

A-bomb Victim, Kurihara Sadako: The Transformation from Anarchist Poet to Peace Essayist

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Introduction

The year 2005 was a sad year for Hiroshima literary circles. Kurihara Sadako (栗原貞子), for many people all over the world — with connections to Hiroshima, is known as an author of one poem, *Let Us Be Midwives!* — *An untold story of the atomic bombing*¹ (生ましめんかな). To others, she is known as a political activist and peace essayist, and the author of another poem *When We Say HIROSHIMA* (ヒロシマというとき). She died in March 2005, at the age of 92. However, she was a tanka and free verse poet before the war. Moreover, she was a hibakusha (被爆者), an A-bomb survivor, and this experience brought her international fame as well as changing her life.

In my paper, I will concentrate on Sadako's life and literary activity before and during the Second World War, as she was crystallizing her mind as an anarchist poet, until the moment the A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, which became the turning point in Sadako's life. The reason for this is obvious. This part of her life until she wrote *Umashinka na*² is little known to the public. Then, I will briefly present her postwar achievements, discussing her position as a poet, pacifist and essayist, stressing her most active period in the 70s and 80s. I intend to show Sadako's transformation from an anarchist poet to a peace loving-activist. Here, I would like to mention that her biography, especially the post-war one, was published in 1994 by Professor Richard Minear in his book *Black Eggs* where he introduced many of her war and post-war poems up to the end of the 1980s.

Before entering the main discussion, I would like to point out the freshness of my sources of information about Sadako as the newest documents, her manuscripts and letters have been just examined and catalogued.

1. The latest sources on Kurihara Sadako

In the year 2005 Sadako's friends, including Itoh Narihiko (伊藤成彦), a professor of German Literature from Chuo University in Tokyo, a poet Itoh Mariko (伊藤真理子) and a writer Koura Chihoko (古浦千穂子) tried hurriedly to publish *The Complete Collection of Kurihara Sadako's Poetry* (栗原貞子全詩篇), containing more than five hundred poems and tanka (短歌), while she was already on her deathbed, but she died before its completion. Eventually, it was published four months later, in July 2005. However, more than one hundred essays and her journals remain to be organized and published. In May, two months after her death, her older daughter, Kurihara Mariko (栗原真理子, 1935-) gave a speech about Sadako and revealed much unpublished information about her mother. Also, a former journalist from *Chugoku Shimbun*, Andoh Yoshikatsu (安藤欣賢, 1942-2009) introduced plenty of rather unknown poems. Then, in August 2005 a symposium on Sadako's literary activities was held by Hiroshima Literature Museum, the Association of Hiroshima Citizens (広島に文学館を！市民の会), and one year later in June 2006 its presentations, as well as some memorial articles were

published in a booklet *Even the First Time Was a Mistake. Talking about Kurihara Sadako* (栗原貞子を語る一度目はあやまちでも).

After Sadako's death, her friends and her daughter, Mariko made a huge effort to put in order all the magazines, books, manuscripts, newspapers, notebooks, photographs, letters and copies of all kinds. Eventually, on July 28th 2008, about 160 boxes containing 204 manuscripts of her essays, critiques, tanka and poems, 132 notebooks and diaries, 1,980 publications from her own library (her own works as well as the books on atomic bomb literature, testimonies of A-bomb victims etc), 2,331 magazines and 307 newspapers were contributed to the library of the Christian university in Hiroshima, Jogakuin Daigaku (広島女学院大学). The official opening of The Kurihara Sadako's Peace Library (栗原貞子記念平和文庫) was held on October 7th 2008. Then, in July 2009 there were some important events, such as a lecture by Itoh Mariko at Jogakuin Daigaku, and the publication of a pamphlet, *Let Us Be Midwives!* (生ましめんかな<栗原貞子記念平和文庫>開設記念) containing which have never been published before as they had been found in Sadako's notebooks³ and the correspondence with Richard H. Minear before he published the translation of the most famous poems and tanka in his book *Black Eggs*.

2. Pre-war life and activity

What do we know about her pre-war life? She was born Doi Sadako (土居貞子) in 1913 in Hiroshima and spent almost all her life there. She graduated from a prefectural girls' high school in 1930 and her formal education ended at that point. As a 13-year-old girl she became interested in literature and even composed some poems and tanka. Later, at the age of 17-18 (1930-31) she published her works in a local Hiroshima newspaper *Chugoku Shimbun*. About that time she met a 4-year-older tanka poet, Ohhara Rinko (大原鈴子),⁴ who inspired her amateur poetry and showed the way towards writing "poetry against war" (反戦詩). As I talked to Ms. Itoh and Mr. Andoh, they observed that the first fascination with anarchism, socialism and even pacifism came from Rinko. She was a Christian and openly criticized the idea of war.

