Tatsuo Hori's Literature as a Source of Post-War Democratic Thought

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*The literary works of Tatsuo Hori 堀辰雄 (1904–53) have been brought back into the spotlight in recent years following the release of Hayao Miyazaki's film **The Wind Rises 風立ちぬ** in 2013. Beginning with various aspects of the reception of Hori's literature during and after the war, this paper clarifies the significance of Miyazaki's role in reintroducing this forgotten writer in the 21st century. The success of this film is proof that there is still an actuality in "post-war democratic thought," a legacy of the 20th century in contemporary Japan.*

Keywords: *Tatsuo Hori, The Wind Rises, Hayao Miyazaki, Japanese modern literature, Post-war democratic thought, Shuichi Kato, Yoshie Hotta.*

1 A revival of Tasuo Hori: *The Wind Rises* of Hayao Miyazaki

Hayao Miyazaki's film *The Wind Rises* 風立ちぬ released in 2013, was based on Tatsuo Hori's 堀辰雄 (1904–53) novel, and it became the highest-grossing film in Japan that year. Hori was one of the most influential writers in Japan during and after the Second World War until the 1970s, but by the time Miyazaki released this film, he had been forgotten.

Why did Miyazaki choose an author who was relatively outmoded in the 21st century?[1] Miyazaki had decided to make Jiro Horikoshi 堀越二郎 (1903–1982), the designer of the "Zero fighter plane" (ゼロ戦), the main character of the film, but Miyazaki was not convinced by Horikoshi's autobiographical essay.[2] He did not believe that Horikoshi's opinions were scripted there. Miyazaki wanted to understand the things that fascinated Horikoshi. Miyazaki believed that he could elucidate it by creating a fictional character in an animation film, a composite of two real persons: Jiro Horikoshi and one another "Hori."

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1 There is a manga that was written around 2008 and was the inspiration for the film. It was published as a book in 2015, after the film was released, as *The Wind Rises: Hayao Miyazaki's Delusional Comeback*.

2 Jiro Horikoshi, *Zero Fighter: A Record of Birth and Glory* (1970).

Respect for the two "Hori" is the most important message of the film. However, the second "Hori," or Tatsuo Hori, is embedded in the film like a code, and it may not be easy for those unfamiliar with Japanese literary history to understand it. Certainly, Miyazaki's method, not limited to this film, has been to generally avoid clearly stating his most important message, but even without this tendency, it is necessary to watch this film again after reading Tatsuo Hori's works.

In recent years, owing to the success of this film, several studies have been published that explain carefully what elements of Hori's novels are employed in this film.[3]

This study attempts to explain why Miyazaki chose Tatsuo Hori as the subject of his film by tracing the larger context, namely, the reception of this writer in the history of Japanese modern and contemporary literature.

Miyazaki's choice was never a matter of his personal preference. Miyazaki acknowledged in an interview with Kazutoshi Hando 半藤一利, a journalist and an expert on the history of the Showa period (1926–1989), "Tatsuo Hori was difficult to approach".[4] Miyazasaki admitted that he was not a fan of Hori's work and that he was not fascinated by his novels. However, he had no choice but to select this writer.

To conclude preemptively, Miyazaki's choice is determined by his credo, which is in line with the core of what is characterized as "post-war democratic thought"（戦後民主主義思想）.[5]

2 Tatsuo Hori and his era

2.1 Influence from Akutagawa and Kawabata

First, let us recall Tatsuo Hori and his era to clarify his position in the history of literature.

The first direct influence on Hori was Ryunosuke Akutagawa 芥川龍之介 (1892–1927), whom he met in 1923 through the lyric poet Saisei Muroo 室生犀星. He loved Akutagawa like a true father, but Akutagawa committed suicide a few years later. In his university graduation thesis, *Essay on Akutagawa Ryunosuke 芥川龍之介論*, he wrote, "Finally, he opened my eyes completely by his death itself." Hori's life was characterized from the beginning by the loss. Three factors (the deaths of Akutagawa and his mother in

3 Niels Hendrik Bader, "Miyazaki Hayao's Kaze Tachinu (The Wind Rises) as an Homage to Tatsuo Hori." In: *Bunron. 4* (Conference "Text and Film in Interaction," Freie Universität Berlin, 2016) https://hasp.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/journals/bunron/article/download/1165/2471/4895

4 Miyazaki and Hando, *Coward and Patriotic Dialogues between Kazutoshi Hando and Hayao Miyazaki,* pp. 151–152.

5 The post-war democratic thought is based on pacifist and democratic principles and upholds the Japanese Constitution issued in 1946. It was mainly driven by "progressive intellectuals" such as Masao Maruyama, Shuichi Kato, Shunsuke Tsurumi 鶴見俊輔, and others. Nobel Prize-winning author Kenzaburo Oe defines himself as a defender of post-war democracy.

the Great Kanto Earthquake, and his incurable tuberculosis) have determined the course of young Hori's life.

