ドキュメント〉

戦乱の海を渡った
二つの観音様

森 哲郎
監修 長岡 進

鳥影社

目次

① プロローグ	4
② 満州事変起こる	10
③ 上海事変から盧溝橋へ	16
④ 南京陥落	28
⑤ 南京大虐殺	32
⑥ 抗日と宣撫工作	40
⑦ 十一面観音像誕生	48
⑧ 戦乱の海を渡る	59
⑨ 歓迎大法要	72

Contents

① Prologue	4
② The Manchurian Incident	10
③ From the Shanghai Incident to the events at Marco Polo Bridge	16
④ The Fall of Nanjing	28
⑤ The Nanjing Massacre	32
⑥ Anti-Japanese Resistance and Pro-Japanese Propaganda	40
⑦ Genesis of the Eleven-Faced Kannon	48
⑧ Passage Across the Warring Seas	59
⑨ Rites of Welcome	72

⑩ 千手観音像名古屋へ……………	80
⑪ 平和堂建設……………	90
⑫ 平和堂にかかわった人たち……………	108
⑬ 日中国交回復とその後……………	114
鉄の証拠・壁の中のアルバム……………	125
〈座談会〉一日も早い返還を……………	145
あとがき……………	161

㊟ A Return Gift: Kannon of A Thousand Arms	80
㊟ Construction of the Hall of Peace	90
㊟ The Men Behind The Hall of Peace	108
㊟ Restoration of Sino-Japanese Relations and Thereafter	114
Iron-clad Evidence (The Album In The Wall)	125
Panel Discussion: Restitution Post-haste	145
Afterword	161

ビジュアル・ドキュメント

戦乱の海を渡った 二つの観音様

森 哲郎
監修・長岡 進

Visual Document

The Tale of The Two Kannon Who Crossed The Warring Seas

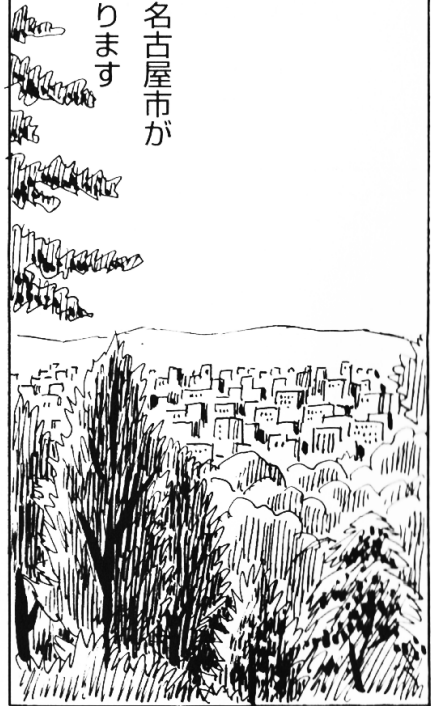
Tetsuro Mori

Editor: Susumu Nagaoka

①プロローグ

名古屋市街が眼下に一望できる

東部丘陵地帯92万平方メートルの広大な一帯に名古屋市が
戦後の昭和22年に立案、建設した平和公園があります



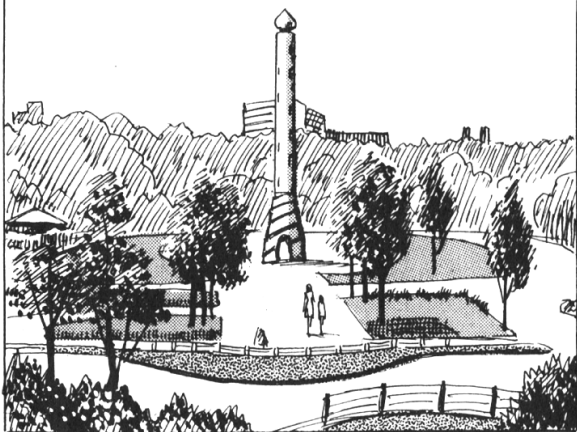
正しくは名古屋市
千種区平和公園一
丁目から三丁目ま
で、それは住民の
いない墓石の町で
す



かつて名古屋に
あつては百メートル道路
とならんで
代表的な戦災復興事業として
建設されたものです



To be exact, the entire urban area in Nagoya, encompassing the first to the third district of Chikusa ward, was designated as one massive burial ground.



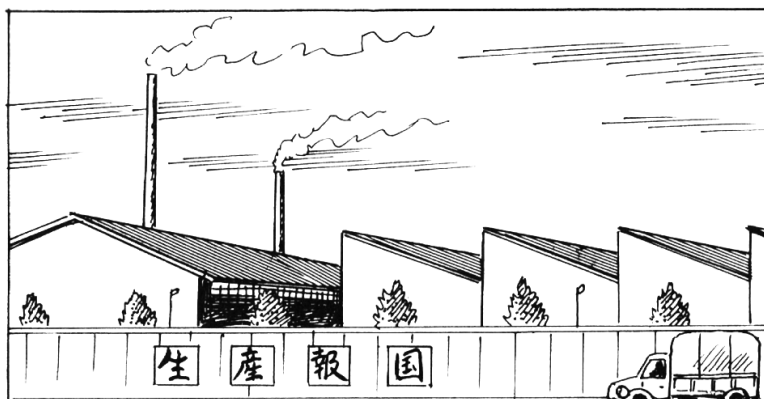
In the past, the cemetery was regarded alongside the 100-meter boulevard as the defining symbols of Nagoya's post-war revival.



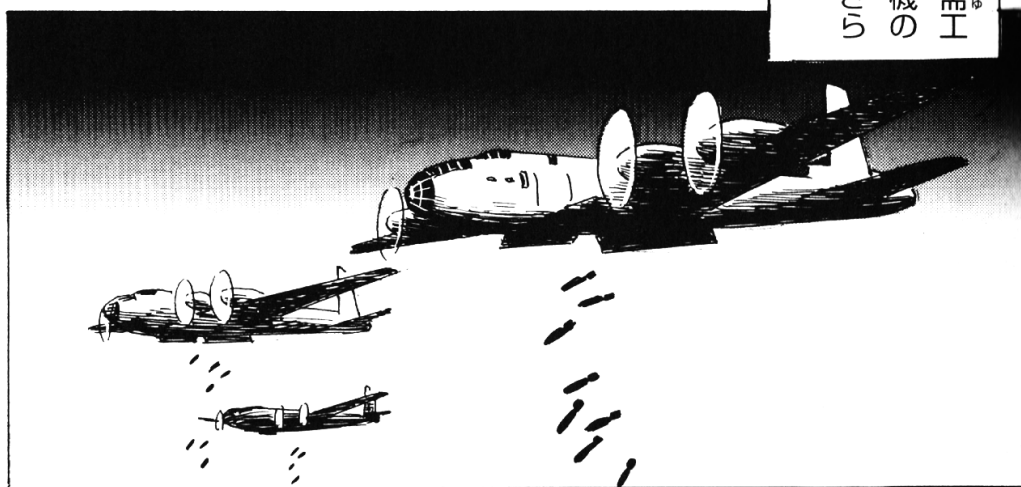
① Prologue

Overlooking the city streets of Nagoya, on a hilly mount rolling across 520,000 square meters of terrain, lies the Heiwa Park ('Peace Park'), built in 1947 in the wake of the Second World War.

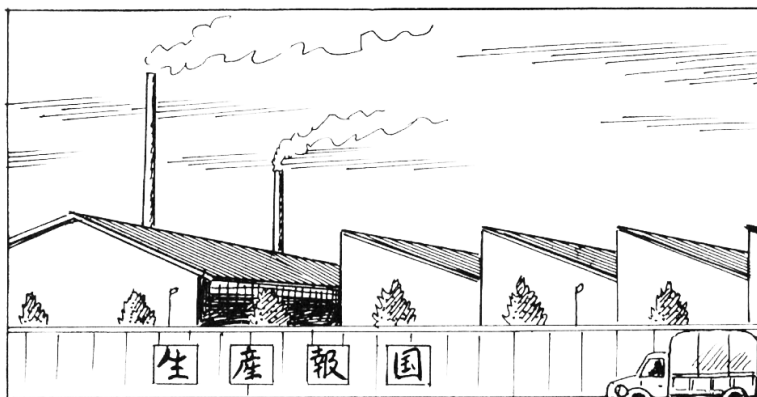




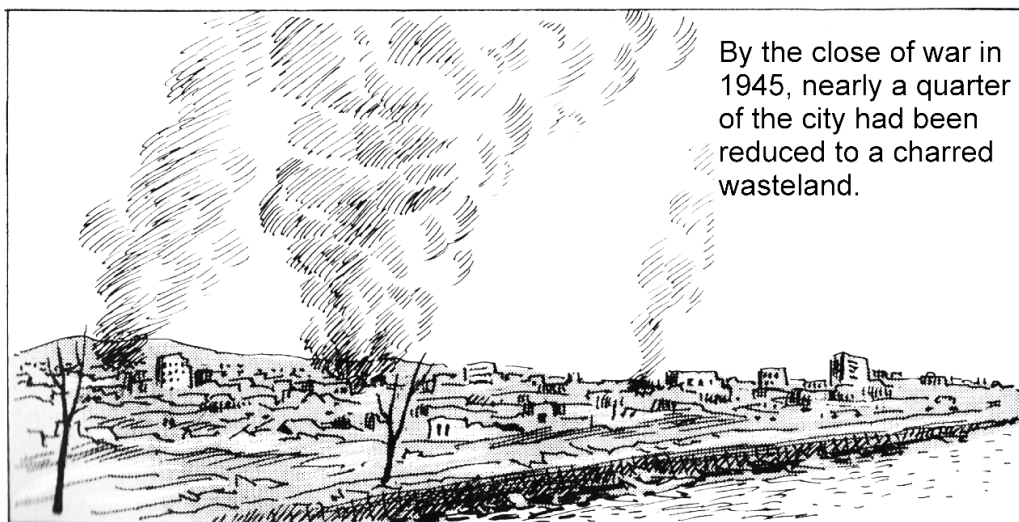
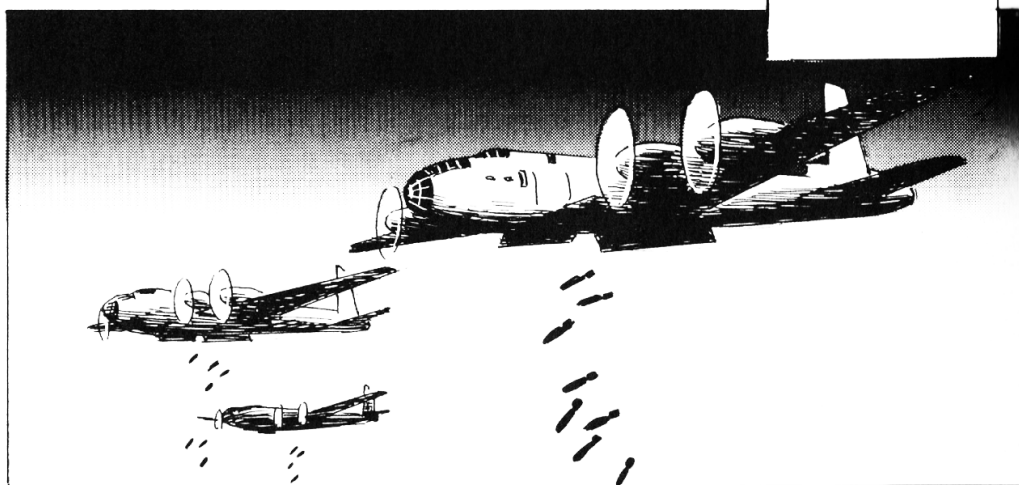
太平洋戦争の頃、多くの軍需工場くんじゅうがあつた名古屋は米軍機の標的であり、連日、爆撃にさらされました



昭和20年——
戦争末期には名古屋の四分の一が焼け野原となつてしまつたのです

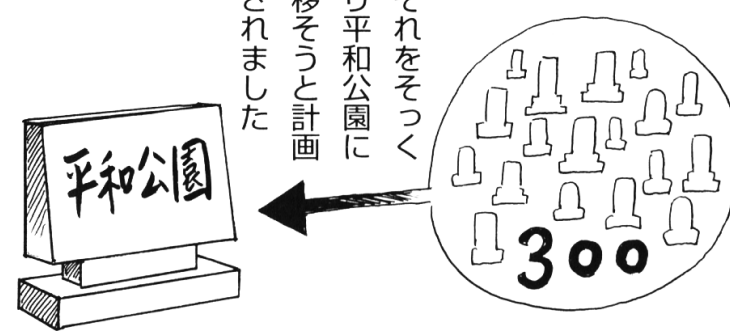


During the war, owing to its status as the center of munitions manufacture in Japan, Nagoya became the target of sustained firebombing by the American forces.



By the close of war in 1945, nearly a quarter of the city had been reduced to a charred wasteland.

戦後の復興計画では焼け野原にある三百近い寺院と墓地が区画整理の障害となりました



それをそっくり平和公園に移そうと計画されました



公園内にある石の階段を百十七段昇ったところにあります

そして平和公園のシンボル・タワーとして平和塔の建設が計画されましたが、その後、平和堂に変更されたのです

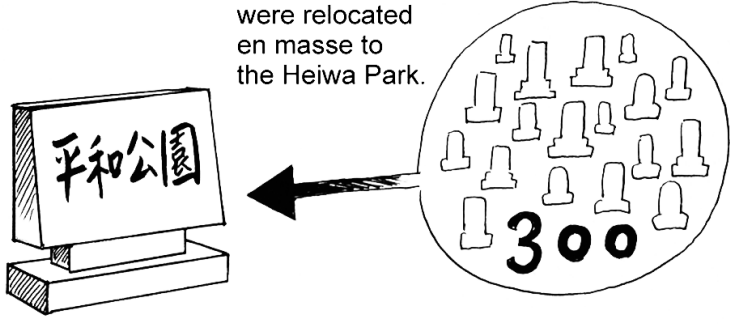
平和堂、それは――



この中に何が入ってるのかしら？



Their remains were relocated en masse to the Heiwa Park.



In the immediate aftermath, the approximately three hundred temples and their affiliated cemeteries, scattered across the war-ravaged city, posed a stumbling block to reconstruction.



In the park, there is a flight of a hundred and seventeen steps carved into stone, leading up to the Hall of Peace.