Friendship with Rinko helped Sadako to a better comprehension and adaptation to her new life partner's ideas. In 1931 she met Kurihara Tadaichi (栗原唯一), a man who became an inspiration for her whole life. Tadaichi, 7 years older, was involved in an anarchist movement in Tokyo, where he moved from Hiroshima just after the Kantoh earthquake in 1923, when many Koreans were slaughtered. As a protest against this crime he, a boy of 17, joined an anarchistic organization and even participated in some general meetings. Probably in 1928 Tadaichi returned to Hiroshima, but he was already under police surveillance. According to Mariko, Tadaichi was regarded as a socialist, and was disinherited by the people of his village and left completely without money. There is a photograph, she said, taken in some countryside with a house with a board "Studies of Socialism" (社会主義研究所) where Tadaichi taught socialistic ideas. Being with him was risky for Sadako, and he was not accepted by her family at all, as he was also called a "quasi-incompetent". However, she decided to run away with him to Matsuyama on Shikoku, where they lived for a short while. On their way home to Hiroshima, she was picked up by the police and returned to her family. Reacting against close parental supervision, Sadako proposed that she should get married and emigrate to Brazil. According to Mariko, in January 1932 she even entered the family register of the man she was supposed to go with to Brazil (戸籍結婚), but the night before she was to go to Brazil, she met secretly Tadaichi in Sannomiya, Kobe and they ran away again. She never met the man who was her husband according to the family registration; officially they

divorced two years later in September 1934.

Obviously, Sadako was with Tadaichi all those days as the first son, Tetsuya (哲也) was born in July 1932 as “a child of immoral act” (不倫の子), to use Mariko’s words. However, according to the chronological record in *The Complete Collection of Kurihara Sadako’s Poetry*, she was married to Kurihara Tadaichi on December 26th 1931 after running away from home. Tetsuya died from malnutrition in July 1934, but as he had not been registered in the family register (戸籍), his ashes were carried by his parents in a small Buddhist altar (仏壇) for many years until he was buried together with his father in 1980. From 1932 to 1937 the Kuriharas led a vagabond life moving from one city to another, such as Osaka, Tokushima, Matsuyama, Beppu on Kyushu coming back to Hiroshima just for a while. As Tadaichi was a socialist, they were followed all the time by the special secret service police and they could not stay in one place. They had no steady work, and had no money for food or simple accommodation, as Mariko recalled. Sadako worked temporarily as a kind of helper carrying things during temple festivals, or sold brochures or song cards for street singers (演歌師), she was employed by. In the meantime, as I mentioned earlier, she bore a son in 1932 and a daughter, Mariko on July 29th 1935. Despite all this hardship, lack of money, food, place to sleep, bringing up two children, Sadako was always by Tadaichi’s side. He never stopped learning, though he was a middle-school drop-out. He found in Sadako a great listener and follower of his anarchistic ideas.

In the title of my presentation I used the word “anarchist”, when I wrote that Kurihara was an anarchist poet in the early days of her activity. Perhaps this statement might seem exaggerated, but if we look closely at the tanka and poems written and published in the early 30s, we will find the influence of Ohhara Rinko, and her husband, Tadaichi. Even the fact that she was with him, supporting him mentally and physically as his wife of her own choice, indicates that she was somehow involved in anarchist activism. She was brave and admiringly strong, as Mariko stressed. In those days when Japan was becoming a military country, even condemning wars was regarded as a hostile activity.

As I have mentioned before, from March 1930 to March 1931, Sadako published her first poems and tanka on *Bungei* (*Literary Art*, 文藝) page of *Chugoku Shimbun*. According to the main compiler and the preface writer to *The Complete Collection of Kurihara Sadako’s Poetry*, Itoh Narihiko, for more than 70 years from 1930 till the day she was still able to write, he feels “the magnificence embracing the consistency of her whole poetry” (作者の詩作活動の一貫性を保った大きさ).⁵ Sadako was one of the young members of the “Reform Movement of Tanka” (短歌革新運動), and then she contributed to a poetical magazine *Shojorin* (*Maidens’ Forest*, 処女林), later changed into *Maki* (*Tree*, 眞樹).

Tanka and free verse contributed to *Bungei* were mostly about nature, love, but she also touched on some serious topics. In *Hothouse People* (むろ咲きの人間) from January 1931, she pities workers shut in a hot factory room yearning for the sun above their heads. In tanka from March 1931 she asks “if the world where people smile nonchalantly has gone” (さりげなく笑む世過ぎか).⁶

The poems and tanka which were published in *Bungei*, have been safely preserved and presented in the 2005 collection of her poetry, but presumably, although she kept sending her manuscripts to *Maki* from 1935 to 1943, only one piece from June 1940 has been found and published in the collection. It is *Melancholy of the Season* (季節の憂鬱), a very nostalgic and metaphorical 8- part tanka. She might have continued writing poetry while she was bringing up her children but none of the pieces have been preserved. The short period between 1931 and 1935 reminds obscure.

3. The war period

In 1937 the Kuriharas eventually settled down in Hiroshima, and with huge support from Sadako's older sister, ran a shop selling daily necessities and groceries. From that time they were no longer under police surveillance. Finally they closed the shop in 1944. After the second daughter, Junko (純子) was born on October 28th 1938,⁷ the Doi family resumed their relationship with the Kuriharas.

