CULTURE AND AUTHENTICITY:
THE DISCURSIVE SPACE OF JAPANESE DETECTIVE FICTION
AND THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL IMAGINARY

by

Satomi Saito

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Comparative Literature
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

July 2007

Thesis Supervisors: Associate Professor Corey Creekmur
Associate Professor Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto

ABSTRACT

In my thesis, I examine the discursive space of the detective fiction genre following Kasai Kiyoshi's periodization in his two-volume seminal work *Tantei shōsetsuron* (The Theory of Detective Fiction, 1998). I investigate how Japanese detective fiction has developed in relation to Japan's modernization, industrialization, nationalism, and globalization, specifically in the 1920s-30s, the 1950s-60s, and from the 1990s to present. By historicizing the discursive formation of the genre in decisive moments in Japanese history, I examine how Japanese detective fiction delineated itself as a modern popular literature differentiating itself from serious literature (*junbungaku*) and also from other genres of popular fiction (*taishū bungaku*). My study exposes the socio-political, cultural and literary conditions that conditioned the emergence of the detective fiction genre as a problematic of Japanese society, stitching fantasy and desire for the formation of the national subject in the cultural domain.

I investigate the dynamics through which Japanese detective fiction negotiates its particularity as a genre differentiating itself from the Western model and domestically from the conventional crime stories of the Edo and Meiji periods. Chapters One through Three of my study examine Japan's socio-cultural contexts after the Russo-Japanese war, specifically magazine culture and the rise of the detective fiction genre (Chapter I), the I-novel tradition and its relation to the genre (Chapter II), and representations of Tokyo as an urban center, focusing on Edogawa Ranpo's "Injū" (Beast in the Shadows, 1928) (Chapter III). Chapters Four through Six investigate the socio-cultural contexts after World War II, especially Japan's democratization in the 1950s-60s and the rearticulation of the genre through repeated debates about authenticities in Japanese detective fiction (Chapter IV), and the transition from *tantei shōsetsu* (detective fiction) to *suiri shōsetsu* (mystery) focusing on Yokomizo Seishi's *Honjin satsujin jiken* (The Honjin Murder Case, 1946) and Matsumoto Seichō's *Ten to sen* (Points and Lines, 1957) as representative

works of the two trends (Chapter V), and finally the postmodern "return" to the prewar tradition in the 1990s (Chapter VI).

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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PH.D. THESIS

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To Kumi, Aki, and Riku

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I could not have written this dissertation without the help and encouragement of so many people. I first would like to thank my committee at the University of Iowa. Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, my adviser, introduced me to theoretical issues of Japanese literature, cinema, and culture, and has been enthusiastic about this non-traditional topic from the beginning. He generously supervised my project even after he moved to New York University in 2002. His detailed and insightful feedback on my drafts always pushed me forward. Corey Creekmur's insight into the subject of genre studies and the detective fiction genre has been invaluable and guided my dissertation throughout as my co-advisor. David Witternberg's rich resources in literary theory have helped me critically challenge the discourses on detective fiction tremendously. Stephen Vlastos's provocative questions and suggestions about Japanese history proved to be an invaluable guide for revising my manuscript. Adrienne Hurley was kind enough to join my committee rather late in the game, and has been s source of help and advice.

I would also like to thank Naoki Sakai, who was my mentor at Cornell University. He introduced me to Comparative Literature, Philosophy, and Intellectual History relating to Japan, and convinced me to cross disciplinary boundaries and ultimately to continue my academic life in the United States. I think his teaching and theoretical questions still echo in every page of my dissertation.

People at Earlham College, where my wife works as Assistant Professor of Japanese Literature, generously helped me in various stages of my project. David Henry and Aletha Stahl have carefully read drafts, provided information, debated issues with me, and challenged me in the best sense. Neal Baker, Gary DeCoker, and Chuck Yates have been a lifeline for me, in ways both personal and professional.

On a more personal level, I would like to thank my parents for their support and understanding. Last but most importantly, I would like to dedicate this entire endeavor to

Kumiko Saito, whose boundless love and patience are present every day. Her editing and input made this work better, and her support made it possible.

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I investigate the dynamics through which Japanese detective fiction negotiates its particularity as a genre differentiating itself from the Western model and domestically from the conventional crime stories of the Edo and Meiji periods. Chapters One through Three of my study examine Japan's socio-cultural contexts after the Russo-Japanese war, specifically magazine culture and the rise of the detective fiction genre (Chapter I), the I-novel tradition and its relation to the genre (Chapter II), and representations of Tokyo as an urban center, focusing on Edogawa Ranpo's "Injū" (Beast in the Shadows, 1928) (Chapter III). Chapters Four through Six investigate the socio-cultural contexts after World War II, especially Japan's democratization in the 1950s-60s and the rearticulation of the genre through repeated debates about authenticities in Japanese detective fiction (Chapter IV), and the transition from *tantei shōsetsu* (detective fiction) to *suiri shōsetsu* (mystery) focusing on Yokomizo Seishi's *Honjin satsujin jiken* (The Honjin Murder Case, 1946) and Matsumoto Seichō's *Ten to sen* (Points and Lines, 1957) as representative

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INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORY OF DETECTIVE FICTION AS DISCOURSE

The detective fiction genre has been one of the most popular in Japanese popular literature since its introduction in Japan in the late nineteenth century. Despite its common image as a popular genre, however, detective fiction has developed close relationships with "high" literature thematically and stylistically as represented by writers like Satō Haruo, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, and Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke. This fact has not attracted much academic attention either in Japan or in the United States, and scholarship on the genre is far from explicating the indispensable but complex role this "imported" genre from the West has played in Japan's modernization. While scholars examine how Japanese writers adapted the foreign genre to address social issues or how the Japanese literary tradition of crime fiction merged with the foreign genre, in many cases these studies seem to presuppose genres exist *a priori* as a stable category. The concept of the detective genre, however, has been one of the most vigorously discussed topics among Japanese writers and critics alike since the very early stage of its development, and therefore it is problematic to treat it as an essential unity based on an established notion of the genre. This genre needs to be examined as a site of contested discourses rather than, for example, as a cultural influence on Japanese literature, domestic writers' appropriation of the foreign genre, or its alternative development in Japan. In my dissertation, I maintain that the detective fiction genre in Japan is a discursive construct dynamically negotiated in relation to its Western counterparts, and examine how Japanese detective fiction delineated its generic border as a modern popular literature differentiating itself from serious literature (*junbungaku*) as well as from other genres of popular fiction, such as *tsūzoku shōsetsu*, *kōdan*, and *taishū shōsetsu*. In order to investigate this formative process, I will historicize the generic development by shedding light on several distinct moments in Japanese history. My study exposes the socio-

political, cultural and literary conditions that supported the emergence of the detective fiction genre as a problematic of Japanese society, and further aims to theorize the formation of the national imaginary in the dynamics of this cultural interface.

What rationales validate a study of popular literature like detective fiction? Novels of crime and its investigation might arouse sensational interests for the general public but seem to offer few literary "themes" for academic treatment, especially when the theme is filtered through the formula of the genre which transforms crime into a game or a puzzle. This is one of the reasons that the Poe scholar John T. Irwin had difficulty convincing his readers why detective stories—even those in the top layer of the genre like stories by Poe and Borges that are an exception—are worth studying because of their apparent lack of conventional artistic merit. As a scholar of literature, one of the central criteria in evaluating works of art for Irwin is whether a certain text stands up to repeated readings. Detective fiction seems to reject this fundamental supposition of literary analysis, through which one can access well-constructed narratives, profound themes, and subtleties of prose. Detective novels might serve for ephemeral enjoyment to kill time but they are most likely to be forgotten once the reader comes to the solution of the puzzle at the end of the story. The solution to the mystery structurally dispels "an antecedent sense of mystery and the infinite speculative possibilities it permits"[1] and thus discourages any reader to reread the text. Despite these shortcomings, Irwin argues that a creative genius like Poe or Borges could "present the analytic solution of a mystery and at the same time conserve the sense of the mysterious on which analysis thrives" and thus turn the formula *structurally* into a serious—in his view "rereadable"—literary text, although such metaphysical texts might no longer conform to the formulaic genre.

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[1] John T. Irwin, *The Mystery to a Solution: Poe, Borges, and the Analytic Detective Story* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2006) 2.

Jane Tompkins treats the issue differently by interrogating the idea of "literary value" apparently operating behind Irwin's assumption. In discussing sensational novels of nineteenth century American writers, Tompkins forcefully argues that what makes a literary classic is not the inherent literary value of a certain text but the various circumstances of its literary production. If we examine literary anthologies of different periods, we can see that the editors are "active shapers of the canon, whose differing aims and assumptions determine what will seem central and what peripheral."[2] Literary value is not absolute and unchanging but rather "contingent and variable" and is "constantly being produced and maintained by cultural activity."[3] The conventional division between novels of mere entertainment and of transhistorical works of art is "doing a certain kind of cultural work within a specific historical situation."[4]

The issue of literary value does not even bother a Marxist critic like Franco Moretti. In his "functional" analysis of literature, popular literature such as horror and detective novels becomes a positive means to examine the disciplinary functions of literature in bourgeois civilization. In the formula of detective fiction, the relationship between science and its contribution to society is kept unproblematic for good reason. Detective fiction first stages a problem as a shocking crime that opens the subsequent story of investigation and in the end—contrary to Irwin's praise for some detective stories—declares one and only one solution by pointing out the culprit. By solving the mystery and arresting the individual, it "slights other causes and dispels the doubt that every choice is partial and subjective."[5] Detective fiction thus establishes a temporal

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[2] Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction 1790-1860* (New York: Oxford UP, 1985) 188.

[3] Tompkins 193.

[4] Tompkins 200.

[5] Franco Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders: Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms*, revised edition, trans. Susan Fischer, David Forgacs and David Miller (London: Verso, 1988) 144.

order to the chaos of modern life by providing a system of detection that is valid for all cases. Initial crimes might vary in nature or some of them might be creatively original, but the genre is supported by the idea that all the variations can be identified and catalogued through one and only one means: logical detection. Science becomes the almighty discourse to give a totality to fragmented industrial society, while what is temporally at rest would in practice constantly be destabilized and transformed exactly with the progress of science. Successful detective fiction is destined to set up a contradictory situation in which no one can commit the initial crime (impossible puzzle) but everyone can equally be a suspect of the crime. Through the investigation of a genius detective, suspects are differentiated and one mastermind is singled out in the end. By naming only one criminal, the innocence of other suspects, the readers, and the world is proven for the service of social justice, and the very fact that anyone—including the reader—can commit the crime is repressed. The popularity of detective fiction as a genre would rather represent the social relationships more effectively than transhistorical works of art.

As "drastic changes have been introduced in the university system since the early 1990s"[6] in Japan and the literary canon has undergone several shifts in major departments both in Japan and area studies department in the United States, the study of popular literature also joined other popular topics for academic research in Japanese studies. Detective fiction's popularity throughout the twentieth century further motivates scholars to investigate the social situations in which the popular form is generated and consumed. In this milieu, Amanda Seaman actively examines women's detective fiction as a doubly neglected species in the genre predominantly peopled with male readers and writers. After succinctly summarizing the history of Japanese detective fiction, Seaman

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[6] Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, "The University, Disciplines, National Identity: Why Is There No Film Studies in Japan?" *South Atlantic Quarterly* 99 (2000): 697.

discusses the way in which five contemporary female writers "critically engage with a variety of social issues and concerns: consumerism and the crisis of identity, discrimination and workplace harassment, sexual harassment and sexual violence, and the role of motherhood in contemporary Japan."[7] Socio-cultural analysis of the way "these authors have used the narrative and conceptual resources of the detective genre to depict and critique contemporary Japanese society,"[8] she claims, provides us with "a wealth of information about the 'real world' of contemporary Japan, not in some essential or objective sense, but rather by revealing how a Japanese author imagines her own society to be."[9] While she might successfully interrogate "the sociocritical potential of detective fiction, its genre conventions, and its traditions in ways that both diverge from those of their Anglo-American counterparts and parallel them,"[10] her definition of the genre seems to change somewhat arbitrarily depending on how she wants the genre to serve women's lives, and in some places it shows discrepancies with the "real world" genre classifications and discourses in Japan.[11] Her otherwise superb textual analyses of female writers seem to be undermined by the very framework on which she bases her entire analysis. Why does she discuss these female writers in particular in the frame of reference of "detective fiction," when these writers as well as critics appear to locate their works outside of the category?

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[7] Amanda C. Seaman, *Bodies of Evidence: Women, Society, and Detective Fiction in 1990s Japan* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 2004) 1-2.

[8] Seaman 1.

[9] Seaman 2.

[10] Seaman 25.

[11] For example, she argues that the new breed of young female detective writers in the 1990s work in the genre Kasai Kiyoshi calls *shin-honkakuha* (New Authentic), but as I discuss in Chapter Six, these women writers are usually excluded from this particular subgenre and Kasai ignores these women writers in his seminal work on authentic detective fiction Tantei shōsetsuron. Its exclusion itself might be an interesting topic for Seaman to explore, but she is silent about the politics of the genre against which she claims these writers are working. See Seaman 12.

In one of the most recent studies of detective fiction, Foucault scholar Uchida Ryūzō, takes a more socio-cultural approach to the genre. In his *Tantei shōsetsu no shakaigaku* (Sociology of Detective Fiction, 2001), Uchida argues that one should avoid reducing a text to an internal structure of signification or inversely to the mere reproduction of the social reality outside of the text. Instead of a inside-outside dichotomy, he directs our attention to the function or signification of a text as "event" (*dekigoto*)[12] where the internal and external structures interact. Uchida convincingly develops his theory of the ambivalent relationships between the representation of a detective and the modernizing society by referring to the representation of a detective in Natsume Sōseki's stories. In a detective's obsessed efforts in reconstructing a crime (in other words the "depth" of history behind the scattered clues in the present), Uchida sees the struggles of the modern subject who is deprived of subjectivity and driven to nervous breakdown.[13] Yet, when Uchida examines the representation of the *tantei* (detective) as a modern hero of urban space, he does not seem to be critical about the historicity of his key term *tantei shōsetsu* (detective fiction), long forgotten in the public mind since the postwar transformation of the genre that valorized the more general term *suiri shōsetsu* (novel of reasoning); its recent revival in the 1990s might have offered scholars like Uchida an opportunity to investigate the formulaic genre. Moreover, why Uchida considers the story in which a "bloody murder" takes place in the "pastoral countryside" in particular detective fiction—although he writes in his preface that this strange combination in interwar British mysteries convinced him to investigate the socio-cultural

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[12] He borrows this concept from Komori Yōichi, *Dekigoto to shite no yomu koto* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1996).

[13] Uchida Ryūzō, *Tantei shōsetsu no shakaigaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001) 66.

studies of detective fiction—is not explicated in full and consequently a productive answer to the issue is not provided.[14]

Even before examining novels in the genre or the social function of the genre, what we need first is an examination of the boundaries and history of the genre. Despite Todorov's argument that "the masterpiece of popular literature is precisely the book which best fits its genre,"[15] classifications of the detective genre vary among critics. Take our first three approaches, for example, which already reveal a wide spectrum within the novels of crime and investigation. Irwin narrowly opts for intellectual or "metaphysical" detective fiction, Tompkins—although her main target is not specifically detective fiction—for sensational novels, and Moretti for popular formula fiction which probably best fits our conventional categorization of detective fiction. Critics even disagree about the supposed origin of detective fiction. It is obviously a modern invention since the detective and his investigation belong to modern judicial system. Yet, if we shift our focus to the puzzle element of the genre, we can certainly go back in history to the ancient Greek period and *Oedipus Rex*, in which the detective is both the criminal and the victim, will be a candidate for a great ancestor of detective fiction. Those who are not so radical or classicist as the previous camp might reasonably point to *Zadig* (1748), in which Voltaire demonstrates the kind of logical detection we are familiar with from Conan Doyle's famous detective Sherlock Holmes. If we turn to the criminal element, again we have a long legacy of stories of murders and investigations of mysteries that goes back at least to the eighteenth century gothic novels. We could even locate the same sensationalism of bloody murders in *The Newgate Calendar* of eighteenth

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[14] As for the domesticity of crime, see John G. Cawelti, *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1979) 99. Uchida borrows this idea from Kasai Kiyoshi. See for example, Kasai Kiyoshi, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.1 (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1998) 5-53.

[15] Tzvetan Todorov, "The Typology of Detective Fiction," *The Poetics of Prose* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1977) 43.

century England, which featured gruesome stories of condemned criminals and these allegedly non-fictional stories would certainly have fuelled the subsequent popularity of the detective story.

Even still, as Uchida constantly refers back to Edgar Allan Poe's Dupin trilogy which Irwin also regards as the archetype, most critics, especially those who focus on the sociological function of detective fiction—contrary to the psychoanalytic structure of mystery and its revelation which is more universal to human history—agree to name Edgar Allan Poe as the founding father of the genre whether his achievement is celebrated or challenged. We can certainly trace examples of puzzle stories or stories of deduction and discovery retroactively in ancient stories that predicted modern detective fiction in its internal structure of narrative and its disciplinary function in society. Yet, this historicization itself is the result of a series of discursive practices and owes much to the history of criticism.

One of the earliest and most influential arguments can be found in the introduction Dorothy L. Sayers wrote in 1928 for the anthology of mystery stories *Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery and Horror*. Although "both the detective-story proper and the pure tale of horror are very ancient in origin,"[16] she argues that it was Edgar Allan Poe who established the general principles of the detective-story by producing five tales—"The Murders in the Rue Morgue," "The Purloined Letter," "The Mystery of Marie Rogêt," "Thou Art the Man," and "The Gold Bug." "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" constitutes "almost a complete manual of detective theory and practice"[17] including the formula of "the eccentric and brilliant private detective whose

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[16] Dorothy L. Sayers, "Introduction," *Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery and Horror* (London Victor Gollancz, 1929) 9.

[17] Sayers 17.

doings are chronicled by an admiring and thickheaded friend."[18] "The Purloined Letter" pioneered the method of psychological deduction and the formula of concealing things in "the most obvious place."[19] "The Mystery of Marie Rogêt" proved his skill in deducing an actual murder case and catered to the connoisseur of an intellectual puzzle. "Thou Art the Man" provided two more leading motifs: "the trail of false clues laid by the real murderer, and the *solution by way of the most unlikely person*."[20] "The Gold Bug" is a cipher story which is technically the exact opposite of "Marie Rogêt" since the narrator is "kept in entire ignorance of what he is about until *after* the discovery of the treasure." Then, she places the five stories in the spectrum of detective fiction.

> Now, with *The Gold Bug* at the one extreme and *Marie Rogêt* at the other, and the other three stories occupying intermediate places, Poe stands at the parting of the ways for detective fiction. From him go the two great lines of development—the Romantic and the Classic, or, to use terms less abraded by ill-usage, the purely Sensational and the purely Intellectual. In the former, thrill is piled on thrill and mystification on mystification; the reader is led on from bewilderment to bewilderment, till everything is explained in a lump in the last chapter. . . . In the other—the purely Intellectual type—the action mostly takes place in the first chapter or so; the detective then follows up quietly from clue to clue till the problem is solved, the reader accompanying the great man in his search and being allowed to try his own teeth on the material provided.[21]

After Poe, the modern educated public increasingly demanded "fair play from the writer"[22] and came to call for "a story which puts them on an equal footing with the detective himself, as regards all clues and discoveries."[23] In her final analysis, the

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[18] Sayers 13.

[19] Sayers 18.

[20] Sayers 19.

[21] Sayers 19.

[22] Sayers 21.

[23] Sayers 33.

evolution of detective fiction in the direction of "fair play" prepared the host of detective novels and established the genre as an autonomous category.

Howard Haycraft also admits that the detective story is related to puzzle stories and stories of deduction that have existed since the earliest times of our history, but he nevertheless insists that the genre started with Poe, primarily due to the way he originated the form and structure of the genre. Haycraft contends that the detective fiction genre is established by refining what Sayers calls the intellectual aspects in Poe's stories. To support his argument, he further narrows his criteria by excluding quite reasonably "The Gold Bug" and "Thou Art the Man" from Sayers' list, and argues that despite the fact that he wrote only *three* stories, Poe's detective tales established "the mold and pattern for the thousands upon thousands of works of police fiction which have followed."[24] The list of the pattern includes "[t]he transcendent and eccentric detective; the admiring and slightly stupid foil; the well-intentioned blundering and unimaginativeness of the official guardians of the law; the locked-room convention; the pointing finger of unjust suspicion; the solution by surprise; deduction by putting one's self in another's position (now called psychology); concealment by means of the ultra-obvious; the staged ruse to force the culprit's hand; even the expansive and condescending explanation when the chase is done."[25] Thus, Haycraft proudly concludes that "nothing really primary has been added either to the framework of the detective story or to its internals since Poe completed his trilogy."[26] In restricting the stories he chooses for his argument, Haycraft establishes the purely intellectual formula starting from Poe, developed by Conan Doyle, and then

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[24] Howard Haycraft, *Murder for Pleasure: The Life and Times of the Detective Story* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941) 11.

[25] Haycraft 12.

[26] Haycraft 12.

culminating in the Golden Age of detective fiction from 1918 to 1930 in England and a decade later in America.

In *Bloody Murder: From the Detective Story to the Crime Novel*, Julian Symons builds on Haycraft's historicization and supplements the history after Haycraft's "Golden Age" of detective fiction. While Symons admire Haycraft's classifications and rules, he contends that his "rigid classifications simply don't work in practice."[27] He reduces the cause to his too narrow emphasis on "the detective stories written in what is often called the Golden Age between the wars."[28] As the title shows, Symons then draws our attention to the historical shift from the rule bound "detective story" devoid of any literary elements to more general and longer "crime novels." In Symons' historical perspective, after the attempts to "break the 'rules,' partly on the ground that their literary products were boring (by Iles), partly because they were silly (by Hammett and Chandler)," the detective story was substituted with crime novels which are "a bag of literary allsorts ranging from comedy to tragedy, from realistic portraits of society to psychological investigation of an individual, together with the flowering of the spy story as a literary form."[29]

Here, it should be emphasized that the placement of Poe at the origin of the genre is a strategic one despite attempts in historically proving its validity. This strategy ultimately assumes—if we borrow Michel de Certeau's concept of strategy and tactics—"a place that can be circumscribed as *proper* (*proper*) and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it."[30] Although Haycraft's acclaim of

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[27] Julian Symons, *Bloody Murder: From the Detective Story to the Crime Novel*, 3rd rev. ed. (New York: The Mysterious Press, 1992) 3.

[28] Symons 4.

[29] Symons 284.

[30] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: U of California P, 1988) xix.

Poe seems adequate, considering the fact that his first detective stories were written even before the first Detective Office was established at Scotland Yard and "at a time when few American cities had any kind of police system,"[31] his claim that "there could be no detective stories (and there were none) until there were detectives"[32] is a little overstated. It cannot be denied that Poe himself neither intended to cater to a specific genre that might later be called the detective story nor was he proud of writing this type of stories.[33] Yet, the tiny number of stories—depending on the history they want to construct—among Poe's various types of writings are strategically employed to bind together the body of stories which dedicated genre writers developed in the coming one hundred years. Then, the trajectory of beginning/end is discursively constructed in the development of the genre: the formal perfection of classic puzzle stories called for more literary elements of "character and psychology" and eventually gave way to more general crime literature that combined "popular entertainment with a study of 'people and problems'."[34] The new wave of detective fiction writers after the Golden Age were inclined to ask "Why rather than How, and their Why was often concerned with the psychological make-up and social background of killer and killed."[35] That is to say, according to Symons, many crime stories "have returned to the spirit of the ancestor who preceded Poe: William Godwin."[36] Thus, the trajectory of the detective fiction genre—not crime fiction in general—is depicted as a closed circuit, initiated by Poe, elaborated by Doyle, and finally

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[31] Symons 33.

[32] Haycraft 5.

[33] Symons 24.

[34] Symons 168

[35] Symons 168.

[36] Symons 178.

completed by writers of the Golden Age. In the name of fair play, "rules" were made to secure the borders of the genre along with the attempts to break the "rules," and the rule governed classic mode eventually self-destructed before World War II. The fully matured classic form lost its appeal to readers and substituted for it was the crime story as a literary form. Yet, while it is beyond the scope of this theorization, we might consider the possibility that this history is in fact plural and that "detective fiction" and "crime fiction" coexisted rather than one changing into the other. As Symons himself admits in his afterword written in the 1990s, detective novels did not completely die out, only to be replaced by crime novels.

The reason that I delineate this history of the genre along with these three critics is that—aside from its dominant status in Western criticism of detective fiction—it is also the "standard" version Japanese critics including the pioneer Edogawa Ranpo take for granted. The boundaries and history of Japanese detective fiction formed on its incommensurable differences from or in "perverse" relationship with the standard version. In Japan, Poe's discursive role in the critical history of detective fiction is played by the journalist Kuroiwa Ruikō. In the late nineteenth century, the journalist Ruikō pioneered sensational serial stories by loosely adapting foreign crime literature in a way similar to Edgar Allan Poe. Ruikō also imported and critically challenged European crime fiction with his keen insight as a magazine editor. As one of the most successful editors of his time, Ruikō conceived of foreign crime literature as a profitable genre for Japan's still immature publishing market. An increase in the number of the reading public and demands for sensational stories in urban settings compelled him to feature adapted crime fiction in his paper *Yorozu chōhō* (1892-1940). His translations were loose renderings of foreign originals into Japanese settings and successfully catered to the public curiosity about crime and punishment in modernizing Japan. His adaptations were seamlessly integrated with other writings in his paper. News reports and crime fiction were not clearly demarcated, whether his stories were adapted from somewhere or solely his own.

In this regard, his crime literature of foreign origin is not so remote from confessional narratives of criminals or criminal records in early stages of mass publication, and might domestically be related to the popular crime narrative called *dokufu-mono* (stories of poison women) in the early Meiji period.[37]

In the early twentieth century, the extreme popularity of the type of crime fiction Ruikō pioneered was critically inherited by Edogawa Ranpo, who modeled himself after Edgar Allan Poe and envisioned producing "Japanese" detective fiction that could rival its Western counterpart. While Ruikō's introduction of crime literature, which in fact is one of the many kinds of popular literatures he pioneered, was mostly conditioned by the demands from the modern reading public, Ranpo consciously attempted to establish the genre in relation to the Western discourses on detective fiction. While he himself became the first writer who wrote detective fiction of what Sayers argues is the intellectual type in 1923, he enthusiastically articulated the history of Japanese detective fiction in relation to the Western "standard" version. Sayers' theory played an important role in those historicizations. Her introduction was translated in 1931[38] and highly evaluated by Ranpo and contemporary readers because it does not "exclude the literary element" in detective fiction compared to the more rigid emphasis on the puzzle element theorized in Van Dine's introduction to *The Great Detective Stories* published in the year previous to Sayers' introduction.[39] Based on Sayers' two lines of development, Ranpo set the dominant discourse that Japanese detective fiction is influenced by the Romantic tradition

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[37] Mark Silver, "Putting the Court on Trial: Cultural Borrowing and the Translated Crime Novel in Nineteenth-Century Japan," *Journal of Popular Culture* 36 (2003): 853-85.

[38] It was translated by Okada Teruki and serialized in *Tantei* from Aug. 1931 as "Tantei shōsetsu ni kansuru rekishiteki kōsatsu." See Edogawa Ranpo, *Gen'eijō* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2003) 545.

[39] It was introduced by Kimura Ki in 1933 and later officially translated by Tauchi Chōtarō as "Tantei shōsetsuron" in 1936. See Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 374-75.

of literature such as Satō Haruo and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō as well as the intellectual interest in criminal investigation imported and successfully implemented by Kuroiwa Ruikō. In other words, he strategically reads the history of Japanese detective fiction by placing Ruikō's popular serials at the intersection of the literature of Romanticism and the imported—meaning "modern"—genre of detective fiction, and thus frees himself from the accusation that the genre, and also his writings, were a mere copy of the foreign born genre. At the height of national consciousness during the interwar years, however, his own discourse about the genre gradually necessitated Ranpo's conversion from a writer of the Intellectual detective story to a writer of the Romantic crime story, a direction the Western "standard" version did not take.

Much like its Western counterparts, Ranpo's stories "appealed to a mass audience precisely because they were embedded in social relations, experiences, and an environment that could be easily identified with the life of a readership living in the cities"[40] but he was nevertheless involved the debates over whether his stories were "proper" to the "standard" version. After the appearance of Ranpo, the maturity of the detective fiction genre in Japan was discussed in relation to the degree of proper implementation of the Western format and in this frame of reference Ranpo's localization of the genre was frequently discussed as an "improper" adaptation of the genre. Therefore, while he is acclaimed as one of the first Japanese writers who could master the foreign born genre, he is also criticized for deviating Japanese detective fiction from a healthy course of development thereby producing "unhealthy" Japanese literature.

After Edogawa Ranpo, the discursive space of Japanese detective fiction was thus destined to circle around the issue of the "authentic" in relation to the Western counterpart resulting in the famous debates about the particularity of Japanese detective

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[40] Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000) 117.

fiction the 1930s, and the heated—sometimes vicious—debates continued even until the immediate postwar. True to the postwar democratic climate under the US occupation, the dominant discourse about the genre in postwar years favored the authentic (Western) mode compared to the inauthentic (Japanese) in the prewar years. Haycraft's *Murder for Pleasure*[41] conveniently helped Ranpo's efforts in transforming prewar inauthentic tendencies into authentic fiction for the postwar. With a series of classic puzzles produced right after the war by Yokomizo Seishi, Japanese detective fiction finally achieved what Haycraft calls the "Golden Age" two decades later than the Western counterparts.

This is one of the reasons that many critics consider that the true history of Japanese detective fiction started after the war with *The Honjin Murder Case* (*Honjin satsujin jiken*) by Yokomizo Seishi in 1946. After the war, writers known for stories of the grotesque and horror during the prewar years, including the infamous Edogawa Ranpo, enthusiastically advocated so-called "authentic" detective fiction (*honkaku tantei shōsetsu*). Even writers of serious literature such as Sakaguchi Ango contributed a fresh start for the genre by writing the authentic detective fiction *The Non-Serial Murder Case* (*Furenzoku satsujin jiken*) in 1948. Postwar craving for democracy and foreign materials pushed the popularity of the genre even further. Right after the occupation period, the publisher Hayakawa Shobō started a dedicated collection of foreign mysteries, "Hayakawa misuterī," in 1953. Sōgensha followed its success with what they called the first pocket book collection of mystery, "Sōgen suiri bunko" in 1959. Through the success of these two publishers as dedicated suppliers of foreign mystery, detective fiction—or in a more general term mystery—became one of the most prolific genres in translation.

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[41] It was first translated into Japanese and published by Tōgensha in 1961.

Because of the postwar prosperity of the detective fiction genre and particularly the popularity of authentic detective fiction right after the war, many postwar critics have argued that the trajectory of the genre coincided with the issue of Japan's "improper" modernization. Take the critic Gonda Manji's explanation about the "unhealthy" development of Japanese detective fiction, for example. Gonda argues that logic is alien to the traditional Japanese way of thinking. The Japanese tend to grasp things emotionally rather than logically, and thus the reader's attraction is not directed toward the way mysteries are solved logically. After enumerating these cultural stereotypes, Gonda concludes that social and cultural conditions necessitated Japanese detective fiction's deviation from the "standard" version, and the full bloom of the "real" detective fiction was postponed until the democratization of the country in the aftermath of World War II.[42]

The key word in these discourses about Japanese detective fiction is "authentic" (*honkaku*),[43] which signifies a classic whodunit written true to the rules and conventions set in the Golden Age of detective fiction in the West, and authentic was considered "modern" in terms of its celebration of scientific reasoning. The opposite is "inauthentic" (*henkaku*), which employs some elements of detective fiction but its main focus is more or less sensationalism (eroticism and the grotesque) related to criminal investigation, and thus connotes the premodern. It should be noted that this particular categorization was introduced to deal with the discrepancy or twist with what Japanese writers and critics considered the "standard" version of the history. This discourse assumes that prewar

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[42] Gonda Manji, *Nihon tantei shōsetsu sakkaron* (Tokyo: Futabasha, 1996) 9-10.

[43] Mark Silver and Rosemary Herbert translate honkaku and henkaku as "orthodox" and "unorthodox (or innovative)" in the entry on "Crime and Mystery Writing in Japan" in *The Oxford Companion to Crime and Mystery Writing*. However, I think it is more appropriate to use "authentic" and "inauthentic," since, as I discuss in Chapter Two, these terms originate in the debates about the authentic novel in literature. See *The Oxford Companion to Crime and Mystery Writing*, ed. Rosemary Herbert (New York: Oxford UP, 1999) 242.

Japan was dominated by the "inauthentic" tendencies, while after the war Japanese people could produce and embrace "authentic" detective fiction for the first time because of the successful Americanization imposed by the Occupation army. Quite naturally, the postwar history of Japanese detective fiction followed its Western counterpart, although almost twenty years behind the Western "development" of the genre. The classic whodunit or authentic detective fiction was quickly substituted by more general mystery based on Realism in the late 1950s. This was the transition from the whodunit to the whydunit as represented in Symons's historicization, the quest for motives behind tragic crimes. This trend was called the social school (*shakaiha*) in contrast to authentic detective fiction and it helped to promote the genre marginalized during the prewar years into the mainstream market of popular fiction. The Akutagawa award winner Matsumoto Seichō further introduced serious themes to the genre by his *Points and Lines* (*Ten to sen*, 1957-8) and became the dominant force of the social school. Hard-boiled mysteries were pioneered by an extremely prolific writer Ōyabu Haruhiko in his *The Beast Must Die* (*Yajū shisu beshi*, 1958). The Sayers-Haycraft-Symons model thus also became the "standard" version of the history of Japanese detective fiction, although in this vision, Japanese writers were always posited as being behind the "advanced" Western trend. The market was revitalized by various options and the genre enjoyed the unprecedented prosperity which leads to today's success of female writers such as Miyabe Miyuki and Kirino Natsuo both domestically and internationally.

Such teleological development of the genre is given another twist in the late 1980s when a series of young writers again started writing "authentic" detective fiction which was then a long forgotten form under the shadow of the social school of detective fiction. The movement which first appeared to be a fad soon became one of the dominant forces of the detective fiction genre. New magazines dedicated to those young writers were published, past classics were reprinted, and critics started discussing authentic detective fiction, bringing the issues of authenticity back to the forefront of the discourses

about Japanese detective fiction, since the revival of the classic whodunit on such a large scale is unparalleled and against the "standard" version in the countries in which the genre originated.

According to critic-writer Kasai Kiyoshi, the history of Japanese detective fiction is marked by three dominant waves, and all of them are closely tied to the debates about the authenticity of the genre.[44] The first is the prewar prosperity of *Shinseinen*, which is one of the earliest magazines that featured the detective story and which discovered most of the prewar detective fiction writers including Edogawa Ranpo. The second is the postwar reform of the genre represented by Yokomizo Seishi's series of classic puzzle stories. Accordingly the main battlefield also moved from *Shinseinen* to the new magazine *Hōseki*, which is the magazine supervised (financially and ideologically) by Ranpo and which became the principal magazine that discovered most of the postwar writers, such as Takagi Akimitsu and Ayukawa Tetsuya. The third is the revival of the classic mode initiated by Shimada Sōji and the writers he discovered, such as Ayatsuji Yukito and Norizuki Rintaro. Although Kasai's periodization prioritizes the classic mode (puzzle stories) over more general mystery, it should not be overlooked that the three periods correspond to, and intersect with, important moments in the history of twentieth century Japan; prewar nationalism, postwar democracy, and neonationalism after the death of the Shōwa Emperor.

In the following chapters, I follow Kasai's periodization and examine the discursive space of the genre in each period. For Kasai, the repeated rise of the authentic mode proves its centrality in the detective fiction genre; in contrast, I instead use these three moments in order to explicate the dynamics of how the genre became demarcated as a generic category and generated relations with exterior social forces. I investigate how

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[44] Kasai, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.2, 6.

Japanese detective fiction has developed in relation to Japan's modernization, industrialization, nationalism, and globalization, specifically in the 1920s-30s, the 1950s-60s, and from the 1990s to present. My standpoint is underscored by the idea that boundaries are never so self-evident as many critics take for granted because the detective fiction genre as such, especially its marked cousin "authentic" detective fiction, is characterized by its heterogeneity both in form and content. I do not intend to argue that Japanese society was already modernized (or postmodern) in opposing the conventional discourses on the prewar detective fiction. I will rather discuss how the debates about the genre converge and diverge around the issue of authenticity, which discursively constituted the genre particular to Japan on the one hand and the concept of the "modern" as such on the other. My study exposes the socio-political, cultural and literary conditions that necessitated the emergence of the detective fiction genre as a problematic of Japanese society, stitching together fantasy and desire for the formation of the national subject in the cultural domain.

Chapters One through Three of my study examine Japan's socio-cultural contexts after the Russo-Japanese war, specifically magazine culture and the rise of the detective fiction genre (Chapter One), the I-novel tradition and its relation to the genre (Chapter Two), and representations of Tokyo as an urban center in the genre (Chapter Three). Chapters Four through Six investigate the socio-cultural contexts after World War II, especially Japan's democratization in the 1950s-60s and the rearticulation of the genre (Chapters Four and Five) and the postmodern "return" to the prewar tradition in the 90s (Chapter Six). Several canonical writers of Japanese detective fiction will be treated in relation to the discourse of authenticity of the genre: Edogawa Ranpo as the founding father of the genre in Chapter Three, Yokomizo Seishi and Matsumoto Seichō as a reformer of the genre in Chapter Five, and finally Ayatsuji Yukito as a revivalist of the genre in Chapter Six, but again by no means do I attempt to exercise comprehensive studies of the "great" authors of the genre. Instead, their function in the frame of

reference called authentic detective fiction is my main concern in examining their individual works. In heterogeneity, their works will conform to but at the same time challenge the discursive forces that appropriate them to the history. By tracing the genealogy of the discourses about the detective fiction genre in Japan, the following chapters attempt to show issues of Japan's modernism and the formation of its national imaginary in a more dynamic network of "cultures" and turn the history of Japanese detective fiction as well as the nation back into historical "moments."

CHAPTER I

SHINSEINEN AND DETECTIVE FICTION IN PREWAR MAGAZINE CULTURE

Introduction

Shinseinen (新青年, New Youth) was a youth magazine that led the genre of detective fiction from 1920 to 1950. This magazine, widely considered to be the first to solidify and popularize the detective genre in Japan, serves in any study of detective fiction as the indispensable source of information about a variety of cultural and critical activities including the genre's writers, critics, and readers. The magazine featured detective fiction from the very first issue—initially through translation of foreign detective stories and later through domestic writers its early issues cultivated, such as Yokomizo Seishi (1902-81), Edogawa Ranpo (1894-1965), Yumeno Kyūsaku (1889-1936), Oguri Mushitarō (1901-1946), and Kigi Takatarō (1897-1969).[45] *Shinseinen*'s distinct status was not only achieved by the emergence of these new talented writers but also by the incorporation of critical essays on the genre by established writers, such as Satō Haruo, Hagiwara Sakutarō, and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō. The magazine's multifaceted focus on theory and criticism of the genre helped to inspire readers into discussions of literature beyond this particular genre. That suggests that the magazine provided "education" for modern readers, unlike today's common understanding of the genre as a form of low, disposable entertainment. *Shinseinen*'s reputation as the first and most representative detective fiction magazine sometimes obscures the fact that it was not simply dedicated to the genre, or to modern fashion of the urban area. It originally

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[45] Their debut pieces in *Shinseinen* are: Yokomizo Seishi's "Osoroshiki eipurirufūru" (1921), Edogawa Ranpo's "Nisen dōka" (1923), Yumeno Kyūsaku's "Ayakashi no Tsuzumi" (1926), Oguri Mushitarō's "Kanzen hanzai" (1933), and Kigi Takatarō's "Mōmaku myakushisyō" (1934).

targeted country youth for the ultimate purpose of "cultivating the mind" (*shūyō*) and turning their eyes toward the expanding territories of imperial Japan. The magazine later transformed into a more sophisticated magazine for the urban youth, but its fundamental function as the intellectual source of knowledge from abroad for the future citizens of the empire did not change, even when it dedicated most of its pages to the detective fiction genre.[46] This somewhat covert nature of *Shinseinen* became the explicit policy during the spread of militarism as war broke out in 1939. Unlike the stereotypical image given to the magazine today, *Shinseinen* was built on multiple conflicting policies and discourses, ranging from military expansionism of the imperial era to Westernization by means of literary enlightenment, to modern fashion of Taishō culture. The genre of detective fiction emerged from the dynamics of these various forces that necessitated a site of negotiation. What was *Shinseinen*'s cultural position in imperial Japan in relation to detective fiction? How did the magazine, which was not particularly dedicated to detective fiction, give rise to the genre? This chapter will examine the creation of the Japanese detective fiction genre in the prewar years, thereby attempting to clarify *Shinseinen*'s position as a locus of negotiation among contradicting discourses about colonial interest, translation, and above all, the detective fiction genre.

Shinseinen as Colonial Hybrid

The elusive nature of *Shinseinen* is reflected in contesting discourses about *Shinseinen*. The dominant critical view on prewar detective fiction has long rested on the genre's irrational and fantastic nature, and as the cradle of the genre, *Shinseinen* has also been seen as a magazine of backward romanticism rather than modernism. Gonda Manji, one of the most acclaimed critics of the genre, writes in his collection of essays on

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[46] According to Suzuki Sadami, it is from 1923 to 1927. See "Shinseinen" Kenkyūkai, ed., *Shinseinen dokuhon: Shōwa gurafiti* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 1988) 28.

detective fiction (1975) that "the modern detective fiction of the prewar years, which started after the publication of *Shinseinen* and the debut of Edogawa Ranpo, consists of an overwhelmingly large number of stories that play with the fantastic world of horror and bizarreness that rejects social reality."[47] Gonda describes prewar detective fiction as "irrational dreams rather than rational logic, utopian fantasies of a splendid death rather than harsh social reality,"[48] and discusses the genre with the metaphor of "abysmal dreams of a deep-sea fish." Even today, Gonda's work is one of the few works of genre criticism on prewar detective fiction in Japan and thus remains influential with the genre studies by Edogawa Ranpo.

Recent scholarship on prewar magazine culture, on the other hand, focuses on the modernist side of *Shinseinen* and the urban culture surrounding the detective fiction genre. In his study of Tokyo as a modern city, for example, Unno Hiroshi takes Edogawa Ranpo's detective fiction as examples of stories that faithfully reflect the modern city life of the 1920s. Against the dominant view that praises Ranpo's stories as a repository of fantastic ideas, Unno argues that "the birth of the detective fiction of Edogawa Ranpo is closely related to the establishment of the new urban space in the 1920s,"[49] and Unno traces the fragments of modern life in Ranpo's depictions of the crowded city and his use of the camera eye. Takita Yoshiko relocates the magazine's role in its active introduction of American culture, especially of the culture of magazine columns on current events and literary trends, as developed by *Vanity Fair*, *Vogue*, *Life*, and *The New Yorker*.[50] These

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[47] Gonda, *Nihon tantei sakkaron* 7.

[48] Gonda, *Nihon tantei sakkaron* 7.

[49] Unno Hiroshi, *Modan toshi Tōkyō: Nihon no 1920-nendai* (Tokyo Chūō Kōronsha, 1983) 177.

[50] Takita Yoshiko, *Amerikan raifu e no manazashi: shizen, josei, taishū bunka* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2000) 183-202.

contemporary critical currents coincide with the idea of vernacular modernism which regards Japan's modernist movement as a variety of the worldwide modernist phenomenon. Kyoko Omori explains in her study of *Shinseinen* that vernacular modernism is "a range of forms of expression, including but not limited to various forms of print, audio and visual media directed toward a popular or mass audience and arising from the same set of socio-historical forces and events that produced better-known achievements in the realm of high art, which heretofore have been identified under the rubric of modernism."[51] These approaches have added new aspects to the understanding of the prewar detective genre, which had long carried the image of low-rated grotesque horror.

Still it is important to keep in mind that the thirty years of *Shinseinen*'s history was in no sense linear or homogeneous because the political turmoil of the two world wars forced all Japanese magazines to deliberately alter their forms and policies in order to survive socio-political changes of the times. Despite such a complex history, however, the postwar discourses about the prewar detective fiction genre have mostly converged on a few limited views which reframe the magazine's history as the origin of what is considered to be the detective fiction genre today. The retroactive reading of the genre's historical development often necessitates viewing the prewar period as the dawn of the genre, the phase in which Japan's premodern traditions were not yet superseded by the modernity represented in the rational faculty of the detective genre. This view is best exemplified by Gonda, who argues that the detective fiction genre did not fully develop in prewar Japan, because of the national traits that valued emotion over logic, which ultimately stems from the social structure of the Emperor system.[52] The dominant view

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[51] Kyoko Omori, "Detecting Japanese Vernacular Modernism: Shinseinen Magazine and the Development of the tantei shōsetsu genre, 1920-30" (Diss. Ohio State University, 2003) 54.

[52] Gonda, *Nihon tantei sakkaron* 9-10.

of prewar detective fiction as irrational and grotesque seems to come from this idea of history and generic development, which often limits critics' understanding of *Shinseinen* to viewing it as a monolithic domain of prewar grotesque mysteries. Although this view is correct to an extent, it may be more important to revisit discussions and critical essays produced in the magazine and demystify the progressive discourses of the genre that divides history between the origin of Japanese detective fiction and its modernization in the postwar period.[53] By examining the discursive formation of the detective genre in *Shinseinen*, I will shed light on another political force that shaped the magazine's cultural position as a tool of cultivating the youth, namely, the colonialism of the 1920s.

Shinseinen started its history when the publishing industry was booming but not yet unified by the giant of prewar magazine culture, *Kingu* (1925-1957).[54] According to Satō Takumi, the advent of *Kingu* in 1925 marks the establishment of the "unifying media of the nation [*kokumin tōgō media*]" in prewar Japan that truly transcended "class, gender, and age."[55] *Kingu* unified a readership that was hitherto divided into smaller segments of *yōnen* [child], *shōnen* [boy], *shōjo* [girl], *fujin* [woman], *gakusei* [student], and *rōdōsha* [worker], thereby bringing readers together into the more universal category of the nation.[56] The word *kingu* [king] was selected as the title by the president of the publisher, Noma Seiji, since "a word of foreign origin can appeal equally to all people."[57]

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[53] I will discuss the discursive construction of detective fiction after the war in Chapter Four.

[54] The title was changed to *Fuji* from 1943 to 1946 because of the improper use of the English word.

[55] Satō Takumi, *"Kingu" no jidai: kokumin taishū zasshi no kōkyōsei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002) 145.

[56] Satō Takumi 146.

[57] Noma Seiji, *Zōho watashi no hanshō* (Tokyo: Dainihon Yūbenkai Kōdansha, 1939) 709.

Five years before this "revolution in publication business,"[58] the publisher of *Shinseinen*, Hakubunkan, was struggling to meet the demands of the rapidly changing readership of the Taishō period. In the late nineteenth century, Hakubunkan became a major player in the publication business with the success of *Nihon taika ronshū*, which is a multi-volume collection of essays originally printed in academic journals and political magazines. Hakubunkan's constant efforts in educating and cultivating the reading public in the Meiji period culminated in 1885 in the form of the general magazine *Taiyō*, which was designed to collect writings of "leading figures of every field"[59] and to introduce their ideas to readers in and outside of Japan. Yet, the encyclopedic design of the magazine was too general to attract readers and thus could not compete with more opinionated followers such as *Chūōkōron* (1899-1944, 1945-present) and *Kaizō* (1919-1944, 1945-1955). *Taiyō* also failed to establish the concept of the "masses" to appeal across categories of age, gender, and class, which resulted in *Kingu*'s success later. Responding to this mistake, Hakubunkan published more topical magazines by sorting the encyclopedic table of contents into independent publications. *Shinseinen* appeared as one of these newly categorized magazines in the publisher's effort at exploring a new target readership.

The mission initially assigned to *Shinseinen* was thus narrowly focused compared to *Taiyō* and other general magazines. In fact, it was not in the least related to detective fiction. *Shinseinen* was first designed as the direct successor of *Bōkensekai* (Adventure World, 1908-1920), a graphic magazine that provided young (mostly male) children's stories about Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War and fantastic adventures around the world, especially into Japan's future colonies. At the time the political climate was

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[58] Minami Hiroshi, ed., *Shōwa bunka: 1925-1945* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1987) 303.

[59] Suzuki Sadami, "Meiji-ki Taiyō no enkaku, oyobi ichi," *Zasssi "Taiyō" to kokuminn bunka no keisei* (Kyoto-shi: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2001) 10.

leaning toward militarism and colonialism after Japan's victories over China (1894-5) and Russia (1904-5). Japan was entrusted with the sovereignty over most of the Islands in Micronesia from the League of Nations after World War I (1914-1918). As is often the case with a late comer to colonialism, not only national policy but also public opinion was leaning toward rapid, and sometimes violent, expansion of its territories—in Japan's case, to the South Seas, the lands untamed by dominant European forces.

Aiming to teach the colonial expansion of the nation to the emerging youth, the first issue of *Shinseinen* opens with a poem by Shiratori Shōgo, which encourages the young readers to become a leading light in the doomed world. The articles in the issue consisted of essays written by military officers of the government about Japan's role in the coming wars, as well as admonitory lectures on enlightenment of scientific technologies and on the idea of launching off to foreign countries. The writers of these essays called "leading figures" (*taika*) are not necessarily in sympathy with the democratic atmosphere of the Taishō period.[60] The reactionary nature of *Shinseinen* was not simply a passing trend particular to the early stage of *Shinseinen* but continued to be the magazine's undercurrent in prewar years. This fundamental role of the magazine may have also helped it to survive the height of the governmental control of the press in the 1940s. As the title suggests, *Shinseinen* was first issued in the hope of enlightening and raising the morale (*shiki*) of young imperial citizens (*seinen*). Unlike the common misunderstanding of the title, "new" (*shin*) as in the title "new youth" initially had a reactionary overtone rather than that of the Taishō modern. The magazine's goal first and foremost was in providing attractive information and practical knowledge of foreign countries, especially of the South Seas, which was considered most important for the

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[60] "Shinseinen" Kenkyūkai 4.

youth to look for success in the new world.[61] The social condition of the era also helped *Shinseinen* to explore the new ideological market for young readers. Urban developments had already reached a peak after World War I, and Japan in the 1920s was already witnessing stagnation in economic development. The gilded age of the early Taishō was already gone, and the only places left for the youth to exploit were sought in untamed lands outside Japan, where fantasy lands were imagined to await ambitious youth to achieve success (*risshin shusse*).

According to Morishita Uson (1890-1965), the first chief editor of the magazine, these characteristics of *Shinseinen*, along with the title itself, were assigned by the owner of Hakubunkan, Ōhashi Shintarō (1863-1944).[62] With the addition of *Shinseinen*, Hakubunkan originally planned to market to literate youth in farming villages, an emerging population that potentialized new types of focused readers in the ever-growing publishing business. *Shinseinen*'s new focus on rural youth also differentiated the magazine's position from others that had already established fame, such as *Chūōkōron* and *Kaizō*. *Shinseinen*'s rightist political position targeting rural youth created a clear contrast to these existing magazines which mostly targeted city dwellers on the political left. These differences further divided the fates of these magazines during World War II, as both *Chūōkōron* and *Kaizō* were banned by the military government. Morishita later recalls that he had reservations about Ōhashi's conservative approach from the beginning and tried to make it attractive in his own decision as the chief editor. Morishita thus decided to feature foreign detective fiction, which was not yet treated widely in other

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[61] See Suzuki Sadami, *Modan toshi no hyōgen: jiko gensō josei* (Kyōto-shi: Hakuchisha, 1992) and *Shōwa bungaku no tame ni: fikushon no ryōryaku* (Tokyo: Shichōsha, 1989).

[62] Nakajima Kawatarō, *Nihon suiri shōsetsushi*, vol.3 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Sōgensha, 1996) 215-7.

magazines at that time.[63] Morishita's strategy of publishing translated fiction of foreign detective fiction writers further succeeded in distinguishing *Shinseinen* from magazines featuring outdated adventure novels or historical novels.

Morishita's idea of inserting foreign detective fiction in the rightist magazine for young readers in the country did not come easily. Both the genre and the readership *Shinseinen* was aiming for were new frontiers in Japan. The difficulty he first encountered was the selection of stories to be translated. Although he graduated from the English department of Waseda University and knew English literature quite well, he was not particularly familiar with the genre. His memoir recounts his desperate search at the Maruzen bookstore for imported books that could be categorized as detective stories. In the end, with the recommendation of the chief of the bureau Hasegawa Tenkei, he selected Richard Austin Freeman's *The Eye of Osiris* (1911) and a story from the Sexton Blake series. The first issues featured an abridged translation of *The Eye of Osiris* under the title of *Hakkotsu no nazo*, translated by Hoshino Tatsuo, who was known as the translator of Maurice Leblanc's works, along with a short story from the Sexton Blake series translated by Morishita himself. Aside from the advertisement offering a prize specifically for detective stories, there is nothing that foretold the prosperity of the magazine in the prewar detective fiction boom. The rest of the pages in these issues were devoted to essays by military officers on personal development (*shūyō*), informative essays about launching out overseas (*kaigai yūhi*), and a special section for "the next war." Despite Morishita's plan to foster new writers to take up foreign detective fiction, domestic writings by Japanese writers showed more influences from these military discourses. Yamazaki Shin'u's short story in the first issue, "Nanyōtō no konketsuji" (A Hybrid Child in the South Sea Islands), was a typical example that indicated continuation

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[63] Morishita Uson, "Jo: tantei shōsetsu hattatsushi fū ni," *Nihon tantei shōsetsu kessakushū*, ed. Edogawa Ranpo (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1935) 4.

from *Bōkensekai*, *Shinseinen*'s predecessor, rather than departure. The refinement of the magazine was slow and troublesome: it took a year for *Shinseinen* to carry foreign detective fiction on a regular basis, and detective fiction by domestic writers was scarce for three years until Edogawa Ranpo's debut in 1923. Far from its later fame as a detective fiction magazine, *Shinseinen* started as a curious amalgam of contesting thoughts of the early twentieth century, such as "nationalism, internationalism, cosmopolitanism, liberalism, militarism, socialism, etc."[64]

The relationship of *Shinseinen*'s role as a locus of conflicting discourses and the detective genre needs special attention, because it is significant that the genre developed in close connection to the military discourses of colonialism, or rather, in symbiotic dependence on them. The detective fiction genre in *Shinseinen* grew out of contesting ideas of the colonial frontier, which seems to constitute the ambivalent site Homi Bhabha calls hybridity, "a radical heterogeneity, discontinuity, the permanent revolution of forms."[65] In this regard, *Shinseinen*'s hybridity in the discursive conditions of imperial Japan provided a space similar to what Mary Louise Pratt calls the contact zone, which is "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict."[66] Japan became "the first non-Western state that was now joining the ranks of the militarily strong, imperialistic powers,"[67] which created a locus where imperial expansionism,

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[64] "Shinseinen" Kenkyūkai 6.