Hori also had a close relationship with Yasunari Kawabata 川端康成, a writer of the "Neo Sensualist School" (新感覚派), with whom he had been in contact since the mid-1920s. Hori wrote "The Valley of the Shadow of Death" (死の影の谷), the final chapter of *The Wind Rises* in December 1937 at Kawabata's villa in Karuizawa. They were close friends, and Kawabata was the chairman at Hori's funeral in 1953.

What did Hori inherit and share from the two great writers Akutagawa and Kawabata? In brief, they were different from "realism," which was established in Europe in the late 19th century and developed in Japan in the form of "naturalism" (自然主義) or "novel of self-revealing narration" (私小説/watakushi shosetsu). This type of novel was the first step toward the modernization of Japanese literature. It was literature that confessed the writer's own experiences, and the writer was willing to perceive the world realistically and sometimes criticize it. In the 20th century, this literary tendency, often accompanied by a commitment to society, developed into proletarian literature to denounce social injustice and inequality.

However, in a shift from this trend of dealing with the outside (real events occurring in society), Hori's literature emphasized the inside (the psychological portrayal of characters). The psychological portrayal is not a confession of the writer's real life, but "fiction" (虚構). Hori's literary principle overlaps with the non-political, the so-called *L'Art pour l'art*. Accordingly, he went in a different direction from his ally Shigeharu Nakano 中野重治, who started out also as a lyric poet but approached Marxism and criticized the ingenuous praise of nature and art. The characters in Hori's novels are often "contemplative" similar to the Japanese aristocratic essays in the Heian period. That is not all. Hori's literature is not only concerned with the inner self but is also rooted in literary traditions outside Japan. Hori's literature is constructed with knowledge of the Western literary tradition and sometimes includes quotations of translated passages. This may have been an attempt to incorporate his own literature into a universal literary tradition. In Hori's era, the "Neo Sensualist School" had already emerged, led by Riichi Yokomitsu 横光利一 and Kawabata. They were strongly influenced by French modernism, and Hori, after the mid-1930s, was particularly interested in Catholic French writer François Mauriac and German poet Rainer Maria Rilke.

2.2 Influences on Shusaku Endo and Michizo Tachihara

Although Hori himself was not a Catholic, there were writers around him who were approaching Catholic thought in their spiritual quest. One of the best known is Shusaku Endo 遠藤周作 (1923–96), who met Hori in 1944, introduced by the Catholic philosopher Yoshihiko Yoshimitsu 吉満義彦. Endo was a Catholic writer who later became famous for the novel *Silence* 沈黙 (1966). He was one of the writers who

interacted with Hori in Karuizawa since he was 21 years old. At the time, Hori was very ill but led him to take an interest in theological issues and psychologism in Mauriac's theory of the novel. Endo's *Memorandum for Tatsuo Hori 堀辰雄覚書* was written in 1947, in which he attempted to understand Hori's universe through philosophical and metaphysical thinking. Hori's literature is first defined as the "purification"（純化）of life.

Similar to Endo, Michizo Tachihara 立原道造 (1914–39) was a close friend of Hori. He was the leading poet of the magazine *Four Seasons 四季* but died of tuberculosis at a young age. Much like those who suffered from this disease, he understood Hori's *The Wind Rises* from a position closest to the author and called the time of his sanatorium literature "Eternal Sunday"（永遠の日曜日）. It is a world cut off from the outside realm, or in Tachihara's words, "days out of time"（時間から抜け出した日々）. The closeness between Hori and Tachihara is also expressed in Tachihara's frustration with Hori, whose illness was more serious than that of Hori. Tachihara told Hori's wife, "I want to play with death like Mr. Hori, but it's so painful." Later, in editing a collection of Tachihara's poems, Shinichiro Nakamura 中村真一郎 recalled that Tachihara's way of life seemed "anachronistic" in wartime, and that he "passed by, scattering his pure poetry, which was strangely transparent and sweet as dream, with his thin fingertips like skeleton".[6]

*2.3 The magazine **Four Seasons** and Karuizawa*

Hori was one of the founders of the magazine *Four Seasons* (2nd period)[7] in which leading lyric poets of this period published their poems. In addition to Hori, the magazine's founders included such well-known poets and writers as Tatsuji Miyoshi 三好達治 , Saisei Murou 室生犀星 , Sakutaro Hagiwara 萩原朔太郎, Michizo Tachihara 立原道造, Kaoru Maruyama 丸山薫, and Nobuo Tsumura 津村信夫. Especially after Tachihara's death in 1939, the tone turned nationalistic with the participation of writers categorized in the "Japanese Romantic School"（日本浪漫派）and became entangled in an ideology that glorified war.