In July 1940, Tadaichi was called up to serve on a hospital ship and was briefly in the China front until he contracted beriberi, and was sent home in November. Once, while he was returning from the Hiroshima Army Hospital on a bus, he talked about the Japanese atrocities in Shanghai to an acquaintance, and soon was denounced and arrested. Fortunately, several days later he was released, but this fact strengthened the Kuriharas' anti-war sentiments.

As their life became quieter, Sadako started writing more intensively. She left four notebooks full of free verses and tanka, entitled *The Sun - during the war (1935-1940)* (太陽一戦中編) with 29 pieces;⁸ *Songs of Days and Nights. January 1945* (あけくれの歌) with 11 pieces, written from January to July 1945, later in the same notebook she continued writing after the bombing since August, leaving 43 pieces. The other two notebooks are *The First One After the War, (1) 1945-1951* (戦後初期編) and *The Birth — Poem Collection after the war. 1952* (詩集—出生。戦後初期詩篇).

In a note added in 1986, she wrote she had put a camouflage title on this notebook because of some strong poems against the war. She wrote about all that had happened in her every day life, about her love for her husband, her children, about nature, and about the hardship in the war suffered by ordinary people. However, I would like especially to pay attention to a few anti-war free verses and tanka. In the notebook *The Sun* there is a poem dated October 5th 1935,⁹ *Once More, the Sun* (再び太陽を). It is a very typical anti-war poem in which Sadako demanded peace, symbolized by the sun, for ordinary people while “hellish ideas gradually became the black smoke” (地獄の思想は/ やがて軍需工場の黒煙となって), “fire bombs” (焼夷弾となって), “poison gas” (毒瓦斯弾となって) and “destroy culture” (人類の文明を炎上させ), while “scholars, artists, educators, politicians all extolled hellish ideas”¹⁰ (学者も芸術家も教育家も/ 政治家もひとしく/ 地獄の釜の蓋の上で/ 地獄の思想を賛美する).¹¹

Sadako reacted to Hitler's aggression in Europe by writing tanka *The Fall of Paris — Hitler* (巴里陥落、ヒトラー) in June 1940 and criticizing those who supported Hitler. “Individuals attack, and it's a crime;/ nations attack and win praise.” (個人が侵せし時は罪となり/ 国侵せしはたたえらるるも) “Hitler takes small nations one after the other and swells with pride;/ many people applaud him”¹² (次々に小国ほうりて勝ちおごる/ ヒトラーに拍手送る人の多きも).¹³ In April 1941, under the influence of an anarchistic idea from Tadaichi, she wrote *Letter — To Peter Kropotkin*¹⁴ (手紙—ピーター・クロボトキンに送る—). Looking forward to a peaceful resolution of the war, she writes, “O friends the world over/ Let's unite across our length and breadth./ Let's talk, consult, agree, and form a free union”¹⁵ (世界中の友よ/ 縦に横に連合しよう。お互いに話しあい/ 相談しあって自由に連合しよう)¹⁶. She shows similar wishes in “From all the battlefronts - imagining the day peace comes” (すべての戦線から—平和の来る日を想いて—) written in August 1943. She writes, “Each side calls across to the other:/ ‘Hey, a great day!’/ peace, peace: day/ people once again are brought together./ A day earlier,/ and those men wouldn't have died in battle”¹⁷ (「おーい君達うれしいね—」と/ 対峙しあった敵の陣地に呼びかける。/ 平和だ、平和だ、新しく人々が/ むすびつけられる日が来たのだ。/ この日が昨日だったら/ 彼奴戦死しなくってもよかったもの。)¹⁸ Yet, in August 1942 in “*War*

Close Up — On hearing over the radio a simulation of the sounds of battle” (戦争に寄せる一戦場の音の写実放送をききてー), Sadako ironically describes the triumphal advance of the Japanese army which is defeating enemy after enemy, being proud of the killings. And her last words in the poem are: “Justice becomes the password of thieves./ (...) They howl out:/ ‘Fight to the last man, the last woman.’” (そこで正義は泥棒共の合言葉となり/ 不正なる相手国を撃滅して/ 世界平和を確立すると肩をいからせる/ 十年も百年も男も女も最後の一人に至るまで/ 断じて戦うと吠えたてる). She writes that soldiers carry banners: “Our case is just, our war is holy”¹⁹ (我が国は正義だ、聖戦だと旗のぼりをたてる).²⁰ A similar tone can be read in *What is War* (戦争とは何か) written in October 1942 where she condemns entirely some aspects of war such as cruelty, murders, innocent women’s rapes by greedy soldiers who pretend to be good at home, but are beasts on the front. The latest two poems, *War Close Up* and *What is War*, were censored soon after the war, for too strong anti-war elements.