[65] Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995) 25.

[66] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, Routledge, 1992) 6.

[67] Marius B. Jansen, ed., *The Emergence of Meiji Japan* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1995) 311.

juvenile fantasies about the colonial frontier, and stories of detective heroes from the West somehow coexisted. This is not the site where the colonial power monolithically dominates powerless natives of the colonies, since, despite its victory in World War I, Japan still struggled between its ambition for conquest and threats from the larger colonial powers of Europe and America. It should not be overlooked that Japanese detective fiction was born in "the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect."[68]

Morishita's major effort in merging the foreign detective genre into colonial interests in romantic adventures focused on the question of translation, the device that smoothes the gap across different concepts as well as languages. In the contestations of multiple cultures in the contact zone, the foreign born genre was "translated" into *tantei shōsetsu* (detective fiction)—or rather, "negotiated" to use Homi Bhabha's strategic use of the term. Bhabha explains negotiation as "the articulation of antagonistic or contradictory elements: a dialectic without the emergence of a teleological or transcendent History, and beyond the prescriptive form of symptomatic reading where the nervous tics on the surface of ideology reveal the 'real materialist contradiction' that History embodies."[69] The encounter, as is the case with other colonial encounters of different entities, requires translation of an alien language into one's own tongue, which simultaneously postulates its own tongue. The next section will focus on this particular aspect of *Shinseinen*'s strategy in harmonizing, and thereby concealing, the contradictions among colliding ideas.

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[68] Jansen 7.

[69] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, Routledge, 1994) 25.

The Role of the Translator and the Articulation of the Domestic

In the early years of *Shinseinen*, especially before the introduction of Japanese detective fiction writers, translators had a rather active role in constituting a literary genre. In a magazine whose major task was the import of foreign knowledge, the translator served not simply as a transparent mediator of a foreign tongue but also as a creative writer and editor. Being a small project for the publisher, *Shinseinen* involved only two editors, Morishita Uson and Aihara Shirō, neither of whom were particularly knowledgeable about the detective fiction genre. In the initial year (1920) of editing, foreign writers they selected for the magazine were Edgar Allan Poe (1809-49), Maurice Leblanc (1864-1941), O. Henry (1862-1910), and William Tufnell Le Queux (1864-1927), none of whom were unknown writers for common Japanese readers at that time. This somewhat easy selection of foreign detective stories makes it difficult to imagine that the magazine soon became a cutting edge introducer of the genre. Furthermore, the editorial policy of the magazine emphasized the importance of "going abroad" to study, to start a business, and eventually to score a success, which cleared the way for domestic writers to frequently publish adventure stories despite Morishita's plan.

Morishita kept insisting, in his editorial comments, on his editorial policy of increasing pages for detective fiction, and this might have appeared sufficiently novel to draw the attention of erudite readers who were already bored with outmoded genre stories dominant in magazines similar to *Shinseinen*. A monetary prize was offered to encourage readers to submit their writings and to help nurture this novel genre. Morishita's constant effort resulted in establishing a circle of interested contributors around the magazine, most of whom actively participated as readers and writers thanks to the relatively small scale of the magazine and later turned into translators, writers, and in some cases, editors. The prime example of these dedicated contributors was the postwar giant of detective fiction, Yokomizo Seishi, who won a prize at the age of nineteen, became a translator,

and later worked as the chief editor of *Shinseinen* between 1928-9. Judging from the way the magazine advanced in the genre magazine market, Morishita's editorial ability lay in his tactical use of emergent writers and translators rather than in his knowledge about, and selection of, imported stories. The magazine's active involvement of readers soon grew into that of translators, and further into that of expert importers of foreign knowledge. These contributors worked across supposedly different roles, since the difference between writers and translators was not yet clearly marked. Most stories were either anonymously translated or adapted from foreign sources as a translator's work without the source ever being mentioned. In the context of *Shinseinen* as well as other magazines that relied on foreign sources, the notion of "translation" covered a wide variety of writing and reading practices that revolved around the function of introducing Western knowledge. The detective fiction genre started in this compound form of translation around the contact zone where it took a long time to abstract the genre from multiple contesting voices.[70]

Shinseinen's condition of translation equated with creative writing challenges our common concept of a genre. The formation of the detective fiction genre started as importation and translation of established writers in the West, which suggests that the concept of the genre relied on the degree of reference to, and adaptation from, foreign materials rather than on common characteristics among texts. The absence of international copyright agreement in the Meiji era further encouraged writers to make maximum use of foreign texts by taking advantage of their accessibility to foreign languages and texts. It is thus essential to examine the relationship between the act of

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[70] According to Nakajima Kawatarō, it took years for Shinseinen to secure enough translators to carry foreign detective stories on regular basis. See Nakajima, *Nihon suiri shōsetsushi*, vol.2 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Sōgensha, 1994) 198.

translation and the genre formation in studying the detective genre, as this multi-tasking called translation easily surpasses the boundaries of genres.

Needless to say, plagiarism under the name of translation was in no way unique to *Shinseinen*, as fluid circulation of information over multiple languages had long been a common practice in the popularity of crime literature in the Edo period. The antecedents of Japanese detective fiction, such as Ihara Saikaku's *Honchō Ōin Hiji* (本朝桜陰比事, 1689),[71] Takizawa Bakin's *Aoto Fujitsuna moryōan* (青砥藤綱摸稜案, 1812),[72] and a series of tales later compiled as *Ōoka seidan* (Cases Dealt with by Magistrate Ōoka)[73] are all said to be influenced by the case studies of crime investigations and court trials in China known as *Tōin hiji* (棠陰比事, 1211).[74] The target language might have changed from Chinese to European languages in the late 19th century, but borrowing was still a dominant mode of writing in popular literature. One of the earliest examples of fiction translated from a Western language that specifically mention the text's original source is *Yongeru no kigoku* (楊牙兒ノ奇獄, 1877).[75] It was serialized in fifteen installments in *Kagetsu shinshi* edited by the poet and journalist Narushima Ryūhoku (1837-1884), and was noteworthy enough to be referred to by Mori Ogai in the opening of "Gan" (The Wild Geese, 1911-3) as the first translated fiction printed in a magazine.[76] The translator

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[71] Ihara Saikaku, *Tales of Japanese Justice*, trans. Thomas M. Kondo and Alfred H. Marks (Honolulu: UP of Hawaii, 1980).

[72] Takizawa Bakin, *Bakin chūhen yomihon shūsei*, ed. Suzuki Jūzō and Takeshi Tokuda (Tokyo: Kyūkoshoin, 2003).

[73] *Ōoka the Wise: Tales of old Japan*, trans. I. G. Edmonds and Sanae Yamazaki (Hamden: Linnet Books, 1994).

[74] Kozakai Fuboku, *Hanzai bungaku kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1991) 16-18. See also Asō Isoji, *Edo bungaku to Chūgoku bungaku* (Tokyo: Sanseidō Shuppan, 1946).

[75] Nishida Kōzo, ed., *Nihon saisho no hon'yaku misuterī shōsetsu: Yoshino Sakuzō to Kanda Takahira* (Kesennuma-shi: Kōfūsha, 1997).

[76] Kawato Michiaki, "Misuterī shōsetsu no akebono: Kanda Takahira to 'Yongeru no kigoku'," *Hon'yaku to rekishi* 8 (2001): 1-10.

of the novel, Kanda Takahira (1830-1898), was a European scholar (*yōgaku*) and a government official, who translated it in order to introduce the modern court system of the West. Although *Yongeru kigoku* is often regarded as the earliest example of translated fiction in the mystery genre, the source is Jan Bastiaan Christemeijer's *Belangrijke tafereelen uit de geschiedenis der lijfstraffelijke regtspleging* (1821), a collection of twelve noteworthy stories of convicts on death row.[77] Interestingly enough, European criminal records found their detective fiction market in a widely circulated magazine of Chinese literature. One of the reasons the novel was particularly marketed as a foreign translation is that the story appealed to the readership that enjoyed consuming bizarre murder cases that occurred in foreign lands. This was also the time that the so called *dokufu-mono* (poison woman stories) became one of the most eye-catching themes in the tabloid journals that proliferated with the rise of print culture in the early Meiji period. *Torioi Omatsu kaijō shinwa* (1878) by Kubota Hikosaku and *Takahashi Oden yasha monogatari* (1879) by Kanagaki Robun are two examples of the earliest stage of these crime literatures.

The flood of these crime fictions in the Meiji period was partly provoked by the anxiety stemming from the industrialization of major metropolitan cities and the subsequent rise of the crime rate due to the sudden increase of nameless working class citizens. Japan's condition proves that anxiety in reality and curiosity in fiction went hand in hand, which shows similarities to what Foucault observed in nineteen century Europe. City dwellers' interests in bloody murders were amplified and then disciplined by ever growing publishing industries.[78] The mass media sensationalized, and

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[77] Miyanaga Takashi, *Bakumatsu Ishin Oranda ibun* (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 1992).

[78] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1995) 288-92.

simultaneously reasoned, the schemes of the threats from nameless others of the imaginary group to which readers belonged. The destruction of the Confucian-influenced government in 1867, leading to the drastic modernization of the state, helped accelerate the process.

The ambivalent mix of anxiety and curiosity that propelled the reader's interest in crime stories, whether case studies or fiction, consequently gave rise to the consumption of pleasure that Julia Kristeva has called horror. What disturbs identity, system, and order in the developing society had to be "abjected," or excluded in order to constitute the identity of the subject. The threat to one's identity, which is the impossible of the subject's being in Kristeva's words, evokes horror and fascination at the same time.[79] The same structure functions on a larger scale of social formation as well, for excluding and repressing ambivalent objects as abjects located in the borderlines of the self and the other was the major role of crime stories that came from foreign places. The proliferation of these "strange tales" (*kidan*), which were a mixture of crime stories and (mis)information about alien cultures, suggests that the masses needed a paradox in consuming this pleasure. The idiosyncratic components within society were projected onto foreign tales and reading more about the unknown of the world secured the readers' ignorance about themselves. Social anxieties were neatly packaged into consumable anxieties that sustained the subject—in both private and public domain—in the modern society. The translator's job in fact concerned this ambivalent boundary between inside and outside.

This condition well explains why Kuroiwa Ruikō (1862-1920) became the leader of the first wave detective fiction boom. As a prominent journalist, he was also known for his translations of Western crime fiction, such as works by Hugh Conway, Émile

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[79] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) 5.

Gaboriau (1832-73), Fortuné Du Boisgobey (1824-91), and Wilkie Collins (1824-89). His newspaper, *Yorozu chōhō* (1892-1940), dominated the print culture of the late Meiji period due to its reasonable subscription fee[80] and extremely popular serial novels by Ruikō himself. In order to make up for his relatively late entry into the business,[81] Ruikō differentiated his paper by featuring sensationalism and *ad hominem* arguments and made it one of the most successful papers of his time.[82] The success of *Yorozu chōhō*, however, would not have been possible without his established fame as a translator of crime literature. His talent was perhaps best represented by his diverse business in news reports, essays, translation, fiction writing, and editing that were loosely compiled into a paper targeted for the masses.

The work of the "translator" is not a facile borrowing, an irresponsible plagiarism, or a make-up of sensational fiction. Ruikō's role was that of the exemplary translator in his era, as his work skillfully remained in oscillation among multiple roles in importing foreign knowledge. Ruikō pioneered the popularity of detective fiction by his *Houtei no bijin* (1887), which is a loose rendering of Hugh Conway's *Dark Days* into Japanese. From 1887 to the year he started *Yorozu chōhō*, he translated fifteen novels of Fortune Du Boisgobey, four novels of Émile Gaboriau, two novels of Wilkie Collins, and one novel of Anna Katharine Green. While criticizing social injustice in his newly published paper, he serialized over thirty foreign novels in the same paper. Among them are his

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[80] Compared to fifty-sen of *Jiji shinpō*, *Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun*'s fourty-sen, and *Miyako shinbun*'s thirty-sen, the subscription fee of twenty-sen of *Yorozu chōhō* was exceptionally cheap. See Kōno Kensuke, *Tōki to shite no bungaku: katsuji, kenshō, media* (Tokyo: Shin'yōsha, 2003) 39-42.

[81] Ruikō resigned the major paper *Miyako shinbun* in 1892 because of his conflicts with the company.

[82] According to Ruikō, the circulation of *Yorozu chōhō* amounted to 50,000 in 1895, which was twice the number of the second popular paper *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun*. See Itō Hideo, *Kuroiwa Ruikō: tantei shōsetsu no ganso* (Tokyo San'ichi Shobō, 1988) 146.

representative works of today, such as *Tekkamen* from 1892 to 1893 (based on Fortune du Boisgobey's *Les Deux Merles de M. de Saint-Mars* in 1878), *Yureitō* from 1899 to 1900 (C. N. Williamson's *A Woman in Grey* in 1898),[83] *Gankutsuō* from 1901 to 1902 (Alexandre Dumas's *Comte de Monte Cristo* in 1844-5), and *Aa, mujō* from 1902 to 1903 (Hugo's *Les Miserables* in 1862). In translating these European novels, he employed the method usually called free translation or adaptation (*hon'an*), in which foreign names were often changed into Japanese ones, dialogues and descriptions were abridged, and stories were modified in order to meet the tastes of Japanese readers. Although this was the predominant mode of translation in his age, changes were so drastic in some cases that Ruikō had to defend his translation style in his introductions to the novels. In *Houtei no bijin*, for instance, he explains that it is improper to call the book a translation, considering all the changes he made to the original. He further comments that he still has to call it a translation, for if he does not indicate the source, he can "hardly escape the charge of plagiarism and the disdain in which imitators are held."[84] Ruikō implicitly admits that the content can be preserved even after his free translation. His understanding of translation also suggests that the target language of translation, Japanese, was still being established in comparative parallel to the source languages.

This process of establishing the translation method, which is almost equal to establishing the mother tongue into which foreign languages are transformed, is most clearly shown in Ruikō's adaptation. Although his adaptations are still written in old literary Japanese, their narrative structure transfers the structure of modern detective fiction rather skillfully, which probably explains the popularity of his adaptations at that

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[83] Although Ruikō maintains that the novel is based on Mrs. Bendison's *The Phantom Tower*, it is now documented that he adopted from "A Woman in Grey" (1898) by C. N. Williamson (1869-1933). See Itō Hideo 192-98.

[84] Mark Silver. "Purloined Letters: Cultural Borrowing and Japanese Crime Literature, 1868-1941" (Diss. Yale University, 1999) 120.

time. In his typology of detective fiction, Tzvetan Todorov identifies duality as the condition of modern detective fiction. In his observation, detective fiction contains "not one but two stories: the story of the crime and the story of the investigation."[85] Modern detective fiction typically presents the story of the investigation, in which neither the reader nor the characters are informed of the story of the crime. The concealed story of the crime scene must be revealed in the very end, which requires a complex combination of the perspectives of the narrator and characters. Ruikō's method of adaptation varies considerably from work to work, if we compare his adaptations with his sources, [86] which indicated that the narrative inventions were yet to be done by contemporary translators including Futabatei Shimei and Tsubouchi Shōyō.

In the history of Japanese literature, "mimetic description" (*mosha*) comparable to the Western novel was the mode of writing that Japanese writers in the late 1880s struggled to achieve. Writers such as Futabatei Shimei, Yamada Bimyō, and Saganoya Omuro "devoted themselves to the ideal of the 'realistic representation of truth,' experimented with various new vernacular writing styles, adopting Western writing conventions such as periods, commas, paragraphs, and clearly delineated subject-predicate sentences."[87] Their efforts were mostly made through translation of foreign novels. Shakespeare scholar and writer Tsubouchi Shōyō thus translated Anna Katharine Green's *XYZ* (1883) as *Nise-gane tsukai*, serialized in the *Yomiuri shinbun* in 1887. Almost simultaneously with *Nise-gane tsukai*, Tsubouchi serialized "Tane-hiroi," a story equally centered on the act of investigation. While "Tane-hiroi" is written in the first

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[85] Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose* 44.

[86] Silver, "Purloined Letters" 120.

[87] Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) 44.

person and resembles investigations by a detective,[88] Green's first person narrative in *Nise-gane tsukai* is changed into the third person, suggesting Tsubouchi's experimentation in imitating the Western detective novel. Regarding this alteration of perspective in translation, Takahashi Osamu argues that translators changed the person in order to achieve "focalization" necessary for describing the limited perspective of the main character,[89] for traditional Japanese lacks the technique of narrativizing the limited view. Tsubouchi's experiments in those translations led to the use of the "limited omniscient" perspective in his later stories of realism, such as "Matsu no uchi" (1888) and "Sai-kun" (1889). In fact, the usually overlooked genre of detective fiction was at the center of experiments with narrative perspectives and descriptions in modern Japanese language.[90]

The translator's struggles in the gaps of languages should not be easily ascribed to the immaturity of the modern Japanese language or to the translation methods that were still at the developing stage. The challenge of translation in this regard seems to illuminate larger problems surrounding Japanese identity against the West, as both are the act of crossing, and thus creating, the border between two cultural categories. In his theorization of the practice of translation, Sakai Naoki writes that "it is not because two different language unities are given that we have to translate (or interpret) one text into another; it is because translation *articulates* languages so that we may postulate the two unities of the translating and the translated languages as if they were autonomous and

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[88] Takahashi Osamu, "Kindai Nihon bungaku no shuppatsuki to 'tantei shōsetsu': Tsubouchi Shōyō, Kuroiwa Ruikō, Uchida Roan," *Tantei shōsetsu to Nihon kindai*, ed. Yoshida Morio (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2004) 86.

[89] Takahashi 83-84.

[90] Takahashi 88.

closed entities through *a certain representation of translation*."[91] The idea of "literal" translation is only possible after distinctive national languages to be translated are established. In the process, the translator who actively transforms one language into the other becomes a transparent mediator who helps readers to understand the original without any recognizable losses, and possible transformation and transgression in the act of translation is repressed in the name of "literal" translation. The emergence of the notion of literal translation also represses the existence of multiple dialects and possibly multiple languages within Japan, which enables Japanese to become a homogeneous language that can be distinguished from, for example, Chinese language, despite the fact that the former relies on characters imported from the latter.

Sakai's argument suggests that the establishment of Japan as a nation-state, demarcated by geographical and linguistic boundaries, was realized when the representation of translation defines adaptation as "inaccurate." Sakai's theory does not simply mean that Japanese language was established by incorporating English vocabulary, or that the imagined community called Japan was not mature enough to express itself without the help of the Western rhetoric, but more importantly that translation articulates Japan as well as the West as such. Consequently, the translator's anxiety in the subjective position is repressed for the sake of the maintenance of incommensurable cultural differences of the two, because "the representation of translation transforms *difference in repetition* into *species difference* (diaphora) between two specific identities, and helps constitute the putative unities of national languages, and thereby reinscribes the initial difference and incommensurability as a specific, that is, commensurate and conceptual, difference between two particular languages within the continuity of the

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[91] Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1997) 2.

generality of Language."[92] As the process of translation progresses, adaptations in the contact zone called "translation" come to be substituted by translation for the sake of the preservation of two allegedly separate cultural entities.

With the rise of crime stories, Ruikō certainly pioneered adaptations of foreign detective fiction, but within a few years of his success, as Sakai's theory implies, Ruikō's translation method was replaced by the rapid incoming of detective stories "accurately translated" in the rising print capitalism of the late nineteenth century. Ruikō stopped producing adaptations of "detective fiction" in 1893. In 1899, Doyle's Sherlock Holmes series was translated for the first time by Nanyō Gaishi followed by Leblanc's Arsène Lupin series in 1913 translated by Mitsugi Shun'ei. A new written language was discovered as something distant from "both the existing literary and conversational forms of Japanese"[93] located between the actual speech of the nation and the conventional writing style influenced by Chinese. As translation further moved toward the maintenance of ideological boundaries, the abjected self became more institutionalized as the cultural other separated by incommensurable language barriers. The establishment of what Anderson calls "national print-languages" proved to be the necessary condition of the formation of a modern nation-state in Japan.[94]

Detective Fiction as a Hybrid Genre

The cultural climate of *Shinseinen* was formed within this winding history of Japan's modernization. Thus it is quite natural that Japanese detective fiction as a genre was born in the condition when the roles of the translator and the genres they treated

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[92] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity* 15.

[93] Kojin Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* (Durham: Duke UP, 1993) 51.

[94] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991) 67.

closely interacted with the demands of the age. Stories and essays helped constitute an ambivalent subjective position that enjoys fascination with, and horror of, foreign things. Translators at the intersection of cultures, languages, and territories served as active negotiators of differences whose subjective position was constantly at risk. The translator's role was not a neutral mediator or a borrower, but in Bhabha's terms a subject of enunciation whose enunciative attempts "reinscribe and relocate the political claim to cultural priority and hierarchy (high/low, ours/theirs) in the social institution of the signifying activity."[95] Borrowing Lacan's theory on the retroactive construction of the subject of enunciation, Bhabha explains the act of enunciation and its performative effect that is excluded in what is enunciated, i.e., a statement. Bhabha writes, "The enunciative is a more dialogic process that attempts to track displacements and realignments that are the effects of cultural antagonisms and articulations—subverting the rationale of the hegemonic moment and relocating alternative, hybrid sites of cultural negotiation."[96] The translator becomes the transparent mediator, the subject of enunciation only retroactively through the process of quilting, and thus creating, cultural differences on the boundary. In simple terms, there is no culture before this ambivalent site of enunciation. This is the reason that *Shinseinen*'s introduction of the detective fiction genre has to be examined not just as a cultural borrowing or in terms of the more simplistic term of "influence," but also as the negotiation of ambivalent moments in hybrid sites. My goal in this section is to question and problematize the negotiator's enunciative location—who is speaking to whom—thereby examining the formation of the detective fiction genre.

The words coined and appropriated to describe key terms of the detective genre as well as the genre's name itself best represent the questions of translation in this context.

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[95] Bhabha 177.

[96] Bhabha 177-78.

The word "detective fiction" was first literally translated into Japanese as *tantei shōsetsu*, but such transparency in the transference of meaning was undermined in the very beginning of the genre, since stories featured as detective fiction (*tantei shōsetsu*) in *Shinseinen* did not reflect the genre classification of the West at the time or even that of today. Foreign short stories were loosely categorized under the word "detective" (*tantei*), which was not necessarily related to the form (logical solution of a puzzle) or content (a story of a detective) of a particular story. This is partly related to the use of the word *tantei* at that time. Although *tantei* was a literal translation of the English word "detective" and widely used even before *Shinseinen*'s time, its use was not restricted to signifying a person or an agent who investigates crimes and obtains information. *Tantei* even signified agents of the state, like policemen, as well as private detectives who opposed the authorities as in most Western detective fiction.[97] More importantly, *tantei* was frequently used as a noun that signified a person's *act* of probing into someone's secrets. In his novel, *Wagahai wa neko de aru*, Natsume Sōseki writes about a repulsion to the act of probing (*tantei*),[98] making fun of the contemporary condition that such an act becomes so common for city dwellers that it leads them to nervous breakdowns in fear of looking and being looked at.[99] This example also implies the common use of the word simply signifying one's curiosity about people's secrets.

Population growth in major cities resulted in an increase in the crime rate—the rate of Tokyo's population growth reached 14.5 percent in 1917 compared to the national average of 1 percent and, according to the first national census in 1920, 53.5 percent of

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[97] One of the first stories of Japanese detective fiction, Kuroiwa Ruikō's *Muzan* (1889) refers to both of the two policemen who compete against each other in investigating the murder case as tantei.

[98] Natsume Sōseki, *Sōseki zenshū*, vol.1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993) 528-29.

[99] Uchida 26.

the population came from outside of the city.[100] The rising print capitalism sensationally reported insignificant events that happened in city corners which caused anxieties not only for city dwellers but also to the entire nation that shared the reports simultaneously through national newspapers. *Tantei* is the crystallization of such curiosities and anxieties that the multitude was experiencing as the very act of violation of the inner sanctuary of the modern individual. Yet, the relationship between secrets and the act of *tantei* is no less problematic than the formation of national languages through translation. In his discussions of "interiority" in the confessional literary form, Karatani Kōjin questions the assumption that "there is a 'self' in need of expression whose existence precedes that of expression—in other words that a binary distinction can be made between the self that expresses and the content of expression."[101] He continues, "It was the literary form of the confession—confession as a system—that produced the interiority that confessed, the 'true self.'"[102] If literary confession of the I-novel is an institution that gave rise to the modern confessional subject, *tantei* may similarly be an institution that constituted the "interiority" that needs to be probed.

The fuzziness of the term *tantei* helped the genre's concept further diversify beyond what is considered the detective genre today. In a special issue about foreign "detective" stories in 1923, the table of contents of *Shinseinen* was divided into six different categories: *jun-tantei* (pure detective), *kichi-tantei* (witty detective), *kaiki-tantei* (horror detective), *bōken-tantei* (adventure detective), *jōshu-tantei* (romantic detective), and *kokkei-tantei* (humor detective). Considering stories translated in each category, however, it is quite difficult to justify these categories as sub-genres of detective fiction

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[100] Matsuyama Iwao, *Ranpo to Tōkyō* (Tokyo: Futabasha, 1999) 20.

[101] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* 76.

[102] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* 77.

from today's standards. The word "detective" in this categorization seems to be chosen as a convenient umbrella word in order to accommodate various stories from different genres. What made such a selection possible for this special issue was not the interest in importing the foreign genre but the reader's curiosity about various aspects of modern life. The classification seems to reflect attributes of hidden aspects of a neighbor's life, ranging from horror and romance to adventure and comedy.

Although stories translated in *Shinseinen* were not literal translations of the originals from today's point of view,[103] they were much more accurate translations compared to adaptations in Ruikō's time. *Shinseinen* quickly replenished its translation section, helped by able translators such as Tanaka Sanae, Nobuhara Ken, and Imoo Akio, all of whom graduated from Waseda University and were found by the chief editor of the magazine, Morishita, through his personal connections. In order to familiarize readers with unknown foreign writers, the translators accompanied stories with a brief introduction to each writer. From the special issue of 1922, their names were even printed next to the foreign writers' names in order to endorse the authenticity and responsibility of their translation. As discussed earlier, however, those translators were not entirely a neutral mediator of two discrete languages. The early years of translation demanded a particular style that incorporates writing practices beyond translation so that the Japanese text supposedly distills the "essence" of the original. Many readers considered the translator's role as a mediator to be indispensable in translation. As Nakamura Kawatarō remarks, this belief led to the pairing of a particular writer with a translator in the early years of *Shinseinen*. Some famous examples are Hoshino Tatsuo, the translator of Maurice Leblanc's Arsène Lupin series, Nobuhara Ken, the chief editor of *Shinseinen* from 1928-9 and the translator of Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes series,

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[103] According to the fourth chief editor (1929-37) Mizutani Jun, most stories were modified for the sake of the ease of reading. See, Nakajima, *Nihon suiri shōsetsushi*, vol.2, 14.

and Sakamoto Yoshio, the introducer of Johnston McCulley's pulp hero Thubway Tham.[104] Many of these translators wrote original stories as well, and in some cases they adapted originals without mentioning the source.

This situation rapidly changed with the debut of Edogawa Ranpo. With his emergence as the "first" dedicated domestic writer of detective fiction, the meaning of translation shifted from the work of the cultural negotiator on the national borders to that of the translator who is clearly differentiated from the writer. Ranpo came to represent the birth of indigenous detective fiction, surpassing the cultural role of the negotiators in the contact zone. Although *Shinseinen* was open to contributions of stories, according to Morishita most contributions were far from detective fiction, or conversely, nothing but a copy of foreign classics.[105] Ranpo's first story, "Nisen dōka" (The Two-Sen Copper Coin), was a pleasant surprise for Morishita, since he thought it was the first "true" detective story written by a Japanese writer. The story was treated with the greatest care in the fifth issue of the magazine in April of 1923, which featured Ranpo's short story as "creative detective fiction" (*sōsaku tantei shōsetsu*). The prefix that was added to Ranpo's story was "*sōsaku*" (creative) and it further complicated the classification of detective fiction, since the binaries were not foreign (*kaigai*) and domestic (*kokunai*), but *foreign* and *creative*. This classification indicates that, whereas the content of the original foreign text was considered to be transferable into another language in adaptation, *sōsaku* rather posited the new concept of the content as untranslatable and original. This does not mean that Ranpo's story was not influenced by foreign detective stories or that foreign detective stories are entirely original. Ranpo humbly admits that he borrowed

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[104] Nakajima, *Nihon suiri shōsetsushi*, vol.2, 194-203.

[105] "Shinseinen" Kenkyūkai 30.

ideas for the puzzle from Poe's "The Gold Bug,"[106] and borrowings of ideas were quite common among foreign classics as well.

Readers' responses to the newly created section of *sōsaku* as well as to the author featured there were quite positive. Ranpo's debut and his early stories following "Nisen dōka," such as "D zaka no satsujin jiken" (1925), "Shinri shiken," (1925) and "Yaneura no sanposha" (1925) were welcomed by readers of the magazine and made the editor envision the future of the detective fiction genre in Japan. Within a few years, *Shinseinen*'s *sōsaku* section was crowded with enough writers for Morishita to compile a special issue without relying on imported texts. In 1925 alone, three genre magazines of detective fiction were published: *Tantei bungei* (1925-26), *Tantei shumi* (1925-28), and *Eiga to tantei* (1925). As Ranpo proudly commented, "the age of detective fiction" had finally come to Japan.[107]

But the sudden flourish of the *sōsaku* genre did not last long, nor did *Shinseinen* grow into a dedicated magazine of detective fiction. The writers who followed Ranpo, as well as Ranpo himself later, failed to meet the editor's expectation to develop the genre into the literature of scientific rationalism. The major reason the detective fiction genre was initially welcomed by progressive intellectuals is that the genre was believed to help introduce rationalism and thereby promote Japan's modernization. Morishita's criteria for appreciating Ranpo's *sōsaku* detective fiction seems to rely on this value of the rational logic ascribed to the genre, and thus Ranpo's conversion to different sorts of fiction meant a failure of the genre for Morishita and many genre critics. After writing classic puzzle stories, Ranpo soon turned to stories of the grotesque and horror. Ranpo

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[106] Morishita in fact wrote a letter to Ranpo asking whether he obtained the idea from foreign sources. See Edogawa Ranpo, *Waga yume to shinjitsu* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2005) 118.

[107] Edogawa Ranpo, "Tantei shōsetsu jidai," *Akunin shigan* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2005) 574.

became a popular writer outside of *Shinseinen* by serializing sensational crime fictions in a major newspaper. His novella for *Shinseinen* after fourteen months of absence, *Injū* (Beast in the Shadows, 1928), was his prime effort to return to the classic mode, but its logical solution of the mystery was heavily overshadowed by sensational sadomasochistic descriptions. Many contemporary critics considered Ranpo's change as what gave a "bad name" to the genre, and associated his writings with "unhealthy" characteristics of Japanese detective fiction.[108] Ranpo's "conversion" was followed by major writers in this period. Yokomizo Seishi, who became the second chief editor of *Shinseinen* from 1927 to 28 and heralded the detective fiction boom after the war, never published so-called "pure" detective fiction before the war. His most famous as well as sensational prewar piece was "Onibi" (Ignisfatuus, 1935), published in *Shinseinen*, a piece on sadomasochistic relationships and grotesque horror. In addition, Oguri Mushitarō's major work, *Kokushikan satsujin jiken* (Murder in the Mansion of Black Death), was serialized in *Shinseinen* in 1934, which focused more on gothic taste and exhibition of his pedantic knowledge rather than on the logical solution of a puzzle.

In explaining Ranpo's shift, prewar and postwar critics alike often resort to the issue of Japan's cultural particularity. Renowned Marxist critic Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke argues in *Shinseinen* that one of the reasons for the slow growth of detective fiction writers in Japan is that "the life and civilization of the Japanese is infantile and primitive in science."[109] Hirabayashi's criticism more or less represents the general view that the genre did not fully develop in Japan because the immaturity of Japanese civilization prevented it from successfully negotiating the relationship between the modern West and

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[108] Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, "'Injū' sonota," *Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke tantei shōsetsusen*, vol.2 (Tokyo: Ronsōsha, 2003) 272.

[109] Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, "Nihon no kindaiteki tantei shōsetsu: tokuni Edogawa Ranpo-shi ni tsuite," *Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke tantei shōsetsusen*, vol.2, 212.

premodern Japan. *Shinseinen*'s case, however, suggests a more complex rhetorical environment in which the concept of the genre formed, which is the arrival of the modern taste against the classical detective fiction. From the outset, the chief editor Morishita's policy stressed separating detective fiction from vulgar serials popularized after Ruikō's adaptations or other crime stories (*tantei jitsuwa*) and thereby producing stories that would stand the test of the most intellectual readers. Ranpo originally inherited Morishita's position, claiming in *Shinseinen* that detective fiction is the literature that feeds the human intellect, and that in fact the genre is already embraced among most sophisticated writers/readers in Japan such as Satō Haruo, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke.[110] The modernist trends took over *Shinseinen* from 1927 due to major changes brought by the new chief editor Yokomizo Seishi. He turned the magazine entirely into a chic modern magazine featuring humor and absurdity with a focus on fashion, music, and cinema imitating American magazines like *Life* and *The New Yorker*. The unrefined magazine for country youth was transformed into a sophisticated periodical for city dwellers, as "cultivation" essays gradually disappeared from its pages. This change might be reduced to Yokomizo's drastic measures from an editorial viewpoint, but it is also true that *Shinseinen*'s old readership, the country youth, no longer existed in the industrialized society. The title, once characterized by Morishita as outdated, partly because of the Chinese connotation of the word, was given a new character as it was the Japanese translation of "modern boy," which predicted the popularity of the trendy words of the era, *mobo* and *moga*—contractions of "modern girl" and "modern boy." In other words, Yokomizo's editorial efforts, reflecting the epoch change, replaced the colonial ambitions of the Asian countries with the passive blessings of cultural goods imported from the West.

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[110] Edogawa, "Syojosaku 'Nisen dōka' no atoni," *Akunin shigan* 561.

Yokomizo's redirecting of the magazine affected the meaning of the detective fiction genre as well, for *Shinseinen* had already come to embody the genre. He expanded the "detective taste," already equated with the word *Shinseinen*, to what he called "*Shinseinen* tastes":

> What is the *Shinseinen* taste? It should be separated from detective tastes. The *Shinseinen* tastes are not as restricted as detective tastes. Its contents must be richer and broader. In short, all the new tastes that interest us can be the *Shinseinen* tastes. Accordingly, it is quite valid that the magazine *Shinseinen* cannot be satisfied only with detective fiction. I intend to make *Shinseinen* more and more like a department store. Yet, there is a unity in this department store, since it heaps up the works collected under the consistent principle called the *Shinseinen* tastes.[111]

Shinseinen's new tendency, which Yokomizo compares to the urban center of modern commercialism, makes a clear contrast to the detective tastes of the military era, although the emphasis on importing foreign knowledge underlies both. According to Edogawa Ranpo's memoir, this shift kept him away from *Shinseinen*, since he thought his writings were hopelessly reactionary and outdated compared to the modern "*Shinseinen* tastes."[112] He even wrote later that *Shinseinen* ruined his productivity of detective fiction since "the monstrous modernism Mr. Yokomizo emphasized had cornered detective fiction of the old taste into a shameful position."[113]

Ranpo's ironic fate as the first true detective fiction writer of Japan is founded on layers of paradoxes that condition the genre. First, Ranpo came too early, and simultaneously too late, for the formation of the detective genre. Identified as the harbinger and residuum of the genre, Ranpo's representation of the detective genre promises being "modern" for conventional Japanese fiction and "old" in relation to the

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[111] Nakajima, *Nihon suiri shōsetsushi*, vol.2, 209.

[112] Nakajima, *Nihon suiri shōsetsushi*, vol.2, 210-11.

[113] Edogawa, *Akunin shigan* 616.

spectacle of modern urban life at the same time. Despite his promised future as an indigenous genre writer, Ranpo's embodiment of the genre seems to exist only as the impossible commensuration between premodern grotesque horror and authentic modern detective fiction. Second, this incompatibility between the two cultural entities probably served as the most consistent logic of the genre. Ranpo's ambivalent role as a *sōsaku* writer indicates the imagined locus of Japanese detective fiction between domestic crime fiction and foreign detective fiction, or between Japan's cultural particularity and the West's universal progress. This unique position of the *sōsaku* writer corresponds to the translator's role as the subject of enunciation, the supposedly transparent mediator of two cultural authorities. As Bhabha's theory suggests, it is not appropriate to regard this subject position as the failure of negotiation; the invisible translator constructed cultural entities from myriads of differences, thereby retroactively turning himself into a successful negotiation that did not exist. In the process, detective fiction as *tantei shōsetsu* was established as a genre already outdated—in other words, a stillborn genre, to use Sakai's configuration of Japanese language.[114] As in the case of the modern nation-state, the detective fiction genre in Japan with its condensed history of development is "imagined" and looms out of "an immemorial past."[115] In this regard, what *Shinseinen* introduced was not only the Japanese detective fiction genre, but more importantly, the schema of configuration that articulated/translated detective fiction as *tantei shōsetsu*.

Conclusion

Edogawa Ranpo's enigmatic presence in the construction of the genre explains why *Shinseinen* did not become a dedicated magazine of detective fiction. Indeed, the

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[114] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity* 2-3.

[115] Anderson 11.

publisher of *Shinseinen* started a sister magazine *Shinshumi* as a dedicated magazine of detective fiction in 1922 to meet the growing demand for detective fiction. Although it was a magazine specifically focused on the genre, it could not match the success of *Shinseinen* and was discontinued in the following year. Many magazines that followed *Shinshumi*'s path did not replicate *Shinseinen*'s success. It might have been *Shinshumi*'s failure that prevented the publisher from turning *Shinseinen* into a genre magazine, but the reason *Shinseinen* could lead the age of detective fiction should be sought elsewhere. As Nakajima Kawatarō argues, *Shinseinen*'s importance lies in its introduction of detective fiction as an interesting foreign trend, and not necessarily detective fiction as a genre.[116] *Shinseinen* helped enlighten, as was originally intended, its readers with the new foreign genre by strategically carrying essays of famous literary critics maintaining the intellectual status of detective fiction. The special issue of *Shinseinen* in 1924, for example, carries essays on detective fiction by writers such as Kimura Ki, Sasaki Mitsuzō, Uchida Roan, Satō Haruo, Kume Masao, Nagata Mikihiko, and Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, all of whom were very famous writers or critics in the literary circle at that time. Equally important was the introduction of modern tastes in serial essays such as the *Meriken jappu* series by Tani Jōji and "Vogan vogu" by Nakamura Shinjiro, which encouraged readers to observe "Japan" from the externalized perspective of the modernized "West." In *Shinseinen*, the colonial gaze onto Asian countries and the colonial gaze "from" the Western Other curiously co-existed resulting in an ambivalent hybrid subjective position. The failure of *Shinshumi* might reside in its "cheaper" look in quality compared to *Shinseinen*,[117] but more important is that, contrary to *Shinseinen*'s colonial hybridity, *Shinshumi* solely depended on "foreign" detective fiction in translation. The singular focus fell short of attracting the shifting readership of Taishō modernism.

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[116] Nakajima, *Nihon suiri shōsetsushi*, vol.3, 221.

[117] Edogawa, *Gen'eijo* 450.

Shinseinen occupied the prestigious position of detective fiction despite, or because of, its heterogeneity. In this regard, S*hinshumi*'s failure was symptomatic of the reception of detective fiction before World War II. Translation facilitated the articulation of domestic and foreign, and detective fiction as a genre emerged in the process of negotiations that constituted incommensurable cultural boundaries. This is one of the reasons that *tantei shōsetsu* (detective fiction) of the prewar years cannot be equated with the Western notion of detective fiction or the postwar notion of mystery (*suiri shōsetsu*), since Western detective fiction as such is ultimately constructed in the negotiations as the antithesis of "Japanese" detective fiction. In the year Ranpo called the age of detective fiction, *Shinseinen*'s pages were filled with debates about authenticities of detective fiction, in which Japanese detective fiction is discussed in relation to "authentic" (*honkaku*) foreign detective fiction.[118] In the prewar years, identifying detective fiction as *tantei shōsetsu* was required in order to sustain the incommensurable planes of foreign and domestic. In his essay in *Shinseinen*, Satō Haruo argues that the attraction of detective fiction lies in "curiosity hunting."[119] *Shinseinen* is to a certain degree true to its definition of detective fiction by hunting for things foreign in the contact zone of modernism and colonialism.

From this perspective, it is not just a coincidence that the word *suiri shōsetsu* (novel of reasoning) was substituted for *tantei shōsetsu* (detective fiction) after World War II. The abandonment of the term *tantei shōsetsu* with its connotation of the pre-modern is related to the establishment of the modern democratic subject by projecting pre-modern aspects onto Japan's imperial past. In the process, modern elements of prewar detective fiction were suppressed for the sake of Japan's successful conversion

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[118] I will discuss authenticity in prewar detective fiction in the following chapter.

[119] Satō Haruo, "Tantei shōsetsu shōron," *Kyōyō to shite no satsujin*, ed. Gonda Manji (Tokyo: Kagyūsha, 1979) 14-15.

after the war. Here, however, the negotiations that gave rise to the genre were strategically repressed. The mediation of the West becomes opaque in the postwar detective fiction boom in the 1950s. As if it corresponded to this transition, *Shinseinen*, which survived even the most severe government control in the 1940s, could not recover its popularity after the war, and was eventually discontinued in 1950 giving way to the dedicated detective fiction magazine led by Edogawa Ranpo, *Hōseki* (Jewel, 1946-64).

CHAPTER II

THE FORMATION OF JAPANESE IDENTITY THROUGH POPULAR CULTURE: THE AUTHENTIC VS. INAUTHENTIC DEBATES IN PREWAR DETECTIVE FICTION

Introduction

The detective fiction genre in the prewar years was born at the contested site of modernization and Westernization in which dread and attraction toward foreign things were inseparable. As Amanda Seaman summarizes in her book on female detective fiction writers, detective fiction "had a special appeal in the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō (1912-1926) eras in Tokyo, which was witnessing unprecedented changes not only in its economy, but in the details of everyday life as well."[120] In the democratic atmosphere of the early Shōwa period, the demands for absorbing Western thoughts, thereby modernizing the nation, resulted in celebrations of the detective fiction genre as a primary tool for enlightening the masses about modern scientific rationality. This is one of the reasons many progressive Socialist critics such as Baba Kochō, Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, and Nakai Masakazu[121] seriously discussed the genre in terms of modernization and, in Hirabayashi's case, actively wrote detective stories in *Shinseinen*. The common use of the term in the culture industry at that time did not match the excessive expectations toward the genre by those learned critics. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the detective fiction genre in the prewar years was characterized more by its hybridity in both form and content. By loosely incorporating marginal kinds of popular fictions such as horror, science fiction, wit, humor etc. in the name of the

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[120] Seaman 2.

[121] Nakai Masakazu, "Tantei shōsetsu no geijutsusei: Bungaku no mekanizumu," *Kyōyō to shite no satsujin* 156-61.

seemingly modern concept of the "detective" (*tantei*) the detective fiction genre became a substantial genre that could rival the already dominant genres in popular literature such as *kōdan* (historical novels) and *tsūzoku shōsetsu* (romance novels). With a boom in the introduction and translation of foreign detective fiction in magazines like *Shinseinen*, however, the unclear classifications of the genre came to be challenged not only by learned critics but also by general readers. In the 1930s, when the market matured and a new generation of writers started writing "creative" detective stories independent of foreign influence, the so-called "authentic-inauthentic detective fiction debates" (*honkaku henkaku ronsō*) among writers and critics enlivened the pages of detective fiction magazines.

From Aristotle's time, the question of genre has remained one of the most frequently discussed topics in theoretical discourse. At the heart of genre criticism lies the theory of comparison. In order to discuss the merits of a certain literary work, one has to compare it with other works with which it shares essential qualities. Consequently, each genre needs to be understood as independent with its own internal characteristics and conventions in order for such criticism to work. Most efforts of classic genre theory thus have set defining "rules" for each genre based on past practice of literary production. Yet, the creative imagination always finds its appropriate "form" beyond the restricted rules, and since the form is to be imitated by following creators, critics are destined to redraw borders of already established genres or add new genres or subgenres in their discussions of genre in an almost endless process between creative writers and prescriptive critics.

Detective fiction occupies a unique position in this long history of genre criticism. Detective fiction is, according to Tzvetan Todorov, the best example, in which the dialectical contradiction between a creative work and its prescriptive genre does not

exist.[122] Contrary to the literary masterpiece which "does not enter any genre save perhaps its own," "the masterpiece of popular literature is precisely the book which best fits its genre."[123] This is related to the fact that the detective genre in particular is the genre most related to the intended readership of the growing publishing industries in the nineteenth century rather than conventional literary genres. The formula originally created by Poe became understood as a specific genre with its own characteristics after Conan Doyle in the late nineteenth century. As Julian Symons summarizes, however, until the middle twenties, "there had been little serious consideration of crime stories as a particular kind of literature, and no attempt had been made to assess the detective story as something having rules which could be strictly formulated and which it was important to observe."[124] In other words, the rise of detective fiction genre in the West is related to the formation of rules or the "pact" that "promises" fair play between reader and writer. This is the reason that mostly writers—not critics as in literary production—proposed various sets of rules of detective fiction in order to secure the boundaries of the genre. The English writer Ronald Knox proposed his famous "Ten Commandments of Detection" in 1928 and across the Atlantic, S. S. Van Dine wrote "Twenty Rules for Writing Detective Stories" in the same year. Dorothy L. Sayers drafted the "Oath" also in 1928 for the Detection Club, to which famous mystery writers such as Agatha Christie, Chesterton, and Anthony Berkeley belonged.[125] Despite those strict rules, few books conform to "ideal" rules in practice and "the lines so carefully drawn are crossed by the

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[122] Todorov, "The Typology of Detective Fiction," *The Poetics of Prose* 43.

[123] Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose* 43.

[124] Symons 104.

[125] James Brabazon, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Biography* (New York: Avon Books, 1982) 144-45.

critics themselves as soon as they begin to make those lists of 'The Hundred Best'"[126] as is often the case with literary genres. Yet, those rules helped to establish a pact of "fair play" between writers and readers, without which classic detective fiction cannot secure its readership. In the debates about authenticity in Japanese detective fiction in the 1930s, the classifications became more controversial since the genre was already branded with the concept of "modern" and introduced the concept of "culture" in already confusing genre classifications. Critics' efforts were directed not only toward explicating the internal structure of given texts but also the empirical differences between Western and Japanese detective fiction.

As an import from the West and thus a hybrid cultural product, "modernity" in Japan has been a controversial concept, leading critics to repeatedly try to find ways to overcome or otherwise resolve it. In terms of the critique of modernity of the 1930s and its recurrence in the 1970s, Karatani Kōjin writes:

> Since, in the West as well as Asia, the modern and premodern are distinct from one another, it stands to reason that modernity must be conceptualized separately from Westernness, but since the "origin" of modernity is Western, the two cannot so easily be separated. This is why in non-Western countries the critique of modernity and the critique of the West tend to be confused. Many misperceptions arise out of this. One, for example, is that Japanese modern literature, because it is not Western, is not fully modern. The flip-side of this idea is that, if a work's materials and themes are non-Western, the work must be antimodern. These two assertions are as common in Japanese literary criticism as they are in Western scholarship on Japanese literature.[127]

Critics and writers in the 1930s who interrogated the origins of Japanese literature thus discussed ways in which "Japanese writers received, incorrectly received, or resisted modern Western 'originals'."[128] Karatani thus investigates the "inversion" common to

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[126] Symons 3.

[127] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* 192.

[128] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* 192.

those discussions in which "something which had never existed before came to be seen as self-evident."[129] If such inversion constitutes "tradition" or "culture" that might resist modernization/Westernization, the nationalist discourse that seeks "the originality of Japanese literature in a source prior to modernity is itself nothing other than the forgetting of origins."[130]

In the antagonistic site of identity formation trapped between the modern West and premodern Japan, no genre more clearly exemplifies the problem inherent in these negotiations than the Japanese detective fiction genre. As I discussed in the previous chapter, both prewar critics and postwar critics argue vigorously that the development of the genre in Japan was unhealthy compared to its Western counterpart. Many critics argued that Japanese detective fiction in the prewar years "incorrectly received" the modern Western "originals." According to this history of the genre, prewar Japanese detective fiction was dominated by sensational stories of the erotic and the grotesque that might fully reflect the labeling "*ero-guro-nansensu*" (eroticism, grotesque, and nonsense) often associated with popular culture in the 1920s and the early 30s. The renowned social critic Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke once criticized the popularity of unnecessary eroticism and grotesque tastes as the vile trend of Japanese detective fiction, while Edogawa Ranpo and other writers defended it as one of the rich "varieties" of Japanese detective fiction. Whether one criticizes it or accepts it defensively, this was the dark age of Japanese detective fiction most critics treat as a deviation from the "healthy" path of Japan's literary development, which they more or less attribute to the "particularity" or "tradition" that enticed the nation into ultranationalism. Despite such a deviational quality, this is also the period that attracts postwar writers, who look for the illicit but

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[129] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* 193.

[130] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* 194.

indispensable origins of Japanese detective fiction with a sense of nostalgia, and this nostalgia later triggers the revivals of the lost origins in the postwar discourses about the genre.

The essentialistic discourse of the history of Japanese detective fiction can be observed, for example, in Gonda Manji's introduction to his analyses of prewar Japanese writers.[131] He points out four possible causes for the "unhealthy" development of prewar detective fiction in Japan. First, logic was alien to the traditional Japanese way of thinking, which contradicts the major premise of classic detective fiction in the West. Second, the social conditions of the absolute monarchy of prewar Japan made it difficult for any Japanese writers to set their stories in Japan where crimes are often solved by forced confessions rather than material evidence.[132] Third, modern Japanese detective fiction was influenced by the Japanese romantic school of serious literature, such as Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Satō Haruo, and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, and thus tended to emphasize the human criminal rather than the logical solution of a crime. Finally, Japanese detective fiction developed primarily in a short story format for popular magazines. In a market where short stories were preferred, writers were destined to rely on an unexpected twist at the end rather than on a gradual and logical solution during the course of the story. Thus, Gonda concludes that social and cultural conditions necessitated Japanese detective fiction's deviation from the "right" path, and the full bloom of the "real" detective fiction was postponed until the democratization of the country in the aftermath of World War II.[133] This is the reason that most critics, including Gonda, consider Yokomizo Seishi's *Honjin satsujin jiken* (1946) to be the first

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[131] Gonda, *Nihon tantei sakkaron* 7-17.

[132] This is his oversimplification, since as is the case with other modern nations, Japan abandoned the use of forced confession in court as early as 1876.

[133] Gonda, *Nihon tantei sakkaron* 9-10.

"real" detective fiction in Japan. This theory affirms Japan's successful transformation into a modern nation and conveniently supports Yokomizo's own recollection that he embraced Japan's defeat since he thought at the moment that he could read and write "true" detective fiction for the first time.[134]

This is another typical teleological view that explains how Japan's history deviated from the right path and therefore Japan had never been modernized before the democratization after the war. This view holds the idea that the Japanese could not accommodate the detective fiction genre developed in the West and that the adaptation of the foreign genre created a literature remarkably different from the Western standards. The popularity of historical novels, which raised Yoshikawa Eiji's *Miyamoto Musashi* (1936-9) to the status of spiritual support for the nation during wartime, further confirms Japan's inability to accommodate the genre apt for modernism. These arguments usually make a brutal dichotomy in which the modern West and pre-modern Japan are synchronically opposed, and the differences of the two culturally-bounded categories are explained by the degree of modernization in the nation's diachronic progress.

If we investigate the discourses surrounding the detective fiction genre in the prewar period, however, the situation appears much more complicated. The dynamics are in fact not merely Japan's passive reception of the "authentic" West or Japan's active rejection of the Western influences. Instead of such a cultural essentialist view, I suggested in the previous chapter that the relationship involved a constant negotiation through which incommensurable differences and resistances between two cultures were represented as the grotesque horror and fantasy of popular literature. The history of prewar detective fiction itself is then discursively constructed after World War II by constantly returning to and forgetting those negotiated origins as I discuss in Chapter

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[134] Yokomizo Seishi, *Tantei shōsetsu gojūnen* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1972) 51-56.

Four. In order to examine the process through which Japanese detective fiction came to be established as a discursive category, this chapter examines the authentic detective fiction debates by paying attention to surrounding discourses about the "authentic" and "popular" in Japan's interwar period.

The *honkaku shōsetsu* Debate

The authentic detective fiction debates were part of a larger social dynamic in which the status of literature and thus also popular culture as its inseparable counterpart came under serious scrutiny. In literary circles too, definitions of literature and its function in modern society became a topic frequently discussed among writers and literary critics. The authentic detective fiction debates, therefore, rightly reflect a series of discussions among literary circles concerning the state-of-mind novel (*shinkyō shōsetsu*) and the authentic novel (*honkaku shōsetsu*).

The term "authentic novel" was first used by the writer Nakamura Murao (1886-1949) in his "The Authentic Novel and the State-of-Mind Novel" ("Honkaku shōsetsu to shinkyō shōsetsu to") in 1924.[135] Nakamura wrote the essay in order to question the contemporary trend in literary circles where everyone wrote trivial events of their life in the first person and avoided constructing an elaborate story with a solid structure in the third person. The authentic novel is, according to Nakamura, a third-person novel, in which the author's feelings and opinions are expressed indirectly through another person's life, and thus what is written is valued regardless of who wrote it. On the other hand, the state-of-mind novel, which Nakamura criticizes as overly proliferating in the literary circles at that time, is the novel in which the author speaks directly to the readers and thus its entire value tends to rest on the question of who wrote it. In those novels,

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[135] Kawazoe Kunimoto, et al. ed., *Kindai hyōronshū*, vol.2 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1972) 400-7.

Nakamura claims, curiosity about the author takes precedent over the content, resulting in disregard for depicting human beings, their lives, and society. The confession of an author's feelings should be conveyed, not subjectively without mediation as in the state-of-mind novel, but objectively through various fictional techniques.