Karuizawa（軽井沢）, the literary environment of the magazine *Four Seasons*, must also be explained here. At the end of the 19th century, Canadian missionaries settled in this region, and it was converted into a summer resort, attracting many writers who made it a unique literary space. Hori also had his villa there and interacted with many writers and intellectuals. Many young writers visited Karuizawa to meet Hori. In this sense, the place of *The Wind Rises* is not simply where Hori stayed, but also the forefront of modern Japanese literature at the time. Karuizawa was an "asylum" in wartime Japan, away from

6 Commentary of Nakamura in *Michizo Tachihara Poetry Collection* published in 1952.

7 The magazine *Four Seasons* during wartime is divided into two parts: First period, which began in 1933 and 2nd period, which began in 1934.

the militarism of Tokyo, especially for pacifist writers. Karuizawa was more cosmopolitan during the war than after the war. Many Europeans, including missionaries, teachers, and diplomats, stayed there. They were relatively free, even if they were not exempted from surveillance by the Special Higher Police.

Since the 1920s, in addition to villas, there were sanatoriums in Karuizawa for those suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis. In 1923, 19-year-old Hori contracted pulmonary tuberculosis and was forced to receive medical treatment until his death.

2.4 Influence of Rilke's "Requiem" in ***The Wind Rises***

I would like to elucidate the title of Miyazaki's film and Hori's masterpiece *The Wind Rises*. As is well known, it was written based on Hori's actual experience of accompanying his ill fiancée (Ayako Yano) to the Fujimi Sanatorium in Karuizawa for her hospitalization. She did not recover, and eventually died. The final chapter, "Valley of the Shadow of Death" (死の影の谷) reminisces about her, although she had died three years earlier. "I realized that I am alive now because I am supported and helped by your free love. I went out on the balcony and stood listening to the sound of the wind." The sound of the wind was the voice of the dead person. The quote from Rilke's "Requiem" appears there.

> Komm nicht zurück. Wenn du's erträgst, so sei
> tot bei den Toten. Tote sind beschäftigt.
> Doch hilf mir so, daß es dich nicht zerstreut,
> wie mir das Fernste manchmal hilft: in mir.
>
> (Do not return. If you can bear to,
> stay dead with the dead. The dead have
> their own tasks. But help me, if you can without distraction,
> as what is farthest sometimes helps: in me.)[8]

Rilke wrote this in 1908, and its central concept was "death" rather than "life." There, the poet speaks to the dead who have returned to this world, telling them that they have "their own tasks" but also asking them to help the living.

Rilke's masterpiece *Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge* (1910) was abridged by Hori in 1934 and published in the first issue of the magazine *Four Seasons*. Hori was one of the first persons to translate Rilke's work into Japanese (after Ogai Mori

8 Translation by Hori is as follows:「帰つて入らつしゃるな。さうしてもしお前に我慢できたら，死者達の間に死んでお出(いで)。死者にもたんと仕事はある。けれども私に助力はしておくれ。お前の気を散らさない程度で，屡々遠くのものが私に助力してくれるやうに——私の裡で。」

森鴎外, who introduced Rilke to Japan). He seems to have translated the German original using the French version. The French translation, published in 1923 by Maurice Betz as an abridged version, was completed in 1926. In 1935, the magazine *Four Seasons* published the first special edition of Rilke in Japan.