Finally, there comes the free verse *Black eggs* (黒い卵), written in November 1942, which 4 years later Sadako used as the title for her first and most important collection. It is a very metaphorical poem about herself as a bird locked in a hard black egg-shell waiting to get out of it and become a beautiful bird. As Mr. Andoh interpreted the title, “black” is the symbolic colour of anarchism, and the egg is Sadako who wants to break free from tight ties, to become free, to spread her wings. It does not mean, though, that she wants to leave the anarchistic world, rather she wants to be free in expressing her anarchistic ideas, or ideas of the free world. Perhaps here is the reason why she named her first poetic collection *Kuroi tamago*.

4. August 6th and later

1945, August 5th, the day before the atomic bomb fell, she was mobilized to clean firebreaks in Tenjincho, the ground zero. The next morning, the 6th, she was at home in Gion, Hiroshima, 4 km from the epicenter cleaning up in the kitchen when she saw the flash. All of the walls, windows, roofs were blown up by a strong bomb blast. When it got colder, she took the girls and sheltered in her hometown in Kabe, a few kilometers from downtown. The next day, though, she came back to Gion and from the 9th she helped her neighbours to search for bodies. All she saw she described almost on the spot, first in tanka *The Day of the Atomic Bomb* (原子爆弾投下当日). Many of her tanka become more like reports from the spots she visited, *Going to the Aid Station to Bring Home a Corpse* (戦災者収容所に死体を引き取りに行く) or *In the Camp of National School in Koi* (己斐国民学校収容所にて), *The Surrender* (降伏), 3 parts of *City Ravaged by Flames* (焼けのあとの街) and so on. She wrote more than 40 pieces after the atomic bombing, but most of them were never published until 2005. A few days after the bombing, even before the complete defeat she, Tadaichi, who was saved that day because he worked in the Mitsubishi factory and one of their friends, Hosoda Tamiki (細田民樹) decided to organize cultural life in Hiroshima by forming the Federation of Chugoku Culture (中国文化連盟). As the fruit of *Chugoku Bunka*, was the publication of a special first issue on the atomic bomb in March 1946. There, Sadako’s poem *Umashimenka na* appeared for the first time. She wrote it in September 1945, based on a real story about an old woman who helped at the birth of a baby, but died soon after. This poem, very apolitical but full of hope for the future, became a symbol of Kurihara Sadako, translated into several languages and quoted whenever she was mentioned.

Sadako’s first attempt to publish her own collection of free verses and tanka, according to her own wishes, failed. Three of the harshest poems and eleven tanka were censored by the government, or finally by

herself in order to avoid more complications. Therefore, the first collection *Kuroi tamago* was eventually published in August 1946 by *Chugoku Bunka Sosho* (中国文化叢書). It contained about 60 poems from all of her notebooks written during and soon after the war, and carefully selected by Sadako, Tadaichi and Hosoda. Unfortunately, she had to wait 37 years for the complete version of her anti-war collection. In July 1983 *Black Eggs: The Complete Edition* (黒い卵—完全版) was reprinted together with the censored poems. In the Afterword Sadako writes, “Poems are the manifestation of the spirit at its most free, so poets experience coercion at the hands of the powers that be, and their poetry is suppressed.”²¹ She also says that there were times when no one could talk about atomic bomb literature, but nowadays as the nuclear age continues, we can and we should openly talk about it.

5. Transformation from a poet to an essayist

For many years after publishing *Kuroi tamago* in 1946 she largely stopped writing poetry. In the 50s, she actively participated in conferences, meetings, etc. on atomic bomb literature, against atomic and hydrogen bombs, sometimes even giving speeches. She was busy as she played an important role in many of Tadaichi's political activities when he ran for political office, and was elected to Hiroshima's prefectural assembly in 1955.²² It is impossible to say that she completely stopped writing poems. For sure she gave up writing tanka, regarding this form as outdated, but free verse was her life — only the topics changed. She was no more an “anarchist” poet in the strict meaning of this word. She wrote poems to the very end, the last recorded ones in her complete collection are from 2002. In 1959, she published a small version of *I Bear Witness for Hiroshima* (私は広島を証言する). In 1962 she participated in another international conference against atomic and hydrogen bombs, and on this occasion her first English version collection, *The Songs of Hiroshima* was published. The extended version of her poems *I Bear Witness for Hiroshima* appeared in 1967. The next collection, *HIROSHIMA. Futurescape* (ヒロシマ・未来風景) was in 1974, and the famous one, *When We Say HIROSHIMA* (ヒロシマというとき) in 1976. Later, until 1990 she published a collection almost every second or third year. The last one appeared in 1997, *Our Grief Song over HIROSHIMA that Cannot Be Forgotten* (忘れじのヒロシマわが悼みうた).