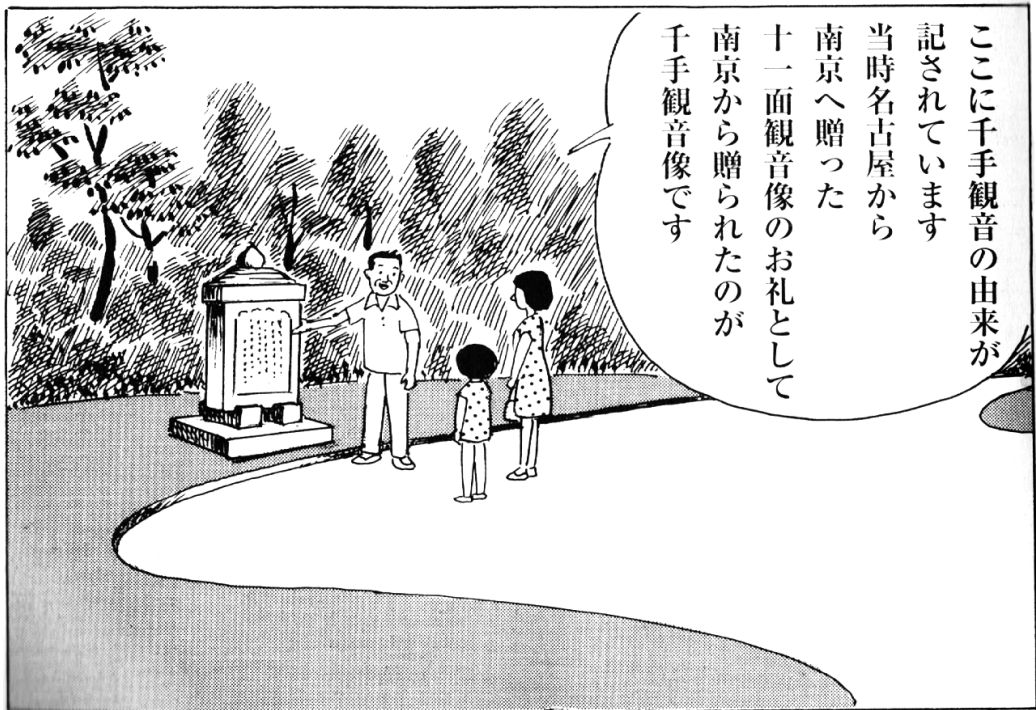
The Hall of Peace:
Well, that —

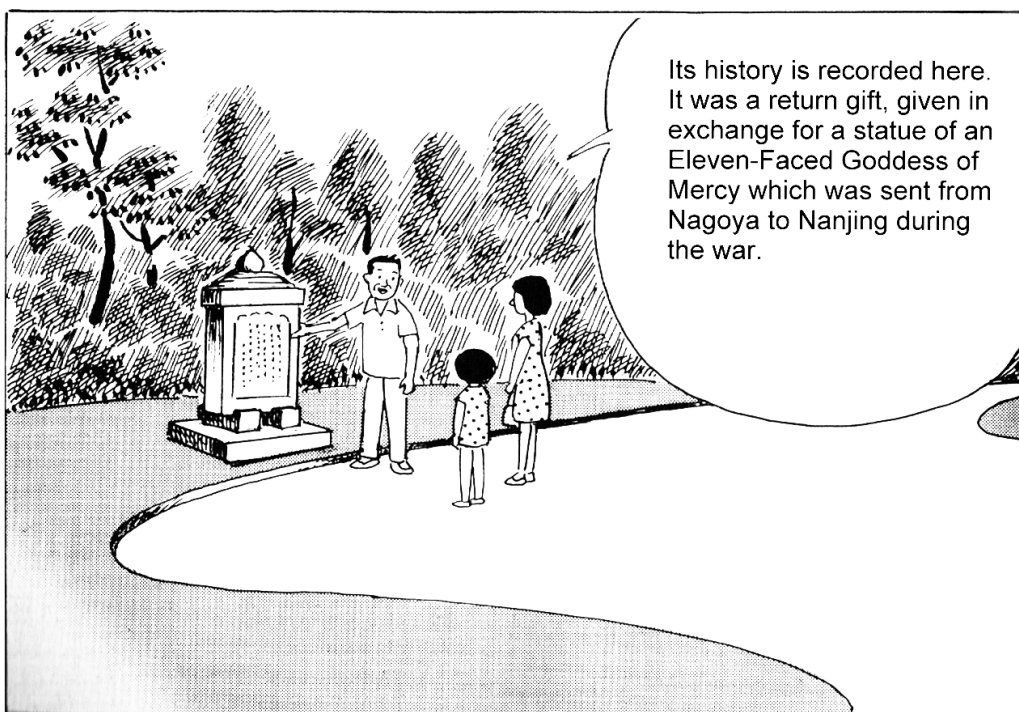
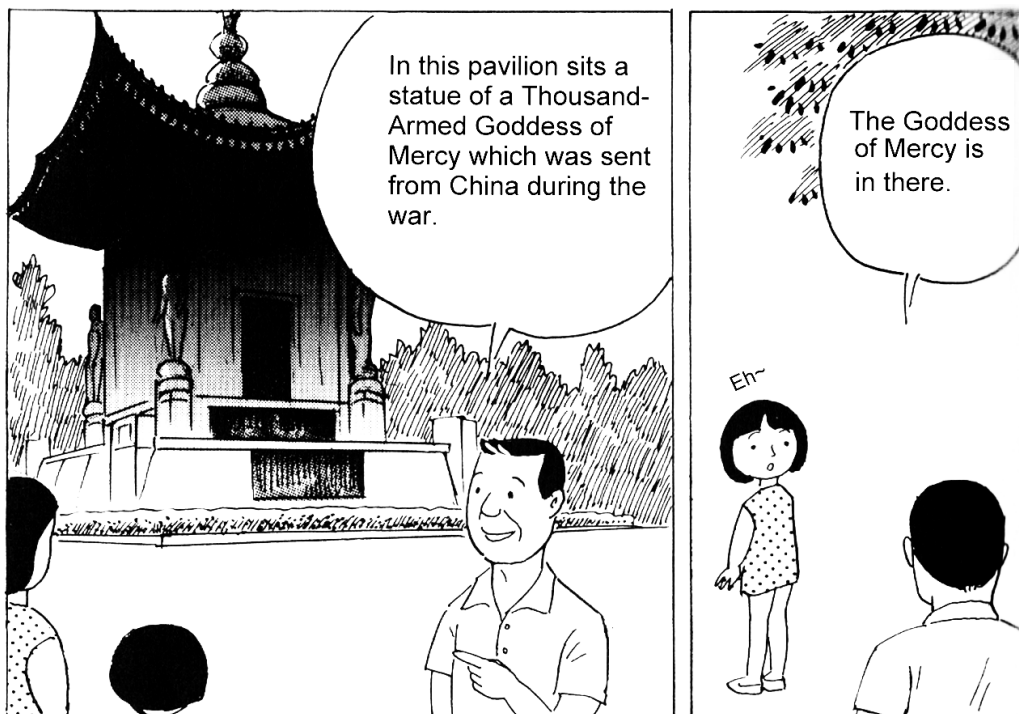
Then, although the original plan was to install a symbolic tower designated as a 'Peace Column', this was later revised and expanded into a much grander 'Hall of Peace'.

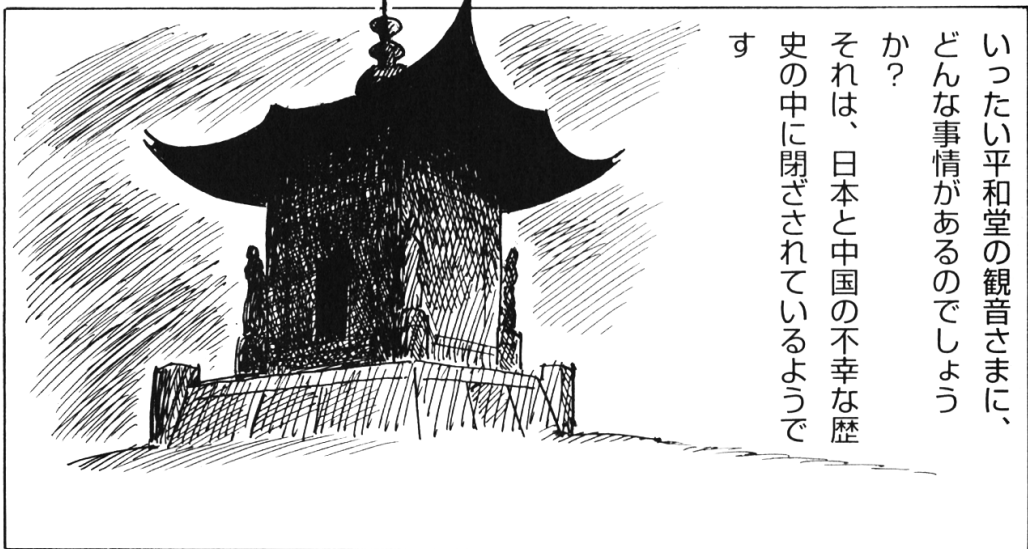
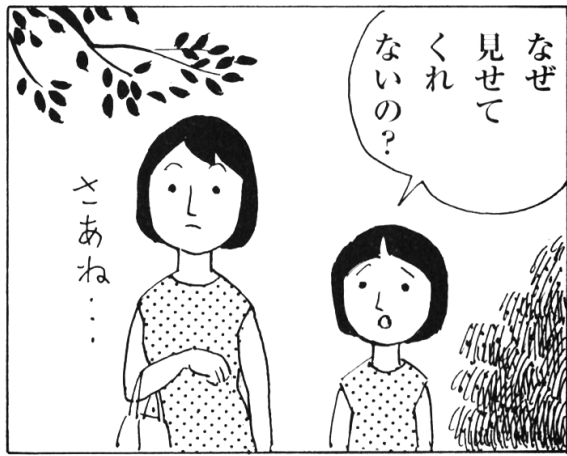
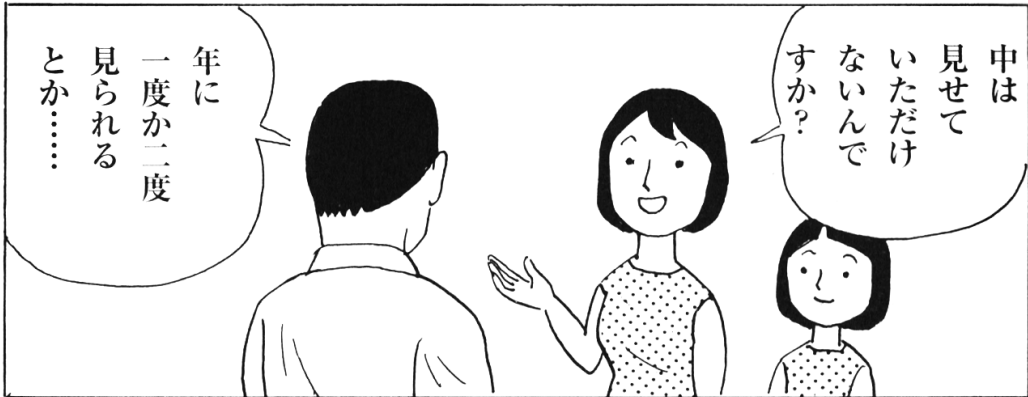


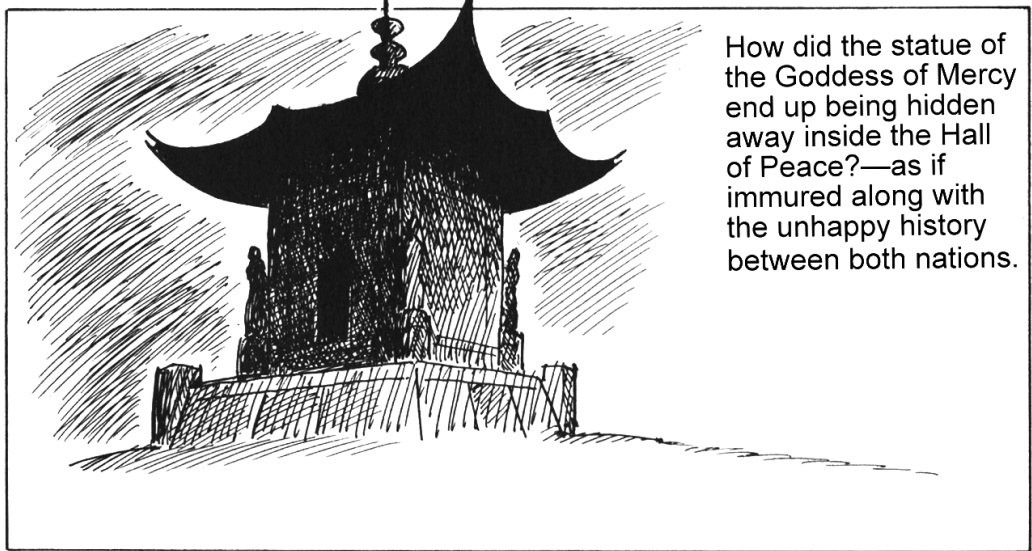
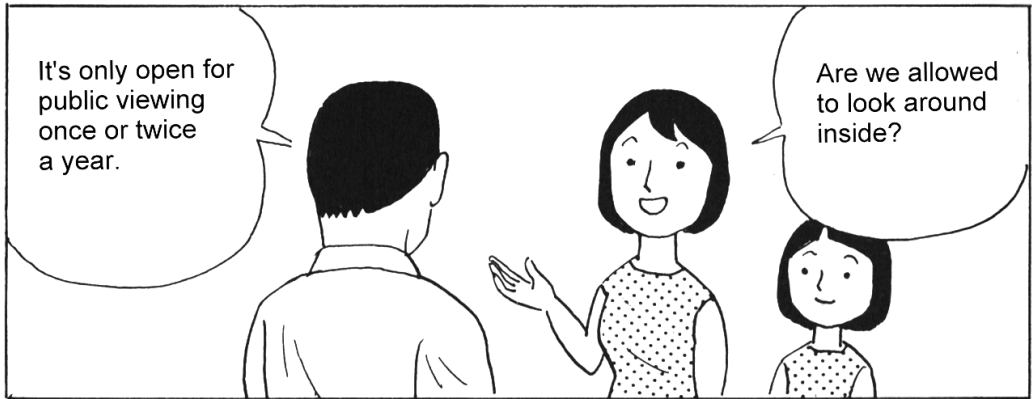
Hmm... I wonder what's in there?