The biting edge of the essay subsequently triggered the so-called I-novel debate and set up the thereafter commonly used binary opposition in the history of Japanese literature between the state-of-mind novel and the authentic novel.[136] Nakamura's claim was soon refuted by Kume Masao (1891-1952) in "The I-novel and the State-of-Mind Novel" ("'Watakushi' shōsetsu to 'shinkyō' shōsetsu") in 1925. Nakamura's formal opposition between a first person novel and a third person novel is invalidated by Kume, since the I-novel, which he argues is the foundation of every literature, is the novel in which the author expresses himself most frankly regardless of person.[137] Great writers such as Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Flaubert might be able to express themselves by depicting someone's lives, but for Kume emotions mediated through fictional characters tend to have artificialities and ultimately are not "credible." Compared to the truthfulness of real human emotions in the I-novel, even great literature like Tolstoy or Dostoevsky seems fake or vulgar. Although their achievements might be unparalleled in world literature, they should be categorized in a class of "great popular novel (*tsūzoku shōsetsu*)"[138] rather than art (*geijutsu*). What Kume calls the state-of-mind novel is a more sophisticated version of the I-novel. While anyone can write an I-novel by relying on his or her life experience—however insignificant and banal their lives might be—those who can recognize the "true" self and express it through their writings can be called real artists. When the content is properly filtered through the art of the novel, the I-novel

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[136] Tomi Suzuki 49-50.

[137] *Kindai hyōronshū*, vol.2, 409.

[138] *Kindai hyōronshū*, vol.2, 413.

goes beyond mere confessional novels of someone's shabby life and becomes true literature, that is to say, the state-of-mind novel.

The evaluation of the state-of-mind novel as a superior form of literature was further developed by Uno Kōji (1891-1961) in "My Theory of 'the I-novel'" ("'Watakushi shōsetsu' shiken") in 1925.[139] Uno sympathizes with both positions but ultimately takes Kume's position prioritizing the state-of-mind novel over the authentic novel. Following Kume's argument, Uno argues that the I-novel and the state-of-mind novel as its advanced form are not restricted to novels written in the first person; it is more apt to be called an "autobiographical novel." While Kume sets up a dichotomy of the state-of-mind novel as high art and the authentic novel as popular literature, Uno instead observes the dichotomy as between a Japanese style of expression and a Western style of expression. By digging into the author's human nature, the state-of-mind novel can ultimately depict the "depth" of the state-of-mind, which even the authentic novel of Western writers cannot do. Uno then argues that this kind of form is particularly developed in Japan because the Japanese are gifted to express such "depth" since the seventeenth century Japanese poet Matsuo Basho, who expressed real human emotion in the significantly restricted form of *haikai* poetry.

The debates that began around the issue of person in literary form developed into the issue of "depth" and later of the particularity of culture in literary content. Yet, what underlies those debates and also makes them unnecessarily polemical is the issue of readership in the growing publishing industry.[140] In "The Authentic Novel and the State-of-Mind Novel," Nakamura implicitly criticizes the elitism of the literary guild, the members of which share the sources of actual events reflected in I-novels and therefore

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[139] *Kindai hyōronshū*, vol.2, 420-28.

[140] Maeda Ai, *Kindai dokusha no seiritsu* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001) 214.

hold a monopoly on the right to "truly" appreciate and evaluate confessions relating to private, usually despicable matters of people they know. Increasing literacy helped by the development of the educational system extended the sacred privilege of reading to middle class workers, and more importantly to women. What Ōya Sōichi called the "literary circle guild"[141] was being disintegrated with the gradual increase in the reading public and their unpredictable demands. Kaizōsha announced the publication of *enpon* (one yen books) which they claimed would "liberate the art from the privileged class to the hands of all the masses"[142] at the transitional period from Taishō to Shōwa (1926-28). In the booming publishing industry, writers did not have to join the "guild" and go through apprenticeship under an established writer any more. Novels of unknown writers or amateurs could gain popularity as long as they could appeal to the reading public with attractive twists and turns in plot: this was especially true in popular literature.[143] The solidarity of the literary guild that was generated through sharing the sources of information eventually left out those who intended to write authentic novels. Nakamura's proposition of the authentic novel is thus derived from his anxiety as a writer to convey messages outside of the literary circles.

When the defenders of the state-of-mind novel including Kume reject the authentic novel as too commonplace (*tsūzoku*), they are trying to maintain the solidarity of the literary circles in relation to the reading public. Their discovery of depth in the state-of-mind that is untainted by Western influence and by the commercialism of the thriving publishing industry at the time further motivates them to rearticulate Japan's past, thus setting the origin of the I-novel in such novels as Tayama Katai's *Futon* (The Quilt,

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[141] See also Ōya Sōichi, "Bundan girudo no kaitai-ki: Taishō jūgo-nen ni okeru waga kuni jānarizumu no ichi danmen," *Ōya Sōichi zenshū*, vol.1 (Tokyo: Sōyōsha, 1981) 231-41.

[142] Maeda, *Kindai dokusha no seiritsu* 295.

[143] Ōya 236.

1907) and Mushanokōji Saneatsu's *Omedetaki hito* (A Blessed Person, 1911). Through the authentic novel debates, the dichotomy of low and high is interestingly woven into Uno's dichotomization of the foreign and the domestic and elevates it into an incommensurable cultural difference between Japan and the West.

What Kume fails to recognize in defending the state-of-mind novel, however, is the situation in which even the truthfulness of the I-novel could in fact be staged and exploited for the marketing strategies of the publishing industry for better sales of what they defended as "literature." We could even argue that it was the commercialization of literature, with which they inevitably were involved, that motivated them to find value in literature outside social realities. Ironically, at the time of the debates, both Nakamura and Kume were already popular and commercially successful writers from writing serial fiction in women's magazines and major newspapers.[144] In the growing cultural industry of the Taishō period, the I-novel debates were the last struggle of the writers who were already irreversibly modernized and commercialized. This formation of the subjective position in relation to the appreciation of the "immediacy" of the domestic eventually opened the way to the Japanese romantic school writers such as Yasuda Yojūrō, who "discovered" beauty not in the modernized city but in a shabby country life which was disappearing from Japan in its rapid modernization.[145] The I-novel tradition was thus discursively constructed in those debates in the late Taishō period and becomes the dominant category in the history of Japanese literature by being adopted by subsequent historians and critics of Japanese literature.

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[144] Kume Masao's *Hotarugusa* was serialized in *Jiji shinpō* from March to June, 1918. Maeda Ai calls it a "new current mores fiction" (atarashii tsūzoku shōsetsu) along with Kikuchi Kan's *Shinju fujin* (1920).

[145] See Yasuda Yojūrō "Nihon no hashi," *Yasuda Yojūrō bungei ronshū* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1999).

The *honkaku tantei shōsetsu* Debates

In the authentic novel debate, Nakamura Murao posited the European style novel of Turgenev, Tolstoy, and Chekhov as his model of the authentic novel, which was opposed to what he thought was the dominant mode of Japanese literature at the time: I-novel.[146] The I-novel as an essentially Japanese mode of literature was thus constructed discursively in the interfaces between domestic and foreign and between high and low, for which the concept of the authentic functioned as the master signifier that constituted not only the boundaries of the I-novel but also those of the authentic novel. If the origin of the discourse of the I-novel in fact resides in the debates triggered by Nakamura's proposition and subsequently was "forgotten" by setting the supposed "origin" back in history, Japanese detective fiction as a genre has also been constructed in the debates about the authenticity of detective fiction in the 1930s. In the authentic detective fiction debates, the question of modernization, which is a covert issue in the I-novel debate, was foregrounded in relation to the popular literature (*taishū bungei*), developing the I-novel debate in a more dynamic constellation of modern/premodern in prewar Japan.

The authentic detective fiction debates were triggered by one of the foundational writers in the early years of *Shinseinen*: Kōga Saburō (1893-1945). While most postwar writers of detective fiction were educated in the humanities, quite a few prewar writers came out of scientific backgrounds,[147] revealing a close connection between the

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[146] Itō Sei and Hirano Ken further distinguished the state-of-mind novel and the I-novel, but I will not touch on the detailed discussions in this chapter since my concern is mainly on the binary schema between the authentic and the inauthentic: both the state-of-mind novel and the I-novel can be included in the inauthentic novel. For detailed discussions of Ito and Hirano, see Suzuki, *Narrating the Self* 58-65.

[147] To name a few, Yokomizo Seishi graduated from Osaka Pharmaceutical College (Osaka Yakugaku Senmon Gakkō), which later merged with Osaka University in 1949; Kigi Takatarō from the School of Medicine at Keio University; Kozakai Fuboku from the School of Medicine at Tokyo Imperial University, Ōshita Udaru from the School of Engineering at Kyushu Imperial University.

detective fiction genre and science in the prewar years. Kōga Saburō is the representative prewar writer with a scientific background, which partly explains his later role as the proponent of "authentic" detective fiction. He graduated from the School of Engineering (Applied Chemistry) of Tokyo Imperial University and when his first story "Shinjutō no himitsu" (Secrets of the Pearl Tower, 1923) won a prize in *Shinshumi*, he was researching nitrogen use at The Department of Agriculture and Commerce.[148] Although he is too often labeled as a writer of scientific puzzles due to his role in the authentic detective fiction debates, Kōga produced a variety of writings and many of them cannot be categorized as detective fiction. Kōga went on an inspection tour of the nitrogen industry in Europe and America from 1923-4, and he wrote a serial essay based on his experiences in *Shinseinen* as "Oubei tobi aruki" (The Record of My Journey in Europe and America, 1924), which made him an ideal person to open the subsequent debates about authenticity in Japanese detective fiction as a person who could observe Japan from the outside.

The term "authentic detective fiction" (*honkaku tantei shōsetsu*) was, according to the critic Nakajima Kawatarō, first employed by Kōga Saburō but similar ideas were already presented and shared by many contemporary critics and writers. In this regard, Kōga articulated those ideas into the dichotomy that has subsequently dominated the entire history of Japanese detective fiction. Recalling the prewar polemics generated by his use of the term, Kōga explained after the war that it was the renowned Marxist literary critic Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke (1892-1931) who first took notice of a peculiar trend in Japanese detective fiction using the terms the "healthy school" (*kenzen-ha*) and the "unhealthy school" (*fukenzen-ha*) in "Tantei shōsetsu-dan no shokeikō" (Various Tendencies of Detective Fiction Circles, 1926).[149] While Hirabayashi shows a certain

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[148] Ōshita Udaru, who also became a detective fiction writer, was his colleague at the same Department.

[149] Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, "Tantei shōsetu-dan no shokeikō," *Kyōyō to shite no satsujin* 28-36.

respect for the innate attraction toward things unhealthy and morbid, he nevertheless criticizes the predominance of what he calls the unhealthy school, in which investigations of the pathological psyche take precedent over romance in the realistic world. Referring to major writers at the time such as Edogawa Ranpo, Kozakai Fuboku (1890-1929), and Yokomizo Seishi, he maintains that their reliance on unhealthy things is a sign of the degeneration of the genre. Kōga considers the terms Hirabayashi proposed—healthy and unhealthy—to imply a value judgment, and thus coined a relatively neutral set of words: authentic (*honkaku*) and inauthentic (*henkaku*).[150]

Although Kōga is indebted to Hirabayashi for inspiring the concept of "authentic," it should not be overlooked that the shift from the dichotomy of healthy/unhealthy to that of authentic/inauthentic slightly changed Hirabayashi's criticisms. As a Marxist critic who believed in the linear development of history, Hirabayashi's criticism was more about the contemporary situation in which "unhealthy" contents were favored and not necessarily about "form" or classifications in Japanese detective fiction, whereas for Kōga, the issue was exclusively directed toward general classifications of the genre. Kōga substituted the issue of content with that of form, and his formal classifications were to be challenged by critics who defended the content as the particularity of Japanese culture. In this regard, tracing the history of the terms is not of fundamental importance. Instead, what is significant for our discussion of the formation of the Japanese detective fiction genre is the way that Kōga opens up subsequent discussions by setting the dichotomy of authentic and inauthentic, which introduced incommensurable cultural differences between Japan and the West in terms of authenticities of the genre. Kōga might not have been the first to problematize classifications of the genre, but his argument set a framework, within which later critics

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[150] As Edogawa Ranpo points out (Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 277), there still is undeniably a critical undertone in his use of the term the inauthentic (*henkaku*) school.

and writers have continued to operate throughout the entire history of Japanese detective fiction.

Kōga's criticism of the definition of *tantei shōsetsu* (detective fiction) begins in his essay in *Shinseinen*, "Baiuki no nōto kara" (From a Note in the Rainy Season, 1934).[151] In this short essay, he claims that Japanese writers who are labeled as detective fiction writers do not really write "true" detective fiction. In a decade after Edogawa Ranpo's sensational debut in 1923, *Shinseinen* launched enough domestic writers to invigorate the market. Yet, Hirabayashi's criticism in the early stage of the development of the genre had little effect on Ranpo's career or on his followers. Ranpo's subsequent fame outside of the genre further fuelled the new generation of writers in *Shinseinen* to disregard the conventions of the genre on the pretext of writing stories that surpassed lowbrow entertainment like detective fiction. Against those advocates of "artistic" detective fiction, Kōga expresses his conclusion that why detective fiction is criticized as not being insufficiently artistic when a good horse is not accused for not having horns. Detective fiction has its own merit that is different from "literature." Writers (*sakka*) can certainly write stories in any genre but once a story is categorized as detective fiction, it should be appreciated and judged by the criteria and rules of the genre, not with those for other genres. According to Kōga's strict classification, regardless of the literary quality of stories Japanese detective fiction writers produce, the majority of these stories cannot be classified in the said genre, and it is fatal for the development of the genre if those stories are categorized as such only because they are written by writers who are labeled as detective fiction writers for the purposes of general marketing.

Kōga's acute criticism led to a series of controversies first in *Shinseinen* and later in the detective fiction magazine *Purofīru* (1933-37). The first counter argument was

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[151] Kōga Saburō, "Baiuki no nōto kara," *Shinseinen* Sep. 1934: 205-6.

made in the following issue of *Shinseinen* by Unno Jūza (1897-1949), who is now considered to be a precursor of Japanese science fiction. Like Ranpo, Unno started his career as a writer of puzzle stories in *Shinseinen*. Yet, when Kōga raised the issue of the genre, he had just published the scientific horror story "Fushū" (The Captive, 1934) in *Shinseinen* and was trying to incorporate elements of science horror into his stories.[152] In order to defend his transition, Unno argued against Kōga, insisting that detective fiction was part of a much larger, and therefore more important, literary movement, i.e. Romanticism, and that in order to be true to the spirit of the movement, detective fiction should be understood as a fiction with detective tastes (*tantei shumi*) rather than a fiction with rigid rules.[153] This was essentially a dominant view among detective fiction writers especially for those advocating detective fiction as refined entertainment, since it was the view shared by writers of serious literature, such as Satō Haruo, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, who were progressive enough to incorporate modern detective tastes into their writings as early as the 1920s. Satō Haruo, a prestigious writer in the literary circle (*bundan*), was known for his interest in the detective fiction genre and even wrote stories in *Shinseinen* that might well be categorized in detective fiction. In 1924, Satō wrote "A Short Essay on Detective Fiction" ("Tantei shōsetsu shōron") in *Shinseinen*, which Edogawa Ranpo repeatedly cites in order to defend the "varieties" of Japanese detective fiction including his own.[154] As an aesthete, Satō's attraction to the detective fiction genre came from his admiration of Edgar Allan Poe, in a sense corresponding to Baudelaire's attitude toward the same American writer. He keenly classifies detective fiction into two types: one is about "reasoning and judgment based on

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[152] Unno Jūza was considered by many, including Edogawa Ranpo, as a detective fiction writer in the prewar era.

[153] Unno Jūza, "Tantei shōsetsu kanken," *Shinseinen* Oct. 1934: 270.

[154] Edogawa Ranpo, *Oni no kotoba* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2005) 48-49.

a practical brain," as exemplified in Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930), Richard Austin Freeman (1862-1943), Arthur Morrison (1863-1945), and Émile Gaboriau. The other is about "neurotic sensitivity based on an intuition of neurasthenia," as exemplified in Poe and Hoffman. Yet, in his final analysis, Satō claims that both camps should convey "the pleasure of a shudder and the beauty of horror of their own," and concludes his essay with one of the most frequently-cited definitions of detective fiction:

> In short, what we call detective fiction is a branch of the tree called rich Romanticism, a fruit of curiosity hunting, and a mysterious light emits from the multi-faceted gem called poetry. It is no exaggeration to say that it originated in a peculiar admiration of evil and on the strange psyche of horrified curiosity common to all human beings and at the same time related to the healthy mind that loves explicitness.[155]

Satō's reference to Romanticism, which seems to contradict the conventional notion of the detective fiction genre of reasoning, is related to the rise of aestheticism (*tanbi shugi*) in literature in the 1910s. Western literature was quickly absorbed by Japanese writers in the late nineteenth century and resulted in the first modern Japanese novel of Realism; Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* (1887-88) influenced by Russian literature. If we apply Western "literary history" to the development of modern Japanese literature, the Realism movement developed into the Naturalism movement of Shimazaki Tōson in the early twentieth century, and further into a realism particular to Japan: the I-novel. Yet, the height of the Naturalism movement also generated the anti-Naturalism movement in the 1910s, represented in the publication of three influential magazines of anti-Naturalism: *Subaru* (The Pleiades, 1909-13), *Mita bungaku* (Mita Literature, 1910-25)[156], *Shinshichō* (The New Thought, 1910-11).[157] Satō Haruo started his career

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[155] Satō Haruo, "Tantei shōsetsu shōron" 14-15.

[156] *Mita bungaku* was also published from 1926 to 1944, from 1946 to 1976, and from 1985 to present.

[157] *Shinshichō* has a complicated history of publication. It was published monthly in a short period of nineteen times until the late 1970s. It first started as a magazine that introduces

writing poems in *Subaru* and *Mita bungaku* and was one of the leading figures of the movement with Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke. All three of them had a keen interest in the detective fiction genre. As Karatani Kōjin points out, it is meaningless to "set up a functional opposition between romanticism and realism"[158] and suppose historical precedence of the former, since the Western concept of linear development itself is governed by a peculiar inversion that is designed to make the given historical categories self-evident. If "a very blatant manifestation of the inner link between romanticism and realism" characterizes the ambivalence of Romantic writers in Japan, Satō's celebration of detective fiction as "romanticism with 'a little' rationality" rightly represents the cultural climate of the time.[159] Satō's aestheticism cannot be just anti-Naturalism or a return to romanticism. It is rather a juxtaposition of the two in relation to the modern concept of rationality. As Edogawa Ranpo points out, although Satō's definition is not strictly about the detective fiction genre and it might be more appropriate to call it crime literature, writers at the time "wanted to give a certain name to the kind of literature Satō defined,"[160] and the term detective fiction was thus employed to denote the literature of romantic rationality with horror and attraction to things foreign as I discussed in Chapter One.

Together with Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Satō Haruo was the stronghold for those who wanted to define the genre "broadly," in which major detective fiction writers at the time such as Edogawa Ranpo, Kigi Takatarō, and Ōshita Udaru (1896-1966) were included.

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new foreign trends in literature from Oct. 1907 to Mar. 1908. (6 issues) and restarted as a coterie magazine of Tokyo Imperial University in 1910. The most important periods are the third series (Feb.-Sep. 1914) and the forth series (Feb. 1916 - Mar. 1917) for which writers such as Kume Masao, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Tanizaki Jun'ichiro and Kikuchi Kan published their early works.

[158] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* 30.

[159] Satō Haruo, *Satō Haruo shu* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2002) 500.

[160] Edogawa, *Oni no kotoba* 49.

Consequently, the debates were not equally split between those who sided with Kōga and those who sided with what Kōga called inauthentic detective fiction. Most contemporary readers of detective fiction also preferred, or rather were accustomed to, the loose classification of the genre. In *Shinseinen*, among the writers most favored and frequently translated were L. J. Beeston (1874-1963) and Maurice Level (1875-1926)[161]—writers not usually categorized as detective fiction writers in the West; and detective story writers such as Arthur Conan Doyle and Richard Austin Freeman were not among the popular writers.[162] It is risky to take *Shinseinen*'s editorial stance as representative of the Japanese reception of foreign detective fiction in the prewar years, since other publishing houses had a more balanced view of the genre. Kaizōsha's complete series of popular literature—probably the most popular series among the many series published at the height of the pocket book (*enpon*) boom—contained more authentic writers. Compared to these major publications, the complete series of detective fiction published by Hakubunkan was much more biased by Morishita's "*Shinseinen* tastes" including Stacy Aumonier (1887-1928), Samuel August Duse (1872-1933), L.J. Beeston, Maurice Level, and Johnston McCulley (1983-1958)[163]—partly in order to display *Shinseinen*'s connoisseurship in importing foreign "culture." Thus, Kōga went against the grain in *Shinseinen* and against the writers related to the magazine and he had to defend what he called logical and scientific elements of detective fiction almost by himself.

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[161] Nakajima Kawatarō claims that the introduction of Beeston in 1921 helped to push *Shinseinen* to its status as the major detective fiction magazine and he was the most translated writer in it. Seventy one of his stories were translated, and the number outdistances the second most frequently translated writer Johnston McCulley, who had fifty-three. See Nakajima Kawatarō, *Tantei shōsetsu jiten* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1998) 366.

[162] Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 278.

[163] For example, even Nakajima Kawatarō writes that this selection reflected the taste of Japanese readers better.

After sporadic debates with writers in *Shinseinen*, Kōga started serializing an essay "Tantei shōsetsu kōwa" (The Lecture on Detective Fiction) from January 1935 in the detective fiction magazine *Purofīru* and published it monthly until the December issue of the same year. The lecture was first and foremost intended to be a guide for writing detective fiction, but the entire organization first presented was frequently interrupted by responses he made against numerous criticisms toward his serial lecture and particularly toward his concept of "authentic." The topics announced for the subsequent issues were rarely met in later installments, and in the end, the lecture was terminated without a grand conclusion. Although he promised to conclude the lecture in a book length version, unfortunately the book or even a collection of the essays have never been published but even still the concepts of authentic and inauthentic he developed in the lecture became the fundamental classifications in Japanese detective fiction.

Kōga's "Tantei shōsetsu kōwa" first starts with his definition of the authentic detective fiction.

> Detective fiction is a fiction in which a crime, mainly a murder case, takes place at first, and the investigator of the crime, not necessarily a professional detective, plays the active role.[164]

Based on this strict definition of detective fiction, he then spots the problems of genre classifications in Japan and, against some critics' enthusiasm—he particularly refers to Unno Jūza's account in *Shinseinen*—in expanding the use of the term *tantei shōsetsu*, insists that the term should be used only for the stories that meet the above definition, and therefore stories that do not fit into the definition—those just with "detective tastes" or those partially satisfying his definition—should instead be called by other names.

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[164] Kōga Saburō, "Tantei shōsetsu kōwa," *Purofīru* Jan. 1935: 7.

Kōga recognizes two elements in detective fiction, which are the detective elements (means of murder, clues, fair play, unexpected resolution, and analysis of the resolution) and the fictional elements (plot, suspense, style, character, and settings).[165] Although two elements have to be well balanced in order to make a good detective fiction, he concludes that it is the detective elements that ultimately make a story detective fiction. In detective fiction, the fictional elements should always be subordinate to the detective elements. The future of detective fiction lies in how each writer makes use of the detective elements with the help of the fictional elements. By relying on fictional elements excessively, one might be able to produce good fiction but that does not necessarily produce good detective fiction.[166]

Here, Kōga's propositions parallel to a certain degree Nakamura Murao's argument about the authentic novel I discussed above. Kōga's logic follows Nakamura's in that he also modeled his ideal detective fiction after the Western standards, and, whether he liked it or not, created the dichotomy in which Japanese detective fiction served as an inferior copy of Western detective fiction. As Nakamura's essay was met with severe criticism from the literary establishment, Kōga's essays were exposed to opposing arguments from most writers at that time, probably not because of his definition of the genre but because of its confrontational presentation of the dichotomy. Kigi Takatarō, who is usually considered to be the prime proponent of artistic detective fiction especially because of his debates with Edogawa Ranpo after the war, strongly challenged Kōga's proposition. Although he was a newcomer to the genre and had just published his first story "Mōmaku myakushi-shyō" (1934) in *Shinseinen* the previous year with Unno

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[165] He proposed this idea in the first part of "New Theory of Detective Fiction" ("Shin tantei shōsetsuron" 1933). See Kōga Saburō, *Kōga Saburō tantei shōsetsusen* (Tokyo: Ronsōsha, 2003) 280-87.

[166] Kōga, *Kōga Saburō tantei shōsetsusen* 287 and "Tantei shōsetsu kōwa," *Purofīru* Nov. 1935.

Jūza's recommendation, his status as a renowned doctor helped him engage in the heated debates with the established writer.[167]

Kigi's opposing arguments best represent contemporary criticisms of Kōga's formal classifications and his criticisms later developed into his own theory of Japanese detective fiction even after the debates calmed down. Kigi admits that detective fiction has to follow a certain format, but he nevertheless argues that, contrary to Kōga, it is the fictional elements that make a story.[168] If the fictional elements are not properly developed, the fiction with the detective elements is merely a real-life story of a detective (*tantei jitsuwa*). The treatment of murder cases in fiction can only make it detective fiction when it is filtered through proper fictional techniques. By giving a broad interpretation to Kōga's "detective elements" and "fictional elements," Kigi interprets the former as the form of detective fiction and the latter as the content of detective fiction. He then argues that if the content is original as Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*, that fiction can either be literature or detective fiction depending on which form it is filtered through. Thus, in Kigi's view, "if detective fiction approaches the spirits of authentic and true detective fiction, it becomes more art and more literature."[169] The proper form of detective fiction has not yet been discovered and thus what Kōga rejects as "inauthentic" in Japanese detective fiction is merely a temporal stage necessitated by the very effort of searching for an appropriate form. Kigi thus concludes that the writings Kōga categorizes as inauthentic detective fiction—especially Oguri Mushitarō's works—should be evaluated as part of his efforts to create a new form of detective fiction despite of its deviation from Western standards.

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[167] Kigi Takatarō is a nom de plume of Dr. Hayashi Takashi, who studied the conditional reflex response under Ivan Petrovich Pavlov (1849-1936) in 1929 and was already a renowned scholar of brain physiology when he started writing detective fiction in his spare time.

[168] *Purofīru* Mar. 1936: 117-22.

[169] *Purofīru* Mar. 1936: 118.

Kōga's and Kigi's debates were prominently featured in *Purofīru* and established the hitherto famous dichotomy of authentic and inauthentic (artistic) detective fiction. The dialectical problems of reducing a creative (literary) work into its prescriptive genre compels Kigi to redraw the boundaries of the detective fiction genre, while Kōga tries to maintain the boundaries in order to "establish a contract between writer and reader so as to make certain relevant expectations operative and thus to permit both compliance with and deviation from accepted modes of intelligibility."[170] Kigi's introduction of the concept of "art" misses and undermines Kōga's notion of genre. As Todorov argues in terms of literary texts, "every work modifies the sum of possible works, each new example alters the species,"[171] or Kigi rather calls this new example the "artistry" (*geijutsusei*) of detective fiction. Thus, in terms of artistry, they were destined to stay on opposing sides in the following debates.

Even after Kōga's final installment of "Tantei shōsetsu kōwa," *Purofīru* published essays of established writers such as Oguri Mushitarō (April 1936), Unno Jūza (May 1936), and Mizutani Jun (June 1936), but those essays did not develop or reconcile the issues presented by Kōga and Kigi. After *Purofīru* was discontinued in 1937, the debate gradually calmed down leaving authentic and inauthentic as foundational categories of the genre. With so many critics involved in the debates, the authentic vs. inauthentic dichotomy became one of the issues most frequently discussed among historians of Japanese detective fiction particularly after the revival of the concept of "authentic" by the New Authentic School of the 1990s. Yet, this is also a topic that is rarely understood properly, since Kōga's concept of "authentic" is not limited to classic puzzle stories of the whodunit form, as most postwar—or even some prewar—critics want to understand it.

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[170] Jonathan Culler, *Structuralist Poetics* (New York: Routledge, 2002) 172.

[171] Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to A Literary Genre* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1975) 6.

Kōga labeled various stories at the time wrongly categorized in the detective fiction genre as "inauthentic" for mere convenience. Although his criticism was directed toward wrongful classifications, he did not particularly make, as Hirabayashi did, a value judgment when identifying "inauthentic" detective fiction.

Anglo American writers were also involved in similar arguments about genre classifications, although "inauthentic" detective fiction was certainly not so vigorously defended. Even in the West, up to the middle twenties "there had been little serious consideration of crime stories as a particular kind of literature, and no attempt had been made to assess the detective story as something having rules which could be strictly formulated and which it was important to observe."[172] Japanese readers were quick to catch up with those foreign trends. The rules proposed by Knox and Van Dine in 1928 were almost simultaneously introduced in *Shinseinen* and other magazines and evaluated as the most authoritative rules proposed by authentic writers despite the impracticality of writing a story based on these rules. Kōga's propositions did not rank with Van Dine's stringent rules and he was even critical of his overly logical construction of the puzzle and warned that the insistence on the originality of the pure puzzle would drive detective fiction to an impasse.[173] Contrary to the almost impossible "rules" proposed by some Western writers, Kōga merely proposed to exclude stories that do not include crime or crime investigation. For Kōga, authentic and inauthentic were not subcategories of detective fiction but two different categories, and thus expanding the detective fiction genre to include inauthentic detective fiction was irrational.

In order to alleviate the criticisms of his binaries, Kōga thus proposed a different binary at the beginning of his lecture. In "Tantei shōsetsu kōwa," he maintains that the

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[172] Symons 104.

[173] Kōga, *Kōga Saburō tantei shōsetsusen* 274-78.

various stories Unno and other writers try to label as "inauthentic" detective fiction (*henkaku tantei shōsetsu*) are also written in the West, but they are not usually called detective fiction.[174] Rather than making two subcategories of detective fiction (*honkaku* and *henkaku*), he insists that the two are fundamentally different only by sharing what Unno might call "detective tastes." Referring to Western anthologies of short stories, Kōga then proposes a more general category for inauthentic detective fiction, i.e. "*shōto sutōrī*" (short story).[175] Kōga first defines "*sutōrī*" as popular fiction, particularly fanciful fiction, with a beginning and an end, and its content should not be ordinary; it has to deal with things extraordinary or unpleasant.[176] He then argues that most of the stories Japanese critics consider "*tantei shōsetsu*" are actually a shorter version of "*sutōrī*" (story) i.e. "*shōto sutōrī*" (short story). Although "*shōto sutōrī*" is a formal characteristic of writing, he expands his argument to its content and maintains that, since short stories tend to rely on an unexpected ending, which has some affinity to what Unno calls detective tastes, the stories categorized in the inauthentic detective fiction would more aptly be categorized in this more general "*shōto sutōrī*" genre. Then, what Kōga originally proposed as authentic detective fiction was categorized in the subcategory—pure form—of *shōto sutōrī*. Of course, his definition of "*shōto sutōrī*" would be quite subjective, particularly if we consider the anthologies he relied on were Dorothy Sayers' *Great Short Stories of Detection Mystery and Horror*,[177] an anthology already biased toward stories with detective tastes. Here Kōga tries to avoid counter arguments by dispelling the dichotomy of authentic and inauthentic and by making authentic detective

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[174] Kōga, "Tantei shōsetsu kōwa," *Purofīru* Jan. 1935: 9.

[175] Kōga, "Tantei shōsetsu kōwa," *Purofīru* Jan. 1935: 12-13.

[176] Kōga, "Tantei shōsetsu kōwa," *Purofīru* Feb. 1935: 15.

[177] Dorothy L. Sayers, ed., *Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery and Horror* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1928).

fiction the purified form of crime literature as many foreign writers tried to separate the whodunit from mere crime fiction.[178] However, this less confrontational proposition was not treated seriously in the following debates and has not attained popularity. Instead, the more provocative dichotomy of authentic and inauthentic was valorized through his subsequent debates with writers who defended inauthentic detective fiction for the sake of art.

One of the reasons that his propositions met so many vicious criticisms is, as was the case with Nakamura's argument in terms of the characteristics of the Japanese novel, the way he introduced the binaries of foreign/domestic and condemned the latter for its lack of the authenticity of the former. For example, corresponding to Kōga's criticisms of the careless labeling of detective fiction in Japan, Unno Jūza in *Shinseinen* argues that instead of being ashamed of the poor history of authentic detective fiction, the Japanese should be proud of having such a wide variety of detective fiction. As Kōga promptly points out, Unno is making an argument irrelevant to Kōga's initial proposition. Kōga's criticism is directed toward the improper categorization of detective fiction and not toward the qualities of various stories that are commonly categorized as detective fiction. In this regard, Unno's reaction is parallel to Kume's response to Nakamura, in which Kume ignores Nakamura's proposition of authentic fiction and defends the value of a specifically Japanese mode of literature.

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[178] His use of the angular Japanese phonetic (katakana) term *shōto sutōrī* for his translation of "short story" is necessitated by his need of differentiating it from the Shino-Japanese (kanji) term *tanpen shōsetsu*, which is usually considered to be a translation of "short story." Kōga reserves *tanpen shōsetsu* to the "plotless" story of high literature—corresponding to the dominant view of the time—and *shōto sutōrī* to the popular story with a plot (and preferably a twist in the end). This dichotomization of domestic (*kanji*) and foreign (*katakana*) in the terms is thus doubly articulated through his conceptualization of *shōto sutōrī* as popular and *tanpen shōsetsu* as high literature, constituting another dichotomy that Kigi argued against in his belief that detective fiction could be art.

Here, it should be remembered that Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke's original criticisms about detective stories in Japan were about a particular tendency of Japanese detective fiction and already connoted the criticism of improper implementation of the foreign-born genre. Kōga's proposition slightly shifted the issue raised by Hirabayashi and made it into a universal classification of a genre. Yet, after Kigi's active involvement in the debate, the argument shifted to focus on the value and function of detective fiction. Much like Nakamura Murao's essay in relation to the authentic novel, Kōga's initial criticisms were never productively discussed, and were substituted by value judgment as to whether detective fiction can be art in the culture industry. In the subsequent debates, Kōga's binary of authentic and inauthentic was stretched and projected onto cultural differences discursively articulating authentic modern detective fiction of the West and inauthentic detective fiction particular to Japan. Amid the debates, Mizutani Jun the editor of *Shinseinen* at the time pointed out that "the word detective fiction has its value only as an imported article (*hakuraihin*) and thus to define it is only a pedantry of those who satisfy their appetite with it"[179] radicalizing Kōga's argument to such a degree as to maintain that there was no true detective fiction in Japan.

Detective fiction viewed as essentially an imported article resulted in a peculiar discursive formation of the detective fiction genre in prewar Japan. While proponents of "inauthentic" detective fiction resorted to the concept of "literature" challenging the orthodox genre classifications that reduced the genre into mere formula fiction, detective fiction was one of the most popular genres in prewar popular literature. Despite his vicious criticisms of Japanese detective fiction, Kōga Saburō was also a prolific writer of serial fiction in major newspapers. At the height of the detective fiction boom, he serialized *Yūrei han'nin* (Ghost Criminal, 1929) in *Asahi shinbun*, *Yōma no kōshyō* (The

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[179] Mizutani Jun, "Puroje paradokusaru," *Purofīru* Jan. 1936: 84.

Roar of a Devil, 1931) in *Osaka jiji shinbun*, and *Chichi no nai onna* (Woman without Breasts, 1932) in *Yamato shinbun*. Although these crime thrillers might not be entitled to be categorized in Kōga's "authentic" detective fiction, the lack of reference to those popular crime fictions in the authentic detective fiction debates deserves consideration as authentic "popular" novels were similarly neglected in the authentic novel debates. The discourses about detective fiction need to be located in the surrounding discourses about popular literature in Japan's interwar period.

Detective Fiction in Popular Literature

If we look at the material conditions of the production of prewar detective fiction, several possible causes can be enumerated for the particular development of the genre. According to Kōga Saburō, the detective story had already reached an impasse in its development in the West, and the dominant mode had already shifted in the 1920s to its longer version: the detective novel.[180] The shift promoted the rise of a new generation of writers dedicated to pure and complex puzzle stories such as Agatha Christie, Dorothy Sayers, Anthony Berkeley, and S. S. Van Dine. According to Julian Symons,[181] this is the reason that the rules of detective fiction were seriously discussed in this particular period as a "contract" between writer and reader. On the other hand, in Japan opportunities for writing detective novels were rarely given to most writers. Moreover, Japanese writers had to build on the legacy of foreign detective stories in which most combinations of puzzles had already been consumed, and thus had to rely on elements from other genres such as horror, fantasy, mystery, and science fiction, while clinging to the already-established fame of the detective fiction genre as a foreign import. The detective novel, which Kōga claims to be the "true" authentic detective fiction (*honkaku*

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[180] Kōga, "Tantei shōsetsu kōwa," *Purofīru* Apr. 1935: 12-13.

[181] Symons 95.

tantei shōsetsu) by Japanese writers was thus doomed to be marginalized in such a market structure. Instead, the detective story with unhealthy tastes—what Kōga called *shōto sutōrī*—prevailed in the market.

Coming from his career as an already established critic and writer, Kōga's observation of the situation of the publishing industry was probably quite accurate. The market for detective novels was quite slim. Detective fiction at that time had more affinity with the sensationalism that constantly promoted what Kōga called "unpleasantness," the taste that quickly grabbed readers' attention, and therefore its main consumption mode was short stories, which were published in various magazines and destined to be forgotten without ever being compiled in book form. Although the "authentic" Japanese detective fiction might not have had any market at this point in history, this does not lead to the conclusion that the trend of detective fiction that favors the fantastic over reason was generated by the tradition of Japan's cultural particularity. In other words, this should not simply be viewed as the supremacy of "Japanese" tradition over "Western" modernization. As I discussed in Chapter One, it is rather a negotiation that simultaneously articulates traditional and modern, and domestic and foreign.

In this regard, Kōga's observation partially explains the cultural constellation of popular literature in the 30s. First of all, there were markets for longer novels in the publishing industry. As with most historical novels of Dickens at the height of serial literature in nineteenth-century England, most historical novels at this time were in a longer format published on an installment basis. The interwar period was in fact the golden age of popular literature on an installment basis. Osaragi Jirō (1897-1973) created Kurama Tengu a fictional samurai in the last days of the Tokugawa shogunate, and wrote more than thirty novels featuring this liberal samurai who fights for the freedom of the

people.[182] Kikuchi Kan (1888-1948), who later became the president of Bungei shunjūsha, found his readers in the rapidly expanding market of women's magazines and paved the way for other serious writers of literature to enter into the market. At a time when the delineation of national boundaries both politically and culturally was at issue, the concept of popular literature and its function was a topic seriously discussed not only by literary critics but aptly by Marxist critics. It was 1916 when Honma Hisao (1886-1981) wrote "Minshū geijutsu no igi oyobi kachi" (The Significance and Value of Popular Arts, 1916) and advocated arts for the people that could be appreciated without preliminary knowledge. It was followed by Marxist critics, most notably by the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae (1885-1923) in "Atarashiki sekai no tame no atarashiki geijutsu" (New Art for the New World, 1917). It should not be overlooked that the concept of the people (*minshū*) in those arguments was inevitably tied to the modern concept of the nation state, since Honma's argument for popular arts was rooted in his inclination to promote an indigenous "tradition" of Japan.[183] Shirai Kyōji (1889-1980) then named this abstract notion of the people "*taishū*" the word hereafter commonly used to denote the populace.[184] Popular literature (*taishū bungaku*) was thus not just writing for a particular class or people residing in a particular region, such as the merchant class in Kyoto or the samurai class in Edo, but was an entertainment that served the nation. The early Shōwa period witnessed the rise of the first mass-circulation magazine, *Kingu* (1925-57), which boldly publicized itself as the magazine "indispensable for everyone

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[182] The first book *Kimen no rōjo* (Old Woman in a Devil's Mask, 1924) was published in 1924 and Osaragi wrote a total of 46 episodes of the series.

[183] See Honma Hisao, "Shizen shugi kara dentō shugi e," *Kindai hyōronshū*, vol.2, 164-67.

[184] See Shirai Kyōji, *Saraba Fuji ni tatsu kage: Shirai Kyōji jiden* (Tokyo: Rokkō Shuppan, 1983). In this autobiography, Shirai writes that he used the word *taishū*, which hitherto had only been used in Buddhism, in place of the more popular word *minshū* for his new magazine *Taishū bungei* in 1926 in order to advocate a new literature.

regardless of age, occupation, and class."[185] Scrambling for the people through mass advertising turned even serious literature into a consumable commodity. Anxiety toward the nameless masses and their unpredictable "tastes" thus compelled many writers to delineate between "literature written to meet the demands of the masses" and "literature written solely for itself," articulating the former to be *taishū bungaku* (popular literature) and the latter *bundan shōsetsu* (literary establishment novel).[186]

For serious writers of literature, the romance novel targeted for female readers—mostly in the contemporary setting—was *tsūzoku shōsetsu* (current mores fiction): literature of lesser quality made comprehensible for ordinary people. On the other hand, there was another effort to construct the literature that the people demanded and not just the literature the people could understand. In the efforts to discover the true literature for the people and to educate the people through it, Shirai Kyōji and other members of the magazine *Taishū bungei* (1926-27) strategically looked for materials in the tradition of *kōdan*—an oral tradition that developed in the period when books were not available for ordinary people—and turned it into literature suited for the people of modern Japan. In fact, the circulation of books for the masses had driven *kōdan* to the verge of disappearing at that time. With the rise of the concept of the masses in the formation of Japan as a nation state, however, this outdated oral tradition was considered in a different light. Shared readings/listening of *kōdan* performances were substituted by private and silent readings in print capitalism. This shift from listening consumption to reading consumption necessitated a transformation in the writing style of novels based on popular topics of *kōdan*.

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[185] Satō Takumi 3.

[186] Suzuki Sadami, *The Concept of "Literature" in Japan* (Kyoto: Nichibunken, 2006) 209.

The publisher of *Shinseinen*, Hakubunkan, first started transcribing the oral performances of famous story tellers. Since the publication of transcriptions generated a competitive business for popular performers, Kōdansha, which, despite the name of the company, came late in the business, was sued by Hakubunkan for imitating its strategy and was forced to publish original stories independent from *kōdan* performances.[187] However, it was through this effort to create literature that did not rely on *kōdan* that a distinctive written form of literature which was later called *shin-kōdan* (new kōdan) developed. Here, *kōdan*, originally a signifier of the form (story telling) became a signifier of the content (traditional Japanese tales in historical settings). Then, it was *kōdan*'s tradition as an oral performance handed down from generation to generation that made possible the claim that it was the "ideal" popular literature based on indigenous tradition.[188] Formally, those novels are what Nakamura might call "authentic" novels with plot and character development in the third person form, but its content was intentionally on the side of pre-modern rather than modern as connoted in the authentic novel debates. The members of *Taishū bungei* understandably named this new type of literature not an "authentic" novel but *taishū bungaku* (people's literature), thus differentiating it from the somewhat condescending term for popular literature, *tsūzoku bungaku* (literature for the masses).

On the other hand, as Hirano Ken rightly pointed out,[189] detective fiction occupied an enigmatic position in the construction of popular literature in the late 20s. Contrary to *kōdan*'s continuity from the oral tradition, detective fiction emerged out of the purely written literary tradition of literature whose supposed origin was in the West.

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[187] Kimura Ki, *Taishū bungaku jūrokkō* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993) 71-72.

[188] Kimura 43.

[189] Hirano Ken, "Shōsetsu no shakaisei," *Kyōyō to shite no satsujin* 253-4.

The pleasure of paying attention to carefully laid out clues in the course of the reading—vital elements in the classic whodunit—cannot be dissociated from print culture. In the detective story, as Walter Ong points out, "the oral narrator's protagonist, distinguished typically for his external exploits, has been replaced by the interior consciousness of the typographic protagonist."[190] Its introduction as part of translation culture removed it even further from the domestic and historic themes associated with *kōdan*. This necessitated the exclusion of detective fiction from popular literature regardless of its seeming popularity (Kōga might argue that popular crime fiction is not exactly detective fiction).[191] Edogawa Ranpo was one of the founding members of *Taishū bungei*, but he expressed confusion at being categorized as a writer of popular literature although he did not necessarily consider detective fiction serious literature either. In his statement in *Taishū bungei*, Ranpo writes that detective fiction is a very peculiar kind of literature that is not artistic enough to appeal to readers of serious literature nor popular enough to appeal to the general public.[192] While Ranpo acknowledged that what Kōga called inauthentic detective fiction was not exactly detective fiction, he nevertheless had to envision the future of Japanese detective fiction in what was now defined as the inauthentic form, siding with Kigi Takatarō's proposition that detective fiction can/should be literature.

Here resides the ambivalent nature of Japanese detective fiction in the prewar culture industry. It cannot exactly be located in the line of high art—although Ranpo and Kigi were enthusiastic in tracing its "origins" to the romantic literature of Japan—but it cannot be claimed as popular either. Like many writers of literature who wrote serious

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[190] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1988) 146.

[191] Kimura 32.

[192] Edogawa Ranpo, "Tantei shōsetsu wa taishū bungei ka," *Akunin shigan* 172-75.

short stories for small literary circles (the plotless story for art's sake) and serialized novels for popular newspapers and magazines (fiction with an approachable plot for the masses), Ranpo had to split himself into a writer of serious detective fiction and a writer of sensational serials with detective tastes. The schema of configuration in the constitution of popular literature placed detective fiction at the ambivalent location between popular and high art. This was the anxiety that motivated Kōga to criticize classifications of Japanese detective fiction in the culture industry on the one hand, and Kigi to defend detective fiction as an art form on the other. Through the debates, despite—or because of—Kōga's efforts to construct authentic detective fiction that met the highest Western standards, the inauthentic detective fiction was valorized as the distinctively Japanese form of popular literature.

Conclusion

As Fredric Jameson argues, "Genres are essentially literary *institutions*, or social contracts between a writer and a specific public, whose function is to specify the proper use of a particular cultural artifact."[193] In the prewar culture industry, the Japanese detective fiction genre was institutionalized through debates about the "authenticity" of detective fiction Yet, the import of Western detective fiction was not just transformed through Japan's "national traits" that most contemporary critics referred to elliptically as the tendency of the Japanese to value emotion over reason. Instead, through the process of importing and through the process of translation and adaptation, Japanese culture as such was negotiated and valorized defining what Kōga called inauthentic detective fiction and "national traits." In this regard, it is not a coincidence that the detective fiction boom corresponds to the popularity of historical novels, a seemingly reactionary revival of the

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[193] Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, Cornell UP, 1981) 106.

premodern past. A rapidly vanishing past created the sense of nostalgia for things lost and recreated the quasi-sense of "Japanese history" in the realm of the fantastic, resulting in the wide circulation of historical novels (*taishū bungaku*) in popular papers and magazines for the people. Although Hakubunkan's *Shinseinen* started as the replacement of its own magazine of popular history, *Bōken sekai* (Adventure World), their promotion of Japanese detective fiction itself still needed to be negotiated in the pre-established constellation of the pre-modern (Japanese) historical novel and the modern (Western) detective fiction, and to create an impossible amalgam of Japanese detective fiction as the deviation from Western standards which was not solely for the people but insufficient to be called pure literature. Kōga Saburō and other supporters of "pure" detective fiction simply wanted detective fiction to be popular and more importantly "modern" entertainment for the rational mind. Detective fiction needed to be an entertainment for the masses that enlightens them with logical thinking and objectivity in the way mysteries are solved, which was a difficult goal in the constellation of the popular in the culture industry of prewar Japan. On the other hand, Kigi Takatarō, Edogawa Ranpo, and many other dominant writers wanted to raise the status of detective fiction to serious literature even at the cost of breaking the conventions of the genre. In their stories, the focus was more on the psychology of the narrator who went through the horror of rapidly changing urban life rather than the logical solution of mysteries, which nevertheless shared an affinity with the particular form of realism: the I-novel. Modeled after the confessional form of the I-novel tradition, they chose to embellish detective fiction with the state-of-mind (content) inner journey to the grotesque and eroticism of the criminal psyche. The authentic detective fiction debates thus created incommensurable cultural planes between Japan and the West, and in that process, the various prewar efforts to write "authentic" detective fiction were marginalized and eventually forgotten from the history of Japanese detective fiction. It was not until after the war that authentic detective fiction came back

to the center stage, despite its apparent time-lag with the Golden Age of the form in the West, in the discourses about Japanese detective fiction.

CHAPTER III

EDOGAWA RANPO AND THE POLITICS OF GENRE

Introduction: Edogawa Ranpo as the Symptom of the Genre

For various reasons, Edogawa Ranpo's career parallels the development of the detective fiction genre in Japan. Ranpo started his career when detective fiction was considered a part of foreign culture,[194] and he was thus destined to play the double role of faithful importer of the foreign born cultural commodity and of creative "domestic" writer born out of indigenous tradition. His award-winning piece "Nisen dōka" (The Two-Sen Copper Coin) which was published in *Shinseinen* in 1923 received numerous accolades as the first "authentic" detective story ever written by a Japanese writer. As a mediator of two cultural planes at the height of national consciousness during the interwar years, however, Ranpo had to negotiate for "Japanese detective fiction" against the already established market of foreign detective fiction in translation. As the detective fiction genre gradually matured in Japan, Ranpo thus transformed from a faithful importer of progressive knowledge into a creative writer who embodied the seemingly "reactionary" Japanese literary tradition of romanticism.

His gradual deviation from foreign standards triggered heated debates about authenticity in detective fiction, and reasonably about Japanese cultural particularity in relation to Western nations. In the debates, Ranpo's prewar works, which the translator of his English anthology calls stories of "mystery and imagination,"[195] were treated as representatives of "inauthentic" detective fiction, and sometimes criticized because they

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[194] He confesses in his memoir in 1935 that after graduating from Waseda University, he seriously dreamt of becoming a detective fiction writer in the US while taking an odd job even if it meant working as a dishwasher. See Edogawa, *Waga yume to shinjitsu* 88.

[195] Edogawa Rampo, *Japanese Tales of Mystery and Imagination*, trans. James B. Harris (Tokyo: C.E. Tuttle, 1956).

tended to defy modern reasoning for which not only the said genre but also his own early stories were initially appreciated. Ranpo kept a certain distance from the debates and even claimed that he lost his confidence in writing detective fiction in 1932—less than ten years after his debut in *Shinseinen*.[196] While he rarely published his detective stories in dedicated magazines of detective fiction after the 1930s, he continued to be a prolific writer of "grotesque" serials with detective tastes in general magazines and newspapers, which contributed to establishing the "legend" among the public that he wrote only at night in a storehouse (*dozō*)—which he aptly called "the castle of illusion" (*gen'ei no kura*)—under the dim light of a candle surrounded by pictures of cruelties (*muzan'e*).[197]

After the war, however, he suddenly turned into an enthusiastic advocate of "authentic" detective fiction and, while he rarely wrote detective fiction by himself, dedicated himself to reinvigorating the genre as a "healthy" entertainment for postwar democracy by editing magazines, introducing young talents, and writing essays and criticisms. Although Ranpo's "conversion" after World War II is certainly important in the context of Japan's intellectual history and is one of the topics I examine in the following chapter, equally important and sometimes overlooked is his articulation of "Japanese detective fiction" at the intersections of foreign and domestic, and popular and high art in Japan's modernization before the war.

Despite critics' laments that the scientific civilization in Japan had not really developed to produce detective fiction,[198] after the great Kantō earthquake in 1923 which is also the year Ranpo started his career, capitalist modernization was transforming urban sites into "huge industrialized cities housing the everyday lives of the throngs who

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[196] Edogawa, "Torikku o chōetsu shite," *Akunin shigan* 662.

[197] Yamamura Masao, *Waga kaikyūteki tantei sakkaron* (Tokyo: Futabasha, 1996) 57-58.

[198] Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, "Nihon no kindaiteki tantei shōsetsu: tokuni Edogawa Ranpo ni tsuite," *Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke tantei shōsetsusen*, vol.2, 213.

had left the countryside for work and a different kind of life."[199] If detective fiction explores "what it means to be caught up in the maelstrom of modernity,"[200] the appearance of a writer like Ranpo was already conditioned by the material condition of Japan's modernization. As Harry Harootunian observes, Ranpo's stories appealed to a mass audience "precisely because they were embedded in social relations, experiences, and an environment that could be easily identified with the life of a readership living in the cities."[201]

Moreover, despite *Shinseinen*'s enthusiastic promotion, "The Two-Sen Copper Coin" was not the first "Japanese" detective fiction. Aside from his translations of foreign detective fiction, Kuroiwa Ruikō wrote "Muzan" (Cruel) in 1889 which was an original story modeled after Western detective fiction. The journalist Sudō Nansui (1857-1920) wrote "Shouen kenbō: Satsujin" (The Killer) in 1888 and Kōda Rohan (1867-1947) wrote "Kore wa kore wa" (Dear me!, 1889) and "Ayashiyana" (Doubtful, 1889), and Yamada Bimyō (1868-1910) wrote "Tōzoku hiji" (The Secrets of Thieves, 1891).[202] These are a few examples of the numerous writings that followed the novel recipe introduced in the late nineteen century. By separating himself from those precursors, however, Ranpo was introduced as a faithful copier of the Western original—his pen name itself is a Japanese rendering that alludes to Edgar Allan Poe[203]—and then

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[199] Harry Harootunian, *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life* (New York: Columbia UP, 2000) 1-2.

[200] Jon Thompson, *Fiction, Crime, and Empire: Clues to Modernity and Postmodernism* (Urbana, U of Illinois P, 1993) 8.

[201] Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity* 117.

[202] Uchida 5.

[203] While the sound of the name alludes to the Western writer, the kanji characters of his name inversely mean in Japanese "a stagger along the Edo River": a quite domestic scene.

hailed as an inauthentic "alternative"[204] to the original. In this regard, Ranpo became a representative figure that stood at the intersection of the continuity and sequential development of Western modernism, and a domestic modernization that conditioned the consumption of the detective fiction genre. By dislocating Ranpo's stories from the notion of the authentic-inauthentic dichotomy, which nevertheless conforms to the dialectical development of the genre from the inauthentic premodern to the authentic modern, we can relocate them in what Harootunian calls the "everydayness" of his time; the minimal unity of the present, which was "increasingly seen by thinkers as the actual and unavoidable experience of everydayness that everywhere in the industrializing world—colonized and noncolonized—was identified as distinctively modern."[205]

In this chapter, I will examine Edogawa Ranpo's prewar detective fiction in terms of the particular construction of the inner space of narrative and the outer space of Tokyo as an urban center. Analyses of his prewar stories allow us to explicate the negotiations Ranpo had to make in importing a genre that was considered to be "Western" and the dynamics manifested in the formation of Japanese detective fiction as well. It cannot be denied that Ranpo's stories have frequently been discussed from the stand point of his tormented psyche—his particular attachment to the grotesque taste—as an avid admirer of Edgar Allan Poe.[206] Yet I do not intend my analysis to be the study of a troubled genius whose creation transcended historical specificities at the time it was created and consumed, nor will I in any sense read them as one of the manifestations of timeless Japanese culture in the domain of popular fiction. By focusing on the multilateral dimensions of his early works, I will examine the everydayness of prewar urban life

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[204] Harootunian, *History's Disquiet* 5.