She probably started writing essays in the 1950s, but was most active as an essayist in the 70s and 80s. She wrote more than 120 essays. Her first volume of essays appeared in 1970: *Document - HIROSHIMA at 24. Today's Redemption* (どきゅめんと ヒロシマ24年「現代の救済」), then in 1975 *Embracing the atomic landscape of HIROSHIMA* (ヒロシマの原風景を抱いて), in 1978 *Nukes. Emperor. Hibakusha* (核、天皇、被爆者), in 1982 *Living in the Nuclear Age* (核時代に生きる) and finally in 1992 *Questions for HIROSHIMA* (問われるヒロシマ). It is worth stressing here that each time Sadako used the word “Hiroshima”, she wrote it with katakana. She didn't talk about the place; she talked about the phenomenon. And her poetry was compiled at least twice, her essays - never.

It is really hard to call Sadako simply a poet. She was a poet indeed, an anarchistic poet before the war, but her later poetry turned somewhat into a fighting declaration of peace, yelling or shouting for it, after what had happened to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Even in her poems, but more in her essays, she became an angry pacifist who condemned any kind of war. The topics she touched in her poetry were developed in her essays. The quality of her poetry is not as high as the literary quality of her prose.

She was a keen observer and a political commentator of her times. She is still regarded as a minor poet

and essayist being published occasionally only in local newspapers such as *Chugoku Shimbun*, and little known in literary circles in Japan. She was also published only in Hiroshima-based educational or literary magazines, and completely ignored by national newspapers. As Richard H. Minear indicates, she was “largely shut out of national media”.²³ Sadako belonged to the stream of critical opposition; she touched the topics which were very “unpopular” in Japan. First, for the whole of her life, through her works and activities, she continued to fight for peace in the world and for the recognition of rights for hibakusha. She was very severe about the unjust treatment of hibakusha after the war by the Japanese government. In *The Heart of Hibakusha* (被爆者の心), written in 1976, published in the essay compilation in 1978, she stated that although hibakusha are living under the shadow of death, they are very positive in their attitude. One of her favourite expressions was 死の中の生, which can be translated as “life in death”. In many essays she demanded complete nuclear disarmament. For example, in *From nuclear civilization to nonnuclear civilization* (核文明から非核文明へ), the essays from 1975 to 1978) she asked why America and Japan got together in order to improve nuclear weapons, although they used to be enemies. She often touched on the problem of so called “education about peace” or “peace education” (平和教育) in relation to the problem of hibakusha. In many articles she discussed the importance of atomic bomb literature (原爆文学), for example in the context of Ohta Yoko (大田洋子) and Hara Tamiki’s (原民喜) literature. She compared the problem of hibakusha from Hiroshima or Nagasaki to the problem of hibakusha from Bikini or Nevada standing for their rights to the normal life. Still, in her essays she joined the world appeal for the abandonment of all atomic and hydrogen weapons. For years she discussed the very delicate topic of the existence of the emperor system questioning the real meaning of it in *Emperor for Hibakusha* (被爆者にとっての天皇). When she used the word “war”, she did not mean not only “Hiroshima and Nagasaki”, but she wrote in the wider context that Japan should not forget its aggression in Asia. Nowadays Japan openly agrees with the harm done to Asia, but in the 70s and 80s it was still a taboo topic. She was not popular among politicians, because she fearlessly criticized the Japanese government for not revealing the whole truth about the war. She demanded people remember the atrocities of the war, but not only those done to Japan, but also those done by Japanese Army in the Asian countries. She was not afraid to draw attention to the Japanese military errors and cruelties in Asia during the war. In the poem *When We Say HIROSHIMA* (ヒロシマというとき) written in 1972, but only recently famous, she saw Japan as a victimizer of Asian countries. She had the courage to admit in the name of Japan, that her country invaded Asia and harmed its nations with malice. She also fought for the rights of the Korean hibakusha who still suffered from not being recognized as hibakusha by the Japanese government.

She travelled abroad only twice, in May 1980 to Hawaii to participate in a conference against nuclear weapons, and in June 1982 to Cologne to take part in the International Literature Congress.

Sadako also commented courageously on later events such as the Vietnam War, Tiananmen Square, American-Japanese politics and military bases in Iwakuni near Hiroshima or Sasebo in Kyushu as well as sending Japanese troops to Iraq in the Gulf War. However, somehow, her interest in world peace always revolved around Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The fear of a war always had its beginning and its end in the tragedies of these two cities. Whatever tragic topic she spoke of, she always returned to the reason for it, that is to say Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

She was involved in a car accident in 1994, and confined to a wheelchair, but almost to the end of her life she remained active.

Epilogue

I think she was a very rare literary person in modern Japanese literature who, similarly to Oe Kenzaburo, openly criticized the policies of the Japanese government, although she remains somewhat unknown in Japanese, and of course, world literature. Some of her poems, like *Umashimenka na* or *HIROSHIMA to iu toki* were translated into several European languages as well as into Arabic (1992).

I discussed the transformation of Kurihara Sadako's works from her first interests in peace as a young anarchist poet before the war, through her sad experience in Hiroshima to her involvement in the peace activities.