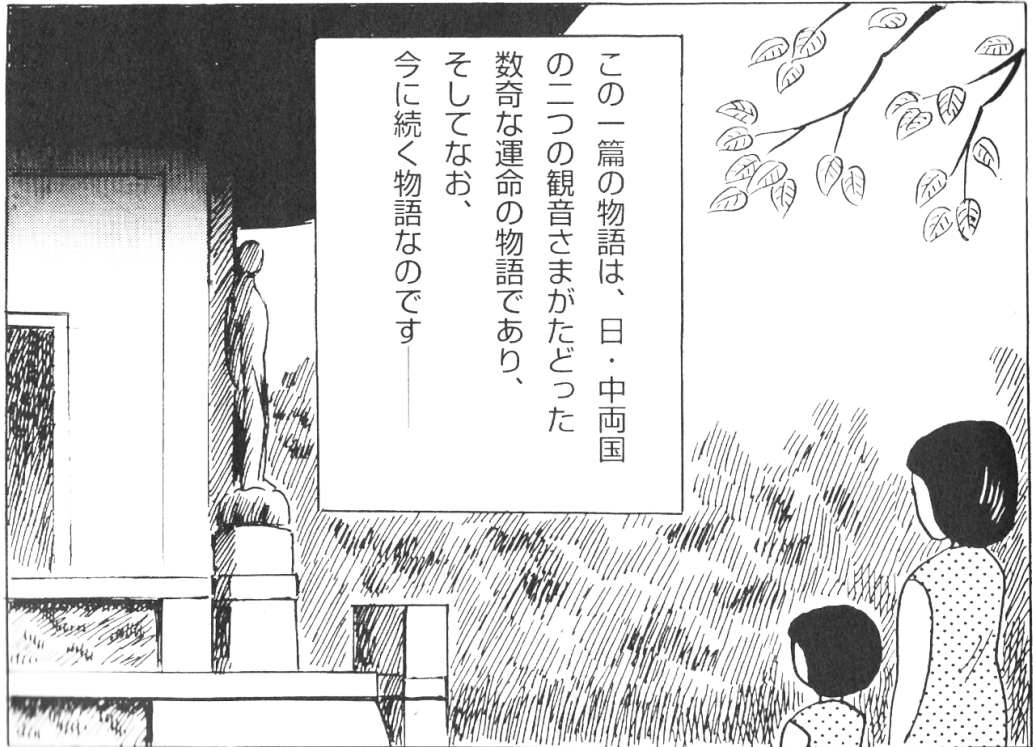


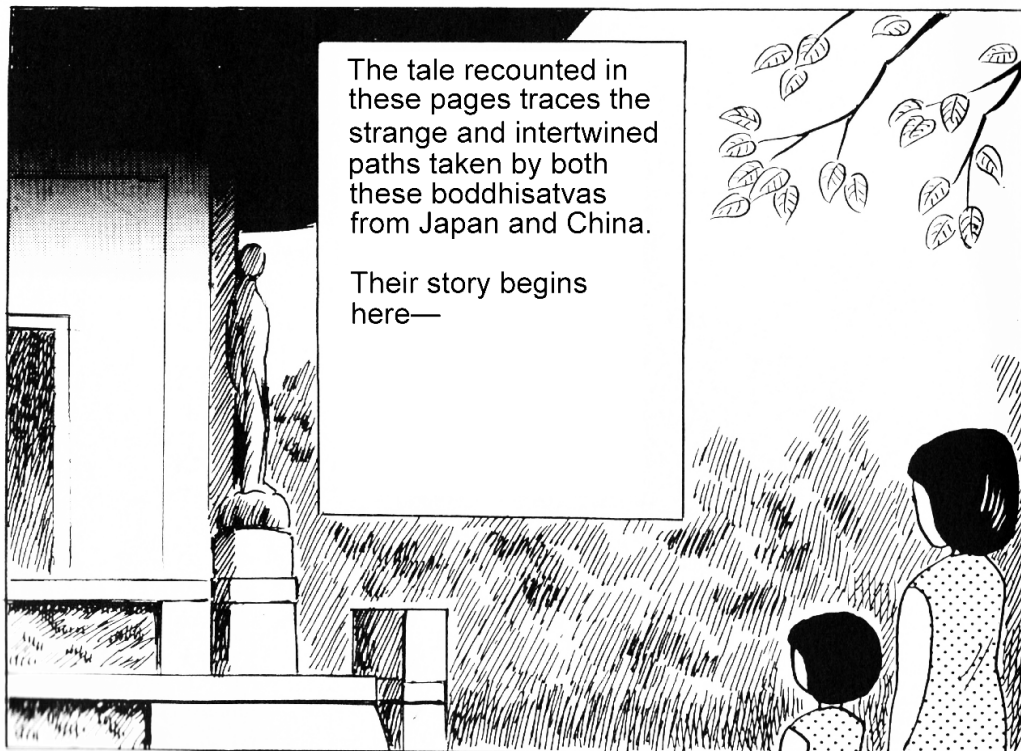
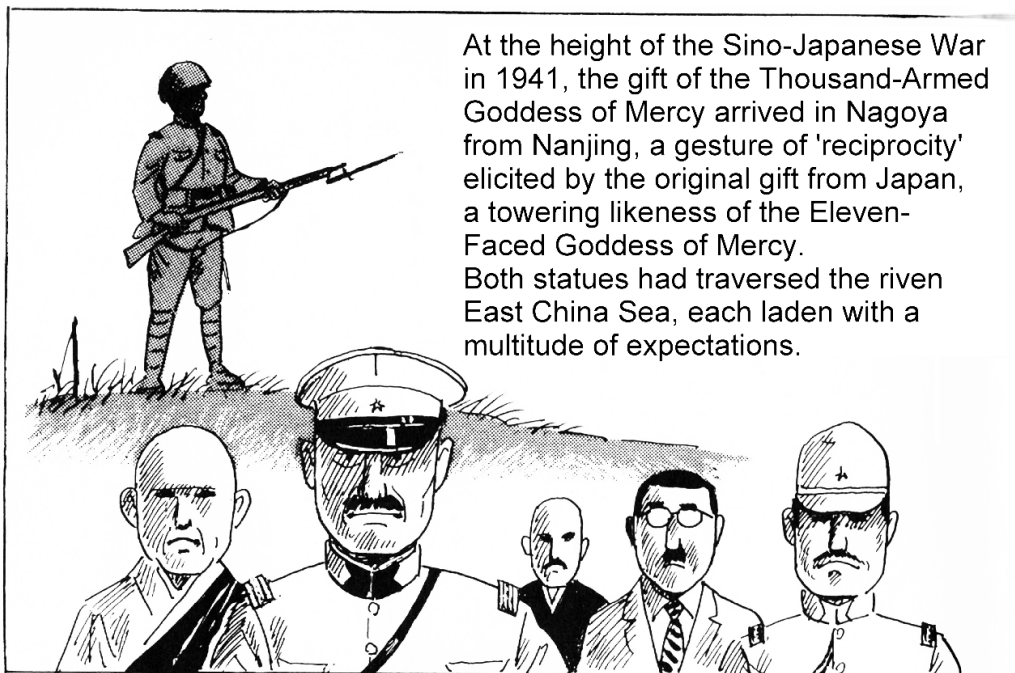




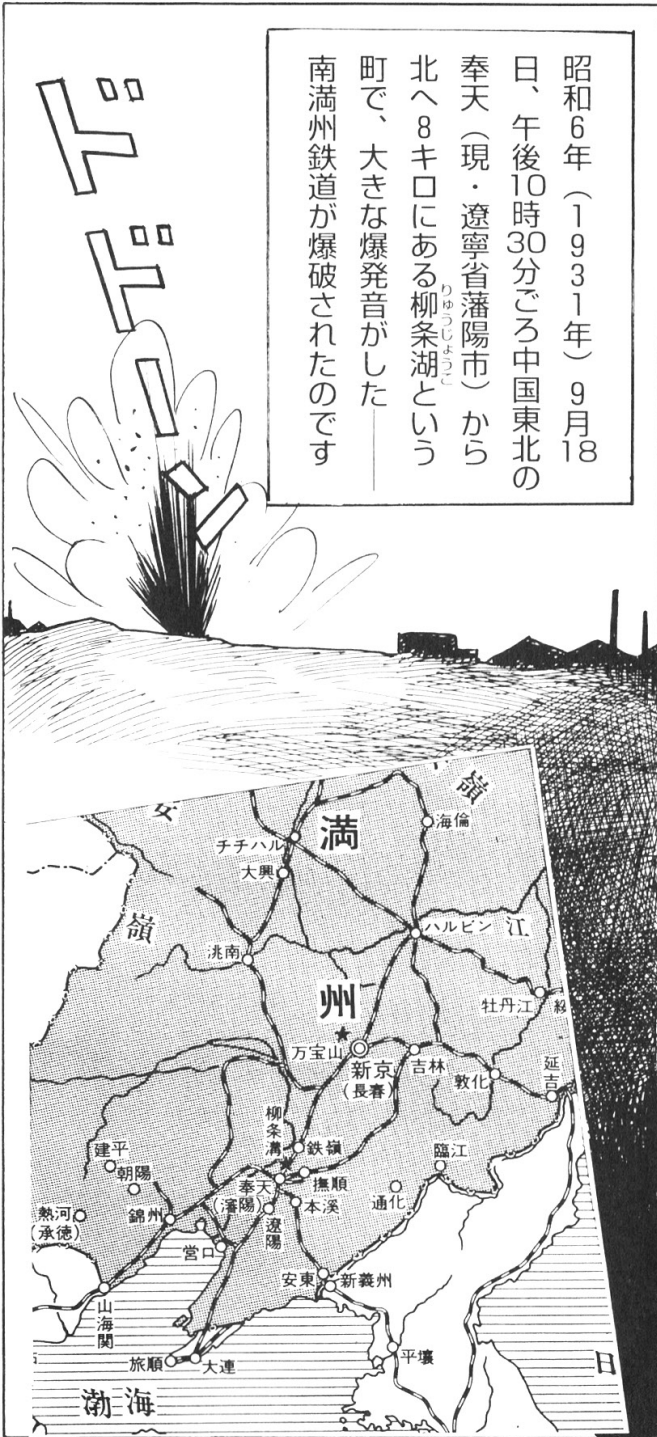








註——柳条湖は柳条溝という記述もあります



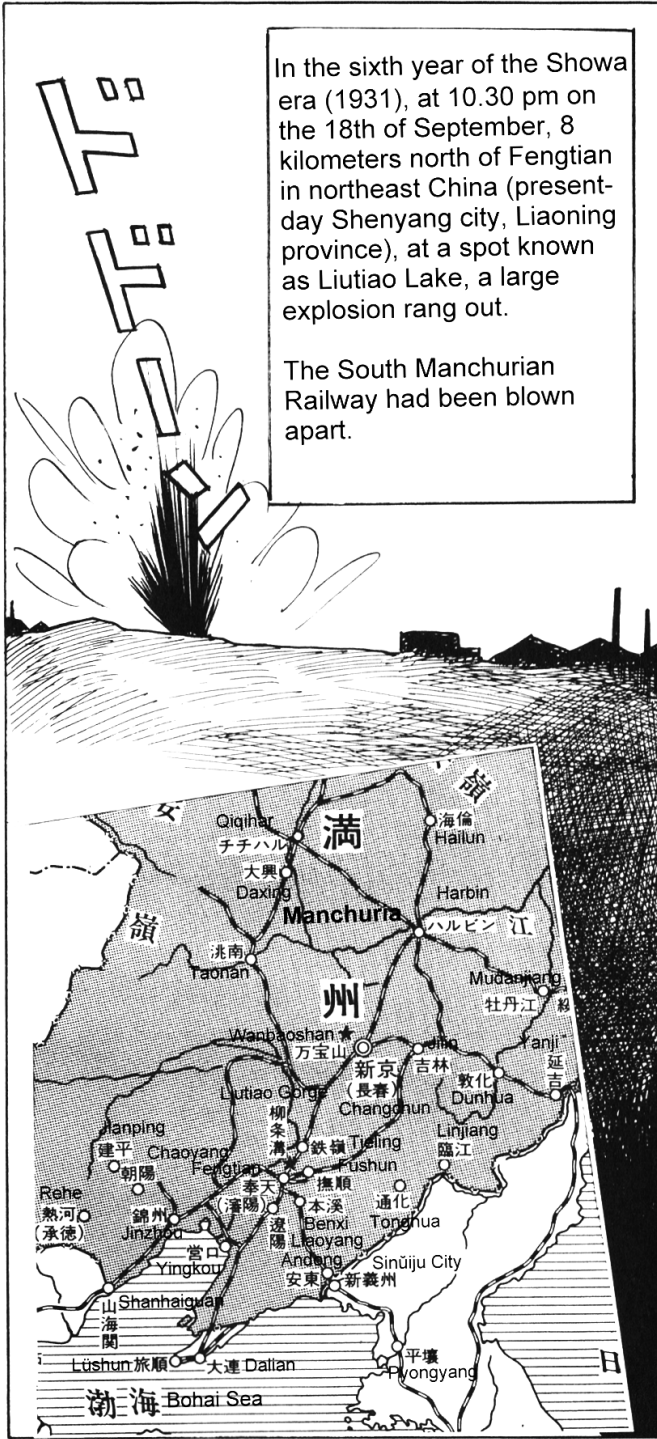
昭和6年（1931年）9月18日、午後10時30分ごろ中国東北の奉天（現・遼寧省瀋陽市）から北へ8キロにある柳条湖^{りゅうじょうこ}という町で、大きな爆発音がした——南満州鉄道が爆破されたのです

② 満州事変起こる

物語は、日本の満州侵略からはじまる——



Author: Liutiao Lake is also known as Liutiao Gorge in various sources.

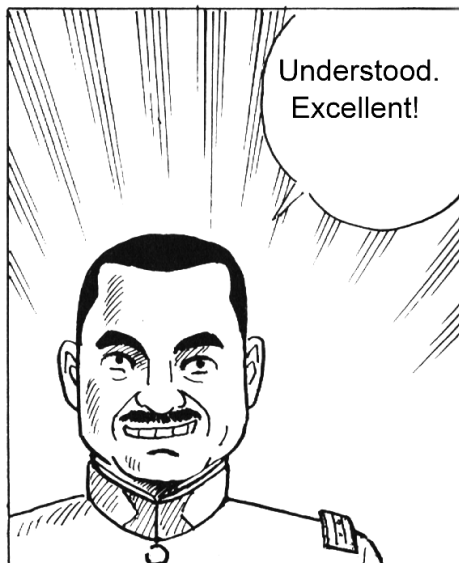
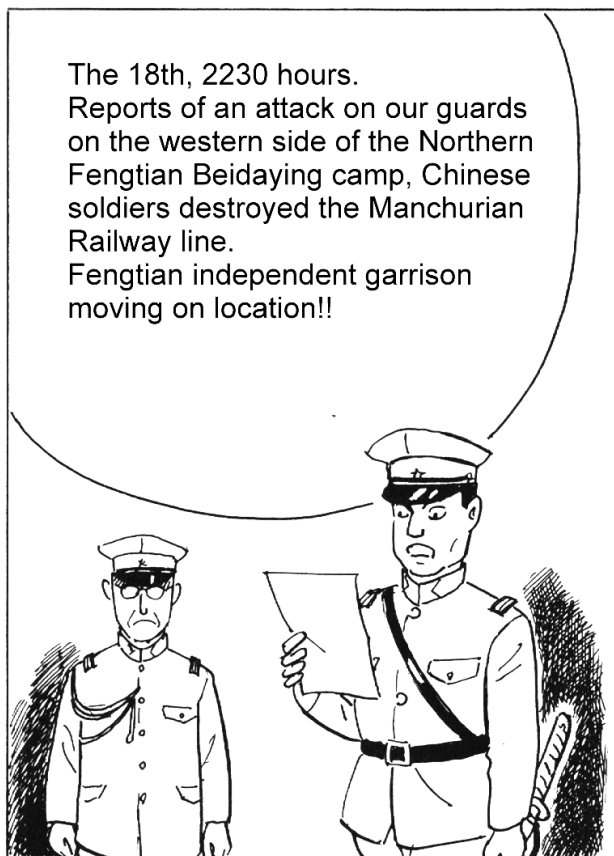


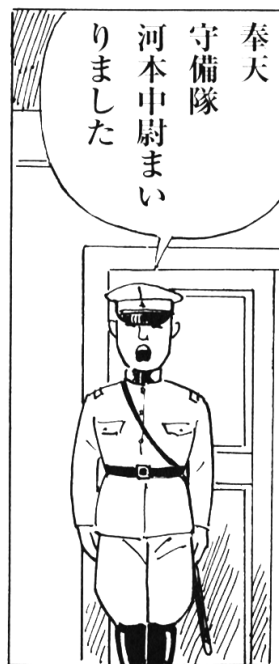
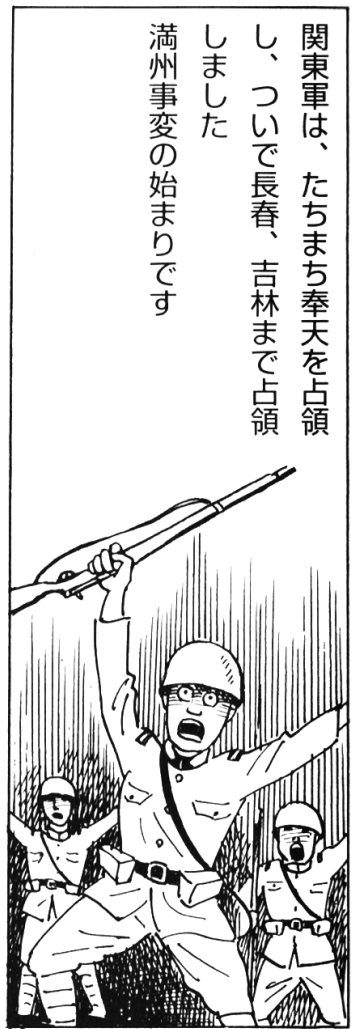
② The Manchurian Incident Occurs

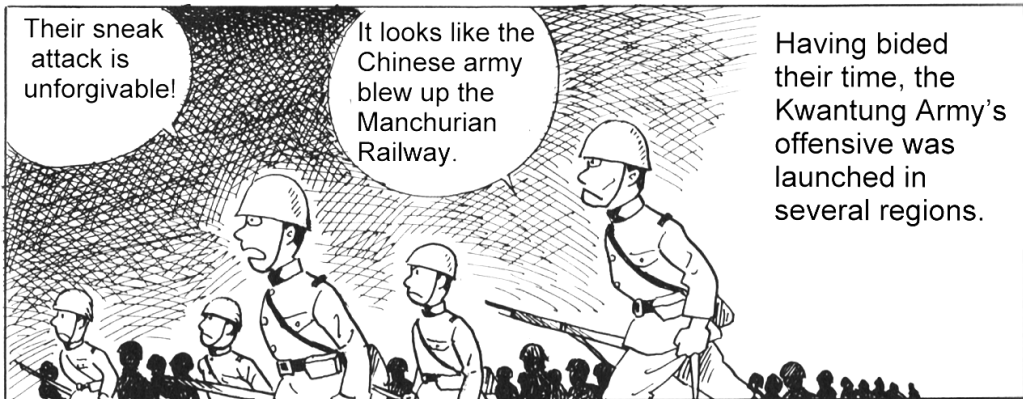
The story begins with Japan's invasion of Manchuria—