[205] Harootunian, *History's Disquiet* 4.

[206] For example, see Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, "Ranpo bungaku no honshitsu: gangu aikō to yūtopia," *Edogawa Ranpo, hyōron to kenkyū*, ed. Nakajima Kawatarō (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980).

outside of the authentic detective fiction debates. If the construction of the narrative space particular to his early works is related to the mapping of space in the modern city, and it is mapped again onto the topographies of the genre, Ranpo's stories will provide temporalities derived from the everydayness of urban life in Tokyo and then mapped back onto the genre configuration of the prewar years.

"Nisen dōka" and the Split Subjectivity of Urban Tokyo

More than anything, Edogawa Ranpo's first story "The Two-Sen Copper Coin" is a skillful imitation of Western detective stories and, for several reasons, represents the topography of the genre in prewar years.[207] The basic storyline almost parallels Edgar Allan Poe's "The Gold Bug" (1843). Two young college graduates who envision a fortune encounter a strange coin and it leads them into a quest for the money that a conman has stolen. The story begins with the famous passage of the confessional statement of the first person narrator "I envy the thief," which itself is a skillful copy of the style of the domestic author Uno Kōji.[208] The setting of the story reflects the social situations at the time when job markets had already become tight in the depression after World War I and even college graduates could not find a job easily. Capitalist modernism has taken over, but advancement in life (*risshin shusse*), which might have characterized the society right after the destruction of the feudal government in the later nineteenth century, has already become a dream of the past.

The narrator and his friend Matsumura, comparable to the narrator and Legrand in Poe's "The Gold Bug" or any detective story based on the Watson-Holmes pair,

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[207] Ranpo himself admits in his letter to Morishita that "Nisen dōka" was influenced by Poe's "The Gold Bug," "Purloined Letter," "Cryptography," and Doyle's "Dancing Men." See Edogawa Ranpo, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.1 (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2006) 62.

[208] It is a well known anecdote that Yokomizo Seishi thought that the story was written by Uno Kōji under the pseudo name of Edogawa Ranpo. See Edogawa, "Uno Kōji-shiki," *Akunin shigan* 192.

helplessly envy the "gentlemen thief" who stole the monthly salary from a large electronics manufacturer by disguising himself as a reporter of a major newspaper. The thief is soon arrested due to the particular brand of cigarette he left at the site of the theft and "since the development after the discovery of the cigarette that leads to his arrest had a touch of interest similar to detective fiction, the feats of the police detective were even serialized in a newspaper."[209] Yet, the thief does not confess the whereabouts of the stolen money even after the lengthy investigation of the police. The company offers a reward of ten percent of the money for anyone who discovers it, and that is where the story of the narrator and Matsumura begins. Matsumura encounters a strange coin (*nisen dōka*) that contains a cryptogram in its hollow space, which he infers is a secret message the thief in question used to communicate with his accomplices. The story faithfully follows "The Gold Bug" and depicts, from the narrator's point of view, Matsumura's strange behavior after his possession of the coin and his triumphal account of how he deciphered the cryptogram and eventually discovered the stolen money.

The story is narrated through multiple frames of reference. The famous maxim "not attempting to conceal it at all"[210] in Poe's archetypical detective story "The Purloined Letter" is aptly referred to in the story as the means of concealing the stolen money. Moreover, as Poe's story is framed by two narratives, one by the police regarding their failed investigation of a stolen letter and one by Dupin regarding his successful recovery of the letter from the minister's apartment, Ranpo's story too is divided into two investigations, i.e. the investigation of the police in search of the thief and that of Matsumura in search of the stolen money. The former is successfully solved

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[209] Edogawa Ranpo, *Edogawa Ranpo zen tanpen*, vol.1 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1998) 15.

[210] John P. Muller and William J. Richardson eds, *The Purloined Poe: Lacan, Derrida, and Psychoanalytic Reading* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1988) 20.

by the police by rather crude human labor of tracing a rare Egyptian cigarette the thief left at the site. The sensational theft and its investigation by the police are publicized in newspaper serials, and this constitutes the first narrative within the story. Then, this exciting news initiates the search for the stolen money by two bored intellectuals. By deciphering the cryptogram, Matsumura successfully recovers the stolen money by outwitting not only the police but the gentleman thief. The recovery of the money is then explicated—again in the same manner done by Legrand in "The Gold Bug" or Dupin in "The Purloined Letter"—to the narrator by Matsumura, and this talk constitutes the second narrative.

Two narratives are framed by another meta-narrative rendering a more complex structure to the story. Considering the economic stagnation of the time, it makes a good fantasy for the public if the story simply ends with the successful discovery of the money in the end. In the story, however, the strange and controversial twist at the end frames and ultimately undermines Matsumura's triumph. When Matsumura finishes his account of his discovery of the money, the narrator bursts into laughter and explains to Matsumura that everything is in fact a trap carefully set by the narrator. It was the narrator who made the cryptogram in the coin and deliberately left it for Matsumura to find. The money Matsumura thought he recovered is in fact toy money prepared and hidden by the narrator. In the end, the narrator suggests to Matsumura that the cryptogram he deciphered, comparing himself proudly to the fictional character of foreign detective stories Sherlock Holmes, can have an entirely different meaning—"gojōdan" (a joke)—already indicating that it is just a joke. He explains that he trapped Matsumura in order to relieve their ennui—boredom of everyday life. Thus, the second talk initiated by the first talk in a newspaper story ends up being overturned by the narrative that frames both talks.

The complex narrative structure of the story is firstly conditioned by the formula of the genre. At the base of the whodunit, for example, Tzvetan Todorov finds a

duality."[211] What the Russian Formalists isolated as *fabula* (story) and *syuzhet* (plot) in literary texts are amplified and display the particular dual structures in detective fiction. In representative detective fiction, the story of the crime exists only in the clues in the present, whereas the story of the investigation reconstructs the first story. Peter Brooks further argues that what is important in detective fiction is "the constructive, semiotic role of repetition: the function of plot as the active repetition and reworking of story in and by discourse."[212] In the repetitive structure of "reading for the plot," the second story needs to be narrated by a neutral narrator and not by the detective, since the second story corresponds to the process by which the reader comes to know the first story and the final reconstruction of the first story needs to be hidden until the denouement by the detective. Victor Shklovskii thus maintains that this neutral narrator (a Watsonian character) plays a dual role. He is necessary firstly as the narrator who directs "the flow of events into separate channels"[213] and secondly as the "eternal fool" who "misconstrues the meaning of the evidence presented to him by Sherlock Holmes, allowing the latter to correct him" (105). Why are this eternal fool and his false solutions necessary in detective fiction? Setting a parallel between the analytical practice of psychoanalysts and criminal investigation by detectives, Slavoj Žižek argues that it is only through the false solutions that the detective can arrive at the truth.[214] In this regard, for Žižek too, the classical detective novel needs to be written from the perspective of impersonal narration, or "some sympathetic member of the social milieu, preferably the detective's Watsonian

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[211] Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose* 44.

[212] Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984) 25.

[213] Viktor Shklovskii, *Theory of Prose*, trans. Benjamin Sher (Elmwood Park: Dalkey Archive Press, 1990) 104.

[214] Slavoj Žižek, "The Detective and the Analyst," *Literature and Psychology* 36 (1990): 34.

companion," because the detective needs to be the "subject supposed to know"; the subject supposed to give a temporal stability to the social order and psychoanalytically to the subjective position the readers identify with.

"The Two-Sen Copper Coin," however, does not conform to the axiom of the classic detective story as delineated by these literary theorists. The story would well be received as a successful story—a successful copy of foreign detective stories—without the ending. Yet, the narrator does not resign himself to the role of a neutral observer of the event, nor the eternal fool, and in the end outwits the offhand detective Matsumura. When Matsumura thought he possessed the meaning of the cryptogram, the meaning also possessed him. Even the detective who takes control of the scene turns out to be blinded his own desire. In other words, in "The Two-Sen Copper Coin" the frame of reference particular to the genre is constructed in an excessively rigid manner in order to conform to the conventional axiom and to deconstruct it at the same time. This particular structure of the story represents in several ways the socio-cultural situations surrounding the production of the story. "The Two-Sen Copper Coin" is firstly a story about monetary exchange and transaction. The construction of fantasy and desire in a monetary economy is well presented in the opening setting. Newspapers inform the public of the wealth one can obtain by transgressing social norms, and present the actual crime in a manner resembling fictional settings of detective fiction, and finally provoke active participation of the readers by offering a monetary reward of one tenth of the stolen money. The stagnation and boredom prompt young intellectuals (*kōtō yūmin*) to obtain the reward money with the only means they own: their wit and leisure. Matsumura emphasizes that he recovered the stolen money with a coin worth 2.5 million times less reflects his ambivalent position toward the money economy. In this regard, "The Two-Sen Copper Coin" is a story in which the intrusion of an alien object—a worthless small coin, which itself should not be singled out for its particularity as the thing in the frame of reference of currency flow—disturbs the bored life of two intellectuals. Quite naturally in terms of

the axiom of the monetary system, Matsumura's fetishistic attachment to the coin and his ambition of fooling the system with it miscarries, and the narrator's final disclosure turns the recovered money into useless toy money.

In the absence of the detective as a center, or if we use Derrida's term the "transcendental signified" that "would place a reassuring end to the reference from sign to sign,"[215] the story might exemplify "the impossibility of any ultimate analytical metalanguage."[216] From a socio-cultural view point, however, this is not completely irrelevant to the monetary economy in Japan after World War I. A "rupture between sign and thing, undermining representation and ushering in the age of the floating signifier," according to Jean-Joseph Goux, coincides historically with the invention of "inconvertible monetary signs."[217] The gold standard that secured "notes and coins, monetary signs without intrinsic value" to be freely exchanged "for a fixed amount of gold"[218] was terminated in 1917, which resulted in "free floating fiduciary currency that is no longer *convertible*."[219]

In the anxiety of the monetary economy where abstraction allows valueless currency to circulate, Ranpo's story symptomatically hinges on the irregular use of a coin, which is for storing a secret message, the message that promises reward immeasurably beyond its monetary value. The baselessness of a system and the intellectual subject that makes use of the system further represent the magazine culture and the construction of

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[215] Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1978) 280.

[216] Barbara Johnson, *The Critical Difference: Essays in the Contemporary Rhetoric of Reading* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1980) 146.

[217] Jean-Joseph Goux, *The Coiners of Language* (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1994) 3.

[218] Jean-Joseph Goux, *Symbolic Economies: After Marx and Freud* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990) 112.

[219] Goux, *Symbolic Economies* 112.

the detective genre for which Ranpo targeted the story. As Kōno Kensuke points out in terms of the age of the literary prize (*kenshō shōsetsu*), the history of prize-winning novels is the history of plagiarism.[220] As the value of literary texts ultimately is baseless, the screening can never be neutral and thus contributors are conditioned to submit not what they want to write but rather what the judges will want to read, which results in imitating and copying the past prize winning works or, as to the detective fiction genre, plagiarizing the foreign originals. In the relatively small circle of *Shinseinen* where readers were also contributors ambitious to become professional writers, Edogawa Ranpo's stories were produced in the tightly knitted matrix of the conventions of the detective genre as his ambitious efforts at generating "money" from theoretically worthless letters written on paper. As the "coiner" of language, Ranpo thus carefully copied the representative models of foreign detective fiction changing minor details to suit Japanese settings. What is significant about his first story, however, is that the frame of reference of the genre is overturned in the end. The "certain unique or single effect" to the reader who is also his competitor is exercised by betraying the frame of reference expected of the genre. Such a transgression of the convention is not just particular to Ranpo's early works. For example, the debut piece of the other giant of the genre, Yokomizo Seishi "Osoroshiki eipurirufūru" (Dreadful April Fool, 1921) is also a story in which the person who believes he sets up a practical joke turns out to be the dupe of another practical joke. An unexpected criminal or never imagined means of the crime being revealed in the end might make a good detective story, but in those stories, the formula itself is undermined and played with.

Ranpo consistently makes a similar subversive twist in the end in his later works. The abandonment of a clear cut ending is even more pronounced, for example, in

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[220] Kōno 26.

"Ichimai no kippu" (One Ticket, 1923) the story he sent to the editor of *Shinseinen* simultaneously with "The Two-Sen Copper Coin." "One Ticket" is, as Ranpo himself later comments, structurally a more complex detective story than "The Two-Sen Copper Coin."[221] A train accident that killed a woman is reexamined by an enthusiastic police detective and is proven to be a planned murder by her famous scholar husband. Similar to "The Two-Sen Copper Coin," newspapers sensationally report how the shrewd detective reasoned from various evidence (footprints left on the ground, the autopsy of the victim, and his simple legwork) that the woman was first poisoned and abandoned on the rails in order to disguise the murder. Souda, a young and self-confident intellectual who may be seen as the archetype of Ranpo's more famous detective protagonist Akechi Kogorō, comes to a different conclusion from a ticket he found at the site. He posts his alternative view in the newspaper—he is an amateur detective and has no other effective means to intervene in the police investigation—and proves that she in fact committed suicide. By introducing a red herring to which the police detective was drawn, she tried to blame her death on her husband who cheated on her. All the reasoning first presented is turned upside down by an insignificant ticket left on the ground. Yet, a more important theory presented in the end of the story is Souda's suggestion that he fabricated the key evidence—the ticket—in order to save the admirable scholar.

The narrative structure of "One Ticket" is equally framed by multiple layers as "The Two-Sen Copper Coin." Souda Gorō is presented as an armchair detective who examines the case from newspaper reports. Newspaper reports of the case as well as Souda's letter to the newspaper are framed by the conversations of Souda and Matsumura, who is a Watsonian character in this story. Yet, the story's ending undermines the

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[221] Edogawa, *Edogawa Ranpo zen tanpen*, vol.1, 561. He comments that it was the weakness in the novelistic element (*shōsetsuteki yōso*) compared to its puzzle element (*nazotoki*) compelled the editor to choose "The Two-Sen Copper Coin" over "One Ticket."

premise of detective fiction even further, since Souda hints that the only solid evidence he uses in constructing his entire theory (the ticket) is fabricated in order to set free the suspect he personally admires. The final speech of Souda suggests that even solid evidence can be used otherwise by just changing the way they are arranged in the final picture. This might be just a "smart" twist meant for the finest effect in the end, but it is a subversive twist that self-reflectively questions the formula of the classic whodunit. Souda calls the police detective "a story writer (*shōsetsuka*)"[222] rather than a detective and calls himself a more talented story writer: "a daydreamer."[223]

If what readers expected in detective fiction is modern reason and narrative formula that originated in the West, Ranpo's stories perform a peculiar double role of faithfully importing the supposedly "modern" concept or reasoning and simultaneously undermining the entire premise of that modernity. In his framed stories, he first provides reasonable solutions based on the foreign recipe and then invalidates them with sometimes almost absurd twists, thereby presenting an almost anti-detective fiction even before the genre was firmly established in the 1930s. His ambivalent attitude toward the genre can be seen more clearly in his stories categorized as inauthentic detective fiction.

In his "Ningen isu" (Human Chair, 1925) for example, a popular female writer receives a letter from her enthusiastic fan, in which a furniture maker, supposedly the writer of the letter, confesses his perverted desire to sneak into the cavity inside a large arm chair. The letter scares her in the course of her reading because the chair he refers to in the letter seems to be exactly the one she sits in right now. Yet, his subsequent letter reveals that the initial letter is just a manuscript sent to ask her criticism. In "Akai heya" (The Red Chamber, 1925), the confession of the ninety nine murders of probability and

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[222] Edogawa, *Edogawa Ranpo zen tanpen*, vol.1, 427.

[223] Edogawa, *Edogawa Ranpo zen tanpen*, vol.1, 440.

the confessor's subsequent killing of himself as his own one hundredth victim turn out to be a setup for the bored audience of a members-only club in the gloomy red chamber. Not only a logical resolution in the end but also the grotesque imaginations are rejected and mocked as daydreams that temporarily make bored everyday life bearable.

As Ranpo was an admirer of Edgar Allan Poe, the final blow in the end of the story might be the indication of his truthfulness to Poe by aiming for a "certain unique or single effect"[224] at the reader. However, it should also be noted that the final twist in Ranpo tends to be a transgression of the boundaries established as "reality" in the story. In "The Two-Sen Copper Coin," the narrator presents the contrast between the "detective fiction" like the theft by the gentleman thief and the grim reality of their strained life, and in the end, when Matsumura takes the role of detective, the narrator mocks Matsumura's romantic investigation because their life is not as romantic as Matsumura thinks. The theft in a manner of detective fiction reported in the newspaper is thus undermined and counterpoised by Matsumura's "realistic" theft, and then both of the thefts are further undermined by the frame of references that make even Matsumura's theft "fictional." All those characteristics are best represented in his most famous novella "Injū" (The Beast in the Shadows) in 1928. As a "coiner" of language in Japan's modernization process, here Ranpo's modernist expedition on truth and fiction exhibits the topology of the genre in its prewar years.

"The Beast in the Shadows" and Ranpo's Inauthentic Detective Fiction

The literary critic Ozaki Hotsuki divides Ranpo's works into his early stories of intellectual reasoning which might be well categorized as "authentic" detective fiction,

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[224] Edgar Allan Poe, "Twice-Told Tales: A Review by Edgar Allan Poe," *Graham's Magazine* May 1842: 298.

and his later psychological horror stories based on fantasy and the bizarre. He then argues that "The Beast in the Shadows" and "Zakuro" (Pomegranate, 1934) are rare exceptions in which the two elements harmoniously coexist.[225] After "Yaneura no sanposha" (Walker in the Attic, 1925), Ranpo's career was leaning toward what critics at the time criticized as "inauthentic" detective fiction and popular serials of grotesque tastes starting with *Issun bōshi* (Tom Thumb, 1926). Yet, in "The Beast in the Shadows," he aims to write an "authentic" puzzle story the readers of *Shinseinen* longed for while maintaining "inauthentic" grotesque tastes for which he was already known to the public. The result is a curious amalgam that cannot simply be categorized as either authentic detective fiction or inauthentic detective fiction.

"The Beast in the Shadows" is a novella often considered to be the most well crafted piece Ranpo wrote in his entire career. It was originally prepared for the prestigious general magazine *Kaizō* but because of its exceeding the standard length for publication, it was brought to the chief editor of *Shinseinen* at the time (Yokomizo Seishi) and was published in three installments in 1928.[226] This was also Ranpo's long promised comeback to his home magazine *Shinseinen* after his absence of fourteen months.[227] The novella was enthusiastically promoted by Yokomizo, which resulted in reprinting the first installment three times—unusual not only for *Shinseinen* but also for detective fiction magazines at that time.[228]

"The Beast in the Shadows" is a carefully framed detective story *about* a detective story. The narrator, who is a marginally famous detective fiction writer, becomes

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[225] Ozaki Hotsuki, "Ranpo bungaku no zentaizō," *Edogawa Ranpo, Hyōron to kenkyū* 122.

[226] Edogawa, "'Injū' kaiko," *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.1, 338-58.

[227] Nakajima, *Nihon suiri shōsetsushi*, vol.2, 227.

[228] Nakajima, *Nihon suiri shōsetsushi*, vol.2, 228.

acquainted with Oyamada Shizuko, the wife of wealthy businessman Oyamada Rokurō. Shizuko, who claims to be a fan of his writings, consults the narrator about the blackmails she recently received from her former lover Hirata Ichirō, publicly known by his penname Ōe Shundei, a notorious writer of the grotesque horror in the same trade as the narrator. The letter uncannily details her everyday activities even in her most secluded room in her mansion, and he declares he will scare her to death in order to avenge her for abandoning him in the past. Shundei's letter gradually escalates to foretell his killing of both Mr. Oyamada and Shizuko, and, against their optimistic prospect about Shundei practicing his plan, Mr. Oyamada is found drowned in the Sumida River: he is found stripped naked and stabbed several times in the back. The police and the narrator as an amateur detective, search for the killer, but they fail to discover Shundei's whereabouts even after one month. Following Mr. Oyamada's death, however, Shizuko stops receiving harassing letters from Shundei.

After her husband's death, the narrator becomes even closer to Shizuko, but his discovery of key evidence leads the narrator to a surprising conclusion. The narrator discovers in Mr. Oyamada's study the anthology of Shundei's short stories and the issue of *Shinseinen* in which his handwritten manuscript is printed. Those pieces of evidence and a button he found in the attic—one he surmised came off Mr. Oyamada's gloves—leads him to one logical conclusion that all the blackmail letter were in fact written by Mr. Oyamada himself. Mr. Oyamada was obsessed with a sadistic desire toward women, and he came up with the idea of enjoying his wife's agony making good use of her secret—her premarital affair with Hirata Ichiro/ Ōe Shundei. Mr. Oyamada wrote blackmail letters, faking Shundei's handwriting and enjoyed peeping at his scared wife from a secret hiding place above the ceiling—one modeled after Shundei's story "Yaneura no yūgi [A Play in the Attic]," and he left the button in question on one such occasion. According to the hypothesis, he was not murdered but accidentally dropped from the roof while he was peeping at his wife through the window. He was first stabbed in his back

by the sharp glass embedded on the wall, and then fell into the river. His body drifted to the bridge, where his clothes and valuables were stripped and stolen by vagrants.

After solving the mysterious death of Shizuko's husband—and thus removing her burden of further being harassed by Shundei, the narrator becomes intimate with Shizuko having an affair in a secret house he rents for their rendezvous. Yet, his new discovery that the button in question cannot have come off in the attic as the narrator deduced—it was rather left by someone intentionally to guide the narrator to a prepared scenario—makes him reconstruct the entire picture of the murder case. The narrator's suspicion about his own solution comes from the fact that the case itself seemed "just like a collection of Ōe Shundei's masterpieces" and he felt that he "had followed Ōe Shundei's instructions in piecing together deductions exactly as he wished."[229] His first conclusion was tailored by Ōe Shundei and all the evidence was laid out in order for the narrator to arrive at the conclusion as a fooled detective. Moreover, there is no such person as Hirata/Ōe. Ōe Shundei is a nom de plume of Shizuko herself, and the narrator was just used to cover up the final truth, i.e. the killing of her own husband.

When her husband went abroad for two years, Shizuko was allowed for the first time to be free from her husband and the entire burden of married life. She then started a double life of a lady of leisure who was frequently away from home taking various "culture" lessons and of Hirata Ichirō, who wrote despicable detective fiction in the nom de plume Ōe Shundei. Shizuko rented a house near her mansion and disguised herself as Hirata's wife and managed all the negotiations with his editor and the neighbors. This explains two known mysteries about Hirata/Ōe: his frequent changes of address with a ten minute drive from Mr. Oyamada's mansion—Shizuko could not live a double life if her secret hideout was located further than the perimeter—and his sudden disappearance

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[229] Edogawa Rampo, *The Black Lizard and Beast in the Shadows* (Fukuoka: Kurodahan Press, 2006) 258.

almost at the same time Mr. Oyamada returned from foreign countries. The narrator charges that Shizuko killed her husband because she began to feel dissatisfied with her aging husband and longed for the exciting and perverted life she experienced during his absence. She used the narrator as a puppet of her real-life crime in order to avenge the criticisms she had received as Ōe Shundei. Shizuko does not refute the accusation of the narrator and commits suicide the subsequent day.

In "The Beast in the Shadows," the meticulously framed narrative is further complicated by its reference to the actual author Edogawa Ranpo himself. For the readers of *Shinseinen*, Ōe Shundei is the exact image of Ranpo known to the public through various media at that time.[230] All the stories referred to as Shundei's stories in "The Beast in the Shadows" are modeled after Ranpo's own detective stories. In the opening of the story, the narrator classifies detective fiction writers into two types. One is the criminal type, to which Ōe Shundei and Ranpo himself belong, "whose only interest is in the crime and who cannot be satisfied when writing a detective story of the deductive kind unless depicting the cruel psychology of the criminal." The other is the detective type who is "an author of very sound character whose only interest is in the intellectual process of detection and who is indifferent to the criminal's psychology."[231] As I discussed in the previous chapter, this classification corresponds to the dichotomy of inauthentic and authentic detective fiction commonly discussed among contemporary critics. By projecting the topography of the genre at that time, Ranpo, who was conceived and thus criticized as the writer of the inauthentic trend, criticizes his double Ōe Shundei in the voice of the writer who is conceived to be Shundei's counterpart in the detective fiction writer's circle in the story. Shundei's stories of the grotesque are

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[230] Edogawa, *The Black Lizard and Beast in the Shadows* 233.

[231] Edogawa, *The Black Lizard and Beast in the Shadows* 177.

disparaged as immoral and sick, and even his nonexistence is proclaimed by the narrator—an intense self mockery about Ranpo's own public image. Moreover, such referentiality further takes readers astray in inferring the second conclusion that Shundei, the writer does not exist. In this regard, the main puzzle of "The Beast in the Shadows" is intensified by presupposing the community of readers who share the knowledge of the genre.

Transgression of the borders of fiction and reality in "The Beast in the Shadows" is accompanied by Ranpo's metafictional play with the very concept of detective fiction. The ever retreating horizon of the truth is even more complicated by its controversial ending. "The Beast in the Shadows" does not end with Shizuko's tragic but reasonable—as detective fiction—suicide. In the last chapter, the narrator confesses to the reader his suspicion that both conclusions could be wrong. Since Shizuko has never admitted her crime, Hirata Ichirō/Ōe Shundei might in fact exist and Shizuko could have been murdered by him exactly as he swore in his letters. The story thus ends with the regret of the narrator that, whether Shizuko was the true mastermind or not, she nevertheless loved him affectionately and possibly killed her husband for that single reason. She may well have driven to suicide for she was unable to bear the accusation of the person she loved, or have been killed by the true suspect Hirata Ichiro because of the lack of the proper protection he could have offered only if he had not been deluded by the illusory suspicion that Hirata was the disguise of Shizuko. In either case, the true murderer of Shizuko, the narrator surmises, might indirectly be himself.

Although the last section adds a third ending for the already complex structure of "The Beast in the Shadows," it has been criticized by many contemporary critics as unnecessary as is the case of his earlier stories. Kōga Saburō promptly wrote a short review of the story rejecting the ending as useless.[232] Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke points

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[232] Edogawa, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.1, 356-7.

out that the ending is troublesome or even "unpleasant" for the readers.[233] According to Hirabayashi, "The Beast in the Shadows" does not allow the reader to participate in the process of solving the mystery. Instead, a series of "temporal" solutions are given one after another before they can construct their own, and the final ending provided to the readers is almost "no resolution." Hirabayashi attributes it to Ranpo's stubbornness and prudence that drive him to an unnecessary task of subduing the imagination of readers. Ranpo is absorbed too much into the elaborate designs of his own story. For Hirabayashi, it is as if Ranpo is fighting windmills despite his status as the representative writer of Japanese detective fiction. Inoue Yoshio also criticizes the story for the unreasonable ending.[234] Inoue first express his uneasiness as to Ranpo's elaborate descriptions and tenacious writing style, which he thinks is not appropriate for detective fiction. While Inoue appreciates the well constructed structure of the novella, he maintains that the last chapter is useless and functions negatively by undermining the logic established in the previous resolution.

Edogawa Ranpo himself was well aware of the controversial ending, and he even deleted the last section in one of the later reprints.[235] "The Beast in the Shadow" might have been a typical detective story if Ranpo had employed the already established narrative device of the Holmes-Watson pair, and in fact he was capable of writing detective stories in such a format. In his earlier works such as "D zaka no satsujin jiken" (Murder at the D-slope, 1925) and "Yaneura no sanposha," both of which are mentioned in "The Beast in the Shadows" as Shundei's masterpieces, he employs such a recipe featuring the genius detective Akechi Kogorō. Most of Ranpo's popular crime fiction—

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[233] Nakajima, ed., *Edogawa Ranpo, Hyōron to kenkyū* 30.

[234] Inoue Yoshio, "'Injū' ginmi," *Edogawa Ranpo, Hyōron to kenkyū* 42-47.

[235] Edogawa, *Edogawa Ranpo zen tanpen*, vol.2, 560.

they were customarily categorized as *tantei shōsetsu* (detective fiction) although Ranpo himself was not pleased with this because of their poor quality—features the same detective solving sensational murder cases. Before he wrote "The Beast in the Shadows," he had already serialized a formula detective fiction *Issun bōshi* in the major newspaper *Asahi*, and wrote a series of stories based on the same setting and stock characters. In the prewar period, Ranpo was probably most known for the mass produced serials that employ and openly recycle the same motifs and puzzles of his earlier works, inspired by the formula of the classic detective fiction originated by Sherlock Holmes and Arsène Lupin[236]. However, "The Beast in the Shadows" was distinctively different from those formula novels because it targeted the dedicated readers of detective fiction—picky consumers who were keen to conventions of the genre.

From the standpoint of narrative, the first person narrative resembles confessional narrators of the I-novel: one of the most acclaimed forms of serious literature at that time. In "The Two-Sen Copper Coin," the absence of a detective as a central figure in securing meaning resulted in a deviation from the formula of the genre. In "The Beast in the Shadows," the tendency even goes further, since the detective in the story is not a character objectified by a narrator but the confessing narrator himself. The narrator recounts his encounter with a beautiful widow and his investigation as an amateur detective of the case surrounding this mysterious woman, which is also his journey into bizarre sexual conduct and his uncontrollable fascination and involvement with her. The narrator honestly describes his despicable acts quite realistically in the first person and confesses his regret about what he could have done otherwise.

In terms of his writing style, Ranpo acknowledged that he was influenced greatly by the writings of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Satō Haruo, and Uno Kōji. Many contemporary

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[236] Akechi Kogorō as Holmes and Kaijin Nijūmensō as Lupin.

critics in fact pointed to the resemblance of Ranpo's first person narration to Uno Kōji's I-novels. Knowing the reception of his writing style, Ranpo argues that, although it might sound strange in paring a serious writer of literature with detective fiction, Uno's colloquial writing style known for verbosity (*jōchō*), contributes to give "reality" to detective fiction. According to Ranpo, detective fiction is destined to be "unrealistic" because it is firstly a foreign genre in terms of form and secondly it is the literature of themes not likely to take place in reality. Ranpo writes, "In general detective fiction tends to be childish and infantile, and thus we try to make it not look infantile through various devices."[237] Uno's subjective writing style may look out of place for those who expect objective descriptions in detective fiction,[238] but Ranpo argues, his writing style "is not necessarily unfit for detective fiction and it can even suit a certain type of detective fiction."[239]

If Uno's mode of writing belongs to the Japanese "I-novel," which is supposed to "recount faithfully the details of his or her personal life in a thin guise of fiction,"[240] Ranpo's reliance on such convention would prove to the reader that the author himself is a disturbed subject who is only fascinated by crime and murder, which was in fact what he was well known for to the public at the time. This is one of the reasons that he often rejects his writings being categorized in the I-novel convention despite his recognition of its influence.[241] Ranpo instead employs only the style of the confessional mode of the I-

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[237] Edogawa, *Akunin shigan* 195.

[238] Ranpo's essay was written against Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke's criticism of Uno-style writings of Ranpo and Yokomizo Seishi. See Hirabayashi, "Tantei shōsetsudan no shokeikō" 242.

[239] Edogawa, *Akunin shigan* 195.

[240] Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self* 1.

[241] Yamamura Masao, *Suiri bundan sengoshi* (Tokyo: Futabasha, 1973) 165. We have to take Ranpo's words carefully here, since this interview was conducted in 1953 and thus Ranpo was particularly guilty for his prewar commitment to "unhealthy" detective fiction made famous for his use of the first person narration. Yet, his relationships with the mode of writing particular

novel. By his author image (Ōe Shundei) being narrated through the confessional narrator and further proving it is a woman, Ranpo further plays with the convention of serious I-novels. In this regard, Ranpo's inclination to the I-novel tradition should be taken not just as an influence of a particularly Japanese mode of writing, which prevented him from completely "modernizing" his detective stories, but rather as evidence of his careful negotiations in implementing the mode of narrative particular to detective fiction.

If we further examine literary and cultural conditions at the time, the narrative mode Ranpo wedded to would rather indicate a "modernist" aspect derived from the everydayness of Tokyo in the 1920s. First of all, what is the confessional mode of writing in Japanese literary convention and its relationship to the detective genre? In discussing autobiographical narrative in the late nineteenth century, Komori Yōichi suggests the relationship between detective fiction and autobiographical narrative which was popular at the time especially among writers influenced by foreign novels. Komori traces the emergence of the new mode of autobiographical fiction, in which the narrated self (an objectified character in his/her own confession) and the narrating self (narrator) are clearly differentiated, and further argues that the popularity of the style is not irrelevant to the mode of writing particular to detective fiction in which a genius detective and an ordinary companion/narrator are contraposed to constitute the foundational element of the genre.[242] This autobiographical narrative eventually developed into a more restrained confession of the "true self" in the I-novel, but the split in subject and object already foretells the emergence of the modern subject in the late nineteenth century, which should not be overlooked in the early autobiographical narrative. In this regard, "The Beast in the Shadows" is, despite its deviation from the conventional mode

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to the I-novel convention is still relevant to explain his peculiar split in his prewar writings. As for his postwar conversion, see the next chapter.

[242] Komori Yōichi, *Kōzo toshite no katari* (Tokyo: Shin'yōsha, 1988) 328.

of detective fiction and the lack of objectified "description" of the world, derived from the body of experience called "modernity": the paradoxical unity which pours us all into "a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish."[243]

Aside from Ranpo's active interventions in the discursive space of the genre and his reluctance to make it a completely "modern" (authentic) detective story, "The Beast in the Shadows" well reflects everyday life of already modernized Tokyo in the 1920s. In this regard, "The Beast in the Shadow" shares some of the characteristics of what Maeda Ai called the urban novel (*toshi shōsetsu*). Maeda Ai writes,[244]

> It is no wonder that the very best urban novels, like *Crime and Punishment*, are drawn toward the structure of detective fiction. If we can draw a border between the two, [in urban novels] when the protagonist steps forward to decode the city, it leads not to his pursuit of the traces of a crime but to the confirmation of his own identity in the memory hidden behind the surface of the city.

In quest of his own identity, the narrator of detective fiction becomes an aimless stroller of the city, which Walter Benjamin theorizes as a flâneur. Benjamin writes, "when everyone is something of a conspirator, everybody will be in the position of having to play detective" and strolling (flânerie) "gives the individual the best prospects of doing so."[245] In the precursor of the Dupin Trilogy, "The Man of the Crowd," which Benjamin argues quintessentially represents the urban experience of the flâneur, the narrator investigates his double, the mysterious old man in the crowd of nineteenth century London. The relationship between the narrator and the old man is reflected by that of the narrator and Ōe Shundei in "The Beast in the Shadows." As much as the former is a

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[243] Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982) 15.

[244] Maeda Ai, *Toshi kūkan no naka no bungaku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbō, 1992) 572.

[245] Walter Benjamin, "The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire," *The Writer of Modern Life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2006) 72.

story of a double in the labyrinth of the busy urban space, the latter is a story of a confused subject looking for his double in chaotic urban sceneries. In order to search the traces of Ōe Shundei, the narrator in "The Beast in the Shadows" wanders around downtown Tokyo. As Matsuyama Iwao remarks, the addresses he obtains from the police were all located on the outskirt of one of the busiest sections of Tokyo at that time: Asakusa.[246] In the year previous to when Ranpo wrote "The Beast in the Shadows," the slum quarters that were crowded with *nagaya* [a row house divided into several units] were transformed into a residential area full of modern apartments made of reinforced concrete.[247] Ranpo himself in fact wrote about the secluded life of such a compartmentalized space in "Walker in the Attic." Shundei/Shizuko keeps moving from one place to another in order to conceal her double identity. Yet, her disguise is only possible in those new residential areas where residents do not have interaction with their neighbors. The modern compartmentalized space creates standardized and disinterested individuals and in such anonymity particular to modern life, anyone can be a suspect and a detective at the same time. The narrator thus wanders into the nameless crowd looking for his double—the writer with the style contrary to his own—only to find the real mystery—whether Ōe Shundei did exist or was just Shizuko's disguise—cannot be known to him, much like Poe's narrator arrives at the same conclusion after his long and tiresome chase of "the man of the crowd." The truth of the woman, as well as the truth of urban life, is not known to the flâneur.

In the rapidly transforming market of Japanese detective fiction, Edogawa Ranpo as a consumer also confronted the dazzling speed of modern life. He was an active consumer of the detective fiction genre, and his essays on foreign detective fiction

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[246] Matsuyama 189.

[247] Matsuyama 189.

suggest his ample knowledge of the constellation of the genre. As a recent study on Ranpo exemplifies, he was a serious collector of cultural artifacts.[248] He collected and archived small fragments of commodities in his famous storehouse which he later called the library of illusion (*gen'ei no kura*). Not only was he a collector of foreign detective fiction, but detective fiction as a genre was the cultural commodity he discovered in his fascination with the speed of modern society in which the use value of commodities was consumed at a dazzling speed. Yet, once he was assigned the role of the godfather of Japanese detective fiction, he had to make a difficult negotiation for constituting "Japanese" detective fiction in the market swarmed with translated foreign detective fiction.

In his essay on Japanese detective fiction, Ranpo thus persistently insists on turning detective fiction into a genre worthy of intellectual readers. He refers to mystery stories of serious writers of literature, especially his favorite writers Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Satō Haruo, and argues that "detective fiction is not equal to popular novels (*tsūzoku shōsetsu*)" and, as Tanizaki's "Tojō" (En route, 1920) exemplifies," it can be "art and pure detective fiction at the same time."[249] His articulation of Japanese detective fiction as artistically superior to the Western detective fiction compelled him not to call his serials "detective fiction"—he instead called them "popular fiction," since it would invalidate his negotiation in articulating "Japanese" detective fiction. The impossible task of elevating the status of detective fiction thus conditioned him to be a writer of prolific serials consuming ideas and characters he developed in his early career for which he was identified as a writer of authentic detective fiction.

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[248] Ranpo was fanatic about arranging his collections. His collections are catalogued in *Gen'ei no kura: Edogawa Ranpo tantei shōsetsu zōsyo mokuroku*, ed. Shinpo Hirohisa & Yamamae Yuzuru (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 2002).

[249] Edogawa, "Nihonjin no hokori uru tantei shōsetsu," *Akunin shigan* 200.

His debt to the writers of Romanticism such as Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Satō Haruo also has to be contextualized in his negotiations within the genre. "The Beast in the Shadows" might be, as Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke criticizes, more about the internal horror of the tormented narrator rather than logical solutions of puzzles that detective fiction is originally meant for. Yet, it should also be noted that Ranpo was well aware of the topography of foreign detective fiction. In the essay in which he discusses the boundaries of detective fiction, Ranpo argues that detective fiction should be strictly defined as the fiction in which the main attraction is "the process by which the mystery is logically solved."[250] Yet, he continues that although the definition of detective fiction needs to be defined narrowly, he argues that the depth of detective fiction is limitless.[251] As a dedicated reader of foreign detective fiction, Ranpo was well aware that puzzles were already over-consumed in the West and thus had to rely on other attractions in order to maintain the vigor of the genre. He thus maintains that the detective fiction of pure reasons—like those written by the narrator in "Best in the Shadows"—eventually consumes all the possible combinations of detective elements, and in order to save the genre from an unavoidable dead end, one has to mix the logical element of detective fiction and the psychological element of crime literature.[252] "The Beast in the Shadows" is not just an immature detective fiction in terms of "the foreign standards" but was rather written as his effort at breaking through the stagnation of the genre—not necessarily the detective fiction genre in Japan, but the topography of the genre in general. In terms of the form, it is a crafted "authentic" detective fiction, but in terms of the content, it is constructed more in the way usually associated with "inauthentic" characteristics of

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[250] Edogawa, *Oni no kotoba* 151.

[251] Edogawa, *Oni no kotoba* 156.

[252] Edogawa, *Oni no kotoba* 93.

Japanese detective fiction. In this regard, "The Beast in the Shadows" is the result of multiple articulations Japanese writers had to face in the 1920s and represents the dynamic that culminated in the 1930s with the debates about authenticities of Japanese detective fiction I discussed in the previous chapter.

Failed Negotiation:
Edogawa Ranpo from 1930 to 1945

After "The Beast in the Shadows," Ranpo's negotiation with the detective fiction genre manifested itself in his inability to write "authentic" detective fiction. Ranpo's prewar writings after "The Beast in the Shadows" are thus divided into two categories—so called "inauthentic" detective fiction, which in today's sense is more like stories of the grotesque and horror, and popular fiction (*tsūzoku shōsetsu*) with detective tastes, which he himself did not even call detective fiction.

His "inauthentic" trend culminated in 1929 in one of his most famous prewar pieces "Imomushi" (The Caterpillar) published in *Shinseinen*. The story is about the sadomasochistic relationship between a disabled veteran who literally became a human caterpillar by having his arms and legs amputated and his voice and hearing lost in the war, and his wife who took care of the crippled man first out of her supreme sacrifice but later just to fulfill her perverted carnal desire.[253] The story was soon appreciated by readers and critics outside of the genre as one of the most successful stories of Ranpo. Although Ranpo later comments that he was just interested in depicting "the extreme pain, pleasure, and atrocity"[254] and not necessarily in promoting antiwar ideology when he wrote the story, its portrayal of the misery of a war hero was sensational enough for the publisher to be cautious not to offend the government censor. Consequently, it was first

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[253] Edogawa, *Edogawa Ranpo zen tanpen*, vol.3, 66-67.

[254] Edogawa, *Edogawa Ranpo zen tanpen*, vol.3, 551.

published with many words represented in a series of x's as a self-censorship, and eventually was banned as the governmental regulations were strengthened with the Peace Preservation Law in 1941.[255]

In the 30s, not only "serious" short stories for general magazines, but also his serials, such as *Kumo-otoko* (Spider Man, 1929) *Majutsushi* (Magician, 1930) and *Ougon kamen* (Golden Mask, 1930), also attracted the eyes of the military government that considered those "unmoral" writings disturbing the feelings of the people in wartime, and compelled Ranpo to write even more "diluted" detective fiction for children, which resulted in a series of juvenile literature starting from *Kaijin Nijūmensō* (Mystery Man with Twenty Faces) in 1936. Ironically enough, it was not Ranpo's serious detective fiction but those juvenile novels—despite their low quality—that most faithfully realized the format critics at that time associated with "authentic" detective fiction. Here, the genius detective Akechi Kogorō, who first appeared in his "serious" short story in 1925,[256] is transformed from a bored intellectual in quintessentially Japanese attire to a sophisticated modern gentleman in white suits.[257] The locations of his activities are also moved from downtown Tokyo—Ranpo's favorite site in his early short stories—to the desolate western suburbs of Tokyo—uptown such as Azabu, Kōjimachi and Shibuya.[258] In a setting more reminiscent of the classic foreign detective fiction, the detective Akechi

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[255] Although the military government asked him to partially rewrite many of his works or partially deleted them, "Imomushi" was the only piece that was officially suppressed during the war. It was banned in 1939 for its antiwar theme together with part of *Ryōki no hate* (The Bizarre's End, 1930) and *Kumo-otoko*. Regardless of governmental censorship, publishers voluntarily stopped reprinting almost all of his writings by 1941, although, according to Ranpo, they sold well. See Edogawa, *Edogawa Ranpo zen tanpen*, vol.3, 551 and *Waga yume to shinjitsu*, 206.

[256] Edogawa, "D zaka no satsujin jiken," *Edogawa Ranpo zen tanpen*, vol.1, 119-55.

[257] Gonda, *Nihon tantei sakkaron* 52-55.

[258] Matsuyama 250-58.

and his boy assistant Kobayashi, who leads the boys' detective club (*shōnen tanteidan*), chase the mystery man with twenty faces (*kaijin nijūmensō*). They are faithful adaptations of foreign classics such as Doyle's Sherlock Holms series and Maurice Leblanc's Arsène Lupin series, and, although they have more emphasis on the adventure of the boys' detective club rather than Akechi's logical investigations much like Doyle's longer works, those novels relatively conform to the already established formula of foreign detective fiction. Here, the ambivalent relationships in the double articulations of foreign/domestic and high art/popular, which characterizes Ranpo's early works, are alleviated and the characters seem to play freely in the "fictional"—therefore somehow "foreign" despite its references to domestic locations—settings of juvenile fantasy.

Considering Ranpo's ambivalent position toward the genre, it is thus not accidental that Ranpo—much like his predecessor Kuroiwa Ruikō—started adapting foreign detective fiction around this period. As I discuss in Chapter One, *Shinseinen* and its active promotion of the genre made adaptation almost obsolete. Detective fiction has to be either translated "authentically"[259] from foreign texts or written "creatively" by domestic writers. After foreign and domestic were clearly demarcated, the act of adaptation, especially when the source is not specified, produces an "inauthentic" hybrid that is doomed to be despised in relation to "authentic" translation and "original" creation.

In the 1930s when the detective fiction market was already mature and adaptations chased away from the market, Ranpo suddenly reversed course by translating foreign classics into detective fiction of his own style. *Ryokui no oni* (Devil in Green, 1936) is based on *The Red Redmaynes* (1922) by Eden Phillpotts (1862-1960) and *Yūki no tō* (The Tower of the Devil, 1939) on *Le Pendu de Saint-Phollien* (1937) by Georges Simenon (1903-89). These are all rough renderings of the originals in Japanese settings

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[259] I must point out that in the authentic detective fiction debates the issue of authenticity (accuracy) in translation was in their scope of discussion.

with the touch of Ranpo's usual grotesque tastes. In other words, in these works, "foreign" form is supplemented with "Japanese" content creating hybrid detective fiction that is particular to Edogawa Ranpo.

Moreover, his transgression of the boundaries of domestic and foreign is further complicated by his reference to his predecessor Kuroiwa Ruikō. Interestingly enough, many of Ranpo's adaptations, especially successful ones, are in fact adapted by way of Ruikō's adaptation of the foreign original. *Hakuhatsuki* (White Devil, 1931) is based on Ruikō's novel of the same title *Hakuhatsuki* (1893) adapted from *Vendetta: Or the Story of One Forgotten* (1869) by Marie Corelli (1855-1924). *Yureitō* (Ghost Tower, 1937) is Ranpo's adaptation of Ruikō's *Yureitō* (1899-1900) adapted from "A Woman in Grey" (1898) by C. N. Williamson (1869-1933). It is undeniable that Ranpo desperately needed new ideas to meet the ever growing demand for his writings. He humbly comments that his serials are written without a coherent plot line in mind and the highest priority was given to make each installment exciting rather than making the entire story consistent.[260] Adaptations solved the issue of inconsistency unavoidable in serials on an installment basis, and more importantly he could also be free from the double bind of negotiating domestic and foreign. In terms of form, they are less "inauthentic" compared to his other detective novels simply because of his debt to the foreign original. By abandoning the burden of writing "creative" detective fiction, Ranpo could write "authentic" detective fiction free of the constraints of the discourses surrounding detective fiction I discussed in the previous chapter. In this regard, his re-adaptation is structurally not the same as Ruikō's adaptation of foreign materials. While it was inevitable in Ruikō's time, Ranpo's adaptation is rather legitimized by its historical reference to Ruikō's legacy in the tradition of Japanese detective fiction. By resorting to an already established tradition

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[260] Nakajima, ed., *Edogawa Ranpo, hyōron to kenkyū* 169.

of foreign adaptation, Ranpo safely locates himself outside of the dynamics of cultural articulations with the foreign import. His dependence on foreign materials or the very hybridity of the genre are safely repressed by adapting things foreign by way of Ruikō's adaptations. At the same time, Ruikō's adaptations are reevaluated in terms of the "content" and narrative voice he inherited from the tradition of crime narrative in Japan.

Despite his disdain for low quality detective fiction, Ranpo's adaptations, newspaper serials and juvenile fictions were successful enough to constitute an industry around Ranpo. The Gang of the Boy Detectives Series (*Shōnen tanteidan*) was particularly popular among them: several times they were turned into a radio drama, TV, and of course into a film. The popularity of the series would be best exemplified by the fact that the most famous incident of postwar corporate terrorism—the Glico-Morinaga affair (the *Guriko-Morinaga jiken*)—was conducted by a gang that called themselves "the Man with the 21 Faces" a direct allusion to the famous villain in the series.[261] It is certainly true that Ranpo's two trends—"inauthentic" short stories and relatively "authentic" popular detective novels—reflect different audiences by which Ranpo's works were appreciated and consumed. Sophisticated short stories for learned readers required a complicated twist in coherent narratives, while serials on an installment basis for the masses were characterized by "stock" characters—the detective, the assistant, and the villain—and flexible/incoherent narratives. As Ranpo achieved greater success in popular literature by introducing the detective fiction genre for the greater number of people, however, he began having more difficulty in producing "authentic Japanese" detective fiction. It would be too hasty, however, to conclude that he was coerced by the changing political climate of the time, since primarily the government banned only Ranpo's sensational—inauthentic—crime literature and not necessarily authentic

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[261] See Marilyn Ivy, "Tracking the Mystery Man with the 21 Faces," *Critical Inquiry* 23 (1996): 11-36.

detective fiction of foreign origin, or that the domestic market—Japanese "civilization" if we follow many postwar critics[262]—was not mature enough to appreciate the genre born out of the scientific rationalism of modernity. It is rather through the concept of the "authentic" that the domestic development of crime fiction, literary tradition of Romantic literature, popular fiction for the masses (*taishū bungaku*), and foreign crime literature in adaptation/translation are articulated and negotiated, resulting in a particular constellation of culture that embraces the superiority of inauthentic detective fiction over authentic detective fiction. Ranpo mocks his popular serials for their cheap adaptation of the styles of detective fiction[263] while he highly regards "inauthentic" Japanese detective fiction in terms of *content* and "authentic" foreign classics in terms of *form*, i.e. puzzles. Yet, it never occurred to him that what he—or many contemporary writers at the time—called "authentic" detective fiction—classic *whodunit*—could be just a short lived subgenre of the much larger category of crime literature even in England and in the United States. Heterogeneity of the genre itself is elevated to the pure "authentic" genre, articulating two separate "cultures" and "genres" at the same time. If comparison and imagination in the dynamic processes of modernity constitute the nation state as form and its culture as content, much like Benedict Anderson discusses in *Imagined Communities*,[264] Ranpo's prewar career and writings would well represent the topographies of the genre in the prewar cultural constellations of Japan.

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[262] See for example, Gonda, *Nihon tantei sakkaron* 9-10.

[263] Edogawa, "Gurūsamu to senjuaritī," *Oni no kotoba* 408-9.

[264] Jonathan Culler and Pheng Cheah, *Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson* (New York: Routledge, 2003) 5.

Conclusion

Edogawa Ranpo's prewar trajectory in the process of importing the detective fiction genre parallels the formation of Japan's cultural identity in the prewar years. Ranpo's inauthentic detective fiction tells us not just the resistance of Japanese identity under the foreign influence but the dynamics in which identity as such was constituted in the split subjectivity of foreign and domestic. Ranpo's effort of constituting Japanese detective fiction ended up with his anxiety not only in writing detective fiction but also in the formation of the detective fiction genre in Japan. In this regard, it is quite natural that Ranpo could constitute Japanese detective fiction only by rejecting it for not being called "authentic" detective fiction. Ranpo's stories of grotesque and horror constitute collages of the urban landscape that is painted by the thrill and speed of modern life. The heterogeneous space of prewar Japan—much more multi-lingual and multi-ethnic because of the governmental policy of colonialism—is well pictured in Ranpo's early stories. Yet, it was Ranpo's popular fiction—serials he did not want to call detective fiction—that helped in constituting detective fiction as such in Japan. In the process of manifesting itself, prewar detective fiction negated its own identity. It is an irony that the writer who started his career by separating himself from the convention of Japanese adaptation ended up returning to the tradition, but in its rearticulated "tradition" exists the origin of Japanese detective fiction Edogawa Ranpo was doomed to represent.

CHAPTER IV
THE POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION OF JAPANESE IDENTITY IN POPULAR CULTURE: AUTHENTIC VS. INAUTHENTIC DEBATES REVISITED

Introduction: New Start amid the Devastation

Japan's defeat in World War II brought about fundamental changes in Japanese society. The emperor proclaimed himself a human being, Japan as a nation state permanently gave up armed forces, and a new constitution was issued to implement democracy. In the devastation of the total defeat, Japan was being shaped into a "model" democratic country. All of these changes were, of course, meticulously orchestrated under the surveillance of the occupation army.

Shinseinen, which continued to be published even under the most severe military control at the end of World War II, was expected by many to embrace the democratic atmosphere and to become the leading force in reviving the detective fiction genre. During the war, detective fiction was among literary genres considered unfavorable by the military government, and thus many detective fiction writers had to write in genres approved by the government such as historical novels, adventure novels or at best openly patriotic spy novels. In order to dodge the criticisms of the government that crime fiction disturbed the social order, the writers of *Shinseinen* thus sought their materials in fantasies of a world least connected to the reality of everyday life, phantasmagoric historical settings, or scientific adventures in remote locations.

Those who stayed in the genre were, thus, very few. Under severe governmental restrictions of the genre and financial difficulties imposed on the genre writers, many gave up writing detective fiction entirely. Yokomizo Seishi, who was known for his "inauthentic" decadent detective fiction such as "Onibi" (Jack-o-lantern, 1935) and "Kura no naka" (In the Storehouse, 1935), wrote a series of detective fiction set in the Edo

period erasing traces of unsound themes and "Westernness" from his writings.[265] Unno Jūza and Ran Ikujirō became prolific writers of scientific adventure novels for children, many of which are openly militaristic.[266] Edogawa Ranpo, whose stories were particularly considered unsuitable for social order during wartime, had no choice but to write a science spy thriller *Idai naru yume* (Great Dreams, 1943-4) and science fantasy stories for children like *Chie no Ichitaro* (Quick-witted Ichitaro, 1942-3) under the pen name Komatsu Ryūnosuke.[267] When the war ended in Japan's defeat, most writers thus embraced the defeat positively. Ranpo writes in his memoir that "since America the country of detective fiction occupied Japan, I believed that detective fiction would surely flourish although popular fiction particular to Japan would not."[268] This belief was shared by many detective fiction writers and editors of *Shinseinen*. The postwar reconstruction of Japanese society seemed to hold the promise of a bright future for the detective fiction genre.