The strength of Rilke's influence on Hori can be clearly seen in the way Hori quotes Paul Valéry. The quotation from Valéry's *Le Cimetière marin* is famous in *The Wind Rises*: "Le vent se lève, il faut tenter de vivre!" The exclamation mark in Valéry's original has been erased, and the word "il faut" has been translated into particles "meyamo" (めやも) as rhetorical question: "Shall I live ? No, I cannot live." It was a revised translation of Valéry's original verse, which said "must" (ねばならない). Hori's translation of Valéry is very close to Rilke's universe:[9] Whereas Valéry, a French poet, had a thesis on the freshness of the Mediterranean wind and the strong affirmation of life, Rilke's literature has not been characterized by such brightness or intensity. While Valéry's wind is an expression of the materiality of nature, Rilke's is the voice of the dead. Whereas Valéry seeks to affirm the powerful life of nature, Rilke's literature is not characterized by such a simple affirmation of life. If Rilke's influence is significant for Hori, then life is only life seen through death, an affirmation premised on negativity. As indicated by one of Rilke's popular concepts *Schicksalslos*, which includes the question as to how it is possible to "leave" (*los*) from the "fate" (*Schicksal*) of death, detachment from death is possible only in the inner world, not from some practical solution.

From the February 26 Incident to the Pacific War, Japan has been in a fascist regime, and it was no longer possible to raise statements of resistance against the war. In this era, Hori, although he did not speak out against the war, maintained at least his distance from all political and social forces. He sympathized with Rilke's silence during World War I and the fact that Hans Carrossa wrote his *Rumänisches Tagebuch* (1924) not during World War I, but after it was over, and was convinced that "true literature appears quietly".[10]

This attitude of Hori contrasted with, for example, a writer of the "Japanese Romantic School", such as Yojuro Yasuda 保田與重郎, who was supportive of the war and played a role in reinforcing Japanese militarism. Hori did not write about his views on the war in his works. Akin to many writers of this period, Hori was interested in Japanese traditions and native culture, as evidenced in *The Road Yamato and the Road Shinano 大和路・信濃路*. However, his attachment for Japan did not turn into an ideological appreciation of the nation. His tendency was exceptional at this time. Hori remained silent, following Rilke.

9 A quick point about the relationship between Rilke and Valéry: They met in 1921 and remained friends until Rilke's death in Switzerland in 1926. They admired each other and shared the awareness that the European spirit was in crisis.

10 This expression was written by Hori in 1935 in the magazine *Literature and Art 文藝*, which was first published in 1933 and discontinued in 1944 due to military pressure.

3 From various aspects of the reception of Tatsuo Hori

3.1 Tatsuo Hori's enthusiastic readers

Hori's translations and introductions drove Rilke's popularity in Japan. The two writers often had the same readers. What kind of readers loved reading Hori and Rilke during this period? It was primarily young people who were intelligent enough to be skeptical about the significance of war, but who were forced to be drafted. It included soldiers of the "Wadatsumi" generation, who were sent to war at a young age without respite due to deterioration of the war situation. For student soldiers, reading Rilke and Hori was a kind of anti-war statement of attitude, even if it was passive. However, Rilke was also used to glorifying the war in Japan, albeit covertly. For example, Rilke's works were translated and introduced by Mayumi Haga 芳賀檀, a professor of German studies who claimed to be a disciple of Ernst Bertram, who greeted the Nazi book burning in 1933.

It was a group named "Matinée poétique"（マチネポエティク）, most notably Shuichi Kato 加藤周一, who, shortly after the war, criticized this ambivalence in the reception of Rilke during the war. Kato points out that the popularity of Rilke during the war was merely an "escape from reality".[11]

Kato's criticisms led to even greater controversy: Kato criticized the group called "Stars-Violets"（星菫派）. The words "Stars and violets" are used as symbols of poetic lyricism. This expression is another name for Rilke and Hori's blind admirers. In "On the New group of Stars-Violets," Kato vehemently criticized those who had literary education, but lacked the intelligence to criticize the war: "They turned their backs on the noise of the fanatics and sought stillness and solitude. Leaving behind the ever-changing politics and history, they sought eternal poetry and philosophy. Especially, they left behind the ruined urban civilization and the barbaric society to seek a life of pure love and death in nature."[12] For Kato, lovers of lyric poetry, fans of Hori and Rilke simply turned away from the cruel reality of war. However, Kato himself was too close to Hori to make such a criticism. Therefore, he was criticized by those who began to take up the issues of responsibility of intellectuals in a different way from "Matinée poétique"（Masato Ara 荒正人 and Shugo Honda 本多秋五 who belonged to the group "Modern Literature" 近代文学）. To them, Kato, who fled to bourgeois villas in Karuizawa during war, was not so different from this lyrical and non-political group, and his criticism came back to himself. This controversy created by Kato and his detractors is called the "controversy surrounding Group of Stars-Violets"（星菫派論争）.