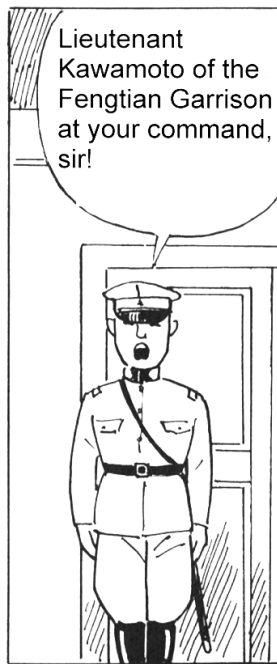


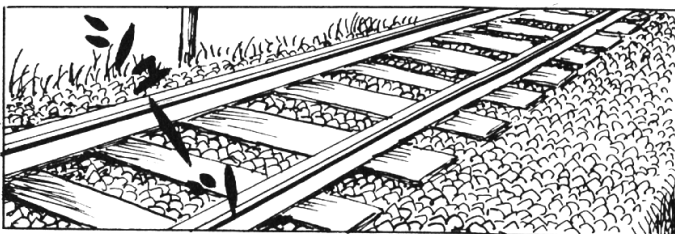
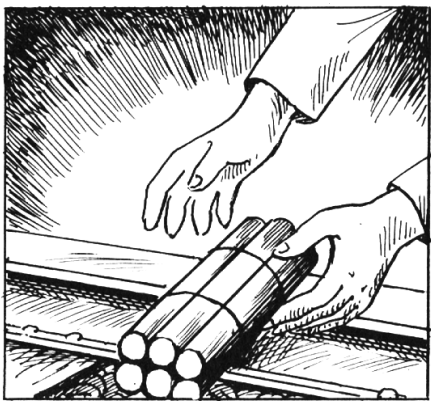


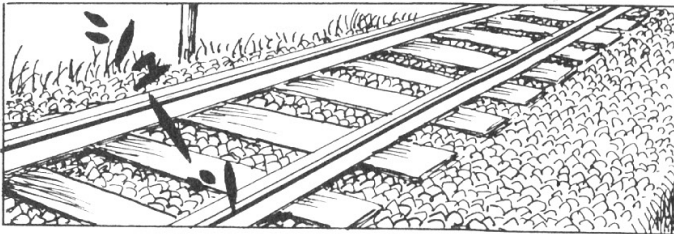
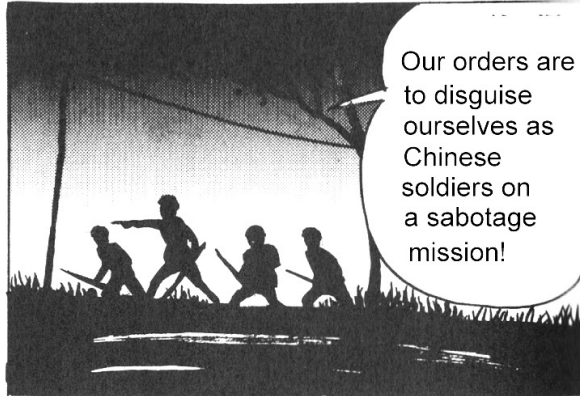
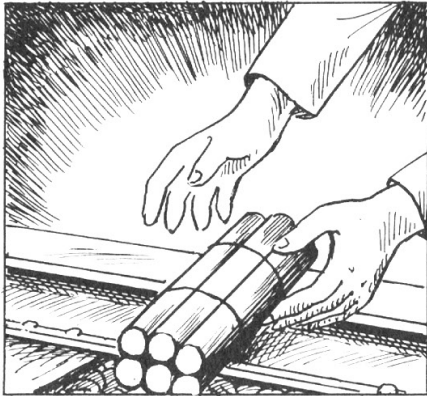
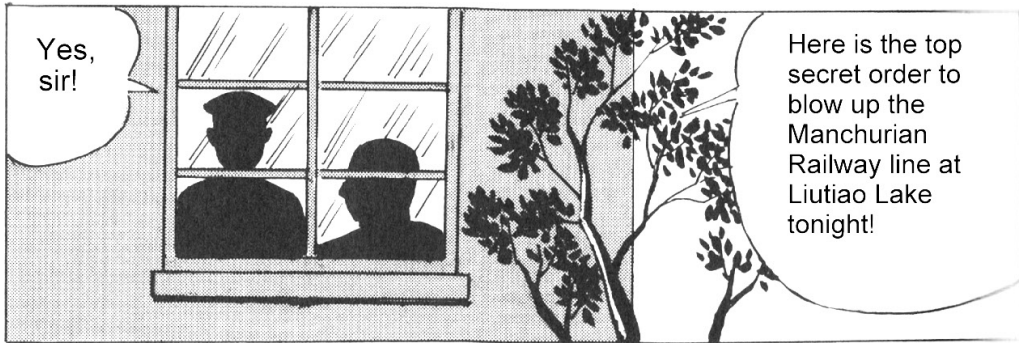




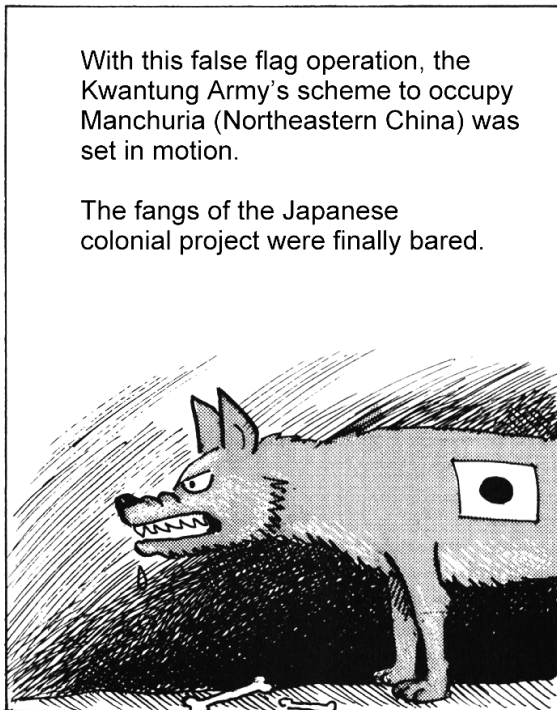
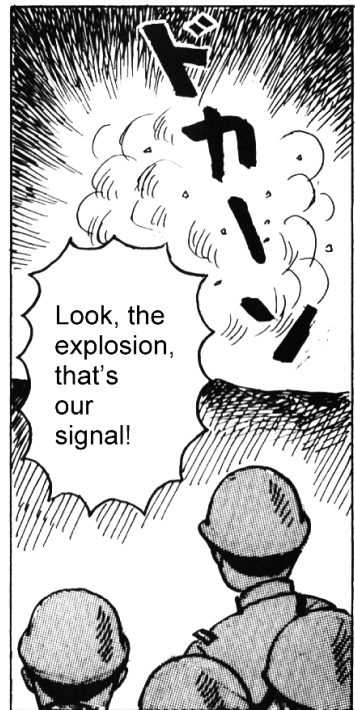
With breathtaking speed, the Kwantung Army seized Fengtian, simultaneously capturing both the cities of Changchun and Jilin. The Manchurian Incident had begun.











そして、この日からや
がて日中全面戦争へと
つながる泥沼の15年戦
争へと発展していった
のです



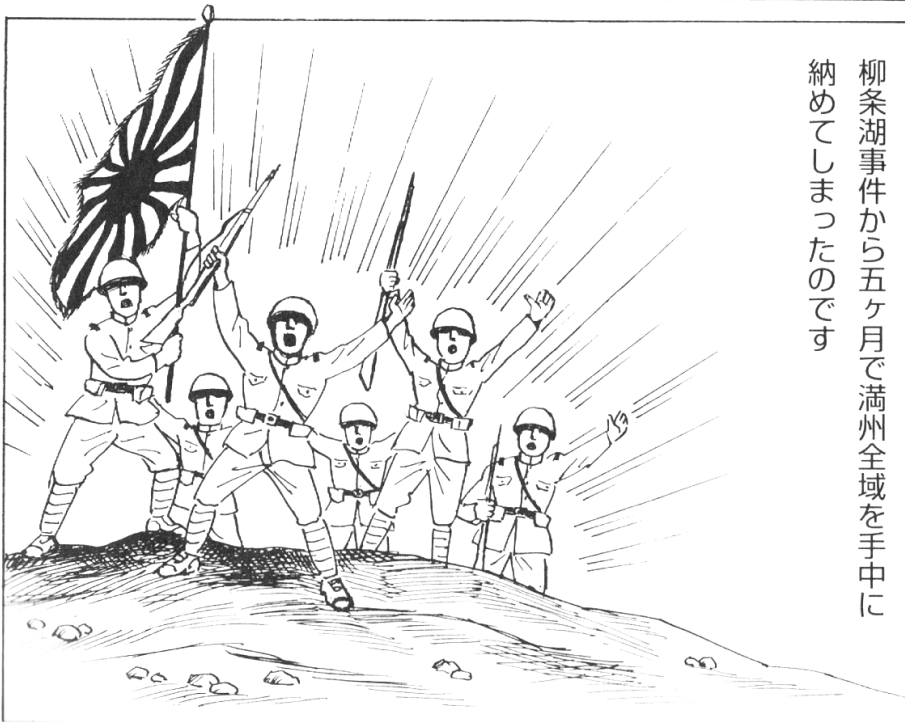
(図は中国の漫画より)

蒋介石は日本の満州侵略を国際連盟に提訴したが、
国連は有効な行動をとろうとしませんでした
国連にとっては中国の共産党と民族主義が脅威であ
り、同じ帝国主義の日本に対しては、おお目に見る
態度に出たのです

見て
見ぬ
ふり



このような状況下で日本軍は向うところ敵
なく、10月には錦州(きんしゅう)そしてチチハルと占領、
柳条湖事件から五ヶ月で満州全域を手中に
納めてしまったのです



Turning a blind eye (League of Nations)



Although Chiang Kai-shek reported Japan's invasion of Manchuria to the League of Nations, the League did not attempt to intervene. From its standpoint, China's Communist Party and its nationalist ideology presented an existential threat, whereas Japan, which shared the imperialist ambitions of the League's principal member states, could be tacitly condoned.

And so, from this day, an all-encompassing Sino-Japanese conflagration and the quagmire of a 15-year conflict unfolded.



(As illustrated in a Chinese cartoon)



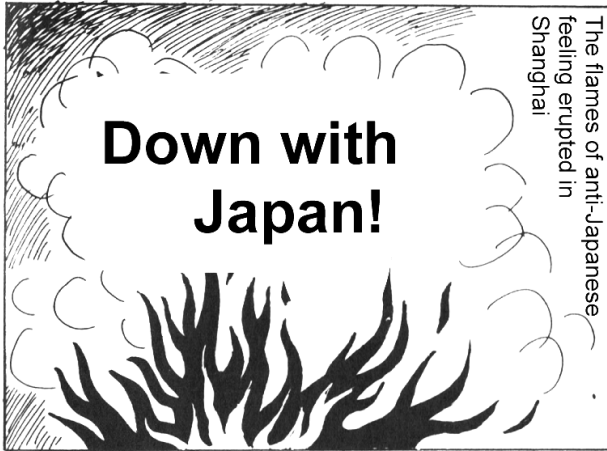
In these circumstances, the Japanese Army advanced without facing any opposition. By October, Jinzhou and Qiqihar were taken. In the five months following the Liutiao Lake incident, the occupation of the entire region of Manchuria was accomplished.



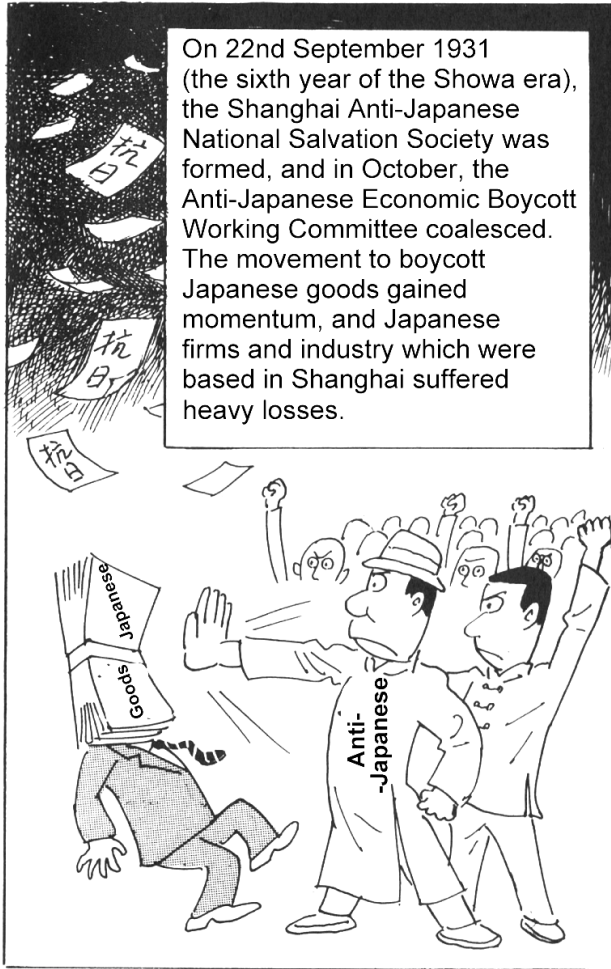
③ 上海事変から盧溝橋へ

満州事変は「抗日運動」に火をつけた――





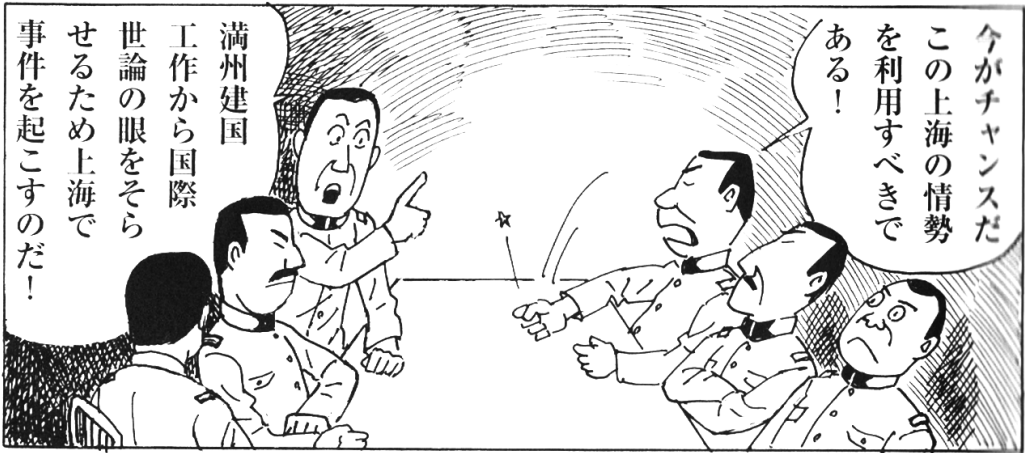
The flames of anti-Japanese feeling erupted in Shanghai

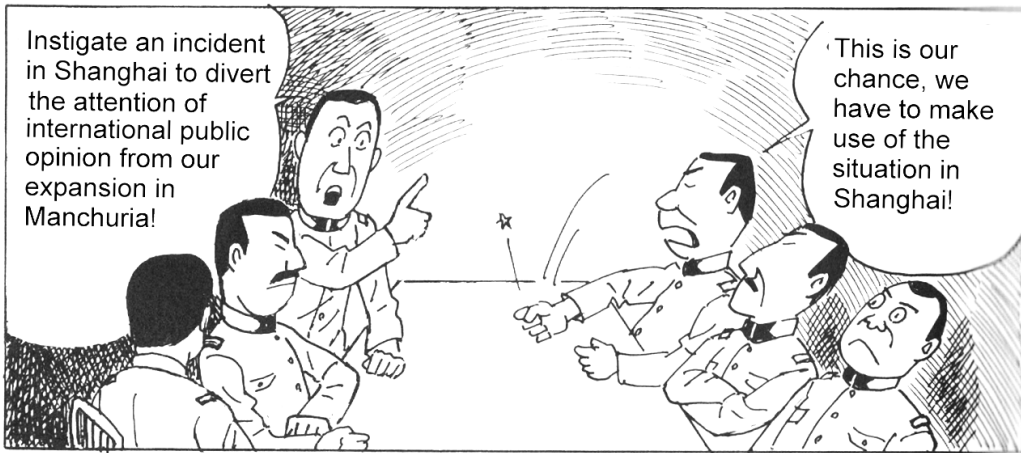


3 FROM THE JANUARY 28TH INCIDENT TO THE MARCO POLO BRIDGE

The Manchurian Incident Sets Off the Anti-Japanese Movement







Acting in accordance with the wishes of Colonel Seishiro Itagaki of the Kwantung Army, the military attaché in the Shanghai consulate, Lieutenant Colonel Ryūkichi Tanaka, hired a group of Chinese thugs to assault a party of five Japanese monks.