Afterword

Foreign translations

The first English translation of *Umashimenka na* was made in 1962 by Ohhara Miyao as *Let's Help Them Bear* and published in a collection entitled *The Songs of Hiroshima* (the Japanese version of the same compilation was ヒロシマの歌—アンソロジー). In the same collection there was another poem by Kurihara, *I Would be a Witness for Hiroshima* (私は広島を証言する). These two poems were also published in the 1971-year re-edition of *The Songs of Hiroshima* (原爆詩集). In April 1980 a new version of the translation of *Umashimenka na, We Shall Bring Forth New Life* was presented by Wayne Lammers and was published in a new collection, *The Songs of Hiroshima — When Hiroshima Is Spoken of* by Anthology Publishing Association, Hiroshima.²⁴ From June 18th to 25th 1982, Kurihara Sadako participated in The International Literature Congress INTERLIT '82 in Cologne, Germany, where she gave the presentation, 「核時代の体験作家の苦悩」²⁵. Later, her presentation was translated into English and added to a new edition of *The Songs of Hiroshima — When Hiroshima Is Spoken of* as *The Suffering of writers who experienced Hiroshima, and contemporary literature on the subject of the atomic bomb*. To the latest edition of *The Songs of Hiroshima — When Hiroshima Is Spoken of* Kurihara also added *In Front Monument for the Atom Bomb dead — 85' Hiroshima Appeal* (原爆慰霊碑の前から).

Richard H. Minear, the main American translator of Kurihara's poetry yet in the 1980-version of *The Songs of Hiroshima*, published some of her poems. Later, in 1989, his translations were compiled in *The Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 21, No1 (January -March) under the title of *Four Poems (1941-1945) by the Hiroshima Poet Kurihara Sadako*. In 1994, Minear published a short biography of Kurihara and the translations of 146 poems, entitled *Black eggs. Poems by Kurihara Sadako (Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Richard Minear)* in the Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Moreover, Richard Minear published 9 poems in "International Quarterly" (Vol. II, 1 - *Voices Across Continents, 2- Fifty Years of Fallout*, 1995, p. 252-261). Then, he also introduced 5 poems in *The Other Japan. Conflict, Compromise, and Resistance Since 1945*²⁶ in the *Chapter 15 Five Poems (1974-1991) by the Hiroshima Poet Kurihara Sadako* (pp. 343-349). Finally, in 1999 Minear published 26 poems from his previous collection, *When We Say Hiroshima. Selected Poems* (Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan).

Minear in his two collections inserted Kurihara's most famous poem, *Umashimenka na* adding this English version to two other ones from 1962 and 1980. His title is *Let Us Be Midwives!*. In 1995, one more

Japanese literary critic from America, John Whittier Treat in his book *Writing Ground Zero. Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb* published very similar version to Minear's, also entitled *Let Us Be Midwives!*, but he changed in it a few expressions. Finally, in 2007, a completely new translation of atomic bomb literature poetry was published by a group of poets and translators, *Against nuclear Weapons. A Collection of Poems by 181 Poets 1945-2007* (Coal Sack Books). This new translation of *Umashimenka na*, done by Naoshi Koriyama was issued under the title *I'll help the baby come out!—A hidden A-bomb story —*.

In the 80s there were more foreign translations of Kurihara's poetry. Russian translation of *Umashimenka na*, *Даруйте новую жизнь!* done by A. Mamonov was published in 1985 in *Хиросима. Романы, рассказы, стихи* by Hudojestvienaya Literatura, Moscow (p.560).

The two most famous poems by Kurihara, *Umashimenka na* as *Helft den Gebärenden* (p.117), and *Hiroshima to iu toki* as *Wenn wir Hiroshima sagen* (p. 169) were translated into German and published for the first time in 1984 by Siegfried Schaarschmidt, Itoh Narihiko and Wolfgang Schamoni (Herausgegeben von. Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt am Main) in the book *Seit Jenem Tag. Hiroshima und Nagasaki in der japanischen Literatur. In the magazine Öko* (No. 32 July-August 1985) Gauthier W. Löffler introducing 40 years of the history of Hiroshima translated *Umashimenka na* as *Laß neues leben gebären!* In 1982 (May 21) in the magazine *Literatur aus aller Welt*, *Hiroshima-no midori* was translated as *Das Grün von Hiroshima* (reprinted in a newspaper *FF Dabei* No. 39 from September 20th, 1982).

The 80s was the decade of foreign translations of Kurihara's writings, poems and essays. The Swedish version of *Umashimenka na* was first published in the book (?) *Barnen I Stenen* in May 1982 as *Vi skall ge liv på nytt*, and *Watashi-wa Hiroshima-wo shogen suru* as *Jag vill vara ett vittne om Hiroshima* by AnnMargret Dahlqvist-Ljungberg.

The Finnish newspaper *Keskisuomalainen* on April 17th 1983 introduced *Umashimenka na* as *Auttakaamme uusi elämä syntymään* translated by Junko Momose and Raija Hashimoto.

Among the materials donated to Jogakuin Daigaku there is a translation of Andrej Bekeš (one of the languages of the former Yugoslavia), "*Naj se rodi*" (*Umashimenka na*) {vecer v kleti porusene zgradbe} and *Ko recemo Hiroshima (Hiroshima to iu toki)*, but it is still unknown whether was it published or not, and if so, when and where.