11 Kato, *The Collected Works*. 7, p.334.
12 Kato, *1946: Literary Reflections*, p.16.

3.2 Yoshie Hotta's portrait of Tatsuo Hori

Yoshie Hotta's 堀田善衛 (1918–98) *Portrait of Young Poets 若き日の詩人たちの肖像* published in 1968, is an interesting work that provides insight into the interactions between intellectuals during the war. Hotta studied French literature at Keio University. Through this autobiographical novel, revolving around his 50 years of life, he reflected on his own student days. The author explains that learning French language and culture was one of the few ways to secure the slightest spiritual freedom in a completely stagnant society in this era.

In this novel, the character named "Doctor"（ドクトル）is based on Shuichi Kato. Other authors who appear in the novel are Shinichiro Nakamura 中村真一郎 for "Fuji"（富士）Takehiko Fukunaga 福永武彦 for "The Poet of the Italian–Japanese Association"（日伊協会の詩人）, and Koji Shirai 白井浩司 for "Shirayanagi"（白柳）who translated *La Nausée* in 1947 and helped to make Sartre popular in Japan. Many other characters appear in the novel; they are mainly university students who studied French literature. Young "poets" admiring the world of Western literature, were in despair over their country. Concerned about the surveillance of the Special Higher Police, they continued to seek freedom only in their hearts. In this novel, various poets appear: the "Matinée poétique" that we have seen, or the poets who would go on to form the group "The Waste Land"（荒地派）just after the war.[13]

Tatsuo Hori appears under the name "Master in Narimune"（成宗の先生）. He was an older writer who welcomed his younger friends with open arms. He appears like someone who has been completely detached from society. He was considered a mysterious person who is close to everyone, yet distant from everyone.

Hotta later described Tatsuo Hori as follows.[14]

> In the eight years from 1937 to 1945, when I was in my twenties during the war, I and my acquaintances always considered Hori as a neighbor. The fundamental reason for this is that Hori continued to talk, with in-depth tone, in a low and stammering voice, with few words but neat sentences, about where and in what form the "joy of life" could exist in those uncertain days. At that time, and even now, I do not like to talk about Hori's literature using terms such as "life seen through death," "life as a shadow of death," or "life illuminated by death." I consider such a way of talking as meaningless.

13 The protagonist, modeled on Hotta himself, is a young man who stands between two groups, the "Matinée poétique" and "The Waste Land," and can observe both. Although there were interactions between two groups and they loved both European literature, they never succeeded in launching a joint magazine.

14 Hotta, "About Tatsuo Hori," p. 35.

This quote shows how close Hotta was to Hori and how much of his generation viewed Hori as a source of inspiration. For them, Hori was a "neighbor." Hotta defines Hori as being part of the tradition of Japanese literary figures living in "turbulent times" (乱世). Hotta wrote repeatedly about what it means to live in turbulent times in his own works, using Kamo no Chomei 鴨長明 or Michel de Montaigne as protagonists.

It is believed that when Hori met Hotta, he said, "If you want to be a man of letters, live literature" (文学を生活しなさい). This anecdote was introduced by Hayao Miyazaki, who admired Hotta as the most respectable intellectual.[15]

3.3 Takaaki Yoshimoto's criticism of Tatsuo Hori

It was Takaaki Yoshimoto 吉本隆明 who criticized Hori from a position close to the post-war poetry group "The Waste Land." Yoshimoto criticized the poets of *Four Seasons* from the 1950s to the 1960s.

He criticized Hori as well as the poets of *Four Seasons* in his essay on the responsibility of intellectuals for the war. Yoshimoto criticizes Hori for creating literary works without regard to his own "basis of life" (生活の基盤). According to Yoshimoto's logic, the "conversion" (転向) of Japanese intellectuals during the war was brought about by the divergence between their thoughts and their living environments. Specifically, concepts such as "modernity," "freedom," and "democracy" were all imported from the West and understood by intellectuals as academic issues but did not penetrate the lives of common people. This is where the divergence between intellectuals and the "masses" (大衆) emerges. The totalitarianism that prevailed in Japan during the war meant the defeat of intellectuals against the masses. Yoshimoto started from a position of defending the masses and their mediocre living environment to criticize insubstantial intellectuals.

Furthermore, the poets of *Four Seasons* (mainly Tatsuji Miyoshi), who were non-political and loved lyric poetry, easily turned into a position of glorifying war because they "regressed to the sentiments of the common people."[16] Therefore, Yoshimoto stated that all but poets who died prematurely, such as Tachihara and Chuya Nakahara 中原中也, ended up singing and praising war as if it were a part of nature.