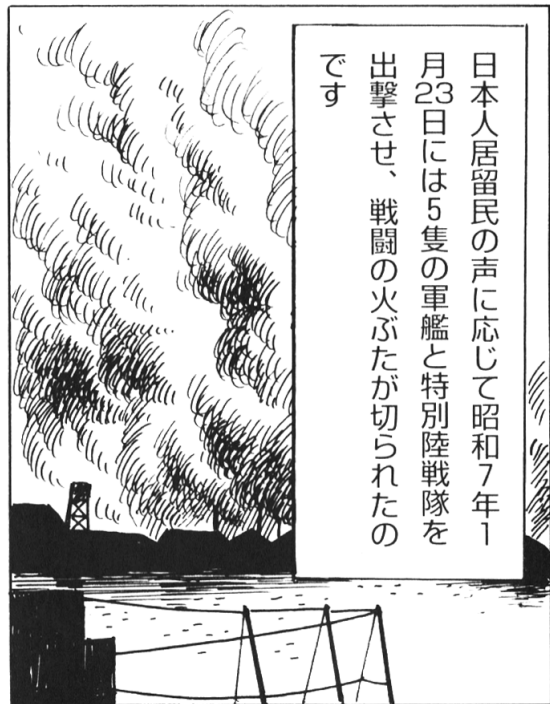
こうした策謀さくぼうによ
つて、上海の日本
人居留区に「排日
運動絶滅」の声が一
気に高まりました

軍は日本の
居留民を守
れーっ

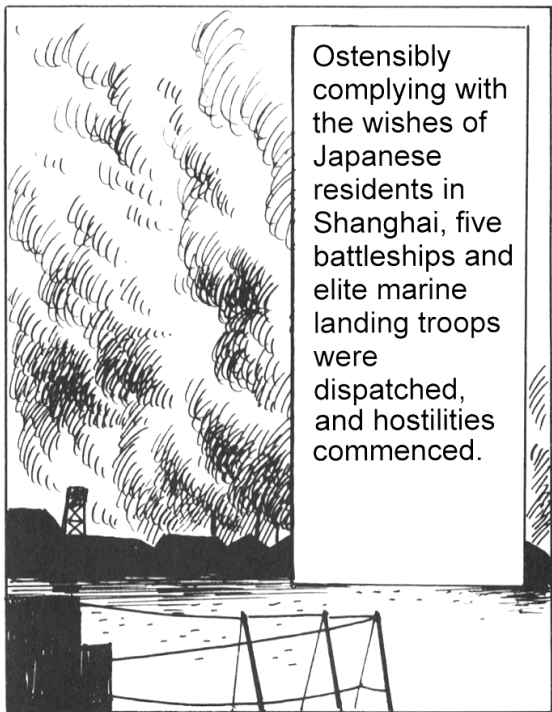
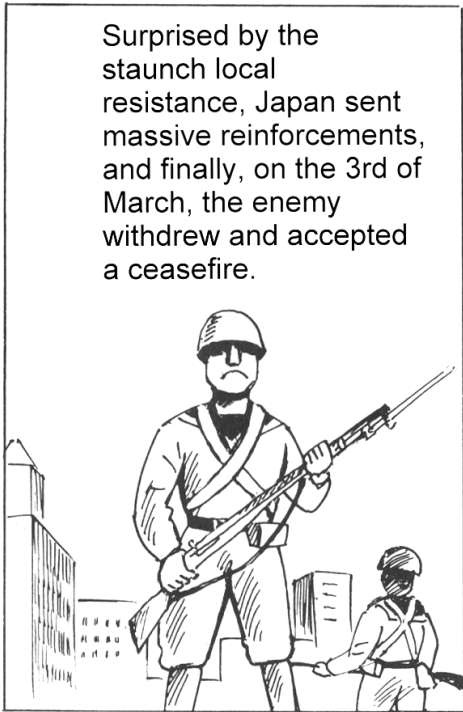
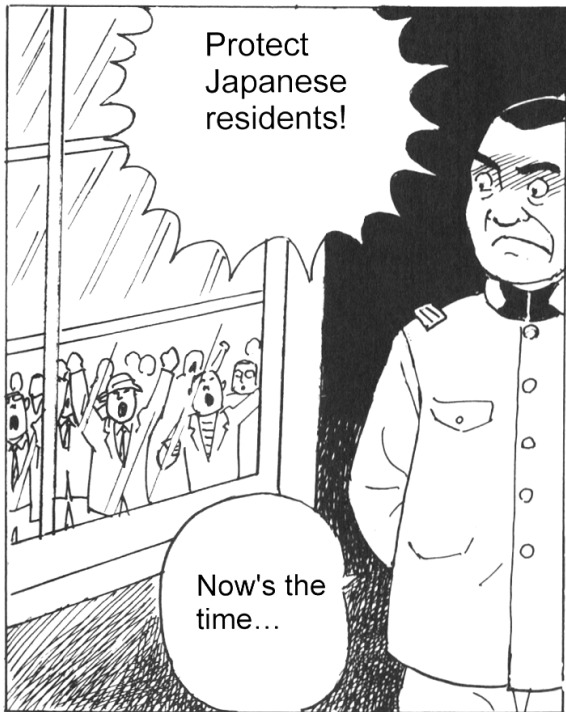
機は
熟したり



思わぬ敵の頑強な抵
抗に手を焼いた日本
軍は更に大軍を投入
3月3日になつてや
つと敵は撤退し停戦
にこぎつけました



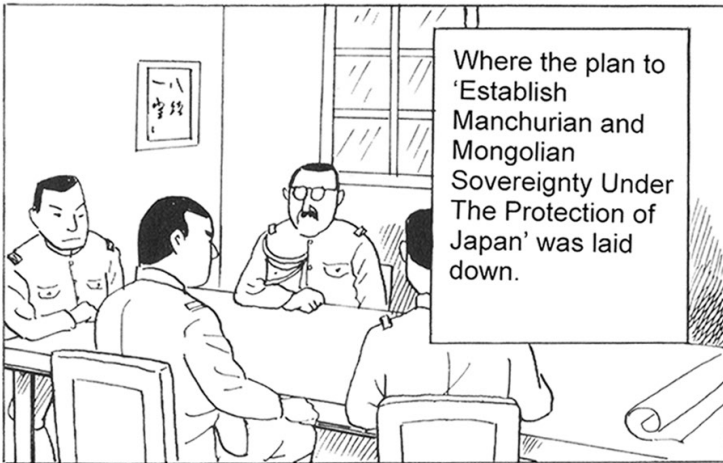
日本人居留民の声に応じて昭和7年1
月23日には5隻の軍艦と特別陸戦隊を
出撃させ、戦闘の火ぶたが切られたの
です





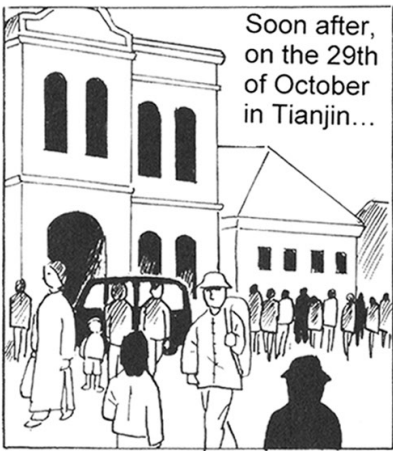
昭和6年10月2日には関東軍司令部で最高会議がひらかれました――



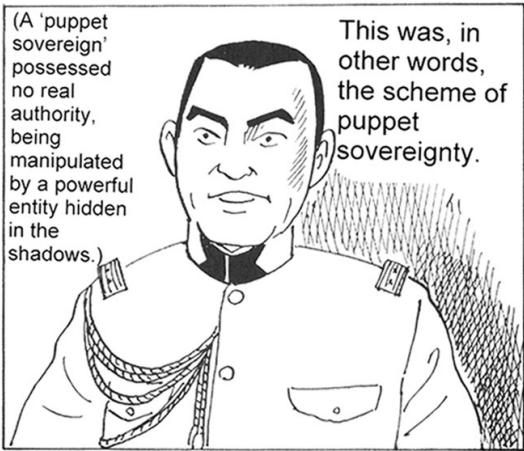


Where the plan to 'Establish Manchurian and Mongolian Sovereignty Under The Protection of Japan' was laid down.

On the 2nd of October 1931, the Kwantung Army Headquarters's highest command council convened.



Soon after, on the 29th of October in Tianjin...

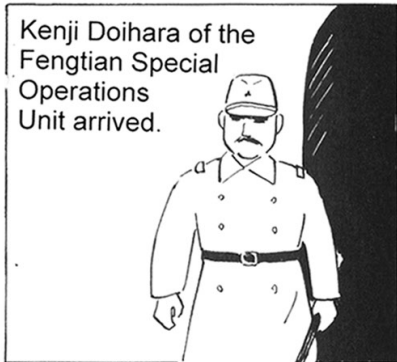


(A 'puppet sovereign' possessed no real authority, being manipulated by a powerful entity hidden in the shadows.)

This was, in other words, the scheme of puppet sovereignty.



I've come to pick you up, sir!

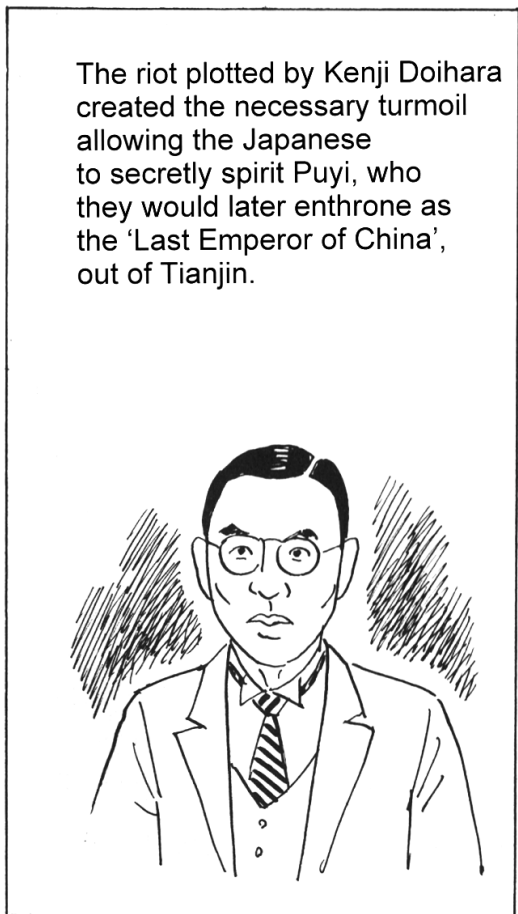


Kenji Doihara of the Fengtian Special Operations Unit arrived.

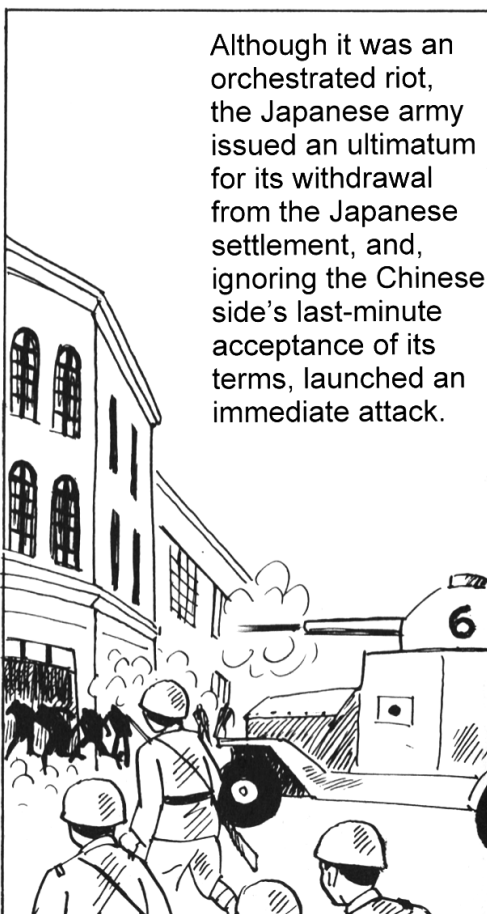




Doihara had arrived on a mission: bribing a thousand-strong local mob, he set them loose in a violent demonstration against the Japanese concession in Shanghai.



The riot plotted by Kenji Doihara created the necessary turmoil allowing the Japanese to secretly spirit Puyi, who they would later enthrone as the 'Last Emperor of China', out of Tianjin.



Although it was an orchestrated riot, the Japanese army issued an ultimatum for its withdrawal from the Japanese settlement, and, ignoring the Chinese side's last-minute acceptance of its terms, launched an immediate attack.

かくて、昭和7年3月1日、天津から連れ出した溥儀を執政とする満州国の独立が、内外に宣言されました

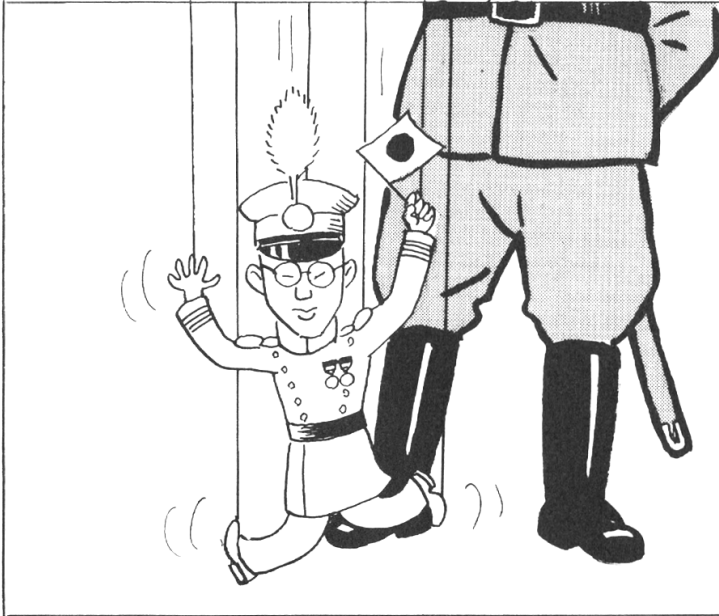


——それは、「王道楽土」満州国の建国でした
そして、それはあくまでも住民による「自主的発意」のようにつくろってはいましたが、その内実は、「国防・人事については、すべて日本に委任する」という日本側が作った書簡に溥儀が署名するという関係にありました



註——「王道楽土」とは正しい道と徳とで天下を治められる安楽な地、という意味です

An explanatory note: 'The Kingly Way in Paradise' 【王道楽地】 connotes a utopian empire governed by righteousness and morality.