After the war, instead of detective fiction, historical novels were looked down upon by the new agency of power, the GHQ. Even Yoshikawa Eiji, whose highly acclaimed *Miyamoto Musashi* (Musashi, 1935-9) was considered to be spiritual support for the nation during the war, stopped his literary activity, since Japan's defeat shook his values toward the history of his beloved nation.[269] One of the most established magazines of historical novels, *Kōdan kurabu* was voluntarily discontinued in 1946 in

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[265] The Ningyō Sashichi series (Dandy Sashichi Detective Story, 1938-60).

[266] Edogawa Ranpo, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.2 (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2006) 180-81.

[267] His pen name in particular caught censors' eyes because of its apparent reference to the foreign writer of the enemy country Edgar Allan Poe. Other pen names and stage names of foreign origin were also censored during wartime. See Edogawa, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.2, 77.

[268] Edogawa, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.2, 169.

[269] Ōmura Hikojiro, *Jidai shōsetsu seisuishi* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2005) 348.

order to express the publisher's regret for, directly or indirectly, supporting the war.[270] Feudalistic themes, especially of loyalty and revenge, were censored by GHQ as severely as by the military government during the war. GHQ's control of the publishing industry continued until 1952,[271] and many prewar writers—and those who wanted a fresh start after the war—found a market in different genres other than historical novels.

Contrary to what took place with the postwar decline of historical novels, many detective fiction writers who survived the war enthusiastically started writing what they really wanted to write: Western-style classic detective fiction. Yokomizo Seishi was fully prepared to publish *Honjin satsujin jiken* (The Honjin Murder Case) and *Chōchō satsujin jiken* (The Butterfly Murder Case) in 1946, both of which are still considered by many to be the best authentic detective fiction ever written. His subsequent publications of *Gokumontō* (The Guillotine Island, 1947), and *Yatsuhakamura* (The Village of Eight Tombs, 1949) featuring Kindaichi Kōsuke as the genius detective, helped him snatch Edogawa Ranpo's prewar throne and made him the central figure in the postwar detective fiction boom.

Edogawa Ranpo himself made his own comeback to the detective fiction genre but in a slightly unexpected way. He actively wrote essays on detective fiction, helped launch a new detective fiction magazine *Hōseki* (The Jewel, 1946-64), and played a major role in constituting the first association for detective fiction writers in 1963. Against the expectations of the public eagerly waiting for Ranpo's detective fiction, however, he only wrote juvenile literature claiming exhaustion in his creative energy. He even claimed in several essays that he was more comfortable as a midwife of the

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[270] Ōmura 348.

[271] In a few years after the war, GHQ loosened their severe censorship policy against feudalistic themes in their need to control an even more threatening enemy, Communism. Kōdansha terminated voluntary "self-censorship" and *Kōdan kurabu* was reissued from 1949. See Ōmura 370.

reconstructed detective fiction genre rather than a creator. While Yokomizo made a new start by converting himself from a writer of inauthentic detective fiction into authentic detective fiction, Ranpo underwent a similar but subtle conversion by leaving his signature crime literature of horror and the grotesque behind in the dark days of the prewar years. After the war, he stood up as a strong advocate of "authentic" detective fiction.

Those "conversions" correspond to another important change in the detective fiction genre in Japan, which is the change of the name of the genre from *tantei shōsetsu* (detective fiction) whose origin can be traced back to the very early introduction of the term in the Meiji period to a completely new name, *suiri shōsetsu* (novel of reasoning).[272] Critics often explain the transition as the result of a series of changes institutionally imposed on the educational system. The list of Chinese characters designated for daily use was issued by the new government in 1946 and it did not contain the character *tei* of *tantei*. This resulted in the transcription of the already established characters of *tantei* (探偵) in publication in an awkward mixture of kanji and hiragana (探てい).[273] It triggered among detective fiction writers and critics vigorous debates over an alternative name for the genre. Several options were proposed and it was gradually agreed among the public to employ the term *suiri shōsetsu* proposed by Kigi Takatarō.

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[272] In the following discussions, I use "detective fiction" as the general translation of *suiri shōsetsu* except when the discussions are particularly related to distinctions of *tantei shōsetsu* and *suiri shōsetsu*. At least in the early postwar years, they were used interchangeably as the name of the genre. As I discuss below, the differences of the two terms lie in the discourses about the genre rather than actual definitions of the terms. *Suiri shōsetsu* is to be replaced later by a more general term of *misuterī*. I think it appropriate to translate *misuterī* as "mystery," since it almost overlaps with the Western notion of mystery (See Chapter Five).

[273] The list was reissued after a series of disputes and the new list (1948) in fact included *tei*. This explains that the change of the name did not simply result from the new regulation of the postwar reform.

The change in the name of the genre inevitably brought the prewar debates about classifications of detective fiction again to the fore. This time it was reduced to a struggle between Kigi Takatarō as a proponent of detective fiction as literature (*bungakuteki tantei shōsetsu*) and Edogawa Ranpo as a defender of authentic detective fiction (*honkaku tantei shōsetsu*). Their dispute, and more importantly Ranpo's subsequent articulation of Japanese detective fiction and reevaluation of his prewar works in his seminal work *Gen'eijō* (The Castle of Illusion, 1951) are important undercurrents of the transition from *tantei shōsetsu* to *suiri shōsetsu*. Through the debates, the role of the genre for the postwar era was discussed in relation to the prewar debates about authenticities in detective fiction. Careful analysis of the discursive reconstruction of the detective fiction genre as *suiri shōsetsu* in the postwar period will reveal a hegemonic constellation of the way the Japanese tried to cope with prewar history in the culture industry.

Postwar Conversion in Intellectual Discourse

Among many genres in popular literature, the genre of detective fiction is perhaps the one that was most influenced by the postwar reconstruction of society. Although ever popular historical novels temporarily lost their status right after the war, historical novels as a genre revived without much transformation soon after the press code was loosened. In the detective fiction genre, however, "inauthentic" detective fiction of the prewar years was completely abandoned in favor of "authentic" detective fiction which, as I discussed in Chapter Two, was not a popular subcategory of the detective fiction genre. The two leading figures of the genre, Yokomizo Seishi and Edogawa Ranpo, both sealed their "inauthentic" detective fiction in the dark memory of prewar militarism and became enthusiastic supporters of supposedly more "progressive" authentic detective fiction. Those "conversions" eventually constituted what the critic Kasai Kiyoshi calls the

"postwar authentic detective fiction boom" that came into full bloom a few decades later than the Golden Age of British and American detective fiction.[274]

Rearticulation of prewar memory of militarism and reorganization of one's identity for the postwar democracy, which also corresponded to the reconstruction of the state subject, were some of the most pressing issues discussed among postwar intellectuals. As Victor Koschmann points out, the postwar scholarship of one of the best known postwar intellectuals in Europe and America, Maruyama Masao, started with the "task of critically interpreting Japan's recent past."[275] For those intellectuals who were older than Maruyama[276] and thus inevitably more or less yielded to the zeitgeist during the war, it was a more urgent question to come to terms with their active participation or at best passive acceptance of militarism. Among those critical reinvestigations of history, the most famous one is the recollection and discussion of the notorious prewar debates about "overcoming modernity."

In a prewar symposium hosted by the magazine *Bungakukai* in July 1942, "the meaning of modernity, as such, and Japan's role in taking it to its next stage"[277] was discussed and evaluated by a prominent group of Japanese scholars, critics and writers. The proceedings and the essays of the participants were then published in the September and October issues of the magazine in the same year. According to the postwar critic Takeuchi Yoshimi, the impact of the symposium made the term "overcoming modernity"

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[274] Kasai Kiyoshi, ed., *Honkaku misuteri no genzai* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1997) 16.

[275] J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996) 170.

[276] Maruyama (1914-96) was appointed at Tokyo Imperial University in 1940 and still was a young and vigorous scholar of thirty-one when the war ended.

[277] Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity* 34.

(*kindai no chōkoku*) the "magical word" (*majinai-go*) among Japanese intellectuals who "deludedly" believed in Japan's leading role in the historical mission and destiny.[278]

As the chairman Kawakami Tetsutarō admits in his concluding remark published in the magazine, the symposium was inspired by a series of symposiums (1932-38) chaired by Paul Valéry under the auspices of the League of Nations. In the way he summarizes the European precedents as rich at first glance but ultimately empty,[279] we can infer the organizers' ambition in drawing Japan's positive future in contrast to the declining European nations that were supposedly embodying the "modern." Thirteen participants of the symposium were chosen from various disciplines ranging from literature, music, film, religion, philosophy, history, and science, and ideologically can be divided into three major groups: the members of the Literary Society (Nakamura Mitsuo (1911-88), Kawakami Tetsutarō (1902-80), Kobayashi Hideo (1902-83)), the scholars of the Kyoto School of Philosophy (Nishitani Keiji (1900-90) and Suzuki Shigetaka (1907-88)), and the critics of the Japan Romantic School (Kamei Katsuichirō (1907-66) and Hayashi Fusao (1903-75)). Despite the high hope of the organizers, however, the symposium could not offer a productive means to "overcome the modern." They did not even reach consensus as to the meaning of the modern nor whether one should take the concept positively or negatively. As the youngest participant Nakamura Mitsuo summarizes in his essay after the symposium, it would have been much more straightforward if they could have simply equated modern with Western and posed the problem as "the decline of the West and awakening of Japan."[280] Yet, it was

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[278] Takeuchi Yoshimi, ed., *Kindai no chōkoku* (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1979) 274.

[279] *Kindai no chōkoku* 166.

[280] *Kindai no chōkoku* 150.

theoretically contradictory in the first place to "borrow the concept of the West [overcoming the modern] in order to negate the West."[281]

Regardless of its "failure" which in his final remarks the chairman attributes to his inclusion of too many different topics,[282] the title of the symposium became the "catch phrase"[283] among prewar Japanese intellectuals or even "philosophy" in Japan's "total war" (*sōryokusen*) because of the way it expediently represents various prewar ideologies that were shared by Japanese intellectuals. The title of the symposium firstly echoes the idea already proposed by the ideologue of the Japan Romantic School Yasuda Yojūrō as "The End of the Modern" (*kindai no shūen*).[284] In Yasuda's argument, the idea of the modern is dismissed in favor of his "return to Japan," which is rightly reflected in the participant Hayashi Fusao's proposition to "discover—or rediscover—Japanese spirit."[285] In terms of the format, the symposium resembles the two preceding symposiums held by the Kyoto School philosophers, such as Kōsaka Masaaki (1900-69), Takayama Iwao (1905-93), and the two participants of the "overcoming the modern" symposium Nishitani and Suzuki. The ideal of "world history" was proposed in the Kyoto School symposiums in order to explain Japan's current position and future role in the war, but it nevertheless reveals "a thinly disguised justification, written in the language of Hegelian metaphysics, for Japanese aggression and continuing imperialism."[286] The similar "intellectual" justification reverberates in the "overcoming

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[281] *Kindai no chōkoku* 150.

[282] *Kindai no chōkoku* 270.

[283] Hashikawa Bunzō, *Nihon Rōmanha hihan josetsu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1998) 285.

[284] Hashikawa 285.

[285] *Kindai no chōkoku* 264.

[286] Tetsuo Najita and H. D. Harootunian, "Japanese Revolt Against the West," *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol.6 (New York: Cambridge Up, 1988) 741.

the modern" symposium. It is inconceivable that the participants "were not aware of the relationship between their criticism and the expansionist designs of those in the government,"[287] yet what they call intellectual "resistance" ended up with the very best intellectual at the time, Kamei Katsuichirō saying that he would rather choose "the war of the master rather than the peace of the slave."[288]

As Takeuchi Yoshimi critically examines after the war, however, the organizers or participants of the symposium did not particularly intend to make "overcoming the modern" the philosophy of the time nor did they fundamentally alter the destiny of the Japanese government. *Bungakukai* regularly hosted conferences on various topics other than literature and thus this was not a symposium motivated by Japan's recent military success in Southeast Asia. Yet, it is exactly because of what Takeuchi summarizes as the "emptiness" of the symposium that the idea of "overcoming the modern" constituted the dominant intellectual discourse during the war by stitching together various discourses already floating among Japanese intellectuals at the time, which was unfortunately very favorable toward the war. In the end, "overcoming the modern" was the condensation of all the aporias of modern Japanese history.[289] The symposium could not effectively resolve them; it just framed the aporias to be solved.

Quite naturally, one of the pressing issues for postwar intellectuals became how to overcome "overcoming the modern." Intellectuals such as Honda Shūgo (1908-) Hirano Ken (1907-78), Yamamuro Shizuka (1906-2000), Haniya Yutaka (1910-97), Ara Masahito (1913-79), Sasaki Kiichi (1914-93), and Odagiri Hideo (1916-2000) supported the modern and believed that "increasing amounts of 'modernity' were the solution to the

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[287] Najita and Harootunian 768.

[288] *Kindai no chōkoku* 17.

[289] *Kindai no chōkoku* 338.

problems that had led to the disastrous war."[290] The group published the literary magazine *Kindai bungaku* in 1946, and the members are often referred to as the Modern Literature School (*Kindai bungakuha*). Most of them were converts from prewar proletariat movements and seized the postwar climate as an opportunity to resume their unfinished mission. In the first issue's opening essay, Honda Shūgo introduces the major issues to be seriously investigated for the postwar generation: "the problem of subjectivity (*shutaisei*), the importance of generational difference, the war responsibility of writers, literary issues related to ideological conversion (*tenkō*), the relationship between politics and literature, the problem of base and superstructure in cultural analysis, the role of the petty bourgeoisie, the question of the intellectuals, and the importance of the "ego."[291] The youngest member of the group, Odagiri, quite naturally rejects the "overcoming the modern" symposium and concludes that "the debates of 'overcoming the modern' played a part of 'ideological warfare' (*shisōsen*) that constituted the organic part of 'the total war' under militaristic control."[292] The symposium itself looked "smart" and "intellectual" compared to the activities of unpolished militarists, but "essentially it follows the same route."[293]

Whether it is completely rejected by the postwar generation or is feebly excused as a tragedy of a subjectivity fevered by the climate at the time, the "overcoming the modern" symposium constituted the traumatic memory that postwar critics had to renarrativize. In the early postwar years, intellectuals who survived the war formed a "community of contrition," since "virtually all felt in one way or another that they had

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[290] Kevin Michael Doak, *Dreams of Difference: The Japan Romantic School and the Crisis of Modernity* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1994) 143.

[291] Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* 41.

[292] *Kindai no chōkoku* 280.

[293] *Kindai no chōkoku* 280.

failed to resist the war, and many were remorseful over various degrees of collaboration with fascism."[294] While the postwar generation endeavored to resume history "(at least the history that mattered) in Japan had ground to a halt in 1931,"[295] various issues posed in the time of unfortunate deviation from the proper path remained unconfronted. This is one of the reasons that the same issues in terms of modernity and cultural particularity continuously come back and haunt postwar intellectual discourses. I will discuss this postwar return to the intellectual climate of the 1930s in Chapter Six, but first I will examine the early postwar narrativization of the recent past in the discursive space of the detective fiction genre in this chapter.

From *tantei shōsetsu* to *suiri shōsetsu*

One of the most important changes in Japan's publishing industry after the war would be the abolition of publication control by the government. Yet this did not instantly result in total freedom of the press, since GHQ managed to exercise complex tasks of censorious "democracy" that controlled general publication without showing signs of censorship.[296] Nevertheless, through the changes in the agency of the censor, detective fiction writers enjoyed incomparably greater freedom after long years of restriction. Being liberated from authority and dogma, the publishing industry rushed into pulp publications featuring eroticism and the grotesque called *kasutori zasshi* (pulp magazines),[297] which reminded many of the *ero-guro-nanasensu* (eroticism, grotesque

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[294] J. Victor Koschmann, "Intellectuals and Politics," *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: U of California P, 1993) 396-97.

[295] Doak 143.

[296] John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000) 409. It should also be noted that Japan's wartime censorship was at least visible (*fuseji*, etc), while GHQ's was invisible.

[297] *Kasutori* is illicit liquor sold in the black market after the war. This vile (sometimes harmful because of methyl alcohol it sometimes contains) was mostly made of sweet potatoes or rice and was said to make people unconscious in the third drink. Accordingly, pulp magazines

and nonsense) that had flourished in the late 1920s. Despite a break writers and critics wanted to insert between prewar and postwar, postwar Japanese detective fiction was revived in the chaotic embrace of postwar freedom and in a similar popular craze that fostered *Shinseinen* in the prewar years. The postwar debates between Kigi Takatarō and Edogawa Ranpo too need to be understood in relation to the chaotic situation of Japan's postwar recovery. If "overcoming the modern" needed to be overcome for postwar Japanese intellectuals in order to truly "modernize" the country, a similar stepping stone for Japanese detective fiction writers was their celebration of inauthentic detective fiction that was argued to supersede Western "authentic" detective fiction. Consequently postwar recovery of the genre started not only by negotiating with the authentic-inauthentic dichotomy but by fundamentally changing the name of the genre that was hopelessly linked to the discourse of "authenticity."

The change of the name of the genre from *tantei shōsetsu* to *suiri shōsetsu* was facilitated firstly by various changes imposed by the democratic government from above. The Kokugo Shingikai (The Japanese Language Council), led by the writer Yamamoto Yuzō, compiled the prescribed list of Chinese characters (*kanji*) in printed matters and education, which was issued by the cabinet in January of 1946. The list excluded the character *tei* of *tantei* and therefore *tantei* had to be written either in a hybrid mix of kanji and hiragana (探てい)—reminiscent of the prewar hybridity—or all in hiragana (たんていゝ)—signifying the immaturity of the genre. This institutional change of postwar Japan alone did not promote the change of the name, but this nevertheless facilitated detective

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that flourished postwar publishing industry, most of them hardly went beyond three issues, are figuratively called *kasutori zasshi*. Most of them are cheep magazines featuring sex and sensational exposé, but notable writers also contributed in those magazines in a pen name. See Yamamoto Akira, *Kasutori zasshi kenkyū: sinboru ni miru fūzokushi* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1998) and Dower 148-54.

fiction writers' desire to transform the genre as a new "modern" entertainment for the future.

The new term *suiri shōsetsu* literally means a novel of reasoning, and thus the change may suggest the transition from the classic form centered on a genius detective to a realistic fiction of intellectual reasoning. Considering the peculiar use of *tantei* in *tantei shōsetsu* in prewar years, however, the actual use of the new term did not differ much from the old term. According to Nakajima Kawatarō, the term *suiri shōsetsu* was first consciously used as a substitute for *tantei shōsetsu* by Kigi Takatarō in his introduction to the library edition of Japanese detective fiction (*suiri shōsetsu gyōsho*) published in 1946.[298] This strategic collection by Kigi was noteworthy in the postwar reconstruction of the genre since its editorial policy was remarkably different from similar collections published before the war or even in the same period. His challenging editorial stance already stands out in the very first volume, which is a collection of stories written by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, a prestigious writer of high literature in the Taishō period. Although Akutagawa wrote several pieces in his early career that treat crime and its investigation such as "Futatsu no tegami" (The Two Letters, 1917) and "Kaika no satsujin" (The Enlightenment Murder, 1918), they are just small exceptions in his oeuvre and would more aptly be categorized as stories with "detective tastes." Moreover, Kigi did not even include these stories conventionally considered Akutagawa's "detective stories."[299] As an advocate of detective fiction as literature, he intended to transform prewar detective fiction characterized by its sensationalism of eroticism and the

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[298] Nakajima Kawatarō, *Suiri shōsetsu tenbō* (Tokyo Futabasha, 1995) 41-45.

[299] Akutagawa's stories included are: "Haru no yoru" (Spring Night, 1926), "Otomi no teiso" (Chastity of Otomi, 1922), "San'emon no tsumi" (The Crime of San' emon, 1924), "Nankin no kirisuto" (Christ in Nanking, 1920), "Butōkai" (The Ball, 1920), "Nezumikozō Jirokichi" (Jirokichi the Rat Kid, 1920), "Majutsu" (Magic, 1920), "Yōba" (The Possessed Old Lady, 1919), "Haguruma" (Cogwheels, 1927), "Aru ahō no isshō" (The Life of a Fool, 1927), "Aru kyūyū e okuru shuki" (Memories Sent to an Old Friend, 1927).

grotesque to a completely new form suitable for postwar Japan. The use of the more general term of *suiri* (reasoning) rather than the seemingly restrictive word *tantei* (detective) for the collection was motivated by his ambition for expanding the genre by incorporating other elements such as science fiction, horror, thrillers, philosophy, historical themes, and psychology insofar as they contained an element of reasoning.[300]

Edogawa Ranpo mostly agreed with Kigi's new term. One of his earliest uses of the term can be found in his essay written in 1947:

> In Japan, the word *tantei shōsetsu* is used in a bit too broad of a sense and it became a custom of adding an extra adjective such as "original" (*honrai no*) and "authentic" (*honkaku*) in order to distinguish one from those wrongly categorized in the genre. But I think if we call "original" detective fiction whose primal focus lies in the interests in mystery and logic *suiri shōsetsu* (novel of reasoning), we can save the trouble as such and its meaning becomes clearer.[301]

Futile discussions about authentic detective fiction in the prewar period certainly frustrated Ranpo, and he thought it necessary to reorganize the genre that in his view deviated too far from the Western counterpart. Changing a controversial name that for many was reminiscent of the dark memories of prewar years was welcomed by Ranpo. Contrary to Kigi's proposition of expanding the boundary of the detective fiction genre for the sake of its qualities, however, Ranpo proposed to restrict it by what he considered "authentic" by Western standards. Kigi endeavored to transform Japanese detective fiction from an indecent popular entertainment into a highbrow literature suitable for the age of democracy, and he intended to achieve this by excluding low quality stories falsely categorized as in the detective genre while including stories from other genres that centered on "sound" intellectual activities. On the other hand, Ranpo only agreed to

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[300] Kigi Takatarō, "Suiri shōsetsu no han'i," *Kigi Takatarō zenshū*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1971) 220-23.

[301] Edogawa Ranpo, "Suiri shōsetsu zuisō," *Oni no kotoba* 324.

change the name of the genre insofar as the new name would strictly be applied to stories centered on mystery and its logical solution. Both of them consented to reforming the loose definition of *tantei shōsetsu* but differed significantly as to what kind of writings should be excluded from the genre. While Kigi excluded detective fiction that was not "literature," Ranpo excluded detective fiction that was not "authentic." Despite the differences in their true intentions, the new term was considered by many detective fiction writers and critics as a positive alteration that would remove the "blot" from the detective fiction genre, not only its hybrid nature but also their—voluntary or involuntary—complicity in the wartime discourse about Japan's particularity. Since their differences lie in the very definition of the term, the new term again triggered the vigorous debates about the definition of the genre.

Honkaku vs. *Henkaku* debates Revised

In terms of content, postwar debates about Japanese detective fiction are a repetition of the prewar debates and did not introduce particularly new ideas. The debates were somewhat commercially staged by *Rokku* (Lock), which was one of the first detective fiction magazines published after the war, rather than being spontaneously initiated by those who represented the debates: Kigi Takatarō and Edogawa Ranpo.[302] Yet, as Kadota Kikuo recalled later, the debates of these two well-known writers soon developed into an even larger factional dispute between those who sided with Kigi (the Literature School) and those with Ranpo (the Authentic School). It was a time when old issues could and were expected to be seen in a different light of rapid changes in every aspect of society. *Bungakukai*, which had advocated "art for art's sake" and thus ultimately conformed to the ethnocentrism during the war by hosting the "overcoming the

[302] In Ranpo's essay, he explains that the editor of the magazine asked him to write a response to Kigi's essay showing his manuscript before publication.

modern" symposium[303] held the symposium "Intellectual Destiny of Modern Japan" (*Gendai Nihon no chiteki unmei*) in 1952 inviting mostly the same participants who attended the prewar symposium. While they had to wait until the end of the occupation to revisit the notorious prewar symposium,[304] the prewar debates about Japanese detective fiction served as a provocative but safer topic in the still vivid memory of the war. Moreover, Ranpo's involvement in the debates made it difficult for any writers of the genre to be neutral about the issue. Thus, the postwar debates brutally divided them into two factions and overdetermined the postwar discourse about detective fiction.

As I examined in Chapter Two, the major players of the prewar debates were Kigi Takatarō and Kōga Saburō. While Kōga criticized the peculiar tendency of Japanese detective fiction for its improper classification compared to the West, Kigi Takatarō, and admittedly Edogawa Ranpo as well, defended the tendency as providing rich varieties of Japanese detective fiction. Kōga Saburō died in 1945 and could not witness Japan's "authentic" Westernization after the war. The defender of what Kōga advocated as authentic detective fiction was, by a strange twist of history, played by Edogawa Ranpo, who had sided—although not enthusiastically—with Kigi in the prewar debates. While Kigi reinforced his stance in the prewar debates, Ranpo altered his side and eventually wrote a history of Japanese detective fiction in order to smooth out discrepancies in his opinions before and after the war. Above all, it was Ranpo's theorization and his essays on Japanese detective fiction—an impartial history with good reasons as I discuss below—that determined postwar discourses concerning Japanese detective fiction. This is one of the reasons that Ranpo's postwar shift and subsequent rearticulation of prewar detective fiction deserve special attention in this chapter.

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[303] *Bungakukai* was discontinued in 1944 and reissued by the same members in 1947.

[304] Hayashi Fusao one of the founding members of the magazine as well as the participants of the symposium was purged from public office (*kōshoku tsuihō*) by GHQ.

Kigi Takatarō initiated the postwar debates in his essay "Shinsenroku" in *Rokku*, a novel magazine of detective fiction (Lock, 1946-50). In "Shinsenroku" of the January 1947 issue, Kigi writes that when he started writing detective fiction in 1934, it was taken for granted that "detective fiction was not art and could not be art"[305] by the late Kōga Saburō and his followers. He reminds readers of his own prewar debates with Kōga and how he maintained throughout the debates his position as the defender of artistic detective fiction. In his summary, the prewar debates initially posed in terms of the form of detective fiction (authentic vs. inauthentic) are reconstructed for his benefit into the debates about the artistic merits of detective fiction (literature vs. popular). Kigi basically repeats the theory he proposed in the prewar debates with one small but important addition. That is his own definition of "artistic" detective fiction, which Kōga requested of him in the prewar debates but Kigi failed to provide. As if responding to Kōga's criticisms before the war that he should first provide boundaries for "his" detective fiction, he defines his artistic detective fiction for the first time as follows:

> When a person takes an action which is the subject (*shudai*) of the novel, the subject needs to be linked inevitably to the person. In other words, if we suppose the person is the content, the puzzle as the form must be derived from the content. Therefore, what makes detective fiction possible is not the puzzle but its content and more importantly the puzzle restricted by the content that makes detective fiction. Only after a fiction achieves these fundamentals, can we call it detective fiction or even absolute art.[306]

In summary, Kigi proposes that "realistic" detective fiction should have believable motives and a reasonable way of addressing crime and criticizes authentic detective fiction in which both crime and puzzles are presented only for the puzzle's sake. In this regard, he follows the path already taken by American writers, which is the transition from the "artificial" *whodunit* where the main interest lies in the process of the logical

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[305] Kigi Takatarō, "Shinsenroku," *"Rokku" kessakusen* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2002) 439.

[306] Kigi, "Shinsenroku," 443.

solution of the puzzle to the realistic detective fiction where the action of the main hero and the backgrounds of the criminal are more valued. According to Julian Symons, crime stories published in pulp magazines like *Black Mask* (1920-51) are the American Revolution that freed the American crime story from the debt to its British counterpart. With stories by American writers such as Dashiell Hammett (1894-1961) and Raymond Chandler (1888-1959) in the 1920s making full use of "the manners, habits and language of the United States, and breaking completely with European tradition"[307] and arguably elevating "escape" literature into works of art, Kigi envisions a new "literature" out of the debris of Western traditions.

Edogawa Ranpo responded to Kigi in the following (February, 1947) issue of *Rokku* with his essay "Hitori no Bashō no mondai" (The Problem Posed by Bashō). This essay later became one of the most important essays Ranpo wrote by being included in his seminal work on Japanese detective fiction *Gen'eijō*. While the essay certainly criticizes Kigi's argument, what makes it even more important in the history of Japanese detective fiction is how Ranpo uses the essay to reconcile his own prewar writings, which, as I discussed in Chapter Two, favored Kigi's position over Kōga's, and to establish his postwar position as the proponent of authentic detective fiction.

In this essay, Ranpo first maintains that his stance in terms of detective fiction might not be so far away from Kigi's, unlike the stark differences between Kōga and Kigi in the prewar debates. Kigi argues that no matter how it may excel in the presentation of mystery and its logical solution, detective fiction would be worthless unless it is "literature." On the other hand, Ranpo emphasizes that although he does not denounce literature, detective fiction would be boring if it falls short of the standard of the genre, which is for him mystery and its logical solution. He further argues that there is a

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[307] Symons 143.

considerable gap between Kigi's opinion and his own, since he considers it to be very difficult—almost impossible—to harmonize literary elements and detective elements at the highest level as Kigi insists.

Ranpo honestly admits that he sided with Kigi's position before the war but maintains that the more he read British and American detective fiction during and after the war, the more he realized that Japanese detective fiction was far removed from the mainstream of detective fiction in the world. Thus, he ponders:

> We were once stimulated by British and American detective fiction, and at first headed in that direction. Yet, before we graduated from authentic detective fiction, didn't we digress from the mainstream without our realizing it? Isn't the theory of detective fiction and not that of literature (for we already have the latter to a certain degree) indispensable to Japanese detective fiction now? And, we have to get back on the right track once again, and, in authentic detective fiction, especially in detective novels, we have to produce works that can even rival or exceed the masterpieces of British and American detective fiction. I felt this most strongly when I saw the opportunity for the postwar reconstruction of detective fiction.[308]

Here, Ranpo's reconstruction of his prewar position—sometimes considered as his postwar "conversion"—corresponds to the position of the Modern Literature School (*Kindai bungakuha*) who insisted on theoretically investigating why culture—in Ranpo's case "literature"—could not stop the tragic war. Similar to those modernists who thought that Japan's defeat was the best opportunity to "resume" Japan's unfinished task of modernization, which was tragically halted during the war, Ranpo is ashamed of his prioritization of "culture" over reason before the war and actively turns Japan's defeat into a blessing that makes possible Japan's postwar transformation into a true modern nation.

In his essay's conclusion, referring to the famous poet of the Edo period Matsuo Bashō (1644-94) and his revolutionary achievement in transforming poetry (*haiku*) which

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[308] Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 286-87.

was just a popular entertainment for commoners before him into absolute art and even into a profound philosophy, Ranpo ends with the famous agenda, from which the enigmatic title "Hitori no Bashō no mondai" originates:

> Here is the historical fact. A precedent of revolution. The way of transforming detective fiction into supreme art is nothing other than to follow in Bashō's footsteps. The path no common sense can predict. An untrodden land only one genius in a hundred years can carve the way through with the blood and tears of his lifetime. Ah, who can be a Bashō of detective fiction? Does Mr. Kigi Takatarō have the spirit to suffer Bashō's hardships?[309]

Ranpo argues that Kigi's artistic detective fiction is not impossible but quite difficult to achieve. Since he theoretically sympathizes with Kigi's position but cannot conceive of such detective fiction, he proposes that Kigi has to show in his own writings an example of his artistic detective fiction. Kigi has lofty ideals, which he once shared with him, but in the final analysis the propagation of the authentic style is for Ranpo much more important in postwar Japan.

Kigi and Ranpo kept arguing in the following issues of the same magazine, but the debates presented in their first essays were, as was the case with prewar debates, not developed productively. Kigi defended his position criticizing Ranpo for his petty efforts at restricting the inherent possibilities of the genre, while Ranpo shrewdly dodged Kigi's criticisms by preaching more practically about the necessity of catching up with the standards already established in the West. As Ranpo repeatedly addresses Kigi, their arguments seem to remain far apart for good, since they are discussing different matters based on different presuppositions. Ranpo is satisfied with detective fiction initiated by Poe, while Kigi is not. In the end, their definitions of detective fiction and its goals are completely different.[310]

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[309] Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 288.

[310] Edogawa Ranpo, "Giron no shin'tenkai o," *"Rokku" kessakusen* 472.

In those seemingly unproductive debates, Ranpo's gradual change in the course of the debates deserves our particular attention for explicating his postwar negotiation with the "inauthentic" history of Japanese detective fiction. In the initial essay, Ranpo admits his inclination toward Kigi's position before the war and repeatedly maintains that his position is not very different from Kigi's as from Kōga's in the prewar debates. As the debates progress, however, he gradually departs from Kigi's side, and despite his statement that he is not as extreme as Kōga in advocating the authentic mode, he moves more toward Kōga's prewar position as an advocator of authentic detective fiction. Ranpo makes it clear in the end that detective fiction is just an intellectual game often devoid of "realistic" characters or any profound "mysteries" of life. One might try making it serious literature by embellishing it with literary techniques, but too much reliance on those ultimately diminishes the enjoyment the reader can obtain from the intellectual game. Ranpo even rejects Shiraishi Kiyoshi's praise for his prewar achievement of writing detective stories of Realism comparable in quality to the I-novel.[311] This is starkly in contrast with Kigi's argument of making characters realistic by using motives and puzzles derived from the lives of actual human beings rather than using unrealistic puzzles usually associated with detective fiction.

In summary the most notable difference between Kigi and Ranpo can be reduced to the issue of form in detective fiction. Ranpo considers detective fiction to be severely restricted by its form, since if one dares to write "authentic" detective fiction, he or she has to devise the main puzzle first and make characters suitable for the puzzle.[312] Thus, it is the reverse of the process that Kigi calls literature, in which a writer devises characters first, and their crimes and concealment might be incidentally devised by the

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311 Yamamura, *Suiri bundan sengoshi* 165-66.

312 Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 285.

intrinsic needs for the actions of these "real" characters. In this regard, Ranpo indirectly revisits the prewar argument among Japanese writers about the particularity of Japanese literature, namely the supremacy of the realistic literature of the I-novel over the Western "novel" which I discussed in Chapter Two. By discussing literature in the framework of realism versus fiction, Ranpo skillfully inverts the supremacy of realistic literature of the I-novel by inferring that it is a particular form of Japanese appropriation of Western literary tradition, while fiction, especially that built on solid narrative structures such as detective fiction, has a long established history in world literature.[313] Not only defending detective fiction from being dismissed as mere entertainment, Ranpo claims the universal appeal of the form of authentic detective fiction and further undermines Kigi's idealism as something reactionary in the course of Japan's democratization and ultimately too "local."

The debates of these two famous writers divided other writers into two factions: supporters of "artistic" detective fiction of Kigi and those of "authentic" detective fiction of Ranpo. Contrary to the prewar debates, these two factions were equally divided, and the authentic school even grew rapidly with Ranpo's entry and his subsequent support of the school. Kigi was among the few established writers of *Shinseinen* who survived the war. After Kōga's death and Ranpo's conversion to an advocate of "authentic" detective fiction, he eventually became the central figure in the magazine. On the other hand, Ranpo kept a certain distance from *Shinseinen* and eventually moved the stage of his main publication to a new magazine *Hōseki* (Jewel). *Hōseki* was a magazine dedicated to detective fiction and published by a newcomer to the publishing business, Iwaya Shoten. The tension between Kigi and Ranpo was consequently reflected in the rivalry between *Shinseinen* and *Hōseki*. While *Shinseinen* revived its prewar editorial stance of

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[313] Here, Ranpo's argument comes extremely close to Kōga's arguments of authentic detective fiction.

publishing "various" types of detective fiction and thus was dominated by proponents of artistic detective fiction, *Hōseki* became the stronghold of authentic detective fiction, especially after Ranpo started to publish essays that were later to be compiled in his *Gen'eijō*. In fact, he later became the chief editor of the magazine and eventually managed the company from 1957 to 64 when the magazine was in a financial crisis. As part of his promotion of authentic detective fiction, Ranpo established *Doyōkai* (The Saturday Club) in July 1946 as a monthly informal meeting held at Iwaya Shoten. The small informal group then became the official society of detective fiction—*Tantei sakka kurabu* (Detective Fiction Writers Club)—in the following year, *Nihon tantei sakka kurabu* (Japan Detective Fiction Writers Club) in 1954, and eventually the corporate organization *Nihon suiri sakka kyōkai* (The Association of Detective Fiction Writers of Japan) in 1963. Many important postwar detective fiction writers received the annual award newly established by the society. While *Shinseinen* was discontinued in 1950, the prosperity of *Nihon suiri sakka kyōkai* itself was the sign of the dominance of the authentic school in the postwar detective fiction market.

The growing presence of Ranpo in the society, his strong support of authentic detective fiction, and *Hōseki*'s active role in the detective fiction genre led *Shinseinen* and its contributors to publish the record of a controversial round table in its April 1950 issue.[314] The meeting was originally intended to discuss the future of Japanese detective fiction, but because of the selection of its participants, who were intentionally or unintentionally biased toward the literature school, it ended up lavishing praise on the

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[314] According to Yamamura Masao, Kigi and Ranpo used to hold a new year party separately gathering their close friends (mostly writers), and the round table was prepared by the chief editor Takamori Eiji, who frequented Kigi's new year party, without notifying them in advance. This inevitably makes the round table far from neutral and subsequently angered Ranpo. This round table also became Shinseinen's last gasp since it was discontinued in the same year. See Yamamura Masao's afterward to Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* (Tokyo: Futabasha, 1995) 512-3.

literature school and slandering the authentic school of Edogawa Ranpo.[315] Participants of the round table were Kigi Takatarō, Ōtsubo Sunao (1904-65), Nagase Sango (1902-1990), Hikawa Rou (1913-89), Miyano Murako (1917-90), Okada Syachihiko (1907-93), and Honma Tamayo (unknown). All of them are writers who started their careers after the war—some of them with Kigi's recommendation—and except for Okada, they all belonged to Kigi's group.

The critical tone of the roundtable created quite a stir among detective fiction writers. Ranpo responded to the roundtable writing "Nukiuchi zadankai o hyōsu" (Review of the Surprise Roundtable) in the May issue of *Hōseki*. Ranpo's essay mostly repeats the points he already made in "Hitori no Bashō no mondai." Yet his prompt and inclusive counterarguments well represent the long-established tension between the two schools. Moreover, he proposed to write this essay spontaneously rather than being asked by the editor in the case of his rebuttal to Kigi's article in *Rokku*. Although Ranpo denies it in his memoir, this fact alone would suggest his anger toward the literature school.[316] Ranpo's young followers reacted to the roundtable more vigorously, since Ranpo's exclusion from the roundtable appeared a challenge—even a betrayal of *Shinseinen*—to the authentic school. The tension initiated by the roundtable thus escalated into an emotional dispute between the two schools. Among young writers, particularly active ones like Shiraishi Kiyoshi (1904-68), Kayama Shigeru (1904-75), Yamada Fūtarō (1922-2001), Shimada Kazuo (1907-96), Takagi Akimitsu (1920-95), Mitsuhashi Kazuo (1908-95), Takeda Takehiko (1919-98), Kazumi Shungo (1909-93), and Shima Kyūhei (1911-83) organized "Oni kurabu" (The club of the devils [of

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315 Nakajima, *Suiri shōsetsu tenbō* 50.

316 Edogawa, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.2, 384.

detective fiction]) a few months later to invigorate authentic detective fiction,[317] while Kigi wrote a stark criticism on the "literary" quality of Japanese detective fiction under the pseudonym "Atomu F" (Atom F).[318] Takagi Akimitsu, who was one of the most prominent writers of the postwar generation and a strong supporter of the authentic school, also wrote vicious criticisms on the literature school in the bulletin *KTSC* of *Kansai tantei sakka kurabu* (Kansai Detective Fiction Writers Club)[319] under the pseudonym of Madōji (Devil child).[320] Madōji's criticisms were firstly of the institution of *Tantei sakka kurabu* of Kanto in which its annual prize seemed to be given to "honorary" members "in turn" regardless of the quality of their detective fiction. Yet, he also criticized giving a prize to stories that did not seem to fit in the category of the detective fiction genre, i.e. the detective story of the literature school. Ōtsubo Sunao was among the writers who were named in the anonymous criticisms, since he was the representative of postwar writers of the literature school. His responses and Madōji's counter responses enlivened the pages of *KTSC* in 1952. According to Yamamura Masao, those were nevertheless quarrels rather than intellectual conversations.[321]

A series of heated debates between the authentic school and the literature school may appear at first to be a repetition of the prewar debates about authenticities of Japanese detective fiction, but there are several notable differences. The postwar debates

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[317] The establishment of the group was partly motivated politically, since some of the members—especially Shiraishi—was not considered to be categorized in the authentic school. See Nakajima, *Suiri shōsetsu tenbō* 51.

[318] Yamamura, *Suiri bundan sengoshi* 109-14.

[319] Kansai tantei sakka kurabu later merged with Tantei sakka kurabu and became Nihon tantei sakka kurabu in 1954.

[320] Yamamura, *Waga kaikyūteki tantei sakkaron* 113-18. According to Yamamura Madōji was the pseudonym of Takagi Akimitsu and Yamada Fūtarō.

[321] Yamamura, *Suiri bundan sengoshi* 226-44.

focused more on the social status of detective fiction, particularly whether it could be literature or just popular entertainment. As I discussed in Chapter Two, the prewar debates started as the particular characteristics of Japanese detective fiction and its deviation from Western standards. Slightly shifting the issue from the form of detective fiction to the value of detective fiction, the deviation was somehow explained and marginalized in the debates, especially by Kigi Takatarō in favor of the particularity of a Japanese mode of expression. Prewar Kigi was undeniably leaning toward the Romantic literary tradition of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Satō Haruo, which was one of the reasons that Ranpo sided with him. Kigi initiated the postwar debates by maintaining his prewar stance and further advocated calling the detective fiction for the new age *suiri shōsetsu*, since it is a genre that deals not only with the mystery of crime investigation but also with mysteries more profoundly related to "life" and society, and thus cannot be confined to the old and controversial term *tantei shōsetsu*. This is another reason that the writers in the authentic school were strongly opposed to the literature school, since if only artistic (*bungakuteki*) detective fiction deserves the name of *suiri shōsetsu*, classic puzzle stories would always be shackled to the reactionary name of *tantei shōsetsu* with all the connotations of prewar "inauthentic" detective fiction.

In addition to that, despite Kigi's claim that he had not changed his stance and thus was consistent through political changes, Kigi's "artistic" detective fiction also underwent a slight adjustment for the postwar cultural constellation. While prewar Kigi mostly objected to Kōga's adherence to the Western mode of detective fiction and proposed an inherently more "artistic" Japanese detective fiction, postwar Kigi rather enthusiastically promoted "modern" realistic literature based on sound activities of reasoning (*suiri*) under the same slogan of high art. His proposition of changing the name of the genre clearly reflects his change in terms of what constitutes "artistic" detective fiction. In a similar vein, Ranpo aimed to incorporate the "modern" aspect more openly by shifting his stance to being an advocate of authentic detective fiction.

Both of them share the same goal of removing the prefix of "inauthentic" (*henkaku*) from Japanese detective fiction, although—or because—they were both categorized in that group in prewar years. Against Kigi's efforts, however, the term *suiri shōsetsu* gained currency as just a substitute for prewar *tantei shōsetsu*. On the other hand, Ranpo's conversion into the proponent of authentic detective fiction was received more favorably in the postwar cultural climate that welcomed inserting an active discontinuity against the recent past. The constant debates over the nature of detective fiction and the use of the new term in those debates thus articulated *suiri shōsetsu* as authentic detective fiction. Just as the presence of the occupation army was carefully concealed in the postwar democratization of Japan, the negotiations common to cultural importation in the prewar years, which I discussed in Chapter One, were marginalized in the postwar reconstruction of Japanese detective fiction. However, this did not necessarily lead to a complete identification with the Western model or a denial of the history. Particular negotiations in the reestablishment of the genre can still be seen in Edogawa Ranpo's reconstruction of Japanese detective fiction history.

Edogawa Ranpo's Postwar Narrativization of Japanese Detective Fiction History

Edogawa Ranpo's postwar support for authentic detective fiction might seem to be a mere conversion common to many intellectuals who lived through drastic changes in postwar Japan. Yet, it is not just his introduction of a historical break or a mere return to "Japan" which was on the right track of modernization but his negotiation and continuity with his prewar writings that require our special attention. Moreover, it was Ranpo's writings—especially *Gen'eijō*—that constituted the foundational narrative for any postwar writers who revived the detective fiction genre after the traumatic defeat.[322]

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[322] For the "foundational narrative," see Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000).

This is also the narrative constantly repeated in the revival of prewar detective fiction, especially the new authentic detective fiction movement in the 1990s as I discuss in Chapter Six. Some of the issues he struggled to overcome in rearticulating the history of Japanese detective fiction were not investigated properly and thus repeated in the later generation which for their own reasons tried to reconstruct the history. For this reason, the way Ranpo "narrates" the history for postwar Japan needs to be examined here carefully.

Gen'eijō is a collection of Ranpo's essays written mostly for *Hōseki* after his postwar "conversion" to the authentic school.[323] The book was published in 1951 and garnered the annual award of the Japan Detective Fiction Writer's Club in the following year. It is an ambitious collection designed particularly as a manifesto for the authentic school. The book begins with his famous "Definition and Classification of Detective Fiction" newly written for the collection and, referring to other famous definitions of detective fiction, Ranpo clearly delineates boundaries for what he deems to be authentic detective fiction. The book was supplemented three years later with the sequel *Zoku gen'eijō*, which contains a painstaking chapter devoted to a classified catalogue of all the puzzles ever used in the detective story. *Gen'eijō* and *Zoku gen'eijō* are considered by many postwar writers to be the most important source books of detective fiction and, although they do not provide a history in an organized manner, have long stood as the "authentic" history of Japanese detective fiction.[324] As Ranpo himself writes in his memoir, *Gen'eijō*'s introduction of new foreign writers became the "guideline" of what

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[323] His important prewar essays are compiled in *Oni no kotoba* (Devil's words) published in 1936. It should be noted that compared to *Gen'eijō*, *Oni no kotoba* has long been marginalized in the postwar discourses about the genre despite—or rather because of—its more inclusive analysis of Japanese detective fiction.

[324] See Yoshida Morio, ed., *Tantei shōsetsu to Nihon kindai* (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2004) 9-14.

should be translated in the coming years.[325] In other words, it established the "canon" of detective fiction.

Despite its status in detective fiction criticism and Ranpo's effort to make it an encyclopedia of detective fiction, *Gen'eijō* is an incomplete and fragmented piece in several ways. Given that it is about his general remarks on "authentic" detective fiction, it may be understandable that most chapters are dedicated to foreign detective fiction. Yet, its bias toward foreign detective fiction is so intense that readers might suspect Ranpo's reluctance in writing about Japanese detective fiction. He briefly touches on the differences between Japanese detective fiction and foreign detective fiction in *Gen'eijō*[326] and writes a short history of Japanese detective fiction in *Zoku gen'eijō*,[327] but most chapters are dedicated to his introduction of foreign classic detective fiction. Moreover, his essays on Japanese detective fiction compiled in *Gen'eijō* are those he wrote to debate with Kigi Takatarō, and thus the exclusion of Kigi's corresponding essays in the overall debates eventually makes the postwar debates quite one-sided. The famous top ten lists in the appendix of *Gen'eijō* almost canonized the criteria for "good" detective fiction, but they do not mention anything about Japanese writers. Ranpo might not come up with any Japanese stories worth mentioning, but this still was seen as a strange omission by many contemporary readers. It is also significant for our analysis of his "standardization" to focus on his treatment of foreign detective fiction. His classification of puzzles in *Zoku gen'eijō* has served for many as the source as well as an excellent introduction of authentic detective fiction, and Ranpo himself once said he was

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[325] Edogawa, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.2, 411.

[326] "Tantei shōsetsu junbungaku-ron o hyōsu" (Examinations of the theory of detective fiction as pure literature) in Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 258-88.

[327] "Nihon tantei shōsetsu no keifu" (The genealogy of Japanese detective fiction) in Edogawa Ranpo, *Zoku gen'eijō* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2004) 401-27.

planning to write authentic detective fiction once he completed the list and discovered a puzzle never used in the past, which was unfortunately never realized.[328] Yet, the chapters are not necessarily dedicated to classic puzzle stories. Two chapters of *Gen'eijō* are spent on so-called "inverted" detective fiction (*tōjo tantei shōsetsu*), which he argues to be a subcategory of authentic detective fiction, and a significant number of pages are also spent on "The Introduction to Ghost Stories" (*Kaidan nyūmon*) which seems to be out of place among essays on detective fiction.

Given the scope of this strategic book, Ranpo could have made *Gen'eijō* more organized and coherent. At least from his introduction of the book, he intended to write a seminal book on detective fiction with detailed bibliographies. His limited references to Japanese writers may be explained through the closed nature of detective fiction circles that makes it hard for him to write honest criticism aimed at other members he personally knew.[329] Furthermore, given that Ranpo was the central figure in the prewar detective fiction movement, any attempt at writing an objective history which would necessarily entail writing about himself would have been even more troublesome for Ranpo.[330] Yet, the structure of the incomplete book seems to have in its arbitrary exclusion and inclusion a "narrative" particularly designed to articulate and negotiate prewar and postwar histories of Japanese detective fiction. *Gen'eijō*'s structure symptomatically reflects Ranpo's efforts in establishing the identity of Japanese detective fiction as well as his identity as a detective fiction writer after the war. Thus, the seeming lack of descriptions necessary for a comprehensive history indirectly constitutes the narrative that helped

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[328] In his conversation with Yokomizo Seishi in "Tantei shōsetsu o kataru," in *Hōseki* Sep.-Oct. 1949. See also Shinbo Hirohisa's afterword to Edogawa, *Zoku gen'eijō* 692-703.

[329] This is one of the reasons that anonymous criticism becomes particularly vicious and confrontational as were the cases of Atomu K (Kigi Takatarō) and Madōji (Takagi Akimitsu and Yamada Fūtarō).

[330] Yoshida 10.

reestablish detective fiction as a genre that dominated Japan's popular literature in the coming age.

In his introduction to the collection of essays about Japanese detective fiction, Yoshida Morio carefully examines Ranpo's strategic organization of the book and argues that *Gen'eijō* was written—but without success—in order to explain the inconsistencies of Ranpo's position about detective fiction before and after the war, i.e. his conversion from the inauthentic school to the authentic school. Yoshida directs our attention to two strategic references in the way Ranpo frames the history. First is Ranpo's reference to the influence of Romantic literature of domestic writers such as Satō Haruo, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke and the second is his postulation of Kuroiwa Ruikō's "Muzan" (Cruel, 1889) as the first example of "authentic" detective fiction by a Japanese writer. By indicating the influence other than the Western model and the good example of "authentic" detective fiction by a Japanese writer well before the Golden Age of the Anglo-American classic *whodunit* in the 1920s, Yoshida argues that Ranpo strategically defends and justifies the particularity of Japanese detective fiction. As Yoshida acutely points out, *Gen'eijō* is full of phrases through which Ranpo reiterates the continuity of his prewar and postwar career. In the introductory essay of the book "Tantei shōsetsu no teigi to ruibetsu" (Definition and Classification of Detective Fiction), Ranpo gives his own definition of detective fiction—"Detective fiction is literature whose main thesis deals with the process through which complex mysteries mostly related to crime are solved logically and gradually"[331]—and mentions that he has not changed it much since he wrote it fifteen years ago. Yoshida argues that the readers who keep reading the chapters soon discover Ranpo's postwar conversion despite his insistence on his consistency in this introductory essay. Yet, it should also be

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[331] Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 21.

emphasized that Ranpo himself admits that the essay is "newly rewritten from today's point of view."[332] In the end, this is his strategic rereading of his prewar theory on detective fiction. Ranpo writes that he only added ten syllables (in Japanese letters) to the definition he wrote fifteen years ago for *Purofīru* and other than that he has not changed a single word, which is mostly true. He added the phrase "mostly related to crime" (*shu toshite hanzai ni kansuru*) to his original definition, but he also deleted the phrase "more or less" (*ōkare sukunakare*) from the original definition which reads, "Detective fiction is literature whose main thesis deals with the process through which complex mysteries are solved more or less logically and gradually."[333]

Despite Ranpo's insistence on the continuity of his attitude toward detective fiction, the above changes rather inform us more about his postwar conversion. Even though Ranpo did not join the debates between Kōga and Kigi in the prewar years, he was considered by many as a writer of inauthentic detective fiction and a sympathizer with Kigi's artistic detective fiction. His prewar definition confirms it. In his prewar definition, Ranpo does not particularly consider detective fiction to be about crime and its logical solution. He writes in the prewar article that "In most cases, detective fiction takes the form of crime fiction, but it is not an indispensable condition."[334] In prewar years, he was also not definite about the logical solution of crime in detective fiction and defended that the stories of Edgar Wallace (1875-1932), Edward Philips Oppenheim (1866-1946), and William Tufnell Le Queux (1864-1927)—popular writers in *Shinseinen* at that time—could be categorized in detective fiction since they have some elements of common logic (*jōshiki ronri*).[335] In this regard, Ranpo's prewar definition is

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[332] Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 21.

[333] Edogawa, *Oni no kotoba* 40.

[334] Edogawa, *Oni no kotoba* 41.

[335] Edogawa, *Oni no kotoba* 41.

characterized by his positive acceptance of what I discussed in Chapter One as "*tantei shōsetsu*"—a hybrid of fantasy, horror, SF, and crime fiction—including Ranpo's "inauthentic" stories before the war. His flexibility in expanding the boundaries of detective fiction here might resemble Kigi's postwar position in proposing the literature of reasoning.

On the other hand, Ranpo's postwar definition becomes narrower in order to justify his support for authentic detective fiction. Themes are strictly restricted to crime, and the logical solution of a carefully presented puzzle becomes the indispensable factor in detective fiction. Moreover, he completely renews his explanation attached to the above definition. The particularly important portion in the commentary is the degree of complexity he requires for detective fiction. He significantly expands this section and argues that the three fundamental elements for good detective fiction are 1) mystery in the beginning, 2) suspense in the middle, and 3) surprise ending.[336] This corresponds to his postulation of Kuroiwa Ruikō's "Muzan" as the origin of Japanese detective fiction. As Yamada also points out, Ruikō's "Muzan" was a long forgotten piece buried in his more famous adaptations of foreign crime novels.[337] "Muzan" is the only creative (*sōsaku*) story among Ruikō's more famous adaptations of foreign crime novels. The story is divided into three parts of "the mystery," "the investigation," and "the explanation," and the cruel murder is solved in the end by two detectives who roughly correspond to the Holmes-Watson pair. Although it satisfies the requirements for the detective story, the story was at best an exercise Ruikō wrote in addition to his more profitable and apparently facile adaptations of foreign crime stories.[338] Yet, in the essay

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[336] In the revival of authentic school in the 90s, Shimada Sōji considered these three as the fundamental elements that distinguish the New Authentic Mystery from ordinary detective fiction. I will discuss the New Authentic School in Chapter Six.