In "The Story of Akutagawa, Hori, and Tachihara" (芥川・堀・立原の話),[17] the most recent criticisms of Hori, Yoshimoto turns his attention to the similarities in the origins of these three writers, and why they are attracted to superficial, well-constructed, and in a sense stateless world. He also notes that they seek possibilities of literary imagination in things that have no realistic foundation anywhere and dwells only in imaginary or fanciful worlds. Yoshimoto concludes that "Akutagawa and Hori sought to

15 Miyazaki and Hando, *op.cit.*, p. 160.
16 Yoshimoto, "The essence of Four Seasons School" (1958).
17 Yoshimoto, "The story of Akutagawa, Hori, and Tachihara" (1978).

establish their own literature not by delving into their own origins, but by departing from their environment." In this most recent speech in 1978, Yoshimoto's evaluation of Hori is described as a "disappointment" toward himself. This comes from his failure to explore the living conditions of the poor in downtown Tokyo. It must be said that Yoshimoto also had great sympathy for Hori and the poets of *Four Seasons*. He continued to insist on the closeness of his origins to those of Hori. As evidence, his evaluation of Hori was inconsistent. His criticism turned into a favorable evaluation after the 1970s. His evaluation of *Four Seasons* poets also changed to a favorable one during this period. His ambiguity toward Hori is directly related to how he evaluates poetry: The question of whether poetry still has any value in contemporary society is important to him. In any case, for Yoshimoto, the literature on Hori was nevertheless a subject worth discussing.

4 Oblivion of Tatsuo Hori in contemporary literature

Even after 1945, Hori's influence gave rise to various works, such as *Under the Shadow of Death 死の影の下に* by Shinichiro Nakamura 中村真一郎 and *Flowers of Grass 草の花* Takehiko Fukunaga 福永武彦, both from the Groupe "Matinée Poétique." Meanwhile, it is fair to say that post-war literature began with criticism of Hori. Shohei Ooka 大岡昇平, known for his *Taken Captive: A Japanese POW's Story 俘虜記* describing his own harsh war experiences, said that Hori wrote only beautiful things, and real life is nowhere like in Hori's novels. Even Yukio Mishima 三島由紀夫, who affirmed the fictional value of literature, described Hori's literature just as "poetic substitute for teenager."

Whether in criticism or praise, Hori continued to attract the attention of writers long after 1945. It is interesting to note that after 1980, in the era of postmodernist criticism, few critics referred to Tatsuo Hori. Kojin Karatani's 柄谷行人 *The Origins of Modern Japanese Literature 日本近代文学の起源* was published in 1980, where Tatsuo Hori is merely one of the cliches of the beautification of tuberculosis that appeared already in Roka Tokutomi 徳富蘆花's novel, *The Cuckoo 不如帰* published in 1900. Karatani gave him only a minor role in making Karuizawa popular.

Why was Tatsuo Hori forgotten? To understand this, an explanation of the literary perspective clarified by Kenzaburo Oe 大江健三郎, for example, is helpful. In his lecture "Word literature as Japanese literature"（世界文学は日本文学たりうるか？）in 1994, Oe described Japanese contemporary literature by categorizing it into two opposing streams: The first is the nationalistic (thoroughly Japanese-oriented) stream, which includes Junichiro Tanizaki 谷崎潤一郎, Kawabata, and Mishima. The second is the cosmopolitan stream (learned from Western "universal" literature), which includes Ooka, Kobo Abe 安部公房, and Oe himself.[18] This classification shows that in the 1990s, the viewpoint that the possibility of literary resistance in the 1940s was no longer valid. Essentially, both streams may be two literary genealogies that branched from Hori's

literature. Considering Hori as a model, literature with an artistic supremacist tendency could, for a time, carry the meaning of a kind of "political" resistance. However, this view was no longer valid, especially after the 1980s.

When literary historian Yukio Miyoshi 三好行雄 defined Hori's literature as "a testament of artistic resistance that could have been, in solitude, turned away from the influence of the times,"[19] such a definition was inseparable from the question of how to establish the "subject"（主体）of resistance. The postmodern era, however, was an era in which the question of how one should be a "subject" shifted to problematize subjectivity itself.[20] This was a time when the limitations of modernity were emphasized more than its potential. Along with the thesis that modernity is a product of Eurocentrism, the stream of Japanese literature that appreciated "universality" of Western literature, was curiously neglected.