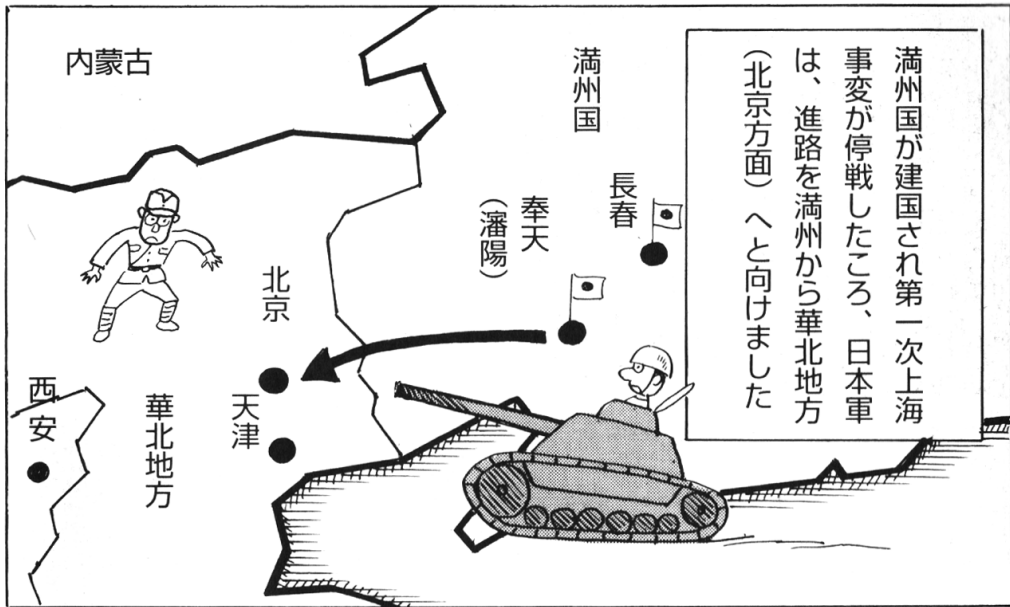


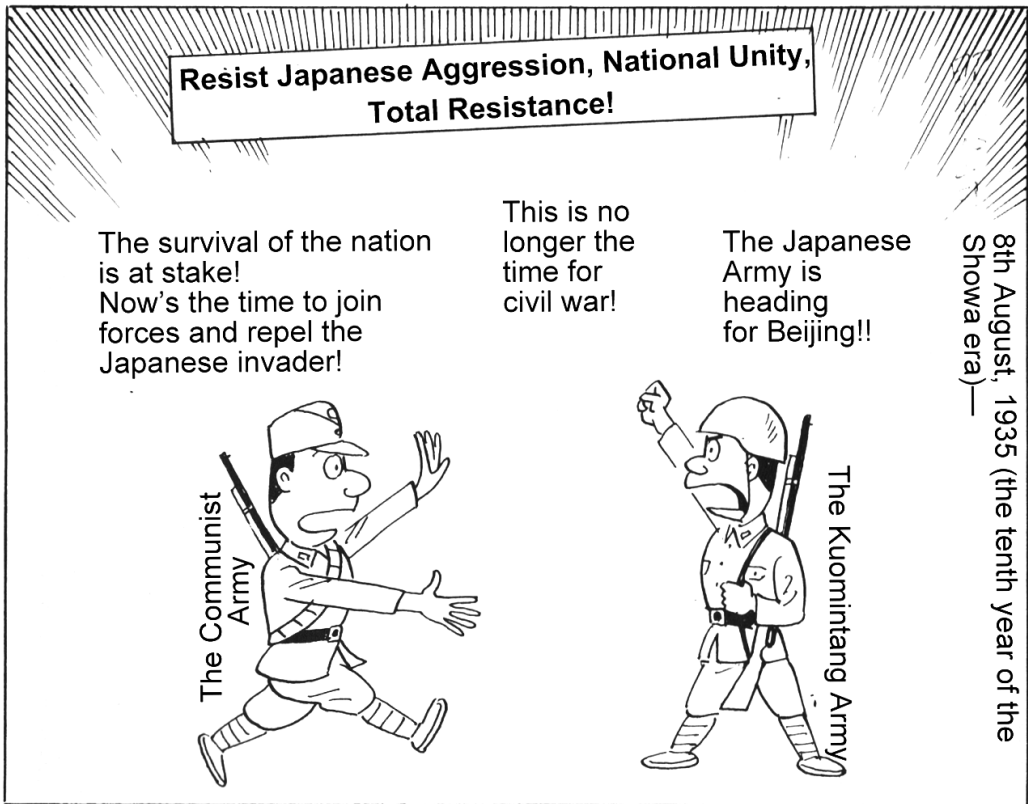
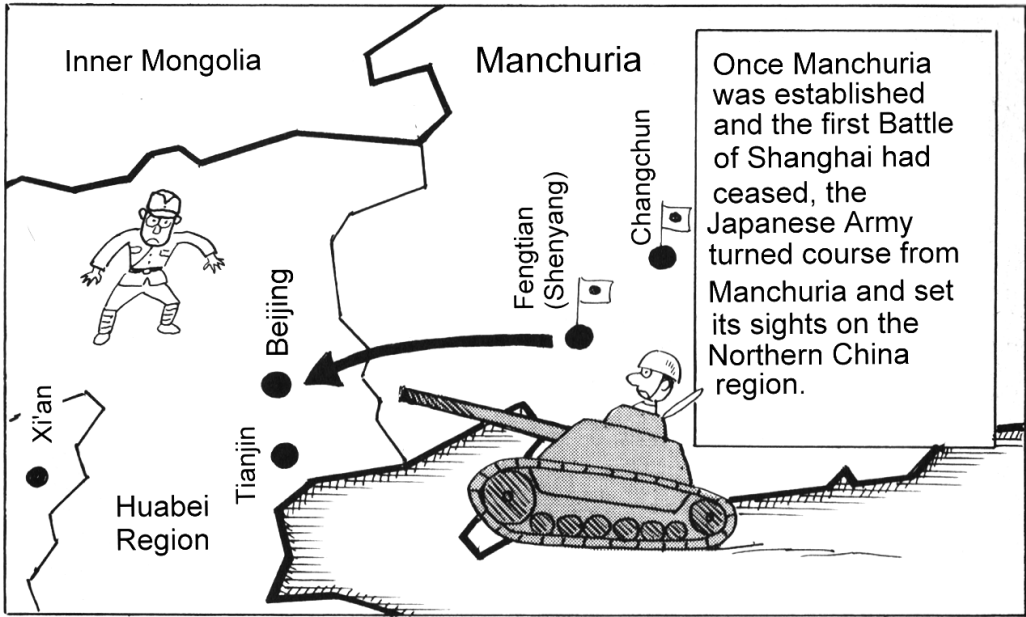
Thus, on the 1st of March 1932, Puyi—freshly smuggled out of Tianjin—was installed by the Japanese as the governor of Manchuria, and in that capacity, he issued a domestic and international statement proclaiming Manchuria's independence from China.

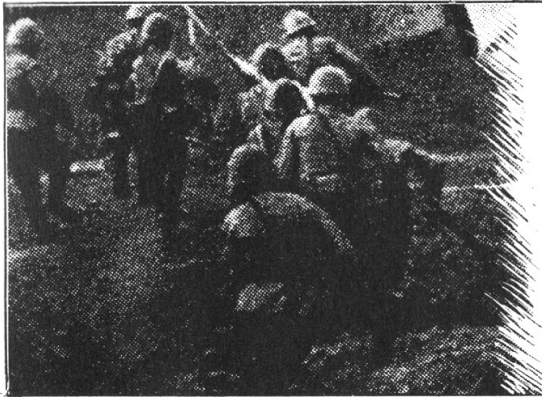


This so-called 'The Kingly Way in Paradise' was Japan's state-building enterprise of Manchukuo (or Manchuria). Although it was portrayed as an autonomous initiative by the local citizens, the truth, as revealed in secret documents signed by Puyi for the Japanese, was that the management of all affairs concerning national defence and labor had been handed over to the Japanese.









昭和12年（1937年）7月7日——
北京から北へ約6キロにある盧溝橋という地点で突然数発の銃声があたり
のしじまを破りました
この日、日本軍の中隊がこのあたりで夜間演習を行っていました——





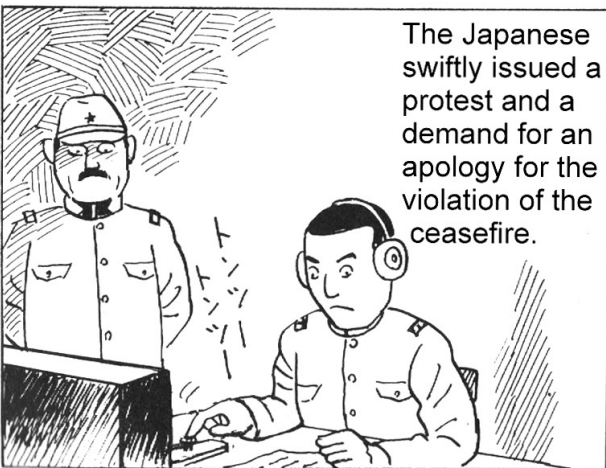
7th July 1937 (the twelfth year of the Showa era)—approximately six kilometers north of Beijing, at a spot known as Lugou Bridge, several gunshots rang out in the area and shattered the silence. On this day, a Japanese military unit launched its night time deployment exercise—



Weren't those gunshots?



Bang!
Ba-bang!
?!



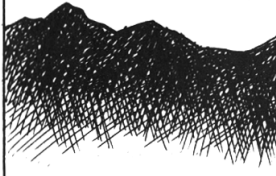
The Japanese swiftly issued a protest and a demand for an apology for the violation of the ceasefire.



It might be an enemy attack!

Huh~

当時、陸軍参謀本部には対ソ連戦を重視する派と、この機会に中国を叩き華北地方を手中にしようという派の対立がありました——



日本軍の謀略によって起こされたものでもないようです



しかしこの発砲事件は日・中どちらによるものかはつきりしないのです

わが軍の不法射撃だといふから



「盧溝橋事件は中国による計画的武力行使である!!」

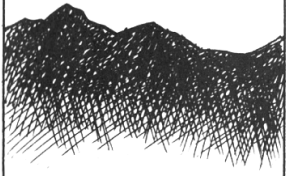


結局は、中国を叩けという強硬派が勝ち、盧溝橋事件をこれさいわいとばかり無謀な攻撃をしかけてしまいました

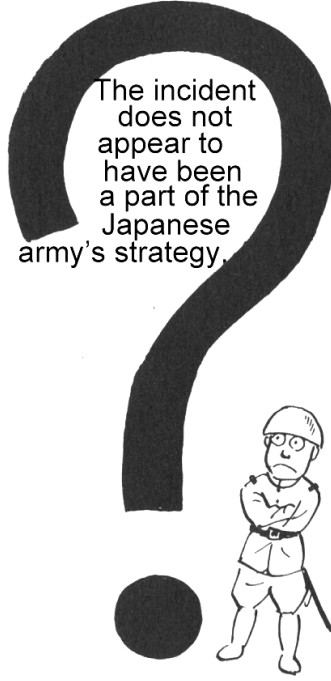
問答無用



At the time, there was a conflict within the Imperial Japanese Army General Staff Office between a faction who advocated prioritizing the conflict against the Soviet Union and a faction who wanted to seize the initiative in the Chinese mainland and seize the entire region of Northern China.




The incident does not appear to have been a part of the Japanese army's strategy.



However, it was impossible to determine whether it was the Chinese or the Japanese soldiers who had fired illegally.

Unauthorized firing by my men! You must be having a laugh!

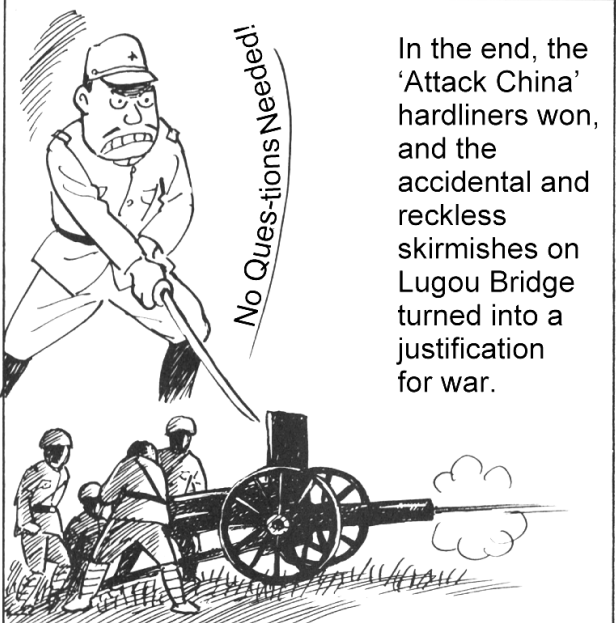


'The Lugou Bridge incident is a deliberate act of aggression by the Chinese!!'



No Questions Needed!

In the end, the 'Attack China' hardliners won, and the accidental and reckless skirmishes on Lugou Bridge turned into a justification for war.

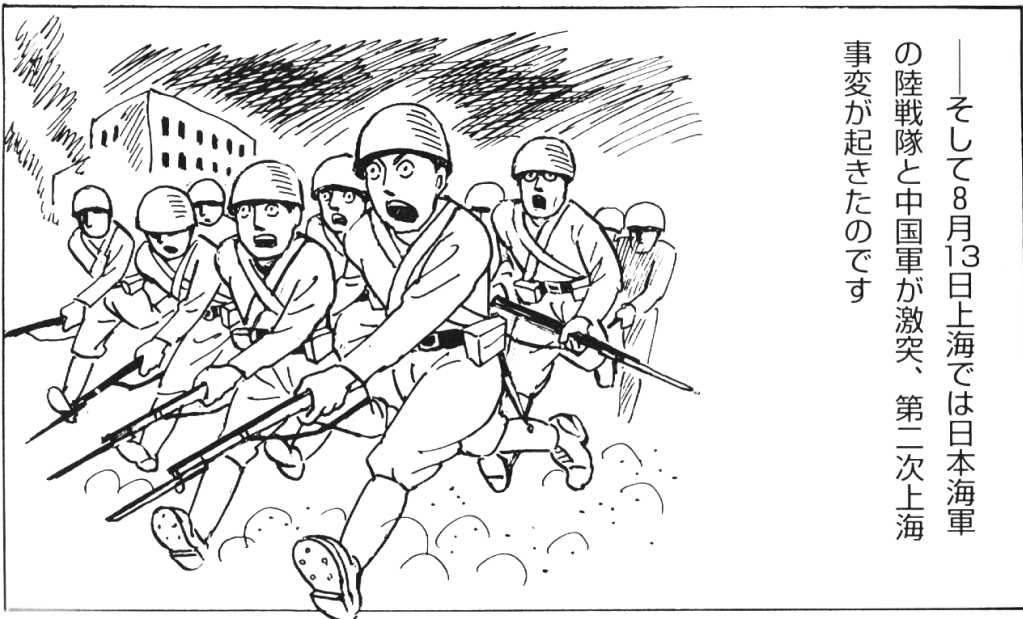




7月28日には北京と天津
に向けて総攻撃が開始さ
れました



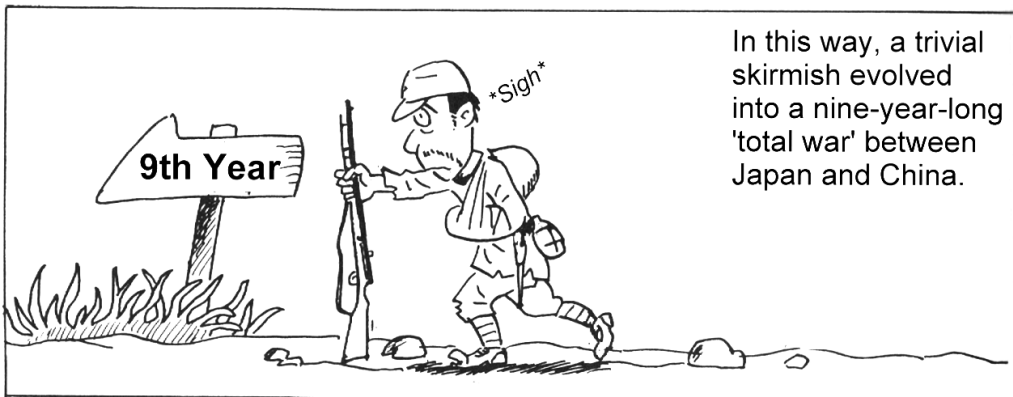
こうしてささいな発
砲事件はそれから9
年に及び日中全面戦
争へと発展していっ
たのです