[337] Yamada 23.

[338] Uchida 13.

"Ruikō no sōsaku 'Muzan' ni tsuite" (About Ruikō's Creative Work "Muzan"), Ranpo particularly evaluates the fact that the story was written three years earlier than the first collection of the Holmes stories *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (1892) and even twenty years earlier than Austin Freeman's *John Thorndyke's Cases* (1909) to which Ranpo finds resemblance in style.[339] Here, Ranpo's discovery of the origin of authentic detective fiction helps him to reorganize even prewar inauthentic detective fiction in his newly framed history of Japanese detective fiction. He further writes that it was the shame (*chijoku*) of Japanese detective fiction that such pioneer work as "Muzan" did not receive enough attention and Ruikō inevitably turned his efforts to adaptations of stories of the grotesque and horror by writers such as Fortune du Boisgobey and Émile Gaboriau.[340] It is quite ironic that what Ranpo argues is Ruikō's failure in developing a small but definite sprout of authentic detective fiction parallels exactly what Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke criticized Ranpo for in his inclination to "unhealthy" detective fiction in the late 1920s. In other words, Ranpo's narrativization of Ruikō in effect justifies even his vast number of "unhealthy" inauthentic detective fiction for the reason that they were written in order to conform to readers who were unable to appreciate his own pioneering works in the early 1920s.

Ranpo's frequent references to a seemingly minor subgenre of detective fiction called "inverted detective fiction" further reinforce this narrativization. "Inverted detective fiction" (*tōjo tantei shōsetsu*) is the name Ranpo specifically gave to the type of detective fiction written from the perspective of the perpetrator of the crime. Instead of the detective's efforts in cornering a suspect, the main interest of the story lies in the suspense of how the criminal can skillfully conceal the crime and outwit the detective. In

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[339] Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 227.

[340] Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 228.

the chapters dedicated to inverted detective fiction,[341] he lists *Malice Afterthought* (1931) by Francis Iles (1893-1971), *The 12:30 from Croydon* (1934) by Freeman Wills Crofts (1879-1957), *The Murder of My Aunt* (1935) by Richard Hull (1896-1973), and *Portrait of a Scoundrel* (1938) by Eden Phillpotts (1862-1960) and argues that those satisfy the spirit of what he calls authentic detective fiction. His appraisal of this particular sub-genre of detective fiction stands out if compared to, for example, Julian Symons' treatment of it as "the Iles school" which "showed a certain lack of staying power" in the Western history.[342]

Yoshida also directs out attention to Ranpo's treatment of "inverted detective fiction" and argues that the chapters on inverted detective fiction are designed to place Ranpo's prewar inauthentic detective fiction in his version of history. As Yoshida points out, this is one of the most important discursive devises constructing the orthodox history of Japanese detective fiction. If he follows his own theory of authentic detective fiction, he should have excluded inverted detective fiction as inauthentic or at least as a marginal subgenre. In his writings, however, "inverted detective fiction" becomes the key genre that fills in the missing link in the history of Japanese detective fiction. Yoshida writes that "the 'canon' and 'history' of inverted detective fiction was a timely 'discovery' in order for postwar Ranpo to establish his own identity."[343] In explaining his definition, Ranpo thus argues that *Malice Afterthought* should be counted as detective fiction since its main interest is the process by which a puzzle is gradually solved—in this sense, it is neither literature nor crime fiction like *The Brothers Karamazov* whose main interest is something other than the solution of the puzzle.[344] This rather innocent expansion in his

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[341] Edogawa, "Tōjo tantei shōsetsu saisetsu," *Gen'eijo* 54-72.

[342] Symons 142.

[343] Yoshida 29.

[344] Edogawa, *Gen'eijo* 53.

definition allows him to include and validate many stories previously considered to be inauthentic Japanese detective fiction, among which his own "Psychological Test" could be included. In inverted detective fiction, investigation of a character, which Kigi values from the standpoint of literature, and enjoyment of a well constructed puzzle, which Ranpo maintains he valued throughout his career, can both be conveniently satisfied.

Moreover, the section dedicated to horror stories further authenticates many other stories whose main interests are not even the solution of a puzzle—including Ranpo's stories of the grotesque and horror for which he became known before the war. This section first may look out of place in an essay collection on detective fiction. In order to justify this chapter in the book, Ranpo thus argues that he also thought detective fiction and horror stories were different genres since the former is characterized by rationalism while the other by irrationalism. Yet, citing E. A. Seaborne's introduction to *The Detective in Fiction: A Posse of Eight*,[345] he argues that since detective fiction, particularly the stories of his most respected writer Edgar Allan Poe, has its origins in eighteenth-century Gothic novels, detective fiction and horror need not be separated entirely.[346] He further argues that today's popular psycho-thriller—he refers here to his latest discovery, i.e., inverted detective fiction of the Iles school—could well be considered a modern version of the Gothic novel. Ranpo spends one section introducing Seaborne's book and praises it highly as a book that needs to be translated for Japanese readers together with other important books of detective fiction not yet translated into

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[345] Edward Alexander Seaborne, *The Detective in Fiction: A Posse of Eight* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1931).

[346] Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 292-93. He also dedicates one chapter to Edgar Allan Poe as the founder of detective fiction. See "Tantei sakka to shite no Edogā Pō," (Edgar Poe as a Detective Fiction Writer) *Gen'eijo* 167-94.

Japanese such as those by Carolyn Wells and Dorothy Sayers.[347] Since the definition and history of detective fiction are among the most controversial topics even in the West, Ranpo's reference to Seaborne in particular should not be judged as his biased introduction of the "Western" notion of detective fiction. The real issue involves his references to a Western view in organizing and articulating his "authentic" history. Seaborne's book is particularly enlightening for Ranpo since it makes possible his articulation of the history of Japanese detective fiction side by side with what he conceives to be an "authentic" Western history of detective fiction. In this view, inauthentic detective fiction of the prewar years could be rearticulated as a precursor of postwar authentic detective fiction. Moreover, it is not just a backward deviation—compared to the West—of detective fiction but even predicts what he considers to be the cutting edge of foreign detective fiction, namely, the psycho thriller in the style of inverted detective fiction. Much like Unno Jūza in his debate with Kōga Saburō in the 1930s, here Ranpo suggests that inauthentic detective fiction reveals the rich varieties—not the backward nature—of prewar Japanese detective fiction. In his careful constellation—or negligence—of Japanese detective fiction in relation to the West as well as the prewar/postwar discontinuity, authentic detective fiction becomes one of the small sub-genres that Japanese writers could work on in order to catch up with Western detective fiction, and not an ultimate goal of the not-yet modernized Japanese culture, which is, in his view, characterized by the abundance of "cultures."

Conclusion

Gen'eijō is a strategic project for Edogawa Ranpo. It represents not only his postwar conversion to being an advocate of authentic detective fiction, but also his

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[347] Carolyn Wells, *The Technique of the Mystery Story* (Springfield: The Home Correspondence School, 1913). Dorothy Sayers, *Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery and Horror* (London: V. Gollancz, 1928).

transition from a detective fiction writer to a detective fiction critic or, some might say, the symbol of the detective fiction genre in Japan. Ranpo's classification of puzzles in *Zoku gen'eijō* met several criticisms and underwent several revisions, but his overall framework for the books has rarely been challenged. It is rather Ranpo's project that made it possible to "suture"—if I may apply a term used in psychoanalysis in the subject's construction of identity—the doubly torn identity of Japanese detective fiction: between Japan and the West in prewar years, and between prewar and postwar in postwar years. Despite—or exactly because of—the sporadic nature of the books, they in fact represented the history of Japanese detective fiction in the postwar constellation of cultures.

Kigi Takatarō proposed changing the name of the genre from *tantei shōsetsu* to *suiri shōsetsu* to continue advocating for artistic detective fiction of the prewar debates. The more orthodox Edogawa Ranpo, on the other hand, intended to change the name to introduce a break in the history of Japanese detective fiction by changing himself from an involuntary supporter of inauthentic detective fiction to the active evangelist of the authentic one. The name of the genre was inevitably changed to *suiri shōsetsu*, largely thanks to regulations in the publishing industry imposed after the war. As Nakajima Kawatarō points out, however, the theoretical debates of detective fiction critics did not have much impact on the public with regard to the practical usage of the novel term; *suiri shōsetsu* was used just as the substitute of *tantei shōsetsu* and eventually achieved currency as a general term of detective fiction since after the war until the 1980s when definitions of detective fiction again came under scrutiny.

The popularity of the authentic school has not lasted long though. Despite his active support of the genre, Ranpo never produced anything even close to being called authentic detective fiction, and strict puzzle stories were soon substituted when the social school—much like Western detective fiction—prioritized "stories" of serious social issues over pure puzzles. The social issues accompanying rapidly industrializing

societies gave many writers the materials of fiction where crimes and their solution become just backgrounds to serious "themes." If Kigi's goal was to depict human beings in detective fiction, such a goal was achieved by such writers as Matsumoto Seichō, who started as a serious writer of literature and eventually became one of the most important and influential writers of the social school due to his treatment of crime and its investigation. Since the transition from classic detective fiction to the social school detective fiction was more visible and influential on the public, the break *suiri shōsetsu* introduced in the history of Japanese detective fiction is more commonly applied to this transition from detective fiction—regardless of authentic or inauthentic—to more general crime fiction that might well be called simply "mystery" in Western categorizations. Yet, it is this short lived authentic detective fiction under the name of *suiri shōsetsu* that became the ideal model for a series of rebellious writers who intended to revive classic detective fiction in the 1990s. I will discuss this New Authentic School of detective fiction in Chapter Six so as to return to the issue of postwar negotiations of the genre.

CHAPTER V

FROM POINTS TO LINES: YOKOMIZO SEISHI'S AUTHENTIC DETECTIVE FICTION AND MATSUMOTO SEICHŌ'S SOCIAL SCHOOL DETECTIVE FICTION

Introduction:

Yokomizo Seishi's Postwar Return

All of the postwar debates about authenticities in detective fiction eventually led to the postulation of Yokomizo Seishi's *Honjin satsujin jiken* (1946) as the first authentic detective fiction written by a Japanese writer. The canonical status of the novel as a puzzle story was first set by contemporary critics and then through repeated discussion by critics of later generations the novel came to be seen as a watershed in the history of Japanese detective fiction, marking the divide between prewar inauthentic and postwar authentic. The discourses reflect the cultural essentialist assumption that Japan was late in absorbing the genre which is argued to be tied inseparably to "modernity."

In both England and America, classic puzzle stories peaked in the 1930s, declined rapidly as possible variations of puzzles were consumed, and were already proclaimed dead after World War II. If we look back at the history of the crime novel, the Golden Age—represented by puzzle story writers such as Christie, Queen, and Van Dine—might merely be seen as "a minor road full of interesting twists and views that petered out at a dead end."[348] The Western Golden Age was the time when every possible combination of puzzles was tried, thus radicalizing the nature of the genre. Yet, radicalization of the format inevitably stiffened the flexibility of the genre and formulaic stories of acrobatic puzzles gradually lost their appeal to multiple readerships. Prewar Japanese readers were not necessary immune to the destiny of the puzzle story in Anglo-American countries.

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[348] Symons 138.

Puzzle stories of the Golden Age were introduced and translated before foreign information became scarce due to Japan's entry into the war against the Allies and were even criticized by Japanese writers for the same reasons that they were rejected in their homelands.

In the devastation after World War II, however, Japanese writers returned to the general trend of the genre and produced puzzle stories of the Golden Age constituting what many critics call the first Golden Age of Japanese "authentic" detective fiction. Although the movement helped draw new talent to the genre, it soon reached a dead end and was substituted for the realistic crime novels of Matsumoto Seichō that were later called the "social school" (*shakaiha*) of detective fiction. In this regard, the postwar history of Japanese detective fiction followed the same path Anglo-American detective fiction had taken, but the late prosperity of the "authentic" mode in Japan is one of the issues most discussed in terms of the particularity of the genre in Japan. In this chapter, I will treat two representative figures of postwar Japanese detective fiction—Yokomizo's authentic detective fiction and Matsumoto's social school detective fiction—so as to further contextualize discourses about the postwar recovery of the genre I discussed in the previous chapter.

Honjin satsujin jiken as the Origin of Authentic Detective Fiction

In the history of Japanese detective fiction, Yokomizo Seishi is often considered by many as the writer who most represents Japan's postwar recovery in the detective fiction genre. Yamamura Masao for example writes in his book on postwar detective fiction writers that Yokomizo Seishi and Matsumoto Seichō are two of the few writers who mark "a new epoch" in postwar detective fiction.[349] Before the war, Yokomizo was

[349] He lists Edogawa Ranpo and Kigi Takatarō as prewar examples. See Yamamura, *Waga kaikyūteki tantei sakkaron* 321.

known for his grotesque crime stories such as "Onibi" and "Kura no naka." Those were stories often associated with the romantic tradition of Japanese literature represented by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Satō Haruo and thus were hailed in prewar discussions about Japanese detective fiction as the representative works of "inauthentic" detective fiction. After World War II, Yokomizo went through a different kind of transformation from Edogawa Ranpo. He produced a series of "authentic" detective novels reminiscent of the Golden Age of Anglo-American detective fiction and contributed to the postwar recovery of the genre. Like Edogawa Ranpo, his writings have constantly been revived in various formats—notably in a series of blockbuster movies in the 1970s and in *manga* in the 1990s—and have attained canonical status in Japanese detective fiction.

Contrary to his status as one of the representative writers of prewar "unhealthy" detective fiction in the discourses about Japanese detective fiction, however, Yokomizo first started his career, like Edogawa Ranpo, as a writer of modern "healthy" detective stories in his award winning "Osoroshiki shigatsu baka" (Dreadful April Fool, 1921) in *Shinseinen*. During his years as an editor of the publishing house Hakubunkan (1926-32), he introduced to *Shinseinen* what he called the "*Shinseinen* tastes"—multifaceted interests in things modern—as well as writing sophisticated stories of modern urban life such as "Kazarimado no naka no koibito" (His Lover in the Window, 1926), "Yamana Kōsaku no fushigina seikatsu" (The Strange Life of Yamana Kōsaku, 1927), and "Nekutai kidan" (A Strange Tale about A Necktie, 1927).

When he became an independent writer in 1932, however, the bright urban style of his early writings was gradually overshadowed by the dark dreadful imagery full of grotesque tastes of *kusazōshi* pulp publication of the late Edo period.[350] "Omokage zōshi" (The Story of Likeness, 1933) marks the transition with his effective use of the

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[350] Gonda, *Nihon tantei sakkaron* 94.

glamorous design of *kusazōshi.* The story recounts in the Osaka dialect the suspicion of the protagonist about the secret of his birth in the settings of a rich merchant family, which is also Yokomizo's "return" to his own childhood memory of growing up in Kōbe as the son of a pharmacist. "Onibi" is perhaps Yokomizo's most famous piece before the war.[351] It is a story of the lifelong hatred between two men, which is reminiscent of Tanizaki's "Kin to gin" (Gold and Silver). A murder and an exchange of identity are decorated by the "grotesque horror"[352] of an eerie mask one of the two wears after a fatal train accident.[353] In "Kura no naka," the masochistic relationships between a boy and his blind sister in the secluded cellar even outshines its surprise ending as a detective story. As Edogawa Ranpo indicates,[354] it is not difficult to see in those stories the strong influence of crime stories by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō. In the shifting political climate under the military government in the 1930s, there was "a surge of *Nihon e no kaiki*, or returns to Japan, whereby westernized Japanese turned toward their own traditions."[355] Like his inspirer Tanizaki, who "discovered" the beauty of the "shadows" in the aesthetics he

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[351] In the anthology of Yokomizo's short stories published in 1949, for example, Takagi Akimitsu writes that "he thought he wanted to add the work ["Onibi"] to the world's ten best along with Ranpo's "Injū." Takagi Akimitsu, "Senja no kotoba," *Yokomizo Seishi shū*, ed. Kusaka Sanzō (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2001) 494.

[352] Gonda, *Nihon tantei sakkaron* 96.

[353] The motif of the mask is later recycled in *Inugamike no ichizoku* (The Inugami Clan, 1950-51), one of the most memorable pieces among his novels—partly because of the visual impact of the grotesque mask in its movie adaptation in 1976.

[354] Ranpo indicates the influence of Tanizaki's "Aru shōnen no osore" (A Fear of A Boy, 1917) on "Omokage zōshi," "Kin to gin" (Gold and Silver, 1918) on "Onibi," and "Norowareta gikyoku" (Cursed Play, 1919) on "Kura no naka." See Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 217.

[355] Ken K. Ito, *Visions of Desire: Tanizaki's Fictional Worlds* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1991)102.

argued were "particular" to the Japanese tradition, Yokomizo turned to the domestic theme he shared with those returnees.[356]

Although Yokomizo did not participate in the debates about authentic detective fiction, he was thus inclined to embrace the particular constellations of the genre in Japan. In his introduction to the anthology of Japanese detective fiction writers written in 1935, prewar Ranpo classifies Yokomizo in a subcategory of the literature school (*bungaku-ha*), which is counterposed to the intellectual school (*richi-ha*),[357] and comments that "we can surmise from the horrifying force and his newly devised prose in an exquisite style in 'Onibi' and 'Kura no naka' that his passion is single-mindedly directed toward literature."[358] It is no exaggeration that together with Ranpo, Yokomizo best represented the prewar tendency of making detective fiction "literature" by employing motifs and imagery common to the literature of romanticism rising from national consciousness. In his essay in the issue of *Shinseinen* in which the first installment of "Onibi" was published, Yokomizo thus writes that "in this country, the strange and beautiful flowers of detective fiction unrivaled in the world are now in full bloom."[359] There, he proudly calls himself "a king of imagination and a slave of fantasy"[360] and proclaims that he does not feel any necessity of opting for translated detective fiction of the world since he is already surrounded with the rich varieties of domestic detective fiction by Edogawa Ranpo, Oguri Mushitarō, Ōshita Udaru, and Yumeno Kyūsaku. Prewar Yokomizo was

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[356] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, "In'ei raisan," *In'ei raisan; Tokyo o omou* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2002).

[357] Interestingly enough, in this introduction, Ranpo classifies Kigi Takatarō in the intellectual school together with Hamao Shirō, Kōga Saburō and Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke. If we compare him with Yokomizo, Kigi, who later claimed himself the literature school, was more characterized by detective tastes based on his knowledge of forensic medicine.

[358] Edogawa, *Oni no kotoba* 190.

[359] Yokomizo, *Tantei shōsetsu gojūnen* 61.

[360] Yokomizo, *Tantei shōsetsu gojūnen* 62.

unquestionably directed toward an inner sanctuary of aestheticism devoid of social realities of the time.

After the war, however, Yokomizo went through an even more drastic transformation by enthusiastically writing so-called "authentic detective fiction" (*honkaku tantei shōsetsu*) and becoming the central figure in leading the authentic detective fiction movement. In his autobiography, Yokomizo writes that he was reading a great deal of foreign detective fiction toward the end of Japan's total war, and his desire of writing authentic detective fiction was even more stimulated by the restriction imposed on the genre during the war. He writes:

> Yet, when the production of new domestic detective fiction was terminated during the war not to mention that of the foreign one, I suddenly started suffering from hunger for detective fiction. Moreover, as people first demand rice over meat or fish in the case of the hunger for food, I, who complain about the hunger for detective fiction, demand the most authentic detective fiction among detective fiction, i.e. *honkaku tantei shōsetsu*.[361]

His first detective fiction after the war was thus a pure puzzle story that strictly followed the formula of the Anglo American classics. The novel *Honjin satsujin jiken* was serialized from the inaugural issue of *Hōseki*, which replaced the prewar fame of *Shinseinen* as the dominant magazine of detective fiction, and it ran from April to December in 1946. His unprecedented effort in writing an "authentic" detective novel was soon hailed by many writers as a sign of the sound development of the genre in Japan. Yokomizo's conversion was even taken as a symbol of Japan's postwar departure from an inward aestheticism conditioned by fascist ideology toward an outward modernization suitable for postwar democracy.

The setting of *Honjin satsujin jiken* (hereafter, *Honjin*) is as classic as a puzzle story can be and is self-consciously "authentic" in the matrix of the discourses about the

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[361] Yokomizo, *Tantei shōsetsu gojūnen* 216.

genre. In the beginning, the narrator who the reader would be likely to associate with the author himself introduces the classic case of a "locked room mystery" he heard about during his stay in a country village. Referring to foreign locked room mysteries such as *Le Mystère de la Chambre Jaune* (1907) by Gaston Leroux (1868-1927), *Les dents du tigre* (1920) by Maurice Leblanc, *The Canary Murder Case* (1927) and *The Kennel Murder Case* (1931) by S. S. Van Dine (1888-1939), *The Plague Court Murders* (1934) by John Dickson Carr (1906-77), and *Murder Among the Angells* (1932) by Roger Scarlett,[362] the narrator recounts that the "real" murder case is different from any of those "fictional" (and understandably "foreign") cases.

It all happens the night of the marriage ceremony of the Ichiyanagis, the landlord in a village of Okayama. The bride and bridegroom are brutally murdered in the annex that is practically inaccessible to anyone because of the snow that already covered the ground at the time of the murder. The genius detective Kindaichi Kōsuke,[363] with all the eccentric characteristics of his ancestors in foreign classics, investigates the impossible murder case, reasons through every ominous mystery surrounding the old family, and finally reaches the surprising conclusion that the bridegroom is the mastermind of the double murder case. The bridegroom was torn between his pride as an inheritor of the old family where he could not simply cancel the grand event and the disgracing fact—in his mind—that the bride was not chaste. Thus, he had to devise the most effective way of killing his wife and, since he knew he could not bear the sense of guilt, of killing himself without it being known to his family that it was a suicide. He first killed his wife with a

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[362] Roger Scarlett is a pen name of Evelyn Page(1902-1977) and Dorothy Blair(1903-1976?). This somehow forgotten piece in America is comparatively well-known in Japan thanks to Edogawa Ranpo's famous top ten lists in Gen'eijo. Ranpo even adopted it later as *Sankakukan no kyōfu* (The Horror of the Triangle Mansion, 1951).

[363] His name comes from the famous linguist Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882-1971). See Yokomizo Seishi, "Kindaichi Kōsuke tanjōki," *Kindaichi Kōsuke no kikan: Kessaku suiri shōsetsu* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2002).

sword and then pierced his heart, and then the sword was carried away mechanically by a *koto* string attached to a water mill wheel to such a far distance that no one suspected the fatally injured man could have thrown it away. The sudden snow made the case a "locked room mystery" by chance against the mastermind's intention of faking it as a murder for gain. Kindaichi concludes that the convention of the old family forced him to such a complicated and tragic suicide.

The style of *Honjin* serves as a prime example of a classic puzzle that is true to the rules set by the foreign masters of the genre in the Golden Age of the interwar period. Vital clues are all presented in a fair manner to the readers so that they can solve the puzzle if they are as smart as the detective in the novel. True to the authentic puzzle stories, the entire story is narrated by a neutral narrator. Whereas the "interested" narrator/character in Ranpo's "Injū" is actively involved in the murder case, *Honjin*'s narrator indifferently recounts the story he heard from the villagers when he was evacuated into a small village of Okayama—a reference to the author's actual experience during the war. The narrator even makes authoritative interventions at the end of the story, claiming that he made fair descriptions at the key moments in his narration not to disclose the fact that the main character committed suicide and was not murdered, yet that he did not necessarily fool the reader as does the narrator of Agatha Christie's *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* in the most notorious case of an unreliable narrator in detective fiction.

Like Ranpo's "Injū," the novel is also Yokomizo's statement for the knowledgeable readers of the genre and self-consciously presented as authentic detective fiction. One chapter "Tantei shōsetsu mondō" (The Dialogue about Detective Fiction) is dedicated to the debates between two characters in the novel about locked room mysteries in foreign detective fiction, which reminds the avid readers of John Dickson Carr's *The Three Coffins* (1935) in which the detective Dr Gideon Fell gives his famous "locked room lecture." The detective even confesses that his discovery of Doyle's "The

Problem of Thor Bridge" (1922), in which a suicide is also disguised as a murder in order to impeach an innocent person, in the library of the deceased man helped him to solve the case.

Yokomizo's conversion was favorably received by established writers of the genre as well as the writers of the postwar generation. This was the realization of what Ranpo envisioned in his postwar essays but never achieved in writing himself. Reflecting Ranpo's enthusiasm for this revolutionary piece, his impressions of *Honjin* were published in *Hōseki* in 1947, promptly after the novel was completed. Ranpo opens his essay with the high praise that "this [*Honjin*] is not only the first postwar detective novel but also Mr. Yokomizo's first novel of a pure puzzle since his maiden work, and this is also the first novel of reasoning in the Anglo-American style in the world of Japanese detective fiction, except for a few exceptional prewar works."[364] Ranpo evaluates in particular Yokomizo's skillful implementation of a classic locked room mystery in "purely Japanese settings" in which "the framework of the main logic and its background, the characters, and the mechanism of the main puzzle are all constructed with purely Japanese materials."[365] Although he criticizes the weak motive of the criminal, which he admits is a problem also shared by most Anglo American detective fiction of pure puzzles, he highly regards Yokomizo's challenge in tackling the form of authentic detective fiction.

Ranpo was not alone in positioning *Honjin* as the landmark novel of the authentic form, although he set the foundational discourse by evaluating it highly. Even a contemporary critic like Kasai Kiyoshi considers it the most important piece among Yokomizo's works—yet for a different reason. In his two-volume seminal work on

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[364] Edogawa, "Honjin satsujin jiken," *Oni no kotoba* 392.

[365] Edogawa, *Oni no kotoba* 396.

Japanese detective fiction *Tantei shōsetsuron* (The Theory of Detective Fiction, 1998), Kasai focuses instead on the ideological function of the genre and places Yokomizo's *Honjin* in the watershed of the history of Japanese detective fiction.[366] For Kasai, authentic detective fiction is the genre particular to the culture that has gone through a total war in which human beings experience mass murder to a degree incomparable in previous warfare. Against the critics who reduce Japan's failed implementation of the detective fiction genre in prewar years to the result of Japan's immature modernization, Kasai argues that the production of modern detective fiction is only possible after the experience of a total war where the death of human beings loses intrinsic value under weapons of mass destruction and is turned into sheer "numbers" located in the margins of daily national newspapers. Kasai avoids falling into the cultural essentialism that reduces the particular trajectory of the detective fiction genre in Japan solely to Japan's cultural particularity and proposes a new grid in discussing the development of the authentic mode—before the war and after the war—instead of the conventional grid of premodern and modern. According to Kasai, the detective fiction genre, and especially the authentic form, is a literary movement born out of a culture that has witnessed innumerable deaths of no innate value. In those pure puzzle stories, characters tend to be reduced to mere pieces of a larger puzzle designed by the author. They represent in its absurdity the epistemology of the time that also reduces human beings into trifles or "things."[367] From this perspective, Japan did not experience this epistemological crisis in World War I, since this war was fought outside Japan and gave the country a status of a colonizer nation capable of competing against the Great Powers of the world.[368] Consequently, the literary movement particular to the social reality of total warfare—authentic detective

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[366] Kasai, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.1, 54.

[367] Kasai, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.1, 51.

[368] Kasai, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.1, 66.

fiction—was not appreciated until the nation experienced even greater death under the atomic bombs at the end of World War II.

Whether the author deliberately imitated foreign canons or the nation became susceptible to the game of sheer numbers, *Honjin* unmistakably marks the watershed in the discourses about Japanese detective fiction. Yet, it should be emphasized that the epistemological break in those discourses was equally made possible through various material conditions, for example through the consumption side of literary production as well, i.e. the distribution channel of magazines and the readership constituted by dedicated fans. Among possible factors that helped launch a number of authentic detective novels are the regulations imposed on Japan's publishing industry after the war. Aside from the limitations imposed on historical novels I mentioned in the previous chapter, ironically translations of foreign materials were severely limited due to Japan's entry into international copyright law.[369] Despite a huge hunger for translations of Western writings after the war[370] and relatively free circulation of paperbacks,[371] newly emerging publishers could not publish copyright protected foreign materials, nor even reprints of prewar translations, until Japan could independently deal with international copyright after the end of occupation. Edogawa Ranpo writes that because of GHQ's tightening of translation business regulations, translation became practically impossible until the end of 1949 when Thomas Folster of GHQ started working as an agent of

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[369] Miyata Noboru, *Hon'yaku shuppan no jitsumu* (Tokyo: Shuppan Dōjin, 1976) 60-7, 169-185.

[370] Dower 182. Dower appropriately recounts a postwar craze for foreign materials, but he fails to mention that because of the protection GHQ imposed on Anglo-American materials, recent foreign publications, especially Anglo-American detective fiction in the twentieth century, were not freely translated until the end of occupation.

[371] Edogawa, *Zoku gen'eijō* 421. Here, he writes that he obtained his knowledge of recent Anglo-American detective fiction through pocketbooks left by American soldiers and the public library GHQ opened.

international copyright laws.[372] One of the reports of the publishing industry of 1949 bluntly acknowledge that publication of foreign-language materials is so complicated that it is almost impossible to publish foreign-language works until fifty years after the death of the author.[373] Thus for a few years after the war, the demand for detective fiction, especially for recent works including authentic detective fiction of the Golden Age, temporarily exceeded the supplies numerous new publishers could provide. On the other hand, substitutive domestic materials were quickly driven away once foreign materials returned to the domestic market. Ranpo writes in his memoir that publication of his prewar works peaked in 1947,[374] but the number soon decreased drastically as the publishing industry being recuperated from the postwar turmoil. In this postwar material condition in terms of foreign translation, authentic detective fiction by Japanese writers enjoyed a short period of prosperity between right after the war and before the end of the occupation.

Moreover, it should not be overlooked that *Hōseki,* in which *Honjin* was serialized, was a magazine dedicated to serious fans of detective fiction and was not particularly a successful magazine financially.[375] The magazine that boasted the sales of a hundred thousand copies in its first few years faced a financial crisis as early as 1949. Edogawa Ranpo, who chose the magazine as the ideological tool for promoting authentic detective fiction, had to become a patron and the "honorary" editor to save the company in 1957.[376] The decline of *Hōseki* and therefore Japanese authentic detective fiction is

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[372] Edogawa, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.2, 245-46.

[373] Miyata Noboru, *Hon'yakuken no sengoshi* (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1999) 26.

[374] Edogawa, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.2, 287, 392-4.

[375] Yoshida 199.

[376] Yamamura Masao, *Zoku suiri bundan sengoshi* (Tokyo: Futabasha, 1978) 60.

nearly reciprocal to the rise of foreign material publication. Hayakawa Shobō started publishing foreign detective fiction with the help of the newly established copyright laws in 1953 and correspondingly *Hōseki*'s sales decreased drastically to seven to eight thousand copies per issue.[377] Ranpo enthusiastically published essays on the recent trend in foreign detective fiction that were later compiled in *Gen'eijō*, and the new generation of writers who followed Yokomizo's footsteps provided actual works that realized his theory. In addition to the public demand or—according to Kasai Kiyoshi—their ability in truly appreciating the genre, the postwar authentic detective fiction boom was helped by a temporal lapse in the supplies of foreign detective fiction as well as Ranpo's strategic efforts in transforming the genre in the network of closely tied communities of producers and consumers. By repeated discussion of "authenticity" in detective fiction, however, the foundational discourse was set to introduce a break between prewar inauthentic and postwar authentic detective fiction.

The issue of those material conditions in literary production brings us back to the idea of "discontinuity" that prevails in the discourses about Japanese detective fiction. Writers and readers of the genre might both have demanded the transformation of the genre and the material conditions conveniently may have helped it, yet the question still remains as to what is actually transformed and what constituted the markedly "new" in those postwar "authentic" novels. As prewar "returns" to Japanese tradition were not a simple process of rejecting the "West" within, postwar re-returns to the West were likewise complex processes of inscribing discontinuity in historical continuity.

While Yokomizo's postwar transformation is often discussed in relation to Japan's postwar democratization, as Yamamura Masao points out, it is too hasty to conclude that he completely transformed into a new writer of "authentic" detective

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[377] Yamamura, *Zoku suiri bundan sengoshi* 60.

fiction.[378] His postwar "transformation" preserves most of the grotesque tastes inspired by pulp publication in the late Edo period (*kusazōshi*),[379] which Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke criticized as an "unhealthy" tendency of Japanese detective fiction. Within a few years after writing *Honjin*, Yokomizo vigorously published puzzle stories featuring the same detective of *Honjin* Kindaichi Kōsuke. *Gokumontō* (1947-8), *Yatsuhakamura* (1949-51), *Inugamike no ichizoku* (The Inugami Clan, 1950-51) and *Akuma ga kitarite fue o fuku* (The Devil Comes to Play the Flute, 1951-53) entitled him to be called the master of authentic detective novels comparable to Agatha Christie (1890-1976) and Ellery Queen[380] in the Anglo-American Golden Age. A total of seventy-seven of Kindaichi's cases were written leading the way to a host of young writers supporting authentic detective fiction.[381] According to Ranpo these works "influenced greatly in deciding the direction of postwar detective fiction,"[382] but it should not be overlooked that Yokomizo's inclination to the pulp tastes later becomes even more evident. Yokomizo himself admits that he should rather be categorized as *tantei sakka* (detective fiction writer) commonly used before the war rather than the postwar new invention of *suiri sakka* (mystery writer).[383] Many aspects of his writings demonstrate continuity

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[378] Yamamura, *Waga kaikyūteki tantei sakkaron* 332.

[379] Yokomizo, *Tantei shōsetsu gojūnen* 306-7. It is ironic that *kusazōshi* colloquially means "inauthentic." In this regard, his prewar romantic writings that many associated with inauthentic trend of detective fiction were literary inspired by "inauthentic" tradition of Japanese literature.

[380] The penname of Frederic Dannay (1905-82) and his cousin Manfred Bennington Lee (1905-71).

[381] Uchida Junbun, "Suiri shōsetsu no butai to shite no basho: Kindaichi Kōsuke ga katsuyaku suru sakuhin sekai," *Bungaku hito chiiki: ekkyōsuru chirigaku*, ed. Sugiura Yoshio (Tokyo: Kokon Shoin, 1995).

[382] Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 422.

[383] Yokomizo, *Tantei shōsetsu gojūnen* 15.

with his prewar career and it can equally be possible to call him the last detective fiction writer rather than the first authentic detective fiction writer.

Although all of these novels inherit the Gothic tastes of Yokomizo's prewar works, postwar Yokomizo definitely opted for a transformation. Right after the war, he simultaneously started serializing two types of authentic detective fiction featuring two different detectives: the Western-influenced sophisticated intellectual Yuri Rintarō, and the clumsy eccentric genius in Japanese style clothes (*kimono*) Kindaichi Kōsuke. *Honjin* would thus be contrasted with his other masterpiece of the same year *Chōchō satsujin jiken*. *Chōchō satsujin jiken* (*Chōchō* hereafter) was serialized in *Rokku* from May 1946 to April 1947, simultaneously with *Honjin*. It contains all the elements that make *Honjin* an authentic detective fiction of a pure puzzle. All the clues are presented by Chapter 17, and the author even inserts the famous challenge for readers to stop reading at that point and to deduce the solution from clues provided up to that chapter. Yet, the atmosphere in *Chōchō* is significantly different from that of *Honjin*. While the latter is set in the rural village of Okayama in 1937 and features a detective old-fashioned enough to be looked down on by the suspects, the former is set in city space and features a smart respectable detective. While one of *Honjin*'s dominant motifs is the traditional Japanese instrument, the koto, *Chōchō* is rather frequented with the large case of the Western instrument of a contrabass where the body is found. Interestingly enough, modern Yuri Rintarō is Yokomizo's prewar creation and the cases that feature him were mostly written in the prewar years. Although *Chōchō* was highly regarded as Yokomizo's masterpiece by contemporary readers, it became somewhat less popular compared to his other works that feature Kindaichi, and consequently only a couple of Yuri stories were written. In this regard, postwar Yokomizo created a "new" but reactionary "old" detective by bridging his hunger for "authentic" detective fiction and his prewar inclination to "inauthentic" tendencies for which he was most known. *Honjin*

and Kindaichi are characterized by their curious anachronism between old and new in Yokomizo's postwar negotiation of the genre.

If we look at the chronology of the cases of Kindaichi, Yokomizo's negotiation with Japan's recent past becomes more pronounced. The murder case in *Honjin* is set in 1937 and the narrator/author writes that he heard the story at the time he was evacuated from Tokyo to the small village of Okayama, which corresponds to the author's actual experience. Ranpo's house in Tokyo miraculously survived the fire of the great Tokyo air raid but it was an exception. Many great talents of *Shinseinen* died during the war. Among young writers, Ōsaka Keikichi (1912-45) was killed in the war in Luzon as well as Ran Ikujirō (1913-44) in Taiwan. Of those who did not die at the front, many died in severe distress toward the end of the war: Kōga Saburō (1893-1945), Tanaka Sanae (1884-1945), and Inoue Yoshio (1908-45) all died in 1945. Oguri Mushitarō (1901-1946), one of the writers most expected to resume his prewar career survived the war but died during Japan's chaotic recovery from the devastation in 1946.[384] Despite its outwardly anachronistic settings, Yokomizo's Kindaichi series indeed traces quite faithfully the trajectory of Japan's recent commitment to the war.

A small time-lag between the Kindaichi stories and when they were published is also worth noting. In *Honjin*, Kindaichi is introduced as a young rising detective who has solved numerous difficult cases and the war is mentioned as the dark cloud just around the corner. The next novel *Gokumontō* skips ahead in time and is set in 1946—a significant reduction in the time-lag. In the opening of the novel, the narrator refers to the time elapsed after the Honjin murder case and writes that Kindaichi did nothing during the period since he was soon mobilized and "wasted the most precious time of his

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[384] Yokomizo's *Chōchō* was written in order to fill in the pages left by Oguri's sudden death in 1946. Oguri left only the first installment of *Akuryō* (Evil), which might have broken fresh ground for postwar authentic detective fiction if only it had been completed. See Unno Jūza , "Isaku "Akuryō" ni tsuite," *Nijusseiki tekkamen* (Tokyo: Fusōsha, 2001).

life." This would be an ironic comment on Japan's history as well as that of Japanese detective fiction, since Yokomizo himself could do nothing during the war except read foreign detective fiction. Moreover, among Yokomizo's novels, *Gokumontō* is probably the novel most overshadowed by the recent war memory. There is a series of murders in which the bodies are all decorated in a manner analogous to *haiku* that are left at the scene of the crime.[385] Kindaichi visits the island in order to inform a family of the death of his fellow soldier and is inevitably involved in the bloody serial murders, since the death of the eldest son triggers a family dispute over the inheritance.

If the chronology of Kindaichi stretches back to the prewar years, it is no wonder that Yokomizo in *Honjin* rigorously revisits the prewar discussions about authenticities of Japanese detective fiction. What characterized *Honjin* is not simply his transformation from "inauthentic" to "authentic" but rather Yokomizo's efforts in challenging the dichotomy itself which dictated the prewar discourses. Ranpo's praise for *Honjin*'s clever implementation of the form of authentic detective fiction in "purely Japanese settings" illustrates that it was not simply modernity that established *Honjin*'s discursive merit in the history of Japanese detective fiction.[386] Yokomizo's inclination toward Japanese settings, which he continued from the time of his "return" to Japan in the 1930s, is even more pronounced when compared with other "authentic" detective novels published in the following year of *Honjin* such as *Takagike no satsujin* (The Takagi Murder Case, 1947) by Tsunoda Kikuo (1906-94) and *Furenzoku satsujin jiken* (Non-serial Murder Case, 1947) by Sakaguchi Ango (1906-55). From the standpoint of spatial configuration as well as overall design, these two novels are unmistakably Western in

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[385] In the second of the Kindaichi series, Yokomizo quite skillfully implements another master form of classic puzzles stories, the "murder of design" (見立殺人) in Japanese settings. This is his tribute to foreign pure puzzles like Van Dine's *The Bishop Murder Case*. I will discuss the novel in detail in the following chapter.

[386] Edogawa Ranpo, "Honjin satsujin jiken o yomu," in *Hōseki* Feb. through Mar, 1947.

that the former is set in a Western style mansion left after the Tokyo air raid and the latter in a mansion in the style of Frank Lloyd Wright.[387]

If we place Yokomizo's novel in the discourse of Japanese detective fiction, those ornamental details have a significant function in the discourses about Japanese detective fiction. It is certainly not simply Yokomizo's use of Japanese architecture that gave *Honjin* its status in contrast with equally well crafted puzzle stories of other Japanese authors. Tanizaki's playful celebration of shadows in Japanese culture certainly compelled prewar Yokomizo to write grotesque crime stories in excessively Japanese settings. As Tanizaki strived to capture in literature the beauty of the shadows that he claimed the Japanese were already losing, Yokomizo chased away the modernity that prevailed in his earlier crime stories in the 1930s. In *Honjin*, however, Yokomizo revisits his prewar commitment to "returns" by writing a Western classic puzzle against the background of the "purely" Japanese tradition he once embraced. This is also his challenge against the prewar notion in detective fiction criticism. One of the most frequently discussed problems of writing classic puzzles in Japanese settings was that the open structure of Japanese culture—the spaces partitioned by sliding doors (*fusuma*) and screens (*shōji*)—makes it difficult for Japanese writers to construct Western style puzzle stories set in an enclosed space indispensable for any locked room mystery.[388] Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke writes in his influential essay on detective fiction that one of the reasons that the detective fiction genre does not develop in Japan is that "Japanese houses are so isolated from each other and open that large scale secret crimes do not fit to their lives."[389] In order to create a secret to dig into, one first has to have a container that

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[387] Yoshida 210-11.

[388] Yokomizo, *Tantei shōsetsu gojūnen* 267.

[389] Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, "Watashi no yōkyūsuru tantei shōsetsu," *Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke tantei shōsetsusen*, vol.2, 207-8.

encloses the secret. This spatial metaphor in Japanese architecture frequently overdetermines general notions about the mentality of Japanese culture. In Watsuji Tetsurō's argument on "climates," the particularity of Japanese culture is thus discussed in terms of the climate and Japanese style "open" houses that are nurtured through the climate. Openness in architecture—the lack of individual space in a house—is associated with closeness in kinship and eventually with the lack of clearly articulated subject-object relationships,[390] which amounts to their vulnerability to the emperor system as a metaphor of a larger "family." Those associations compel Watsuji to conclude that "although the Japanese learned the European way of living externally, they are not at all Europeanized in the sense that they can not maintain [European style] public life which is individualistic but social, for their way of life is governed by "house" (*ie*)."[391]

Watsuji's postulation of the Japanese "climate" is ultimately as discursive a construct as the notion of the "individualistic" subject he projects onto the foreign Other. In reality, not only postwar authentic detective fiction but also many prewar detective novels, as represented by *Kokushikan satsujin jiken* (1934), are set in compartmentalized spaces of Western-style architecture. This does not mean that the spatial configuration of Japanese houses was incompatible with the detective fiction genre but rather that Japan was already more "modernized" than those prewar cultural critics wanted us to believe. As Matsuyama Iwao remarks, Western style enclosed spaces were already becoming a part of Japan's urban scene in the 1930s and the dichotomies of private and public spaces already prepared conditions for the popularity of detective fiction in the prewar years. Edogawa Ranpo's "Yaneura no sanposha" (1925) was not possible without the concept of compartmentalized space penetrating into the Japanese way of life. In the story, a student

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[390] Watsuji Tetsurō, *Fūdo* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1979) 173.

[391] Watsuji 175.

who lives in a newly constructed apartment complex discovers the enjoyment of peeking at other tenants' lives through small holes he found in the attic space. Small compartmentalized spaces of the apartment and the secret lives of each tenant well represent the articulation of the private in Japan's modernization. In *Honjin*, however, Yokomizo anachronistically confronts the issue by strategically setting the murder case in a "purely" Japanese-style open structure, and this is one of the most important elements that compelled critics including Ranpo to conceive the novel to be the first skillful "adaptation" of the norms of the foreign born genre. In other words, Yokomizo wrote not only a locked room mystery of "impossibilities" that has no antecedent in the global history of detective fiction but also an impossible "authentic" detective fiction that challenges the local idea that locked room mysteries were impossible in traditional Japanese houses.

From the perspective of its logical reasoning of the puzzle, Yokomizo's *Honjin* was not particularly new, not only compared with its contemporaries such as *Takagike no satsujin* and *Furenzoku satsujin jiken* but also with prewar detective fiction. In fact, it appears rather nostalgic in the sense that he recreates the house and settings that had already disappeared from Japan's urban scene—not just because of Japan's prewar modernization but also because of the aftermath of the air raids during the war. Contrary to the first detective fiction boom after the Great Kanto Earthquake (1923), the postwar authentic detective fiction movement was initiated not by opting for the changing scenery—definitely in favor of the Western style—in the still remaining traces of the damages caused by the war, but for the landscape that they were already losing even before the war. In this regard, the postwar detective fiction movement was not just an inclination to the modern Western ideas, but careful negotiations between Western form and Japanese content. In Yokomizo's authentic detective fiction, the already modernized Japan of the present is erased from the scene of writing for the sake of constituting the blissful merger of Western detective fiction and the Japanese way of life. In other words,

what Ranpo argues as Yokomizo's skilled adoption of an authentic detective fiction format lies not in his inclination toward Western logic, but in his construction of "Japaneseness" as something that resists that very Westernization. Prewar particularity of Japanese culture as well as the authenticity in detective fiction is overcome in Yokomizo's postwar detective fiction for the first time. With the establishment of authentic Japanese detective fiction, "Japan" came into being essentially as a cultural other that rejects penetration from the Western gaze.

While modernity is the issue that needs to be overcome in order to articulate Japan as a nation state, postwar Japan actively embraces it in order to stitch together fragmented pieces of the nation state. Prewar Japan was characterized by its double identity in which technologically advanced modern Japan as a colonizer is counterposed to Japan as the defender of Asian culture from the Western colonial power. The incommensurable dilemma of the split identity culminated in the debates among intellectuals about how to overcome the West *within* Japan. In other words, contrary to the image of a "pure" nation, prewar Japan was a much more heterogenic—racially and culturally—country than is usually conceived.[392] The idea of the "pure" culture was ironically inserted by the occupation army who wanted to preserve what they thought was "authentic" culture while exercising their grand plan of democratizing the particularist country. Multi ethnic social constellations of the prewar years ended when Japan ceased to be a colonizer country, and were substituted by the fantasy of a pure nation containing a single race that shares a single culture and history. The problem of this seemingly ethnocentric foreclosure of postwar culture was conveniently projected onto prewar Japan. In postwar Japan, modernity was no longer a cultural import from the West that needed to be overcome in order to constitute a national identity but one of the necessary stages in

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[392] Ōguma Eiji, *Tan'itsu minzoku shinwa no kigen: Nihonjin no jigazō no keifu* (Tokyo: Shin'yōsha, 1995).

universal human history. In postwar negotiation, the anxiety of the dual identity in relation with authenticity was conveniently solved by equating Japan with the West and thus by forgetting prewar negotiations in terms of modernity.

If we consider Yokomizo's careful negotiation with his prewar career, it is thus not coincidental that the eccentric detective in *Honjin*, Kindaichi Kōsuke, became the most known figure in the postwar detective fiction boom. Among Yokomizo's contributions to postwar Japanese detective fiction, his creation of the genius detective Kindaichi Kōsuke is probably the most vital. He appeared in almost all of Yokomizo's subsequent works, and through its film and TV adaptations, became the best known detective among general audiences—comparable to Edogawa Ranpo's Akechi Kogorō of prewar years. Yokomizo's postwar transformation functioned as an ideal case in constituting postwar Japanese identity. In this regard, *Honjin* would rightly be counterposed against Ranpo's prewar piece, "Injū." The double identity of writing detective fiction is overcome by introducing discontinuity in the presumed continuity of Japanese history as well as in Yokomizo's career as a writer of detective fiction. Yet, the postwar authentic detective fiction movement soon followed its Anglo American counterpart: it was substituted with the host of socially conscious crime fiction that would more aptly be called *suiri shōsetsu* rather than the reactionary term *tantei shōsetsu*. The rise of the social school of detective fiction marks the similarly important transition in the history of Japanese detective fiction.

Matsumoto Seichō and the Social School of Japanese Detective Fiction

The controversy about overcoming the prewar stigma of inauthentic detective fiction led to the debates between Edogawa Ranpo and Kigi Takatarō as I discussed earlier. Ranpo's ideal authentic detective fiction for the postwar era was promptly realized by the puzzle stories of Yokomizo Seishi and Takagi Akimitsu, which Ranpo

calls the third wave of Japanese detective fiction.[393] Yet, the prosperity of puzzle stories did not last as long as the Anglo American counterparts in the Golden Age of the 20s and 30s. The new wave that replaced the authentic detective fiction came ironically from what Kigi proposed as artistic detective fiction—the school that was marginalized in the early postwar years due to Ranpo's presence and his active promotion of the authentic form. The movement is best represented by Matsumoto Seichō and constitutes a greater expansion of the genre in the 1950s incomparable to even the early postwar movement of the authentic mode.

Matsumoto Seichō (1909-92) was at the outset not a writer of the formulaic genre. He was a journalist and when he received the Akutagawa award—the most prestigious award given to literature—for his *Aru "Kokura nikki" den* (An Episode About the Kokura Diary, 1952), he was regarded as a promising young writer of general literature. Contrary to many prewar writers who started writing detective fiction because of their inclination toward romantic literature, which Ranpo calls the tendency toward probabilities and impossibilities,[394] Matsumoto, as a journalist and a writer of literary realism, approached the genre because of his interests in employing criminal themes in his own writings. In other words, he was more interested in the realistic depiction of the rapidly changing postwar Japanese society and the crimes caused by the frictions in contesting layers of the society. The form of detective fiction is just an ornamental detail that makes his fiction accessible to the people. In this regard, he follows most postwar Marxist literary historians, for whom prewar literary movements of literary realism eventually failed since "when writers under government pressure turned away from social

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[393] Edogawa, *Zoku Gen'eijō* 422. Kasai Kiyoshi's "Third Wave" which I discuss in the following chapter is different from Ranpo's and signifies the revival of what Ranpo calls the "Third Wave" here.

[394] Edogawa, "Fukanō setsu ni kankei shite," *Oni no kotoba* 529.

objectivity toward the portrayal of a 'subjective,' entirely mental, form of reality" later causing "writers either to retreat into the reactionary pursuit of 'art for art's sake' or to enlist opportunistically as propagandists for Japan's continental military adventures."[395] Matsumoto shares the same agenda with those postwar critics in that he became almost the first writer to introduce reality in detective fiction, which Kigi longed for in his postwar arguments but was missing from most "authentic" detective fiction.

While Matsumoto's detective novels were produced in the intellectual milieu that favored the literature of realism, his debut was equally conditioned in the reform generated *within* the genre. The stagnation of the so-called "authentic" detective fiction had already been evident in the circle of detective fiction writers as early as in the early 1950s and the means for invigorating the genre was seriously discussed among writers and critics of the genre. This was one of the reasons that the Japan Detective Fiction Writer's Club set a prize based on the fund contributed to by Edogawa Ranpo, which was later named the Edogawa Ranpo Award. There was already the Japan Detective Fiction Writer's Club Award, which was given to the best detective fiction of the preceding year. Yet, since it can be awarded only to published novels of existing writers and was selected by judges who knew them, it was often criticized as being a "distinguished service" award for established writers. The Edogawa Ranpo Award was by nature expected to draw new blood into such a stagnate circle of "authentic" detective fiction and open it to the broader spectrum of writers.[396] The award was first given to a critical piece on the detective fiction genre, and in the following year, to the president of Hayakawa Shobō for

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[395] Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* 43-44.

[396] Naturally—or ironically because it was named after the strong advocate of authentic detective fiction—the award later became hostile to authentic detective fiction.

his achievement in publishing a pocket book series of foreign detective fiction.[397] It was from the third year with Nakajima Kawatarō's suggestion[398] that the Edogawa Ranpo Award became open to the public and given to writers outside of the detective fiction circle: Niki Etsuko (1928-86) in 1957 and Takigawa Kyō (1920-94) in 1958.[399] The advertisement of the prize that was published in *Hōseki* and *Kōdan kurabu* states that the award accepts any detective fiction regardless of "authentic" or "inauthentic" and the award winning work will be published by Kōdansha with the author holding the copyright for theater, movie and TV adaptations, which was a rare and financially attractive option for a new writer.[400] The award succeeded in drawing new talent to the genre and their award winning novels realized incomparable success as detective fiction. Niki's award-winning novel *Neko wa shitte ita* (The Cat Knew) brought the word *besuto serā* (a best seller)[401] to the genre for the first time. The Edogawa Ranpo Award later became the most prestigious one given to emerging writers of detective fiction. Even the Japan Detective Fiction Writer's Club Award became open by strategically awarding a writer outside of the circle: Matsumoto Seichō in 1957 for the collection of his short stories *Kao* (Faces).[402] Matsumoto's *Ten to sen* (Points and Lines, 1958) of the

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[397] Nakajima Kawatarō for his *Tantei shōsetsu jiten* (Dictionary of Detective Fiction) in 1955 and the president of Hayakawa Shoten for publishing the Hayakawa poketto misuteri series (Hayakawa Pocket Mystery Series) in 1956 respectively.

[398] Edogawa, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.2, 516.

[399] Takigawa also received the Naoki Award with the collection of his short stories *Ochiru* (Falling, 1958).

[400] Edogawa, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.2, 517.

[401] Edogawa, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.2, 600-2. So called *besuto serā* (best-seller) is usually applied to books sold more than one hundred thousand copies a year.