5 Hayao Miyazaki's homage to Tatsuo Hori: returning to modernity

Miyazaki is of the same generation as Karatani; however, their ideas have nothing in common. Simply put, Miyazaki did not agree with postmodern thought. He relied on Yoshie Hotta, and like Miyazaki, Isao Takahata 高畑勲, a key person at Studio Ghibli, and producer Toshio Suzuki 鈴木敏夫 had made it clear that Shuichi Kato's ideas had a major influence on their filmmaking, and that Kato has also accomplished important works with Studio Ghibli. As we have seen, Hotta and Kato were both very close to Hori from a young age and were directly influenced by him.

We could say that the worldwide success of *The Wind Rises* in the 21st century indicates that we are now in the perspective of "returning to modernity," which means that after postmodernity, we started looking for conditions to become modern once again.

What did Miyazaki intend to see in Tatsuo Hori? Strictly speaking, *The Wind Rises* is not an exact visualization of Hori's novel of the same title. As is well known, it is a bricolage of names and scenes from various works by Hori. Hori's translation of a sentence from Valéry ("Shall, I live? No, I cannot live") was not adopted, but the heroine says, "I must live"（生きねば）in a sense of Valéry. Miyazaki does not necessarily emphasize Hori's reception during the war, nor does he emphasize Rilkean's affirmation of the live seen through death. Therefore, in the final scene, the lover of the deceased hero

18 Oe, "World literature as Japanese literature?" p. 24. After this passage, Oe adds that there is a third stream, which he considers "a truly typical group of writers from an era when the world of subculture was unified." This statement by Oe foretells the characteristics of the capitalist era, in which the value of literature is determined by the number of copies published.

19 Yukio Miyoshi, "Literature from 1935 to 1944," p. 245.

20 In Japan in the 1990s, the criticism of "deconstruction"（脱構築）became popular. Critiques of the subject by Jean-Luc Nancy, Jean-François Lyotard, and others gained a large readership.

says, "Live"（生きて）. Miyazaki, faithful to Hotta's interpretation of Hori, may have reproduced the image of Hori affirming the "joy of life."

Miyazaki's original interpretation of Hori's era has been added to this film. By creating a character named Castorp in the film, Miyazaki attempted to connect the image of Thomas Mann's *Der Zauberberg* with the sanatorium in Karuizawa.

Miyazaki wrote:

> In Europe, sanatoriums were built in the Alps for purest air and sunlight. Of course, poor people could not enter. This is the setting of Thomas Mann's novel *Der Zauberberg*. During Jiro's time, it was required to be read as an educational book.[21]

The association between Thomas Mann and Hori does not actually exist as Miyazaki believed, and in a literary historical perspective, it would not be true to say that Thomas Mann was a "must-read book in Jiro's era." Only very few intellectual elites like Kato or his mentor Kazuo Watanabe 渡辺一夫 were able to read Thomas Mann in the original language during the war and sympathize with his anti-Nazism. Thomas Mann was first introduced to Japan around 1920 but was banned in Japan as the writer was against Nazism. It was only after the war that *Der Zauberberg* became well known in Japan.[22] German literature that required reading before 1945 was the first of all Nazi literature. Even if Hori may have read Thomas Mann, he did not participate in politics like Mann did, nor did he advocate for society to overcome the crisis of Europe. After World War I, there was a recognition in Europe that Western prosperity was over, and that their civilization was on the road to ruin. This perception was exploited in the 1940s by Japanese ideologues to criticize European hegemony. This argument is called the "overcoming of modernity"（近代の超克）. Hori did not have any such idea.

Kazutoshi Hando writes that Miyazaki's attention to Hori was focused on Hori's spirit.[23] Miyazaki imagines that Horikoshi may have actually been building airplanes for a "very personal motive." This could have been just a dream. It may be an attitude of confining oneself to one's own closed world and seeking freedom only within. However, an individual with such a solid inner world would not be perturbed by conditions of the outside that change constantly.

In a dialogue with Hando, Miyazaki criticizes today's Japanese society for preventing it from being ruined again. Their tone is always pessimistic. Miyazaki seems to have

21 Miyazaki, *Delusional Comeback*, p. 44.

22 Incidentally, it is a well-known fact that Japanese Germanists who praised the Nazi during the war did not hesitate to praise Thomas Mann immediately after 1945. When Kato criticizes Rilke's boom during the war, he also criticizes scholars, who translated Rilke's work and yet supported the war without any intellectual coherence.