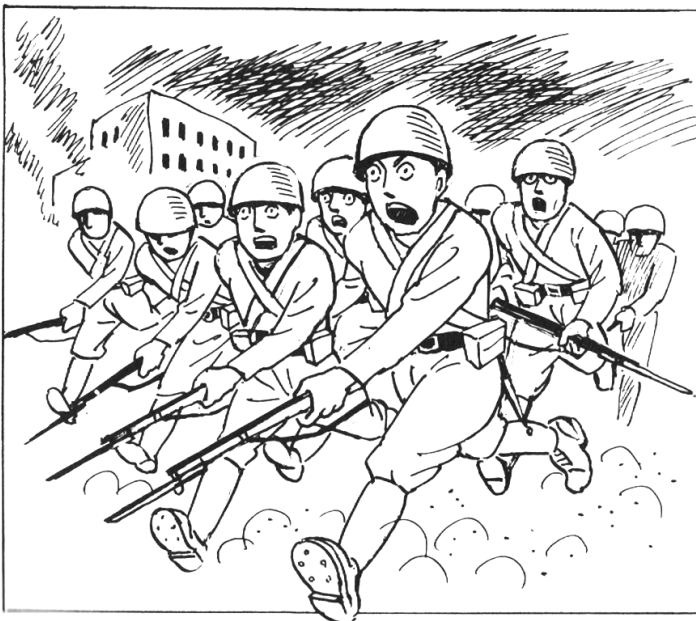
—そして8月13日上海では日本海軍
の陸戦隊と中国軍が激突、第二次上海
事変が起きたのです



On the 28th of July, the all-out attack on Beijing and Tianjin began.

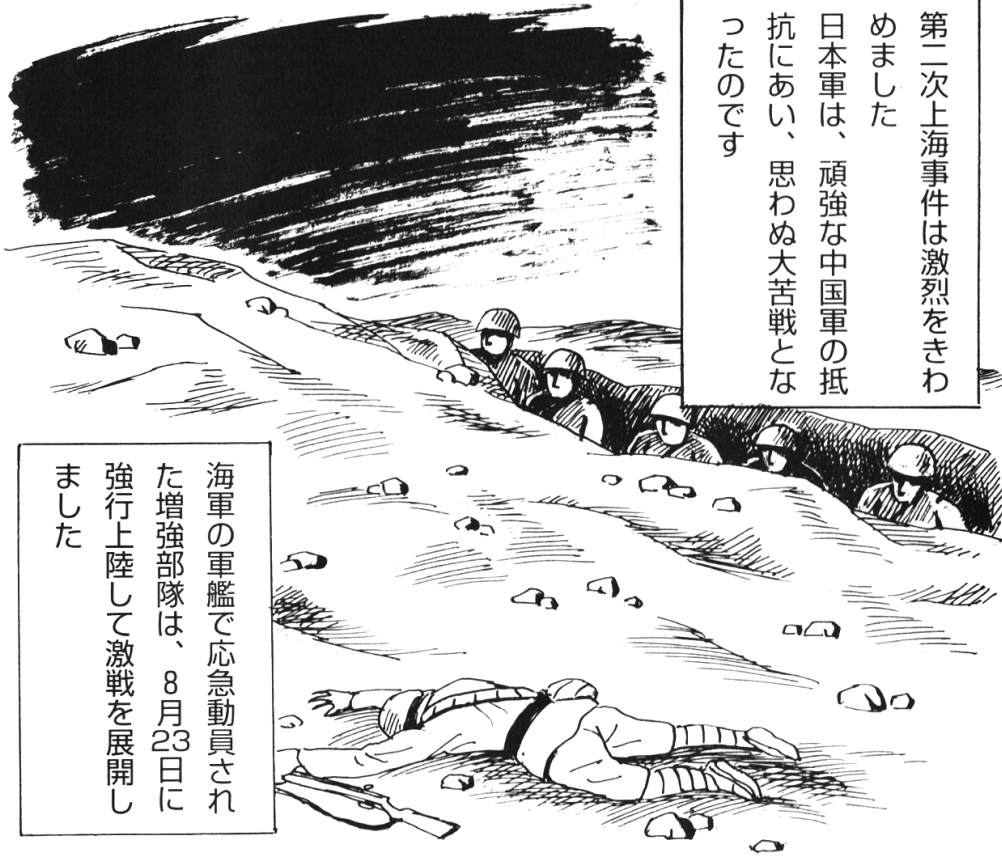


In this way, a trivial skirmish evolved into a nine-year-long 'total war' between Japan and China.



Then, on the 13th of August, the Japanese navy's landing troops and the Chinese army clashed at Shanghai, and the second battle for Shanghai began.

第二次上海事件は激烈をきわめました
日本軍は、頑強な中国軍の抵抗にあい、思わぬ大苦戦となったのです

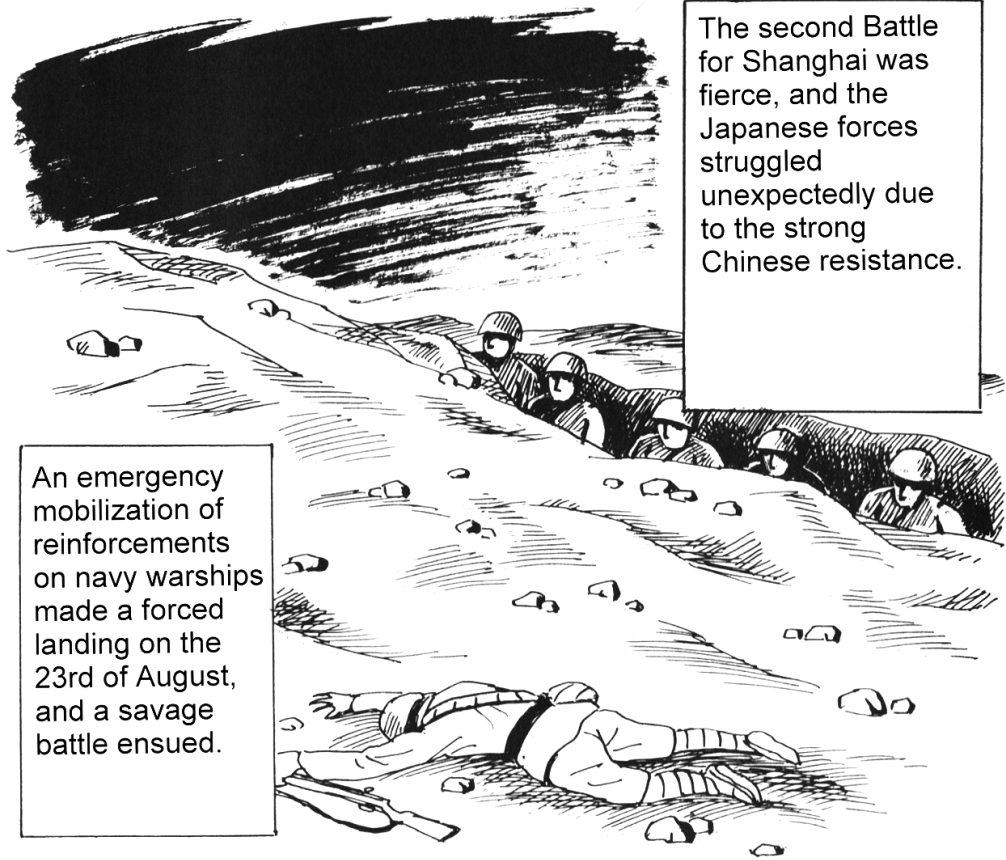


海軍の軍艦で応急動員された増強部隊は、8月23日に強行上陸して激戦を展開しました

上海での苦戦はつづきました
参謀本部は、中国作戦の重点を、北京から上海に移し、更に増援部隊を派遣しました

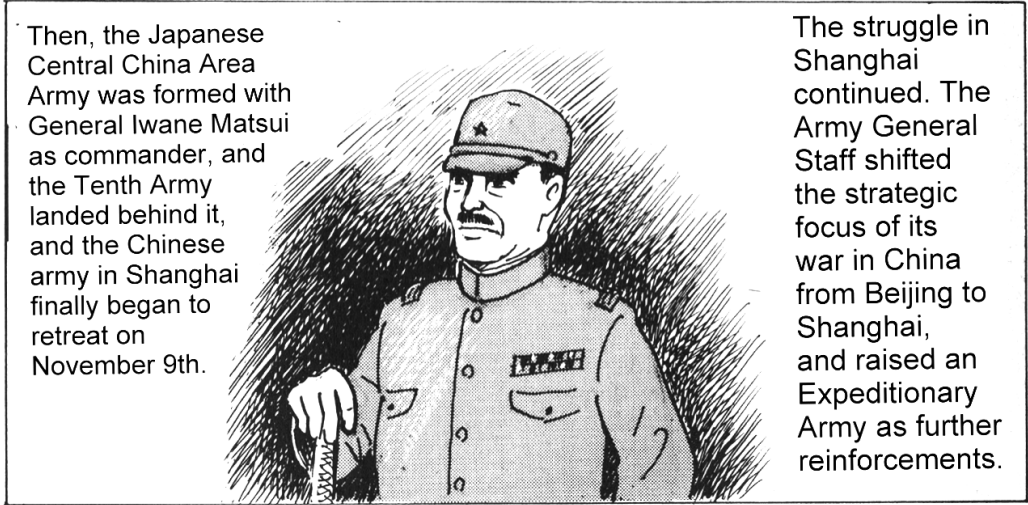


そして
松井石根
大将を軍司令官とする
中支那方面軍が結成され、その第十軍が背後に上陸したことで上海の中国軍は、11月9日やっと退却をはじめました



The second Battle for Shanghai was fierce, and the Japanese forces struggled unexpectedly due to the strong Chinese resistance.

An emergency mobilization of reinforcements on navy warships made a forced landing on the 23rd of August, and a savage battle ensued.



Then, the Japanese Central China Area Army was formed with General Iwane Matsui as commander, and the Tenth Army landed behind it, and the Chinese army in Shanghai finally began to retreat on November 9th.

The struggle in Shanghai continued. The Army General Staff shifted the strategic focus of its war in China from Beijing to Shanghai, and raised an Expeditionary Army as further reinforcements.

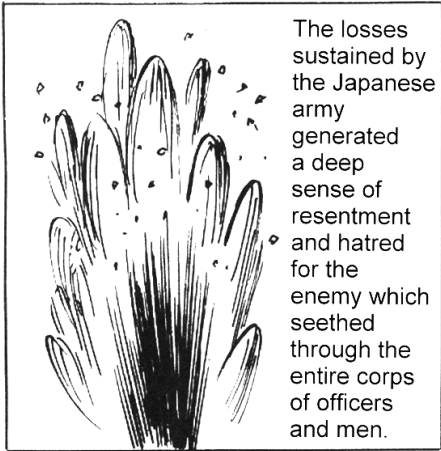


国際法は無視され、捕虜はすべてみな殺しという行為がくり返されたのです

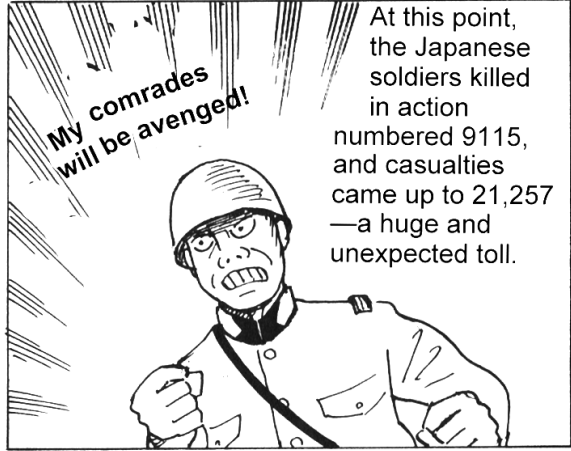


戦友を失った憎しみや怒りが爆発しました





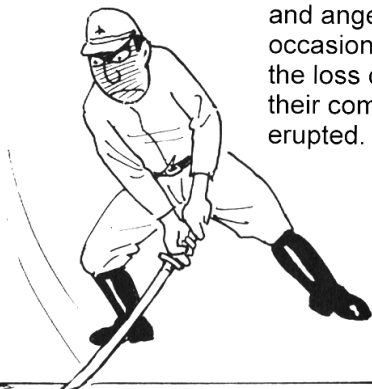
The losses sustained by the Japanese army generated a deep sense of resentment and hatred for the enemy which seethed through the entire corps of officers and men.



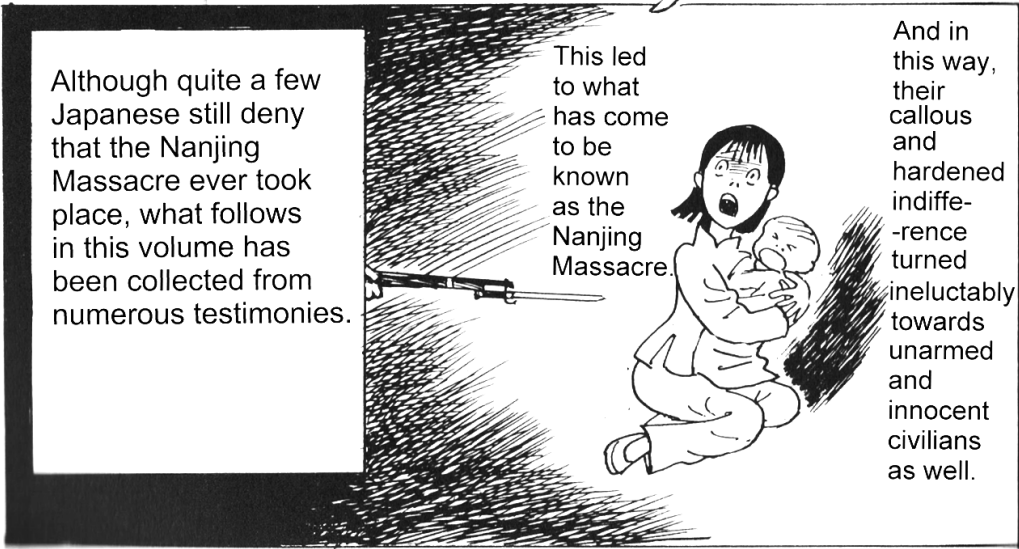
At this point, the Japanese soldiers killed in action numbered 9115, and casualties came up to 21,257—a huge and unexpected toll.



International law was ignored, and the slaughter of prisoners of war was indiscriminate and widespread.



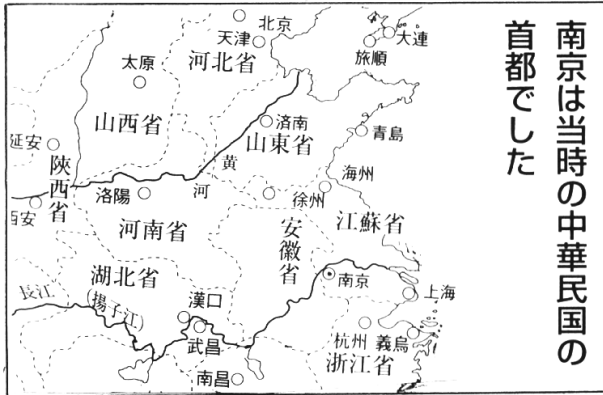
The animosity and anger occasioned by the loss of their comrades erupted.