[402] The Japan Detective Fiction Writer's Club Award (Nihon tantei sakka kurabu shō) is the most prestigious award established in 1948. There were subdivisions of "novel," "short story," and "criticism" in the early years. Subdivisions were abolished since 1952 but resumed from 1976. It is prohibited to award the same writer multiple times. The most distinguished novel award for the first year was quite naturally given to Yokomizo's *Honjin*.

following year drew more general readers to the genre. The varieties and vigor introduced by new Edogawa Ranpo Award winners such as Niki Etsuko, Tsuchiya Takao (1917-) and Sasazawa Saho (1930-2002) and the writers who came from the conventional literary circle such as Matsumoto Seichō, Arima Yorichika (1918-80) and Kikumura Itaru (1925-99) compelled Ranpo to call it the fourth mountain of Japanese detective fiction which "far exceeds the previous three mountains in quality and quantity."[403]

Niki Etsuko and Matsumoto Seichō are indispensable writers in discussing the postwar detective fiction—or "mystery" since their stories were not categorized as classic puzzle stories in the conventional sense. Niki Etsuko is almost the first female writer who dedicated herself to writing genre fiction of mystery. The detective fiction genre was notoriously dominated by male writers who only wrote stories faithful to the convention of the genre. It was a typical genre literature written and consumed by dedicated (male) fans. Niki Etsuko and Matsumoto Seichō both started their careers in genres other than detective fiction—Niki as a writer of children's stories and Matsumoto mainly of historical novels. There were several exceptions in the genre such as Matsumoto Keiko[404] in prewar years and serious writers of literature who sporadically tried out the detective fiction genre—the most famous example would be Sakaguchi Ango in his *Furenzoku satsujin jiken*—but the amount and quality of works these two writers produced in the genre was unsurpassed: they almost channeled a completely new readership to the genre. According to Yamamura Masao, 1957 to 1958 became the years most notable in the history of Japanese detective fiction.[405] Although Niki's

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[403] Edogawa, *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen*, vol.2, 602-5.

[404] She mainly worked as a translator of foreign detective fiction.

[405] Yamamura, *Zoku suiri bundan sengoshi* 15.

contribution to the genre cannot be ignored—she pioneered crime fiction from a feminine perspective that led to the popularity of women writers such as Natsuki Shizuko in the 1970s and Kirino Natsuo (1951-) and Miyabe Miyuki (1960-) in the 1990s—it was Matsumoto Seichō and his new approach to the genre that set the coming prosperity of the detective fiction genre. While Niki was still restricted to the formulaic genre of detective fiction, Matsumoto wrote substantial works in various genres such as historical novels and more general literature even after his success as a writer of crime fiction, and his detective fiction is just one branch of his vast body of writings. Moreover, most of his stories were serialized in magazines that were targeted for a general audience rather than for dedicated fans of the genre, like *Hōseki* in the postwar and *Shinseinen* in the prewar. His award winning *Ten to sen* was serialized in a travel magazine *Tabi* (Feb. 1957-Jan.1958), *Me no kabe* (The Wall of Eyes) in a weekly magazine *Shyūkan yomiuri* (Apr.14, 1957-Dec.29, 1957) and *Zero no shōten* (The Focal Point of Zero) in the general magazine *Taiyo* (Jan.1958-Feb.1958 and in *Hōseki* Mar.1958-Jan.1960)[406] As Ozaki Hotsuki remarks, the appeal of his writings should be located in "the social environment at the time as well as his talent as a writer."[407] His crime novels are not those that are constructed within the frame of reference of the established "codes" of the genre as is the case of Natsuki but are more general novels that skillfully incorporate some of the elements of the genre. His journalistic interests in society demanded the form of the genre.

Matsumoto's contributions thus lie firstly in his introduction of social realities to the genre that was notorious for its artificial depiction of crime and stock characters. With his entrance into the detective fiction genre, the detective fiction genre succeeded in

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[406] *Taiyō* was discontinued in the February issue of 1958 and the rest of *Zero no shōten* was serialized in *Hōseki* until 1960.

[407] Ozaki Hotsuki, *Taishū bungakuron* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001) 295.

acquiring even readers who were previously reluctant to read detective fiction.[408] Before Matsumoto, detective fiction was often criticized and scorned because, contrary to "literature," it cannot bear repeated reading and is thus temporary entertainment for killing time. In his analysis of the analytic detective fiction of Poe and Borges, John T. Irwin thus challenges first the common notion that one cannot write a serious—which means "rereadable" for Irwin—literary form when "the genre's central narrative mechanism seems to discourage the unlimited rereading associated with serious writing."[409] The same issue convinced Raymond Chandler to dismiss the classic Golden Age detective story entirely in his essay "The Simple Art of Murder" (1944) because the masterpieces of the genre inevitably become mechanical fiction occupied with unreal characters and an implausible plot while "fiction in any form has always intended to be realistic."[410] In pure puzzle stories, subordinate elements to the puzzle tend to be marginalized for the economy of presenting an attractive puzzle. Even if the characters are described, it is not characterization of the characters but instead characterization for the logic.[411]

This is one of the reasons that the exemplary puzzle stories are set in a mansion remote from human activities—as Shimada Sōji ironically puts it,[412] a mansion on a deserted island or a mountain cottage isolated in a blizzard; unlikely settings in our everyday reality. Many of Yokomizo's masterpieces are true to this norm and set in isolated places—*Gokumontō* (1947) on a remote island, *Yatsuhakamura* (1949) and

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[408] Ozaki, *Taishū bungakuron* 170.

[409] Irwin 1.

[410] Raymond Chandler, *The Simple Art of Murder* (New York: Vintage, 1988) 1.

[411] Edogawa, "Honjin satsujin jiken," *Oni no kotoba* 394.

[412] Shimada Sōji, *Honkaku misuteri sengen II* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1998) 22.

Honjin in mansions in an isolated farming village. Intrusions of modern technology and numerous suspects are the things writers of "authentic" detective fiction have to avoid most in constructing a pure puzzle of reasoning. If we consider the social situations of the early occupation period, "authentic" detective fiction is still not free from the criticism—much like the aestheticism of the Japan Romantic School during wartime—that it failed to represent reality for the puzzle's sake. Like the Golden Age of British detective fiction in terms of World War I, postwar authentic detective fiction constructed pure puzzles in a nostalgic setting devoid of devastating social realities.[413]

Matsumoto broke those conventions by introducing realistic human relations and pressing social matters into the "artificial" world of the authentic form. As a writer of general literature, he grants priority to criminal motives and believable settings, both of which were long neglected in authentic detective fiction. In classic puzzle stories, motives are destined to be disclosed in the very end, since they are the primal designator of the true mastermind of the crime. As the complexity of the puzzle increases, and this complexity is the foremost criteria of a good "authentic" detective story, the more unreasonable and artificial the motives become. Consequently in Yokomizo's masterpieces, motives turned out to be nothing other than mediocre, such as old customs of institutional families—probably this uncreative setting worked since it was already unrealistic in the 1940s and thus only had nostalgic value in the changing Japanese society in postwar years. Ranpo's dream of implementing logic in the Japanese mind through a literature of pure logic might be fulfilled by Yokomizo's authentic form, but those implementations of the logical way of thinking—seemingly "healthy" modernization—were counterbalanced by reactionary returns to the domestic scenery that was on the verge of disappearance. The postwar transformation of the genre is thus

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[413] Symons 107-8.

supported by the discourse of nostalgia, the strategic time-lag that introduces fake "depth" in historicity. As Kasai Kiyoshi argues, Yokomizo's authentic detective fiction might be a by-product of the total war where human beings are reduced to countable numbers,[414] but at least, such traumatic embrace of the war was only possible by projecting it in to a world remote from social realities of the postwar devastation. As I discussed above, Yokomizo's fiction is nevertheless a strategic negotiation of the foreign born genre within the genre.

In postwar Japan, Matsumoto Seichō became a reformer of the genre which was "stillborn" in its very beginning in the intersection of prewar cultural constellations and then anachronistically followed the Western model in the postwar recovery. If we examine his award winning *Ten to sen* in the conventional matrix of authentic detective fiction, it is not a particularly successful work. In terms of plot, it is clumsily divided into two parts—the investigation of a double suicide in Kyūshū and the corruption case of high ranking government officials in Tokyo. The main interest of the story lies in the way the detectives, in this case two police officers, discover a thin line that relates these two seemingly unrelated cases and prove it to be a carefully planned murder. The double suicide in the beginning was planned by the government official to kill the witness for his testimony on his corruption. True to real police investigation, two different police detectives deal with two cases in each location—experienced Torigai in Kyūshū and young but ambitious Mihara in Tokyo. Yet the author cannot handle the investigations of two detectives coherently—from the point of view of narrative, he cannot grant priority to either character—and consequently the final solution of the puzzle is somewhat clumsily presented to the reader in a long letter from Mihara to Torigai. Although its attention to social realities must be evaluated against the artificial settings of most puzzle

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[414] Kasai, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.1, 19. I will discuss Kasai's arguments in detail in Chapter Six.

stories, the novel is still written under the limitations of the classic mode. His treatment of social issues for which Matsumoto later became famous are also not developed well. As Fujii Hidetada observes,[415] Matsumoto's attention seems to be divided into the social issues (content) and the puzzle (form), and ultimately the latter is foregrounded to meet the norms of the genre. His focus on two separate police detectives exemplifies his anxiety in merging two elements. In "authentic" detective fiction, Mihara would likely be the central figure while Torigai would play a subordinate role, since Torigai is the type of policeman who is usually scorned by an eccentric detective for his unimaginative investigation of sheer physical labor. Yet, Matsumoto spends a considerable amount of pages in the opening describing Torigai and his real life investigation to the degree that the story almost loses its integrity as a genre fiction. Matsumoto's interests in depicting realistic characters and social issues are nevertheless incompatible with the convention of the genre. Things he has to marginalize in shaping a genre fiction thus reappear in other stories he wrote simultaneously with *Ten to sen* such as "Aru shōkanryō no massatsu" (Crossing Out of a Small Bureaucrat, 1958) and "Kiken na shamen" (Dangerous Slope, 1959)[416] and what Kōga Saburō argued were "detective elements" in the prewar debates about authentic detective fiction are gradually marginalized for the sake of realistic "literary elements" in his later works constituting so called "the Social School" (*Shakaiha*) in the detective fiction genre.

Although *Ten to sen* is still restricted by the conventions of the genre, the change it introduced to the genre was unparalleled. The style is not particularly new, if we consider foreign classics—its precedent could certainly be found in British detective fiction of the Golden Age called "the Humdrum school" of detective fiction, which was

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[415] Fujii Hidetada, *Seichō misuterī to shōwa sanjū-nendai* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjūsha, 1999) 162.

[416] Fujii 163-83.

developed by the pioneer of the style Freeman Wills Crofts.[417] In fact, Crofts was a popular writer among prewar Japanese readers, and before the war Ranpo keenly introduced Crofts' three novels that feature Inspector French as one of the "variants" of authentic detective fiction.[418] Like its predecessors, the value of *Ten to sen* partly lies in its realistic—almost journalistic—depiction of the police investigation. The murderer in *Ten to sen* is, like most police investigations in real life, identified at an early point of the story, and thus the puzzle to be solved is focused on how to break his impenetrable alibi—at the time the couple was murdered, the man in question was in Hokkaidō, almost the other end of the country. Unlike a genius detective who solves all the impossible murder cases in a comfortable armchair, the police detective Mihara in *Ten to sen* travels from Kyūshū to Hokkaidō examining all the timetables of trains and airplanes, and finally breaks the cleverly engineered alibi. Contrary to Crofts, who Symons says ironically "fulfilled much better than Van Dine his dictum that the detective story properly belonged in the category of riddles and crossword puzzles,"[419] Matsumoto's focus is more directed toward depicting characters and their interior. While Crofts tends to reduce motives to the evil of each murderer, Matsumoto is more comfortable digging into social issues that generated the crime in question.

Matsumoto was able to avoid falling into the trap of the centripetal solipsism of the prewar I-novel in which the narrating subject restricts his adventure to only the interior "reality" of his subjectivity—similar to the failed negotiation Ranpo made between foreign crime literature and the domestic I-novel tradition when he wrote "Injū" in the 1920s. He then developed his "social school" of detective fiction devoted to the

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[417] Symons 117.

[418] Edogawa, "Honkaku tantei shōsetsu no futatsu no henshu ni tsuite: Kurofutsu no koto, Oguri Mushitarō no koto," *Oni no kotoba* 57-68.

[419] Symons 118.

exposure of the unreasonable external "reality" that tolerates the evil rich exploiting the innocent poor. If detective fiction's function in preserving social order lies in the very *fictionality* of the murder by which the brutal reality of killings and depressingly petty motives of greed are filtered through the chivalrous game of the evil murderer and the genius detective,[420] Matsumoto freed crime stories from the passive policing device in service of the dominant ideology.

In the postwar cultural constellation, Matsumoto's treatment of railroad timetables in *Ten to sen* should not be taken lightly either. If most authentic detective fiction in the 50s was preoccupied with the constitution of a "point" devoid of the social dimension in its closed circle of suspects in an isolated location, Matsumoto's *Ten to sen* effectively transformed the centripetal point into the relations of multiple points—"points and lines" as the title shows—"imagining" the recovering postwar Japan with elaborate transportation systems. Japan was gradually recovering from the postwar devastation in the mid 1950s and in 1956 the government issued the statement "mohaya sengo dewa nai (It is no longer postwar)." It was the time when even average Japanese could enjoy the leisure to travel within the newly demarcated national boundaries or at least to imagine such travel by reading about the network of railroads in intricate timetables like the bedridden wife of the murderer in *Ten to sen*. *Ten to sen* was published in this transitional period of Japan from its postwar recovery to postwar prosperity, which Ōguma Eiji calls the transition from the first postwar to the second postwar.[421] If what was articulated in prewar "inauthentic" detective fiction and in postwar "authentic" detective fiction was the self and subjectivity removed from the social, it was the nation

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[420] See for example, Moretti 130-56.

[421] Ōguma Eiji, *"Minshu" to "aikoku": sengo nihon no nashonarizumu to kōkyōsei* (Tokyo: Shin'yōsha, 2002) 11-14.

that was articulated and imagined through a series of social school mysteries Matsumoto vigorously produced after *Ten to sen*.

In the subsequent novels that Matsumoto wrote one after another, the transformation he introduced to the genre was developed even further. This is one of the reasons that Kasai Kiyoshi argues that Matsumoto's methodology is nearly perfected in *Zero no shōten*.[422] Contrary to *Ten to sen* and *Me no kabe*, both of which are constructed stylistically as a conventional detective fiction, *Zero no shōten* (*Zero* hereafter) is rather modeled after psycho suspense novels like Daphne du Maurier's *Rebecca*. While the previous novels are more or less split into the private investigation of an interested individual and the public investigation of the police, *Zero* is narrated from the single perspective of a newly wed woman. The story begins with Itane Teiko's marriage by arrangement with Uhara Ken'ichi, a thirty six year old man who is the chief of an advertising agency in Hokuriku. The story unfolds from Teiko's point of view as Ken'ichi's mysterious disappearance after ten days of their marriage, her search for her lost husband with the help of his successor Honda Yoshio, and the multiple murders along with their search including of her companion Honda himself. The search for her missing husband leads to the disclosure of his past of which she had little knowledge before marriage. In the end, the triple murders expose the tragedy her husband and the murderer had to go through in the devastation of the immediate postwar years. The murderer Murota Sachiko who is now the wife of a successful businessman and a prominent figure herself in the local community had to survive the postwar devastation as a prostitute for the Occupation Army. It was not particularly exceptional, according to the narrator, in the early years of occupation but surely becomes a shameful past to conceal after the decade of Japan's quick recovery. Sachiko had to kill Ken'ichi, for she

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[422] Kasai, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.1, 224.

wrongly assumed that he was trying to disclose her miserable years, and to commit multiple murders in order to cover up the initial murder.

As an "authentic" detective novel, *Zero* has unavoidable flaws. Among them the most fatal is the perspective in which the entire event is narrated from Teiko's point of view and thus inevitably frustrates the reader for her inefficiency in conducting her investigation. The detective figure might have helped her detective work but her companion Honda who appeared at first to play a Holmes character in relation to Teiko's Watsonian viewpoint is killed halfway through the story. Yet, Matsumoto's interest lies not in following the convention of the genre or an enjoyment in solving an intricate puzzle. Teiko's investigation—again made possible by commuting multiple places by trains—charts locations (points) in the Hokuriku which Tokyo raised Teiko has never visited/imagined onto the map of the recovering nation. The process eventually charts Ken'ichi's and Sachiko's footsteps first geographically and then historically back to the occupation period. For those who escaped from Tokyo during the Tokyo air raid and stayed in an unfamiliar rural village they had never heard of before, it is also an ascent to the nation's recent past. The search of the personal history thus leads to the discoveries about the tragic memories of the devastation right after the war, which is already fading away from rapidly recovering postwar Japan, charting fragmented memories of the nation onto the newly imagined geographic boundaries.

Conclusion

The debates between Edogawa Ranpo and Kigi Takatarō I discussed in Chapter Four channeled two different writers as the representatives of postwar Japanese detective fiction: Yokomizo Seishi as the writer of authentic detective fiction and Matsumoto Seichō as the writer of artistic detective fiction. While Yokomizo resolved the issue of authenticity within the genre with his "authentic" detective fiction of the occupation period, Matsumoto opened the genre to a broader audience and succeeded in achieving

what Kigi Takatarō proposed as "artistic" detective fiction—detective fiction in which the motive and means are derived from the necessity of the real life of the murderer and not from an author's convenience in constructing a more challenging puzzle.[423] After Matsumoto Seichō and his successful elevation of the status of detective fiction into a "highbrow" mystery, the detective fiction genre quickly started "forgetting" even Yokomizo's postwar negotiations in constituting authentic "Japanese" detective fiction.

Despite Ranpo's inclination toward authentic detective fiction, the Edogawa Ranpo Award eventually turned to favor the social school of detective fiction. The centrifugal structure of the social school detective fiction then dominated the genre and postwar detective fiction genre became crammed with fiction which might more aptly be called "mystery" rather than "detective fiction" with all the connotations of prewar and early postwar memories. While puzzle elements are the only indicator of the genre, they are more or less treated as a "necessary evil" just to secure the borders of the genre. Popularity of those "mysteries" in TV and movies further spurred on such a trend. While classic puzzle stories with an intricate plot structure are usually hard to adapt for any visual media, sensational murders and tear-jerking histories of each suspect common to "mystery" perfectly suit the language of the visual age, not to mention introduction of local scenes far more effectively than Matsumoto visualized the nation in writing. The postwar reign of the social school lasted for quite a long time until the school was challenged by a series of young writers who consciously revived the authentic mode in the late 1980s. The discourses behind the anachronistic revival—for the second time if we count the postwar movement as "first"—will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[423] It should be remembered that Kigi Takatarō introduced Matsumoto to the genre (*tantei bundan*).

CHAPTER VI

SHIN-HONKAKU AND RE-NARRATIVIZING POSTWAR JAPAN: SHIMADA SŌJI'S THEORY OF THE NEW AUTHENTIC SCHOOL

Introduction

The history of Japanese detective fiction after the social school almost traces that of its Western counterpart. Classic puzzle stories eventually waned after a short period of prosperity in the early postwar years and were superseded by fiction that deals with crime and its solution as one of the necessary evils that proves the identity of the genre. The main attraction of the genre shifted from the enjoyment of solving a well crafted puzzle to those elements that were set aside in pure puzzle stories, such as suspense (psycho thriller), realistic depictions of criminal investigation (police novel and hardboiled novel), travel (travel mystery of Nishimura Kyōtarō), social issues (the social school of Matsumoto Seichō), and even humor (Akagawa Jirō's light comedy). These various novels were all categorized under the even larger umbrella term of *suiri shōsetsu* (novel of reasoning) instead of *tantei shōsetsu* (detective fiction) of the prewar and immediate postwar years and, as the element of reasoning was gradually diluted in these novels, it was further substituted by the more general term of *misuterī* (mystery). As the gradual transformation of the name of the genre, however, detective fiction enjoyed unprecedented popularity in Japan's popular fiction market. The word *tantei shōsetsu* with its connotations of the authentic-inauthentic dichotomy lost currency in the prosperity of the genre. Classic puzzle stories were sporadically written—including the most controversial piece *Kyomu e no kumotsu* (Offerings to Nothingness, 1964) by Nakai Hideo (1922-93), but they were nevertheless marginalized in the politics of the genre which valued "realistic" crimes rather than crimes for puzzle's sake.

However, what many critics considered as the sound "development" of Japanese detective fiction was further complicated by a sudden revival of the "authentic" detective

fiction in the late 1980s. A series of young writers published "authentic" detective fiction, and it again generated heated discussions about the history and authenticity in Japanese detective fiction. The name given to a host of writers was "The New Authentic School" (*Shin-honkakuha*). Those publishers that had long been indifferent to classic puzzle stories suddenly started promoting young writers under the catch phrase "New Authentic." Magazines dedicated to this new trend were published, critics started discussing the phenomenon, and the word "authentic" again became one of the most competitive subgenres, or some would argue the most dominant mode of mystery in the late twentieth century.

Revivals of classic writers are not uncommon if we consider publisher's market strategy in seeking "easy" sales by periodically reprinting time-tested classics, and "new authentic" is the nomenclature originally used by Edogawa Ranpo when he introduced British writers who started their career after the Golden Age, such as Michael Innes (1906-94), Nicholas Blake (1904-1972), Raymond Postgate (1896-1971), Margery Louise Allingham (1904-66), Ngaio Marsh (1895-1982), and Edmund Crispin (1921-78).[424] The lineage of puzzle stories is alive in England and even produced "contemporary authentic" stories by writers such as Colin Dexter (1930-), Reginald Hill (1936-), and Peter Lovesey (1936-) in the 1970s. The New Authentic School might be another market strategy for promoting young writers together with the age old "authentic" detective fiction long gone from the shelves of bookstores by the 1980s. Yet, more important in this revival I would argue is the very use of the concept of the "authentic" and the way critics and writers re-articulated the history of Japanese detective fiction in the frame of reference of "authentic." In this regard, the discourses about the New Authentic School deserve careful attention in explicating the dynamics of the genre

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[424] Edogawa, "Igirisu shin-honkakuha no syosaku," *Gen'eijō* 109-28.

in contemporary popular culture in Japan and will supplement my discussions about the authenticities in Japanese detective fiction in previous chapters.

Shimada Sōji and the Revival of Authentic Detective Fiction in the 1980s

Shin-honkakuha (the New Authentic School) is the term first advocated by the detective fiction writer Shimada Sōji (1948-) in referring to a series of writers who started writing classic puzzle stories in the late 1980s. Even after the trend of the genre shifted from classic puzzles to the social school mystery, so-called "authentic" detective fiction was written intermittently, and Shimada is one of the few writers who have been producing such classic puzzles against the mainstream.

Shimada's maiden work *Senseijutsu satsujin jiken* (The Zodiac Murder Case, 1981) was first submitted to the Edogawa Ranpo Award under a different title, *Senseijutsu no satsujin* (The Murder of Astrology). Although it did not win the prize, it was published the following year with the current title as one of the final contenders for the prestigious prize, which certainly helped publicize the first book of an unknown author. As Shimada himself admitted later, *Senseijutsu satsujin jiken* (*Zodiac* hereafter) was too "authentic" for the eyes of the selection committee, especially after Matsumoto Seichō's social school mystery gave the authentic mode the *coup de grace* and maintained the dominant status for the last few decades. Shimada's outdated style becomes even more evident if it is compared to that year's winner of the prize *Sarumaru genshikō* (Sarumaru's Illusionary Journey, 1980) by Izawa Motohiko. *Sarumaru genshikō* is a novel that successfully conforms to the popular interest in Japan's own history, particularly after the success of Umehara Takeshi's rereading of ancient history in *Mizuzoko no uta: Kakinomoto Hitomaro ron* (Songs in the Water, 1974). In this novel where Orikuchi Shinobu investigates the relationships between the ancient poet Kakinomoto Hitomaro and the mystery poet Sarumaru-dayū, conventional detective

elements are restricted to the minimum and most pages are dedicated to the way the author gives his own "solution" to the historical mysteries. The form of detective fiction is employed in Izawa's case just to compensate for the lack in credibility in his "reading" of ancient history. *Sarumaru genshikō* is a popularized history book with a taste of detective fiction, and in this regard, faithfully reflects the diversification of the genre after Matsumoto's social school of detective fiction.

Contrary to *Sarumaru genshikō, Zodiac* is true to the authentic tradition. In the story, the detective Mitarai Kiyoshi, who frequents most of Shimada's later works, tackles an unsolved multiple murder case of forty years ago called the "The Tokyo Zodiac Murders." In 1936, the renowned painter Umezawa Heikichi was murdered in a locked room and left a lengthy and uncanny note of his creation, detailing what he believes to be the ideal body of his theory of the zodiac, "azoth." His six daughters disappeared a month later and were found buried in different places with a particular body part missing as predicted in his note. The multiple murder case was sensationally reported in the national media and rumor had it that someone—or even the dead Heikichi himself in some of the widely circulated horror versions, made the azoth out of their missing body parts. The police as well as amateur detectives all over the nation investigated the locked room murder of Heikichi and subsequent murders of his six daughters, but the multiple-murder case has never been solved not to mention that no one has discovered the missing body parts supposedly buried somewhere. Mitarai investigates news reports and Heikichi's memos in the archive, and reaches the surprising conclusion that the true mastermind is among one of the dead daughters, Tokiko. She dismembered the bodies of her sisters and by patch-working the five bodies, disguised that there were six bodies only a part missing from each. She was suffocated in the house with the cruel treatment of her stepmother and sisters, and planned a perfect crime of removing her sisters, making herself disappear, and blaming all the killings on the

stepmother. Heikichi's note was fabricated by her in order to provide a reason for the dismemberment of bodies.

In various ways, *Zodiac* is the true successor of postwar "authentic" Japanese detective fiction initiated by Yokomizo Seishi. The main trick of *Zodiac* is a variation of one or the most frequently used puzzles in the early age of the genre: the murder case with a headless body. Because of its gruesome image, Edogawa Ranpo used this image several times in his own stories and even dedicates a separate section of his famous classification of puzzles to this type of detective fiction. While Ranpo writes it is one of the oldest puzzles that can be found in one of the stories of Herodotus, he admits that it is already a cliché that needs to be treated with extra care in contemporary detective fiction.[425] Shimada takes this threadbare puzzle to its extreme. In *Zodiac*, Shimada paints the multiple murder case with the bizarre fantasy of a crazed artist, which reminds us of the grotesque taste of prewar "inauthentic" detective fiction, and leads the reader astray from the fact that the main puzzle is a variation of the age old puzzle. The almost fantastic prewar murder case is then solved logically and more importantly in a "fair play" between author and reader common to "authentic" detective fiction. The narrator even inserts the classic "Challenge to the Reader" two times in the novel and each occasion addresses the reader to close the book and deduce his/her own conclusion from the evidence provided up to the point. Shimada is quite conscious of the difficulty in writing an artificial puzzle in the age when crime labs take the dominant role in crime investigation. The criminal in *Zodiac* avoids her patch-working of multiple-bodies being revealed by burying them in the ground—just deep enough for the parts to decay before they are "discovered" as planned—but such an acrobatic crime would not have any credibility even in a novel under the light of modern science. Thus, Shimada sets up the

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[425] Edogawa, "Kao no nai shitai," *Zoku gen'eijō* 256-64.

situation—in this case "prewar" Japan—which modern science cannot penetrate and consequently reproduces Yokomizo's postwar negotiations of writing "authentic" detective fiction against social realities and actual crime investigation by introducing nostalgic designs of the past. With his inclination to the outdated format and openly nostalgic settings, Shimada challenged the dominant mode of the genre where the puzzle element in detective fiction was becoming less important.

In the year after *Zodiac* was published, Shimada wrote his second novel *Naname yashiki no hanzai* (The Crime in the Slanted Mansion, 1982) featuring the same detective Mitarai Kiyoshi with the narrator's "Challenge to the Reader." Shimada uses an even more outrageous puzzle—the murderer built the mansion to "slant" just to realize his impossible murder in a locked room—but did not particularly attract the attention of contemporary readers. In the early 1980s, the social school of Matsumoto Seichō already created numerous sub-genres, notably the hard-boiled mystery of Ōyabu Haruhiko (1935-1996) and the travel mystery of Nishimura Kyōtarō (1930-),[426] and there was no room for outdated "authentic" puzzle stories for puzzle's sake. In order to conform to the demand of his contemporary readers, Shimada had to produce travel mysteries after his early authentic detective fiction and obtained marginal success in this popular sub-genre. Yet, it should not be overlooked that his travel mysteries are far more "authentic" in terms of the treatment of puzzles compared, for example, to those of Nishimura Kyōtarō. In other words, his travel mysteries are still "authentic" detective fiction that exploits the formula of travel mystery.

Although Shimada's hardcore "authentic" detective fiction looked out of place in the early 1980s, there had been several attempts at reviving the classic detective fiction in

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[426] Nishimura Kyōtarō has written more than four hundred novels starting with *Shindaisha satsujin jiken* (The Sleeping Car Murders) in 1984. Many of them were turned into two hour programs for TV broadcast, which constituted one of the most profitable industries around his novels.

the 1970s based on the detective fiction magazine *Gen'eijō*. *Gen'eijō* (1975-9) is the magazine named after the famous essay collection of Edogawa Ranpo which I discussed in Chapter Four, and was published in order to promote and revive "authentic" detective fiction Ranpo advocated in his seminal book. It should be noted that the revival of the classic mode was partly helped by the genre's multimedia development. Yokomizo Seishi's *Inugamike no ichizoku* was turned into the first movie of the publisher Kadokawa's blockbuster business in 1976 and a total of nine of the Kindaichi cases were filmed in the following five years. The unusual success of the movies even convinced Yokomizo to serialize his last novel *Akuryō tō* (The Island of Demon) from 1979 to 80 featuring his famous detective Kindaichi Kōsuke. Yet, the dominant trend at that time was still the realistic social school of detective fiction and despite its successful reprints tied in with the movie versions, Yokomizo's classics were scorned as "haunted mansions" (*obake yashiki*),[427] meaning too old and reactionary. Above all, the success of Yokomizo's movie versions rely more on the sensational tastes of his Gothic designs—which was certainly apt for the blockbuster campaign—and not necessarily on public interests in "authentic" detective fiction.

Partly helped by public interest in Gothic designs—in other words inauthentic tradition—of prewar detective fiction, the editor of *Gen'eijō*, Shimazaki Hiroshi, who is also a famous collector of prewar detective fiction magazines, reprinted "lost" classics of prewar detective fiction from his own library and promoted, as the two predecessors in the first and the second movement, studies of detective fiction. Gonda Manji's *Nihon tantei sakkaron* (Essays on Japanese Detective Writers) was serialized in the magazine in 1975 as well as Yamamura Masao's *Waga kaikyūteki tantei sakkaron* (My Nostalgic Recollections of Detective Fiction Writers) both of which won the *Nihon suiri sakka*

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[427] Kasai, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.2, 14. See also, Matsumoto Seichō, *Matsumoto Seichō zenshū*, vol.34 (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1974) 387.

kyōkaishō (Japan Detective Writers Club Award) in the criticism section. Shimazaki's efforts in promoting the classic mode eventually produced writers of "authentic" detective fiction such as Awasaka Tsumao (1933-), Renjō Mikihiko (1948-), Kurimoto Kaoru (1953-), Tanaka Yoshiki (1952-), and Takemoto Kenji (1954-). *Gen'eijō* reproduced the atmosphere of its predecessors *Shinseinen* and *Hōseki*—probably too faithfully—with its limited readership and solidarity among knowledgeable readers of the genre history, but it could not alter the power structure of the genre that had already become one of the most profitable genres in popular literature by diluting the detective element rather than enforcing it. The magazine was financially troubled in 1979 and the writers it discovered eventually moved out of the genre—notably into fantastic literature for Kurimoto and Tanaka, into science fiction for Takemoto, and into romantic horror for Renjō—and could not constitute a body of works that can be claimed as a movement.[428] While it certainly influenced the subsequent generation of writers, the magazine should be remembered more for reviving "lost" detective fiction of the past rather than promoting a "new" movement.

A decade after *Gen'eijō*'s failed attempt in reviving the authentic mode, Shimada promoted a series of young writers who were more dedicated to classic puzzle stories than the writers of *Gen'eijō* and they became a dominant force in transforming the power relations of the genre in the coming decades. Shimada met these writers in college mystery clubs in the Kansai area, most notably at Kyoto University and Dōshisha University. According to Shimada, it was a pleasant surprise that he discovered that they highly respected his classic puzzle stories, which he pessimistically says that the general public did not take seriously at all.[429] College students he met there were

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[428] Kasai, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.2, 92.

[429] Shimada Sōji, "Ayatsuji Yukito kun e okuru kotoba," *Honkaku misuteri sengen* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993) 72.

enthusiastically reading, discussing, and even writing classic puzzle stories that referenced his early works. Through his exchanges with those students, he discovered young talents and eventually helped to turn them into professional writers. Among those are Ayatsuji Yukito (1960-), Abiko Takemaru (1962-), and Norizuki Rintarō (1964-), all of whom are from the Kyoto University mystery club. In promoting these writers, Shimada used the phrase "authentic" (*honkaku*)—the term already forgotten for a long time under the dominance of the social school of detective fiction.[430] These young talents later constituted the central members of what the critic Kasai Kiyoshi calls the third wave of "authentic" Japanese detective fiction and the writers of the school are called the "*Shin honkakuha*" (New Authentic School).[431] Despite strong criticisms of the establishment of the genre, they proved that it was not just a short term fad but a movement that later changed the power structure of the popular fiction market.

The third wave is a much more organized and substantial movement and this could partly be explained by Shimada Sōji's constant efforts in supporting and speaking out in various media about the lost format. While the revival of classic puzzle stories was motivated by Shimada's reaction against the dominance of the social school of detective fiction, it cannot be denied that it was also promoted by market strategies of the two publishers Kōdansha and Sōgensha. Indeed, when the classification of the New Authentic School was in question, Abiko Takemaru, one of the young talents discovered by Shimada, outspokenly said that the school should be restricted to the writers who

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[430] The word "*shin honkaku*" (new authentic) as a catch phrase was first consciously used in the cover wrapper (*obi*) of Ayatsuji's second novel *Suishakan no satsujin* (The Murder in the Water Mill Mansion, 1988).

[431] Kasai Kiyoshi, the most active proponent of authentic detective fiction today, ignores the social school of detective fiction and its variations that flourished in the 60s and 70s in his influential two volume *Tantei shōsetsuron*. Thus, he considers the first wave as the movement led by Edogawa Ranpo and Yokomizo Seishi in the 1920s, the second wave as the movement led by Takagi Akimitsu, Ayukawa Tetsuya in the 1950s, and the third wave as the movement led by Ayatsuji Yukito in the 90s. See Kasai, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.2, 6.

started their career by publishing a novel in one of the Kōdansha novel series with the accolades by Shimada Sōji. In his essay, Abiko almost sarcastically classifies writers of the New Authentic School into the three dominant categories in descending order of significance. 1) Those writers who belong to the Kyoto University mystery club and started their career with Shimada Sōji's recommendation. 2) Those writers who started their career with Shimada Sōji's recommendation, or those who belong to the Kyoto University mystery club. 3) Those writers who have not obtained Shimada's recommendation but are mystery fans who belong to college mystery clubs. They often publish books from Tokyo Sōgensha.

Abiko then argues that the first two categories are most qualified to be called the New Authentic School and those writers often publish books from *Kōdansha noberuzu* [Kōdansha novel series] with the term "*Shin-honkaku*" (New Authentic) clearly printed—with Shimada's recommendation—on the band [*obi*] of the books.[432] In this regard, the New Authentic School would be no other than a convenient sales copy of money-seeking publishing houses and the promotion of these writers was mostly oriented by the strategy of Kōdansha in filling the niches of the market dominated by the social school mystery.[433] Kōdansha has sponsored the Edogawa Ranpo Award from 1955 and thus has a strong reason to support the revival of authentic detective fiction. In this regard, literary production of the new authentic movement is similarly conditioned by a publisher like Hakubunkan of the prewar movement and Iwaya Shoten of the postwar movement.

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[432] Kasai, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.2, 189.

[433] Kōdansha is the company that sponsors the Edogawa Ranpo award, but it is well known that despite Ranpo's promotion of authentic detective fiction, the award has not been favorable to authentic detective fiction. For example, Shimada Sōji's *Senseijutsu satsujin jiken*, which is later categorized as the precursor of the New Authentic School, was turned down in 1980. Naturally, Kōdansha's publication before the New Authentic School inclined toward the social school of detective fiction.

Although the school became the major movement that even involved other publishing houses, most notably Sōgensha, rookie writers who initially were labeled as being in the school did not necessarily welcome such categorization once they became independent writers. Abiko's sarcastic classifications above represent his disbelief as a creator in categorizing the movement because of their diversity in style and theme. Much like the debates about authentic detective fiction, Shimada's use of the term "*shin-honkaku*" (New Authentic) caused heated debates about the definition and validity of his classification, not only by writers of the social school but by writers supposed to be categorized in his own school. The debates were initiated by Shimada's manifesto of the New Authentic School *Honkaku misuterī sengen* (The Manifesto of Authentic Mystery, 1989) or rather his manifesto itself was published in order to deal with discrepancies already evident within the school.

According to the "standard" version of the historical development of detective fiction, classic puzzle stories were extinct before the war in Anglo-American countries and a few decades later also in Japan. The sudden revival of the authentic mode was peculiar enough to attract critics and writers to discuss again the particularity of Japanese detective fiction. Those debates would be crucial in understanding cultural constellations in the late twentieth century, since here the past debates in relation to modernity were revisited and reinvestigated in the cultural logic that might be called postmodern. In order to examine the discourses about the New Authentic, I first explicate Shimada's definition of New Authentic detective fiction.

Authentic Mystery: Theory and Criticisms

Shimada's essay collection *Honkaku misuterī sengen* (*Manifesto* hereafter) is the first book that deals with the new trend in the genre and probably the most provocative one in presenting the issues of authenticity in detective fiction. As the title suggests, the book is intended to be the manifesto of "new" authentic detective fiction and was also

treated as such by the critics who later challenged the school. The book reprints recommendations he wrote for the maiden works of writers later categorized in the New Authentic School—Ayatsuji Yukito, Utano Shōgo (1961-), Norizuki Rintarō, and Abiko Takemaru, and is forwarded by a lengthy chapter newly written for the book to give consistency to his theory sporadically expressed in the recommendations, and is concluded by two round-table talks on the future of the new authentic mode by the same writers he wrote recommendations for.

The first chapter "The Manifesto of Authentic Mystery" which is also the title of the book is particularly provocative. It was originally written as his accolade to the young writer Abiko Takemaru and his maiden work *8 no satsujin* (The Murder of Eight, 1989), but in addition to recommending the book, he devotes a considerable space for criticizing Japan's publishing industry where only mass produced mysteries of well-known writers dominate the market and no opportunities are given to unknown writers, particularly to those who go against the mainstream, the social school of detective fiction. In order to challenge the vicious circle of the publishing industry which also prevented his career as the writer of "authentic" detective fiction a decade ago, Shimada writes that he found it almost his mission to recommend young talents especially when they attempted to write what he thought was a precious breed of the genre; authentic detective fiction.

All the criticisms against the current mystery genre in Japan culminate in Shimada's essay newly written for the book "The Theory of Authentic Mystery." Here, Shimada further develops radical arguments about the New Authentic School and his biting tone later provoked the heated debates about the school. In the essay, he first traces the postwar history of Japanese detective fiction and deplores that the term "authentic" is not used properly in respect to great legacies of Japanese detective

fiction.[434] The term *honkaku* (authentic), which functioned as the marker of the form—classic puzzle stories of the golden age—lost its initial significance after the rise of the social school and became instead a marker given to what detective fiction critics consider "high quality" in terms of "literary" content as is represented by Matsumoto Seichō's serious social school of detective fiction. In other words, in the postwar discourses about detective fiction, the authenticity in *form* was entirely substituted by the authenticity in *content*. Consequently even well crafted puzzle stories are not counted "authentic" if they are not well written in terms of the message they convey and characters they develop.[435] Matsumoto Seichō took the initiative by hitherto repeated criticisms on puzzle stories by writing in his essay in 1961 that "it was even from before the war but in postwar detective fiction, human beings are not described or rather the author seems to abandon his intention of describing them."[436] Shimada as well as writers in the school strongly oppose this age old idea. Shimada thus defends young writers against the common criticism that their novels are a "report" rather than a novel "written specifically for some enthusiasts."[437]

As the market was increasingly dominated by the mysteries that exploit the formula of the genre, classic puzzle stories were gradually marginalized and for those who opted for writing in the conventional style were not given any opportunities of publishing their works. The fall of authentic detective fiction in Japan certainly parallels the sudden but inevitable decline of the classic form in England and in the United States

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[434] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 35-36.

[435] Norizuki Rintarō and Okuizumi Hikaru, "Torikku to iu 'gaibu'," *Yuriika* Dec. 1999: 97-98.

[436] Matsumoto Seicho, "Nihon no suiri shōsetsu," *Matsumoto Seichō zenshū*, vol.34, 385-86.

[437] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 11.

in the 1930s. Pure puzzles that are insulated from life were superseded by crime stories "about" life even before the war.[438] As I discussed in the previous chapter, Matsumoto Seichō's social school of detective fiction triggered the same transition in the 1950s.

Shimada considers the transition as a regrettable "fall" of the genre and proposes to reverse the course many critics considered to be its "natural" development. He thus suggests restoring the original value of the term "authentic" and restructuring the Japanese detective fiction genre as well as the market structure. While he claims that he is just true to the old tradition, it should be emphasized that his theory of authentic detective fiction is markedly different from those discussed in the previous debates. For example, Shimada makes it clear that his "authentic" is not simply a form of detective fiction. He particularly cautions young writers of the school who innocently follow canons of the genre—those classic fictions written in the style in which "a murder case in a mansion or a similar closed environment is solved by a genius detective invited there."[439] It is particularly ironic if we consider that most writers he recommended produce their works in this conventional setting. In particular, Ayatsuji Yukito, who is the central figure of the movement, repeatedly writes moldy detective fiction set in isolated mansions. His maiden work *Jukkakukan no satsujin* (The Murders in the Decagon Mansion 1987) is a skillful copy of Agatha Christie's *And Then There Were None* (1939) and the novels that use the same motif of "mansion" (*yakata*) follow this successful piece. In *Manifesto*, Shimada's theory thus goes even beyond the contemporary trend he is trying to promote.

Instead of simply following the convention of the past classics, referring to a typology of the novel in general, Shimada argues that there are two different types of

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[438] Symons 137-38.

[439] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 39.

novel in general, which are "the novel of realism"—its best realization is for him the I-novel and the social school inherits this tradition—and the novel descended from "the lineage of myth."[440] Detective fiction is no exception and, according to Shimada, should equally be categorized into the above two categories; those originated from journalistic crime literature and those originated from fantastic novels such as those that sprang from Poe's fantastic literature. Here, Shimada proposes his own way of classifying detective fiction calling the former *suiri shōsetsu* (novel of reasoning) and the latter *misuterī* (mystery). From this perspective, most detective novels, especially those of the social school are *suiri shōsetsu* written incorporating some of the elements of *misuterī* (fantastic). What Shimada argues the "authentic mystery" is the "pure" mystery true to the conventions of fantastic literature, for which he points out two fundamental characteristics. First, a fantastic and very attractive mystery needs to be introduced in the beginning and it should set the entire atmosphere of the novel.[441] Poe's detective stories were, Shimada argues, successful in his time, since seemingly impossible—almost fantastic—murder cases were solved with the help of a very scientific rationalization.[442] Second, the mystery must be solved logically in the end so that the novel would not become fantastic literature or horror stories entirely.[443] Shimada then maintains that the elements or form usually associated with the classic whodunit would be fulfilled as an outcome of constructing a novel with those two indispensable principles. In the "new" and thus improved form of "authentic mystery," it is particularly important that writers

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[440] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 41.

[441] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 53.

[442] Here, Shimada is partial, since he only considers Poe's "The Murder of the Rue Morgue" but not his other detective stories that are not particularly fantastic.

[443] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 54.

are attentive to *how* impossible crimes are presented and solved in addition to a puzzle element of *who* did it.

Shimada's theory of authentic detective fiction generated heated debates not only among writers of the social school but also among young writers he himself promoted categorizing them as the New Authentic School. His theory was openly hostile to the dominant social school denouncing *suiri shōsetsu* as an "inauthentic" form of detective fiction and his strong factionalism equally threw the young writers in the school into confusion. In his essay written after *Manifesto*, he humbly abandons his emphasis on *misuterī* and reduces the superiority of *misuterī* (detective fiction originated in fantastic literature) over *suiri shōsetsu* (detective fiction originated in literature of realism) to a matter of "taste,"[444] and maintains that something "authentic"—those that heavily rely on "logic"—can be written for both categories. Here, we could say that his theory of "authentic" comes close to that of previous debates, especially of what postwar Edogawa Ranpo advocated as "authentic" detective fiction.

In order to clarify his argument, Shimada proposes a schema in which the dichotomy of fantastic/realistic (his first definition) constitutes the ordinate and that of logic/affect (his second definition) the abscissa. Shimada originally argues that authentic detective fiction cannot be found among novels based on realism, but in this schema the world *honkaku* (authentic) is equally given to the first quadrant (*misuterī*) and the third quadrant (*suiri*) thereby showing respect for the masterpieces of the postwar years and foreign classics of the Golden Age, most of which would be categorized in the third quadrant. Since not many masterpieces have been written in the first quadrant, however, he proposes young writers of the New Authentic School should write novels in the first

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[444] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen II* 165.

quadrant, i.e. authentic mystery. Despite a small modification of his theory, it is still in "authentic mystery" that he sees the future of Japanese detective fiction.

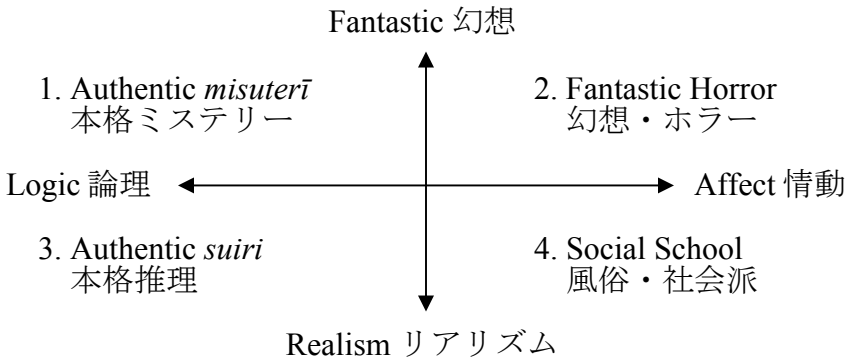

Figure 1

Shimada Sōji's Chart of Authentic Detective Fiction [445]

As Ayatsuji later criticizes, Shimada's classification is too arbitrary,[446] and further disregards the issues extensively discussed in the previous debates about authentic detective fiction. The issue of content (whether the initial mystery is mysterious or not) is conveniently associated to the issue of form (whether the mystery is solved logically or not), and his priority is still given to the novels of the first quadrant since the stark contrast of the initial fantasy and its logical solution in the end constitutes novels he thinks are true to the spirit of the genre and conveniently counterpoises the novels in the fourth quadrant, the social school. His theory becomes even more confusing when he further argues that the novels written in already established codes should not be called

[445] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen II* 77.

[446] Shimada Sōji and Ayatsuji Yukito, *Honkaku misuterī-kan* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1997) 38.

"fantastic," since the use of established codes makes initial mystery banal and thus less "fantastic."

Here, Shimada's concept of "fantastic" is stretched to include "originality" or what Kigi Takatarō argued as "literature" in detective fiction. Consequently, he even criticizes, as the midwife of the movement, the recent trend among young writers of the New Authentic School saying that they write only in the set forms and do not endeavor to construct attractive mysteries.[447] He reduces the cause to the lack of opportunities young writers have to read authentic detective fiction from the past and ultimately proposes to trace back history and reevaluate the past classics of Japanese detective fiction which he argues are the "forest of fantastic ideas (*kisō no mori*)."[448] Shimada maintains that the surprises in the beginning and end are most important in authentic *suiri*, and in authentic *misuterī*, which is according to Shimada the subgenre of the former, writers have to present more than a surprise, i.e. what he calls *kisō* (fantastic ideas). Shimada traces the lineage of fantastic ideas in the history of Japanese detective fiction until the emergence of Matsumoto Seichō, with whom the lineage was suffocated in favor of realistic depictions of crime investigation. Since this particular essay was originally written as the closing essay of the first volume of anthologies of prewar Japanese mysteries, the promotional tone of his essay—selling the lost classics of Japanese detective stories—must be subtracted from his arguments.[449] Yet, when he discusses the lineage of the "fantastic" in Japanese detective fiction, he places himself closer to Edogawa Ranpo's prewar—not his postwar in *Gen'eijō*—stance in which he defended

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[447] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen II* 120.

[448] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen II* 121. He also writes a story using the word *kisō* in the title *Kisō ten o ugokasu* (Fantastic Ideas Even Move the Sky) in 1989.

[449] Shimada, "Kisō no kurai mori" *Honkaku misuterī sengen II* 118-155. He wrote this essay as his introduction (*kaisetsu*) of *Kisō no mori* eds. Ayukawa Tetsuya and Shimada Sōji (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1991).

the "inauthentic" nature of Japanese detective fiction rather than as an advocate of "authentic" detective fiction.

Shimada's constant efforts in promoting the authentic school deserve a particular attention in the history of Japanese detective fiction not simply because they are intended to reform the genre from within but because they are another attempt by Japanese writers to struggle with the concept of "authentic." Contrary to the debates about authentic detective fiction in prewar years (Kōga Saburō and Kigi Takatarō) and postwar years (Edogawa Ranpo and Kigi Takatarō), where "authentic" signifies the foreign standards thereby requiring the negotiation of "Japanese" detective fiction in relation to the foreign other, Shimada's arguments make little reference to the foreign classics of the Golden Age. He even dismisses the concept of the authentic in foreign detective fiction for the reason that there is no corresponding term of "authentic" in English. For Shimada, the term is a pure Japanese creation and has less to do with foreign importation. In this regard, Shimada is clever enough to free himself from the issue of the authentic/inauthentic dichotomy in relation to the Western Other. Instead, what he tries to revive—in a slightly different way from Ayatsuji Yukito—is the "authentic" detective fiction that Yokomizo Seishi and Edogawa Ranpo produced right after the war in their efforts at negotiating prewar inauthentic tendencies in Japanese detective fiction, or more blatantly the styles rejected in the prosperity of the social school of detective fiction because of its outdated hybridity. In the end, the novels that are most appropriate in the first quadrant of Shimada's schema are Yokomizo's novels of the 1950s, while most western classics fall in the third quadrant. From this standpoint, what Shimada argues as being fantastic is actually the element of "inauthentic" Yokomizo could not eliminate in his authentic detective fiction in postwar years.

For the same reason, Shimada's reference to Edogawa Ranpo again entails an interesting re-narrativization. In Ranpo's reading of the history of Japanese detective fiction in *Gen'eijō*, he established the dominant narrative that Japanese detective fiction

is as equally influenced by the domestic literary tradition of romanticism such as Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Satō Haruo as by the foreign detective fiction introduced and translated in *Shinseinen*.[450] In his postwar project that culminated in *Gen'eijō*, however, he argues that the particularity of Japanese detective fiction (inauthentic tendencies) needs to be temporarily suspended in order to transform the genre into one suitable for modern Japan.[451] Despite his theoretical commitment to establish "authentic" Japanese detective fiction after the war, Ranpo himself could not produce what he advocated as authentic detective fiction. In other words, while Yokomizo Seishi could not eliminate "inauthentic" elements from his postwar detective fiction, Ranpo could not transform in practice from a prewar writer of inauthentic detective fiction to a postwar writer of authentic detective fiction. The ambivalent relationships of authentic and inauthentic in relation to the Western Other were nevertheless overcome later with the emergence of the social school of detective fiction where the issue of authenticity no longer mattered. As I discussed in Chapter Four, this would correspond to Japan's overcoming of the postwar memory in the decade after World War II through Japan's identification with the West.

In Shimada, however, the same particularity becomes an advantage that needs to be acknowledged positively, or rather should be restored once Japan has economically recovered from the postwar devastation.[452] Here, Shimada's argument somehow parallels so-called *nihonjin-ron* (the discourses about Japan) that was created in order to explain Japan's economic miracle after the devastation. Cultural relativism after the war was questioned even in the United States by the renegotiation of American "value" in the

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[450] Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 237.

[451] Edogawa, *Gen'eijō* 286-7.

[452] Aoki Tamotsu, "*Nihon bunkaron" no hen'yō* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 1999) 166-83.

1980s by such writers as Allen Bloom in his *The Closing of the American Mind*.[453] Shimada also rearticulates the dominant narrative of the genre in the transitional period of Japan's postwar history from Shōwa to Heisei. As Harootunian argues citing Maruyama Masao, we could argue that Shimada sees "*kosō*"—"a deep stratum that runs through history like an underground river"[454]—in the postwar history in Japanese detective fiction. Harootunian writes:

> Despite waves of foreign importation, down to the most recent embracing of modern European civilization, these later arrivals succeed and are even superscripted over the older layer to repress them as a cultural unconscious that inexplicably remains intact, waiting to be summoned either as a revenant anxious to take reprisals on a present that has forgotten it or as a neglected form of resistance.[455]

Shimada's revised narrative revives from the layering of postwar cultural formation the native stratum that prewar writers defended as the "irreducibly Japanese against the onslaught of capitalist modernization."[456] It is important to recognize that the postwar history of the Japanese detective fiction genre is renarrativized by Shimada as the history of denial of something particular to Japan. By juxtaposing Ranpo's prewar and postwar stance in terms of authenticity in detective fiction, Shimada articulates the postwar history as "inauthentic" where "authenticity" is unreasonably repressed.

Then, it is probably not a coincidence that the small current initiated by Shimada Sōji's provocative renarativization was not simply ignored but rather became the major

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[453] Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987).

[454] Harry Harootunian, "Japan's Long Postwar: The Trick of Memory and the Ruse of History," *Japan After Japan: Social and Cultural Life from the Recessionary 1990s to the Present*, ed. Tomiko Yoda and Harry Harootunian (Durham: Duke UP, 2006) 110.

[455] Harootunian, "Japan's Long Postwar" 111.

[456] Harootunian, "Japan's Long Postwar" 109.

force of the genre at the time when the entire nation mourned the death of the Shōwa Emperor and positively started rereading postwar history in 1989. Japan had to re-imagine itself in the dissolution of the Cold War constellation of cultures. Shimada's neo-nationalistic evaluation of Japanese detective fiction constitutes the age-old dichotomy of Japan and the West. For example, Shimada argues that in producing a quantity of products—he of course criticizes here mass produced detective fiction of the social school—Japan has already surpassed America. However, he continues, the material prosperity of Japan lacks "culture"—he even says Japan has "one hundredth of the culture compared to the cultures America produces."[457] The only possible genre in which Japan could compete with a host of translations of foreign mystery is "authentic" detective fiction, since no one dares to write such a classic form any more in the US: the US market is dominated by the subgenres of mystery, such as psycho-thrillers and hard-boiled stories that can easily be turned into a movie.[458] Shimada thus concludes that Japanese writers have to recover the concept of *honkaku* (authentic), since it is not a cultural import as discussed in the previous debates, but the concept purely created by Japanese writers in the Golden Age of Japanese detective fiction in the 1930s and 1950s. His positive articulation of Japan and Japanese people later prompted him to hold interviews with conservative Japanese intellectuals about Japan and the Japanese (*nihonjin-ron*).[459]

In this regard, Shimada's proposition about the revival of "authentic" detective fiction is strongly motivated by his nostalgic recreation of Japan's history before the

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[457] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 18.