The Esperanto version of *Umashimenka na* as *Por al vivo naskigon doni* was published on August 15th, 1985 in an Esperanto magazine *La Movado* in Tokyo.

The Korean version of *Mirai-ha koko-ga hajimaru, Mire-nyn yogi-soputo shichak tenda*, translated by the professor of Momoyama Daigakuin, Kim Hak Hyeon is among the contributed materials, but when and where was it published, it still unknown.

According to a letter from October 7th, 1992 to Kurihara, written by Baker Abdel Munem, the Palestine Representative to Japan, the Head of the Permanent General Mission of Palestine in Japan, four of her poems, *Witness of Hiroshima, The Underground City, Another Clock* and *Greenery of Hiroshima* were translated into Arabic and published in newspapers and weekly magazines including organ of the PLO from the end of July to the first week of August, 1992, as well as on August 6th.

According to the materials contributed to the Jogakuin Daigaku, the first French translation of five poems of Kurihara: *L'accoucheuse (Umashimenka na)*, *Grues en papier (Orizuru)*, *La guerre (Ikusa)*, *Quand on dit Hiroshima...* (*Hiroshima to iu toki*) and *Comme un chat jouant a cache-cache (Kakurenbo-no oni-no yoni)* were published by Makoto Kenmoku and Patrick Blanche in 2004 (pp. 70-77) in a booklet *Hiroshima*

Nagasaki, après la bombe atomique. Poemes choisis. A year later, in 2005 Jean-Pierre Lemesle published in “le cherche midi” the book *Les Plus beaux poemes — Pour La Paix — Anthologie* with the prefaces of Mayor of Hiroshima, Akiba Tadatoshi and Mayor of Nagasaki, Itoh Iccho and with Kurihara’s poem, *L’accoucheuse* (p.113-114) translated by Makoto Kenmoku, Patrick Blanche and Miho Shimma.

Also in 2005, an Italian student of Universita’ Degli Studi Roma „La Sapienza”, Patricia Gabriele issued her master thesis, entitled *Kurihara Sadako: La Poesia della Genbaku Bungaku* introducing some of the most famous poems in Italian.

There is also a Polish translation of *Umashineka na (Pozwólcie jej urodzić)* done by me but still awaiting publication.

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¹ All the titles are cited after *Black Eggs. Poems by Kurihara Sadako* Translated by Richard H. Minear.

² The most famous verses such as *Umashimenka na* or *Kuroi tamago* have been left without English equivalent on purpose.

³ In the four notebooks, only with Sadako’s poems and tanka, which were found in the boxes, there were 109 poems. They have never been published before. Among them, 86 verses have never been even showed publicly. The other 23 were published before but were not compiled in *The Complete Collection of Kurihara Sadako’s Poetry*.

⁴ She died in 1939 at the age of 30 from pneumonia; she was the younger sister of Ohhara Miyao (大原三八雄), a famous poet and translator of A-bomb poetry 原爆詩 in the 60s.

⁵ *The Complete Collection of Kurihara Sadako’s Poetry*, p. 4.

⁶ Ibid. p. 40.

⁷ The old documents indicate that she was born in January 1939.

⁸ First, on her notebook she wrote 1935-1940, but in 1986 she mistook the date and on *Akekure-no uta* she wrote 1935-1943.

⁹ Although Richard H. Minear writes “October 1941”, which makes a huge difference.

¹⁰ All quotations have come from Richard Minear *Black Eggs*, p. 55.

¹¹ *The Complete Collection of Kurihara Sadako’s Poetry*, pp. 50-51.

- ¹² *Black Eggs*”, pp. 123-125.
- ¹³ *The Complete Collection of Kurihara Sadako's Poetry*, pp. 43-44.
- ¹⁴ Peter Kropotkin, 1842-1921, the creator of anarchistic communism.
- ¹⁵ *Black Eggs*, p. 64.
- ¹⁶ *The Complete Collection of Kurihara Sadako's Poetry*, p. 55.
- ¹⁷ *Black Eggs*, p. 54.
- ¹⁸ *The Complete Collection of Kurihara Sadako's Poetry*, p.68.
- ¹⁹ *Black Eggs*. pp. 49-50.
- ²⁰ *The Complete Collection of Kurihara Sadako's Poetry*, p.62.
- ²¹ *Black Eggs*, p. 152.
- ²² He served three terms until 1967.
- ²³ *Black Eggs*, p. 14.
- ²⁴ Cheryl Lammers, Wayne Lammers, Laylehe Masaoka, Osamu Masaoka, Cheiron McMahill, Miyao Ohara, Setsuko Thurlow, Gauthier Loffler, Katsuya Kodama, Joy Kogawa Aiko Carter, and Richard Minear are the translators of *The Songs of Hiroshima*. The collection in the form of a magazine was published at Kurihara's own expense. The first, second and third editions were in 1980, four editions in 1981, one edition in 1982, one edition in 1983, two editions in 1985, one in 1988, one in 1989 and one in 1994.
- ²⁵ The other participants from Hiroshima except from Kurihara, was Ito Narihiko, Komura Fujihiko, Koura Chihoko, as well as writers Oda Makoto and Hotta Yoshie. There were more than 250 writers from all over the world.
- ²⁶ Edited with an introduction by Joe Moore for the *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Studies*, M. E. Sharpe, Armonk New York, 1997.