Although quite a few Japanese still deny that the Nanjing Massacre ever took place, what follows in this volume has been collected from numerous testimonies.

This led to what has come to be known as the Nanjing Massacre.

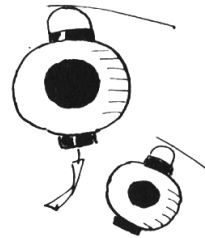
And in this way, their callous and hardened indifference turned ineluctably towards unarmed and innocent civilians as well.



④ 南京陥落

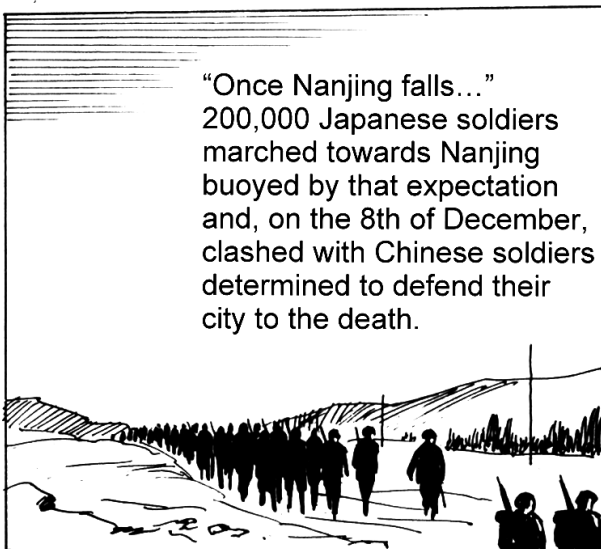
昭和12年12月1日、松井石根大将ひきいる中支方面軍20万の大軍は、南京をめざして進撃を開始した

かんらく



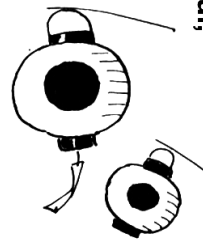


Nanjing was the capital city of what was then known as the Republic of China (1912-1949).



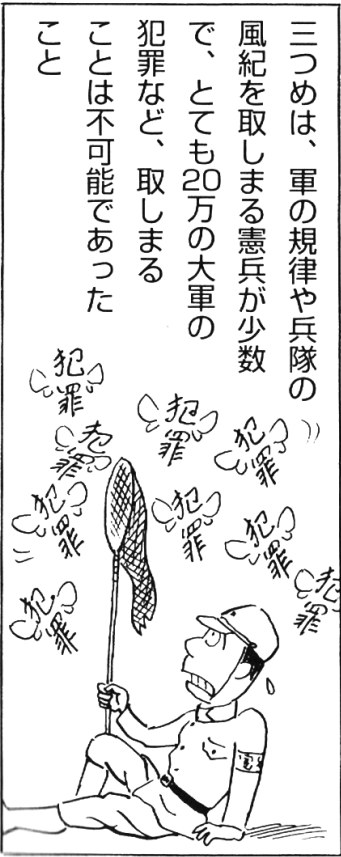
4 The Fall of Nanjing

The 1st of December 1937 (the 12th year of the Showa era)—the 200,000-strong Central China Expeditionary Army led by General Iwane Matsui, began their advance on Nanjing.





しかし、この南京攻略の日本軍は万全の体制ではありませんでした
南京一番乗りをめざす功名心にかかられた部隊の急進撃など、無統制のまま攻略戦は始まったのです



三つめは、軍の規律や兵隊の風紀を取しめる憲兵が少数で、とても20万の大軍の犯罪など、取しめることは不可能であったこと

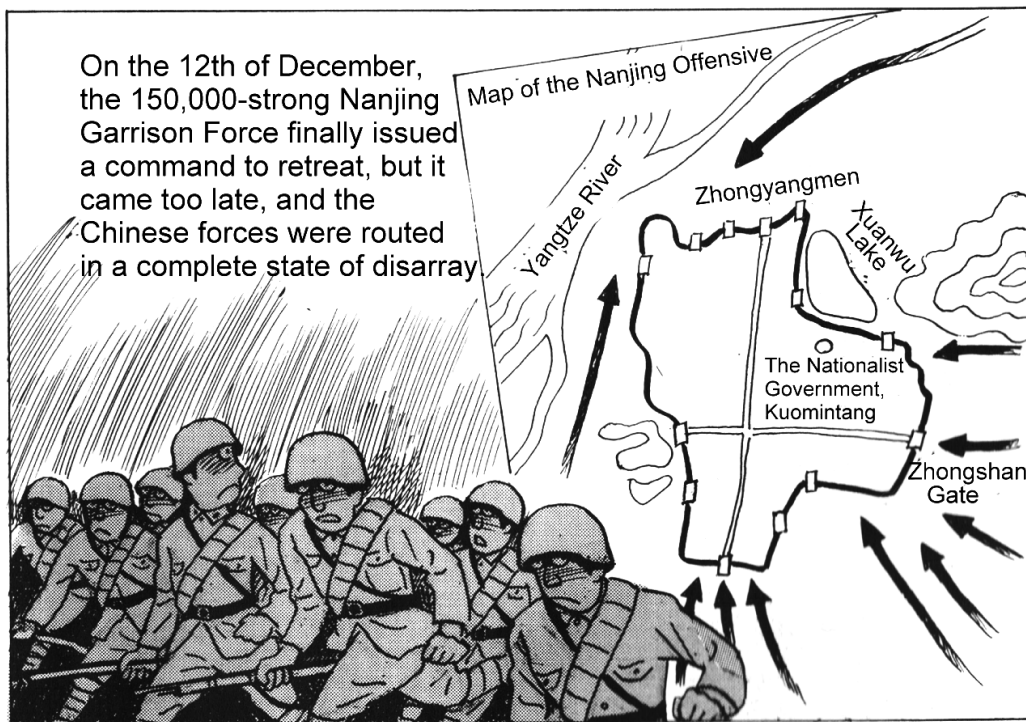
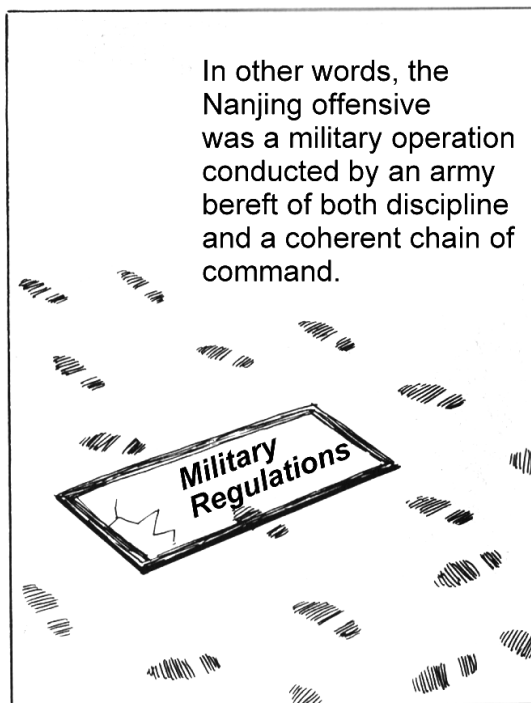
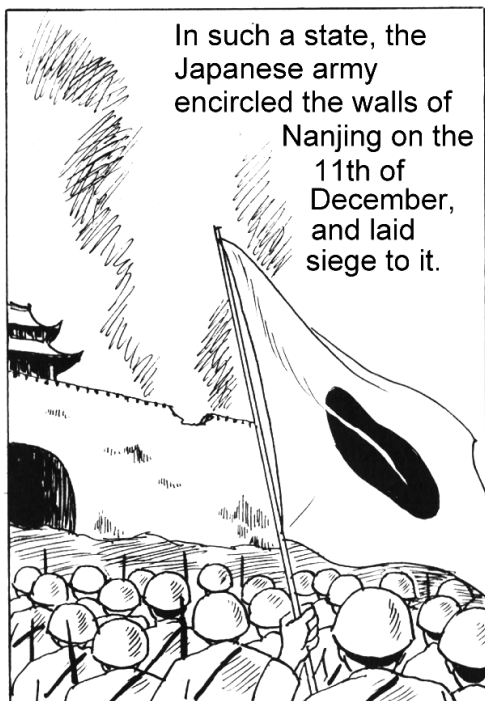


二つめは、外国公館が集中している首都を攻撃するには、司令部に外交や、渉外の機能が必要とされるが、それが欠けていたことです



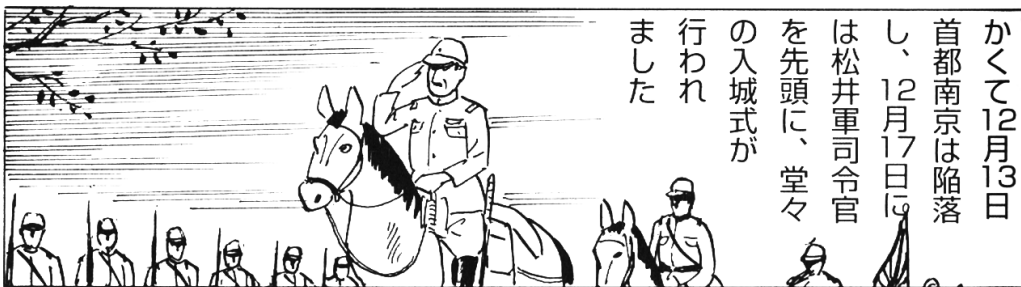
この南京攻略戦は三つの問題点をかかえていました
一つは、食糧などの補給体制が整備されていなく「食糧は現地調達」が軍の方針でした







中国通だった松井軍司令官は「南京には孫文を祀る中山陵など歴史遺産も多く、ここを破壊するのは忍びがない」というおもいがありました。しかし、軍にはそれを回避するだけの外交と渉外機能がなくやがて日本軍は三つの城門から城内へと突入していきました

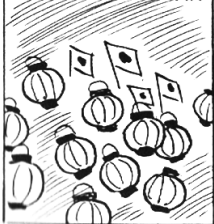


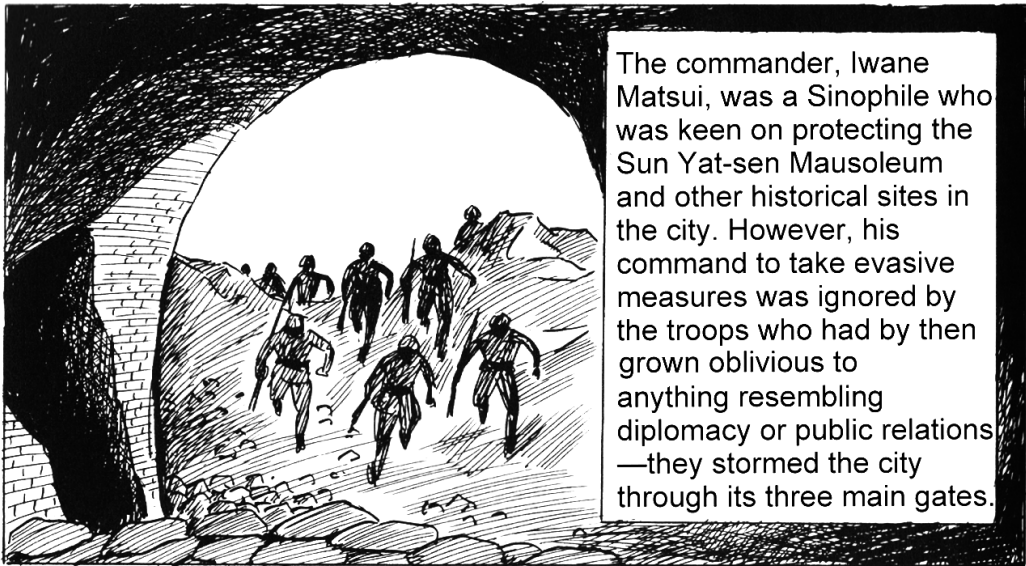
かくて12月13日
首都南京は陥落
し、12月17日
は松井軍司令官
を先頭に、堂々
の入城式が
行われ
ました



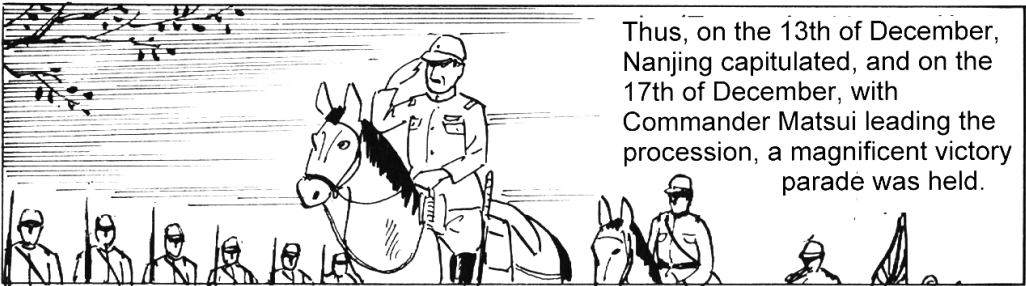
南京戦での両軍の損害はつぎの通りでした
日本軍
戦死1558人 負傷4619人
中国軍（総兵力15万人）城外へ逃げた者約5万人、残り10万中、戦死1万人、敵前逃亡約1万人、残り約8万人は捕虜として処刑されました

その頃日本では南京陥落の大ニュースで湧き立ち各地で提灯行列が行われました





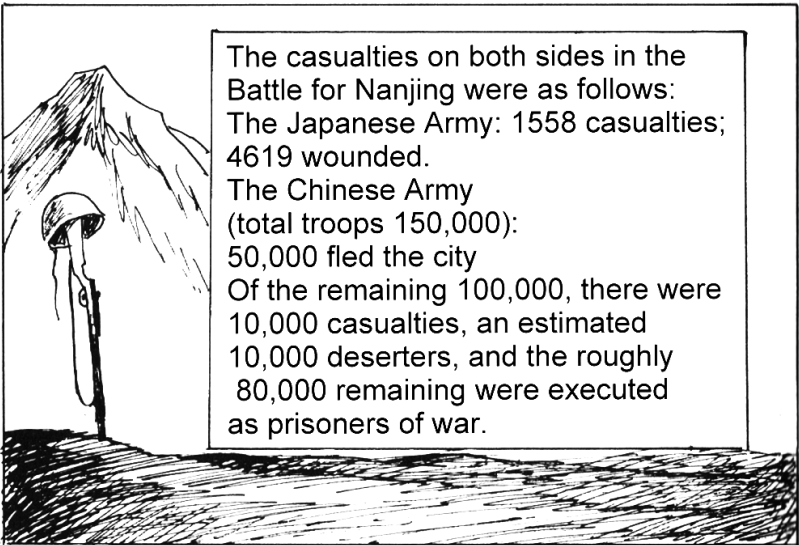
The commander, Iwane Matsui, was a Sinophile who was keen on protecting the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum and other historical sites in the city. However, his command to take evasive measures was ignored by the troops who had by then grown oblivious to anything resembling diplomacy or public relations—they stormed the city through its three main gates.



Thus, on the 13th of December, Nanjing capitulated, and on the 17th of December, with Commander Matsui leading the procession, a magnificent victory parade was held.



At this time, news of Nanjing's surrender reached Japan, the country burst into joy and night-time lantern processions were held throughout the country in celebration of the victory.



The casualties on both sides in the Battle for Nanjing were as follows:
The Japanese Army: 1558 casualties; 4619 wounded.
The Chinese Army (total troops 150,000): 50,000 fled the city
Of the remaining 100,000, there were 10,000 casualties, an estimated 10,000 deserters, and the roughly 80,000 remaining were executed as prisoners of war.

To be continued...

つづく...