23 Hando, "The meaning of the homage to Tatsuo Hori," p. 198.

considered it his mission to pass on his lessons to the next generation. Based on this evidence, his next project is an animated adaptation of *How Do You Live? 君たちはどう生きるか？* This title was from a bestseller in 1937, which was banned in 1941. Author Genzaburo Yoshino 吉野源三郎 was the first editor-in-chief of the *World 世界*, the magazine that became the center of post-war democratic thought. *How Do You Live?* was published in the same period as *The Wind Rises* and was intended for young readers to defend humanism during the war. One of Japan's leading post-war intellectuals, Masao Maruyama 丸山眞男, wrote "Reminiscences on How Do You Live?"[24] He emphasized that we must understand the world through social scientific cognition, not ideology, as was the case during the war. He conjectured that Yoshino's work teaches readers exactly what the social scientific method is. The book has been read for a long time by many young people as a textbook on post-war democracy, but it has become a forgotten book since the era of rapid economic growth.

Miyazaki intends his next film to be "the antithesis of an age in which even literature has become entertainment, information, and an object of consumption."[25] Miyazaki tried to protect the value of classical and educational "culture"（教養）in the Showa era with his animated films. Miyazaki is probably attempting to pass on the values of post-war democratic thought to the next generation. In this sense, Ghibli's animated films may be a good "teaching materials" to explain the Japanese intellectual legacy in the 20th century to a wide audience.

6 Conclusion: Tatsuo Hori's Literature as a Source of Post-war Democratic Thought

Starting from various aspects of Tatsuo Hori's reception during and after the war, this paper clarified the significance of Miyazaki's reintroduction of the forgotten writer in the 21st century. The success of Miyazaki's film is proof that there is still an actuality in "post-war democratic thought." What is the relationship between the essence of post-war democratic thought and Hori's literature?

In *What is Democracy? 民主主義とは何か* (2020), political philosopher Shigeki Uno 宇野重規 defines "strong anti-war sentiment as well as a vigorous critical spirit toward the state" as the characteristics of post-war democracy. In *Democracy and Civil Society 民主主義と市民社会* (2016), he also points out that post-war democracy should not be considered easily overcome, because post-war intellectuals (like Kato or Maruyama) did not simply reduce democracy to "a matter of institutions and mechanisms," but also considered it as "an internal self-awareness of the issues"（内面的な問題意識）.[26] They

24 This reflection by Maruyama in 1981 is contained in the Iwanami's paperback edition of *How do you live?*
25 Miyazaki, *The Wind Rises. Ghibli Textbook 18*, p. 52.

believed that for democracy to be established in Japan, people's outlook and even the way they relate to each other in society would have to change. Specifically, rather than mastering the scientifical terms of Western origin as "modern subject"（近代的主体）or "individual"（個人）, the post-war intellectuals "internalized" these concepts and tried to "live" them.

What is most important is inner consistency, with a critical spirit that never changes regardless of the external circumstances. This core of post-war democratic thought did not appear suddenly after 1945. In this sense, Hori's literature during the war prepared the spirit of democracy, which blossomed after the war.

For example, Shuichi Kato "praises Tatsuo Hori as an anti-war writer" not because Hori's anti-war actions were beneficial to society (the only action he took was a strolling...), but because the anti-war motivation itself came from his inner self. During the war, approval was not necessarily imposed. Rather, it was opportunism that ruled the people, as Miyazaki and Hando say in their dialogue, that people constantly change their opinions. To be free from such opportunism, it is essential to protect the individual's interiority.

Kato's impression of Hori is as follows:[27]

> There was a dense atmosphere in the way he strolled. He was quiet and unassuming but was going his own way. I had never met such a person before: Someone who concentrated his attention on his own inner thoughts rather than the people he passed or the things around him.

He concludes that Hori's way of life "was not a challenge to state power, but it was a strong and inextricable form of resistance to its intervention".[28] Hori's freedom, which may not have been freedom of action, was an inner freedom, –freedom of thought.

This inner "freedom of thought" is something that should be positively evaluated even today. In the past, it could be a condition of the "subject" for acts, and it was also at the core of post-war democratic thought. However, its importance has been strangely forgotten in the postmodern era. In contrast, Miyazaki's film reminds us of its importance once again. *The Wind Rises* depicted what it means to be free and consistent in thought, even if actions are constrained by external factors. In his film, Miyazaki also tried to depict a protagonist who affirms that he is free only in his thoughts and pursuing his dreams, regardless of the times.

In this sense, it can be said that Tatsuo Hori's literature was at least one source of post-war democratic thought.

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26 Uno, *Democracy and Civil Society*, p. 295.
27 Kato, *Highland Good Days*, p. 13.
28 Kato, *Ibid.*, p. 17.

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