A-bomb Victim, Kurihara Sadako: The Transformation from Anarchist Poet to Peace Essayist

In March 2005 an essayist, poet and peace activist, Kurihara Sadako died at the age of 92. Her friends tried hurriedly to publish a Complete Compilation of her poetry while she was terminally ill, but she died before its completion. It was published in July 2005. However, her essays remain to be organized and published.

She started writing *tanka* and poems in the 1930ties. Under the influence of her husband, Tadaichi, she was involved in an anarchist movement. Many of these early works were published after the war in her first compilation *Kuroi tamago* (1946). After the second compilation, *Watashi-wa Hiroshima-o shougen suru* (1967), she returned to writing poetry, and continued until 2000. She also wrote essays. Her first volume appeared in 1970, and she continued writing up to the mid-nineties, but they have never been compiled. One might question why she was a minor poet and essayist being published occasionally only in local newspapers and rather unknown in literary circles in Japan. Kurihara was a keen observer and a political commentator of her times. The day after the A-bomb attack she hurried to help others. That day changed her life. She was not popular among politicians, because she openly criticized the Japanese government for not revealing the whole truth about the war. In the recently famous poem *Hiroshima to iu toki*, written in 1972, she saw Japan as a victimizer of Asian countries. She also commented on later events such as the Vietnam War, Tiananmen Square, American-Japanese politics and sending Japanese troops to Iraq in 1992.

She has also become famous as the author of the poem *Umashimenka na* (1945) which has been translated into several languages. Some of her other poems and essays have been translated into English, but have yet to gain wide recognition.

In my paper I intend to discuss the transformation of Kurihara's works from her first interests in peace before the war, through her sad experience in Hiroshima and her involvement in peace activism. I will extend the materials already published in English by adding ones unpublished and revealed lately by her daughter, Mariko.

栗原貞子 — アナキスト詩人から平和（主義者）の エッセイストへの変換

戦争の恐れを知らない平和の時代に生まれた人々に、この恐れを伝え続けた詩人・エッセイスト、広島出身である栗原貞子は2005年3月に他界した。92歳であった。彼女は原子爆弾による犠牲者であったのに、出来るかぎりの精力的な活動に従事し、平和主義者であったからなのだろうか、そんなにも長く生き延びたのである。

全国的というか、広島でもあまり知られていない彼女は、時代の波に逆らい続け、詩、短歌、エッセイなどの「言葉」で戦い続けた女性作家であった。「原爆作家」とも呼ばれた栗原であるが、実際には戦前から詩を書いている。アナキストで準禁治産者であった夫唯一の影響を受け、地方の詩人界でも有名であった。当時、妻と母親の両方の役割を果たしながら、戦争が近付いてくるに伴う恐ろしいまでの雰囲気、反戦詩の形でノートに纏めて、そこからいくつかの詩を、すでに戦前に発表していた女性詩人であったのである。当時の日本は、戦争に舵を切り始めていたので、栗原の平和への努力は全く認められていなかった。

戦時中には広島郊外にいたので、1945年8月6日に直接原爆に遭わなかったが、翌々日に被爆者を救うために爆心地に入り、被爆したのであった。自分の目で見た生々しい風景を直ちに詩や短歌にして、まるでジャーナリストのようにノートに書いた。その時、栗原の最も有名となった詩「生まれめんなかな」が創作された。戦争直後、GHQの検閲のために出版できなかった詩集『黒い卵』を、1946年に自費で発表した。母親として、地方の政治家の妻として一生懸命に働きながら、詩、短歌、エッセイを書くことに邁進したのである。夫唯一が亡くなってからは、全身全霊を傾けて平和のために「言葉で戦い」続けた。原爆に関する作品だけでなく、第二次世界大戦の悲しい思い出、つまり「日本の恥部」であるアジア諸国の侵略とそれによってもたらされる現地の人々の苦しみ、また日本人以外の被爆者の惨めな運命などについて書いたのである。時の流れと共に、戦争の思い出が風化しつつあった逆境の中で詩やエッセイを発表し続けた。ベトナム戦争、1989年6月の北京の天安門事件における虐殺、1991年のイラク戦争などについても、深い人間性に根差す「怒り」のコメントやエッセイを書き連ねた。1994年まで被爆者の一人として外国に行ったり、積極的に証言したり、学会にも参加したりしたのだが、1994年に自動車事故に遭われ、車椅子の生活を余儀なくされた。そういう不自由な境遇になっても、死ぬまで詩を書き続けたのである。