[458] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 18.

[459] Chapter Two of *Kisō no genryū* includes his interviews with Ishikawa Eisuke, Yoshimura Sakuji, and Yourō Takeshi. See Shimada Sōji, *Kisō no genryū: Shimada Sōji taidanshū* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2002) 121-82.

economic miracle when the market was not yet dominated by the social school of detective fiction, which is in Shimada's view more or less "foreign." For Shimada, an epistemological break does not exist between prewar inauthentic detective fiction and postwar authentic detective fiction, which constitutes the axis of abscissa in the above schema, but between detective fiction and mystery of the social school, which constitutes the axis of ordinate.

As slight discrepancies in the roundtable discussions in *Manifesto* exemplify, Ayatsuji and young writers in the New Authentic School seem to be motivated by something different than Shimada's openly nationalistic tone in writing "authentic" detective fiction. Moreover, Shimada's theory gradually turns into "ideals" of his own, despite his claim that his theory is deduced from Ayatsuji's early works. He even argues that the discrepancies between them should be blamed on Ayatsuji's gradual transformation into a writer Shimada did not want him to be. Yet, Ayatsuji Yukito's maiden work *Jukkakukan no satsujin* is a more complex piece than Shimada wants to recognize, and thus needs to be examined carefully in relation to the movement called the New Authentic School.

Jukkakukan no satsujin as Meta Mystery

Ayatsuji Yukito's *Jukkakukan no satsujin* (hereafter *Jukkakukan*) is the earliest and most representative work of the New Authentic School. It is Shimada's discovery of this young college graduate that triggered the subsequent revival of classic puzzle stories in the 1990s and even to the present. The story of *Jukkakukan* is reminiscent of the classics of the Golden Age and it is intentionally constructed in an outdated style. Seven students of a college mystery club stay in the "haunted" annex of the mansion located on an isolated island to hold an annual meeting of the club. The annex, which is called Jukkakukan (The Decagon House), and the mansion were designed by an eccentric

architect Nakamura Seiji.[460] He was alleged to be killed with his wife and two employees when the mansion burned down half a year before. On the uncanny island, the seven members are to be killed one by one despite their optimistic prospect that this is just a surprise party set by one of the organizers. Each time they are killed, one of the seven plates on the dining table, which ominously read "The First Victim," "The Second Victim," "The Third Victim," "The Fourth Victim," "The Last Victim," "The Detective," and "The Murderer," is to be placed on the door of the corresponding victim's room. They try to deduce the murderer by comparing their current situation to the fictional murder cases of the past classics as they did in their past annual meetings in which participants challenge each member's story sans conclusion; this time quite seriously though, since their lives are at stake in this real murder game. Yet no one can stop the theatrically staged murders, and finally the annex is burned down leaving *six* faceless bodies at the site.

The narrative of *Jukkakukan* is carefully constructed in the third person and each character is occasionally scrutinized to reveal to the reader of their inner thoughts so that they generate suspense and suspicion toward each other. Moreover, not only the real murderer but also the identity of each student is masked until the very end, since they call each other by the names of the masters of foreign classics—Ellery Queen, John Dickson Carr, Gaston Leroux, Edgar Allan Poe, Agatha Christie, Baroness Orczy, and S. S. Van Dine, which they conventionally inherited from their predecessors. The narrative that reminds knowledgeable readers of Christie's classic becomes even more complicated when the story of the serial murders on the island is cut in with the story of the investigation of mysterious letters two of the other members—Kawaminami Takaaki and Morisu Kyōichi—have received. The letter accuses them, including the seven members

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[460] Ayatsuji Yukito wrote a series of novels featuring the mansions designed by the same architect.

on the island, of involvement in the death of a girl who died of acute alcoholic poisoning in one of the welcoming parties of the club. The sender of the letter claims himself to be the late Nakamura Seiji and her father and vows revenge for his "murdered" daughter. Kawaminami and Morisu investigate the fire that supposedly killed Nakamura Seiji a half year before but before they fully excavate the mystery of the accident and identify the sender of the letter, they come to know that the annex has burned down and the police report tells them *all* of their friends on the island have been murdered.

The two separate investigations of the unknown mastermind on the island and of the mysterious letters outside of the island consist of the carefully designed puzzle of the novel, but the sudden and absolute surprise of the novel comes before the very end. When the two storylines finally meet, Morisu, who serves as a Watsonian character to Kawaminami outside of the island, turned out to be Van Dine, who is one of the members on the island and whom readers supposed had already been murdered. He loved the woman whom the club members indirectly killed and planned the multiple murders in order to revenge her. He commuted on and off the island—his father is the owner of the island and knew a secret harbor where he could use his inflatable boat—in order to establish his alibi helping Kawaminami's investigation outside of the island. Thus, the investigations of an amateur detective on the island (Ellery) and outside of the island (Kawaminami) were both misdirected by the masterful plan of the Watsonian character (Van Dine/Morisu).[461]

Structurally, this is a self-reflective copy of two of the most popular classics of the Golden Age, Agatha Christie's *And Then There Were None* and *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd*. The setting of Christie's *And Then There Were None* is skillfully twisted by the

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[461] Morisu in Japanese puns on the first name of another famous writer Maurice Leblanc, whose name is not used by the members on the island. This is another red herring that draws careful reader's attention away from the fact that Morisu is one of the members on the island.

narrative surprise made famous by *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* in which the narrator turns out to be the culprit. The coincidence of the past classics and the story is self-reflectively shared by the characters in the novel and its references to the classics, especially their strange but seemingly insignificant custom of calling each other with the names of classic masters, constitute the narrative puzzle that prevents the reader from equating Van Dine with Morisu. Finally, the novel is even Ayatsuji's meta-commentary on the detective fiction genre in Japan. In the beginning of the first chapter, the character Ellery, who later acts as the chief detective on the island, declares his ideal detective fiction as follows:

> So, no more of realistic social school of mysteries once favored in Japan, please. A female office worker is murdered in a one bedroom apartment and the police detective arrests her boss, who also turns out to be her lover, after his painstaking investigation wearing out his shoes. Stop such nonsense! No more of corruption and behind the scenes in the political world, tragedies caused by the strains of the modern society, and the like, too. What's fit for mystery is—although you might call it old-fashioned—a genius detective, a mansion, its mysterious residents, bloody murders, an impossible crime, and an unprecedented puzzle. I'm quite content with such a castle in the air (*esoragoto*). What matters is whether we can enjoy the fictional world. Only in an intellectual manner throughout, though.[462]

Ellery speaks for the author's opinion of the genre and this maiden work itself is the answer to this very claim. It is even more ironic that Ayatsuji's inability as a writer in describing each characters intelligibly—the usual criticisms against authentic detective fiction from the side of the social school—functions as the very condition not to disclose Morisu's double role until the very end. The novel is thus not just Ayatsuji's self-referential homage to the past classics but is his challenge against the genre that was dominated by "boring"—in Ellery's word—social school mysteries for a long time. Shimada's patronage has probably functioned favorably to Ayatsuji, since without

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[462] Ayatsuji Yukito, *Jukkakukan no satsujin* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1991) 10.

Shimada's recommendation this tricky puzzle story would have had a hard time being published.[463]

It would certainly be an oversimplification to argue that *Jukkakukan* exemplifies the New Authentic School as a whole but this very first novel already includes some of the characteristics that dominates the school. Ayatsuji's first novel—and many novels written by the writers Shimada promoted—is not a mere reproduction of classic puzzle stories of the Western Golden Age but instead the result of more playful negotiations with the rules and conventions of the genre. It is through its negotiations with the genre that the New Authentic School manifests similarities with prewar writings of Edogawa Ranpo or Yokomizo Seishi's immediate postwar writings, in which negotiations in terms of authenticity produced detective fiction that was extremely self-reflective about the integrity of the foreign born genre. Yet, this would not justify Shimada's claim that the New Authentic School should be located in the lineage of prewar fantastic literature. It is a structural repetition of negotiations with the genre with a "twist" particular to the cultural constellations of the 1990s.

Consequently the New Authentic School is characterized by its "excess" that resists even conventional classifications in the matrix of authentic and inauthentic. One of the most important elements that troubled many critics and writers who wanted to define the New Authentic School as a revival of classic puzzle stories was their peculiar reliance on "plot" in constructing tricky puzzles. Ayatsuji's use of the narrative device is still restricted to a minimum but the genre's gradual development was leaning toward radicalizing the conventions of the genre, especially narrative. Ayatsuji himself employed an intricate narrative device in another novel of the Mansion series *Ningyōkan*

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[463] Ayatsuji shows respect for Shimada by naming the detective in his "Mansion" series Shimada Kiyoshi: the combination of his family name and the given name of his famous detective Mitarai Kiyoshi. In return, Shimada created pen names for the young writers he recommended including Ayatsuji Yukito.

no satsujin (The Murder in the Doll House, 1992) and later in his controversial splatter mystery *Satsujinki* (Phonomania, 1996). Abiko Takemaru is particularly attentive to the possibilities of a narrative device and his *Satsuriku ni itaru yamai* (The Illness that leads to Murder, 1992) is a tricky novel written from the murderer's point of view. After writing very conventional puzzle stories, Norizuki Rintaro also followed the trend with *Yoriko no tame ni* (For Yoriko, 1993), which is his homage to Nicholas Blake's *The Beast Must Die* (1938) with its clever use of the diary embedded in the story. *Ubume no natsu* (The Summer of Ubume, 1994) the maiden work of one of the most prolific writers of the school, Kyōgoku Natsuhiko (1963-)is the extreme case of an unreliable narrator in detective fiction. In those novels, not only the characters narrated by the narrator but the narrator's account, his/her age, gender, or even the chronological arrangement of his/her accounts becomes fundamentally unreliable. In many cases, those novels are narrated from the murderer's point of view and this undermines the very supposition of classic puzzle stories that the narrator should be neutral as to the story he or she presents.

This is the same kind of problem Edogawa Ranpo encountered when he discussed the "rich" varieties of Japanese detective fiction that did not fit in the Western view on the genre. As I discuss in Chapter Four, Ranpo toiled to incorporate the convention of narrative called *tōjo tantei shōsetsu* (inverted detective fiction) of Francis Iles—and quite naturally his own early piece "Shinri shiken" (Psychological Test)—in the category of authentic detective fiction. The variant of detective fiction in which the story is narrated from criminal's point of view has always caused problems in delineating the borders of the detective fiction genre, since its treatment of the inner thoughts of criminals tends to make it thematically a criminal novel rather than conventional detective fiction. The issue in point of view usually entails discussions about the artistic merit of detective fiction, since writers can dig down into the mind of criminals once they are freed from the conventional rules of "not to disclose the murder until the very end." In the prewar debates, Kigi Takatarō thus categorized Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* as detective

fiction and acquitted "inauthentic" Japanese detective fiction of the impeachment of being immature in terms of form. For the same reason, postwar critic Hirano Ken evaluates Matsumoto Seichō's social school of detective fiction highly since his skillful application of the "inverted" narrative elevated detective fiction to "the literature of realism founded on firm ground."[464]

While most Western critics discuss inverted detective fiction as one of the many variations that were experimented with when the classic mode was being deconstructed and argue that its influence faded quickly and was replaced by the more general crime thriller in England and the United States,[465] Ranpo strategically discusses it as a part of what he calls authentic detective fiction and treats it as one of the most important and booming schools of detective fiction in his *Gen'eijō*. In Ranpo's view, even if the point of view is inverted in those novels, it can be categorized as authentic detective fiction as long as it has the structure—a murder, the subsequent police investigation, and its logical solution—common to classic puzzle stories and, contrary to the Dostoevsky novel, as its focus is still in "depiction of the process of crime and the thrill of its revelation."[466] Thus, by locating Freeman's *The Singing Bone* (1912) and his own "Psychological Test" as the precursor of the booming subgenre, Ranpo could legitimate the history of Japanese detective fiction as structurally "authentic" at the outset rather than thematically "inauthentic" as many critics tended to characterize it. Inverted detective fiction became a popular sub-genre of detective fiction in Japan, thanks to Ranpo's favorable treatment of the style in *Gen'eijō*. After Ranpo's introduction or "invention" of the term "*tōjo*"

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[464] Hirano Ken, *Hirano Ken Matsumoto Seichō tankyū: 1960-nendai Hirano Ken no Matsumoto Seichō ron, suiri shōsetsu hyōron* (Tokyo: Dōjidaisha, 2003) 62.

[465] See Symons 137-42. Symons discusses inverted detective fiction as part of the efforts in changing "the old order" at the twilight of the Golden Age.

[466] Edogawa, *Gen'eijo* 53.

(inverted), many crime stories have been translated with the sales copy that they belong to this prestigious sub-genre. The school Julian Symons argues quickly faded in England created memorable imitators mainly in France after World War II such as *La Femme de paille* (Woman of Straw, 1956) by Catherine Arley (1935-), *Nocture pour Assassin* (Nocturne for Murder, 1957) by Fred Kassak (1928-), *The Wife of the Red-Haired Man* (1957) by Bill Ballinger (1912-1980), and *Piège pour Cendrillon* (Trap for Cinderella, 1962) by Sébastien Japrisot (1931-2003). The first three novels are particularly important, since they were translated as a part of the twenty-nine volume series called "Kuraimu kurabu" (Crime Club) edited by the critic Uekusa Jin'ichi (1908-79) and published by Sōgensha from 1958 to 1959 and constituted the dominant subgenre of "sophisticated" French mystery, whose influence can be traced up to the novels of the New Authentic School.[467] In discussing the similar varieties or "excess" in the New Authentic School, Shimada thus relies on the conventions set by Ranpo. Since his "authentic mystery" is the mystery in which the initial surprises are explained logically, even inverted detective fiction written from a criminal's point of view or those that employ narrative puzzles designed to misdirect readers, Shimada argues, can be authentic mystery as well.

However, Shimada's inclusion of inverted detective fiction into his definition of the school becomes one of the major discrepancies between Shimada and the writers he promoted. For example, Abiko Takemaru, one of the participants of the round table discussion in Shimada's book opens his remarks with his criticism of Shimada's definition, and maintains that if inverted detective fiction is included in authentic detective fiction only because the novel has an attractive mystery—what Shimada calls

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[467] It should be noted that these novels with "sophisticated" French tastes are often contraposed to serious and gloomy "authentic" detective fiction. See Sengai Akiyuki, "Dentō no nijū teikoku," *Yuriika* Dec. 1999: 116-22.

kisō (fantastic/original ideas), genre classifications of Japanese detective fiction, especially in relation to "authentic" lose their validity: anything can be "authentic."[468] Against Abiko's explicit criticism, Shimada mildly shifts the issue to the etymology of the term itself and argues that the concept of "authentic" (*honkaku*) is a pure Japanese invention and should not necessarily conform to the "Western" definition where inverted detective fiction is usually treated as an independent subgenre.[469] Thus, he argues that Abiko's strict definition needs to be examined carefully for the future of the New Authentic School, for following the rules set by the canons of the golden age does not make detective fiction "authentic."[470] Instead, Shimada proposes to young writers of the round table that they should revive the sense of wonder (fantastic) from which even inverted detective fiction was born.

In this particular point of the round table discussion, Ayatsuji proposes the realism (or plausibility) within the story of outwardly "fantastic" detective fiction. This is not the same kind of realism of the social school Shimada criticizes which is representational of social realities, but Ayatsuji does not elaborate the argument further in the debates. Yet, it should be noted that by proposing the plausibility in plot Ayatsuji unknowingly follows the same issue the writer Tsuzuki Michio (1929-2003) encountered in the 1970s when postwar authentic detective movement was completely suffocated by the social school of detective fiction. In *Kiiroi heya wa ikani kaisō saretaka?* (How The Yellow Room was Remodeled? 1975), Tsuzuki uses the term "kinou no honkaku" (yesterday authentic) and "kyō no nazotoki shōsetsu" (today's mystery) and pursues how to write a "modern" detective novel in the age when conventional settings of classic

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[468] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 129-35.

[469] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 139.

[470] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 138.

puzzle stories do not have any plausibility or "reality." Interestingly enough, Tsuzuki refers to Yokomizo's *Honjin* and *Gokumontō*, particularly the latter, as examples of "today's mystery" and argues it is the narrative plausibility or "realism" that makes these two novels "today's mystery,"[471] or I would argue in Shimada's words "new authentic."

Tsuzuki strongly criticizes Japanese writers' unnecessary indulgence in puzzles and states that various tricks on the side of the culprit are ultimately worthless[472]—here he implicitly criticizes Ranpo's famous classifications of puzzles in detective fiction in *Zoku gen'eijō*. Tsuzuki considers the transition from authentic detective fiction to social school as that from "murder case oriented" to "plot oriented" and envisions that "new authentic mystery" should be sought in the harmonious compatibility of murder cases (puzzle) and plot.[473] From this perspective, Yokomizo's outwardly modern *Chōchō* is a too faithful implementation of the already outdated Western classic mode and its tricky puzzle of the murderer does not have any plausibility in the modern urban space peopled with experienced police detectives, however "logically" the necessity of committing such a complicated crime is explained in the end. Compared to *Chōchō*'s unnecessary but relatively "realistic" trick of moving the body for the murderer's alibi, the serial murders in *Gokumontō* are far more "unrealistic" and "unlikely" even in the everyday of the time of its initial publication, but its unrealistic murders are quite plausibly presented—not logically as is the case of *Chōchō* and even in Shimada's theory of the New Authentic School.

Gokumontō's serial murders were plotted in the unwritten will of a dying tycoon of the island and an unfortunate coincidence of several unlikely factors—the detective

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[471] Tsuzuki Michio, "Kiiroi heya wa ikani kaisō saretaka?" *Besuto misuteri ron 18*, ed. Komori Osamu (Tokyo: Takarajimasha, 2000) 58.

[472] Tsuzuki, "Kiiroi heya wa ikani kaisō saretaka?" 52.

[473] Tsuzuki, "Kiiroi heya wa ikani kaisō saretaka?" 54.

Kindaichi's visit of the island to stop the plan is surprisingly included—forced the sharers of the will to realize the crazed plan by brutally murdering his three granddaughters. Seeing the first murder scene, the Buddhist monk who also serves as a local informant in Kindaichi's investigation inadvertently comments "*Kichigai jaga shikata ga nai*" and this enigmatic line haunts this Gothic story. Kindaichi first understood the line as "There is nothing for it because he (she) is crazy (*kichigai* 気ちがい)" and suspected that the monk might know the true mastermind of these crazy murders and the reason that the bodies of the victims were all arranged in a strange manner—the first victim was left upside down on a tree, the second pushed into a bell, and the third in the costume of *shirabyōshi* (dancer/prostitute). The insane uncle in the cell in the mansion (*zashikirō*) and the three imbecile women of the head family—all later become victims—misdirect Kindaichi's and the reader's reasoning process and finally it is revealed that the three murders were executed by three leading figures on the island—the monk, the village headman, and the doctor—in order to keep the will of the former head of the powerful family in their belief that it would also serve the prosperity of all the people of the island. Murders are "performed" in a manner imitating the three haiku poems left by the dead man as an oath of allegiance. As the first executioner, the monk needed to arrange the body in the instructed manner in order to inform the other two bearers of the oath of his firm intention of realizing the plan. Thus, the monk actually meant "There is nothing we can do although it's a different season (*kichigai* 季違い)," since it was autumn while the season of the corresponding poem was spring.

Gokumontō is Yokomizo's sophisticated implementation of one of the trickiest puzzles in detective fiction "the nursery rhyme murders" (*douyō satsujin*) or "the murders of plot" (*sujigaki satsujin*) canonized in Edogawa Ranpo's top ten list in 1949 with the classics of the golden age such as Van Dine's *The Bishop Murder Case* (1929) and Ellery Queen's *The Tragedy of Y* (1932), which it takes to extremes. The detective misses the hidden plot—in this case three poems—on which the entire serial murders are based,

although the corresponding poems are presented to the readers in the very early stage of the story—true to one of the most important dictums of authentic puzzles stories, the spirit of "fair play" between author and reader. Consequently, the ominous suspense conventionally created in these types of serial murders—the prophecy and its fulfillment—is severely diminished. While conventions also call for a single strongly motivated—usually insane genius type—murderer for this case, the true mastermind in *Gokumontō* is already dead and three important characters turned out to be the mere puppets of the insane plot. Moreover, what actually triggered the dead man's plot is just an unfortunate coincidence concurrently brought to the island—the detective Kindaichi brings the tragic news that the only son of the head family (*honke*) died in the war, and another soldier brings the news that the son of the branch family (*bunke*) survived the war, which means three insane sisters of the head family—and greedy relatives who want to use them as puppets—become obstacles for this respectable man to lead the entire family, and, finally, the bell of the temple that was confiscated by the army to make weapons toward the end of the war is miraculously returned to the island. All of these, according to the monk, appeared to be the epiphany that the plot needs to be executed for the sake of his allegiance to the dead man and more importantly for the entire island. In the very end of the story, however, even this "sacred" coincidence turns out to be entirely baseless—sons of both families in fact died in the war and there is no need of removing "unnecessary" heirs or they rather helped to extinguish the old family by killing possible "breeders" of the new blood.

All the "unusual" elements are coherently arranged to constitute what Tsuzuki calls "logical acrobatics" in narrative. The brutal murders and the crazy means of killing are in no sense reasonable in the literature of realism, but they have plausibility once explained as an insane dying man's plot and the monk's unconscious plea for Kindaichi to stop the killings. The murders entirely hinge on coincidence, which is usually avoided in authentic detective fiction, but it works effectively in the novel firstly to establish the

convention to follow and then cruelly shatters it. Therefore, what makes *Gokumontō* "today's mystery" is plausibility in logically constructed narrative and all the other elements—even Yokomizo's signature "inauthentic" tastes—become what Kobayashi Hideo might call "designs" (*ishō*)[474] in constituting "authenticity" in narrative. Tsuzuki's focus on narrative is a significant departure from Ranpo's conceptualization of authenticity in detective fiction where his priority on a logical solution of a puzzle led him to a dead end of collecting possible and plausible puzzles in detective fiction. Well before the new authentic movement in the 1990s, Tsuzuki predicted in the 1970s that the only way authentic detective fiction could survive in the age of realism is to construct a plot prioritizing "logical acrobatics," which led him to pursue puzzles set in narrative against the conventions of authentic detective fiction. In this regard, Tsuzuki's very tricky mysteries such as *Neko no shita ni kugi o ute* (Nail the Tongue of the Cat, 1961) where he achieves narrative acrobatics of making the murderer, victim and the detective be the same person[475] and a very tricky mystery, *Sanjū roshutsu* (Triple Exposure, 1964) where Tsuzuki constructs a frame story in which the story the narrator is translating intermingles with his surrounding reality. The undercurrent that was set by Tsuzuki even at the time of the prosperity of the social school of mystery certainly flows into the tricky narrative puzzles of the New Authentic School. The New Authentic School is thus a structural repetition of the very difficulty in writing "new" detective fiction against the rule-governed "authentic" detective fiction and thus the conventions established after

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[474] Kobayashi Hideo, "Samazama naru ishō," *X e no tegami, Watakushi shōsetsuron* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1962) 93-111.

[475] It should be emphasized that Tsuzuki's novel precedes a more famous novel by Sébastien Japrisot, *Piège pour Cendrillon* (1962) where the narrator takes the quadruple role of being detective, witness, victim, and the culprit. The popularity of this French mystery among Japanese writers can for example be proven by Kujira Tōichirō's recent mystery *Futari no shinderera* (Two Cinderellas, 2002) where he constructs the settings of one person performing an octuple role.

Edogawa Ranpo's painstaking classifications of puzzles on the side of the culprit. The implausibility of reviving the lost format also compelled many young writers of the school to resort to narrative that had been neglected in conventional "authentic" detective fiction.

Postmodernism and the New Authentic School

In their involvement in constructing and deconstructing the frame of reference in the conventions of the genre, Tsuzuki Michio eventually touches on the problem that a series of American writers encountered in their negotiations with the modernist literary tradition, which later was theorized as a movement called postmodernism.[476] In discussing the writings of postwar American writers, Tony Tanner points to the anxiety and paradox that one's own agency "may be predetermined and channeled by the language he has been born into," which results in "the point of paranoia which is detectable not only in the subject matter of many novels but also in their narrative devices."[477] He further writes:

> Here then is the paradox for a writer. If he wants to write in any communicable form he must traffic in a language which may at every turn be limiting, directing and perhaps controlling his responses and formulations. If he feels that the given structuring of reality of the available language is imprisoning or iniquitous, he may abandon language altogether; or he may seek to use the existing language in such a way that he demonstrates to himself and other people that he does not accept nor wholly conform to the structures built into the common tongue, that he has the power to resist and perhaps disturb the particular "rubricizing" tendency of the language he has inherited. Such an author—and I think he is an unusually common phenomenon in contemporary America—

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[476] Ihab Hassan is one of the earliest critics who systematically used the term "postmodernism" as the aesthetics contraposed to modernism. See especially his controversial list of differences between modernism and postmodernism in the second edition of *The Dismemberment of Orpheus: Toward a Postmodern Literature* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1982).

[477] Tony Tanner, *City of Words: American Fiction 1950-70* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971) 16.

> will go out of his way to show that he is using language as it has never been used before, leaving the visible marks of his idiosyncrasies on every formulation.[478]

According to Tanner, the notion that we may be living our lives "within an intricate system or pattern of fictions" prompts the search for "some recognition of non-fictional reality."[479] As "the themes of fictions/recognitions has come to occupy the forefront of the American writer's consciousness," the liberating feeling in dissolution of the reality they are trapped in becomes "an instructive exploration of another aspect of reality."[480] Thus, constant dissolution and reconstruction of reality becomes one of the principal games that those writers play in what Tanner calls "the City of Words." Stefano Tani further argues that detective conventions even become an instructive tool in expressing "the disorder and the existential void they find central to our time" precisely because the genre is "designed to epitomize the contrary." Postmodernist writers, such as Thomas Pynchon, Vladimir Nabokov, and Umberto Eco, thus "do not even try to 'improve upon' detective fiction but rather use the form as a scrapyard from which to dig out 'new' narrative techniques to be applied to the exhausted traditional novel."[481] If modernist fiction is characterized by its disciplined order in narrative, the detective fiction genre that is governed by strict rules and conventions becomes an ideal playground for many postmodern writers. As William Spanos writes, "undermining the detective-like expectations of the positivistic mind"[482] becomes the most immediate task to engage for postmodern writers.

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[478] Tanner 16.

[479] Tanner 393.

[480] Tanner 420.

[481] Stefano Tani, *The Doomed Detective: The Contribution of the Detective Novel to Postmodern American & Italian Fiction* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1984) 34.

[482] William V. Spanos, "The Detective and the Boundary: Some Notes on the Postmodern Literary Imagination," *Boundary 2* 1 (1972): 167.

Much like the writers of postmodernism, Ayatsuji is equally conscious of the difficulty of constructing a completely "original" puzzle after almost all the possible combinations have been already tried out more than half a century ago or when the very concept of creative "originality" does not seem to pertain to the reality of their time. As Shimada also points out, in the increased importance of the crime lab in identifying criminals and "profiling" from a vast amount of stored data, what an individual can do in a criminal investigation has become severely limited.[483] Creative geniuses in authentic detective novels, or even a hardworking police detective in the Social School, were replaced by technicians such as criminal scientists or FBI agents who have access to and have ability to make use of new technologies. As Ayatsuji speaks through one of the characters in *Jukkakukan*,[484] if one really wants to write a classic puzzle in a contemporary setting, the location of the novel needs to be set in those locations common in outdated authentic detective fiction, which is a secluded place remote from any intrusion of recent technology.

Challenges to the premise of authentic detective fiction are not necessarily from within the genre. The constellation of popular entertainment in the 1990s also made not only the authentic detective fiction but also the entire detective fiction genre obsolete. The popularity of the social school of detective fiction which Shimada attempts to transcend with his "New Authentic" cannot be separated from its ease of adaptation in visual media. One of the reasons that the school prolonged its life would be reduced to its adaptability and popularity in media other than the novel. Matsumoto Seichō's social school of detective novels were almost all turned into movies or TV dramas. The trend was followed by Nishimura Kyōtarō's so-called travel mystery in the 1980s, which has

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[483] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen II* 30-31.

[484] Ayatsuji, *Jukkakukan no satsujin* 13.

been successfully adapted in a TV drama series providing different local sceneries every week to the viewers of the national network. The popularity of female writers such as Miyabe Miyuki and Kirino Natsuo in the 1990s might be explained by their effective use of the narrative and conceptual resources of the genre in depicting the issues of Japanese society from a feminist perspective much like the novels of American female writers such as Sue Grafton, Sara Paretsky and Patricia Cornwell,[485] but it should not be overlooked that their novels are still written in the frame of reference of the social school of mystery and thus are appealing for TV/movie adaptations. To begin with, Yokomizo's authentic detective fiction, which Shimada praises highly, might have been completely forgotten if it had not been adapted in Kadokawa's blockbuster films in the 70s. In other words, when the New Authentic School was the topic of serious debates among detective fiction writers, not only the authentic detective fiction but the narrative *form* particular to detective fiction was on the verge of extinction in favor of *content* that can be transported and copied across different media.

The crisis of the genre, however, becomes the condition for Ayatsuji in exploiting the already exhausted form. John Barth—one of the writers Tanner extensively analyzes—equally confesses in his influential essay "The Literature of Exhaustion" to "the used-upness of certain forms or the felt exhaustion of certain possibilities"[486] of the conventional modes of representation. He refers to Borges' recycling of Cervantes' novel in order to produce an original work of literature and praises his artistic victory in which "he confronts an intellectual dead end and employs it against itself to accomplish new human work."[487] Ayatsuji and his followers equally turn "the felt ultimacies of our

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[485] Seaman 13.

[486] John Barth, "The Literature of Exhaustion" *The Friday Book*, reprint ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1997) 64.

[487] Barth 69-70.

time into material and means for his work" and thus "transcends what had appeared to be his refutation."[488] Yet, his renegotiation with the genre is achieved without the grand conviction of modernist writers who critically engage with the genre to postpone the death of the already dying form which is probably best exemplified in Yokomizo's grand piece like *Gokumontō*. In this regard, Ayatsuji's skillful imitation of the classics of the past resembles what Fredric Jameson calls as "pastiche" in postmodern culture. After discussing parody as the aesthetic strategy that belongs to high modernism, Jameson argues that pastiche is one of the dominant modes of cultural practice that could transcend the paradigm of modernism. According to Jameson, pastiche is "the imitation of a peculiar or unique, idiosyncratic style," but contrary to parody's ulterior motives or the satiric impulse, it is "a neutral practice of the satiric impulse, devoid of laughter and of any conviction."[489] The same sense of crisis might certainly be shared by Edogawa Ranpo when he wrote *Gen'eijō* in the 1950s, which is another reason that the chapter on inverted detective fiction is included in the book. Yet, Ranpo's obstinate effort of collecting every possible puzzle of detective fiction, hoping to create a unique and unmistakably original story, becomes the practice of the past. In this regard, Yokomizo's authentic detective fiction can be placed in the last peak of the high modernist effort of overcoming the felt used-upness of the genre. Ayatsuji's attitude is also different from Shimada's almost fanatic endeavor in reviving "Japanese" authentic detective fiction which Shimada does not believe was dead yet. Instead, the writers of the authentic school including Ayatsuji turn to the past and opt for "the imitation of dead styles, speech

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[488] Barth 71.

[489] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1991) 17.

through all the masks and voices stored up in the imaginary museum of a now global culture."[490]

For Ayatsuji and other writers of the school, the golden rules of the genre become the new frontier to be excavated. The enigmatic relationships between detective and mystery become the ideal device to access a new everyday reality the social school can no longer represent effectively. Shimada's *Zodiac* certainly pioneered the movement thematically by reducing human bodies to mere things that can be patchworked to create an additional entity—his equation of the procedure to a conman's creating an additional bill from multiple bills might further enforce his insistence on two dimensionality of life at times when the depth models of great modernist projects are replaced by an arbitrary play with surface.[491] Yet, as Kasai Kiyoshi argues in terms of Ayatsuji's maiden work, when even the "codes" of the genre including narrative devices are employed in order for the author to deconstruct the very expectation that resides in them, detective fiction becomes meta-fiction that represents in its structure the social relations of the late twentieth century where the weight of human lives is equated with those in fiction,[492] which is represented by sensational youth murders initiated by Miyazaki Tsutomu's serial murders in 1988[493] and escalated to Asahara's cartoonish plan of Tokyo subway gas attack in 1995.[494]

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[490] Jameson, *Postmodernism* 18.

[491] Norizuki Rintaro, "Shimada Sōji-ron," *Honkaku misuteri no genzai* 115.

[492] Kasai, *Tantei shōsetsuron II* 131.

[493] From 1988 to 1989, Miyazaki Tsutomu killed four girls, age from four to seven. It was sensationally reported in the national media because of its theatricality in his sending letters to media and cremated bones to the victim's families. When he was arrested in 1989, his den filled with piles of books, manga, magazines, and about six thousand videos tapes triggered a media frenzy about the evil influence of anime, manga, and horror films. See Ōtsuka Eiji, et al, *Emu no sedai: bokura to Miyazaki-kun* (Tokyo: Ōta Shuppan, 1989).

[494] In 1995, the members of Aum shinrikyō—the cult led by Asahara Shōkō—released sarin gas concurrently on several lines of the Tokyo subway. The cult's cartoonish doctrines that

In this regard, there is a good reason that many writers of the school turn to the narrative devices in constructing a puzzle, since narrative particular to written form—what Tanner calls the City of Words—is the last resort for writers to manipulate the expectations of the reader with the pact of the genre within the particularity of the novel form. It is not just a tricky puzzle set by the culprit but what Ayatsuji calls "presentation"[495] of already established codes becoming the main battle field for the play between writer and reader. Therefore, Ayatsuji's interests in the metafictional aspect of detective fiction eventually made him oppose Shimada's arguments about the New Authentic School. In his conversation with Shimada in *Honkaku misuterī-kan nite* (In the House of Authentic Mystery, 1992), Ayatsuji argues that in the core of his "authentic" is the "play" that cannot be found in the serious "adults" who grew up during Japan's rapid economic development in the 1960s and he expresses that he would rather be called "*yūgiha*" (the game school) instead of the serious "*honkakuha*" (the authentic school)[496] that Shimada is enthusiastically advocating. This is one of the key issues that separates Shimada, who is still trapped in constituting "Japanese" detective fiction by supposing its origin in prewar years, from Ayatsuji, who enjoys a play with past classics regardless of such authentic/inauthentic distinction or even of national boundaries—in other words a blank parody of the classic forms commonly seen in postmodern novels. For Ayatsuji's generation, not only so-called authentic detective fiction, but all the history or even the images that became famous in movie or cartoon adaptations of the genre become their ideal field to play with "surfaces."

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were inspired by anime and manga and the member's seemingly contradictory intelligence—main members all graduated from top colleges—surprised the nation by their facile crossing of the boundaries between fiction and reality. See Ōsawa Masachi, *Kyokō no jidai no hate: Oumu to sekai saishū sensō* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1996).

[495] Shimada and Ayatsuji, *Honkaku misuteri-kan* 57.

[496] Shimada, *Honkaku misuteri sengen* 109.

While Ayatsuji's novels are characterized by their whimsical play with legacies in the past in ever globalizing and visualizing consumer society, Shimada's arguments would rather correspond to the neo-conservative mood of the 1990s when the popular cartoonist Kobayashi Yoshinori's reactionary view of Japan's invasion of Asian countries in *Gōmanizumu sengen* (Declaration of My Arrogance, 1992-) became a media sensation. In Kobayashi's reactionary view of Japanese history, his agitation for obtaining a positive view of Japan's own history ends up justifying—sometimes unreasonably—Japan's colonial invasion of Asia. It takes a form of cultural nationalism where advocacy of cultural authenticity constitutes a hegemonic body of the nation state by rereading and renegotiating the nation's history.[497] In this regard, it cannot be denied that Shimada's insistence on authenticity is also related to Japan's new position in post Cold War Asia. Detective fiction was born out of the confusion and anxiety of urban space filled with nameless crowds in nineteenth century Europe, and thus it is not particularly surprising that the form obtained currency again when the imagined homogeneity of postwar was challenged in the ever increasing influx of Asian workers into Japan and when Japan had to re-imagine itself out of the shadow of America.[498]

In Shimada's view, the history of Japanese detective fiction and its constant negotiations with the foreign other are carefully repressed for the sake of his positive construction of the authenticity of Japanese detective fiction. This is the reason that he sets the watershed in the history of Japanese detective fiction in the late 1950s, before the emergence of the social school, and not in 1945, as many critics conventionally argued.

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[497] If we follow Karatani Kōjin's argument, not only Japan but the world is beginning to resemble the 1930s after the end of the U.S.-Soviet dichotomy in 1989. See Karatani Kōjin, "The Discursive Space of Modern Japan," *Japan in the World*, ed. Masao Miyoshi and H.D. Harootunian (Durham: Duke UP, 1993).

[498] Ōguma Eiji discusses post Shōwa Japan as "the third postwar." See Ōguma, *"Minshu" to "aikoku"* 811-16.

The axis of prewar inauthentic and postwar authentic in the "standard" version is replaced with the axis of fantastic ideas (Japanese "culture") and the literature of realism (Americanization). Here, Shimada's authentic mystery comes rather close to what critics have formerly argued were "inauthenticities" in Japanese detective fiction. Regardless of the authenticities he is trying to revive from the deep stratum of postwar Japanese culture, he unknowingly repeats the prewar debates in terms of authenticity in detective fiction by reversing it.

In this regard, the return to the authentic of the New Authentic School becomes a "twisted" return. According to Kasai Kiyoshi, the New Authentic movement (third wave) is not a mechanical reproduction of the postwar authentic movement (second wave). He argues that the New Authentic School overcame the decaying Social School by incorporating the Postwar Authentic and even the "Inauthentic" that the Prewar Authentic movement (first wave) tried to exclude in order to establish itself as an autonomous genre.[499] While Kasai keenly observes the historical development of the genre from "inauthentic" to "new authentic," he overlooks the fact that Ayatsuji's indifference to historicity has in the final analysis a complicit relationship with Shimada's reconstruction of the history of the genre. Playfulness, gaming, spectacle, reproduction, and pastiche might be employed in the New Authentic School to guide the new age, but their denial of the whole paradigm of the modernist project or the issue of authenticity is "always contaminated by affirmation."[500] Ayatsuji's postmodern apathy regarding authenticity are not completely free from "the memory of the erased past," and for that very reason, his metafictional commentaries on the genre are nevertheless complicit with Shimada's positive rereading of postwar history and repeat prewar negotiations of the

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[499] Kasai Kiyoshi, *Tantei shōsetsuron*, vol.2, 18.

[500] Masao Miyoshi and H.D. Harootunian, eds, *Postmodernism and Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989) vii.

genre, yet this time against the globalizing forces of the late twentieth century that erase not only locality but the identity of the medium. In the ambivalent relationships between the ideologue and the practitioner, the New Authentic movement represents an integral part of the social realities of the 1990s.

Conclusion

Despite an obvious increase in the number of novels inspired by the New Authentic School, the establishment of the genre was not at all favorable to the new movement. In the midst of the debates about the New Authentic School, the critic Hasebe Fumichika published a book on the development of the Japanese mystery and he completely ignores the writers of the school, as if they are an insignificant deviation from the linear development of Japanese detective fiction.[501] Yet the New Authentic School is not just Shimada's own creation; publishing houses started reviving prewar detective fiction, an entire set of *Shinseinen* the most famous magazine of prewar detective fiction was reissued as a bound library edition, critics suddenly started talking about prewar detective fiction, and all of these concurrently happened in the early 1990s. It cannot be denied that the movement that Kasai Kiyoshi called the third wave of Japanese detective fiction existed, and as Shimada enthusiastically publicized, it was the unprecedented revival (or "flourish" if Japanese writers had never really mastered "authentic" detective fiction) of the authentic mode. The preservation of the golden rules of the classic mode looks to be the main concern for the young writers of the school, but it was not simply because the detective fiction genre has unjustly been dominated by the Social School during Japan's "long postwar" but the boundaries of the genre itself were in question. In this regard, it is quite natural that Ayatsuji and his followers nostalgically reproduce the

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[501] Hasebe Fumichika, *Nihon misuteri shinkaron* (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1993).

sensational designs of the so called "inauthentic" tradition of Japanese detective fiction as a metafictional commentary on the genre's history. This unusual revival of inauthentic and authentic detective fiction even challenges the idea that the New Authentic School is merely the revival of postwar authentic detective fiction. Shimada's theorization unwillingly reveals that there is more continuity than discontinuity before and after the war. In Shimada's seemingly innocent admiration of that lost detective fiction, however, what is really repressed for the sake of positive construction in the future is the negotiations that existed behind such continuity or the hybridity of culture.

In the New Authentic School, the interface of Japan and the West is replaced by that of the past and the present resulting in a nostalgic reproduction of the genre which might have been already dead not only in Japan but also in many other countries. The negotiations within the genre constitute a discursive space retroactively generating the concept of authenticity in Japanese detective fiction. The debates about detective fiction had always been centered around the lack of authenticity in Japanese detective fiction in the Kōga/Kigi debates before the war and in the Ranpo/Kigi debates right after the war. Interestingly enough, with the New Authentic School, the history of Japanese detective fiction is retroactively imagined for the first time as the unusual abundance of its "authenticity," which seems to be lacking in the fragmented and modernized present in the global age.

The New Authentic School of detective fiction quickly faded in the late 1990s, and quite naturally the designs they introduced came to be employed by far more popular media of *manga*, animation, and computer games, and, we have to admit, those cross-media adaptations had a much greater success than novels. As Ayatsuji Yukito humbly comments in his afterwards written six years after his lengthy conversations with Shimada Sōji in 1991, authentic mystery might well be remembered by many people only through extremely popular mystery *manga* such as *Kindaichi shōnen no jikenbo* (The Murder Cases of Young Kindaichi) or *Meitantei Konan* (Detective Conan), and their TV

and movie adaptations (both live action and animation) instead of their novels.[502] The end of the genre corresponded to the end of the medium called the "novel." Narrative devices are nevertheless the final "frontier" where the novel survives in the age of visual media.

[502] Shimada and Ayatsuji, *Honkaku misuterī-kan* 309-10. Among these media, the most successful one is the manga, *Kindaichi shōnen no jikenbo* (The Murder Cases of Young Kindaichi) which started in one of the most popular weekly magazines *Shōnen Magajin* in 1992 and serialized until 2000. The series soon turned into a TV drama series in 1995 (10 episodes), 1996 (10 episodes), and 2001 (10 episodes) followed by the successful animation series from 1997 to 2000 (148 episodes). Three feature films (one movie and two animations) have been shot and even five games have been produced based on the series.

CONCLUSION:
CROSS GENRE MEDIA MIX AND
THE END OF AUTHENTIC DETECTIVE FICTION

The ideological discourses of modernity in the late nineteenth century gave "a hegemonic 'normality' to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, races, communities, peoples."[503] The discourses about authentic detective fiction I discussed in the previous chapters are also derived from such a hegemonic formation of national and cultural boundaries during Japan's colonial expansion in Asia in the 1930s. The rationalization of the authenticity of Japanese detective fiction as "inauthentic" involves antagonistic and ambivalent moments between East and West, past and present, the public and the private, and popular entertainment and high art. Yet, these moments are not the result of troubled encounters between two culturally distinct entities and the subsequent contestation of antagonistic forces. Instead, such separate categories themselves are articulated and negotiated in the brutal relational force called modernity. Japanese detective fiction as a genre came into being as "inauthentic" by stitching together fear and desire generated in the process of modernization and Westernization. In this regard, despite its prewar tendencies to reject modernist ideas of science and logic, the detective fiction genre in Japan essentially belongs to the episteme of modernity.

The postwar discourses about the detective fiction genre rejuvenate the genre as "authentic" in line with the "standard" version of the development of the genre. Japan's positive identification with the West in postwar years made it possible to alleviate the sense of "inauthenticity" derived from the antagonistic constellation or "perverse" relation to the foreign Other. Japanese people, who Douglas MacArthur observed right

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[503] Bhabha 171.

after the war were "like a boy of twelve,"[504] successfully "forgot" their colonial past and the country was "reborn" as a modern democratic country. Gradually the concept of the "authentic" was released from its "relational" modifier of two cultures during the prewar and immediate postwar years, which ultimately signified conformity to the Western standard, and came to function as a neutral indicator of quality—whether a particular novel is well constructed—within each "distinctive" national category. Consequently, "inauthentic" as a word that characterized postwar detective fiction became obsolete in the prosperity of crime novels that conformed to the "standard" version of Western history.

In 1989, the year when the Berlin Wall came down and Japan's so-called economic bubble burst, Emperor Hirohito, who had symbolized the racial and cultural unity of the people before and ironically even more effectively after the war, died and thus the "long postwar" finally ended. If postwar Japan rebuilt itself by forgetting the particular mediation of the antagonistic and disproportional constellations of modern nations in the colonial period, it is quite understandable that the end of forgetting marked the will for remembering, that is, the rise of the narrative legitimating the ahistorical particularity of Japanese "cultures." The discourses about the authenticity of Japanese detective fiction in the 1990s thus transpose the fantastic of the prewar detective fiction which was condemned as "inauthentic" by contemporary critics as essential to the "new" authentic reconstituting the particularity of the Japanese detective fiction genre in a positive manner.

Intellectual discourses of the same period parallel those debates regarding the authenticity of Japanese detective fiction. At the height of the discourse that celebrated economically powerful Japan as the empire of the postmodern in the 1980s, Asada Akira,

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[504] Dower 550.

one of the most celebrated intellectual figures at that time, proclaimed the death of any meta-narratives that constituted compelling discourses in modernism and instead celebrated a free "play" of signifiers without a signified in what Roland Barthes called the "Empire of Signs."[505] Asada then argues that Japan was always already postmodern and transnational even in the 1930s. The philosophy of the Kyoto school in the 1930s which attempted to overcome the "modernity" imposed by the West has never been exposed to fundamental criticism in the postwar period despite GHQ's overly harsh treatment of war criminals in the postwar trials. In this regard, what Western critics and complicit Japanese critics saw in Japan in the 1980s is just a revival of the same postmodernism and transnationalism of the prewar years which has always been hidden behind the shadow of postwar modernism.[506]

Asada's critical celebration of the concept of "play" certainly has an echo in Ayatsuji Yukito's preference for "play" in his theorization of the New Authentic School. Yet, the lack of historicity in their arguments was often employed to legitimize the essentialist recognition of the remnants of not-yet-modernized Japan and their arguments eventually conformed to the construction of a diachronic body called Japan, as I considered in Shimada Sōji's arguments about the new authentic. As Karatani Kōjin criticizes those positive treatments of Japan's postmodern condition, it is not particularly new that the West "discovers" in the non-West possible moments deconstructing their own system nor Japanese intellectuals positively catering to their celebrations. Bruno Taut saw the moment of overcoming modernity in Japan's traditional culture and Alexandre Kojève and later Roland Barthes predicted that the West would eventually

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[505] Asada Akira, *Kōzo to chikara: kigōron o koete* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1983).

[506] Asada Akira, "Infantile Capitalism and Japan's Postmodernism: A Fairy Tale," *Postmodernism and Japan* 273-78.

become Japan.[507] However, the diachronic constellation of premodern-modern-postmodern can never be dissociated from "the geopolitical configuration of the world."[508] The repeated debates about the authenticity of Japanese detective fiction which I traced from the 1930s to the 1990s exactly show those negotiations in the dynamic constellations of cultures.

In his recent book on the New Authentic School, Kasai Kiyoshi argues that the New Authentic movement entered into the "second stage" in 1994. What he calls the first stage of the third wave (the New Authentic movement) reached its peak in 1992 when the masterpieces of modern authentic novels were published: *Kuronekokan no satsujin* (The Murder in the Black Cat Mansion) by Ayatsuji Yukito, *Satsuriku ni itaru yamai* by Abiko Takemaru, *Futatabi akai akumu* (Again, the Red Nightmare) by Norizuki Rintarō, *Sōtō no akuma* (The Devil with Two Heads) by Arisugawa Arisu (1959-), *Rokuno miya no himegimi* (The Princess of the Sixth Court)[509] by Kitamura Kaoru (1949-), *Memai* (Vertigo) by Shimada Sōji, and Kasai's own *Tetsugakusha no misshitsu* (Philosopher's Locked Room). Yet, this is also the year that most writers of the first stage stopped producing novels of their signature series.[510] Detectives in these series were then substituted with "new faces" as well as the next generation of writers in the subsequent few years. Kasai considers Kyōgoku Natsuhiko's *Ubume no natsu* published in 1994 as the transitional piece from the first stage to the second stage, which

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[507] Karatani Kōjin, *Kotoba to higeki* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993) 416.

[508] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity* 153.

[509] This is a story about a female college student who chose Akutagawa Ryūnosuke as the topic of her graduation thesis. Thus, the title comes from Akutagawa's short story in the same title written in 1922.

[510] Kasai Kiyoshi, *Mineruva no fukurō wa tasogare ni tobitatsuka?: tantei shōsetsu no saiteigi* (Tokyo: Hayakawa Shobō, 2001) 174.

is characterized by "mass production" and "self-destruction."[511] Writers like Kyōgoku Natsuhiko, Mori Hiroshi (1957-), and Nishizawa Yasuhiko (1960-) produce novels inspired by the first stage much more constantly—but not necessarily poorer in quality—than their predecessors.[512] These writers successfully turned the formula of the New Authentic School into novels that could appeal to the general reader who was not necessarily a dedicated fan of the genre and thus educated (*kyōyō*) in past classics of authentic detective fiction. At the same time, the metafictional element of the New Authentic School was radicalized to its extreme by writers like Seiryōin Ryūsui (1974-)[513] and the formula of the genre was almost self-consumed by these writers.[514] These two trends might indicate the "second stage" of the third wave, but they also suggest the dissolution of what Kasai and Shimada argued as the New Authentic School. In this regard, Shimada's theorization of his New Authentic I investigated in the previous chapter might be read as his struggle to maintain the integrity of the crumbling genre.

Another element that promoted the dissolution of the authentic genre is cross-media adaptation starting in the 1970s. The new form of media interrelationship, which also characterizes the cultural logic of postmodernism, made the sublime status of

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[511] Kasai, *Mineruva no fukurō wa tasogare ni tobitatsuka?* 199-205.

[512] Kyōgoku Natsuhiko wrote seven novels featuring the eccentric detective Chūzenji Akihiko (Kyōgokudō) in four years, most of which are more than 1000 pages long in *bunko* (a pocket book).

[513] His first novel *Kozumikku: seikimatsu tantei shinwa* (Cosmic: The Legend of Detective at the End of the Century, 1994) begins with the unusual challenge of a mystery man who calls himself Misshitsu-kyō (Lord of Locked Room/Locked Room Maniac) who proclaims the 1200 murders in the 1200 different locked rooms within one year. In sixteen days after the challenge, fifty-five victims are killed all by decapitation in a "locked room" situation ranging from an elevator to a space shuttle in orbit. JDC, which consists of 350 elite detectives with their own "super power" in detection, responds to the unprecedented challenge of these multiple murders. In this extremely meta-critical story on the conventions of the genre, not only individual victims and detectives but also the logic itself become ultimately senseless in the sheer "mass" and limitless combinations of possibilities.

[514] Kasai, *Mineruva no fukurō wa tasogare ni tobitatsuka?* 204.

"literature" obsolete. The first signs of this can be traced back to the movie adaptations of Yokomizo Seishi's novels in the 1970s, when authentic detective fiction was already proclaimed dead. In these movies, the ornamental details that Yokomizo refers to as his taste for *kusazōshi* (vulgar picture books in the late Edo period) are visually accentuated and it cannot be ignored that this revival of Gothic tastes later became one of the central motifs to replicate for many writers of the New Authentic School. Yet almost all the critics who discuss the detective fiction genre tend to look down on or openly ignore movie adaptations of detective novels.

This is related to the critical conventions of the genre. As Walter Ong discusses,[515] narrative materials similar to Poe's detective stories might be found in Chinese detective novels in the 17th century but they never achieved "Poe's climactic concision" that characterizes detective fiction that follows. If "the pyramidally structured narrative" of the detective story with its much tighter climactic structures is given birth by print culture and the practice of private reading rather than oral story telling in a public place, it might make sense that the enjoyment particular to the classic mode of detective fiction cannot be replicated in media other than the novel or at least have to be "translated" differently in other media.

In the 1990s, even greater transaction of multiple media and information flows facilitated more drastic transformations of the genre. Successful appropriation of Yokomizo's sensational designs in the Kadokawa films in the 1980s, from which many writers of the New Authentic School derived inspiration, would be found in more popular entertainment than the novel, such as manga, anime and later computer games which Shimada and other critics seem to ignore completely. In this regard, the writers of the "second stage" of the third wave opened the movement not only to genre mixing—

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[515] Ong 146.

Kyōgoku's incorporation of horror and Nishizawa's SF—but also media mixing. Unidirectional "adaptation" of a story from one format to the other cannot be applied in these cross media adaptations any more. In those cross-media dynamics, "styles" or "designs" are constantly sampled, copied, remixed, and eventually blur even the concept of the "original." In this regard, the discourses about the New Authentic School might represent the impossibility of constituting a traditional genre in the ever increasing flow of information in the contemporary culture industry, which is another aspect of the postmodern. Seiryōin's metafictional detective fiction could thus be read as his representation of multi-media intertextuality of the genre.

In the age of postmodernism, detective fiction, which has always been discussed as the index of modern subjectivity, is reconstructed as the construct without its own origin, thus already deconstructing the "standard" version and ultimately Western subjectivity. Detective fiction's narrative structure has successfully been employed in other media such as manga, anime, TV drama, film, and computer games, and the discursive space about the genre will be reconfigured again in the cultural "interfaces" across multiple media. Detailed analysis of the development and appropriation of the genre in contemporary visual media are certainly beyond the scope of this thesis, but the repeated use of the detective motif and the way subjectivity is constructed/deconstructed in those different media deserves further examination and will supplement my current studies. The specter of detective fiction haunts postmodern consumer space and still constitutes antagonistic constellations of cultures organizing external knowledge and institutions in the name of the authentic in the ever globalizing world of the twenty-first century.

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